

Towards a Traumatic Geography of Ireland 1530-1760 and Beyond: the Evidence of Irish Language Texts

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ABSTRACT: Many nations and groups have experienced forms of trauma, which mark their memories for a very long time, changing their future identities in very powerful ways. In Ireland, the Protestant settlers experienced such trauma during and after the 1641 Rising/Rebellion. Their memories of these awful events were recorded in the many volumes of the government-commissioned 1641 Depositions and were perpetuated in key official writings and by the state in formal annual church ceremonies. No comparable body of evidence was commissioned to record the many subsequent murders and subjugation of the Catholic Irish at the hands of government forces and local Protestant militias. One must turn to the poems and prose texts in the Irish language to discover the recollection of these and related sufferings of the Catholic Irish. Four such key Irish language texts are examined here: The Annals of the Four Masters, Keating's *The History of Ireland*, *Five Seventeenth Century Political Poems*, and *An Duanaire 1600-1900: Poems of the Dispossessed*. Major themes explored are the devastating geographies of conquest and English language domination; the forging of new Irish identities in the face of the New English hegemony; the emergence of a history and a literature in the Irish language which repudiates an imperialist ideology and imagines and defines a new national community; and the significance of a poetic literature which describes a devastated culture and ravaged silent landscapes which would long struggle to recover. However, by the mid-eighteenth century, some Irish poetry combines older notions of sovereignty with a forward-looking, democratic drive for justice and equality. In conclusion, the many different forms of adaptation by the Catholic Irish to their subjugated, traumatic state are summarized.

In the book *Map-making, Landscapes and Memory: The Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland c.1530-1750*, I referenced the avalanche of English-language documentation on Ireland in comparison with Irish-language evidence.¹ Phenomenal survey information in English allows one to map Ireland intimately over this period—but also noted was the neglect by Irish geographers of the significant corpus of materials in the Irish language. In finishing the book, I realized I may not have done justice to the insights such sources give on contemporary Irish life, and in particular on the traumatic effects of the English conquest on the Irish psyche. So when Gerry Kearns issued this general invitation, an opportunity arose to merge these two streams—to pay greater attention to the insights to be gained from Irish-language sources in an exploration of the geography of the pain of conquest and the trauma that followed. In writing traumatic geographies, I am in particular reflecting on how writers in the Irish language, in their poetry, annals, prose histories and topographies represented and coped with what was happening to Ireland over this period.

There is a vast literature on culture, trauma and conflict and coping with such processes and events. Duran and Duran define historical trauma more precisely as post-colonial psychology. In order for it to exist, colonialism must have occurred and there is likely to be a continuing aspect to the colonial trauma, namely psychological, physical, social and cultural consequences

and ramifications in the aftermath of the systematic subjugation of a society by a colonizing culture.² In traumatic stress literature, loss may refer to institutional violence—the attack on and removal of values, beliefs and material items of a culture including sacred buildings, mansions and properties. But it is more commonly associated with the loss of person(s) who have been killed or have died. Loss and death are especially associated with war, forced migration and relocation, slavery or servitude, starvation or even genocide.

Many nations and groups have experienced forms of trauma that become salient elements in their consciousness and ongoing behaviors. Traumatic events and experiences leave indelible marks upon such groups' consciousness, marking their memories for a very long time and changing their future identities in fundamental and powerful ways.³ National and cultural trauma, therefore, requires a perspective that crosses back and forth over time and space whether the peoples are Irish, African- and Native-Americans, Armenian, Cambodian, Jewish, Palestinian, Syrian, or Vietnamese. The list is a very long one.

The most significant documents in the English language dealing with trauma in this period are the thirty-three volumes of the 1641 Depositions. Commissioned by the colonial administration in Ireland to collect formal statements from settlers traumatized by violent attacks from the Irish, they document the terror experienced by the Protestant settlers at the beginning of the 1641 rising/rebellion, when many were murdered and others driven from their homes. These depositions, together with propagandist use made of them by key officials and writers like Henry Jones and Sir John Temple, exerted a profound, long-term effect on the collective memory of the Protestant Irish—a memory reinforced by the colonial state in annual, formal church ceremonies.⁴ No comparable body of evidence was commissioned to record the many subsequent murders the Catholic Irish suffered at the hands of government forces and local Protestant militias. Rather, the recollection of these events and many others is embedded in the Irish poems and prose-texts which are the subject of this paper. The processes by which such collective memories were transmitted across the generations were many, but they certainly involved informal group sessions of poetry, music and song then so central (and still critical) to Irish culture. A well-known song-poem, *Cill Cais*, typifies this tradition:

*Cad a dhéanfaimíd feasta gan adhmhad?
Tá deireadh na gcoillte ar lár;
níl trácht ar Chill Chais ná a teaghlach
is ní bainfear a cling go bráth.
An áit úd a gconáíodh an deigh-bhean
fuair gradam is meidhir thar mhnáibh
bhíodh iarlaí ag tarraingt thar toinn ann
is an t-aifreann bínn á rá*

(What shall we do for timber?
the last of the woods is down.
There is no talk of Kilcash or the Butlers
and the bell of the house is gone.
The home-place where that lady waited
who shamed all women by her grace
when earls came sailing to greet her
And Mass was said in the place.⁵)

This much-recited Irish poem of the mid to late eighteenth century mourns the disappearance of the woodlands of South Tipperary and, by inference, Ireland as a whole. In 1530, perhaps 18 to 20 percent of Ireland was wooded—by the 1730s, Ireland experienced a wood famine following on from the felling and rapid commercial exploitation of the woodlands by the new planter class. This poem, therefore, laments the passing of a familiar sylvan landscape—a landscape imbued with memories of the hunt, sport and relaxation generally, as well as memories of the woodland as a crucial resource for all aspects of living and farming. In this case, the great trees of the wood are also a metaphor for the old ruling family of the Butlers—an Old English family living in County Tipperary since the thirteenth century. The poem laments the loss of leadership and patronage once

provided by such distinguished ancestral families—with their European continental connections and their devotion to and defence of the Catholic tradition. Finally, the poem laments the loss of culture associated with the woods, the bell-tower of the great tower-house cum mansion and its chapel and people. The bell can be extended to mean an Irish “voice” or “voices” calling people to prayer, to work, to play. The poem evokes a bare, desolate and silent landscape that once was crowded with people chatting, sporting, loving and fighting in a familiar, warm and partly wooded land.

From an English settler’s perspective, the Irish landscape looked very different—a landscape cleared of woodland meant a landscape cleared for victory. The stumps of the trees represented a new field won for farming: where the conquered (perhaps ruined) tower-house meant a defensible space. Here a new English-style mansion-house could be built in a more secure, visible, enclosed and English-speaking world that did not threaten attacks or burnings. After conquest and boundary-making, a central aim of the settlers was to transform the habitat into an image of their own home place. For English officials and colonizers, the Irish woodlands had come to mean threat and danger, and the term “woodland Irish” was a synonym for the “wild Irish” who were to be broken, tamed and enframed.

In this paper a *brief* overview of the geographies of conquest in Ireland 1530-1603 will first be presented. Secondly, in a much lengthier section, how Irish writers over the period 1600 to 1760 represented the transformations of Ireland—and the traumatic consequences for the Catholic Irish and the Irish language—will be explored. Four Irish language texts are judged central to this task: *Annála Ríogachtachta Éireann* (*The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*); *Fóras Feasa ar Éirinn* (*The History of Ireland*); *Five Seventeenth Century Political Poems* and *An Duanaire 1600-1900: Poems of the Disposessed*.⁶ The first three texts were originally written in the seventeenth century. *Poems of the Disposessed*, in contrast, is the justly acclaimed—albeit retrospective—Irish poetry collection from 1600 to 1900, compiled by two distinguished modern scholar/poets, Seán ó Tuama and Thomas Kinsella. Thirdly and *briefly*, a preliminary sketch or path-analysis of the national and cultural trauma experienced by the Catholic Irish over the whole period will be presented as well as a summary of the strategies for survival that these Irish adopted in the face of conquest, plantations and the construction of Ireland—not as a separate kingdom—but as an English colony.

The geographies of conquest

In *Map-making, Landscapes and Memory*, the story was recounted of how English mapping of Ireland created an English-language Ireland—an Ireland as understood from a colonizing English perspective where, for example, *all* the placenames are mapped and anglicized for the first time and in the process shorn of their meaning. The maps—used for conquest and colonization—were only a part of the wider discourse on colonialism. It was the numerous English-language texts, reports on the tours of duty and actions/performances of New English ruling officials, the compositions, surveys, inquisitions and views that made Ireland not only visible but legible and governable from an English point of view. Cartographic narratives, epitomized by, for example, Edmund Spenser’s *View of the State of Ireland* show this tight interweaving between colonial narratives and practices.⁷

There is not space to pursue these matters here except to note—as Patricia Palmer has so eloquently detailed—that after c.1540 the New English did not recognize the existence of the Irish language, then the language of 85 to 90 percent of the people and whose written forms in literature had been for centuries and were still to be the main expression of Irish life until the nineteenth century.⁸ Despite the many encounters, exchanges, and negotiations between the English and the Irish, the use of the Irish language is air-brushed from all those accounts. In the literature of the English conquest, the sound of voices speaking Irish is scarcely heard at all. Irish is blanked out—

it is deemed not to exist yet is strongly legislated against.⁹ The New English, therefore, repress linguistic differences, declining to recognize, utilize or investigate the “other” language. Rather, the elite spokespeople of the Irish—brehons, clergy, lords, poets, historians and topographers—are to be either eradicated or assimilated. After Henry VIII is declared King of Ireland in 1541, the Tudor English sought to treat Ireland as an extension of their domestic space—a border province in revolt from a central government rather than a separate polity resisting annexation. As Palmer argues, an autonomous literature and rich, foreign tongue is heard as a dissident patois—as an outlandish tongue.¹⁰ There is a deliberate policy of rendering a very vociferous and contending culture inarticulate. So the maps and the texts illuminate an English-speaking Ireland and occlude Irish-speaking and Irish-writing worlds (and continued to do so all through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries).

This strategy of non-recognition, therefore, forced the Irish elite to negotiate in the English language—as they became bilingual or trilingual. I shall return to this point at the end of the paper—when by the mid-eighteenth century the Irish turn to the English language either to assimilate to, or use English as a weapon of protest and resistance against, the metropolitan culture. In the meantime, it is useful to return to not only the woodland themes but also the linguistic fastnesses that the English conquerors and colonizers faced—the constant need for translations and the inevitable misunderstandings, misrepresentations and damaging incomprehensions that inevitably flowed from these multifaceted and labyrinthine encounters. The New English policy of anglicization involved a military, political, settlement and linguistic conquest. The word and the sword were to march together. Tudor England would insist on a uniformity of law and language (English) and religion (Protestant) in Ireland.

In “The escalation of violence in sixteenth century Ireland,” David Edwards writes the following:

Atrocity punctuates the history of sixteenth century Ireland. Countrywide from the time of the Kildare rebellion [1534-40] until the end of the Nine Years War [1603], there was a tendency for military and political conflict to spiral wildly out of control. Combatants committed the worst excesses: multiple murders, summary executions, the mass slaughter of unarmed civilians (women and children included), dismemberment, even deliberate war-induced famines all became widespread in the course of one of the bloodiest and nastiest episodes of Irish history. Large-scale group killings, or massacres, occurred in many places, at Maynooth (1535) Belfast (1574), Rathlin Island (1575), Mullagh-mast (1577), Smerwick (1580) and Dunboy (1602), to name just some of the most notorious instances.¹¹

As this list of massacres indicates, levels of violence appear to have escalated as the century advances, with conditions especially bad from the 1570s. The killings climaxed at the century’s end with the systematic scorched-earth operations carried out by the forces of the English Tudor monarchy before and after the battle of Kinsale (1601). As those responsible intended, the Irish population was starved and terrorized into submission. Many thousands died and much of the country was destroyed and made wasteland. In the words of historian David Quinn, when peace came at last, in March 1603, it was “the peace of death and exhaustion.”¹² John McGurk adds: “It may well be concluded that the post-Kinsale period in Ulster, the putting down of the fifteen-month resistance movement was carried out with unprecedented violence against non-combatants, clergy, women and children who traditionally were immune in warfare.”¹³ In the putting down of the earlier Desmond rising/rebellion (1579-83), historians have estimated that at least fifty thousand people died of battle, plague and famine. I estimate at least one-eighth of

Munster perished. It is likely that at the very minimum another fifty thousand died in the Nine Year Ulster-centered war (1594-1603) and probably many more.

Up to 1603, the New English had to use interpreters—hidden from view in the accounts—to deal with the insurgent Irish. After 1603, and the total conquest and shiring of the country and the extension of English common law over the land, the English administrators were mainly talking to themselves.¹⁴ The Irish language was finally excluded from political and economic power. The Gaelic lords were defeated and some were in exile. The Old English—the descendants of medieval settlers—were marginalized. The New English had gained full military, political, economic and linguistic control.

Irish poetry and its bardic poets eventually realized this. It is very important to understand the role and status of the bardic poet in pre-plantation Irish society. They were a hereditary professional caste who travelled widely in their provinces or island-wide (and to Scotland); they were wealthy landowners; they were key counsellors/politicians to their lords: they were negotiators/ambassadors on the latter's behalf. They were not only composers of elaborate praise-poems for their patrons but also wrote political poetry either advising the lords to accommodate themselves to New English legal requirements or as the sixteenth century moved on, increasingly admonishing their lords to defend their territories and that of Ireland against what they describe as the "heretic foreigner/invader." Indeed their poetic-cum-political functions—if not their ideology—were not that different from the roles that an Edmund Spenser or a John Milton played in an English society and polity.¹⁵

But after 1603 there was little security for the Irish learned classes and their Irish language except in those few regions where Irish-speaking lords and patrons remained as landowners. I have a suspicion that there is a regional geography to variations in poetic feeling. At the turn of the seventeenth century, I think the most perceptive poets of trauma and doom were then the Ulster poets in the north of Ireland. In Cromwellian and post-Cromwellian times (1640s onwards), it was the Munster poets in the south of Ireland who were most universally and most eloquent about the defeat of the Irish. Ulster poets were particularly sensitive to the beginning of the great silence that was to envelop the Irish language—trying to express a psychic loss that would be literally unspeakable. The imagery used by some of their poets is magnificent. An Ulster poet describes his desolation, as he drifts on a rising tide of English, hearing his words reduced to the lonely call of seabirds:

Mé an murdhuchan
An mhuir Goill

(I am the guillemot
English is the sea.¹⁶)

The tide might have been going out for Irish and rising for English—but there was a very complicated story still to unfold. The first half of the seventeenth century saw a very strong counter-cultural movement—a necessary counter-discourse to the burgeoning English propaganda texts in and about Ireland. However, the Irish then appeared to be somewhat more successful in opposing a cultural conquest than they were in resisting a territorial and legal conquest.

Writing traumatic geographies and histories

The first half of the seventeenth century saw a great blossoming of materials written in Irish and Latin in poetry, prose, religious texts, annals and a number of histories-cum-geographies of Ireland. Artists are often most expressive when their society and culture are most stressed, in crisis and/or undergoing tremendous change. This blossoming of literary texts in the Irish language also reflected that scattering of Irish clergy, soldiers, merchants and other professionals

across Europe. This in turn saw a radical Europeanization and renewal of Irish literature both stylistically and thematically. Two of the most significant works emerging from this period—both written in the 1630s—are Seatrúin Céitinn's (his name in English is Geoffrey Keating) *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (loosely translated as *The History of Ireland* (to c.1200));¹⁷ and *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*.¹⁸ Now known as *The Annals of the Four Masters*, its leading compiler was Micheál O Cléirigh, a Franciscan cleric from Co. Donegal. When printed, two centuries later (complete with an English translation and commentary by the great Irish scholar, John O'Donovan), the Annals came to seven large volumes. *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* was not the first use of the term 'Kingdom of Ireland.' But as Brendán Ó Buachalla emphasizes, its compilers—known as the "Four Masters"—institutionalized the term, thus stressing that Ireland was a single political entity (albeit still loyal to a Stuart king).¹⁹ All previous annals had been anchored on provinces—as with the annals of Ulster, the annals of Clonmacnoise for Connaught and the midland region, and the annals of Inisfallen for Munster. *Annála Ríoghachta* however, was an inclusive historical record of the island as a whole.

The impetus for this eleven year (1625-36) investment in making as complete a collection of all existing manuscripts relating to Irish history and its antiquities—ostensibly from prehistoric/mythological times but actually reliable from about 1500 BP (500 AD)—came from the Franciscan College at Leuven/Louvain in modern Belgium (then part of the Spanish Netherlands). Hugh Ward, the Head of St. Anthony's College there, instructed Micheál O Cléirigh to go to Ireland to gather from all the scholars and learned centers across the country, these ancient annals, both secular and ecclesiastical. Ó Cléirigh collected every shred of evidence he could find including the history of the Irish saints, kings, bishops; he collected genealogies, other annals and all the prose and poetry he could recover. Impressed by parallel work of retrieval going on across Western Europe as national histories and national church histories were being compiled, as was then happening in the Low Countries, Ó Cléirigh moved around Ireland from one Franciscan house to another, doing his fieldwork in the summer and writing up in winter.²⁰ Under the patronage of a number of Gaelic lords who accepted James I of England as of original Gaelic stock, the Four Masters were writing within and accepted the existing political system. But this did not stop Micheál O Cléirigh and his contemporaries from criticizing what they saw as the horrendous acts of violence committed by the officers and forces of the same king or his predecessors in Ireland.

There is disagreement as to whether this work was seen as a salvage operation so that the memory of Ireland's place in civilization would not be lost or as a confident statement of Ireland's national status. Some have described the Annals as a monument to a lost civilization now going down in the face of English aggression and colonization.²¹ But the leading authority, Breandán Ó Buachalla argues that the Annals were not constructed with that attitude and mentality.²² Rather the objective set out by its originators was to chart Ireland's history and geography in written form—in short to give Ireland back its status as a nation in the face of powerful English propaganda to the contrary. The authors, and its mentors, were well aware of the European intellectual logocentric view that a people without a history was not a nation and that it was not a history until it was a *written* one. So the compilers of the Annals, in Ó Buachalla's view, saw this endeavour as a prologue of the new life to come—as one of the foundation texts for the Irish nation, that is the Catholic Irish nation, which had then crystallized in the 1620s and 30s. Yet, in retrospect, the Annals do seem to represent the end of specific notions of time, space and culture in Ireland. They record the epic battles for sovereignty, which ended with the defeat of the Irish at the battle of Kinsale in 1601. They stumble on intermittently until 1616. Then silence.

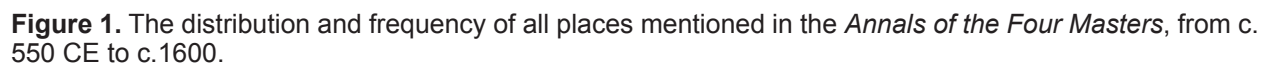
I have mapped the places named in the Annals and have found them to be remarkably comprehensive geographically—only two noticeable gaps, in the north-east and the extreme west and south-west (Figure 1). However, the annals are by no means comprehensive as to events such

as English military operations. Just under forty entries for such military exercises are recorded for the forty year period 1540-1579 whereas historian David Edwards, using an analysis of all state records as well, shows a total of 51 operations for half that period—the twenty year span from 1546 to 1565.²³ The Annals are essentially an Irish world view—for the most part they fail to note the work of the New English in building new fortifications or new urban or rural settlements. And they never mention the surveyors and map-makers as a category—these passed well underneath the radar of the clerical-cum-aristocratic-focussed annalists—as do the Irish merchant classes and the life of Irish cities and towns. The religious centers of Armagh and Clonmacnoise lead Dublin in the names index and Cork and Limerick tail behind a number of the key monastic/diocesan centers (Figure 1).

Nevertheless, the collapse of Ireland's relative cultural and political stability after the English Reformation i.e. post 1540 is dramatically highlighted in the Annals. As early as 1600 they reveal that the power of the lordships is reduced by the order of four-fifths. The most important lords and their sons have been executed or have gone into exile. Lay leadership is being eliminated. The representatives of the Catholic Church—most especially in relation to the ownership or control of church land—has been weakened considerably but not eliminated. However, in contrast to the later fifteenth century when there was still a powerful dynamic for monastic foundations across the country, all abbeys and monasteries are either in ruins or adapted for military-cum residential functions by the New English at the end of the sixteenth century (Table 1). English legislative and other attacks on Ireland's secular cultural leaders is also showing success but there are still a relatively vibrant if reduced group—confirming Brendaín Ó Buachalla's interpretation. But the role of the Irish judges, the *brehons*, has been radically reduced. By the 1600s, the spread of the English county and legal systems was now impacting across the country, accelerated by an Attorney General—Sir John Davies (another poet)—who saw conquest by law as an essential follow up to the military subjugation of the country.²⁴ Some Irish intellectuals—both lawyers and poets—were already assimilating to the new regime. Fanon noted that this happens in most colonial contexts.²⁵

Perhaps the most dramatic evidence emerging from the Annals is the phenomenal intensification of English military operations over the second half of the sixteenth century. Yet it is likely the Annals are only documenting about 40% of the total. The Annals record eleven instances of the killing of non-combatants in the field over the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁶ In *Age of Atrocity*, David Edwards has documented in far greater detail the intensive use of state terror over this period.²⁷

The use of the Irish language in the Annals is always very precise—it distinguishes the Old Irish (Gaels) from the descendants of the medieval English colony (*Gallaibh* or *Sean-Ghaill*) but the latter are regionalized to emphasize their specificity as distinctly rooted communities: *Gallaibh Míde* for the Old Foreigners of Meath, *Gallaibh Laigean* for those of South Leinster. Those who came to be known as the 'New English' are almost invariably rendered as *Na Saxanaigh* (The Saxons). However, the most intriguing linguistic recognition of an identity shift was clearly signalled in the Annals—that is the growing integration of the *Gallaibh* with the Old Irish. From the early 1580s these are recognized in the Annals as the *Fionngallaibh*—the fair or the favoured white foreigners whereas a second term for the New English is the *Dubhghaill*—the black/dark foreigners. Ethnic categories were being polarized. The move towards the unification of the Old Irish Gaels and the Old English was further signalled by the use of the inclusive term for both as *na Éireannaigh* i.e. the Irish, the shared dwellers of the land of *Éire*/Ireland.²⁸ These distinctions were emerging by the 1580s—at about the same time as the Protestant New English disown the Catholic Old English and put them metaphorically and physically "beyond the Pale."



References to categories of actors/institutions/events	Period I			% of Overall Total (1460-1599)	Period II			% of Overall Total (1460-1599)	Period I and Period II Overall Total (1460-1599)
	1460-1499	1500-1539	Sub-Total		1540-1579	1580-1599	Sub-Total		
Lords and sub-lords/chiefs of territories	96	43	139	78.5	14	24	38	21.5	177
Tanists (designated successor to Lord)	17	12	29	72.5	5	6	11	27.5	40
Major (Catholic) church officials (bishops, abbots, priors)	27	32	59	70.2	12	13	25	34.8	84
Other Church officers (priests, friars, vicars, choristers, etc.)	20	17	37	84.1	4	3	7	15.9	44
Specialist lay church officers (erenaghs, coarbs, termoners)	13	15	28	87.5	2	2	4	12.5	32
Monasteries newly created or renewed	12	3	15		Two monasteries renewed v. eleven destroyed	Majority of monasteries destroyed, ruined, closed, or reused as garrisons or mansions			
Lay cultural leaders (ollamhs, poets/chief musicians/historians/topographers)	39	21	60	67.8					
Brehons (Irish judges/law officers)	12	10	22	75.9	13	6	19	32.3	79
Irish military officials/officers (constables, captains, warders, etc.)	14	29	43	59.7	6	1	7	24.1	29
Lord Justice of Ireland (or Viceroy) or Deputy leading military operations in Ireland	6	14	20	15.7	20	9	29	40.2	72
New English novel categories/officers, captain of cavalry, lieutenants/generals/admirals/musketeers /engineers, etc.	0	0	0	0	37	70	107	84.3	127
					11	18	29	100	29

Table 1. References in the *Annals of the Four Masters* to categories of actors/institutions, demonstrating the cultural stability of Ireland pre-1540 and the dramatic impact of English conquest and colonization after 1540.

Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*

The Irish exiles abroad—mixing across the cities and colleges of Europe—also sought to cement this new alliance, and leading this movement was the Tipperary-born priest Seatrúin Céitinn/Geoffrey Keating (c.1580-1644). Keating was born of Old English stock on Butler lands near Cahir town in Co. Tipperary, was trained in Irish literature by the local Gaelic scholars, the McGraths, and later studied theology and history in Bordeaux and Rheims. Widely read in Irish, Latin, English and French, Keating returned to Ireland in 1613, to earn fame as a diocesan preacher-cum-theologian and as a very stylish poet and linguist.²⁹ His greatest achievement was to become the doyen of early modern Irish historians-cum-topographers. His history of Ireland, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, was one of the most circulated manuscripts in the Irish language. Literally hundreds of manuscript copies were made well into the nineteenth century. The number and geographical extent of this large manuscript that have survived from most parts of Ireland—well over one hundred—is testimony to its immense popularity and wide reception after the 1630s.³⁰

Astonishingly, Keating's *Foras Feasa* was not printed in full until the early twentieth century, probably the last book in European literature whose dissemination owed nothing, Joep Leerssen argues, to the printing press.³¹ More significantly a translation into English was published as early as 1726—the first English translation in manuscript form dates back to 1635. Others followed over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries including an 1811 edition which contains the first

printed map of Ireland in the Irish language.³² Keating's collective history can, therefore, be seen as not only preserving the past but also as recreating and reinterpreting the historic past. Such an effort of reconstruction was a kind of compensation and reaction to a situation of conquest.

Keating's *Foras Feasa* is reasonably comprehensive from a topographic and placename perspective (Figure 2). Nevertheless—given that his narrative stops at c.1200—it is inevitable that it is pre-Norman Ireland that dominates the narratives of the human geography of Ireland. Central to his interpretation is both the old middle Kingdom of *Ríocht na Midhe* of North Leinster and the rich heritage of the great midland monasteries. Equally, there is a clear emphasis on the hammering out of an island-wide unity under such powerful medieval high kings as Brian Ború from Thomond (North Munster). The weakness of the narrative relating to mid- and south Ulster is also striking. However, this retrospective emphasis of the work may also point to another aspect of the wider traumatic experiences and responses—some nostalgia for a previous 'Golden Age' in the face of a devastating conquest.

Keating's work—and that of a number of other early seventeenth-century writers, some of whom were of Old English background—was in part a response to the English language writings of Spenser, Holinshed, Stanihurst, Moryson and Camden.³³ These and other English authors promoted a view of the "primitive" and "barbaric" nature of Irish society—and argued that religion and civilization were alien to those who lived in Ireland. Keating traced these views back to the medieval writer Giraldus Cambrensis whom he described in a caustic Irish phrase as "the bull of the herd who had produced false histories" of Ireland and the Irish.³⁴ Immersed in European Renaissance learning and insights about the new methods of the historian, Keating was to argue that none of the so-called historians of Ireland, writing in the English language, had consulted the primary sources—the Irish annals, charters, poetry and genealogies—which were collectively known in Irish as the *seanchas*. To Keating their work was without authority—*gan barántas*—since few if any of them understood or read Irish. Keating stressed the use of primary sources—especially the written sources. And it was Keating, more than any other writer, who crystallized the concept of the Irish as *na hÉireannaigh*.

In previous centuries the Gael and the Gallaibh had fought each other for control of Ireland. Now the dynamic interaction and conflict between the New English and the rest helped emphasize this new notion of "the Irish"—and Keating makes a critical distinction between these people, "the Catholic Irish"—and the New English/*The Nua-Ghaill*. Keating had a clear political objective in articulating this new position of an integrated Catholic Irish nation united against *Na Saxanaigh*, those "dreaded heretics." The State Papers indicate the English point of view on all this:

It is the perfidious Machiavellian friars at Louvain who foster this new perspective—who seek to reconcile all their countrymen—to unite both the old descendants of the Old English race and those that are mere Irish in a league of friendship and concurrence against Your Majesty and the true religion now professed in your Kingdoms.³⁵

This comment is perceptive in noting the nation-building role of the Irish exiles, writing poetry and prose and publishing on the continent to illuminate Ireland's cause. Keating best reflects this Europeanization of the Irish experience—especially what was happening in the Low Countries, the center of new ways of thinking in art, learning, politics and religion. As early as the first decade of the seventeenth century, Sir George Carew, then English President of Munster, was to note: "As a consequence of exile, the Irish have become more civilised, grown to be disciplined soldiers, scholars, politicians and much further instructed in most points of religion than they were accustomed to be."³⁶

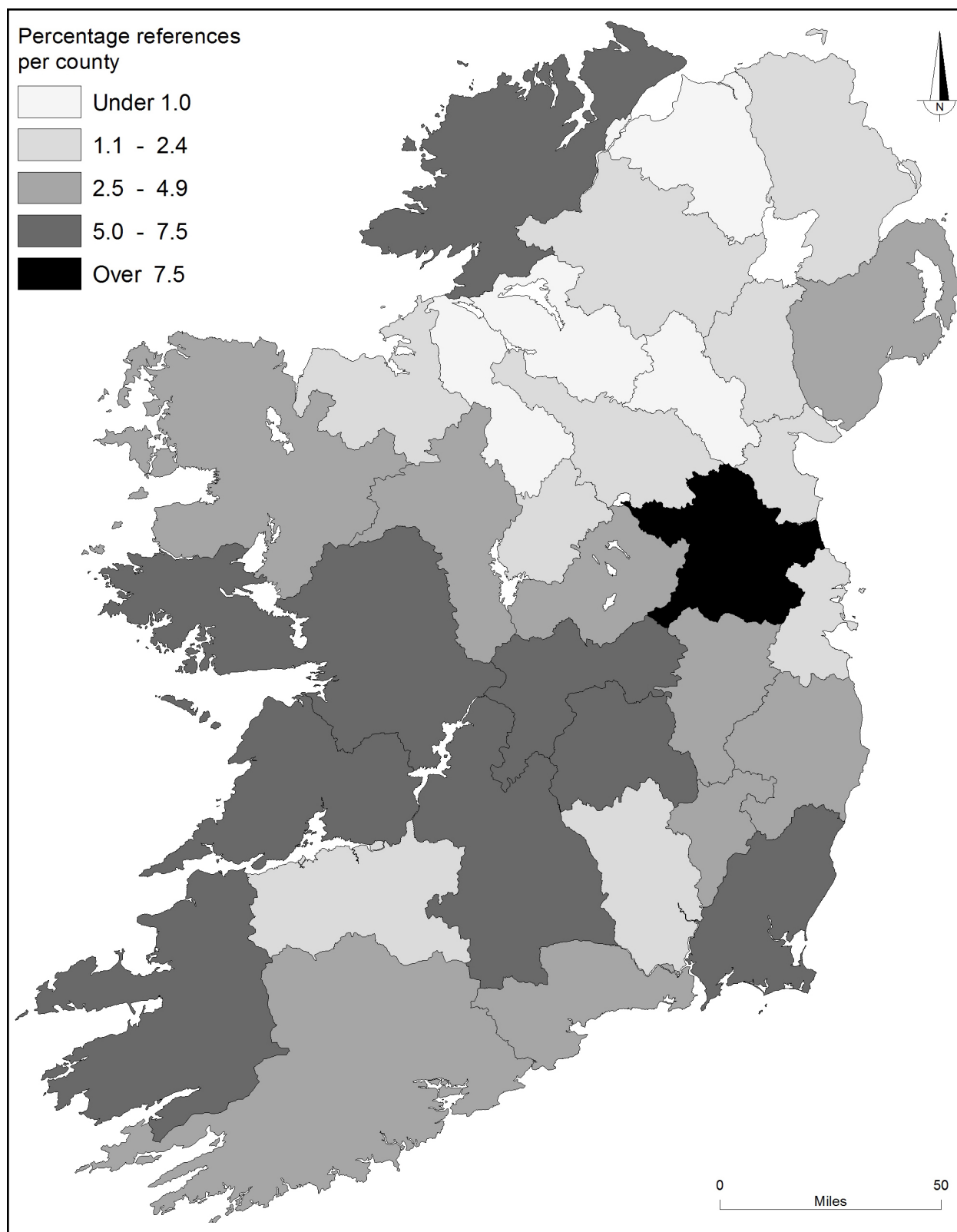


Figure 2. Percentage distribution per county of places referred to in Keating's *History of Ireland*.

Keating's move to integrate the Old English into the Irish fold is even more profound. Carew had gathered materials in the early seventeenth century, including many maps—intending to write his history of Ireland. It seems to me that Keating's move in incorporating the Old English into the Irish tradition and nation is strongly emphasizing a major discontinuity and deep rupture between the heritage of the medieval English colony in Ireland and the ethos of the emerging New English colony. There is quite an ideological battle going on here, for Sir George Carew and others were anxious to write histories of Ireland which stressed continuities from the so-called original conquest of the medieval era to the seventeenth century, seeking to further legitimize current English policies. Keating counters this viewpoint by stressing ruptures, fault lines, and discontinuities by emphasizing how different the New English regime was. Yet in spite of English propagandist historians like Carew, we end up with a supreme irony. The New English led by people like Edmund Spenser denied their kinship with the Old English; and the Gaels of Ireland embraced them for their Irishness.³⁷ These changing allegiances are fundamental to what happened in early modern/colonial Ireland and are central to the depth of resistance to colonial conquest and rule.

Keating was also a modernizer in linguistic terms—he wrote in a fluent, highly polished style, making the very elaborate Irish language more accessible to a much wider audience. Of Keating it would be said he was the first to give intellectual form or shape to the story of Irish civilization—rendering a very sophisticated and deliberate synthesis of the reality of the island's past—rather like Camden had done for England and paralleled by equivalent work in France, Spain and elsewhere on the continent. But was Keating writing against the grain as the Irish language and literature appeared to be falling into oblivion? Was his work part of a rescue operation or was it part of a drive to reinvigorate the Irish language, culture and politics? More the latter, one suspects. It is also important to note that Keating argued that the Irish were a very lawful people if the law was fair and delivered fairly. Whereas close on 90 percent of the population was then Catholic and 60 percent of the property was then owned by the Catholic Irish elite, they constituted only a minority in parliament. The deliberately engineered Protestant-dominated Irish parliament from 1613 onwards was not seen as a place where the laws were fair and just but rather was seen as deeply partisan. Keating, like many others, arguing that Ireland had been annexed to the Crown of England, looked to the king *himself* not the parliament for good laws.³⁸ It is now impossible to say how much of Keating's and associated writings fed into the 1641 Rising/Rebellion but it is clear that the military, intellectual and clerical classes were deeply intermeshed and interwoven.

The discourse of English colonialism was by then being met with a discourse of Irish resistance and nation-building. The great Irish-language narratives of the early decades of the seventeenth century—including that of Keating's—could be interpreted as restoring some sense of purpose and pride to a people after much devastation as well as countering the detested hegemonic/historical discourse of English officials and narrators. But these Irish narratives might also be interpreted as evasive in part, blurring the harshest realities of the reconquest. If nothing else, the circulation of Keating's manuscript histories not only celebrated and made clear the historic strength of Irish civilization, but it also stiffened the boundary between *the Irish* and *Na Saxanaigh*. Looking at the wider comparative literature on colonialism—and recognizing that Ireland was England's first colony—Keating and his associates may well be the first colonized people to repudiate an imperialist ideology and imagine and define a new national community.³⁹

Five seventeenth-century political poems

The most definitive period in shaping Ireland's modern geography and history is the era that began with the 1641 rising/rebellion, leading to the Confederate wars and the Cromwellian

conquest and plantations onto 1659-60. It was difficult to write about the horrors of this period since their repercussions live on in people's memories and commemorations to this day. This was especially true when working on the thirty-three-volume 1641 Depositions and later the Cromwellian Examinations, where one can listen in to the pain and confusion of the Protestant settlers as they recounted the terrors of the early Irish attacks—and equally the later reprisals against the Irish and particularly the dirty war after Cromwell left Ireland.⁴⁰ In the Irish Folklore Commission archives only Daniel O'Connell—Catholic Ireland's greatest politician of the nineteenth century—surpasses Oliver Cromwell in number of references. Clearly for the Catholic Irish the memory of this perceived “demon-destroyer” and his actions had burned deep into their psyche. We still do not know—we may never know—how much of a demographic disaster Ireland suffered over the period 1641-59 and especially between 1641-3 and 1648-54. Indeed we are still uncertain what Ireland's total population was in 1641. My best guesstimate is a population of around 1.8 million in 1641, reduced to 1.3 or 1.4 million by 1654 and rising to 1.5 or 1.6 million by 1660, following the in-migration of perhaps one hundred thousand new British settlers.⁴¹ Either way, it is certain that Ireland lost over a quarter- and perhaps a half-million of its population over this time (1641-54) through war, murders, reprisals, war-induced famine and plague and significant out-migration—losses probably shared proportionately between the Protestant settler (18 percent of total) and Catholic Irish populations.⁴¹ Clearly, this is a most terrifying and traumatic period for both groups. Micheál O Siochrú's and Jane Ohlmeyer's *Ireland: 1641-Contexts and Reactions* deals at length with the experiences, memories and commemoration of these awful years for both the Protestant and Catholic communities.⁴²

Irish-language sources give some sense of the Catholic Irish experiences and responses over this critical period and on into the eighteenth century. Given the depth of the trauma associated with such a devastating conquest, the classic response of some Irish poets was one of denial—denial that the world had changed so radically, denial of events too painful to articulate. Yet the preponderance of vernacular poetic voices that have survived interrogate not only the dislocations but, more particularly, the imposition of a radically new social and cultural framework. Irish-speaking communities were not passive receivers of knowledge transmitted downwards from an outsider conquering group; they were constantly engaged in trying to make sense of, interpret and give meaning to their own often rapidly changing experiences and worlds. Their storytellers, local historians, poets, priests and musicians continued to present to the parish, locality or townland community its significant “texts.”

During the seventeenth century, the first English words to make fissures in the Irish language and poetry related to economic exactions, taxes and rents, to religious discrimination and to administrative and legal controls. The most pertinent commentary is provided in the edited text of *Five Seventeenth Century Political Poems* from five different poets.⁴³ Emphasizing the deep impact of English law in Ireland, these poets broke their Irish rhythms/harmonies with the names of powerful English legal institutions and processes: their poems are peppered with terms such as “Court of Wards,” “Exchequer,” “Star Chamber,” “King's Bench,” “Bishop's Court,” “Assizes,” “writ,” “provost,” “sheriff,” “receiver,” “cess” and “tax”—a litany that recalled their respective functions in proselytizing, increasing crown revenue, in outlawing and sweeping away Irish systems of law and land tenure (1603-5), in punishing “recusants,” and in imprisoning and banishing “popish priests and school teachers.” Not forgotten is one other “little” legal stratagem: “Surrender and Regrant”, which required the Irish lords to “surrender” the lands (held under Gaelic and Gaelicized tenures) to the Crown and consent to their “re-granting” according to strict English property laws.

*Dlí beag eile do rinneadh do Gaelaibh,
surrender ar a gceart do dhéanamh.
Do chuir sin Leath Chuinn trí na chéile...*

(Yet another small law which was imposed on the
Gael; To make surrender of what was theirs by right.
This put Leath Chuinn [Gaelic Ireland] into
turmoil...⁴⁴)

A striking theme of much of this 1640s and 1650s Irish poetry is the celebration of both the prowess and heroism of the great Irish families—of both Gaelic and Old English descent. Yet the overwhelming impression is one of grief-stricken poets describing a devastated culture and ravaged landscapes that would long struggle to recover (themes evident even in the titles of the poems).⁴⁵ They were only too well aware of the pain that followed the rupturing of a society's psychic moorings, the undermining of a people's sense of place and identity. The parallels with Aztec and Incan poetry are striking.⁴⁶ In the 1750s, a century after the composition of Seán Ó Conaill's extraordinarily popular *Tuireamh na hÉireann* (*The Lament for Ireland*), this poem was repeated and kept in memory on account of the great knowledge of ancestral Irish culture comprehended in it.⁴⁷ Thus, the poets of the 1640s and 1650s came to perpetuate the memories of the cataclysm and trauma of conquest from a Catholic Irish perspective.

These mid seventeenth-century poets contrasted Ireland's former prosperity with the present miserable conditions and the devastated landscapes. They detailed the sufferings of the people, the beheadings, hangings and executions; churches destroyed and desecrated; monasteries thrown down to furnish materials for the palaces and mansions of the new elites, whether lay or ecclesiastical: lands confiscated and the landowners, with their families and tenants, transported to Connacht. Indeed, the most frequent English words to arrive in all these poems are "transplantation" and "transportation"—words that came to sound the death knell for the lives and loves of so many people. The hopes, aspirations and drive for redemption and liberation—fitfully, yet powerfully expressed in the 1630s—and dramatically attempted in the 1641 rising/rebellion—had evaporated: or so it seemed.

Following the Williamite victories and land confiscations, the 1690s was a time of celebration for the British at home and the new Protestant Irish and was known as the Glorious Revolution. For the Catholic Irish, this era saw the imposition of these so-called apartheid-like penal laws that were not fully repealed until the 1820s. In the previous seventeenth century, at least 85 percent of Irish land had been transferred into the hands of New English (and Scottish) colonists. The old Irish aristocratic order had almost disappeared and with it the patronage of the hereditary bardic poetic caste. Obviously this transformation of Irish culture, polity and economy is reflected in the Irish literature. Poets and poetry were transformed: poetry was no longer so elaborate in rhyming metres and so conventional; learned yet looser accentual verse became the norm, carried on by poet-priests and a growing number of lay-poets who came from the lesser gentry, well-to-do-farmers, teachers, craftsmen and women. As Neil Buttimer has shown, such highly accomplished poets as Daibidh Ó Bruadair (1625-98) and Aogán Ó Rathaille (c.1670-1729) in poems such as *An Longbriseadh* (*The Shipwreck*) and *Créachta crích Fódla* (*The Wounds of Ireland*) vividly express how their whole universe "had come apart and was foundering" as they register in archetypal forms the "major overturning of indigenous Irish culture."⁴⁹

In addition, like the poem *Cill Cais*, there was a great blossoming of sophisticated folk poetry which became embedded in the Irish literature and oral/aural tradition—much of it composed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by anonymous poets and musicians. Such poetry was frequently recited or rather chanted to a lively audience or music session—for it is the dramatic or story-telling voice that is most characteristic and most effectively used in these poems. Most

interestingly, there is a revival of the lyrics of the Fianna poems—tales of those heroic, carefree warrior bands who had defended Ireland in mythic times. Clearly such poetic stories had a new psychological function at this time. It should be appreciated that verse during these centuries—as with songs and ballads—had a much wider function than is characteristic today, being more often used where prose might now be considered more appropriate. As Séan Ó Tuama notes, for the best of these poets—lyricists of great intellectual energy and skill—verse was a vehicle for not only evoking personal or national mood and passion “but also for social, historical and other rational discourses.”⁵⁰ All of this took place in a context where the institutions that had hitherto supported Irish language, poetry and literature had almost disappeared—we are referring here to the educational, legal, religious and economic institutions once densely scattered across the island.

The particular trauma experienced by the declassed poets—like Aogán Ó Rathaille—comes through as they try to make sense and give shape to their own personal chaos and trauma through their poetry. One is reminded how in our own time poets like Robert Lowell managed to survive and keep themselves together and sane via their poetry.⁵¹ Otherwise it was to the madhouse or, as with some other modern poets, suicide.

Poems of the dispossessed

A detailed place-based analysis of the poetic collection *Poems of the Dispossessed* edited by Ó Tuama and with the English translations by Thomas Kinsella has been carried out (Figure 3). A substantial majority of these poets came from the southern province of Munster. Munster was by then the heartland of both the resistance and the poetry. Literal displacement was a major theme—reflections on the castles and mansions now razed to the ground or abandoned like O’Loughlin’s castle in the Burren in Clare:

*Á fhággháil ‘na aonar fúibh,
rostadh fairsing múir uí Róigh.
Tulach Uí Róigh mhórga na múrtha mbeann.
Gan choirm, gan ceol seolta ná lúbadh lann.*

(The great rooms of O Loughlin’s house
abandoned to the birds alone.....
Stately Tulagh Uí Róigh, of towering walls,
without ale or the music of sails or blades
flexing.⁵²)

Obviously, poems of dispossession describing the seizing of mansions, the seizing of the best lands, “once well-defended and bordered places” were central. The declassed poets remembered the lands of the great and generous lords who had been their patrons, their “settlements and lands now savaged by alien lords” and their language outlawed. These were laments too for the lavish hospitality of the Big House and reveries of a vanished world of revelry, music, singing, hunting and poetic competitions.

The enmity towards the New English settlers was fiercely stated and the bitterness of the ethnic divide comes through time and time again. An earlier Seathrún Céitinn poem is typical:

At the news from Fál’s [Ireland’s] high plain I cannot sleep
I am sick till doom at the plight of its faithful flock.
Long have they stood as a hedge against hostile trash
But a lot of the cockle has grown up through them at last.⁵³

That very dominant English colonial metaphor of the need to break and plough the ground and get rid of the weeds (the Irish) so as to plant the good seed (hence the use of the term “Plantations”)

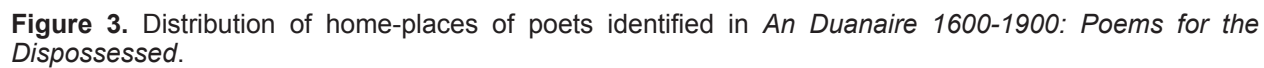


Figure 3. Distribution of home-places of poets identified in *An Duanaire 1600-1900: Poems for the Dispossessed*.

was reversed by the Irish poets who saw Irish lands polluted by new weeds. The poets rarely if ever described the distinctions as rooted in religion—the division was ethnic and national, the battle was between Irish and English notions of civilization.

A recurring theme was a comparison of the Irish and the Israelites in Egypt, best represented in a poem called *An Díbirt go Connachta/Exodus to Connacht*:

*Uirscéal as sin tuigthear libh:
clann Isreal a bhean le Dia,
san Éigipt cé bhí i mbroid
furtacht go grod a fuair siad.*

(Consider a parable of this:
Israel's people, God's own,
Although they were in bonds in Egypt,
Found in time a prompt release.)

So there was always lingering hope of redemption—always hope in times of despair. *Exodus to Connacht* concludes:

*A Dhia atá fial, a thriath na mbeannachta,
féach na Gael go léir gan bharanta;
má táimid ag triail siar go Connachta,
fágmaid 'nár ndiaidh fó chlain ár seanchairde.*

(God, Who art generous, O Prince of Blessings,
behold the Gael, *stripped of authority* [my italics];
Now as we journey Westward to Connacht.
old friends we'll leave behind us in their grief.)

And if not to Connacht, the poet regretted that the youth of Ireland were being scattered to foreign lands.⁵⁴

The new breed of landlord came in for a fierce criticism. Well-to-do farmer-poet Sean Clárach Mac Dónaill (1691-1754) described the behavior of the landlord Dawson in the Glen of Aherlow in Co. Tipperary.

Keep fast under cover, o stones, in closet of clay
this grey-haired Dawson, a bloody and treacherous butcher.
Not in struggle and strife in the fight are his exploits known
but ravaging and hanging and mangling the poor forever....

To the wails of the abject he opened not his gate
and answered no cry, nor gave them food for their bodies.
If they dragged off brushwood or sticks or bits of bushes
he would draw down streams of blood from their shoulderblades.⁵⁵

Dawson's may be an extreme example of landlord behavior. Yet surprisingly a contemporary of Mac Dónaill, the Anglican Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Jonathan Swift, has much the same to say in the English language of the new landlord class.⁵⁶

But the dominant theme—which was already present in Ulster poetry at the turn of the seventeenth century and echoed and re-echoed in that of the Munster poetry—is the attention to soundscapes—the lost landscapes of sound in this profoundly oral/aural culture—and the silence that had followed the conquest, the land-owning and administrative revolutions. The poems return again and again to the absence of the beloved sounds of the language itself—the songs, the sounds of the harps and poetry, the feasting with wine and talk, the sounds of soldiers as cattle are plundered, the sounds of oars entering the harbour, of gulls in sea-flight, of chess fought hard, debates over books and the words and music of wisemen and gentlewomen.⁵⁷ And the

Irish placenames so lovingly listed, are a characteristic feature—as are the varied bird sounds of a former much more woodland culture. There are powerful evocations of the emptiness of the landscape in the wake of military defeat; halls, mansions, churches and assembly-places stand void.⁵⁸ The voices of their one-time companies and congregations stilled.

These poems are reveries of a vanished world—the recreation of dream landscapes as a way of dealing with the trauma—like the “*aisling*” dream poems that I shall discuss at the end of this section. A once familiar and loved landscape came to be seen and felt as alien, alienated and alienating. Part of the logic of colonialism, as argued by Franz Fanon, is the alienation of this colonial subject from home territory—and from the self.⁵⁹ Once known and familiar home landscapes become strange and alienated through the process of colonial displacement and “othering.” The concept of home—whether domestic or territorial—is dislocated and displaced since these domestic or territorial spheres have become sites of foreign inscriptions—as people are made strangers in their own land.⁶⁰ And the best Irish poets linked the traumatic ambivalences of their own personal, physis displacement to the wider disjunctions of political and cultural existence all over Ireland.⁶¹

However, as the eighteenth century rolled on, other poems revealed the vital and sometimes novel central places of the adapting culture—the meeting-place of chapel for Sunday Mass, the fair days and market days with their boisterous street life, lively dances, weddings, wakes and funerals, meetings at burial places, holy wells, in country pubs, in the big houses of the surviving Irish gentry and at hurling matches, race-meetings and pattern/saints days. It was not all gloom and doom—a boisterous gaiety was also there for the Catholic Irish were only half conquered, only half defeated. Yet this merriment may have been the kind that often emerges at and after a time of societal chaos—a kind of release from an otherwise repressive environment.

One further idea needs to be explored in relation to poetic materials from the mid eighteenth century that deals with redemption rather than destruction. What I have argued here is that recurring poetic themes and stories—given their retention, dissemination and transmission over so many generations—clearly represented something valuable, even therapeutic in a culture. Hence the ongoing central importance of a manuscript literature like Keating’s *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*. These stories and poems clearly point to cultural self-knowledge. In the *Cill Cais* poem we had a celebration of the *deigh-bhean*—the gentlewoman, Lady Butler—but perhaps there is an echo here too of the Irish *spéirbhean*—the *dream woman*, the notion of the *bean feasa*, the wise woman of knowledge, of healing, of birth and death.

Central to seventeenth and eighteenth *aisling* or vision poems is the notion of Ireland personified as a sometimes beautiful woman (sometimes turned into a hag)—now having to consort with an upstart intruder—and seeking the liberation of her country and the return of her rightful spouse or king, then envisaged as the return of a Stuart king. This *aisling* or vision poem is the dominant form of *political* literature in Irish from c.1650 to 1800. Deep in this Irish tradition too was the notion that a just and rightful king must be married to the territory—to the land—as personified by the territorial deity, the sovereignty Queen figure named *Éire* or *Banba*—the old names for Ireland and thus symbolizing the royal sovereignty principle. In Irish folk tradition, this feminine principle, as representing the symbol of sovereignty, was powerfully associated with, named in and embedded in, a dynamic landscape of liminal areas. These include coasts, seas, rivers, mountains, cross-roads, funerary tombs and places of solitude. Indeed in the folk tradition a gendered conception of landscape, social environment and the Cosmos prevailed, as evidenced in the myths and stories associated with places.⁶² The landscape and its place names constituted (and still constitute) a phenomenal memory bank across Ireland. And this sovereignty symbol is associated with fertility, prosperity—and especially the celebration of the harvest festivals.

There is widespread use of the *aisling* motif in poetry after the mid seventeenth century. These *aisling* poems link the banishment of the “foreigners from Banba / Ireland” with “expelling

Luther's tribe and all English-speaking churls." Thus ethnic, linguistic and religious dimensions of a national ethos are now fused together. However, by the 1720s and certainly by the 1740s, any belief in a restoration of the Stuarts had died. The *aisling* poems then went in two different directions. Some became more clearly conventional and formulaic and in many ways are escapist-dreaming of a redemption but without much hope of it.

On the other hand, the *aisling* is linked to agrarian protest movements. From the mid eighteenth century and intensifying with the secret Whiteboy agrarian movements, which forcefully opposed landlord enclosures and excessive tithe and rent payments, a really striking illustration of the adaptation of old cultural forms to new political needs occurs. The beautiful and now highly sexualized woman image of Ireland is no longer given the ancient Goddess names for Ireland—*Banba*, *Ériu* or *Fodhla*—but are now democratized and given more everyday names like *Sadbh*, *Cáitlín Ní hUallacháin*, *Síle*, *Nóirín*, *Siobhán* or *Meibhín*. The Whiteboys are celebrated in quite a number of the vision *aisling* poems, such as *The Children of Sadbh*. Here the *spéirbhean* implores "the true gentlemen of proper manners to come out on the attack any night at all [...]. Let us forcefully drive out the hordes of English-speakers from the harbours of our forebears."⁶³

The Whiteboys were so called because they wore a uniform of a white cloak and white cockade, which combined the medieval *rites-de-passage* dress-form of Wrenboys and Strawboys with the French Jacobite style—and there were connections between the Munster Whiteboy culture and France. But whereas the later French woman-figure of Marianne—who personifies and represents France—is a clear symbol of the Republican ideals of liberty and equality, the Irish symbolism combines the older notion of royal sovereignty with a forward-looking, democratic drive for justice and equality. Mixed symbols, yes—but a corner had been turned.

It might, therefore, be argued that for some at least, the 1760s represented the beginning of the end of the political traumas experienced by the Irish from the late sixteenth century onwards but the wider cultural trauma persisted. Other traumas would follow. Yet it is interesting that by the 1760s and 1770s the balance between the Irish and English languages had gradually shifted in favour of the latter. Future political opposition to the ruling Anglo-Irish Protestant establishment would be expressed either bilingually or more and more in English language forms, though still rooted—as we have just noted—in an Irish poetic tradition. That tradition sustained a strong sense of Irish nationality and a sharp awareness of the levels of oppression associated with the English-speaking Protestant regime.⁶⁴

However, the above examples may still hint at the ongoing problem of translations and continuing misunderstandings between the two cultures. The hybrid Irish had learned to speak English—it is true. But there was still a very significant cultural barrier. Their thought patterns and cultural understandings were still embedded in the Irish language, in particular social codes, cognitive styles, epistemologies and in the landscape and its cultural meanings.

Cultural trauma and the Catholic Irish c.1530–c.1760: a summary

To conclude, a preliminary sketch or path-analysis of cultural trauma as experienced by the Catholic Irish after c.1530 is summarized. Traumatic events are judged to be so strong that their legacies remain intact and salient across generations. As B.H. Stamm *et al.* argue, historical trauma involves communal feelings of family and social disruption, confusions about identities, grief and angst often manifested in destructive ways, daily re-experiencing of the colonial trauma through racism and stereotyping and lack of resolution of a country's communal pain.⁶⁵ Lack of resolution may be embedded in the most central feature of traumas—the disassociation of feelings from and about unbearable experiences and happenings. Involved here is denial that these awful events ever happened to the group or individual, so denying the shame and guilt of being a victim.⁶⁶ For healing, this shame and guilt must be acknowledged, addressed and articulated and narrated.

In the Irish context, the relatively peaceful conditions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were shattered between the 1540s and 1690s by an epic and often brutal encounter between two civilizations—English and Irish—which resulted in enormous cultural losses and traumatic stresses for the conquered, Catholic Irish. Their adaptations to these traumatic events took many different forms (Figure 4).

As explained at the outset of this paper, the documentary evidence in the English language for England's conquest of Ireland in the "early modern" era is both voluminous and highly varied in format. In contrast, the level of documentation in the Irish language dealing with this colonial era is much less, much narrower in range and, in addition, quite a number of Irish annals and manuscripts were confiscated or burned by English officials in this turbulent era. As might be predicted, the traumatic consequences for the Irish of this imperial expansion and violent conquest are rarely if ever addressed in the English colonial record. On the other hand, some Irish language texts do provide insight into the Irish reaction to conquest, its aftermath and in particular the ways of coping with the ensuing trauma. Four key Irish language texts—the Annals of the Four Masters, Keating's history, and two major poetic collections—have been utilized in this paper to explore these themes.

During the late fifteenth century and the very early sixteenth century (up to the 1520s), Ireland was characterized by relative cultural stability. Apart from weak outliers of English rule and custom beyond the Dublin Pale and south Wexford, Irish—either Gaelic or Gaelicized—institutions dominated and flourished. The Annals of the Four Masters report significant

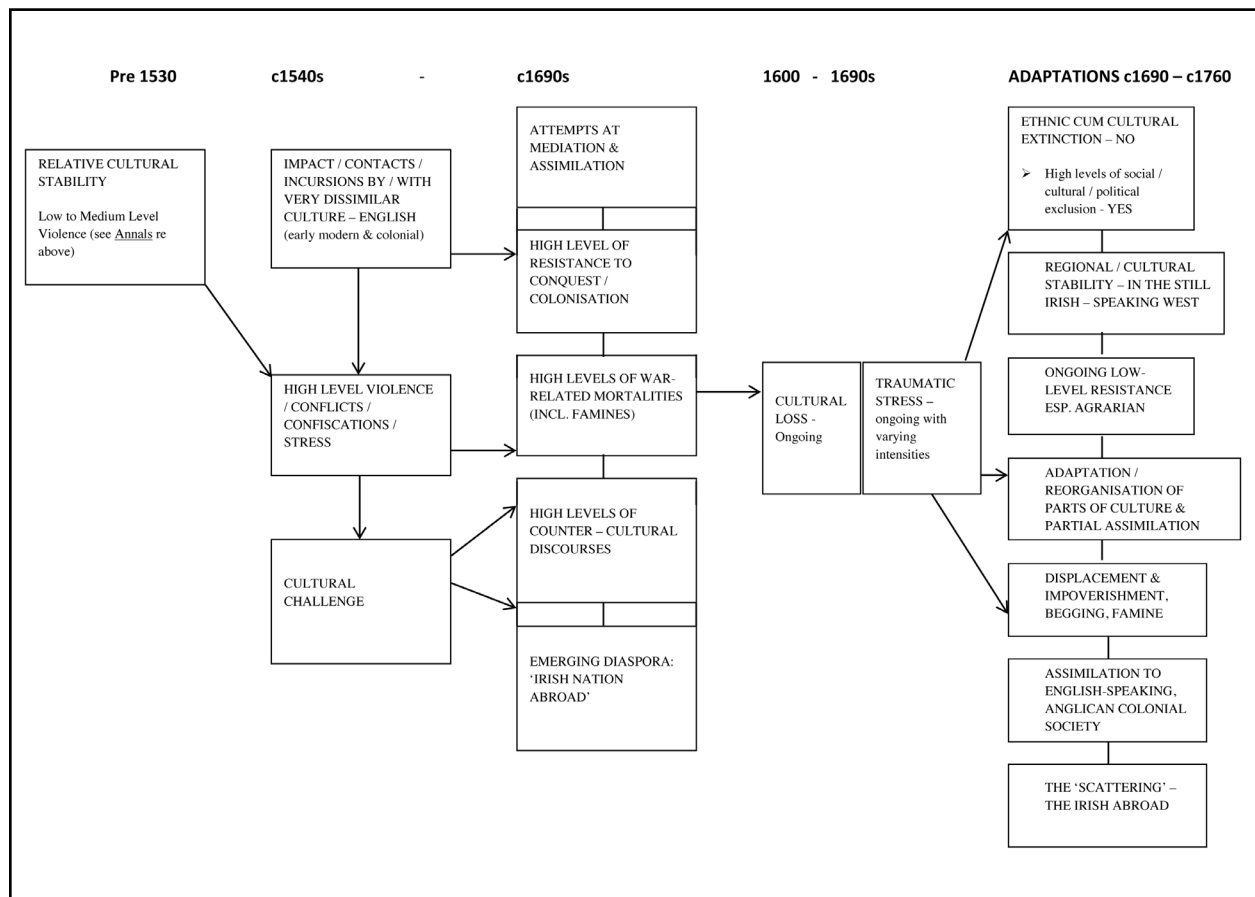


Figure 4. Path analysis of cultural trauma experienced by the (Catholic) Irish.

continuities in a whole series of key actors and institutions over the period—including lords and sub-lords, major and minor church officers and specialist key church officials as monasteries were either newly created or renewed. Lay cultural leaders such as professors (*ollaimh*), poets, chief musicians, historians and topographers, brehons, constables and warders remained vital actors in the cultural system. Low to medium levels of violence were characteristic—governed by the jostling between the greater and lesser lordships.⁶⁷ For the most part pre-Renaissance modes of thought and living still prevailed.

All of this was to change from the 1530s and especially the 1540s onwards. England's imperial expansionist drive into Ireland was then firmly anchored in a centralizing and modernizing state system, "headed by a powerful monarch and supported by an elaborate but co-ordinated system of administration and command that included ministers, the judiciary, army and navy officers, local government officials, soldiers, merchants and the officers of the Anglican Church."⁶⁸ As we have seen, this nationalizing culture expressed itself in a rapidly evolving and rich language—English—and most critically wrote itself and its identity into world history via the new print technology. Between 1540 and 1599, the Annals record the sudden acceleration in military operations by English viceroys in Ireland, the emergence of new officer categories, captains of cavalry, generals, admirals, lieutenants, musketeers and engineers on the Irish frontier. The key institutions of a more conservative Irish society and culture were assaulted, disrupted and eventually dismantled.

Two very dissimilar cultures came into contact and conflict. Early attempts at mediation and assimilation failed. For a century and a half (1540s to 1690s), Ireland was characterized by high levels of state violence, regional conflicts, numerous land confiscations and increasing cultural stress for the Irish, arising from their systematic subjugation by the colonizing English and later Scottish forces and settlers. This violent reconquest and colonization of Ireland by the English (later British) state and its representatives was met with significant levels of violent resistance. There were high levels of war-related mortalities, including significant war-induced famines firstly in Munster (1579-83), then in Ulster (1599-1603) and then island-wide during the mid seventeenth-century Cromwellian wars. Catherine Nash has commented on the problematic impact of European-centered modernity drives outside of Europe—a dark side that involved "violent, coercive and insidious cultural practices" against so-called traditional societies in the New World.⁶⁹ This too was Ireland's experience.

Ireland's capacity for cultural resistance appears to have been greater than its ability to successfully sustain a military defence. English propagandist texts justifying and legitimizing conquest were met by the blossoming of a counter-culture, epitomized in the writings of the Four Masters and of Seatrún Céitinn / Geoffrey Keating. This renaissance in Irish writing and incipient nation-building was energized by the emerging "emigrant Irish nation" overseas—in Irish colleges abroad, in merchant houses in many Atlantic European cities and in the officer corps of continental Catholic armies. The sudden military and administrative challenges posed by the conquering English and the associated loss of cultural leaders was at least partially countered by this resurgence in Irish writing which—it needs to be stressed—was widely promulgated in a still predominantly oral/aural culture. Expansionist English nationalizing drives prompted the emergence of a nationalizing Irish elite.

However, cultural resistance and the growing integration of Old Irish and Old English did not prevent the achievement of English (later British) hegemony in military, political, economic, legal and linguistic spheres. This hegemonic control was achieved and deepened over three phases: in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in the Cromwellian conquest of the mid seventeenth century and by the Williamite victories and confiscations at the end of that century. Even by 1600, Irish cultural and political losses were immense as its intellectual, political

and ecclesiastical elites—the traditional authority figures—were eliminated, radically reduced or forced into exile.⁷⁰ The older centers of rule and cultural leadership were ‘emptied’ of their power and their familiar landscapes (as at *Cill Cais*) made unfamiliar by an array of new settlement and legal arrangements from plantation towns and newly established landlord estates to greatly enlarged barony, county and island-wide administrations. A profoundly unequal relationship intensified between an imperial, urbanizing, print-based and aggressively expansionist English culture and language and a newly-outlawed Irish language and culture that was far more rural-based, more oral/aural in style and more manuscript dependent.

Levels of repression, shaming and humiliation invariably shaped a range of long-lasting cultural responses. Some poets adopted a denial strategy—dwelling imaginatively in the past and choosing not to see or speak of the chaotic socio-political situation developing in front of their eyes.⁷¹ The repressive environment that came with military and legal rule brought with it the life-saving need of not speaking up, the fear of confrontation, the dread of persecution from a whole panoply of penal laws could be brought back into play at very short notice. For safety’s sake came the need to suppress true feelings, to speak in code or sideways, the need to develop secretive ways of doing and saying things—for example, priests disguising themselves as servants or harpers in Big Houses in order to sustain their mission—or the need to develop secret organizations like the Houghers (early eighteenth century) and the Whiteboys (1760s and 1770s). One could not be too demonstrative either in one’s actions or in the display of one’s by-then limited material wealth. Keeping such a low profile also meant that the traveller, viewing this world from a coach window, saw a dishevelled and disordered landscape, which was in many ways still quite a nuanced and well understood-world—not least the landscape of a very discreet yet well-organized Catholic Church. The colonial state’s instruments of surveillance ran up against sophisticated cultural techniques for ensuring invisibility and impenetrability.⁷²

The repression of so many negative feelings also had their dark expressions. The response to violence produced, for example, the vicious, explosive attacks and retaliations of the early months and years of the 1641 rising/rebellion. The rage displayed by the Catholic Irish in a number of uprisings and in particular in the early 1640s had much to do with humiliation and inferiority. Evelin G. Lindner contends that humiliation—the enforced lowering of the status of a person or groups, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honor and dignity—is not just about power.⁷³ Rather it is seen as prompting the perpetrators—in this case the Catholic Irish—to seek *revenge* for past humiliations. This notion of humiliation also carries the need to rid oneself of the fear of further subjugation or feelings of admiration for the culture and life of the conqueror—the original humiliating force. Lindner describes humiliation as “the nuclear bomb of the emotions,”⁷⁴ leading to the kind of explosive action and “the fury of the rebels” so often recounted in the state’s own documents as in the 1641 depositions and sometimes echoed in Irish language poetry. But as has happened in so many cases of ethnic violence, the resurgent Irish ended up in a worse situation than before as a consequence of both the late sixteenth century and the Cromwellian wars and subsequent plantations.

Levels of sexual violence were exacerbated due to the trauma and effects of conquest. Likewise, levels of alcoholism, vagrancy and begging all rose after the conquest. A reverence for family land, its retention and transmission was reinforced—sometimes to pathological levels. A patriarchal land-law worked its way throughout the whole social system and reinforced male dominance. One other inevitable product of the trauma of conquest and plantation was a widespread confusion about issues of identity.⁷⁵ One hitherto-unrecognized factor adding to the explosiveness of various risings/rebellions was the threats to identities that followed on from military, religious and linguistic repression, the rapidity of social changes, the attempts to anglicize family surnames by the elimination of ‘O’ and ‘Mac’ prefixes and the anglicization of

placenames. Yet there were striking regional and group variations in the intensity of traumatic feelings, and in levels of adaptation and resistance to these pressures.

By the early 1700s, one can identify a number of different forms of adaptation by the Catholic-Irish to the English/British regime. Ethnic-cum-cultural extinction-promulgated as an objective amongst some extreme elements in the British elite⁷⁶—had failed, but the Catholic Irish were now subject to high levels of exclusion in most spheres of life. Regional and cultural stability remained most characteristic in the still Irish-speaking communities in the west of Ireland and especially in the province of Connacht. There was ongoing low-level resistance to British institutions and personnel—firstly by guerrilla bands known as “rapparees” and in the early decades of the eighteenth century by localized agrarian movements, which aimed to conserve customary rights in relation to land and labour (Figure 4). Many of the poorer Irish subsisting on small holdings on marginal lands and along the roadsides lowered their heads, adapted to the new realities, took good care of their cow, a few cattle and pigs and/or grain crops to pay the rent, became servants and workers on the estates or big farms or endured in the burgeoning Irishtowns and cabin suburbs.

However, probably the most dominant—certainly the most politically significant—form of adaptation to colonial rule took place among the mainly tenant farming and merchant classes. This involved the reorganization of some segments of Irish culture, combined with a partial assimilation to English cultural norms—including the evolution and spread of bilingualism in Irish and English between the 1690s and 1760s. These adaptive strategies included the emergence of independent, secular educational provision via the so-called “hedge schools.” The poet, priest, musician and balladeer continued to occupy central roles in articulating the beliefs, values and mythico-history of the Catholic Irish. The reorganization and revitalization of the territorial and behavioral organization of the Catholic Church was also a central feature with a revitalized parish playing a critical role. A wide range of folkloric practices and rituals in the localities were not only maintained but also strengthened. Other strategies of accommodation included the maintenance and elaboration of a number of recreational activities and leisure-cum-meeting places including public houses, hurling matches and horse racing. A striking innovation was the emergence and elaboration at growing regional scales of secret, sophisticated, quasi-political agrarian movements like the Whiteboys and Righboys. Some Catholic Irish also came to occupy key niche positions in specific sectors of the landlord estate and urban economies. The maintenance of still vibrant quasi-lineage kinship systems and information fields may well have been the most significant survival strategy. These adaptive processes reinforced powerful identification with specific places and key ethnic symbols that may have only partially helped in healing with the traumatic consequences of colonialism.⁷⁷

Even amongst this more adaptive group, attitudes of passive compliance were strategically necessary to survive in this profound unequal colonizer/colonized relationship. Fanon, Said and Memmi have identified the long-term consequences of this post-colonial dependency.⁷⁸ Irish-born psychiatrist, Garrett O'Connor, describes the behavioral syndrome of subjugated people like the Catholic Irish as “malignant shame”—a combination of dependency, low self-esteem, self-misrepresentation of cultural inferiority and suppressed feelings.⁷⁹ He sees these behaviors as consequent on the destructive forces of colonialism—including physical abuse, shaming and humiliation—being internalized and transmitted across generations. He asserts that this behavioral syndrome is concentrated in post-colonial cultures such as Ireland and Mexico where imperialist forces have subjected the indigenous peoples to appalling excesses.⁸⁰ The core of the problem for such populations is a widespread conviction of cultural inferiority, generated by a prolonged abuse of power in the relationship between the colonizer and colonized.

For the most marginalized poor, so-called adaptation in the eighteenth century involved displacement, further impoverishment, begging and sometimes exposure to local famines. In contrast, a significant minority—mainly from the aristocratic, gentry and merchant classes of the original Catholic Irish—came to identify with and be assimilated to the anglophone, Anglo-Irish “Protestant ascendancy.” Another very significant form of adaptation involved the scattering of the emigrant Irish—first to continental Europe—and later in the eighteenth century across the English-speaking world. This scattering was to be massively augmented during and after the Great Irish Famine of the mid-nineteenth century—probably the ultimate expression of the long-run effects of colonialism in Ireland. The historical traumas and literary responses to the earlier conquest and colonization—addressed in this paper—were to be renewed and deepened by the horrors and traumas of the Great Hunger.⁸¹ Trauma piled upon trauma.

NOTES

- 1 William J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland c.1530–1750* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2006). See also Gerry Kearns, [‘Historical Geographies of Ireland: Colonial Contexts and Postcolonial Legacies’](#) in *Historical Geography*, vol. 41 (2013): 24–26.
- 2 Eduardo Duran and Bonnie Duran, “Introduction,” in *Native American Postcolonial Psychology*, eds. Duran and Duran (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 1–3. See also Eduardo Duran and Bonnie Duran, Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, and Susan Yellow Horse-Davis, “Healing the American Indian Soul Wound,” in *International Handbook of Multi-generational Legacies of Trauma*, ed. Yael Danieli (New York: Plenum Press, 1998), 341–354. See also B. Hudnall Stamm, ed., *Measurement of Stress, Trauma and Adaptation* (Baltimore, Maryland: Sidran Press, 1996); Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2000) and Leys, *From Guilt to Shame: Auschwitz and After* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007).
- 3 Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser and Piotr Sztompka, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). See especially Chapter 1: Jeffrey C. Alexander, “Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma,” 1–30.
- 4 Smyth, *Map-Making*, 21–197. See also Smyth, “Towards a Cultural Geography of the 1641 Rising/Rebellion,” in *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions*, eds. Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer (Manchester, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 2013), 71–94; and reference 40 below.
- 5 The Irish language version of the poem is from *An Duanaire 1600–1900: Poems of the Disposessed*, ed. Seán Ó Tuama with translation into English verse by Thomas Kinsella (Mountrath/Portlaoise: Dolmen Press, 1981), 328–329. This English translation fuses that of Frank O’Connor and my own.
- 6 The full references to each of these texts are provided at the appropriate place in the discussion below.
- 7 Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, ed. W.L. Renwick (Oxford, United Kingdom: Clarendon Press, 1970).
- 8 Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For other insightful views from the Irish language side of the frontier, see Marc Caball, *Poets and Politics: Reaction and Continuity in Irish Poetry 1558–1625* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998).
- 9 See Palmer, *Language and Conquest*, especially the section “A ‘Discourse of Sameness’ and the Elision of Irish,” 45–64.

- 10 Ibid., Chapter 2, especially 69–72.
- 11 David Edwards, “The Escalation of Violence in Sixteenth Century Ireland,” in *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland*, eds. David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan and Clodagh Tait (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 34–78, especially 34.
- 12 David B. Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), 140.
- 13 John McGurk, “The Pacification of Ulster, 1600–3,” in *Age of Atrocity*, 119–129, 129.
- 14 Palmer, *Language and Conquest*, 185. See also Raymond Hickey (ed.), *Researching the Languages of Ireland* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 2011), 27–29.
- 15 Breandán Ó Buachalla in *Aisling Ghéar: na Stíobhartaigh agus an t-Aos Léinn 1603–1788* (Dublin: An Clóchomhar, 1996) provides the most comprehensive interpretation for this period of the complex relationships between politics and poetry in the Irish language. See 69–129 and especially 117–26. See also Michelle O’Riordan *The Gaelic Mind and the Collapse of the Gaelic World* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1990) for a rather different perspective which stresses the more hermetic, enclosed nature of the bardic world and its commentary; see also Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd edition (Cork: University Press, 1996), for interesting insights into the roles and functions of the bardic poet “who did not recite his own poetry but would leave that task to one of his retinue, a reciter-harpist,” 152–153.
- 16 “Mé an murdhuchan | An mhuir Goill” was written in the 1570s by Brian Ó Gnín, quoted in Patricia Palmer’s superb study *Language and Conquest*, 211.
- 17 Seathrún Céitinn (Geoffrey Keating), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: The History of Ireland*, 4 vols., eds. D. Comyn and P. Dineen (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1914).
- 18 John O’Donovan, ed. and transl., *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest Times to the Year 1616*, vols 1–7, 3rd edn (Dublin: Edmund Burke, 1998). See Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), especially chapters 2 and 4 for a useful survey of the contexts and influences at work in the writing up of the Annals.
- 19 Ó Buachalla, “[Annála Ríoghachta Éireann is Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: An Comhthéacs Comhaimseartha](#),” *Studia Hibernica* 22–3 (1982–3): 59–105.
- 20 See “Introductory Remarks” in *Annála Ríoghachta*, vii–xlv.
- 21 See, for example, James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 37; Tom Dunne, “[The Gaelic Response to Conquest and Colonisation: The Evidence of the Poetry](#),” *Studia Hibernica* 20 (1980): 7–30, 19.
- 22 Ó Buachalla, “An Comhthéacs Comhaimseartha,” 59–105. See also Raymond Gillespie, “Introduction” in Raymond Gillespie and Ruairi Ó hUiginn, eds., *Irish Europe, 1600–1650: Writing and Learning* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 11–15.
- 23 Edwards, “Escalation of Violence,” 64–65.
- 24 John Davies, *A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland was Never Entirely Subdued* [London, 1612] (Shannon: Irish Academic Press, 1969), 368; see also Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocides and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2006).
- 25 Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Santa Barbara, California: Grove Press, 1963), 49–50, 148–150.
- 26 This material is based on an occupational analysis of the *Annals of the Four Masters* between 1460 and 1599.
- 27 David Edwards, “The escalation of violence in sixteenth-century Ireland” in Edwards *et al.*, *Age of Atrocity*, 34–78; see also his “Out of the Blue: Provincial Unrest in Ireland before 1641,”

- in *Ireland: 1641*, eds. Ó Siochrú and Ohlmeyer, 95–114.
- 28 As elaborated upon by Caball in *Poets and Politics*, 12–13, 45–51, 66–67, 100–102. Later sixteenth-century bardic poets such as Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn in Connacht and a nobleman poet of Old English background such as William Nuinseann (William Nugent) in Leinster both emphasized a newly forged patriotic sensibility and the emergence of the notion of the Irish / *na hÉireannaigh* and the “effecting of ethnic coalescence amongst both historic communities on the basis of language and culture.” See also T. T. O’Donnell ed. *Selections from the Zoilomastix of Philip O’Sullivan Beare [1625]* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1960) where O’Sullivan, writing in Spain, makes the same inferences.
 - 29 See Bernadette Cunningham’s *The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000) for many stimulating insights into Keating’s milieu, his work, his construction of a Catholic Irish perspective on the past and the later dissemination and reception of his work in both Irish and English forms. See also Ó Buachalla, “An Comhtheacs Comhaimseartha.”
 - 30 A total of over five thousand Irish-language manuscripts are extant, with three great periods of blossoming: the twelfth century; the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The seventeenth-century material constitutes a kind of bridge or plateau between the late medieval and modern manuscript collections. My thanks to Dr. Neil Buttimer, University College Cork, for discussions on these and many related matters in this paper. See also Raymond Gillespie, “Introduction” and Ruairí Ó hUiginn, “Transmitting the text: some linguistic issues in the work of the Franciscans” in Gillespie and Ó hUiginn, *Irish Europe*, 1–15, 93–95.
 - 31 Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael*, 274.
 - 32 Ó Buachalla, “An Comhtheacs Comhaimseartha,” 75, 97; see also Caball, “Lost in translation: reading Keating’s *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*’ in *Oral and Print Cultures in Ireland 1600–1900*, eds. Marc Caball and Andrew Carpenter, eds., (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 47–68; which illuminates how Keating’s text was interpreted in three different English translations between 1635 and 1841; and Vincent Morley, “The Popular influence of *Foras Feasa ar Éireann* from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries,” in *Irish and English: Essays on the Irish Linguistic and Cultural Frontier*, eds. James Kelly and Ciarán Mac Murchaidh (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 96–116.
 - 33 A.L. Rowse, “The Elizabethan Discovery of England,” in Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth* (London: Macmillan, 1950), 49–86; Bernard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave Press, 2001).
 - 34 John J. O’Meara, ed. and transl., *The First Version of the Topography of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1951).
 - 35 C.P. Meehan, *The Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone and Rory O’Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1868), 328, quoted by Ó Buachalla, “An Comhtheacs Comhaimseartha,” 81.
 - 36 George Carew, ‘A Discourse of the Present Estate of Ireland 1614’, *Calendar of Carew Mss*, 1603–14: 305–6.
 - 37 Edmund Spenser, *A View*. See also Andrew Hadfield and William Maley, eds., *Edmund Spenser: A View of the State of Ireland* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1997).
 - 38 Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar*, 90–98. See also Brendan Ó Doibhlin, *Manuail de Litríocht na Gaeilge: Faisicil III: An “Lá idir dhá Shíon”: 1616–1641* (Beann Éadair: Coiscéim, 2007).
 - 39 Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), Chapter 3

- "Resistance and Opposition," 230-340, especially 241.
- 40 Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer at Trinity College Dublin in conjunction with Thomas Bartlett, Aberdeen University, John Morrill, Cambridge University, and Aidan Clarke, Trinity College Dublin, completed The 1641 Depositions Project in 2010 which means that all 33 volumes of the depositions are now freely available online <http://1641.tcd.ie>. See also their editing of *Ireland: 1641*.
 - 41 Smyth, *Map-Making*, 160-163. See also L.M. Cullen, "[Population Trends in Seventeenth Century Ireland](#)," *Economic and Social Review* 6, no. 2 (1975): 149-165.
 - 42 Ó Siochrú and Ohlmeyer, *Ireland: 1641*.
 - 43 Cecile O'Rahilly, ed., *Five Seventeenth Century Political Poems* (Dublin: Irish Institute for Advanced Studies, 1977).
 - 44 The translation is from Leerssen, *Mere Irish*, 211.
 - 45 O'Rahilly ed., *Political Poems*. The five poems are: *Do frith, monuar, an uain si ar Éirinn* (An opportunity arose, alas, to reduce Ireland); *An Síogaí Rómhánach* (The Irish Vision of Rome) which could be described as a very early aisling poem; *Aiste Dháibhí Cúnduín* (David Condon's poem); *Tuireamh na hÉireann* (The Lament for Ireland) and *Mo lá leóin go deó go néagad* (My day of sadness, forever, until I die). These poems were composed between 1640-41 and 1658, that is during the rising/rebellion and the subsequent Cromwellian conquest.
 - 46 Kurt Ross, ed., *Codex Mendoza: Aztec Manuscript* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Liber, 1978-84). Large numbers of the Aztec painted books, including their chronicles, annals and other land records were destroyed by Spanish military action when the libraries of the defeated Aztec towns were burnt down; see also Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530-1570* (Brighton, United Kingdom: Harvester Press, 1977) for the story of the destruction of Incan civilization.
 - 47 Ibid., 75. At least 130 different manuscript versions of *Tuireamh na hÉireann* still survive.
 - 48 Ibid.
 - 49 Neil Buttimer, "Literature in Irish, 1690-1800: From the Williamite Wars to the Act of Union" in *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature*, eds. Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 322-327. See also Ó Tuama and Kinsella, "Introduction," in *An Duanaire 1600-1900*, eds. Ó Tuama and Kinsella, xxvii-xxxiii; see also Brendan Ó Doibhlin, *Manuail de Litríocht na Gaeilge: Faisicil IV 1641-1704: Dísealbhú and Faisicil V 1704-1750: An Dubhaois* (Beann Éadair: Coiscéim, 2008, 2009).
 - 50 Ibid., xxvii and xxi.
 - 51 Robert Lowell, *Life Studies* and *For the Union Dead* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967) and *Day by Day* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978).
 - 52 Ó Tuama and Kinsella, *An Duanaire 1600-1900*, 23.
 - 53 Ibid., 85.
 - 54 Ibid., 105-109.
 - 55 Ibid., 173.
 - 56 See Declan Kiberd's commentary on Jonathan Swift in Kiberd, *Irish Classics* (London: Granta Books, 2000).
 - 57 This description is based on materials in *An Duanaire 1600-1900* especially 21-23 and *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael*, 192-193.
 - 58 Ó Tuama and Kinsella, *An Duanaire 1600-1900*, 110-123 and 140-167.
 - 59 Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*.
 - 60 Nessa M. Cronin, "The Eye of History Spatiality and Colonial Cartography in Ireland," PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, 2007 is insightful about alienation and dislocation from the homeplace.
 - 61 Ó Tuama and Kinsella, *An Duanaire 1600-1900*, xxvii-xxix, 152 and 187.

- 62 Gearóid Ó Cruaí, *The Book of the Cailleach: Stories of the Wise-Woman Healer* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), 7–13.
- 63 Ibid., 61.
- 64 Smyth, *Map-Making*, 410–415. See also Morley, Ó Chéitinn go Raiftearaí: *Mar a Cumadh Stair na hÉireann* (Beann Éadair: Coiscéim, 2011).
- 65 B. Hudnall Stamm, Henry E. Stamm, Amy C. Hudnall and Craig Higson-Smith, “[Considering a Theory of Cultural Trauma and Loss](#),” *Journal of Loss and Trauma: International Perspectives on Stress and Coping* 9, no. 1 (2004): 89–111. This paper also provided a model for the making of Figure 4.
- 66 Garrett O’Connor, *Recognising and Healing Malignant Shame* (2010), available at <http://v1.zonezero.com/magazine/essays/distant/zreco2.html> (accessed 1 June 2014) has been helpful to my understanding of these issues as has been discussion with other colleagues, particularly Maria Huss.
- 67 This section is based on a detailed analysis of entries in the *Annals of the Four Masters* between the years 1460 and 1539.
- 68 Smyth, *Map-Making*, 59.
- 69 Catherine Nash, “Historical Geographies of Modernity,” in *Modern Historical Geographies*, eds. Brian Graham and Catherine Nash (Harlow, United Kingdom: Prentice Hall, 2000), 10–40, 17–18.
- 70 This summary is based on an analysis of the *Annals of the Four Masters* from the year 1540 to 1600.
- 71 Dunne, “Gaelic Response,” 7–30; Caball, *Poets and Politics*.
- 72 Kevin Whelan, “[The Catholic Parish, the Catholic Chapel and Village Development in Ireland](#),” *Irish Geography* 16, no. 1 (1983): 1–15.
- 73 Evelin G. Lindner, “Genocides, Humiliation and Inferiority: An Inter-disciplinary Perspective,” in *Genocides of the Oppressed: Subaltern Genocides in Theory and Practice*, eds. N.A. Robins and Adam Jones (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009), 138–158.
- 74 Ibid., 150–151.
- 75 This theme is explored more fully in the concluding chapter of Smyth, *Map-Making*, 451–469.
- 76 See Smyth, *Map-Making*, 7–8, 162–163 and 167–169 which documents both Edmund Spenser’s and some Cromwellian officers arguments for the uprooting, and if necessary, the eradication of the “wild Irish.”
- 77 For a more comprehensive analysis of these adaptations see concluding chapter in: Smyth, *Map-Making*, 451–469.
- 78 Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*; Said, *Cultural Imperialism*, 230–340; Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (London: Earthscan Publications, 1990 [1965]).
- 79 O’Connor, *Recognising and Healing Malignant Shame*; see also Geraldine Moane, “[A Psychological Analysis of Colonialism in an Irish Context](#),” *Irish Journal of Psychology* 15, nos. 2–3 (1994): 250–265 for an insightful survey of the psychological literature, and Michael Cronin, *Irish in the New Century* (Dublin: Cois Life Teoranta, 2005) 37–42. My thanks to an tOllamh Máirín Ní Dhonchada, National University of Ireland, Galway, for drawing my attention to this reference and other materials.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 John Crowley, William J. Smyth and Mike Murphy, *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine 1845–1852* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2012).