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On some spatial aspects of the colonial discourse on Ireland

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Monsters thus would be the dialectical
opposites of geometrical regularity
Georges Bataille. *The Deviations of Nature.*

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries an impressive body of analytical, survey, and descriptive literature on Ireland was produced. This material, associated with the Tudor and Stuart 'reconquest' of the country, included texts, produced in the wake of More's Utopia, which have been described as marking the beginning of English colonial theory. This paper sets out to examine the spatial aspects of the colonial discourse on Ireland as displayed in this literature. In particular, it attempts to show the extent to which these aspects are implicated throughout the texts and to delineate the interplay between them. Colonial regimes of space, while clearly demonstrated at the scale of landscape and settlement, are not concluded there: instead they extend down to the scale of the body in its practices, fashioning, and deportment. The spatial formation of the colonial city, here Sir Thomas Smith's Elizabetha, must be understood in the context of the chain of spatial elements . . . in terms, for example, of the colonial rhetoric dealing with the surface and depths of the land, with penetration and arable cultivation, and with the trope of the colonist-husband. At the end, the paper discusses a nineteenth-century *Punch* cartoon, which illustrates how the dissociation that the colonial discourse introduces between the native and the land is linked to a thematics of penetration, which swings between first lack (the savage native pastoralist of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts whose condition springs from a refusal or inability to cultivate) and then excess (the monstrous, land-consuming peasant of the nineteenth-century constructions).

Colonial discourse and space: themes and categories

The strategies and regimes of space that have accompanied and facilitated projects of colonisation have historically been played out in differing, although frequently mutually reinforcing, registers. Modes of territorial organisation, which answer demands for military, economic, and administrative efficacy are, for example, likely also to respond to the colonial project of bringing form to the 'formless'; indeed the power of colonial ideology largely hinges on this congruence between the emanations of the political and of the metaphysical, between the levels of practice and of legitimising narrative.

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Although colonial strategies of space are most obvious at the scale of landscape and settlement they are far from exhausted there. Any consideration of the spatial apects of colonial discourse can therefore not be satisfied by concentrating on these alone; instead it must extend into a 'micro-geographics' whose itinerary would include, among other things, the body in its formation, deportment, sexuality, clothing, and conduct. The present essay is an attempt, however limited it may be, to respond to this call. It sets out to track the 'spatial' as it appears in the commentaries on Ireland that were produced at the time of the twelfth century Anglo-Norman entry and the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Tudor and Stuart 'reconquest' and plantations. Beyond simply noting occurrences, this will involve an attempt to delineate the way in which spatial concepts intertwine with and are implicated in other discursive elements; the challenge, in other words, is to map the role of the spatial within the general economy of concepts mobilised by the texts. The range of material, on which this study is based, is far from exhaustive, the focus being mainly on texts which have a chorographical character and are concerned with representing the 'colonial object' – the land and its inhabitants, their provenance and their character. These texts often explicitly situate themselves within a tradition of writing on Ireland and, taken together, present an extended 'internal' debate as each text works upon its predecessors, referencing, reperforming, supplementing, and 'correcting' to various degrees. A chain of explicit reference runs, for example, from Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica* (c. 1188), to Edmund Campion's *Historie of Ireland* (1571), to Richard Stanihurst's *Treatise* (1577), to Barnabe Rich's *A New Description of Ireland* (1610), this last text being a good example of one which assumes a corrective function with regard to its predecessors. Rich suspected the earlier material of being overly indulgent toward the Irish; he warned that the previous histories of Ireland which had issued from 'papist pens' were not to be trusted and indicted Gerald, Campion, and Stanihurst, even suggesting that the latter had practised alchemy at Antwerp where he '. . . undertook the practice of the Philosophers Stone.'[1]

Throughout this paper I am using the word 'colony' and its related terms in the loose sense necessitated, in particular, by the complex conditions of the Anglo-Norman entry into Ireland.[2] By 'colonial discourse' I mean the sum of those texts through which the colonist represents the colonised Other to himself in a manner which articulates with the social, political, economic, and military interests of the colonial enterprise. Colonial discourse is monological in character, structured through binary opposition, and confers identity although it need not appear to essentialise it. Through its binary framework an economy of relegation is enacted which is, characteristically, problematised at certain points by the 'identity effects' which it, itself, produces.[3] Colonial discourse is constituent of subjectivity; its enunciation is determined by subject (and not national, geographic, or 'ethnic') position.

It will be necessary, in the first instance, to attempt to determine the categories proposed by the texts, and their structural relationship to one another. They emerge as a series of oppositions coordinated by a master duality of civility and

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savagery (or barbarity). Below the privileged and abject terms of this polarity a sequence of other categories is developed: humanity and bestiality; knowledge and ignorance; reason and unreason; health and disease; sexual correctness and sexual transgression; the urban and the rural; the arable and the pastoral; industry and indolence; the lawful and the illicit; the agency of God's will and the locus of his displeasure; order and disorder; form and formlessness. In its authoritarian concern for coherence, colonial discourse seeks to stress the cognation of the terms in each rank. Every privileged term (and every abject term) is required to implicate the others; each category is expounded through recourse to the series. Colonial discourse becomes fissured when this economy breaks down, when exchange becomes unregulated and exogamous. The effect of spacing produced by the binary structure of the texts confers an apparent internal coherence to the colonist and to the objects of his enterprise; as the identity of the latter is constructed and ascribed through the operation of the text so too, as a civil and exemplary counterpoint, is the former. One result of this is the tendency for the colonised Other to be construed as an inversion of the colonist; thus Richard Stanihurst's illustration of the Irish speaker in Wexford being told '. . . forthwith to turn the other end of his toong and speake English . . .'[4].

Of all the oppositions set out above, it is the last (form/formlessness) which is most obviously spatial, and some remarks on it need to be made as a prologue to what follows. The word 'form' implies the result of a process through which the 'formless' (or 'matter') is spatially reconfigured through intentional action. Form bears the mark of the intellect and is conventionally correlated with the rational, the logical, and the subject; conversely matter bears no intellectual trace and is correlated with the irrational, the alogical, and the object.[5] Indeed Sir Henry Wotton, writing in *The Elements of Architecture* (1624), described it as the task of the architect '. . . to make the *Forme*, which is the nobler Part (as it were) triumph over the *Matter*.'[6] The paradigm for this distinction within the Platonic tradition is the craftsman god who, in creating the cosmos, works upon and transforms amorphic matter. The 'formed' carries resonances of the divine, of the metaphysical, of rightness and morality; the world, once it is 'inscribed' with form, becomes God's text. In contrast the formless, and in particular that lapsarian version of formlessness, the deformed (which implies a Fall from form), has the aroma of evil, malice, and degradation. Those mocking Christ in Hieronymous Bosch's *Christ Carrying the Cross* are hideous human aberrations; as Ruskin was to put it '. . . malice, subtlety, and pride, in their extreme, cannot be written upon noble forms . . .'.[7] Recognition of the economy of categories set out above, and the system of substitutions and deferrals it implies, sensitises us to the 'penetration' of the spatial: the ways in which the form / formlessness duality inhabits, and is inhabited by, the other oppositions is one important locus of the current investigation.

The commentaries under consideration are marked with an insistent eroticism which haunts the space between the country's hatefulness and its provocative appeal. It blooms within the fissures in the colonial discourse, between the rhetoric on the

land's bounty and its cursedness, on the natives' pride but abjection, and on their liberty but savagery.[8] Again, it stirs in the very gap between the colonial subject and his object; in the colonist's desire for his object; in the object's fixation of the colonist; in the tug of the alterity of the Other; in an 'Icarian' will, even, to fall.[9] For the Elizabethans the enduring symbols of this eroticism and of Ireland's insidious challenge to institutional culture were the 'degenerate' English-Irish, those descendants of the Anglo-Norman conquerors who, casting aside all trappings of their civility, had submerged themselves in the Gaelic world as if, to use Stanihurst's memorable phrase, drawing on the image of the enchantress/lover, '. . . they had tasted of Circes poisoned cup.'[10] Within twenty years of the Anglo-Norman entry into Ireland Gerald of Wales had commented on how the country tainted, writing 'This place finds people already accursed or makes them so.'[11] Spenser, too, had his Eudoxus signal the dissembling power of Ireland exclaiming 'Lord, how quickly doth that country alter men's natures!' Indeed the phrase *Ipsis Hibernicus hiberniores*, first said of the old English in Ireland, was universalised to become a proverb.[12] We recognise in all this the empire builder's perennial fear – that of going native, of losing his reason itself.[13] While discoursing on Mountjoy's ideas for a series of new colonies after the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, Fynes Moryson noted that 'great care was thought fit to be taken that these new colonies should consist of such men as were most unlike to fall to the barbarous customs of the Irish, or the Popish superstition of Irish and English-Irish, so as no less cautions were to be observed for uniting them and keeping them from mixing with the other than if these new colonies were to be led to inhabit among the barbarous Indians.'[14]

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a remarkable explosion of descriptive and survey literature on Ireland linked with the Tudor and Stuart 're-conquest' and plantations. These texts were wrought under the influence of a peculiar array of conditions which included: a developing sense of the unity of the state and of nationalism which had been fostered at the expense of the feudal barons; the break with Rome and a creeping fear that Ireland represented England's back door left ajar for Spanish invasion; the belief that with the dissolution of the monasteries and the rule of primogeniture England faced a population and 'occupational' crisis; a well-defined entrepreneurial individualism which corresponded with a royal reticence regarding state expenditure; and the repeatable contact with 'New World' cultures which technological innovation had allowed. After the shattering of the mediaeval world-image Ireland had maintained its moral, if not geographical, alterity and deviance. In a speech delivered in 1617, Sir Francis Bacon set out the moral imperative which compelled England to refashion its obstinate neighbour. It was, indeed, England's destiny, at this historic juncture, to incorporate Ireland within the pale of civility which encompassed all other parts of Europe. 'Ireland is the last of the daughters of Europe which hath been reclaimed from desolation and a desert (in many parts) to population and plantation; and from savage and barbarous customs to humanity and civility. This is the King's work in chief. It is his garland of hero-

ical virtue and felicity, denied to his progenitors and reserved to his times.'[15]

The body of the land: its surface and depths

For Tudor observers the land of Ireland was a beguiling prospect, and commentators unfailingly assessed its riches. William Camden, the antiquary, thought it a country to which nature had shown unusual grace,[16] and wrote that it was '. . . so fruitful in soile, so rich in pastures more that credible, beset with so many woods, enriched with so many mineralls (if they were searched), watered with so many rivers, environed with so many havens, lying so fit and commodious for sailing into most wealthy countries, and thereby like to be for import and custome very profitable . . .'.[17] According to Richard Stanihurst '. . . nature seemed to have framed this countrie for the storehouse or iewelhouse of hir chiefest thesaure . . .'[18], and Sir Thomas Smith, publicising his projected colony in the Ards of Down, confidently invoked Biblical precedent and divine promise calling it a '. . . lande that floweth with milke and hony, a fertile soil truely if there be any in Europe' and asserted that all England produced, '. . . save fine wool . . .' could, given the correct reforms, '. . . be had also moste abundantly there.'[19] Dissatisfied with its inhabitants, this rich land seemed to beckon, to call out to, the colonist. This perception was not new. Already for Gerald of Wales, writing four hundred years earlier, the fertility of the land seemed to implore cultivation. He quoted Lucan: 'the fields demand, but there are no hands'.[20] For Gerald the idleness of the Irish was their unworthiness to people their country. Unfulfilled, the land cried out to the colonist to satisfy its yearning, for its present inhabitants misused it, lacking the correct relationship with it.

In the Tudor and Stuart texts, the rhetoric which stresses the desire of the land has a strong spatial component; within it a conceptual duality of surface and depth can often be discerned. The 'vertical axis', the depths, belong to the colonist. His vigour penetrates and goes beyond the surface of the land; he delves into its body, whether through navigation or agriculture, and in doing so satisfies it by making it productive. So, Spenser wrote of the multitude '. . . of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that country can afford . . .'.[21] and Luke Gernon, in an extended characterisation of Ireland as a woman, suggested that '. . . betwixt her leggs (for Ireland is full of havens), she hath an open harbor, but not much frequented.' The rivers that ran through her body were her veins, the largest (the Shannon) being, '. . . if it were not for one knot . . .', navigable from top to bottom. Picturing her as having been born out of 'the wombe of rebellion about sixteen yeares' she awaited, Gernon went on, a husband, '. . . she is not embraced, hedged and ditched, there is noo quicksett putt into her.'[22] Spenser's Eudoxus dislays a similar strategy of personification when, after having been told how the native Irish regained much of their old territory from the English at the time of the Wars of the Roses, he laments 'I do much pity that sweet land . . .'.[23]

Around the theme of penetration into the body of Ireland is developed not only the notion

of the colonist-husband but also that of the colonist-physician. The split between the 'body of the land', innocent but desirous, and an idle and inadequate populace, which is crucial to the idea of the colonist-husband, finds no counterpart in the passages in which the colonist is pictured as a doctor. The allusion to the colonist as a physician is particularly strong in Spenser. Ireland is seen as a '. . . diseased patient . . .'[24], and England's method for its cure will adhere to that of '. . . wise physicians . . .'.[25] Later it is described as a '. . . wicked person dangerously sick . . .' who needs physician first and preacher later,[26] and again, as a tree with poisoned branches which need to be lopped to recover the health of the whole.[27] Earlier Stanihurst had likened the language of the Irish to an infection; emphasising its role in the subversion of the English he wrote that, when the Irish tongue began to be used in the English Pale, '. . . this canker tooke such deepe root, as the bodie that before was whole, and sound, was by little and little festered, and in maner wholte putrified.'[28] And Sir John Davis, writing after the 'Flight of the Earls' from Ulster in 1607, imagined plantation as something akin to tranfusion: 'If the empty veins of Ulster were once filled with good British blood, the whole body of this commonwealth would quickly recover perfection of health.'[29]

Where the colonist penetrated and consummated, the native malingered idly and impotently on the surface. The notion of Irish indolence and its conceptual alignment with pastoralism and the pleasure of liberty (a complex clearly evident in Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica*) was still operative. Normally appended to the enticing descriptions of the country was a passage criticising the natives' uninterest. According to Stanihurst, nature '. . . instilleth in the inhabitants a drouste lithernesse to withdraw them from the insearching of hir hourded and hidden iewels.' He gives us the striking image of a laden banqueting table surrounded by guests who through some bewitchment sit paralysed and repulsed before the delicacies.[30] In Camden's view the fraught coastline of Connaught invited and provoked navigation but '. . . the sweetnesse of inbred idlenesse doth so hang upon their lazie limbes, that they had rather get their living from doore to doore, than by honest labours keep themselves from beggery';[31] and Moryson was appalled by the Irish fishermen, a shower '. . . so possessed with the natural fault of slothfulness, as no hope of gain, scarcely the fear of authority, can in many places make them come out of their houses and put to sea'.[32] In a thematic symphony he related the natural idleness of the Irish to theft, distaste for labour and manual trades, slovenly houses and clothes, a love of liberty, and a delight in music.[33] The conceptual wedge driven between inhabitant and land meant that the native could be seen as an observer of the land rather than as an actor upon it. The manner in which the natives drew upon their habitat was unrecognised as a basis for correct possession or ownership of the land; they did not seem intellectually and systematically to affect it, and it could therefore be seen as unclaimed, as waste, as a desert. The perception of native land as waste and as therefore unowned and open to appropriation was to become a recurring motif in New World encounters, and has left a tenacious legacy.[34] It is in Sir

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Thomas Smith's pamphlet of 1572 that ideas of Irish land as 'empty' and as 'waste' are first articulated into a justification for colonisation, although there was famous intellectual precedent in the colonising parties of More's Utopians who considered it '. . . perfectly justifiable to make war on people who leave their land idle and waste, yet forbid the use of it to others who, by the law of nature, ought to be supported from it'.[35] Smith, Elizabeth's Principal Secretary, was a man of impressive intellectual range. His investigations ranged across the domains of law, natural science, economic history, and the history of orthography. But most of all it was his classical scholarship, and his corresponding assurance that he was moving in accord with classical precedent, that dominated his thinking about his colonial enterprise. When requesting Fitzwilliam, Elizabeth's Lord Deputy, to make out a commission for him, he asked that it should be as a 'colonel' for 'Here it betokeneth a leader forth of men to inhabit and till waste and desolate places who in ancient time were called Deductores Coloniarum, and the action was called deducere coloniam.'[36] In his pamphlet Sir Thomas argued that 'To inhabite and reforme so barbarous a nation as that is and to bring them to the knoweledge and lawe, were both a godly and commendable deede, and a sufficient worke for our age. All those things happening togither in my time, when I had considered, I judged surely, that God did make apte and prepare this nation for such a purpose. There resteth only to persuade the multitude already destined therto, with will and desire to take the matter in hand.'[37]

Where penetrating and seeding the land was locationally rooted, giving rise to cultivation, husbandry and an ordered landscape, those who roamed upon the surface were dangerously spatially ill-defined. The placelessness and indolence exemplified for the colonists by the natives' pastoralism was of urgent political concern. Tillage was cognate with civility; its geographic stability (and the stability of people it demanded) permitted regulation, order, law enforcement, the growth of commerce, and the reliable receipt of rent and other exactions. When people and possessions could move, all this was problematic. It held a pivotal role in Sir Thomas Smith's colonial theory – ' "Nothing" he wrote firmly "doth more people the country with men, maketh men more civil, nor bringeth commodities to the sustenance of men than the plough" ',[38] and in his pamphlet stated that the civilty of the north of Ireland would increase more '. . . by keeping men occupied in Tyllage, than by idle following of heards, as the Tartarians, Arabians, and Irishe men do . . .'.[39] In the Elizabethan texts, Irish idleness, a moral question in Gerald's *Topographia*, becomes also an administrative problem. At the end of the last war, Moryson lamented, when it was hoped that the Irish would be drawn to tillage, they instead embraced pastoralism '. . . as suitable to their innate sloth, and as most fit to elude or protract all execution of justice against them, while they commonly lived in thick woods abounding with grass.'[40] The 'out-villages'[41] and the 'boolies',[42] settlements erected on pasturing grounds, were analysed by Spenser as being beyond the law, as sites of relief for robbers and outlaws. 'Moreover, the people that thus live in those boolies grow thereby the more barbarous and live more licentiously than they could in towns,

using what manners they list and practising what mischiefs and villanies they will, either against the government there by their combinations, or against private men, whom they malign by stealing their goods or murdering themselves; for there they think themselves half-exempted from law and obedience, and having tasted freedom do, like a steer that hath been long out of his yoke, grudge and repine ever after to come under rule again.'[43] Herding, for Spenser, was the mark of a barbarous, uncivil, and warlike people, and he pointed out that a result of the enclosure of land would be to order the landscape, defining passages of encounter within which the enemy could be engaged.[44]

Routes one hundred yards wide were to be driven through woods, fords destroyed and defended bridges built in their place, roads fenced in on either side, fortifications built to defend narrow straits, and walled market towns developed.[45] His recommendations for means to exert effective authority and control over the Irish furthermore involved bringing them to visibility by constraining them to an order. He advocated the atomisation of their clustered social forms and their dispersal as a grid of points over the landscape thereby exposing and making each individual subject to inspection and regulation. Arguing that one of the greatest strengths of the natives was their grouping in septs (kin-groups), he advised that individuals should be forced to take on different surnames, and leave off nomenclature identifying them with their sept. Every person should be individualised, distinguished from the other, and should '. . . in time learn quite to forget his Irish nation.'[46] This identification and unconcealment of the individual was extended with the transplantation of certain tribal groupings into each others' lands under the control of Englishmen. There were to be no Irish individuals living together; rather they were to be '. . . dispersed wide from their acquaintance, and scattered far and abroad through all the country . . .'.[47]

Space and movement: the rural, the bestial, and the Irish body

Together with *Expugnatio Hibernica*, Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica* was the undoubted *ur-text* for the Elizabethan commentaries; the categories and materials which were to dominate subsequent constructions of Ireland and the Irish first forcefully and comprehensively occur here. An Anglo-Norman ecclesiastic, he was closely related to the powerful Geraldine lords who played such a major part in the Anglo- (or better, Cambro-) Norman expansion into Ireland in 1169. Indeed his account of the invasion, the *Expugnatio* , has been described as a family epic. Gerald's special significance for us lies in the manner in which, in his hands, certain prevailing attitudes were supplemented with original material and articulated in his text in a complex of categorisations. Certainly Ireland had been subject to observation and criticism before, most notably from within the church concerning Irish marriage customs. There are records of such comments going back to the sixth century. The tendency of such perceptions was to underwrite and legitimise conquest of the island. In the famous papal bull (*Laudabiliter*, 1155) which granted Ireland to Henry II, the English Pope Adrian IV praised the king's intention to '. . . proclaim the truths of the Christian religion to a rude and

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ignorant people, and to root out the growths of vice from the field of the Lord',[48] while a letter of 1172 from Pope Alexander III commended Henry for having triumphed over the people of Ireland '. . . a race uncivilised and undisciplined . . .' who '. . . ignoring the fear of God, in unbridled fashion at random wander through the streets of vice . . .'.[49] A certain level of cognisance of, and comment on, Ireland was not rare. But Gerald's distinction is that he moves beyond generalising recirculated description to a level of observation and detail of reportage that was unheard of. In so doing he effectively revived the ethnographic monograph without knowledge of classical precedent[50] and thereby realised a systematic presentation of a 'national culture' and its particular traits. In the chemistry of Gerald's prose an image of Ireland clarified which set forth an entire world inter-relating land, climate, beasts, and humans and their practices. In the *Topographia's* dedication to Henry II, Gerald wrote that he brought words back from Ireland in preference to gold or hunting birds. Prophetically he continued '. . . I decided to send to your Highness those things rather which cannot be lost. By them I shall, through you, instruct posterity. For no age can destroy them.'[51]

Right at the outset of the *Topographia* a thematics of space, which is based around the centre/periphery opposition, is established. This thematics plays a major explanatory role in Gerald's text; it grounds many of the explanations of particular phenomena which he gives. Within it the concept of the periphery is, by turns, given shifting negative and positive values. Furthermore, within this broader movement, a secondary oscillation between essentialist and constructionalist formulations can be made out as rhetoric on the inherently abject or ludic character of Ireland grates against rhetoric which holds out the possibility of colonial 'correction'. In the *Topographia's* dedication Ireland is signalled as peripheral, as an edge condition, and hence prone to deviance from the natural and the true. The sense is of a land of the grotesque, of inverted values, of parody. It is world-edging, on the boundary of knowledge, where reason is eclipsed: '. . . what new things, and what secret things not in accordance with her usual course had nature hidden away in the farthest western lands? For beyond those limits there is no land, nor is there any habitation either of men or beasts – but beyond the whole horizon only the ocean flows and is borne on in boundless space through its unsearchable and hidden ways.' Here, nature, 'sometimes tired, as it were, of the true and serious, she draws aside and goes away, and in these remote parts indulges herself in these secret and distant freaks.'[52] Ireland is the edge and the edge is where nature becomes ludic, where she plays with form. But the country's peripherality, its geographic deviance by way of which its formal deviance is here essentialised, is subsequently used to ground a very different formulation, that of Ireland as an Eden. Gerald begins by eulogising the healthful nature of the country, the native people being almost always healthy: in fact the health Ireland displays '. . . indeed was the true course of nature; but as the world began to grow old, and, as it were, began to slip into the decrepitude of old age, and to come to the end, the nature of almost all things became corrupted and changed for the worse.'[53] And now

the western remoteness of Ireland is healthful (and therefore true to nature's intention) for the 'well of all poisons brims over in the East. The farther therefore from the East it operates, the less does it exercise the force of its natural efficacy.'[54] Indeed, whether by the 'clemency of the air' or 'some hidden force of the land itself' poison cannot endure in Ireland.[55] This, however, returns us to the deviance of the natives, for while Gerald states that Irish children receive little care from their parents and marvels that nature by herself can bring them up in such beauty,[56] he later notes that never before has he seen so many people who suffer from some natural defect. Those defects indicate a people who turn away from God. It is unsurprising that nature contravenes her laws when '. . . dealing with a people that is adulterous, incestuous, unlawfully conceived and born, ouside the law, and shamefully abusing nature herself in spiteful and horrible practices.'[57] The effect of this dual movement, this articulation and disarticulation between the geographic and the formal, between the space of the world and the space of the body, is to essentialise the abject character of the colonial object while paradoxically gesturing toward a project of 'reform'.

Gerald's view that the western edge displayed the 'truth' of nature, its Golden Age as it were, served to foreground the sinfulness of the Irish: pollutants in paradise, their relationship with nature was nothing short of sadistic. Although potentially positively valued with regard to its natural attributes, the periphery was insistently negative as far as the 'culture' of its inhabitants was concerned. For the mediaeval mind the edge was the characteristic *topos* of the barbarian. As Gerald put it: 'This people is, then, a barbarous people, literally barbarous . . . All their habits are the habits of barbarians. Since conventions are formed from living together in society, and since they are so removed in these distant parts from the ordinary world of men, as if they were in another world altogether and consequently cut off from well-behaved and law abiding people, they know only of the barbarous habits in which they were born and brought up, and embrace them as a second nature.'[58] The barbarian, languishing at the periphery, is marked by an insistent shortfall, by a series of deficiencies and corresponding excesses; beyond culture, convention and society, beyond the properly human, the barbarian gravitates to the material, the corporeal, and the bestial. Castigating the pastoralism of the Irish, Gerald builds what is apparently an evolutionist argument, but it is one which is marked by a sense of wilfulness, by an active refusal on the part of the barbarian to evolve. 'They have not progressed at all from the primitive habits of pastoral living' he writes.[59] For when, he goes on, 'the order of mankind progressed from the woods to the fields and from the fields to towns and gatherings of citizens, this people spurned the labours of farming. They viewed the treasures of the city with no ambition and refused the rights and responsibilities of civil life. Hence they did not abandon the life of woods and pastures which they had led up to then.'[60] Christianity itself was implicated in the 'civil complex', on which this passage turns, of arable cultivation, industry, and the city. As Robert Bartlett, drawing on the parable which Gerald tells of two men from Connaught who were

taken on board an English ship, has pointed out, their ignorance of bread, that crucial symbol of Christianity (and tillage), is equated with their ignorance of Christianity itself.

The identification of the city by the classical authors as the site of civil society, of law, of the practise of virtue,[61] and as the guarantor of identity insofar as it enshrines custom, echoes through the Elizabethan literature, as it did through Gerald's text. The town was necessarily the characteristic object of Irish military activity; Spenser tells us that, after the English exodus precipitated by the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, the rebel 'Murrogh en Ranagh O'Brien' overran Munster and Connaught '. . . defacing and utterly subverting all corporate towns that were not strongly walled.'[62] In 1567 Sidney, Elizabeth's Lord Deputy, reported to the Queen that the towns were '. . . the only monument of obedience and nurseries of civility in this country.'[63] The visibility and permanence of the town was attractive to the Elizabethans. Moryson held that the building of a fine house was the sign of a heart faithful to the state[64] while Bacon argued that '. . . the calling of stones for building and habitation . . .' follows the turn to civility.[65] Besides strategic and economic purposes, Spenser argued his proposal for a network of carefully located market towns on the basis that rural people going there for their needs '. . . will daily see and learn civil manners of the better sort.'[66] In 1610, however, the combative and opinionated Barnabe Rich proposed (in a chapter entitled 'From whence it proceedeth that the Irish are sore repugnant to the English') that civility and uncivility equated not with the city and the country, but were related rather to '. . . the dispositions of the mind.' This did not prevent him, however, from maintaining the equation of 'remoteness' (and hence undiluted Irishness) and uncivil manners.[67]

The criticism of native pastoralism links to the theme of the closeness of the Irish, without tillage, urbanity and culture, to beasts and to their particular spatiality. As Gerald had put it: 'they are . . . a wild and inhospitable people. They live on beasts only and live like beasts.'[68] For the Elizabethans too the native seemed close to the beast, wandering with it, sleeping with it, drinking its blood, eating whitemeats. It was a closeness both in space and in nature; an uncanny sympathy, even a consubstantiality, existed between the two. It was known that the Irish '. . . had an art to catch stags by singing to them a certain tune upon all sides about them, by which measure they fall down and lay as sleeping'[69] and that certain women ('witches' to Camden) had the ability to charm milk from dry cows.[70] John Good's account of '. . . those uncivill and meere Irish, that lie shrowded in the utmost coasts . . .'[71] recounts that they '. . . take unto them Wolves to be their God-sibs . . .' and tells of powers over horses and charms whispered in their ears.[72] Where the animal that is harnessed is marked with civility, its movements regularised, so Irish liberty was, time and time again, described as that of a beast which had thrown off or refused to come under the yoke. A native appetite for green shoots was alleged,[73] and Moryson observed that 'They willingly eat the herb Shamrock, being of a sharp taste, which, as they run and are chased to and fro, they snatch like beasts out of the ditches.'[74] The very huntedness of the Irish was

bestial, as were the chthonic spaces where they went to ground: '. . . naked rogues in woods and bogs, whom hounds can scarce follow . . . It is no more possible to defeat them at once, than to destroy so many wolves and foxes . . . they having dens, coverts and labyrinths inextricable, for their succours.'[75] As Moryson put it: '. . . these wild Irish are not much unlike to wild beasts, in whose caves a beast passing that way might perhaps find meat, but not without danger to be ill entertained, perhaps devoured, of his insatiable host.'[76] Order, according to Josias Bodley '. . . is a fair thing and all love it, except the Irish men-at-arms, who are a most vile race of men, if it be at all allowable to call them "men" who live upon grass, and are foxes in their disposition and wolves in their actions.'[77] A populist and self-confessedly defamatory pamphlet of 1699 attributed to Edward Ward contains a litany of bestial points from the Irish inhabitation of land ('. . . they are a wild Herd of brute Animals inhabiting, but not improving it.')[78] to their food,[79] their birth to servitude,[80] and their fecundity ('. . . each little Hutt being as full of Children, as a Conney-Burrough in a well stock'd Warren is of Rabbits.').[81] Moryson, typically, had already commented on the generative powers of the Irish,[82] and had noted the associated bestial trait of luxuriousness describing how the natives feasted on an abundance of meats and were excessively given to drunkeness.[83] The single 'cultural' achievement of the natives which the documents insistently recognise is also notably the most strangely inhuman, sensual, and animalistic cultural practice: music. Of all the works of culture it is, as we know from Orpheus, only music that is spontaneously recognised by the beast. Rhetoric does not charm as does music.

The theme of the collapse of a proper and 'natural' spacing between things, a *spacing* (the physical is constantly implicated here)[84] which allows definition, which separates things out from one another giving order through the assigment of proper degrees of difference, which establishes hierarchy, and whose suspension or absence results in a filthy and unnatural equivalency or continuity, runs through these texts. Indeed the lack of recognition of due degrees of difference is itself a bestial trait insofar as it marks an absence of intellection and self-consciousness; hence William Thomas' comment in *The Pilgrim* (1552): '. . . the wild Irish, as unreasonable beasts, lived without any knowledge of God or good manners, in common of their goods, cattle, women, children and every other thing . . .'[85] Questions of cannibalism, and of incest also arise here; both are closely related to a 'too-closeness', to a collapse of proper spacing. In both ingestion occurs across a prohibited degree and bodies that should be kept apart become mingled. In myth the two transgressions, as Marina Warner observes, often figure alongside one another.[86] Certainly the sort of criticisms which were from an early date levelled at Irish marriage practices continued to be current.[87] But supplementing this the new writing on Ireland presented classical commentaries, and compared observed ethnographic traits with the characteristics of the racial groups from which it was thought the natives derived. Campion and Camden quoted Strabo on the cannibalism of the Irish, Solinus on the drinking of slain enemies' blood and the marking of the face with it, and cited ancestral Scythian

precedent.[88] Spenser thought the drinking and face-smearing Gaulish, but witnessed only an old woman drinking her foster-son's blood, a rebel executed for treason, '. . . saying that the earth was not worthy to drink it . . .'.[89]

As the movement of the Irish across the landscape seemed unregulated, formless and barbaric, so too did the movement, and indeed the fashioning, of the Irish body. Going into battle they were disposed in a '. . . confused kind of march in heaps without any order or array . . .'.[90] All the gifts which God and nature had bestowed were abused by the natives; the abundance of milk that flowed in resonance with Scriptural metaphor was contaminated by Irish dairying procedure making it fit for no-one but themselves,[91] the Irish body, well fashioned by nature, was disfigured by '. . . their mishapen attire.'[92] And ironically that attire, in some measure, protected the wearer against the anger of God provoked; under the infamously serviceable Irish mantle the outlaw '. . . covereth himself from the wrath of Heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men.'[93] Contemporary analyses of the degeneration of the English in Ireland usually blamed the adoption of the triad of native apparel, law, and language. The English clothes given to Irish chiefs by Sir John Perrot in 1585 were reportedly '. . . embraced like fetters . . .', a writing of conquest upon the body. Sir John deemed the difference between English and Irish attire as '. . . of being fit for all assemblies, and only fit for the woods and barbarous places . . .'.[94] In Ben Jonson's *Irish Masque at Court*, performed before James I in 1613, the 'mastering' of the Irish is represented by their elevation from formlessness into form through their discarding of the Irish mantle and reappearance in English masquing apparel.[95]

If the spatiality and movement of the colonial object is abject and is notably non-historical, that of the colonist, as an agent of God and 'enlightenment', is profoundly developmental and, even, eschatalogical. The movement of the colonist is through both space and time, that of the native through space alone. Where the lingering sense of Ireland's unorthodoxy tended, for the Roman Catholic world, to taint it, by the end of Elizabeth's reign, an increasingly uncompromising Protestant mentality could clearly identify intractably Catholic Ireland as a locus of God's displeasure. So Edmund Campion, sometime fellow of St. John's, Oxford, the English Jesuit who was later to be hanged, drawn and quartered with other Romish priests for high treason, wrote in 1571 that Ireland was indebted to God for allowing it to be conquered and a process of correction begun.[96] And several decades later Rich, writing for the information of the London undertakers, justified the plantation of Ulster in terms of a Protestant God's preference and the need to convert the idolatrous, superstitious Catholics.[97] Sir Thomas Smith called his first colonising enterprise 'a godly voyage' and compared it to the movement of the Israelites, God's chosen people, into a land of milk and honey[98] and Edward Barkley, commenting on Essex's activities against the northern Irish, wrote '. . . how godly a deed it is to overthrowe so wicked a race the world may judge; for my part I thinke there canot be a greater sacryfice to God.'[99] Spenser, for his part, developed an analogy between the mingling of nations and

the receiving of Christianity, giving the activities of encounter, conquest, and colonisation from a Mediterranean core the cast of divine directive.[100] As he has Eudoxus say: 'And sure in this mingling of nations appeareth (as you erst well noted) a wonderful providence and purpose of Almighty God, that stirred up the people in the farther parts of the world to seek out the regions remote from them, and by that means both to restore their decayed habitations and to make Himself known to the heathen.'[101]

Rome and Utopia: geometry and the legislation of form

One way in which the 'Christianising' movement of the colonist could be articulated with his 'civilising' movement was through the trope of imperial Rome. Frances Yates has noted the currency among Elizabethan poets of the myth of the descent of the Tudors, via the Trojan Brutus, from the founder of Rome. 'This legend', she argues, 'gives the framework within which Elizabeth, as one who could trace an ancestry going back, via ancient British romance, to the founders of Rome, claims as by right the title of the imperial virgin who brings in the golden age of pure religion and national peace and prosperity.'[102] Here Elizabeth's earthly presence betokens, as does that of the virgin Astraea at the outset of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, the arrival of a new golden age, unified under an imperial *pax* and expressed in the practice of an imperial (and not papal) Christianity which recalled that of Constantine.

In Ireland, England's Rome was confronted with its barbaric Other. The land could be seen, by a mind eager to embrace the analogy, as an *informem terris*,[103] as the same in kind as that which had faced the venerable Roman colonists. Classical antiquity's remarks on Ireland were interestedly quoted by authors such as Camden: the '. . . rude and savage . . .',[104] non-classical, nations which had anciently peopled Ireland were determined by the Elizabethan historiographers, and assessment of linguistic elements and customary observances confirmed the continuity of the contemporary Irish race with its savage forebears. To some, England seemed faced with a degree of barbarity that was unprecedented. Camden speculated that an unique concentration of savagery had condensed in Ireland, suggesting that the uncivil races of '. . . Spaine, Gaule, and Britaine . . .' withdrew to Ireland in the face of the expanding Roman Empire '. . . that they might shake off that intolerable yoke of Roman slaverie.'[105] He thus constructs Ireland as something of a Pandora's Box into which the pre-rational chaos of the old world was compressed. He continues 'But a blessed and happie time had it been for Ireland, if it had at any time been under their subjection: surely, it had then beene reduced from barbarisme to civilitie. For wheresoever the Romans were victors, they brought them whom they conquered to civilitie: neither verily in any place throughout Europe was there any civility, learning, and elegance, but where they ruled. And very inconsiderately also they seeme to have neglected this Island.'[106]

The analogy with the Romans, as paradigmatic bringers of civility, order and form, has particular spatial implications that are best illustrated through the colonial theory of Sir Thomas Smith. That

England could legitimately play the role of modern Romans, Smith had no doubt; the English were, he argued, the true inheritors of the Classical tradition having, more than any other nation, remained true to the precepts of Roman law and order.[107] The cardinal point of his schemes for the Ards of Down was a fortress city erected in imitation of classical models of colonisation as a civil implant in barbarian soil. He was flabbergasted when his son, who was to lead the first colonising party, made no mention of it in proposals that he submitted to his father.[108] Smith's projected city *Elizabetha*, which he called for his son to found in imitation of Romulus, was to be a little London, first a defensive stronghold, then a centre of civilisation and trade around which parishes and villages would be organised. Behind Smith's thinking on the developmental aspects of his project lay the model of the Roman military encampment; *Castra colonelli* or 'Smith's tents' were his suggestions for the name of his colony's initial settlement.[109] The colonial encampment of antiquity was a proto-urban settlement within whose plan the 'cosmic' structure of the future city was already inscribed. There are strong overtones of it in the geometricised space of the city of Amaurotum which had been described by More (who has been called the first Englishman to use the word *colonia* in its Roman sense)[110] in *Utopia*. Smith in fact had made explicit reference to More's text in his pamphlet of 1572: 'How say you now . . .', it draws to a close, '. . . have I not set forth to you another Eutopia?'. Bounded and quartered, almost square, Amaurotum was another colonial settlement that was redolent of London. Its plan, which had been established and passed down by its founder Utopus, was an exemplary form, a repeatable 'instrument' of colonisation which was itself withdrawn from historical time. To the future generations of Amaurotum, Utopus left, as Fran oise Choay puts it, '. . . only the secondary, non-essential, and epiphenomenal tasks.'[111]

Smith, after the failure of his first scheme, was to develop detailed plans for a second which again hinged around a 'princypall city or towne of strength' (now called the 'Queenes new Colony or Smythes Colen').[112] Here he himself, somewhat like King Utopus, 'bequeathed' (as a 'hero of culture' should) a city plan. The city should be laid out according, he wrote, '. . . to a drawght of dyvisions which I send' (before adding, pragmatically, '. . . or other dyvisions as shal be thought good to the captins and adventurers').[113] The surviving documents suggest an orthogonal arrangement with houses built on square 'Iles' (redolent of Roman *insulae*) which measured 270 feet across from street to street.[114] In the centre of the city was to be a market place and around its perimeter, outside the fortifications, was to run a wide highway adjacent to which each adventurer was to hold land.

In the Western tradition, geometry has always carried within it something of the metaphysical; even when least explicit it bequeaths its aroma and authority. A product of intellection, projecting a precision which is in the last instance unrealisable in the physical world, and lying outwith time, it cleaves to the metaphysical order, to the higher Platonic world of Being rather than that of transient Becoming. A powerful tradition, which envisaged God himself through Plato's privileged figures of circle and sphere, passed through mediaeval

scholasticism and into the Renaissance.[115] For the Renaissance mind the geometrical was, pervasively and insistently, a 'natural' correlate to the Ideal. Matter marked with geometry is, *par excellence*, intellectualised; it unmistakably bears the trace of a zenithal, authorial intelligence / projector. With geometricised space (the Ideal City, for example), something of the metaphysical order is anchored upon the earth, and hence 'form' (used here in the strong sense whereby it carries metaphysical authority, partakes in 'truth', etc) is necessarily established. Lefebvre has used the term 'Absolute Space' to describe this metaphysical space in its 'strong' sense; that is as that space which, as he puts it, is both 'mythical and proximate', which partakes in the divine order and which is founded upon the earth by consecration under the auspices of a priesthood.[116] Such space requires, he points out, a cipher: this will be a microcosm of the universe. In the case of the Roman city, this was the *templum* which the augur unfurled onto the land before him; in so doing the order of the cosmos, of the heavenly *templum*, circular and quartered, was instituted upon earth.[117] Thus was the formless given form.

Geometry, further, held a more general, if oblique, relationship with 'good form'; as well as being an *instrument of form*, it claims also the status of a *metaphysics of form*. In the *Timaeus* Plato had described how the Demiurge brought the precosmic chaos into order by introducing proportion and measure. In this process the four elements, each of which received a three-dimensional geometric form (the four most 'perfect possible bodies', as Plato puts it), were brought into a relationship of 'continued geometrical proportion'. Through this proportionality the cosmic fabric emerges out of shapeless chaos and acquires unity. Likewise, the unity of the Classical body was grounded in the proportionality of its constituent members; on the basis of this proportionality the anthropometry of Polyclitus set out to define 'good form', that 'wherein beauty consists'.[118] The geometric frame and proportional scheme which Vitruvius sets out in his treatise on architecture explicitly describes a 'well formed man.' Insofar, then, as geometry is identified as the practice through which these proportional relationships are constructed and derived, it comes to stand as a kind of 'metaphysics of form'; the entity's claim to form, in other words, is grounded in the system of geometric-proportional relationships which are inscribed within it. (Figs 1 and 2.) Elizabethan thinking on 'order', which was insistently hierarchical and infused with Platonism, was dominated by questions of proportion and degree, a theme which structured cosmological and political conceptions from the Chain of Being to the Body Politic. '. . . Without order may be nothing stable or permanent', Sir Thomas Elyot had written, 'and it may not be called order except it do contain in it degrees, high and base, according to the merit or estimation of the thing that is ordered.'[119] As Ulysses famously says in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*: 'Take but degree away, untune that string, and hark, what discord follows.'[120] To the question of the establishment of due degree, proportionality, and hence order and form, geometry retained its conceptual relationship: spoils of war taken against pirates or in defence of the realm should be distributed, advised the ecclesiastic Gervase Babington,

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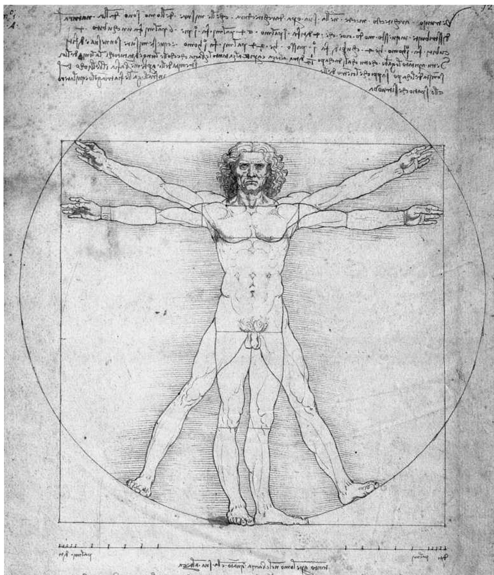

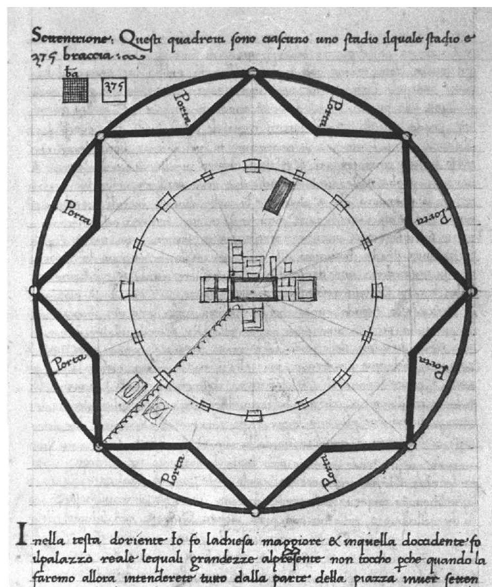

Figure 1. *Ideal Man: Leonardo's 'Vitruvian Man', c. 1490* (Galleria dell' Accademia, Venice).

Figure 2. *Ideal City: Filarete's Sforzinda, 1461–1464* (Bib. Naz., Magliabecchianus II, IV, 140, Florence).

'. . . geometrically that is according to everie mans service and worthinesse, not Arithmetically, that is to every man alike.'[121] When the geometrically apportioned body failed, when the parts no longer knew their 'place', the unity of good form collapsed and an horrific shapelessness erupted. As Starkey put it in 1538: 'Aftur thys maner the partys in proportyon not agreying . . . make in this polityke body grete and monstrose deformyte.'[122] (Figs 3 and 4.)

Continuity and transformation in the discourse

This constellation of categories and concepts, in which the spatial is constantly implicated, maps the terrain of a highly influential, and not easily elided, discourse on 'Ireland'. Related to a generalised notion of *native* Ireland they, despite certain renegotiations, clearly retained their currency into the nineteenth century. In the 'travel literature' (using that term in its broadest sense) of the 1800s, there is a continual sense of awareness of the resonance and relevance of the earlier texts and explicit reference to them is not uncommon.[123] From the later eighteenth century on, the Irish landscape was traversed by an increasing number of travellers whose observations gave rise to an accumulating volume of descriptive literature. There was a progressive shift in the composition of those passing along the roads as antiquarians, agriculturalists, Grand Tour refugees, and others moving with an

Figure 3. *Irish Man, 1882* (*Punch*, May 20th, 1882).

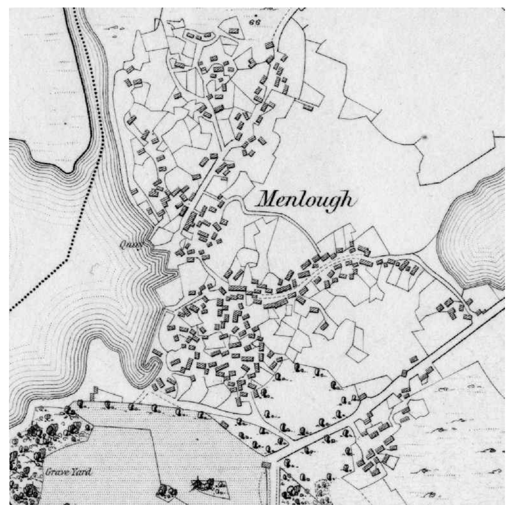

Figure 4 *Irish 'City', 1839: 'There is no row of houses, or anything approaching to a row, but each cottage is stuck independently by itself, and always at an acute, obtuse, or right angle to the next cottage, as the case may be. The irregularity is curious; there are no two cottages placed in a line, or of the same size, dimensions and build. The Irish mind has here, without obstruction or instruction, fully developed itself. As this is the largest village I ever saw, so it is the poorest, the worst built, the most strangely irregular, and the most completely without head or centre, or market or church, or school, of any village I was ever in. It is an overgrown democracy.' (T. C. Foster on Menlough; Letters on the Condition of the People of Ireland: 292.)* (Ordnance Survey of Ireland, 6 inch: first edition, Co. Galway, Sheet 82, surveyed 1839.)

explicit aesthetic agenda gave way to royal commissioners, newspaper correspondents, researchers of various hues, and inveterate travellers, generally 'progressive' and politicised commentators who discoursed robustly on England's relationship with Ireland, on social and economic conditions, and who offered varied analyses and nostra for moral and economic redemption. Within the discourse, barbarity/savageness had been generally transformed, by the mid-nineteenth century, into that characteristic notion of paternal landlordism, 'childlikeness'. Thus, for example, the Donegal landlord Lord George Hill wrote of '. . . the unspeakable satisfaction to be derived from an humble consciousness, that our time, thoughts, talents,

influence, means, were devoted to the noble effort of raising the character, encreasing and perpetuating the comforts of the kind-hearted beings whom Divine Providence has made to be mainly dependent upon our guardianship and mercy.'.[124] Even so, the savage did not so much disappear as go 'underground'. It was always latent and could erupt, at times of political threat, in the guise of the bestial or the monstrous child which turns against its parent. So T. C. Foster, when arguing the necessity of extinguishing any agitation, whether Orange or Repeal: 'If necessary, fear not to do it *despotically*. Remember you are dealing with a people who in the mass are almost uncivilised. Like children they require governing with a hand of power. They *require* authority, and will *bear* it. A more enlightened community would not require it, and would not bear it.'[125] Within this childlikeness, which was exemplified by the still frequently Gaelic-speaking Irish peasant, were conserved notions of primitiveness, irrationality, lack of evolution and development, and a corresponding need for guidance and authority; and these held equally good for both the innocent and the monstrous child. In the Victorian documentation the sense of arable ineptitude, always present in the charge of pastoralism, asserts itself, and the idea of the impracticality of the Celt, a notion related to indolence and irrationality, becomes more keen. Charles Trevelyan, the assistant secretary of the Treasury, key administrator of relief at the time of the mid-nineteenth century Great Famine, and vehement advocate of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* described himself as being a Celt '. . . belonging to the class of Reformed Cornish Celts, who by long habits of intercourse with the Anglo-Saxons have learned at last to be practical men.'[126] Important renegotiations and inversions were also in play. We have already noted the theme of an excessive 'closeness'; to the Romantic sensibility the way in which the Other seemed to pass over into and partake in alterior conditions could seem beguiling. For Matthew Arnold, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, the Celt's 'closeness to nature' (and also to the 'feminine') was a kind of mystical communion with it: '. . . no doubt' he opined 'the sensibility of the Celtic nature, its nervous exaltation, have something feminine in them, and the Celt is thus peculiarly disposed to feel the spell of feminine idiosyncrasy; he has an affinity to it; he is not far from its secret. Again, his sensitivity gives him a particularly near and intimate feeling of nature and the life of nature; here too he seems in a special way attracted by the secret before him, the secret of nature, beauty and natural magic, and to be close to it, to half-divine it.'[127] His call was to unite the Saxon genius ('masculine'- steadfastness, honesty and practicality) with the Celtic genius ('feminine'- spirituality, vitality and passion) in a marriage which would forge a national composite genius of immense resources.

The operation of the colonial discourse, whereby the constructed identities of the 'Self' and its 'Other' are both distanced from and implicated in one another holds the possibility that the relationship between the two, which tends towards one of inversion, be recognised as a kind of mythic *twinship*; in the case in question, this is no doubt facilitated by the macro-geographics of the 'twin' landmasses lying off the continental coast. This

theme was developed in the *Punch* caricatures, emerging from the mid-nineteenth century, which staged the Irish problem as a family drama;[128] one drawn by John Tenniel and published in 1881 is of particular interest for us here. (Fig. 5.) We have noted, in both the Anglo-Norman and the Tudor material, how the colonial discourse 'deterritorialises' the native, how it proposes the colonist as he who will satisfy/save the land from its present inhabitants. In Tenniel's cartoon, Britannia and Hibernia are presented as sisters. Once more Hibernia is being abused by its inhabitants, but now she is platonic and virginal. No longer is she an unsatisfied 'wife' awaiting husbanding but (in the context of the Land League, whose sign Britannia is treading underfoot) a maiden threatened precisely by an *excess* of penetration, marked in the stoney signifier held in the brute's raised hand. Now the native seeks to penetrate, but it is forced entry, rape. (The situation is reminiscent of Caliban's assault on Miranda, a theme to which Tenniel would allude in his *Punch* cartoon, *Crowning the O'Caliban*, two years later.) The country turns toward a resolute Britannia for protection. With the 'deterritorialisation' of the native, a split is produced within the colonial object; its alterity is divided between a 'good twin' which is recuperated (as Form) by the colonist and a phobic, spectral, formless remainder.

TWO FORCES.

Figure 5. *Punch*, October 29th, 1881.

Notes and references

1. Barnabe Rich, *A New Description of Ireland: Wherein is described the disposition of the Irish whereunto they are inclined* (London, Thomas Adams, 1610): p. 2.
2. For a short sharp defence of this usage with regard to the Anglo-Normans in Ireland see J. A. Watt's statement in 'Approaches to the history of fourteenth-century Ireland,' in *A New History of Ireland II. Medieval Ireland 1169–1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987): pp. 312–3.
3. I borrow the term 'identity-effects' from Homi Bhabha. See his essay 'Of Mimicry and Man: the Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse' in *October: the First Decade, 1976–86*, ed. A. Michelson, R. Krauss, D. Crimp, J. Copjec (Cambridge, Mass., MIT Pres, 1987): pp. 317–25.
4. Richard Stanihurst, 'A Treatise Conteining a plaine and perfect description of Ireland etc.' in *The Second Volume of Chronicles: Conteining the description, conquest, inhabitation, and troblesome estate of*

Ireland; first collected by Raphaell Holinshed; and now newlie recognised, augmented etc. By Iohn Hooker alias Vowell gent. (London, 1586): p. 11.

5. As Heidegger points out in 'The Origin of the Work of Art' in Martin Heidegger, *Basic Writings*, ed. David Farrell Krell (New York, HarperCollins, 1977): p. 158.
6. Sir Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (Charlottesville, Virginia University Press, 1968): p. 21.
7. John Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice, vol.III' in *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London, George Allen, 1904), 11: 174, §53.
8. It is strange, Moryson mused, '. . . how contrary they are to themselves, for in apparel, meat, fashions, and customs they are most base and abject, yet they are by nature proud and disdainful of reproach. They thought it no shame to run from battle yet their courage was great. They didn't know what honour was, but sought after it more than any other race', Fynes Moryson, 'The Manners and Customs of Ireland' [Chapter 5, Book V, Part IV of the *Itinerary*], in C. Litton Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, Mainly of the Seventeenth Century* (London, Longmans Greene and Co., 1904): p. 311.
9. The notion of an 'Icarian Complex' is Georges Bataille's; see 'The "Old Mole" and the Prefix *Sur* in the Words *Surhomme* and *Surrealist*,' in Georges Bataille, *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings*, *1927–1939*, ed. Alan Stoekl (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1985): p. 37.
10. Stanihurst, 'A Treatise': 45. It was considered that many now displayed the traits of Irishness to a greater degree than the Irishry themselves. They '. . . showed such malice to the English nation as if they were ashamed to have any community with it' (Fynes Moryson, 'Commonwealth' [Chapter 5, Book II, Part IV of the *Itinerary*] in C. Litton Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography*: 250). They spoke Irish, wore Irish clothes, married and fostered children with the Irish, observed Irish laws, and accepted the church of Rome. Moryson was told '. . . twenty absurd things . . .' that they practised just because they would be contrary to the English (he had heard of forty practised ,for the same reason, by the mere Irish) and he concluded that '. . . they abhor from all things that agree with English civility' (Fynes Moryson, 'Manners': p. 322; 'Commonwealth': p. 263). The ease with which the transformation from English to Irish was accomplished horrified commentators who recognised little corresponding movement in the opposite direction; Camden wrote that '. . . one would not beleeve in how short a time some English among them degenerate and grow out of kind' (William Camden, *Britain or A Chorographicall Description of the Most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the Islands adjoyning, out of the depth of Antiquitie* (1637): p. 148.
11. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. J. J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1982): p. 109.
12. Edmund Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland Written Dialogue-Wise Between Eudoxus and Ireneus' in H. Morley, *Ireland Under Elizabeth and James I* (London, George Routledge and Sons, 1890): p. 192.
13. And, according to Spenser's Eudoxus, this fall, this betrayal of civility, warranted that the gaelicised English be treated more severely than the '. . . rude Irish . . .' themselves (Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 192).
14. Moryson, 'Commonwealth': p. 298.
15. 'The speech used by Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, to Sir William Jones, upon his calling to be Lord Chief Justice of Ireland (1617)' in Constantia Maxwell, *Irish History From*

Contemporary Sources, 1509–1610 (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1923): p. 273.

16. Camden, *Britain*: p. 63.
17. Camden, *Britain*: p. 118.
18. Stanihurst, 'A Treatise': p. 31.
19. [Sir Thomas Smith], *A letter sent by I. B. Gentleman unto his very frende Mayster R. C. Esquire* (1572): no pagination. Smith's pamphlet, and associated documentation, was the first printed publicity for an English colonial venture, and possibily the first for any business enterprise. It was highly successful. Within six months of its publication, around 800 adventurers had enlisted; D. B. Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginning of English Colonial Theory,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 89 (1945): p. 551.
20. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: p. 102.
21. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 54.
22. Luke Gernon. 'A Discourse of Ireland, Anno 1620' in C. Litton Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography*: pp. 349–50.
23. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 55.
24. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 36.
25. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 37.
26. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': pp. 124–5.
27. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 134.
28. Stanihurst, 'A Treatise': p. 10.
29. From letter from Sir John Davis to Salisbury, 10th June 1609, in Maxwell, *Irish History From Contemporary Sources*: p. 52 (footnote).
30. Stanihurst, 'A Treatise': p. 31.
31. Camden, *Britain*: p. 98.
32. Fynes Moryson, 'A Description of Ireland 1600–1603' (Chapter 5, Book III, Part III of the 'Itinerary') in Morley, *Ireland Under Elizabeth and James I*: p. 423.
33. Moryson, 'Manners': p. 312.
34. In his essay 'Ordering the Landscape' Rhys Jones cites the example of a claim to ownership of ancestral land which was brought to an Australian court by a group of Aborigines in 1971. It was ruled that they 'did not, according to British and later Australian law, own this land. To own it, one had not only to have some formal title: one also had to work it, to use it. Property required the union of land and labour . . . The judgement . . . was that the Aborigines "have a more cogent feeling of obligation *to* the land than of ownership of it"; and, in a celebrated phrase, "it seems easier on the evidence to say that the clan belongs to the land than that the land belongs to the clan."' Rhys Jones, 'Ordering the Landscape' in *Seeing the First Australians*, ed. Ian Donaldson and Tasmin Donaldson (Sydney, George Allen and Unwin, 1985): p. 184.
35. Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. R. M. Adams (New York, Norton, 1992): p. 41.
36. Cited in Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginning of English Colonial Theory': p. 547.
37. [Smith], *A letter*: no pagination.
38. Mary Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith: a Tudor Intellectual in Office* (London, Athlone Press, 1964): p. 166.
39. [Smith], *A letter*: no pagination.
40. Moryson, 'Commonwealth': p. 250.
41. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 140.
42. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 87.
43. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 199.
44. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': pp. 122–3.
45. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': pp. 205–6.
46. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 196.
47. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 165.
48. E. Curtis and R. B. McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172–1922* (London, Metheun and Son, 1943): p. 17.
49. Curtis and McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172–1922*: pp. 20–1.

50. Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982): pp. 179–81.
51. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: p. 32.
52. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: p. 31.
53. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: p. 53.
54. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: p. 56.
55. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: p. 51.
56. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: pp. 100–1.
57. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: p. 118.
58. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: p. 103.
59. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: p. 101.
60. I have used Bartlett's translation here; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223*: p. 176.
61. Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500–c.1800* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995): pp. 17–18.
62. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 52.
63. Rolf Loeber, *The Geography and Practice of English Colonization in Ireland – Irish Settlement Studies no.3* (Dublin, The Group for the Study of irish Historical Settlements, 1991): p. 39.
64. Moryson, 'Commonwealth': p. 286.
65. From Francis Bacon. 'Certain Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland (1608)' in Maxwell, *Irish History From Contemporary Sources*: p. 269.
66. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 206.
67. Rich, *A New Description of Ireland*: pp. 14–15.
68. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*: p. 101.
69. Moryson, 'Manners': p. 323.
70. Moryson, 'Description': p. 429 and 'Commonwealth': p. 301; Camden, *Britain*: p. 145.
71. Camden, *Britain*: p. 142.
72. Camden, *Britain*: p. 146.
73. Edward Campion, 'Campion's Historie of Ireland' in Sir James Ware, *The Historie of Ireland, Collected By Three Learned Authors* (Dublin, Society of Stationers, 1633): p. 18; Camden, *Britain*: p. 147. Camden tells us that Strabo termed the Irish 'eaters of herbs'.
74. Moryson, 'Description': p. 427.
75. From 'Minute of the most gross error, long since committed and still continued, in the Wars of Ireland, and the way to redress the same, briefly declared (1599)' in Maxwell, *Irish History From Contemporary Sources*: p. 219.
76. Moryson, 'Description': p. 430.
77. Josias Bodley. 'An Account of a Journey of Captain Josias Bodley into Lecale, in Ulster, in the Year 1602–3' in C. Litton Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography* : p. 329.
78. 'A Trip to Ireland, being a Description of the Country, People and Manners etc. Printed in the Year, 1699' in *Five Travel Scripts Commonly Attributed to Edward Ward* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1933): p. 4.
79. 'A Trip to Ireland . . .': p. 9.
80. 'A Trip to Ireland . . .': p. 8.
81. 'A Trip to Ireland . . .': p. 5.
82. Moryson, 'Manners': p. 315.
83. Moryson, 'Commonwealth': p. 249.
84. For Gerald, for example, the Irish were illicitly close to the beast, transgressively collapsing the gap between it and the human, and in the process conjuring aberrations.
85. From William Thomas, 'The Pilgrim: A Dialogue on the Life and Actions of King Henry VIII (1552)' in Maxwell, *Irish History From Contemporary Sources*: p. 117.

86. Marina Warner, *Managing Monsters: Six Myths of Our Time* (London, Vintage, 1994): pp. 69–70.
87. For example, Camden, *Britain*: p. 145; John Gillingham, 'Images of Ireland 1170–1600: The Origins of English Imperialism,' *History Today* 37 (February, 1987): p. 18.
88. Campion, 'Campion's Historie of Ireland': p. 16; Camden, *Britain*: p. 140.
89. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 101.
90. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 96.
91. Rich, *A New Description of Ireland*: p. 25.
92. Rich, *A New Description of Ireland*: p. 15.
93. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 90.
94. From E.C.S. 'The Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrot (1626)' in Maxwell, *Irish History From Contemporary Sources*: p. 350.
95. Lisa Jardine, 'Mastering the Uncouth: Gabriel Harvey, Edmund Spenser and the English Experience in Ireland' in *New Perspectives in Renaissance Thought: Essays in the History of Science, Education and Philosophy in memory of Charles B. Schmitt*, ed. S. Henry and S. Hutton (London, Ducksworth, 1990): pp. 68–9.
96. Campion, 'Campion's Historie of Ireland': p. 15.
97. Rich, *A New Description of Ireland*: no pagination ('An Epistle to the Reader').
98. [Smith], *A letter*: no pagination.
99. Cited in N. Canny, 'The Ideology of English Colonisation: From Ireland to America,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 30 (1973): p. 581.
100. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': pp. 82–5.
101. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 85.
102. 'Queen Elizabeth I as Astraea' in Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: the Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975): p. 50.
103. As Tacitus describes Germany in 'Germania' in *Tacitus I: Agricola, Germania, Dialogus*, trans. M. Hutton and W. Peterson, (Cambridge Mass., HarperCollins, 1980): p. 130. Simon Schama points out that the adjective means both shapeless and dismal; Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London, 1995): p. 81.
104. Spenser, 'A View of the State of Ireland': p. 81.
105. Camden, *Britain*: p. 65.
106. Camden, *Britain*: p. 66.
107. Letter to Fitzwilliam, 8th November, 1572 cited in Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginning of English Colonial Theory': p. 546.
108. Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginning of English Colonial Theory': p. 47; Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith*: p. 165–6.
109. Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginning of English Colonial Theory': p. 547.
110. D.B. Quinn, 'Renaissance Influences in English Colonization,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26, 5th series (London, 1976): p. 75.
111. Fran oise Choay, *The Rule and the Model: On the Theory of Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. Denise Bratton (Cambridge Mass., MIT Press, 1997): p. 145.
112. Essex Record Office: D/D Sh01/2 ('Orders set out by Sir Thomas Smith Knight . . .' [1573]); D/D Sh 01/3 ('Deed of Covenant between Sir Thomas Smith knight and Sir John Barckely . . .' [1573]); D/D Sh01/5 ('Deed of Covenant between Sir Thomas Smith knight and Frs. Brunyng . . .' [1573]).
113. ERO: D/D Sh01/2.
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116. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991): pp. 236–7.
117. See the discussion in Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: the Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (London, Faber and Faber, 1976): pp. 45–9.

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121. Gervase Babington, *A very fruitfull Exposition of the Commaundements by way of Questions and Answeres for greater plainnesse* (London, T. Chard, 1583): p. 386.
122. Thomas Starkey, *England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth: A Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford*, ed. J. M. Cowper (London, Early English Text Society, 1878): p. 84.
123. For example Gerald and Moryson in T. C Foster, *Letters on the Condition of the People of Ireland: reprinted, by permission, with additions and copious notes, from 'The Times' newspaper* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1846): pp. 346–7 (footnote) and 419 (footnote); Gerald in Caesar Otway, *Sketches in Ireland: Descriptive of Interesting and Hitherto Unnoticed Districts, in the North and South* (Dublin, Wm. Curry, Son and Co., 1827): p. 26; and Gerald and Camden in T. Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland, Illustrative of the Scenery, Architectural Remains, and the Manners and Superstitions of the Peasantry* (London, John Murray, 1824): p. 13 and throughout Chapter V: pp. 78–99.
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125. T. C. Foster, *Letters on the Condition of the People of Ireland*: p. 599
126. Cited in Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845–9* (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1964): p. 59.
127. Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (London, South Elder and Co., 1867): p. 108.
128. 'Paddy and Mr. Punch' in R. F. Foster, *Paddy and Mr. Punch: Connections in Irish and English History* (London, Penguin, 1993): p. 180.