CHRISTOPHER IVIC    Bitter Memories:
Spenser's *A View of the
Present State of Ireland*

Where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value
than triumphs, for they impose duties, and require a common effort.
ERNEST RENAN, "WHAT IS A NATION?" (1882)

EAVAN BOLAND'S POEM "Becoming the Hand of John Speed" opens
with the question "How do you make a nation?" to which the speaker
responds, "I have no answer. I was born in a nation / I had no part in
making" (48). John Speed was an English historian and mapmaker
whose cartographic images and chorographical descriptions of Ire-
land graced his 1611–12 atlas *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Brit-
aine*. Speed "made" Ireland by representing it in the form of a map
(figure 1) rendering that island visible to seventeenth-century English
men and women in a way that it had never been before. Published in
the wake of the Flight of the Earls, Speed's Irish maps can be read as
celebratory of Stuart Britain's incorporation of Ireland and, in par-
ticular, the plantation of Ulster.

Edmund Spenser, too, played a part in "making" Ireland. He
worked in and wrote of Ireland during a time of intense violence; his
Irish experience was bracketed by the Desmond rebellion (1579–83)
and the Nine Years' War (1594–1603). Just as Spenser's Irish work
gives voice to fears that Elizabethan England's grip on its neighbor-
ing kingdom/colony was loosening, it revisits and uses the past to
instill a sense of English belonging and to incite reclamation in the
face of Irish resistance. If Spenser "bequeathed a complex, diverse,
and, above all, dominant legacy of subsequent notions of literature
and national/ethnic identity in the British Isles for the whole of the
seventeenth century and beyond" (Hadfield 12), then he did so in
part by drawing upon the constitutive power of memory, especially
collective memories etched as grievances.

Spenser arrived in Ireland in 1580 as a secretary to Arthur Grey,

# THE KINGDOME OF IRLAND

Devided into severall Provinces, and the
againe devided into Counties.
Newly described.

The Gentleman of Ireland

The Gentlewoman of Ireland

The Civill Irish Woman

The Civill Irish man

The Wilde Irish man

The Wilde Irish Woman

*Jodocus Hondius celavit*

THE WEST OCEAN

FIGURE 1. John Speed, "The Kingdome of Irland," from *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1611–12). The Bodleian Library Map Res 74, between 137–38. Black and white image reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

Baron Grey of Wilton, who, as lord deputy, was sent over to confront Old English lords, such as Gerald fitz James Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, and James Eustace, third Viscount Baltinglass. As early as 1582 Dublin-based Spenser secured a lease on one of the former estates of Viscount Baltinglass; a few years later, he took possession of the 3,028 acres of Kilcolman Castle in the north of County Cork, a castle formerly held by Desmond. This settlement placed him within the project known as the Munster plantation, to which Spenser as a colonial administrator contributed significantly.[1] His eighteen-year residence in Ireland enabled his social and economic advancement, and by no means did it disable his authorial self-fashioning. Within this volatile and often violent context Spenser wrote, among other texts, *The Faerie Queene* (1590, 1596), *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (1595), and *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (1595).

Another product of Spenser's lengthy residence in Ireland is the document that we now know as *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, which was completed ca. 1596 at the height of the overthrow of the Munster plantation by Sir Hugh Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh. This lengthy prose tract, almost 70,000 words in dialogue form, is dedicated to redressing what was increasingly seen from both within and without Whitehall, especially by English colonial and military officers in Ireland, as a failing, if not failed, (re)conquest and (re)colonization of Ireland. Its two speakers, Irenius and Eudoxus, are Englishmen: Eudoxus is less familiar with Ireland than Irenius, who shares Spenser's knowledge of Irish history, politics, and society. The *View* traditionally has been read as a blueprint for the Anglicization of Ireland, and Irenius is often regarded as Spenser's mouthpiece.

Recently, literary historians have come to regard the *View* as a (if not *the*) key text among a plethora of Elizabethan tracts on the subject of England's Irish kingdom and colony.[2] Although it has come to occupy a central place in the field of early modern studies, figuring prominently in recent work on identity formation, nationalism, and protoracial discourse, we have yet to appreciate fully the tract's

1. For a detailed account of the Munster plantation, see MacCarthy-Morrogh. Spenser's life, especially his residence in Ireland, is covered in depth by Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser*.

2. For a fine collection of sixteenth-century tracts and treatises on Ireland, see Heffernan.

cultural, ideological, and political use of collective memory.[3] As Paul Connerton observes, "images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order." He adds, "It is an implicit rule that participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory" (3). The *View* creates and transmits shared memories for the knowledge community that formed its original audience, and in doing so it participates in forging that community's sense of self and legitimating its radical political ideas. Redirecting critical interest away from the politics of forgetting in Spenser's prose dialogue, this essay focuses on what the *View* recalls and recollects as well as the textual strategies it employs to oblige its readers to remember.

## Recollecting Violence:
## "Discourse of Lamentable Desolation"

On 14 April 1598 the London stationer Matthew Lownes entered into the Stationers' Register "a booke intituled / *A viewe of the present state of Ireland. Discoursed by waye of a Dialogue betwene EUDOXUS and IRENIUS*" (Arber 34r).[4] Lownes never received the "further authoritie" that was a condition of the text's licensing, and the *View* did not appear in print until 1633, thirty-four years after Spenser's death. In that year the Dublin antiquarian and historian Sir James Ware included a significantly "neutralize[d]" version of it in his *Historie of Ireland* (Hadfield and Maley xxvi).[5] Why the *View* was not printed in Spenser's lifetime remains unclear; less mystery, however, surrounds

3.    Evans's "Memory" entry in *The Spenser Encyclopedia* neglects the *View*. A recent critical anthology of writings about memory in Renaissance England includes an entry on Spenser's epic poem but nothing on the *View*. See Engel, Loughnane, and Williams 283–90.

4.    Renwick's composite edition of the *View*, cited here, is based in part on one of two relevant manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, namely, MS Rawlinson B 478, which is the manuscript that Lownes submitted to the Stationers' Company. MS Rawlinson B 478 includes the names of two owners: John Panton (with the inscription "1596 by Ed: Spenser gent.") and Richard Bagnett. "There is no sign," Woudhuysen argues, "that [MS Rawlinson B 478] had been prepared for the press" (152).

5.    "Ware," Hadfield and Maley note, "obligingly cut out references to major Anglo-Irish magnates whom Spenser had attacked . . . and some of his harsher judgements on the native Irish, Old English, and New English inhabitants of Ireland in order to render the text of the *View* less offensive and (supposedly) less anachronistic" (xxiv).

the question of its authorship.[6] Evidence stems from authorial attributions to Spenser by contemporary and near-contemporary owners of manuscript copies of the *View* and from the plethora of subtle as well as obvious similarities in language and in political ideology that critics have traced in Spenser's prose tract and his poetry.[7] Also underpinning both his poetry and prose is a profound investment in the power of memory.

Spenser's use of the arts of memory in *The Faerie Queene* has not gone unnoticed.[8] If this "eternizing" poetry is at once a product of and productive of early modern mnemonic culture, so too is the *View*. The prose dialogue is infused with vivid images and emotive recollections that work to create collective memories out of bitter remembrances of past bloodshed and violence—violent events as well as violent figures. Critics have shed ample light on the violence underpinning Spenser's works. "We can read Spenser's violence," Sarah Hogan suggests in response to conventional readings of the *View*, "as more than a genocidal fantasy; in fact, it is also a rationalistic, tactical, economic expedient that ushers in a utopian vision of Ireland transformed" (463). We can also read violence as integral to the *View*'s identity-forming commemorative activities, for Spenser's text revisits the past not simply to recollect past violence but rather to memorialize it. In doing so the *View* works to create an imagined community conceived in bloodshed and shared hatred.

Consider, for instance, Irenius's narrative of the activities of Edward Le Bruce (brother to the fourteenth-century Scottish king Robert Le Bruce), which serves as a prime example of the memorial work that the *View* performs: "Edward Le Bruce spoiled and burnt all the Old English Pale, putting to the sword all the English inhabitants and sacked and razed all cities and corporate towns" (17–18). The verbs that Irenius uses here and elsewhere—"wasted," "rooted out" (18)— to describe Edward Le Bruce's acts provoke not only bitter recollections but also grievances. Eudoxus, as he often does, conditions the

6.   The debate on the authorship of the *View* can be traced in Brink, "Constructing the *View*" and "Publishing Spenser's *View*"; Hadfield, "Certainties and Uncertainties"; and Maley 163–94.

7.   See Herron as well as McCabe, *Spenser's Monstrous Regiment*.

8.   See, for example, Helfer. Her discussion of the *View* (245–59) seriously underestimates just how much the tract invests memory with social force.

reader's response when he speaks of Irenius's "discourse of lamentable desolation"; he then asks "have there been any more such tempests . . . wherein [Ireland] hath thus wretched been wracked?" (18). Irenius replies, "none that I can remember, so universal as these" (18). But Irenius does remember, as does Eudoxus: the words "memory," "remember," and "remembrance" punctuate the text. Spenser's choice of the dialogue form for the *View* is significant because it enables the fictional interlocutors to demand of each other not only to recall, but also never to forget "lamentable" events—a demand that the text imposes on its intended readers.

## The Call to Remember: "Renewing the Remembrance"

Much of the *View*'s opening dialogue is given over to a "discourse of the overrunning and wasting of the realm" and accounts of native Irish recovery of their land at the expense of English newcomers (17). Recalling the 1382 rebellion led by Morrough "en Ranagh" O'Brien, Irenius laments that "in short space he clean wiped out many great towns, as first Inchiquin, then Killalow . . . and many others whose names I cannot remember, and some of which there is no memory nor sign remaining" (16). The *View* is committed to "renewing the remembrance of those occasions and accidents by which those ruins happened" (17) because remembrance of past events, as Eudoxus makes clear, serves a purpose: "The discoursing of them should, besides the pleasure which should redound out of your history, be also very profitable for the matter of policy" (20). To this Irenius soberly responds, "All which to rehearse should rather be to chronicle times, than to search into the reformation of abuses in that realm" (21). But, he adds, "very needful it will be to consider them and the evils which they have often stirred up, that some redress thereof, and prevention for the evils to come, may thereby . . . be devised" (21). This passage bears witness to the political uses of the past. Irenius's opposition between "chronicl[ing] times" and "search[ing] into the reformation of abuses in that realm" is, ostensibly, an opposition between the tedious and futile work of recalling or "rehears[ing]" past events and the fruitful work of "reforming" the present state of Ireland. However dismissive he is initially of "chronicl[ing] times," Irenius, invoking a Renaissance commonplace, nevertheless displays a commitment to

recuperating the past for those Englishmen on both sides of the Irish Sea involved in "reforming" Ireland. By "renewing the remembrance of those occasions and accidents by which those ruins happened, and laying before [the interlocutors] ensamples of those times to be compared with ours," Irenius and Eudoxus put in place a mnemonic *tour de force* that seeks to incite "those which shall have to do in the like" (17). Indeed, the chronicling of times—memory, recollection, rehearsal—is at the heart of not only the *View*'s commemorative activities but also its political discourse. In other words, "redress" and "reformation" are reliant upon the affective and exhortatory power of memory—the more bitter the memories, the better.

Spenser was not the sole Munster planter to produce a tract concerned with "reducing that savage nation to better government and civility" (1). Other tracts written in this period include the work of two fellow Munster planters: Sir William Herbert's *Croftus, Sive, de Hibernia Liber* (1591) and Richard Becon's *Solon His Follie* (1594).[9] All three texts were the product of colonial and legal administrators based in Munster, and all three express the attitudes of an emergent collectivity in Elizabethan Ireland—the New English, newly arrived Protestants hostile to Ireland's predominantly Catholic Old English community. When these texts were composed is of crucial significance. The *View* was written during and as a response to the Nine Years' War, in the midst of which Spenser's family fled their confiscated lands and returned in 1598 to England.[10] That Spenser, unlike Herbert and Becon, was writing during a time of intense conflict arguably accounts for what Vincent Carey and Clare Carroll term his "more extreme" views (xx). Certainly, Spenser's opinion of the Irish as well as the Old English (a term he coined in the *View*) is harsher than those of his two contemporaries.[11]

But the signal difference between Spenser's tract and these earlier ones, a difference that has gone largely unnoticed, is that the *View* imbues past events with grievances. Much more so than Herbert's

9. Like Spenser's *View*, Herbert's *Croftus* originally circulated in manuscript form. Becon's text, on the other hand, was printed in 1594 at Oxford (and therefore beyond the remit of London's stationers). For recent editions of these two texts, see Keaveney and Madden as well as Carey and Carroll.

10. For an account of this event, see Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser* 323–400.

11. See, for example, pp. 81, 86, 91, 92.

*Croftus* or Becon's *Solon*, Spenser's *View* turns again and again to the distant as well as the recent past to create bitter memories for its intended readers.[12] Critics have been alert to the failure of memory in the tract. Spenser's representation of the Old English, or the "English that were," as forgetful, lethargic, "degenerate" subjects has received ample critical focus,[13] as has Irenius's plan to force the native Irishman "quite to forget his Irish nation" (63, 64, 156).[14] Perhaps we should, rather, turn our attention from the forgetful Old English and the political uses of forgetting to the tract's call for a need to remember. For Eudoxus and Irenius, and for its English readers, the *View*'s signal commitment is to "not forgetting" (170).

## Irenius as Witness: "I Saw"

More than any other Elizabethan tract on Ireland, the *View* is sustained and motived by a discourse of witnessing, recording, and remembering. Throughout, Spenser proffers Irenius as a witness to near-contemporary events in war-ravaged Ireland; in doing so he invests that speaker with a powerful mnemonic function. Just as the author may have been, the textual construct designated Irenius was present on 10 November 1580 as eyewitness to the execution of over six hundred disarmed Italian and Spanish papal troops who had landed at Smerwick in order to aid their fellow Catholics in Ireland.[15] Irenius's account of Smerwick highlights, on the one hand, his proximity to the historical event—"myself being as near than as any"—

12.   More so than Herbert's text, Becon's *Solon* is riddled with references to memory and remembering. However, the text recuperates the past as example, precedent, or warning. For instance, Solon's "There remaine yet other occasions of the declining of common-weales worthy of remembraunce" aligns memory less with emotion than cognition—that is, with the historical record (1594 edition, M2r).

13.   For a summary of the work on—as well as a rereading of—Spenser's representation of the forgetful Old English, see Ivic, "Spenser and Interpellative Memory."

14.   As Canny and Carpenter note, "the means that [Spenser] advocates for the reform of the Gaelic Irish involves their being reduced to the point where they would forget their very ancestry and their historical memory" (172).

15.   Many letters in the National Archives from Grey to Queen Elizabeth and Lord Burghley defending Grey's actions at Smerwick are in Spenser's hand. See Spenser, *Edmund Spenser* 13–26. For an account of "the profound impact that [Spenser's] first few years in Ireland had on his imagination," see Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser* 164, 161–69.

and, on the other, his clear recollection of it—"as I remember" (107). Again and again, the *View*'s interlocutors ground their discourse in memory.

Take, for example, Irenius's witnessing of the "anatomies of death," the undead who haunted the Munster landscape in the wake of the Desmond rebellion (and to whom Seamus Heaney alludes in his 1972 collection *Wintering Out*):[16]

> I saw . . . in . . . those late wars in Munster . . . . Out of every corner of the woods and glens [the native Irish] came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, they did eat of the dead carrions, happy were they could find them, yea and one another soon after in so much as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves. (104)

Irenius's eyewitness accounts of execution and famine are represented in Spenser's dialogue as memories fashioned by an author who may or may not have witnessed firsthand the historical events. To whom does Irenius offer these eyewitness accounts? The obvious answer is Eudoxus, whose responses to Irenius's recollections reveal just how much the text's memorial narratives are invested with *energia*—forcibleness, to borrow Sir Philip Sidney's translation. To Irenius's account of the "anatomies of death," Eudoxus replies: "I that do but hear it from you and do picture it in my mind" (105). In other words, Irenius's vivid descriptions infuse images in the mind, causing Eudoxus to visualize what he hears. The *View*'s eyewitness accounts and reports, of course, often serve as ocular-cum-aural proof of "the wild Irish" (30, 50, 63, 64, 151). However, as evidenced by the registering

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16. Heaney's "Traditions" references Spenser's "anatomies of death" (22) as does his "Bog Oak":

> Perhaps I just make out
> Edmund Spenser,
> dreaming sunlight,
> encroached upon by
>
> geniuses who creep
> 'out of every corner
> of the woodes and glennes'
> towards watercress and carrion. (4–5)

of Irenius's recollections in Eudoxus's mind's eye ("and do picture it in my mind"), these memories take hold of the listener: not only the fictional interlocutor but also contemporary readers of Spenser's widely circulated manuscript tract, a list that includes such important figures as Sir Arthur Chichester; Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex; Sir Thomas Egerton; and James Ussher.[17]

In his study of memory and forgetting in English Renaissance drama, Garrett Sullivan notes that "the affect with which a specific memory is imbued influences its memorability" (9).[18] Memorability is at the heart of the *View*'s commemorative activities. One of the most emotionally charged and memorable (and, subsequently, most cited) inscriptions of witnessing in the *View* is Irenius's vivid memory of the decapitated corpse of Murrogh O'Brien, executed in Limerick on 1 July 1577:

> I saw an old woman which was [O'Brien's] foster mother took up his head whilst he was quartered and sucked up all the blood running there out, saying that the earth was not worthy to drink it, and therewith also steeped her face and breast, and tore her hair, crying and shrieking out most terribly. (62)

However much this account is presented as an individual recollection of a past event ("I saw"), its function is to produce shared memories.[19] Peter Burke, drawing upon Maurice Halbwach's groundbreaking work on collective memory, writes, "Individuals remember, in the literal, physical sense. However it is social groups which determine what is 'memorable' and also how it will be remembered" (98).

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17.  Twenty-three manuscript copies of the *View* are extant, but no holograph copy survives. Hadfield labels the *View* "a work designed for manuscript circulation" (*Edmund Spenser* 168); indeed, the number of and variance between surviving manuscripts suggests not necessarily scribal publication but certainly dissemination of the prose tract among a New English and English readership. For details of the extant manuscripts, see *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450–1700*. See also Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser* 336–39.

18.  Bacon provides an early modern gloss on the relation between affect and memorability: "The Images or Impressions of those Individualls accepted from the *sense,* are fixt in the *Memory*" (*Of the Advancement* 78).

19.  Spenser was in Ireland briefly in July 1577, which is when Murrogh O'Brien was executed, but it is not certain that he witnessed the execution. See Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser* 99–100.

Through his lurid description of the foster mother's actions, Spenser has determined how O'Brien's execution will be remembered—with early modern readers of the *View* forming the social group for whom these memories are inscribed. Although much critical attention has been devoted to Irenius's account of the execution, this passage has rarely been examined within the context of the whole dialogue. Irenius supplies the account in response to Eudoxus's "have you any customs remaining from the Gauls or Britons?" (62). At this point Irenius has already traced the origins of the Irish to a variety of sources, including "the Gauls or Britons"; he legitimates his dubious genealogical work by highlighting customs that the Irish have inherited—in this instance, blood rituals. According to Irenius, just as the Irish do now ("I saw an old woman"), "the Gauls used to drink their enemies' blood and to paint themselves therewith" (62). The report of O'Brien's execution, then, is grounded in a real or imagined individual memory with which Spenser has endowed his speaker; however, for the author and, crucially, for his English readers, this report also has an anthropological, ethnographical, and historical grounding. Irenius's execution narrative is a prime example of the text's translation of individual into collective memories—in this case a shared memory that serves to construct a genealogy of the Irish as barbarous, savage, uncivil, or, as depicted on Speed's map of Ireland, "wilde" (figure 1)—in order to legitimate England's reconquest and recolonization.

## Contested Memories in the *View*: "Forged Histories"

Ireland in the 1590s was a site of contested memories: not only contending English and Irish accounts of the past but also rival English ones—Old versus New English versions of history and even competing New English accounts.[20] One section of the *View* that sheds valuable light on the dialogue's memorial work is Irenius and Eudoxus's discussion of Irish bards. The first references are dismissive of bardic historiography: "remembrances of bards, which use to forge and falsify everything" (39) and "the bards and Irish chronicles . . .

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20. For critical analysis of competing Old and New English accounts of Irish history, see Ivic, "Incorporating Ireland" and "The Memorye"; Lennon; and McCabe, "Making History."

have clouded the truth of those times" (40). The second contests the perverse poetry that they produce. "There is amongst the Irish," Irenius says, "a certain kind of people called the bards, which are to them instead of poets, whose profession is to set forth praises and dispraises of men" (72). Sensing Irenius's contempt of Irish bards, Eudoxus interjects with a Renaissance commonplace, stating that the social function of poets, as Sidney famously records in his *Defence of Poesie* (1595), is to praise and to blame as well as to exhort readers to virtuous action:

> I have read that in all ages, poets have been had in special reputation, and that meseems not without great cause, for besides their sweet inventions and most witty lays, they are always used to set forth the praises of the good and virtuous, and to beat down and disgrace the bad and vicious, so that many brave young minds have oftentimes, through the hearing the praises and famous eulogies of worthy men sung and reported to them, been stirred up to affect like commendations, and so to strive unto the like deserts. (73)

W. B. Yeats's lament that when "Spenser wrote of Ireland, he wrote as an official" (372) rather than a poet underestimates just how much the *View* shares the commitment of *The Faerie Queene* to "stirr[ing] up" readers and guiding them "to strive unto" good works. But rather than "instructing young men in moral discipline," the Irish bards, according to Irenius, do otherwise: "Whomsoever they find to be most licentious of life, most bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorify in their rhymes, him they praise to the people, and to young men make an example to follow" (73). Such passages reveal Spenser's awareness of competing versions of the past, which Irenius dismisses as "forged histories" (42)—be it those of Irish bards or Old English authors such as "Master [Richard] Stanyhurst" (55). These passages also document how Spenser's dialogue at once invokes and counters rival memories.

David Cressy argues, rightly, that "national memory" in early modern England was far from a monolithic cultural discourse: "Competing strands of memory and rival patterns of memorialization" emerged alongside and in opposition to official accounts (61). In late sixteenth-century Ireland collective memory, transmitted by a variety

of national and confessional identities, was deeply fragmented and fiercely contested. Precisely what constituted an "official account" of Irish history is up for debate, especially if we ask whose account is in question.[21] Any attempt to label Spenser's *View*, which existed only in manuscript form until 1633, an "official account" runs the risk of misunderstanding the text's radical politics.

## Memorializing Grey: "That Good Lord Gray"

The unofficial nature of the *View*—and, according to some, the reason why it was not licensed for publication in 1598—is particularly evident in the memorialization of the man under whom Spenser served as chief secretary in Ireland, Arthur Grey, Baron Grey of Wilton, allegorized as Artegall, Knight of Justice in Book V of *The Faerie Queene* (1596).[22] Sullivan has argued eloquently for the role of memory and forgetting in "prescrib[ing] particular modes of behavior and specify[ing] kinds of action" in the early modern period (7). Memory, he adds, is often associated with "normative models for behavior" and is "integral to various valorized models of selfhood" (1, 4). Spenser offers Grey, who served as lord deputy of Ireland from July 1580 to August 1582, as one such model of "valorized" selfhood—as an exemplary and ruthless military figure. The *View*'s representation of Grey is, however, complicated by the fact that, like the fictional Artegall, he had his detractors who accused him of exercising excessive violence. Grey's unforgiving nature was at odds with the views of the monarch and other powerful officials on what should constitute a normative model of military action in Ireland.

The first reference to Grey appears early in the text during a discussion of the "tempests" by which Ireland has "wretchedly been wracked" (19). The former lord deputy is at once praised and remembered as "that right noble lord," "a most wise pilot" and "that

21. See Ivic, "The Memorye" and Carroll 104–44, who offers an excellent examination of native Irish historiography.

22. Artegall is tasked with rescuing Irena (V.i.4), but, like Grey, the Knight of Justice is recalled to Faerie Court. Thus, "His course of Iustice he was forst to stay" (V.xii.27). Highley connects Artegall's henchman, Talus, to a New English readership in Ireland, in particular the Talus-like Sir Richard Bingham (116). On Bingham as a reader of a manuscript copy of the *View*, see the commentary in Renwick's edition.

honourable man" (19, 20). Praise for Grey, however, is cut short as Eudoxus turns his attention to "more troublous matters of discourse," concluding with "let [Grey] rest in peace" (20). But the dialogue's speakers are unwilling to do so, for later in the text Grey is exhumed. Responding to Irenius's recollection of the Desmond rebellion and his call for harsher measures in treating Irish rebels, Eudoxus now launches a defense of the much "maligned" (20) Grey grounded in the language of bitter commemoration:

> So I remember that in the late government of that good Lord Gray, when after long travail and many perilous assays, he had brought things almost to this pass that ye speak of, that it was even made ready for reformation, and might have been brought to what Her Majesty would, like complaint was made against him, that he was a bloody man, and regarded not the life of her subjects, no more than dogs, but had wasted and consumed all, so as now she had almost nothing left but to reign in their ashes. Ear was soon lent thereunto, all suddenly turned topsy turvy, the noble Lord eftsoons was blamed, the wretched people pitied, and new counsels plotted, in which it was concluded that a general pardon should be sent over to all that would accept of it; upon which all former purposes were blanked, the governor at a bay, and not only that great and long charge which she had before been at quite lost and cancelled, but also all that hope of good which was even at the door put back and clean frustrate; all which whether it be true or no yourself can well tell. (106)

"Too true," Irenius responds; "I may not," he adds, "forget so memorable a thing" (106). That the *View* memorializes Grey, that it sets him up as a "just and honourable"—and exemplary—"personage" is plain to see (108). But blame and resentment follow hard upon the heels of praise for "that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloody man" (106). Thus, the *View* remembers "bloody" Grey as a beautiful loser, even as a martyr: "most untruly and maliciously do these evil tongues," a resentful Irenius proclaims, "backbite and slander the sacred ashes of that most just and honourable personage" (108).[23]

23. In *The Faerie Queene* Artegall's reformation "of that ragged common-weale" (Ireland) is likewise arrested by his recall:

> But ere he could reforme it thoroughly,
> He through occasion called was away,
> To Faerie Court, that of necessity
> His course of Iustice he was forst to stay. (V.xii.27)

Irenius's "I may not forget so memorable a thing" is remarkable less for its recollection of these events than for the speaker's unwillingness to elide the injustices of the past. Indeed, Irenius's refusal to "forget" manifests Spenser's sense of duty that Grey's "immortal fame" be monumentalized (20).

Cressy characterizes national memory in early modern England as "selective, subjective, and inscriptive, and responsive to a changing present" (71). Yet if such a model allows for alterations and appropriations, it tends to posit national memory as celebratory, optimistic, and upbeat—as commemorating English military victories, the accession of monarchs, and the foiling of plots. Readers of the *View*, however, will find little in the way of bonfires and bells. By no means does Spenser's text omit recording English victories in Ireland; Irenius, for instance, recalls that "by the conquest of Henry the Second, . . . the Irish were utterly vanquished and subdued" (13). Nor does it refrain from celebrating Grey's "sharp execution of the Spaniards at the fort of Smerwick" (107). But such passages are always followed by reports of English losses, monumental failures, dissension, and carping tongues: "And yet [Grey] was counted bloody and cruel" (107).

In July 1582 Elizabeth recalled Grey to England. The subsequent scrutiny of his legacy in Ireland explains in part the *View*'s struggle to sustain conventional humanist historiography.[24] In the prefatory epistle to his *Description of Ireland*—first published in the Irish section of the 1577 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* but also reprinted in the 1587 edition—Richard Stanihurst informs the then lord deputy Sir Henry Sidney that he "who so will be addicted to the reading of histories, shall readilie find diuerse euents worthie to be remembred, and sundrie sound examples dailie to be followed" (8). In a dedicatory epistle to Spenser's Munster plantation neighbor Sir Walter Raleigh in the 1587 *Chronicles*, John Hooker lauds the "vse and knowledge of histories and chronicles" as "expedient and necessarie" (a.iir). After claiming the uses of England's history, Hooker opines "I would to God I might or were able to saie the like . . . of Ireland, a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of

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24. For a near-contemporary account of Grey's actions at Smerwick that is at odds with Spenser's memorialization, see Camden 404–9.

bloud, murther, and lothsome outrages; which to anie good reader are greeuous & irkesome to be read & considered" (a.iiv).[25] Spenser's *View* has more in common with Hooker's rendering of Irish history as tragedy than it does with Stanihurst's belief that Ireland's past serves as a site of exemplarity.

As the Grey examples attest, acts of remembrance in the *View* are underpinned by bitterness, lamentation, recrimination, and resentment. Although the dialogue's speakers desire a tranquil future for "commodious" Ireland, their political discourse is attended by memories of violence, bloodshed, and hatred (1). Whereas Stanihurst's *Description* promises its readership historiographical exemplarity, the *View* records vivid memories that serve not only to forge a collective sense of self but also to instill among its readers an epic hero-like telos grounded in "just vengeance" (106): "there must needs this violent means be used" (95).[26] In defending Grey against charges of excessive violence, the *View* turns the accusation "a bloody man" into an affirmative refrain.

### National Disappointment:
### "The Division between the Two Houses of Lancaster and York"

The *View*, as we have seen, oscillates between patriotic pronouncements and instances of national shame. As much as it affirms the "New Englishmen's" cultural superiority over the native Irish as well as the Old English, it is also given over to a deep sense of national disappointment (151). Such regret is expressed, for example, in Eudoxus's response to Irenius's account of "the Old English in Ireland" who have "grown quite Irish": "This which you tell is a most shameful hearing" (66). One such national shame frequently invoked by Elizabethan writers—voiced in Shakespeare's history plays and emblazoned on John Speed's civil wars map of ca. 1601 (figure 2)—concerns past civil broils, especially the Wars of the Roses. That these momentous civil wars surface in the *View* is unsurprising, for such hostilities, like so many of "England's," had an impact throughout

25. Accompanying this quotation is the following marginal gloss: "Ireland yeeldeth small matter for an historie" (a.iiv).

26. The *View*'s "just vengeance" echoes *The Faerie Queene*'s use of "iust vengeance" (V.ix.50).

# A DESCRIPTION *of the Ciuill VVarres* of ENGLAND.

IN this *Platforme* are contained (gentle Reader) the ſeuerall battels fought by Sea and Land, at ſeuerall times and in ſeuerall places of *England* and *Ireland*, and the parts adioyning, within theſe fiue hundred yeeres laſt paſt. Deſcription of pictures after the manner of fight, as the plot will giue roomth I haue placed, and in the margent by numbers marked, obſeruing the time, yeere, and euent of euery battel, which being performed by me in ſatisfaction of the honorable deſire of certain Martial Gentlemen profeſſors of Armes, & louers of learning, were deſirous to ſee theſe mixtures of matters of their owne profeſſion, and the paſſed proceedings of their owne countries affaires, and deſired me with my poore labour to further ſo good a worke: which being finiſhed in large with the liking of the motioners, and good allowance of her *Maieſtie*, to whoſe ſacred perſon it was commended, and there contented to haue reſted. The counterfeit whereof notwithſtanding much leſſened and more badly performed, hath ſince come forth in print, either through the greedy deſire of gaine (the bane of all good proceedings) or the gainſaying mindes of ſuch as are enuious to others pains, leſt their owne profit thereby be empayred, whoſe barren inuentions muſt be ſupported by other mens endeuours, and their ſhallow conceites carried through the currants of others ſprings otherwiſe runne they from little to nothing.

The ſilence of *Englands* ciuill wars I could haue wiſhed, being the markes of our owne infamies, and ſtaines to be waſhed away rather with repentance, then againe to be renewed by remembrance: had not theſe drawne my paines to their owne headleſſe inuentions, and ſhot my ſhafts from their owne Bowes: for lucre making common that, which in priuate and for great Eſtates I intended: and by their indirect meanes am inforced to bring mine owne (yet much abridged) to the *Preſſe*. Wherein if it ſo fall out, as that this my endeauour doe yeeld contentment to them which hitherto haue allowed my labours, I meane in time to come (if God permit) to ſecond the ſame with another plot of other Warres, performed by *Engliſhmen* in other Countries, againſt others and forraine forces: a matter of more honour to our Country and pleaſure to our Countrey-men, in regard the ſame are accompanied with many famous victories, vnder the Standers of whoſe Kings, mighty Kings many times haue beene forced to bowe, and Martiall men conſtrayned to yeeld to *Englands* glorious obtained victories. Theſe being for the moſt part Ciuill Battels betweene meere *Engliſh-men* of one Nation, wherein the parties victorers, beſides the loſſe of their owne ſide, procured on the other, the fall and ruine of them that were all of his owne Countrey, many of them of his owne acquaintance and alliance, and moſt of them perhaps his owne friends in any other cauſe, then that in which hee contended for. But from this generall argument, to proceede to ſome particulars, it ſhall not be amiſſe to make ſome diuiſion of them, according to their ſeuerall qualities, of the ſeuerall quarrels in them which are found to be diuers, and of three ſeuerall natures. Whereof the firſt were the inuaſions attempted by forraine Princes, and enemies againſt the Kings and people of this Realme. The ſecond were meere rebellions of Subiects againſt their annointed Princes. And the third diſſenſious factions betwixt Princes of the blood Royall: of theſe three, all theſe effuſions of blood haue conſiſted.

And to begin with the firſt battell in this plot, which was the firſt beginning of gouernement of this ſtate as it yet continueth. Such was the attempt of *William* Duke of Normandy againſt King *Harold* the ſonne of Earle *Goodwin*, who preuailed ſo againſt him in fight at Battaile in Suſſex (a place ſo called by this euent) as the ſaid Duke was afterward King of this Land, and brought the whole nation vnder his obedience, as it hath beene continued to his poſterity euer ſince. Such was the arriuall of *Lewes* ſonne and heyre to *Philip* King of France againſt *Iohn* King of England, who being carried by his owne ambition, accompanied with French forces, and aſſiſted by the rebellious Barons of this Realme, after variable fortune of fight in ſeuerall skirmiſhes, battels, and aſſaults, was forced in the end, without all honour, or hope to preuaile, to make a very ſhamefull retreat into his own country. Such was alſo the entrie made by *Iames* the fourth King of Scots, againſt King *Henry* the eight of famous memory, his brother in law, and ſworne allie, at that time abſent in the wars of France, who contrary to his oath and alliance formerly made, entered the North frontires of England, with a mighty Army, had the ſame diſcomfited and ouerthrowne, and was himſelfe ſlain in the field by the Engliſh forces, vnder the leading of the Earle of Surrey, at that time Lieutenant generall for King *Henry*. And eſpecially ſuch was the late enterpriſe remaining freſh in memory, of *Phillip* late King of Spaine, againſt our dread Soueraigne Lady now raigning, in the yeere of our Lord 1588. attempting by his inuincible Nauy as he thought, and ſo termed, vnder the conduct of the Duke of *Medina Celi*, which with great pride and cruelty entended againſt vs, arriued on our coaſts to Englands inuaſion and ſubuerſion, had yet neuertheleſſe here in the narrow Seas, the one part of his Fleet diſcomfited, taken, and drowned, and the other part forced to their great ſhame in poore eſtate to make a fearefull and miſerable flight about the coaſt of Ireland homeward, ſo that of 158. great ſhips furniſhed for warre, came to their owne coaſt of Spaine but few, and thoſe ſo torn and beaten by the Engliſh Cannons, that it was thought they were vnſeruiceable for euer, and eleuen of their enſignes or banners of Idolatry, prepared for triumph and pride in conqueſt, were contrariwiſe to their ſhame and diſhonour ſhewed at *Pauls*-Croſſe, and in other places of this Realme, to Gods glory, our ioy, and their endleſſe infamy.

The ſecond ſort of quarrels in theſe wars, were meer rebellions of ſubiects againſt their annointed Princes and Gouernors: and of theſe ſome haue been priuate, and ſome generall. Of the firſt kinde for priuate occaſions, was that of *Thomas* Earle of Lancaſter, againſt King *Edward* the ſecond his coſin-germane, vpon miſlike of the *Spencers*, greatly fauoured by the King, and as much enuied of him, who hauing his forces defeated at Burrowbridge, was there taken priſoner, & after beheaded at Pomfret. Of the ſame kind was that of *Henry* Lord *Percie*, ſurnamed *Hot ſpurre*, & *Thomas Percie* Earle of Worceſter his Vncle, againſt K. *Henry* the fourth, at Shreweſbury; where the ſaid Lord *Henry* was ſlaine, and the other taken priſoner, and after beheaded in the ſame towne. So was that of *Michaell*

(1)

AT Battaile the 14. of October being Saturday, the yeere of Chriſt, 1066. William Duke of Normandie obtained this Land by Conqueſt, and ſlew Harold King thereof, with Gerth and Leofwine his brethren, with 67974. Engliſhmen.

(2)

Yorke burnt and 3000. of the Citizens and Normans ſlaine by the Danes, vnder the leading of Harold and Canutus, ſonnes to Sweno King of Denmarke, for the recouery of the Crowne to the Daniſh bloud, 1069. W.C. reg. 3.

(3)

Malcolme King of Scots inuaded Teſdale, Holderneſſe, and Cumberland, charging his Souldiers to ſpare neither ſexe nor age of the Engliſh nation, An. 1071. but the yeere following was himſelfe forced to doe homage to W.C. reg. 5.

(4)

Elie ſurpriſed and won by the Conquerour, the laſt part of this Land that ſtood out againſt the Normans, vnder Hereward their moſt valiant Captaine. An. reg. Conq. 7. 1073.

(5)

The firſt ſeating of the Engliſhmen in Wales, through the diſſention of their Princes, who being called for partakers, tooke from the Welch that which they could not againe recouer. 1090. reg. 1. Ruf. 3.

(6)

At Alnwicke Malcolme king of Scots inuading Northumberland, with his ſonne Edward was ſlaine, and all his hoaſt diſcomfited by Rob. Mowbray Earle of North. reg. Ruf. 5. 1092.

(7)

Northampton endammaged, and the Countrey adioyning ſpoiled through the ciuill diſſention of the three brethren William, Robert, and Henry, ſons to the Conq. H.1. An. 7. 1106.

(8)

Powes-land inuaded by King Henry I. and reſiſted ſo by the Welch, being ſtrooke with an arrow on the breaſt that it had almoſt coſt him his life. An. reg. 21. 1121.

(9)

At Cardigan a ſore battell was fought in October 1136. wherein many thouſands were ſlaine, and men by women led away captiues. reg. Steph. 1.

(10)

Briſtow taken by Robert Earle of Gloceſter in defence of his ſiſter Maud the Empreſſe, againſt K. Stephen. reg. 3. 1138.

(11)

Dauid K. of Scots inuading Northumberland, made his ſpoile as farre as Aluerton in Yorkeſhire, where being encountred by Thurſton Archbiſhop of Yorke, Will. Earle of Albemarle, Wa. Eſpeke, Wil. Peuerel, and the two Lacies, Auguſt. 22. was with his ſonne Henry put to flight, and ten thouſand Scots ſlaine, 1139. Steph. 4.

(12)

Nottingham taken and burned by Rob. baſtard Earle of Gloceſt. in defence of his ſiſter Maud the Empreſſe, 1140. Steph. 5.

(13)

At Lincolne by Ranulph Earle of Cheſter and Rob. Earle of Gloceſt. K. Stephen was taken priſoner, had to Gloceſt. thence to Briſtow, and there laid in irons. Feb. 2. 1141. reg. 5.

(14)

From Wincheſter Maud the Empreſſe, her Armies both of Scots and Engliſh diſperſed and ouercome, fled to Lutegarſhal, to Vies, and thence to Gloceſter, laid in a horſe-litter fained to be her dead corps, and her brother Rob. taken priſoner. reg. Steph. 6. 1141.

(15)

From Oxford Maud the Empreſſe with fiue perſons moe, apparelled in white ſheetes, to deceiue the Kings Scoutwatch, fled through the Snow, and ſo ſcaped that beſieged towne. An. 1142. Steph. 7.

(16)

At Edmundsbury Rob. Earle of Leiceſt. with Petronill his Counteſſe were taken priſoners, and 20000. taken and ſlaine, by Richard Lucie L. chiefe Iuſtice, and Humfrey de Bohun high Conſtable of England, Octob. 17. 1173. H.2. 19.

(17)

At Alnwicke W. King of Scots was taken priſoner by Rob. Scotuile, Randulph Mandeuile, Barnard Baliol and Will. Veſcy Captaines, his armie containing 80000. fighting men, Iuly 7. 1174. he was ſent to London, and by K. Henry carried into Normandy, impriſoned at Roan, and ranſomed at 4000. pounds.

(18)

At Lincolne all the Engliſh Barons with 400. knights that tooke part with Lewes, were ouerthrowne and taken, May 19. 1217. and firſt of H. 3.

(19)

At Montgomery Llewellin Prince of Wales through the practiſe of a traiterous Monke, ouercame and ſlew many of the Kings power. An. 1231. reg. H. 3. 15.

(20)

At Cheſterfield a conflict was done, wherein Robert Ferrers Earle of Darby was taken, and many ſlaine, An. H. 3. 41. 1256.

(21)

Northampton ſurpriſed by King H. 3. againſt his rebellious Barons, Aprill 4. 1263. reg. 48.

(22)

At Lewes, May 12. 1264. K. H. 3. by his vnfaithfull Barons, with his Brother Rich. King of Alman, and his ſonne Prince Edward were taken priſoners. There were ſlaine about 4500. by Simon Montfort and Gil. Clare Earles of Leiceſt. and Gloceſt. reg. H. 3. 48.

(23)

At Eueſham, the 5. of Auguſt 1265. a ſore battell was fought, wherein K. H. 3. preuailed againſt the Barons through their owne diſſentions, and moſt of them ſlaine, as Sim. Montfort Earle of Leic. and 17. Lords and knights beſides; Humfrey Bohun & with him ten men of great account taken priſoners, with ſlaughter of all the Welſhmen. An. reg. 48.

(24)

Berwick woon, and 25000. Scottiſh ſlaine, An. E. 1. 24. 1296.

(25)

At Bluith Leolin the laſt Prince that bare rule of the Britains, cõming from Snowdown, by Rog. Strangb. was ſlaine, and his head crowned with Iuie ſet vpon the Tower of London. E. 1. 10. An. 1282.

(26)

At Mitton 3000. Yorkeſhire men were ſlaine encountring with the Scots inuading their countrey, called the white battell, for that it conſiſted moſt of Cleargy men. An. 1318. reg. E. 2. 12.

(27)

Vnto Preſton in Anderneſſe Rob. Bruſe K. of Scots inuaded England, burned the ſaid towne, and haried the countrey before him, reg. E. 2. 14. An. 1322.

(28)

Borrowbridge battell fought betwixt E. 2. and his Barons, March 16. 1322. vnder the leading of Andr. Hercley Earle of Carlle, where Tho. Earle of Lanc. was taken and with him 65. Lords and Knights, Hum. Bohun being thruſt into the fundament through a bridge was ſlaine. An. reg. 14.

(29)

At Blackamore the Scots following the Engliſh army, took priſoners the Earle of Richm. and the French Ambaſſador, the King himſelfe hardly eſcaped. An. reg. E. 2. 15. 1323.

(30)

At Glamorgan K. E. 2. by his vnnatural & cruel wife was taken Nou. 16. 1326. and conueyed to Monmouth, to Ledbery, to Kenilworth, to Corffe, to Biſtow, thence to Barkley Caſtle, & there lamẽtably murdered, ie. 21.

(31)

At Stannop parke the Scots intrenched themſelues, and againſt the Engliſh made rime of diſgrace as followeth. An. E. 3. 2. 1328.

Long beards heartleſſe, painted hoods witleſſe,
Gay coates graceleſſe, make England thriftleſſe.

(32)

At Halidown hil a great battel fought againſt the Scots, wherin were ſlain 8. Earles, 900. horſmen, & common ſouldiers 35000 and their chiefe Champion Turnbul ouercome by Rob. Venal Knight of Norfolke An. E. 3. 7. 1333.

(33)

Southampton ſacked by Genowaie Pirates vnder the leading of the King of Sicils ſon, yet the towneſmen ſlew 300. of them, and their Captaine braind by a Huſbandmans club. An. 1338. E. 3. 12.

Carleil, Penreth, & many townes elſe burnt by the Scots, vnder Wil. Dowglas, yet ldly are ouercome by the manhood & policy of Th. Lucy, Rob. Ogle, & the B. of that ſea. an. r. E. 3. 19. 1345.

(35)

At Neuils croſſe Dauid Bruſe K. of Scots inuading England with 60000. Souldiers, was taken priſoner by Io. Copland Eſquire, and conuayed to London with many of his Nobilitie, beſides many noble men ſlaine in the field vnder the leading of Wil. Yong Archbiſhop of Yorke, vicegerent, the Lords Mowbray, Percie & Neuil, Queene Phillip in her owne perſon preſent, encouraging her people to fight. reg. E. 3. 20. 1346.

(36)

The inſurrection of the commons vnder the leading of Iack Straw, Wat Tiler, and others, after many rebellious acts done in Kent and Eſſex, from Black-heath, Mile-end and Smith-field, were diſperſed, where the ſaid Wat Tiler was worthily ſlaine by Wil. Walworth Maior of London, on Saturday, Iune 15. reg. Rich. 2. 4. An. 1381.

(37)

At North-Walſham the rebellious commons, by the inſtigation of Io. Wraw, who had gathered 50. thouſand in Suffolke, and vnder the leading of Iohn Litiſar of Norwich Dyer, calling himſelf king of the commons, were by Henry Spencer Biſhop of that City ouercome, and their ruſtical king drawn, hanged, & beheaded, who had by violence carried with him the Lord Scales, the Lord Morley, Stephen Hales, and Robert Sale Knights, to ſerue at his Table, and take his aſſayes. Rich. 2. 4. 1381.

(38)

Neare Hatfield the rebellious commons of Eſſex were ouercome, and 500. of them ſlaine by Thomas Woodſtock Duke of Gloceſt. An. 1382. R. 2. 5.

(39)

At Radcot bridge Tho. Duke of Gloceſter, the Earles of Arundel, Warwicke, Darby, and Nottingham, encountring with Rob. Vere Duke of Ireland, maintained by King Ric. 2. againſt them, with 5000. men, ſlew Sir Tho. Molineux Conſtable of Cheſter and put the ſaid Duke to ſuch ſtrait, that in ſwimming Thames he had almoſt loſt his life, 1387. reg. Ric. 2. 11.

(40)

At Otterborne vnder the leading of Wil. Dowglas 1100 Engliſh men were ſlaine, and 50000. put to flight, Lord Henry & Ralph Percies ſons to the Earle of Northumberland, were taken priſoners, notwithſtanding the ſaid L. Henry had manfully ſlaine that valiant captaine Wil. Dowglas at the firſt encounter, 1388. R. 2. 12.

(41)

At Flint caſtle King Rich. 2. was by the falſenes of Henry Percie Earle of Northumb. deliuered into the hands of Henry Duke of Lancaſter, and thence conueyed as priſoner to London, committed to the Tower, and ſhortly depoſed, thence ſent to Leeds caſtle in Kent: laſtly, to Pomfreit, and there murthered, Feb. 13. 1400.

(*)

At Circeſter the conſpirators againſt K. Henry 4. were diſcomfited: the Dukes of Exceſter & Surrey, the Earles of Saliſbury, Gloceſter, & Huntington, Sr Th. Blunt & Barnard Brocas knights, were there taken, and in ſundry places beheaded, 1400. Ian. 15. reg. 2.

(42)

At Hallidown hill againe another great and bloudy battel was fought Sep. 14. againſt the Scots by K. Henry 4. wherein the ſaid Scots were beaten downe and ſlaine, and beſides the loſſe of many thouſand common Souldiers, fourſcore Earles, Lords & knights of account were alſo then ſlaine. An. 1402. reg. 3.

(43)

At Pelale in Wales 110. Engliſhmen were ſlaine by Owen


THE INVASIONS OF ENGLA
ALL THEIR CIVILL WARRS
Kylltayn
Sandell
Arren
Cantyre
L. Kuuar
Burthik flu.
Tifdalia
L. Mabel
Nidifdale
Caricta
Galloway
Wigton
Glenlus
Wirkinton
Egremond
Scots. 3
MAN
Douglas
The calfe of man
William Montacut Earl of Salisbury from the Scots conquered this Ile of Man K. E. 3. geuing him the title and causing him to be crowned Kinge therof. Ano. 1342.
The ariuall of Lambert a counterfet earle of warick with Gerald earle of Kildar and Martine swart a german against H. 7. 1487.
Holyhead
Bangor
Carnarvan
Flint. 41
Snowdon. 25
MERIONIDH
Powes land. 8
MONTGOMERY
19. Montgom.
Aberdony
Aberistwyth
Peble. 43
Cardigan. 9
CARDIGAN
Blewith. 25
CAERMARTHIN
Breknock. 5
Carmarden. 45
Glamorgan 30
S. Davides
Milford haven
Henry Earl of Richmond at milford hauen arriued against R3 in August. 1485
Lundye Insula
Hareland point
The second ariuall of perkin werbeck the coūterfet duke of york at whitsandbay Sep. 7. 1497. H. 7. 13.
Whit bay sander
64 Excester. 66
Vlster. 4
Black water. 14
Armagh. 6
Donn. 3
Dondalk. 8
Ardnary. 13
Mayo. 12
Clanowan
Dublin. 2
Wexford. 1
Kilkenny. 7
MOVNSTER
Smerwick
Desmond beheded
The ariuall of H. 2. King of England for the conquest of Ireland at Croch neere Waterford Ano. 1172. oct. 17. reg. 18.
At Plimouth the Barons ariue against E. 4. in defence of H. 6. Ano. 1470.
At Datmouth Ric Earl of Warwik arived against E. 4. in dec. 1470.
The Spanish fleet first discried in their pretensed invasion of England Iuly. 19. 1588. reg Eliz. 30.
The Spanish fleet

1) *Wexford* conquered by *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, May 1. 1170. Anno *H.* 2. 16.

2) *Dublin* and *Waterford* won by *Richard Strongbow* Earle of *Chepſtow*, 1170. Reg. *H.* 2. 16.

3) *Downe* and *Vlſter* conquered by *John Curcy* a ſtrong Engliſhman, Anno 1177. Reg. *H.* 2. 23.

4) A battell fought againſt *Roderick* K. of *Vlſter*, who preuailed againſt King *H.* 2. 1177. Reg. 23.

5) At *Colraine* in *Vlſter Edward Bruce* entituled King of *Ireland*, put the Engliſh power to flight, & took many of the Nobles priſoners, *E.* 2. 9. 1315.

6) *Armagh* battell fought againſt *Edw. Bruce*, who was there taken, and beheaded at *Dundalk*, and with him 6200. Scots loſt their liues, Ann. 1318. Reg. *E.* 2. 12.

7) At *Kilkenny R.* 2. with an hoaſt of 30000 ſtrong beſieged *Mackmur*, but little preuailed, thorow the ſodain arriual into England of *H. Bullingbrook* Earle of Hereford, Anno 1399. Reg. *R.* 2. 23.

8) At *Dundalk Sham Oneal* with the loſſe of 3500. men was put to flight by S. *Henry Sidney* Knight, and flying for ſuccour to the wilde Scots, was by them murdered in *Clan Abbey*, *Elizab.* 9. 1567.

9) At *Smerwick* the Italians and Spaniards ſent by the Pope to aide *Deſmond* in his rebellions, intrench themſelues vnder the Popes banner, where the Lord *Gray* ſlew 400. of them, and put the reſt to their ranſome. *Eliz.* 22. 1580

10) *James* Earle of *Deſmond*, after many notorious rebellions by him committed, wandering from place to place in great diſtreſſe, was laſtly ſlaine in his cabbin by an Iriſhman, Decemb. 13. 1580. Reg. *Eliz.* 22.

11) *Clanowan* in *Thomond* fortified againſt her Maieſtie by *Mahown Obrion*, but himſelfe was ſlaine, and his caſtle worthily raced by S. *Richard Bingham* Knight, An. 1585. *Eliz.* 27.

12) In the Countrey of *Mayo* the *Burkes* ſtirre rebellion againſt her Maieſties Ciuill gouernment, but were diſperſed and ouerthrowne by captaine *John Bingham* and the Earle of *Clanrikard*, 1586. Reg. *Eliz.* 28.

13) At *Ardnary* 2000. Scots brought in to aide the *Burkes*, vpon promiſe to enioy that Countrey, were by Sir *Richard Bingham* all ſlaine except 80. perſons that ſaued themſelues by ſwimming the riuer *Mayo*: their leaders the *Burkes* with them alſo dyed, 1586. Reg. *Eliz.* 28.

14) *Tyrone* in his rebellions againſt her ſacred Maieſtie, hath ouerlong troubled the peace of *Ireland*, but chiefly the Prouince of *Vlſter*, whoſe treacherous acts and ſauage cruelties hath moued her Highneſſe to ſend forces thitherward, for whoſe proſperous ſucceſſe, with the ouerthrow of all treaſons and rebellions, let all true hearted Subiects pray.

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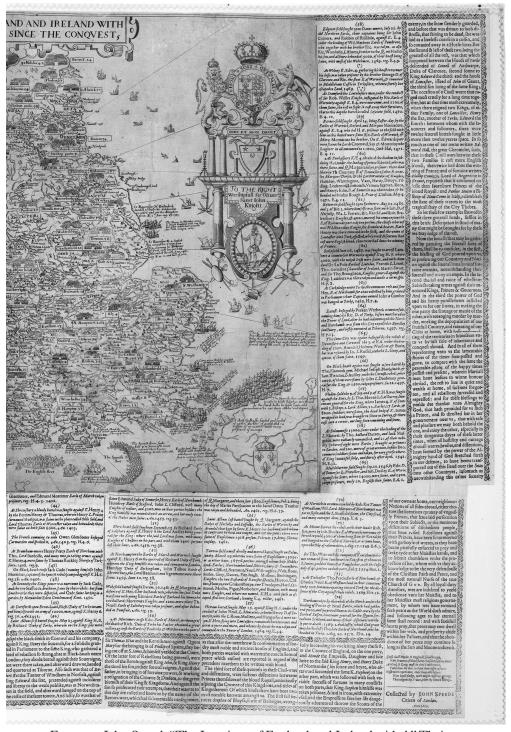
Figure 2. John Speed, "The Invasions of England and Ireland with All Their Civill Warrs since the Conquest" (London, ca. 1601). Cambridge University Library Maps a.31.60.1. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Britain and beyond its shores—as illustrated on Speed's map of England *and* Ireland's intra- and inter-island civil wars. Herbert's *Croftus*, too, laments the effect that the Wars of the Roses had on England's military and political hold on Ireland: "When England was ablaze with civil wars, the Irish, given the opportunity, turned everything into confusion and in their savagery and fury destroyed civil law and society" (83). But whereas Herbert's invocation of England's "civil wars" is brief, Spenser's ranks among the *View*'s most pronounced grievances.

The initial reference to these wars surfaces when Eudoxus hails England's laws as the means whereby his country was brought to civility. Not unlike the Irish, "the English were at first as stout and warlike a people," but they, unlike the Irish, have been civilized (11–12). Irenius's sober response invokes the specter of internecine conflict: "What [the English] now be, both you and I see very well; but by how many thorny and hard ways they are come thereunto, by how many civil brawls, by how many tumultuous rebellions, that even hazard oftentimes the whole safety of the kingdom, may easily be considered" (12). This mention of "civil brawls" is followed by a specific reference to the Wars of the Roses. Irenius responds to Eudoxus's astonishment that the Irish, once "utterly vanquished and subdued," have shaken off their subjection (13). He points to "the division between the two houses of Lancaster and York" as the source of the decline of English rule in Ireland; during this volatile period the occupying lords in Ireland were forced to vacate their lands there in order to secure their possessions at home (14). As a result of their absence, "the Irish, . . . seeing now their lands so dispeopled and weakened . . . and . . . expelling those few English that remained, repossessed them again, since which time they have remained in them and growing greater have brought under them many of the English, which were before their lords." Irenius laments, "This is one of the occasions by which all those countries which, lying near unto any mountains or Irish deserts, had been planted with English, were shortly displanted and lost" (14). Underpinning his recollection of past historical events is an acute sense of loss, registered here in the use of the negative "dispeopled" and "displanted." Readers would be mistaken, however, to read this passage and similar ones solely as laments, for the power of such lines lies precisely in their inscription as grievances. In other

words, these passages—and there are many more in the text, referring, for example, to Edward Le Bruce's mischief in Ireland that occurred as England's King Edward II "was troubled with civil wars" (17)—are motivated by an ideology of reclamation. The calamity of dispeopling and displanting inspires replanting and repeopling, a subject discussed in great detail in the dialogue's concluding pages.

The *View*'s account of Ireland's dispeopling and displanting of the English is thus mitigated by plans for resettlement of English men and women. But lodged between these two narratives is an event that chronologically occurred first: namely, the story of Ireland's original settlement. Irenius offers a version of Irish origins that takes him through many and diverse "impeoplings" (47), from Scythians, Africans, and Gauls to Britons and Saxons.[27] To this list he adds a final and triumphal settlement of Ireland, the twelfth-century arrival of the "mighty people" whom the *View* designates "English":

> The last and greatest, which was by the English, when the Earl of Strongbow, having conquered that land, delivered up the same unto the hands of Henry the Second, then king, who sent over thither great store of gentlemen and other warlike people amongst whom he distributed the land and settled such a strong colony therein as never since could with all the subtle practices of the Irish be routed out but abide still a mighty people of so many as remain English of them. (47–48)

Irenius's concluding dig at the Old English, who have "degenerated and grown almost mere Irish," sparks Eudoxus's shock "that an Englishman brought up naturally in such sweet civility as England affords . . . should forget his own nature and forgo his own nation" (48).[28] Irenius's "sweet remembrance" now turns sour as the text's narrative progression from a "dispeopling" of the original English invaders to an "impeopling" by the New English becomes unsettled by recollection of an unpeopling in the form of Old English degeneracy (37). Historically, then, the *View* recounts the fall of the English and the

27. For a detailed account of Spenser's genealogy of the Irish in the *View*, see Ivic, "Spenser and the Bounds of Race" 154–60.

28. In their "degenerate" (63) state the Old English are in stark contrast to *The Faerie Queene*'s Palmer, who pronounces, "Yet will I not forgoe, ne yet forget / The care thereof my selfe vnto the end" (II.viii.8).

rise of the Irish nation—as well as the emergence of "the English Irish" (151). "For now," Eudoxus laments, "there is no part but the bare English pale in which the Irish have not greatest footing" (14). Eudoxus's use of the deictic "now" serves as a reminder of the pressing need for swift action.

### New English Belonging: "Amongst the English"

Benedict Anderson's brilliant work on how communities imagine themselves highlights the crucial role that remembering and forgetting performs in the origin and spread of nationalism.[29] Anderson emphasizes the need to forget "ancient" fratricidal wars between, say, thirteenth-century Frenchmen or nineteenth-century Americans in order to create a strong unifying bond among nineteenth-century Frenchmen or twentieth-century Americans. Although his reflections on nationalism can inform our readings of select early modern texts, Anderson's model offers little to readers of Spenser's *View* precisely because the time and place of the text's production does not, unlike Shakespeare's histories, invite collective amnesia. In *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) Spenser could look back at the Wars of the Roses as reassuringly fratricidal wars. The April eclogue's praise of Queen Elizabeth's face—"The Redde rose medled with the White yfere" (l.69)—is accompanied by a gloss informing the reader that "the mingling of the Redde rose and the White" signifies "the vniting of the two principall houses of Lancaster and of Yorke: by whose longe discord and deadly debate, this realm many yeares was sore traueiled, and almost cleane decayed" (68). This passage has much in common with the presentation of fratricidal warfare in Shakespeare's history plays. *Richard III* records "brother to brother" (2.4.62) violence, but its "domestic broils" (2.4.65) are recuperated, as evidenced in Richmond's closing celebration of "this fair conjunction" and his pronouncement that "civil wounds are stopped" (5.5.20, 40). The closest that the *View*, a product of Ireland not London, comes to such a vision of concord and unity is Irenius's "one people" speech:

> Since Ireland is full of her own nation that may not be rooted out, and somewhat stored with English already and more to be, I think

29. See Anderson 187–206.

it best by an union of manners and conformity of minds, to bring them to be one people, and to put away the dislikeful concept both of the one and the other, which will be by no means better than by this intermingling of them, that neither all the Irish may dwell together, nor all the English, but by translating of them, and scattering them in small numbers amongst the English, not only to bring them by daily conversation unto better liking of each other, but also to make both of them less able to do hurt. (153)

This passage's advocacy of a "union" of "one people" seemingly supports Philip Schywzer's optimistic claim that Spenser presents the Irish "not [as] an alien and inferior race, as some of [his] contemporaries [did], but British kin" (45). Indeed, Irenius's emphasis on intermingling anticipates similar language used in early seventeenth-century pro-union tracts in support of Anglo-Scottish union or pamphlets on the plantation of Ulster, especially those of Sir Francis Bacon.[30] Such a reading, however, forgets what the *View* remembers, and in doing so risks underestimating the violent undercurrent attending such words as "intermingling," "translating," and "scattering."

Spenser's *View* is invaluable in inviting a reassessment of recent models of collective memory and collective identity formation that posit such activity as the work of a fraternal community bound together by shared interests and national unity. In Anderson's positive formulation, the "nation," "the imagined community," is "conceived in language, not in blood" (145). The *View*, however, mobilizes language to create vivid memories, and the result is an imagined New English community conceived in bloodshed.[31] As evinced by Irenius's ominous comment that Ireland is "somewhat stored with English already *and more to be*" (153; my emphasis), Spenser's interlocutors etch bitter memories into the minds of readers to incite them to act. Again and again, the *View* recalls bloody images and acts of violence in order to instill a sense of New English belonging and purpose in Ireland and to spur Ireland's English planters into vengeful action.

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30.  Bacon contrasts "*Compositio*, . . . the ioyning or putting togeather of bodyes, without a new Forme," and "*Mistio*, . . . the ioyning or putting togeather of bodies, vnder a new Forme" (*Briefe Discovrse* B4r), and he favors the latter.

31.  For a similar critique of Anderson, although in relation to Milton's "Lycidas," see Lipking.

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