

NATION, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY:
WRITING GAELIC BRITAIN FROM 1639–1715

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Le caint a dhruidfair gach shith,
bheirthair adhradh don ard Riogh:
neach da fheabhas 's fann a chor,
's canamhuin a bhi da easbhuidh.

With speech every peace-accord is sealed
and worship given to the high King:
anyone of whatever worth, his plight is feeble
if he lacks language.

Abstract

The purpose of the thesis is to examine the literary representations of the national and cultural identities of the Gaels in Scotland and Ireland from 1639-1715. This thesis demonstrates that Gaelic identities were already significantly divergent between Scotland and Ireland at the outset of this time-frame, and that this continued throughout the period notwithstanding common causes such as royalism and Jacobitism. As this thesis explores, this divergence is largely due to the very different internal politics and ethnic dynamics of early modern Scotland and Ireland. Nevertheless, although this thesis argues that a greater identification with the nations of Scotland or Ireland is evident on both sides of the channel, this is often in tandem with a partially incongruent, yet enduring, identification with a cultural Gaelic identity. The disjuncture between Scottish and Irish national identities and a Gaelic identity which had as its cultural heritage a space and history that exceeded that of just Scotland or just Ireland, is one of the key tensions this thesis explores. In Ireland, Gaelic identity was partially reconstructed into a patriotic and religious vision of Irishness in which the Gaels were part of a uniquely Catholic history. In Scotland, Gaelic identity retained its keen sense of difference from the Lowland Scots – though this was not necessarily antagonistic – and for many it also became bound up into a dynastic loyalty to the House of Stuart and to the Kingdom of Scotland. These discourses were refracted through the complex of literary cultures and practices of the early modern archipelago, and this thesis demonstrates that a study of the different genres, linguistic traditions, and mediums taken together is necessary to capture the manifold and subtle representations of Gaelic identities during this period.

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Note on language and names

I have presented the texts as they have been edited. The one exception to this has been to transcribe any texts presented in a Gaelic type into roman type and to expand lenition marks accordingly. All translations are those of the editors except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.

English rather than Gaelic place names have been used throughout. Occasional exceptions have occurred where the context has demanded it but these have been glossed.

Regularised early modern Gaelic forms of names have been used throughout, except where someone is known almost exclusively by a particular name e.g. Maighstir Seathan. In the case of someone's first appearance I have normally included the kindred name. Where a patronymic is combined with a Mac or Ó surname, the surname is presented in the nominative rather than genitive form, e.g. Uilliam Óg mac Uilliam Óig Mac an Bhaird rather than Mheic an Bhaird. Patronymics are distinguished from kindred names by the use of lowercase 'mac/ni' for 'son/daughter of', and upper case 'Mac/Ni' when used in a kindred name. In accordance with traditional and contemporary Irish usage, all surnames with 'Mac' and 'Ó' are written with a space between them and the following kindred name, e.g. Mac Coinnigh rather than MacConnich as in contemporary Scottish Gaelic usage.

Whilst Gaelic names have been used, plurals and possessives are indicated using English rather than Gaelic practices. This leads to an amalgam but it is useful in maximising readability for those of all language abilities.

When referring to Gaelic poetry I have indicated line numbers if used in the edition. Otherwise I have referred to the stanza with the section mark § followed by stanza number, or §§ for multiple stanzas.

Abbreviations

AB	Edward Lhwyd, <i>Archæologia Britannica: giving some account additional to what has hitherto been published of the Languages, Histories and Customs of the Original Inhabitants of Great Britain from Collections and Observations and Travels through Wales, Cornwall, Bas-Bretagne, Ireland and Scotland, Vol 1 Glossography</i> (Oxford 1707).
AD	<i>Aithdioghluim Dána: A miscellany of Irish Bardic Poetry, Historical and Religious, including the historical poems of the dunaire in the Yellow Book of Lecan</i> , ed. Lambert McKenna, 2 vols, 1939-40 (ITS: Dublin, 1989).
BCG	<i>Bàrdachd Chloinn Ghill-Eathain: Eachann Bacach and other MacLean Poets</i> , ed. Colm Ó Baoill (Edinburgh: SGTS, 1979).
BG	<i>Bardachd Ghaidhlig: 1550-1900</i> , ed. William J. Watson, 3 rd edn (Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach, 1959).
BSnC	<i>Bàrdachd Shìlis na Ceapaich: Poems and Songs by Sìleas MacDonald</i> , ed. Colm Ó Baoill (Edinburgh, SGTS, 1972).
CoUP	Cork University Press
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DDUB	<i>Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair: The Poems of David Ó Bruadair</i> , ed. John C. Mac Erlean, 3 vols (London: ITS, 1910-1917).
DG	Wilson McLeod, <i>Divided Gaels: Gaelic cultural identities in Scotland and Ireland c.1200-c.1650</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
GnC	<i>Gàir nan Clàrsach: The Harp's Cry, an Anthology of 17th Century Gaelic Poetry</i> , ed., Ó Colm Baoill (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1994).
ITS	Irish Texts Society
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
OIL	<i>Orain Iain Luim: Songs of John MacDonald Bard of Keppoch</i> , ed. Annie M. Mackenzie (Edinburgh: SGTS, 1964).
SGS	<i>Scottish Gaelic Studies</i>
SGTS	Scottish Gaelic Texts Society
TSGI	<i>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness</i>

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Introduction

i) An t-Òran Mòr, an t-Amhrán Mór, the Great Song

A nation is a song. It has rhythms, it returns again and again to the homeland of its chorus, and like a song it fades into the unreal as the last syllables slip the singer's lips. It requires singers, voices, bodies, to trace the lineaments of its past, and to imagine its futures. What existence does it have if the singing stops? In Edinburgh, in the old Parliament House, the Earl of Seafield stepped up to sign the Act of Union with England which would close that house and merge it with the Parliament of England; having done so he faced the assembled Parliament and remarked, perhaps with some smugness, 'there's an end of an old song.'¹ An end and a new beginning conceivably, but old echoes and refrains would sound out in the coming decades alongside fresh notes, and history sonorous would continue to fill the air and lungs of the present. An 'old song' becomes fresh when newly sung, and singers across the archipelago were shaping the old and the new in their stories of who they were and how their culture, their identity, and experiences could be understood.

A nation is a song. But a nation is also a mòd, a feis, a festival or contest of songs. Iain Lom, the greatest and most prolific Scottish Gaelic poet of the seventeenth century, sung of the nation 'eadar Arcaibh is Tuaid' ['between Orkney and Tweed'].² Yet states, kingdoms, borders and cultures are never so simple as their geographic representation on a map would suggest. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century the competing songs for the nations of Ireland and Scotland rang out polyglot in Irish and Scottish Gaelics, Scots, English, Hiberno-English, Latin, and the last utterances of Common Classical Gaelic. The

¹ ODNB.

² Iain Lom Mac Domhnaill, 'An ainm an àigh nì mi tùs', *OIL*, 2464.

creeds, politics, clans, and cultures of the archipelago competed and coalesced and diverged around new songs and new ideas of the nations. Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair, one of the last classically trained Gaelic poets in Ireland, thought he saw the end of one song-line stuttering out in the harsh realities of Williamite Ireland:

Dá dtigeadh le héinneach gréas i gcosmhalacht chirt
i gcunnail I gcéim 's i réimibh scoile do chur
iar dtuireamh an scéil do adéaradh scoturra glic
ionnus a chéille air féin nach doirche Dutch.

If anyone could write a piece of poetry correct in form,
Prudently embroidered in the style and metres of the school,
When the tale was told, a clever Scottic [Irish] yeoman would assert
That its sense to him was such that Dutch could not be more obscure.³

This typical (both of Ó Bruadair and the professional poets more generally) aristocratic disdain for the decline of one kind of verse and the degeneration and mingling of the language, did not anticipate that a new form of song, the amhrán, would develop fresh modes of national and cultural expression and would come to dominate Irish poetry long into eighteenth century.⁴ John MacInnes has reminded us that ‘poets are the spokesmen of Gaelic society’ and that ‘in all ages and at a variety of social levels poetry is the traditional medium for the expressions of society's customary expectations.’⁵ Poets of course could also be singers and poems songs. The older bardic tradition, whilst preserved in the learned manuscripts of the Gaels, was itself one piece of a performative tradition which had its appropriate material and sometimes musical settings, though these are now incompletely understood.⁶ The vernacular Gaelic poets that emerge for the first time in the records of the seventeenth century were singers (or at least song composers) in a more

³ Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair, ‘Is urchra cléibh gan éigse chothrom ar bun’, *DDUB*, iii, §3.

⁴ See also Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh, ‘Sona do cheird, a Chalbhaigh’, *GnC*.

⁵ John MacInnes, ‘Gaelic Poetry and Historical Tradition’, *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal: selected essays of John MacInnes*, ed. Michael Newton (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006), 3-33, p.3.

⁶ See Terence P. McCaughey, ‘The Performing of Dán’, *Ériu*, 35 (1984), 39-57.

fundamental sense; composing to established airs and melodies, and their songs have remained in the oral repertoire to the present day.⁷ The survival of these songs alone points to their enduring reception, repetition and relevance in their communities over a long period of time. The Scottish Parliament may have closed its doors not long after Seafield's vault, but the songs have stubbornly persisted.

Songs and poetry then provide some of the richest evidence for how a nation and its identity were conceptualised and performed by the peoples of Ireland and Scotland at this time. By looking chiefly at songs and poetry, alongside some key prose texts, this study sets out to recover and explore some of the polyglot singing and shaping of Irish and Scottish identities. Gaelic poetry, neo-Latin compositions, and prose in various Englishes all contributed and reacted to the intense political events of the period. Between 1639 and 1715 the archipelago witnessed momentous political and social changes, and regular disruptions and eruptions of violence. The constitution shifted from a multiple monarchy to a crowned republic, back to a multiple monarchy, and then to a partial parliamentary union. The ruling dynasty transferred from the Stuarts to the House of Orange, back to the Stuarts, and finally to the House of Hanover. Two kings were deposed, one of these was publicly executed, and the other set up an alternative court-in-exile on the continent. These events occurred within the contexts of conflicts which resulted in major bloodletting along party, religious, and ethnic lines. Alongside this, Anglo-English emerged as the prestige vernacular across the islands, Common Classical Gaelic disappeared, and the spoken vernaculars of Irish and Scottish Gaels came to the fore and already showed signs of linguistic and literary divergence. This study addresses the period between 1639-1715 as a key moment in British

⁷ Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Oral and Written Transmission of Poetry in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, 2 (1987), 57-65, p.59.

state formation at a constitutional level, but also at a cultural level, and, in that context, examines the complex place of the Gaels both within their respective state-territories and within any putative wider Gaeldom.

Wilson McLeod has traced the connections in bardic verse between Ireland and Scotland up to the mid seventeenth century. Murray Pittock, Breandán Ó Buachalla and others have examined Jacobitism in various Gaelic, Irish, or Scottish contexts. In Irish academies in particular, large scale debates and controversies over the nature of early modern Gaelic national consciousness, the development of Irishness, and the capabilities of Gaelic poetry to express political concerns have absorbed significant scholarly careers in what Patricia Palmer has termed ‘the old "poets and politics" controversy’.⁸ This has produced a body of scholarship that is often combative but that has also developed new ways of approaching early modern Irish texts that have ramifications for our readings of Scottish texts as well. John Kerrigan has notably explored the manifold cultural and political positions of writing in English across the archipelago in his *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603–1707* (2008). Alongside these literary and cultural scholars, historians have also frequently traversed similar grounds and generated new models for understanding the complex polities of the early modern archipelago. Of all these significant and illuminating studies, McLeod's is the one that brings the most focus to bear on the relationship between the Irish and Scottish Gaels. His focus however was on bardic productions, i.e. Gaelic poetry written in the learned common or classical idiom that was practised to varying extents by professional poets in both Ireland and Scotland from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. Understandably his study closes at the meaningful

⁸ Patricia Palmer, ‘Babel is Come Again: Linguistic Colonisation and the Bardic Response in Early Modern Ireland’, *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 20/21 (2000/2001), 366-376, p.370.

terminus of this poetic culture – although a rump of bardic and semi-bardic poetry continued to be produced until the early eighteenth century. The hundred years or so that followed on from 1640 provide further fertile ground for examining the changing relationships between the Gaels on both islands and the different cultural dynamics within the Irish and Scottish states themselves. Vernacular poetry and songs flourished during this period, which was also one of renewed political interaction between Irish and Scottish Gaels primarily during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1650), but also then subsequently in growth of cultural and political Jacobitism. The writings, then, of both the Gaels and those others in Ireland and Scotland who wrote about the Gaels, constitute a vital source for understanding the post-bardic interactions and divergences of the Gaelic peoples. How then did Gaelic writers (Scots and Irish) represent their national or cultural identities in the period 1639-1715? How did those non-Gaels who had vital and intimate connections with Gaelic culture over this period perceive and represent Gaelic identities in their writing? What can answering these questions elucidate about the state of Gaeldom, of the internal ethnic boundaries of Ireland and Scotland, and the cultural politics of the Archipelago? In this introduction we will explore some of the concepts and manifestations of territory, state, culture, and identity that formed a key part of the mental world of the Gaels in the late medieval and early modern period and, as such, form a key context for any subsequent exploration of these questions.

ii) Gàidhealtachd to Gaeltacht – the territory of Gaeldom in the early modern period

In one sense, early modern Gaeldom stretched from Cape Clear in County Cork to Cape Wrath in Sutherland. In other words a linguistic continuum of Gaelic speakers dominated the western half of the Atlantic Archipelago. This Gaeldom has sometimes been imagined – by people ranging from early poets themselves to modern scholars – as a cohesive entity, as something approaching a unitary culture-province built on a shared language and cultural heritage.⁹ This Gaelic zone straddled Sruth na Maoile [the ‘Straits of Moyle’] and overlaid the early modern territories of the Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland.¹⁰ Neither of these kingdoms was Gaelic in its structure and administration; rather in Edinburgh a Scots court exerted influence and exercised patchy control right out to the Hebrides, while in Ireland the Tudor reconquest had effectively re-established English control over the island by 1603. No Gaelic political entity has ever claimed to be coextensive with Gaeldom, and indeed in the early modern period Gaelic powers were small, fragmented, and compromised by the larger state powers that claimed suzerainty over the territories of Scotland and Ireland. The traditional locus for Gaelic political power on the island of Ireland at a scale beyond that of regional lordships was the medieval Ard Rí [‘High King’] of Ireland. This had been in abeyance since the Norman conquest of Ireland in the 12th century, and it had never been in a true sense a national kingship with administrative authority over the whole island. Regardless of its absence, the concept of the Ard Rí provided a useful – if materially attenuated – imaginative location for the political and cultural aspirations of many Irish

⁹ See Wilson McLeod's discussion of the term ‘culture-province’, *DG*, pp.4-6. See also David Horsburgh, ‘When was Gaelic Scottish? The origins, emergence and development of Scottish Gaelic Identity 1400-1750’, *Rannachadh na Gàidhlig 2000: Papers read at the Conference Scottish Gaelic Studies 2000 held at the University of Aberdeen 2-4 August 2000*, ed. Colm Ó Baoill and Nancy McGuire (Aberdeen, An Clò Gaidhealach, 2002), 231-242.

¹⁰ Ireland of course was constitutionally a ‘Lordship’ attached to the English crown until Henry VIII's aggrandizement of the territory into a ‘Kingdom’ in 1542. Steven G. Ellis has termed this transformation a vital Tudor ‘ideological weapon’ in the long-term campaign of subduing Ireland and asserting English authority over the Island. ‘The Collapse of the Gaelic World, 1450-1650’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 31:124 (1999), 449-469, p.464.

poets and lords.¹¹ In Ireland at least, the traditional geography of the Gaelic world in poetry was stubbornly Hibernocentric, with poets often only recognising Scottish Gaeldom as some sort of adjunct to the unity of Banbha. McLeod put it most succinctly when he wrote that "imagining Scotland" was not a high priority in the bardic schools'.¹² However, aspirations for power and sovereignty could find their own language and political geographies in Scottish bardic poetry apart from the Ard Rí paradigm of Ireland. The 7th Caimbéal Earl of Argyll was told by a poet that:

Maith an chairt cennas na nGaoidheal
greim uirthe géb é 'ga mbi
neart slóigh san uair-si do arduigh
cóir is uaisle a n-Albuin í.

A good charter is the headship of the Gael
Whoever it be that has a grip of it;
a peoples' might at the time it was exalted;
it is the noblest title in Alba.¹³

The cultural unity of Gaeldom has proved through history to be almost as elusive as political unity. Gaeldom is in itself an English word, and the possible Gaelic equivalents are not entirely satisfactory. In modern Scottish Gaelic usage 'Gàidhealtachd' signifies the geographical region of the Highlands, whereas in Ireland 'Gaeltacht' has come to have distinct administrative meaning as a place or community where the Irish language still has a major foothold. The latter usage has also carried over in to English to roughly indicate a place where Gaelic is still spoken. Both these usages are relatively modern and, in the case of Scotland, the classical bardic tradition retained a view of Scotland as 'Alba', a unitary space,

¹¹ Ellis has convincingly suggested that by the middle of the seventeenth century ideas of the Ard Rí had been supplanted by or subsumed into the Tudor kingship of Ireland. Ellis suggests this administrative national territory actually accelerated Irish Gaelic identification with a Kingdom of Ireland distinct from a wider concept of cultural or political Gaeldom that could include Scotland. 'The Collapse of the Gaelic World', pp.467-8.

¹² McLeod, *DG*, p.142.

¹³ 'Maith an chairt cennas na nGaoidheal', quoted in William J. Watson, 'Classical Gaelic poetry of panegyric in Scotland', *TSGI*, 29 (1922), 194-235, §1. Watson favours seeing this poem as addressed to the 7th Earl; for Coira's argument for the 4th Earl as addressee see *By poetic authority*, p.129.

Gaelic but foreign simultaneously.¹⁴ The Gaels did not emphasise the Gàidhealtachd/Gaeltacht as a national territory but instead focused on the territories of individual lordships at one level and that of Alba and Éireann at another. Just as Gaeldom has been erroneously imagined as a somewhat monolithic cultural space, it has often been viewed in contradistinction to an equally monolithic Galldachd/Galltacht [land of the foreigners]. In early modern Scotland this came relatively unproblematically to mean the Lowlands, in Ireland a more complex culture makeup complicated a simple geographical binary but ultimately the Gaelic poetry retains a distinction between Gael and Goill [foreigners].¹⁵ Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh's reminder to his patron is a frank and revealing admission of how this binary could be used:

I ndán na nGall gealltar linn
 Gaoidhil d'ionnarba a hÉirinn ;
 Goill do shraoineadh tar sáil sair
 i ndán na nGaoidheal gealltair.

In poetry for the English [Gall] we promise that the Gael will be banished from Ireland; in poetry for the Gael we promise that the English [Goill] will be routed across the sea.¹⁶

This cultural binary was clearly useful for the poets themselves, and indeed an important heuristic for the culture more generally, but we needn't extrapolate from it a wider notion of

¹⁴ See Wilson McLeod, 'Galldachd, Gàidhealtach, Garbhriochan', *SGS*, 19 (1999), 1-20. See also Martin McGregor, 'The Campbells: Lordship, Literature, and Liminality', *Textual Cultures*, 7:1 Spring 2012, 121-157, pp.123-4.

¹⁵ Whilst the medieval Pale may seem like a useful divider between Anglo-Normans and Gaels on the island, in truth the cultural and linguistic makeup on both sides of the Pale was far more complex and never static. Furthermore, the medieval conception of the Goill in Scotland is open to interpretation. John MacInnes, working from the seventeenth century onwards, sees a strong and consistent division between Gall and Sassanch (Lowlanders and English people) in Scottish Gaelic thought, whereas M Pía Coira and Wilson McLeod have suggested a more flexible, contextually dependant usage at least prior to the seventeenth century. See MacInnes, 'Gaelic perception', pp.34-47. Coira, 'The Earl of Argyll and the Goill: the "Flodden Poem" revisited', *SGS*, 24 (2008), 137-68, p.49; McLeod, 'Sovereignty, Scottishness and royal authority in Caimbeul poetry of the sixteenth century', *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Janet Hadley Williams, J. Derrick McClure (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp.231-248, p.235.

¹⁶ Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh, 'A Ghearóid, déana mo dháil', trans. Eleanor Knott, *Early Irish Literature*, ed. Eleanor Knott and Gerard Murphy (London: Routledge, 1966), p.77.

identity that defined itself solely in opposition. The easy distinction between Gael and Goill is simplistic and does not always map neatly onto the experience of identity and nation. In early modern Ireland a linguistic divide could be drawn between those who spoke Gaelic and those who spoke English, but neither group was itself ethnically monolithic, and indeed bilingualism must have featured in areas of close contact between the two languages and with many from the elite strata of society. Irish Gaels lived alongside the 'Old English' – the descendants of the twelfth century Anglo-Norman settlers many of whom had become linguistically or culturally Gaelicised. After the Reformation and Tudor reconquest of Ireland, culture, politics, and religion also cut across and complicated the simple linguistic divide. In early modern Scotland the rhetoric of Gael and Goill existed above a significant substratum of cultural hybridity. There an originally Gaelic kingship had been disrupted and transformed in the medieval period, and a slow, and still poorly understood process of de-Gaelicisation took place so that Gaelic receded gradually to the north and west. Despite this, ostensibly 'Gaelic' cultural practices such as clanship and fosterage were widely diffused throughout the Scots 'Galldachd'.¹⁷

Despite a broadly shared cultural heritage, and some partially shared cultural institutions such as the professional bardic poets, the history of Irish and Scottish Gaeldom had been largely one of divergence and difference in the late medieval period and their relationships with the Goill were also increasingly dissimilar in the separate spaces of Ireland and Scotland. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as state control tightened on the north of Scotland and south of Ireland respectively, sites of unrest remained, and the Gaelic west of Scotland and north of Ireland remained, long into the seventeenth century,

¹⁷ Aonghas MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility in the North Atlantic World: the case of the Northern Hebrides, 1570-1639* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2015), p.11.

locations of discontent and sources of unease for the central administrations in Dublin, Edinburgh, and London. The Privy Council of Scotland, in a letter regarding the Earl of Argyll's mission to capture Islay and Kintyre, termed Clann Domhnall, the major holders of territory in the isles and seaboard closest to the north of Ireland, as

the strangest piller of all the broken hieland men, quha nevir in any aige wer civill, bot hes bein the scoolemaisteris and fosteraris of all barbaritie, savaignes, and crueltye—hes evir from the beginning bein addictit nocht only to rebelloun within this continent land and the iles, bot evir wer assisteris of the northern Irische people, dwelling in Ireland, in all thair rebellionis.¹⁸

As this makes clear, Gaels fought against the increasingly powerful central authorities on both sides of the North Channel but we should be wary to elaborate this into cooperation between Irish and Scottish Gaeldom, or an occasion of a pan-Gaelic dynamic. McLeod has reminded us that cross-channel Gaelic cooperation and engagement was intermittent and never between entities as large or as nebulous as 'Scottish' or 'Irish' Gaeldom but rather between individuals, families, and wider kinship networks with vested interests.¹⁹ Rather than imagine a Gaeldom that encompasses the whole Gaelic language continuum – which certainly did stretch from Cork to Caithness – or indeed an Irish Gaeldom or Scottish Gaeldom, it is possible to discern networks of power and cultural production at a more regional level that would have had significant symbolic and material value to their inhabitants and participants.

The most substantial of these is the late medieval Ri Innse Gall [Lordship of the Isles]. This expansive Lordship was dominated by the Norse-Gaelic Clann Domhnall and, at its peak, dominated much of the western seaboard of Scotland, the Hebrides, and Ross in

¹⁸ *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 1st series (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1887), vii, p.749.

¹⁹ McLeod, *DG*, p.39.

northern Scotland. After the demise of the Lordship, a Clann Domhnall kindred also established a territory in the Glens of Antrim, leading one scholar to term the north of Ireland and the Scottish Western Seaboard the 'MacDonnell Archipelago'.²⁰ The extent of the Lordship's independence from the Scottish crown has been questioned, and indeed the lord remained a nominal vassal of the crown.²¹ However, de facto, the Lordship retained significant cultural and political independence from Edinburgh.²² Despite this semi-independence from the Scottish state, the Lordship does not comfortably fit into the pattern of Irish Gaelic lordships. Probably due to their relationship with the Kingdom of Scotland, the Lordship had adopted a more feudal social and economic system than traditional Irish Gaelic lords.²³ The archaeological evidence also paints a mixed picture of "Gaelic" and "Scottish" elements. Economically anomalous, the Lordship also possessed a distinct architectural and sculptural culture leading Caldwell and Ewert to argue that 'no region of Scotland can be so clearly distinguished by its material culture as the Lordship of the Isles'.²⁴ The linguistic and orthographic historical evidence tends to add to the picture of the Lordship as uncharacteristic or unique in mediaeval Gaelic Scotland. Aonghas MacConnich has demonstrated that in Scotland the orthographic and linguistic reach of Common Classical Gaelic – the mandarin literary dialect of the bards and chiefs of Ireland – is mainly confined to areas associated with the Lordship. MacConnich suggests that the norm

²⁰ Jane Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: The career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.289.

²¹ As Coira has also argued, Clann Domhnaill panegyric contains no trace of antagonism between the Scottish crown and the Lordship, and the lords are consistently represented as loyal vassals and proud 'Albanaigh.' *By poetic authority: the rhetoric of panegyric in Gaelic poetry of Scotland to c.1700* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2012), pp.339-343.

²² See Alison Cathcart, 'The Forgotten '45: Donald Dubh's Rebellion in an Archipelagic Context', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 91:232, part 2 (2012), 239-264, pp.240-241.

²³ See David H. Caldwell and Gordon Ewart, 'Finlaggan and the Lordship of the Isles: An Archaeological Approach', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 72:194, part 2 (1993), 146-166, p.146.

²⁴ Caldwell and Ewart, 'Finlaggan and the Lordship of the Isles', p.161, 164.

throughout the majority of the Scottish Gàidhealtachd was perhaps one of ‘Gaelic speakers but Scots writers’.²⁵ Thus we see in the Western Isles a centre of patronage more attuned to Hibernian cultural developments, utilising the idiom and orthography of Classical Gaelic, that diverges from the writing practices of Gaels in the rest of the Scotland. Both Gaeldom and Galldachd are compromised terms and, to a certain extent, are rhetorical constructs of difference with a dynamic relationship to the peoples and cultural geographies they describe. It is the consistent aim of this study to better understand these relationships between Gaels in the contexts of their cultural, regional, and national allegiances.

iii) Nation, Identity, and the Gaels

Seathrún Céitinn [Geoffrey Keating] in the combative introduction to his *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (c. 1634) writes that Ireland was a ‘ríoghacht ar leith léi féin, amhail domhan mbeag’ [‘kingdom apart by herself, like a little world’].²⁶ Céitinn, writing under the kingship of the British Charles I, not an Irish Ard Rí, makes a pointed use of history to signify the continuity between past and present, and to establish Ireland as a legitimate sovereign entity.²⁷ In doing so, he draws on the well-known Virgilian description of Britain as ‘penitus toto divisos orbe’ [‘wholly sundered from the world’].²⁸ This description had, as had so much of Virgilian imagery, already been redeployed for patriotic purposes in England by writers such as

²⁵ Aonghas MacConnich, ‘Where and how was Gaelic written in late medieval and early modern Scotland? Orthographic practices and cultural identities’, *SGS*, 24 (2008), 309-356, p.314. See also Susan Ross, ‘The standardisation of Scottish Gaelic orthography 1750-2007: a corpus approach’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2016), pp.45-54.

²⁶ Seathrún Céitinn, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, ed. David Comyn and Patrick Dineen, 4 vols (London: ITS, 1902-1914), i, p.38.

²⁷ See Breandán Ó Buachalla, *The Crown of Ireland* (Galway: Arlen House, 2006), p.17.

²⁸ Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1.66.

Shakespeare, whose John of Gaunt praises Britain as ‘this scepter'd isle [...] this fortress built by Nature for herself,’ and whose Cloten proclaims the island ‘a world by itself’.²⁹ Each of these images depicts a single isolated state, but the islands of the Atlantic Archipelago did not exist in discrete and static political configurations. Early modern writers knew this as well as any contemporary scholar, and often represented the archipelago after 1542 through a ‘Three Kingdoms’ paradigm. This mode of thinking developed in anticipation of James VI's accession to all three crowns which eventually took place in 1603. An oft-quoted Irish poem to James demonstrates that this tripartite division of the archipelago also registered with Gaelic thinkers. Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird wrote of the ‘Trí coróna i gcairt Shéamais’ [‘Three crowns in James's charter’], and he hailed him as king of the hosts of the ‘Gall is Gaoidheal’.³⁰ Mac an Bhaird recounts that James's possession of Scotland came through the steady dominance of the House of Stewart; his anticipation of the English crown arose out of the failure of the royal line in England in Elizabeth; and Ireland's crown was his because:

I gcúirt Shagsan na sreabh seang
a-tá ardchoróin Éireann;
tuar maothchroidhe a bheith san mbrugh
fa bhreith laochroidhe Lonndon.

In the court of fair-streamed England is placed Éire's noble crown; it means misery of heart to see it in that land in the power of the warriors of London.³¹

²⁹ William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, ed. Charles R. Forker, Arden Shakespeare 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002), 2.1.40-43; *Cymbeline*, ed. J. M. Nosworthy, Arden Shakespeare 2nd Series (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1969), 3.1.13.

³⁰ Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird, ‘Trí coróna i gcairt Shéamais’, §§1, 6, edited in *AD*.

³¹ Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird, ‘Trí coróna i gcairt Shéamais’, 22.

Despite this negative portrayal of England's holding of the Irish crown, the poet claims that James will be Ireland's rightful spouse.³² That James is fitted into the right pattern of a Gaelic king and spouse of his territory does not wholly obscure the sense of dislocation evoked in this image of Irish sovereignty being held in London. Furthermore, the optimism that this outward looking and irenic poem represents was perhaps ill-founded. James did not usher in a new era of peace between 'Gall is Gaoidheal', and the Three Kingdoms represented a new challenge to Gaelic notions of identity.

Nation, culture, and nationalism do not always equate, and Umut Özkirimli has termed the prevalent, if unconscious, collapsing of distinctions between these a 'methodological nationalism'.³³ An expression of cultural, or even national identity then does not necessarily presuppose a nationalistic goal; however, nations and nationalism require some form of legitimising cultural identity. Mac an Bhaired's poem evokes a space for the ethnic realities of the 'Gall' and 'Gaoidheal' to coexist within a broader state framework, without asserting the need for an ethnic nation-state. That the Gaels ought to be considered a 'nation' seems in some senses self-evident and to have been widely held by Gaels during the early modern period at least.³⁴ Yet it is crucial to understand that the claim of national identity was rarely accompanied by a claim for territorial and institutional independence. Indeed Céitinn, who was a promoter of the antiquity and independence of Ireland as

³² Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaired, 'Trí coróna i gcairt Shéamais', 23. The metaphor of the king being married to his kingdom was a crucial aspect of Gaelic kingship. See 'banais ríge', *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*, ed. James MacKillop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³³ Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism A Critical Introduction*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.2.

³⁴ For a brief but illuminating study on the current position of Gaelic as a viable form of national or ethnic identity see Wilson McLeod, 'Luchd na Gàidhlig and the "detritus of a nation"', *Scottish Studies*, 37 (2014), 149-154. McLeod's thesis rests on the distinction in contemporary Scottish Gaelic between 'Na Gàidheil' ('The Gaels') and 'Luchd na Gàidhlig' ('People of Gaelic' i.e. the language). See also W. J. Watson, 'Morning Session,' in *Transactions of the Celtic Congress, 1920*, ed. D. Rhys Phillips (Perth: Milne, Tannahill & Methven, 1921), 42. John MacInnes, 'The panegyric code in Gaelic poetry and its historical background', *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal*, pp.265-319, p.266.

kingdom, was not himself a propagandist for a simply Gaelic national identity. His work instead is a response to two particularly Irish problems with identity – i.e. the religious differences birthed by the Reformation, and the ethnic differences occasioned by centuries of English invasions, conquests, and settlements. In a rhetorical flourish, that has prompted a great deal of scholarly discussion, Céitinn promulgated a specifically Irish notion of identity by deploying the term Éireannaigh [Irish people], to signify all those born in Ireland who professed the Catholic faith. Crucially this could include Gaels, and Old English like himself in a new Irish nation.³⁵

The experience of identity itself though is a complex phenomenon to model. In the Scottish context T. C. Smout defined identity in the early modern period as a series of concentric circles starting with an inner circle of family, and radiating out through kin/clan, locality, nation, state, and empire. These circles could be intersected by language or religious affiliation.³⁶ As a model it has a lot of prima-facie sense to recommend it and it has been influential on subsequent scholars.³⁷ There is a sense though in which Smout's thesis presents different layers of identity as a form of choice for the subject to privilege one or other of the circles in his or her own sense or projection of identity.³⁸ This sits uneasily with aspects of identity which are enforced to greater degrees such as gender and ethnicity, all of which themselves colour and inform any one subject's response to and relationship with Smout's concentric rings. Furthermore ethnicity and religion have clearly changing levels of importance through time. It is therefore useful to try and gauge just how relevant ethnic

³⁵ Céitinn, *Foras feasa ar Éirinn*, i, p.4, p.40.

³⁶ T. C. Smout, 'Perspectives on the Scottish identity', *Scottish Affairs*, 6:1 (1994), 101-113.

³⁷ See Silke Stroh, *Uneasy Subjects: Postcolonialism and Scottish Gaelic Poetry* (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2011), p.13; Ruairidh Maciver, 'Concentric Loyalties: Responses to the Military in Gaelic Women's Poetry.' *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 36 (2016) 105–125.

³⁸ See Jodi A. Campbell, Elizabeth Ewan, and Heather Parker, 'Introduction', *The Shaping of Scottish Identities: Family, Nation, and the Worlds Beyond*, ed. Jodi A. Campbell, Elizabeth Ewan, and Heather Parker (Guelph, Ontario: Centre for Scottish Studies, University of Guelph, 2011), 1-14, p.2.

and cultural differences and identities were perceived to be in the early modern period and what influence they had on other strands of identity such as political and religious affiliation.³⁹ Identity as experienced is of course not entirely reducible to a set of characteristics but must always be seen to be only approximated by them. Thus, the individual must be examined in tension with the very real group identities of culture, religion and politics. Literature then offers us crucial avenues into early modern and early eighteenth century perceptions of identity. Literary products are the works of individuals, but also works that have been significantly socially constructed through time. The demands of genre and audience, as well as the post-hoc realities of reception and transmission all leave a mark on any one text, and all determine how the texts themselves may impact on their own audiences. Much of the seventeenth-century Gaelic vernacular material was not collected and written down until late into the eighteenth century and indeed since then some of the songs have continued to be adapted and performed by tradition bearers until the last century.⁴⁰ These issues complicate our use of literature as a source, but they can also be enriching.

There are many different paradigms for exploring these various identities. Silke Stroh has demonstrated some of the possibilities a postcolonial perspective can offer Scottish Gaelic studies. Others such as Brendan Bradshaw have combined apologetic and nationalist approaches to history with keen critical insight. The once 'new' British History advocated by J. G. A. Pocock, which was intent on bringing discussions of the British kingdoms into creative contact with one another, has metamorphosed into an archipelagic paradigm. As

³⁹ See also Michael Newton, 'Scotland's Two Solitudes Abroad: Scottish Gaelic Immigrant Identity in North America', *The Shaping of Scottish Identities*, 215-233, p.215.

⁴⁰ With regards to Scottish Gaelic material, the deposits in the online archive <http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk> are an excellent showcase of the vitality of oral transmission in the twentieth century.

long ago as 1975 Pocock elaborated on a counterfactual reading of the regional rebellions during the reign of Henry IV in the fifteenth century, and suggested that if they had succeeded 'a belt of marcher principalities, running from Wales through Northumbria to southwestern Scotland, may have fragmented the advance of both centralized kingdoms [i.e. England and Scotland]'.⁴¹ Early modern writers were just as aware of the precariousness of history. John Ford's *Perkin Warbeck* (1634) demonstrates that Anglo-Scottish union may have emerged from the pretender Perkin's wedding to Katherine Gordon just as readily as from James IV's to Margaret Tudor, and that the England itself was held as an uneasy 'pale' or marcher land, threatened on all sides and from within, something Willy Maley has aptly termed England's 'nightmare of history'.⁴² These salutary reminders of the messiness and contingency of state-formation are useful prompts for any historical analysis of the Gaels of Ireland and of Scotland, one that must move beyond simple state or territorial categories and look at both larger political and cultural systems as well as more detailed localised contexts. John Kerrigan's *Archipelagic English*, mentioned above, has clearly established how fruitful an archipelagic approach can be to the study of early-modern Anglophone literature; and whilst this has not necessarily made a large impact on Celtic scholars, some, like Alison Cathcart, have undertaken fine research working from archipelagic paradigms and perspectives. This current study benefits from the scholarship in all these fields, not to mention the vast efforts in editing, translating, and exegesis that continue to illuminate so many of the primary texts themselves. However, the overarching framework that this research occupies is a Scottish-Irish one. Scottish-Irish studies has become a prominent

⁴¹ J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *The Journal of Modern History*, 47:4 (1975), 601-621, p.609.

⁴² John Ford, *Perkin Warbeck*, ed. Peter Ure (London: Methuen & Co, 1968), 5.2.1-3. Willy Maley, *Nation, State and Empire in English Renaissance Literature Shakespeare to Milton* (Aldershot: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), p.119.

scholarly field over the last few decades and, for this study the insistence on what one nation's experience can help illuminate in the other's has rooted the work firmly across Sruth na Maoile.⁴³ It is this comparative potential that has been the organising principle in analysing and selecting material for this study. Thus the objects of this study are not solely Gaelic texts, but those texts written by or about Gaels which help shed light on the development of Gaelic identity in both kingdoms, and in turn can offer us wider understandings of identity across the archipelago. This has stretched beyond the normal work of English Literature with its embrace of historiographical texts and the Gaelophone, but it does not conform to the standard expectations of Celtic Studies either with the inclusion of significant English and Latin texts.

1639 to 1715 is in some senses quite a brief snapshot of history in which to explore a subject as large as the nation and identity of the Gaels. Seventy-six years is a life-span, and indeed a key poet for this study, Iain Lom Mac Domhnaill, composed poetry from the 1640s to possibly as late as 1707, making his career almost coextensive with this work. These decades, however, embody key moments of change across Gaeldom and the archipelago as a whole. The last medieval vestiges of the bardic learned order burnt out with little acclaim or notice in the first years of the eighteenth century. Jacobitism, religious divisions, and Britannic centralisation divided and connected Gaels both internally and in their dealings with the archipelagic 'Goill'. A close examination of the writings of this period will help us understand the Gaelic responses to the significant cultural and constitutional developments of the era and their impact on the affinities and divergences across Gaeldom as a whole. The consistent focus on the Irish-Scottish dynamic will move our understanding of Gaelic

⁴³ Though obviously lacking in more recent developments, Tom Devine's survey of the field up to 2002 remains useful: 'Making the Caledonian Connection: The Development of Irish and Scottish Studies', *Radharc*, 3 (2002), 3-15.

identities on from studies such as Wilson McLeod's *Divided Gaels* into the post-bardic Gaelic worlds. If Irish scholars have had a tendency to read the Gaelic past through a Hibernocentric lens, then, in Scottish Gaelic studies there has been a tendency to focus on the legacy of the Clann Domhnall kindreds. One simple reason for this is the significant preservation and transmission of Clann Domhnall texts. Another is perhaps the romance attached to the Lord of the Isles and the Jacobites, since at least Walter Scott's day, in contrast to the rather more grim depictions of their opposing kindreds such as the Caimbéals. As Clann Domhnall, more than any other kindred, maintained relationships with the Gaels of Ireland long into the early modern period, that focus is partially sustained in this study. However, this is not a study of Ireland plus the 'MacDonnell Archipelago'; rather the Scottish material is embedded in Scotland and Scottish concerns as much as it is Irish, and the Irish material is consistently placed within the dual contexts of Ireland and Scotland. That many Scottish Gaels had vastly different experiences of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than the Royalist and Jacobite Mac Domhnaills of the western seaboard is acknowledged throughout, although these experiences are not given an overall priority. Scholars such as Allan MacInnes and Martin MacGregor have already done important work in elucidating the rich possibilities Caimbéal texts and perspectives offer literary and historical studies, and more work remains to be done on early modern Gaelic Presbyterian and Whig identities in Ireland and Scotland.⁴⁴ It remains then to be said that this is not a work of historiography, rather it is an exercise in understanding peoples' perceptions and feelings, and how their literature expressed these. Nevertheless, the

⁴⁴ Allan I. MacInnes, *The British Confederate: Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll, 1607-1661* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2011); Martin MacGregor, 'The Campbells: Lordship, Literature, and Liminality', *Textual Cultures*, 7:1 (2012), 121-157. See also Wilson McLeod, 'Sovereignty, Scottishness and royal authority in Caimbeul poetry', 231-248.

historical moment and context is key to our understanding of the texts and the perceptions they elaborate. As such, each of the subsequent chapters are centred on a series of historical nodes. This chronological arrangement, moving from the 1640s/50s to the 1680s/90s to the early eighteenth century, allows this study to analyse the change and development of identities through time and in response to the events of those periods.

The first two chapters explore the Gaelic experiences of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and the Cromwellian Republic, 1639-1660, in Scotland and then in Ireland. These chapters situate the Gaelic experience and response within their states, but also within a wider picture of Scottish-Irish interactions. This means that, although each has a specific Irish or Scottish focus, the chapters themselves also work as a dyad to inform and elaborate on the interactions at wider Gaelic and Scottish-Irish level. Chapter One begins with an exploration of more traditional forms of Gaelic political supremacy in Scotland on the eve of the civil wars, particularly the motif of the 'Headship of the Gael.' This motif is situated within the actuality of Caimbéal power in Scotland and the Covenanting movement, and in relation to the House of Argyll's projection of power and status in Gaelic, Scottish, and even European contexts. After this, the analysis moves on to the poetry of the Gaelic clans in the royalist rising led by Alasdair mac Colla and the Marquess of Montrose to chart the development of new expressions of identity, in particular the growth of political factionalism. The Scottish Gaels' connection with Ireland and their place in the Scottish polity are examined in this context. Chapter Two begins with an account of the key ethnic and linguistic elements of Ireland's makeup on the eve of the 1641 Ulster Rebellion. The rebellion and the subsequent formation of the Confederation of Kilkenny are then studied through the prism of two key prose histories written by Confederates in the years following the Cromwellian invasion of Ireland (1653). These texts reveal a great deal not just about

the progress of the Confederacy, but the aims and aspirations of those involved. They reveal how far thinking about 'Irishness' as a form of identity had come and also reveal what the material tensions were at the heart of that identity. The relationship between Irish and Scottish Gaels is also explored through these text's representations of Alasdair mac Colla and other Clann Domhnall figures who fought in Ireland. The texts broadly align with two of the three factions that dominated the political life of the Confederation and each text's creation of a political hero is examined for what it reveals about the author's understanding of the Irish cause and identity. Finally the disunity of the Confederation, its ultimate defeat, and the development of an Irish national identity are discussed.

Chapters Three and Four form a similar dyad to One and Two. Each chapter focuses on Gaelic and neo-Latin poetry written in response to the Williamite-Jacobite conflicts, 1688-1691, first in Scotland and then in Ireland. The development of Jacobitism as a political identity and its relationship to Scottish and Irish Gaelic identities is discussed. The examination of parallel material and discourses on either side of the North Channel allows these chapters to explore the increasing development and divergence of Scottish and Irish Gaelic identities and some of the factors involved. Chapter Three first situates the discussion within some of the historical developments that affected Scottish Gaels between the Restoration and the Williamite Coup. In particular this section looks at the resumed expansion of Caimbéal power, the relations between key royalist Gaels and the Caroline court, and the relationship between James, Duke of York, and Scotland during the exclusion crisis, 1679–1681. This historical context established, the chapter goes on to discuss the Latin epic the *Grameid*, written by a Scottish Jacobite after the end of the Jacobite conflict in Scotland in 1690. This poem contains a significant and novel poetic account of the Gaels and their place within Scotland's history and politics. This is explored alongside contemporary

Gaelic poetry. Chapter Four examines similar processes in Irish history and thinking between 1660 and 1688, i.e. the land and political issues impinging on the Irish elite during the Restoration years, before moving on to discuss the neo-Latin epic of the Irish Williamite War *Poema de Hibernia*. The *Poema's* relationship with other Irish Jacobite texts, its similarities and differences from the *Grameid*, and ultimately its contribution to our understanding of Irish identity are explored in detail. The Irish responses to Jacobite defeat, both the adoption of typologies of return and restoration and widespread pessimism, are explored in the *Poema* and other Gaelic texts from the period.

The final chapter has a broader focus on the 1707 Union of Parliaments, early eighteenth century Jacobitism, and the Irish and Scottish responses to the Celtic antiquarian and linguistic work of Edward Lhwyd. The Jacobite rebellion of 1715 is explored in the context of 1707 and Scottish Gaelic poetry. This is the context for a discussion of increasing Gaelic identification with the nation of Scotland and decreasing identification with Irish Gaels or a sense of pan-Gaelic identity. This continues in the second half of the chapter which deals exclusively with another key context of the 1707 Union, Edward Lhwyd's *Glossography* published in the same year. Lhwyd's work was a study of all the extant Celtic languages and was ground-breaking in the field of linguistics. This chapter studies the networks of contacts he developed across the archipelago and his contribution to Gaelic knowledge and self-perception. The significant body of commendatory verse, in Gaelic, Latin, Welsh, and Cornish, that is placed at the beginning of *Glossography* is studied as a unique moment of pan-Gaelic, even pan-Celtic, awareness on the part of their authors. This moment is situated within the collapse of interest in Lhwyd's work following his death and the 1715 rebellion. In each of these chapters this study will interrogate how Gaels represented themselves and their perception of national identity, and indeed how some of

their allies represented them and integrated them into their own narratives of national or cultural identity.

Chapter One

Scotland's Gaels and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms

In 1639, Charles I marched an English army up to the border town of Berwick-upon-Tweed. He intended to invade Scotland to suppress opposition to his religious reforms which had crystallised into a powerful movement and Presbyterian government. Charles' opponents had signed a National Covenant which bound them to oppose his reforms whilst continuing to profess loyalty to him as monarch. Charles' invasion plan envisaged a three-pronged attack: his army at the Borders, an amphibious landing at Aberdeen joined by royal supporters led by George Gordon, 2nd Marquess of Huntly, and finally a western invasion led by Randal MacDonnell [Raghnall Mac Domhnaill], 2nd Earl of Antrim, which would be supported by royalist Gaelic clans. The failure of the two other invasions and the powerful mobilisation of Covenanter forces at the Borders forced Charles to rapidly make a humiliating peace with his opponents. This event can be considered the first conflict in a series of civil wars and localised rebellions that gripped each kingdom of the archipelago until the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Despite their failure, Charles' elaborate invasion plans illustrate the interconnectivity of the British kingdoms. This, as well as the significant role of Gaels on both sides – the leading covenanter was Archibald Campbell [Gilleasbaig Caimbéal], then 8th Earl of Argyll – would continue throughout the conflicts.

The political alignments within Gaelic Scotland in the early modern period can perhaps be exemplified by two of the characters mentioned above: the Earls of Antrim and Argyll. The Earls of Antrim were part of the wider Clann Domhnall kindred, and were closely related to the leading Mac Domhnaill families in western Scotland. Despite their adherence to Catholicism, and their relationship with the generally castigated Clann Domhnall, they

had established themselves as allies of the crown in Ulster, a region fraught with difficulties of administration and government for successive English monarchs.¹ The 2nd Earl was a committed Catholic but also part of a hybrid elite at home in both Gaelic and English culture. His biographer, Jane Ohlmeyer, has suggestively described him as a man who desired 'to be both lauded by Gaelic bards and painted by Van Dyck'.² The Mac Domhnaills of Antrim were embedded in the Irish elite kindreds of Ulster and the western Scottish Gaels, but were one of the few Gaelic families who had benefitted from the plantation of Ulster and managed to remain Catholic. The history of the Earls of Argyll and Clann Caimbéal was rather different. The Earls of Argyll had long been allies of the Scottish crown and were often employed as royal lieutenants to exercise regal control in the south west Highlands. This granting of near autocratic power stemmed from the essential weakness of the Scottish monarchy during much of the Steward period. Clann Caimbéal had a reputation – not without grounds – of exploiting this unique position to acquire territory and self-aggrandise at the expense of neighbouring clans who fell foul of the central authorities. Furthermore, the House of Argyll, and Clann Caimbéal more generally, were often more attuned to Scots legal and cultural practices than other western Gaelic kindreds. This behaviour had earned them enemies amongst their neighbouring clans, most famously amongst several branches of Clann Domhnall whose territory in Kintyre and Islay they acquired.³ The 8th Earl continued to successfully harry his opponents in this fashion and through this he acquired great wealth and authority, but he was also a committed Presbyterian, which, during the reign of Charles I – who supported Episcopalianism – led to him becoming the leading

¹ See Fiona Anne MacDonald, 'Ireland and Scotland: historical perspectives on the Gaelic dimension 1560-1760' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1994), pp.28-85.

² Jane Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: The career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.13.

³ See Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, pp.46-57.

opponent of the king in Scotland. It is a great historical irony that at the outset of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms Randal MacDonnell, a member of the long rebellious Clann Domhnall, should find himself backing Charles I, and that Archibald Campbell was leading the opposition to him.

The Wars of the Three Kingdoms, 1639-1651, and the nine years of the English Republic which followed, were a climactic time for many religious, political, and national groups across the Atlantic Archipelago. The contours of debate and opposition that were at the heart of those conflicts fed also into the Glorious Revolution and Jacobite civil wars of 1688-91, they remained in play during the debates on the 1707 Union of the Scottish and English parliaments, and the 1715 Jacobite rising in Scotland. For the Gaels of Scotland and Ireland these were transformative decades and had a huge impact on their own perceptions of their cultural and national identity as well other groups' perceptions of the Gaels. This was the most significant Gaelic moment in the early modern polities of the archipelago, and their success in either Ireland in the 1640s, or in the Jacobite rebellions, might have significantly altered the course of British history. This was also a time of significant cultural production in Gaelic Ireland and Scotland as elsewhere in the archipelago. Bardic poetry and vernacular Gaelic poetry from this period provide a unique insight into Gaels' perceptions of these events and times. The civil wars of the mid-century were at once archipelagic in scope and ramifications, but they were also a series of internal national conflicts. Scottish Gaels' involvement in these conflicts then, not only reflects their engagement with wider Gaelic or British concerns but also their engagement with the Scottish state. How Scottish, British, or Gaelic the Scottish Gaels were and felt themselves to be is something their poetry can help us understand. Writing some time towards the end of the seventeenth century the Clann Raghnaill historian and poet – Niall Mac Muireadhaigh – recalled that:

Do gheibhin moran re na sgriobhadh do sgeluibh ar gnoidhibh na haimsir
da ccuuirfin romham e acht as e tug oram anuradsa fein do sgriobhadh mur
do conaire me gan iomrágh air bioth ar Ghaidhealuibh ag na
sgriobhnoiribh ata ag techt ar gnoidhibh na haimsire an mhuinntir do rine
an tseirbhis uile.

I had many stories to write on the events of the times [of the Wars of the
Three Kingdoms] if I undertook to do it, but what induced me to write even
this much was, when I saw that those who treated of the affairs of the time
have made no mention at all of the Gael, the men who did all the service.⁴

This neglect by Scottish and other British historians has been significantly redressed over the
last decades by scholars. Nevertheless the issues of Gaelic identity remain inadequately
understood and, as such, this chapter will interrogate the Gaelic experiences of the civil
wars and explore Gaelic literary engagement with the covenanting movement in Scotland
and with the royalist resistance to it. In doing so it will question how the Scottish Gaels
perceived and represented Gaelic, Scottish, and British identities.

1.1: Headship of the Gaels and mastery of Scotland – The House of Argyll and the Covenanters

In the sixteenth and seventeenth century a bardic wrangle had developed about which
kindred in Scotland could claim headship of the Gael in Scotland. The two contenders were

⁴ Niall Mac Muireadhaigh, 'The Book of Clanranald', *Reliquiae Celticae*, ed. Alexander Cameron, Alexander Macbain, John Kennedy, 2 vols (Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, 1894), ii, 138-309, pp.200-203. The 'Red' and the 'Black' 'Books of Clanranald' are still awaiting full modern editing and translation; the text produced in *Reliquiae Celticae* is problematic for several reasons, not least because it is a composite of the two different books. See William Gillies, 'The Red Book and Black Book of Clanranald', unpublished paper delivered at the conference 'Clan Donald Society Conference: The Legacy of the Lords of the Isles' (2006) < <https://www.ed.ac.uk/literatures-languages-cultures/celtic-scottish-studies/research/internal-projects/clanranald> > [Accessed: 27/05/19]. Writing at a similar time, the author of the so called 'Sleat History' had a similar complaint for the treatment of the Gaels throughout Scottish historiography. In this account, Hector Boethius and George Buchanan are the 'partial pickers of Scottish chronology and history [who] never spoke a favourable word of the Highlanders.' 'History of the MacDonalds', *Highland Papers*, ed. J. R. N. MacPhail, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, Scottish History Society, 1914-16), i, 5-72, p.10.

Clann Domhnall and Clann Caimbéal. A poem ascribed to the otherwise unknown poet Ó

hEnna in the Clanranald manuscript the 'Black Book of Clanranald' proclaims that

Cennus Ghaoidheal do chlann Cholla,
coir a fhógra
síad a-rís 'na gcathibh cétna,
flatha Fodla.

Cennus Eirenn 7 Albu[i]n
an fhuinn ghránaigh
a-ta ag an dréim fhulidh fhaobhraigh
cuiridh cliaruidh.

The sovereignty of the Gael to the Clann Colla [i.e. Clann Domhnall],
It is right to proclaim it;
They were again in the same battalions.
The heroes of Fodla.

The sovereignty of Ireland and of Scotland
Of the sunny lands
Was possessed by the sanguinary sharp-bladed tribes,
The fighting champions.⁵

This is in many respects an appeal to traditional authorities. The favourite epithet of Clann Domhnall, 'chlann Cholla', pays respect to the legendary forbear of the clann – Colla Uais of Irish myth and pseudohistory. Ireland is given one of its traditional epithets – Fodla – and Clann Domhnall's origin in Ireland and its heroic past is firmly restated. The second stanza asserts a sovereignty (more literally 'headship') that spans the whole Gaelic world and perhaps hints at the military force that is necessary to make this a reality. The dispute for primacy was not only one of genealogical controversy or poetic competition, over generations it was instanced in the various financial, legal, and military contests between the kindreds. A poet had reminded one of the 8th Earl of Argyll's predecessors that 'Maith an

⁵ Ó hEnna, 'Cennus Ghaoidheal do chlann Cholla', §§1-2. Gaelic text from the 'Bardic Poetry Database', < <https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/> > [Accessed: 9/05/19], translation from 'The Book of Clanranald', *Reliquiae Celticae*, pp.208-211.

chairt cennas na nGaidheal' ['A good charter is the headship of the Gael'].⁶ A 'good charter' is a legal entitlement to hold land, something the Earls of Argyll had been able to acquire not least at the expense of the southern branch of Clann Domhnall whose domination of Islay and Kintyre was eroded over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and finally supplanted by Clann Caimbéal. The legal realities of this situation were keenly understood and utilised not just by the Earls of Argyll but also by their panegyrists.⁷

Archibald Campbell became the head of Clann Caimbéal and the 8th Earl of Argyll in 1638. At some point afterwards, and most likely before the military setbacks of 1644, a bard presented the Earl with an expertly composed account of his genealogy and thus a description of what the Earl's proper status was not just in Gaeldom, but in Scotland, and indeed even in Britain and Europe. The poem declaims that

Triath na nGaidheal Giolla-easbuig,
urraim gach duine dhó is dual;
cuiridh iarla Gall is Gaidheal
riaghla ar gach aoifhear uadh.

Lord of the Gael is Giolla-easbuig; reverence from all men is his right; the
Earl of [Gall] and of Gael shall cause his rule to run over one and all.⁸

To the straightforward assertion of Argyll's supremacy is conjoined the acknowledgement of his unique position as 'iarla Gall is Gaidheal'. The second stanza establishes that Argyll will eventually take possession of the Hebrides – the region dominated by various branches of Clann Domhnall and kindreds associated with the now extinct Lordship of the Isles. As Martin MacGregor points out, by this time the 'Campbell literati could legitimately challenge

⁶ 'Maith an chairt cennas na nGaidheal', quoted in William J. Watson, 'Classical Gaelic poetry of panegyric in Scotland', *TSGI*, 29 (1922), 194-235, §1.

⁷ For further discussion on the motif of headship of the Gaels see Coira, *By poetic authority*, pp.97-99.

⁸ 'Triath na nGaidheal Giolla-easbuig', §1, edited in William J. Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry-IV., V', *SGS*, 3 (1931), 139-59. A similar assertion is made in the thirty-seventh stanza. Watson translates 'Gall' as 'Saxons' but in this context it seems most likely to mean simply 'Lowlanders' as it does in Modern Scottish Gaelic.

the MacDonald right to supremacy over Gaelic Scotland' as the de facto position of Clann Caimbéal grew ever stronger and their adversaries grew ever weaker.⁹ In describing power though, this particular poet was more circumspect than the Clann Domhnall panegyrist Ó hEnna. Rather than full sovereignty over the Gaels of Scotland and Ireland, the poem proclaims that Gaels from the Western Isles, and 'A hÉirinn go h-imlibh Leódhais' ['From Ireland to the skirts of Lewis'] owe Argyll loyalty and warriors.¹⁰ This is a closer reflection of the truth in that Caimbéal control of Kintyre and Islay now meant their sphere of influence dominated the south western Gàidhealtachd as far as Ireland, although significant portions of the Hebrides and western seaboard remained outwith their control. This restricted geography is very much a Scottish rather than pan-Gaelic one. The House of Argyll was entrenched in the landholding, legal, economic, and even, to an extent, linguistic power structures of the Kingdom of Scotland, and had by this time no outstanding links with the Gaelic houses of the north of Ireland, so it perhaps made sense to celebrate their power within a more specifically Scottish context.¹¹ It is important however to realise that this does not represent a complete withdrawal of investment in a wider Gaelic identity in Caimbéal mentalities – for example the opening line 'Triath na nGaidheal Giolla-easbuig' could also be construed as a headship over all the Gaels. However, the major concern for the house of Argyll in the seventeenth century was to secure further wealth and authority in Scotland through the means available to it. The Scottish tilt in emphasis here clearly demonstrates this necessary focus on dominating both Scotland's Gaels and Goill.

⁹ MacGregor, 'The Campbells: Lordship, Literature, and Liminality', p.122.

¹⁰ 'Triath na nGaidheal Giolla-easbuig', §6.

¹¹ Of course over the course of the sixteenth century the Caimbéals, along with other western kindreds, maintained cultural links with Irish lords, intermarried, and even kept up a significant and lucrative supply of mercenaries who fought both in inter-Gaelic conflicts and in the Irish conflicts with the Tudors. With the collapse of Irish resistance after Kinsale in 1601 and the Union of Crowns in 1603, such mercenary activities largely ceased.

More remarkable than the political geography of this poem is the genealogy it sketches out for the house of Argyll and the associations it fashions out of that genealogy. The first hint is in the fourth stanza when the poet refers to Argyll as possessing ‘fhuil Artúir’ [‘Arthur’s blood’] and claims that ‘meadh da h-uaisle ní bía a mBreathuin’ [‘a balance to weigh his nobility will not be found in Britain’].¹² The poem goes on to laud Argyll as both a descendant of the ancient Celtic Britons, and as the prime nobleman in the island of Britain.¹³ The descent from Arthur has become a rather notorious feature of some Caibéal genealogies and is richly evoked and deployed in this particular poem.¹⁴ The genealogical sections of the poem establish that Argyll is twenty-two generations from Arthur and sixty-four from Adam in total.¹⁵ Expounding on the Arthurian and Britannic lineage of the clan became more useful in the seventeenth century as Scotland, Ireland, England, and Wales became yoked together in the multiple monarchy of the Stuarts.¹⁶ Arthur, whatever his Brythonic origins, had become a pan-Britannic hero in the medieval period, and he appeared in the literature and myths of all the main linguistic and cultural traditions of the archipelago.¹⁷ He also had European stature akin to the other romance worthies such as Charlemagne or Roland/Orlando. These resonances are borne out in ‘Triath na nGaidheal Giolla-easbuig’:

Téid Giolla-easbuig an oinigh
tar fhéin Éorpa ag conmháil cliar;

¹² ‘Triath na nGaidheal Giolla-easbuig’, §4.

¹³ See Vincent Morley, ‘The idea of Britain in Eighteenth-Century Ireland and Scotland’, *Studia Hibernica*, 33 (2004/5), 101-124.

¹⁴ See Coira, *By poetic authority*, 118-127. See William Gillies, ‘The “British” genealogy of the Campbells’, *Celtica*, 23 (1999), 82-95. See also Ronald Black, ‘A Manuscript of Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh’, *Celtica*, 10 (1973), 193-209, p.200.

¹⁵ ‘Triath na nGaidheal Giolla-easbuig’, §26-33.

¹⁶ See Wilson McLeod, ‘Sovereignty, Scottishness and royal authority in Caibéal poetry of the sixteenth century’, p.231.

¹⁷ For a recent study on the development of Arthurian traditions across the archipelago see *Arthur in the Celtic Languages: The Arthurian Legend in Celtic Literatures and Traditions*, ed. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, Erich Poppe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019).

dul tar chách an gach céim oile,
budh ghnáth da fhréimh roimhe riamh.

Fine Artúir mór mhich Ambhrois
iomdha rígh do ríoghadh dí;
coimheas ria ní bhfuil a nAlbain,
fuil ina lia ardfhuil í.

Giolla-easbuig the generous surpasses Europe's warriors in maintaining
poet bands; to surpass all others in every other step of honour has ever
been the wont of his line before him.

The kin of Arthur, the great son of Ambrose, many a king has been
crowned therefrom; its counterpart is not in Scotland, a blood with greater
share of noble blood.¹⁸

Argyll's primacy in Europe and in Britain are made clear in these lines and are founded upon this Arthurian linkage, and Argyll's poets and genealogists were clearly claiming for him the status of a princely European family linked to the European past that the romance heroes evoked.

Gilleasbaig Caimbéal bore the same name as his father, the 7th Earl, and he also inherited his epithet 'Gruamach' [Grim], and his historical reputation has done little to dispel the dour connotations of that nickname. In this poem however, Argyll is taken out of the realities, grim or otherwise, of seventeenth-century Scotland, and is deliberately associated with the material richness that had become commonplaces of the medieval Arthurian romance traditions. Stanzas 10-18 are replete with immediately recognisable Arthurian symbols such as the 'bord cruinn' ['round table'], but we also hear about Arthur's court in which 'sgéla iongnadh' ['tales of wonder'] were recited before every feast, and of vast assemblies of 'míle pubal sróil go sochmaidh / is drudadh óir ó'n taobh uath,' ['a thousand fair pavilions of satin with seams of gold along their sides'].¹⁹ These are the

¹⁸ 'Triath na nGaidheal Giolla-easbuig', §§9-10.

¹⁹ 'Triath na nGaidheal Giolla-easbuig', §§13, 14, 15. See Linda Gowans, 'Scottish Gaelic Literature and Popular Traditions', *Arthur in the Celtic Languages*, pp.361-374, p.364. Elements of this depiction can be found

material trappings of Arthurian romance, in any language or literary tradition, and they are explicitly linked to the court of the 8th Earl, which is also a gathering place for the noble youths of Britain, the finest poets of land, and the wealth and power made available through his extensive territories.²⁰ Indeed the splendour of the Arthurian past is shown to be surpassed in the present:

Gach béas ríoghdha da raibh ag Artúr,
d' aithris a niú do ní sibh;
beart ríoghdha i ngach raon do roighnis,
a chaor fhíona an ghloinslis ghil.

Gerbh iomdha triath a ttigh Artúir,
óig Alban an aignidh shaoir,
do bheith ní as lia a sdigh ad theaghlach,
dobheir Dia do dheaghrath dhaoibh.

Each royal trait possessed by Arthur thou dost repeat to-day; thou hast
performed a royal action on every field thou wine-berry of pure bright side.

Though many a lord was in Arthur's house, Alba's youth of free-born spirit,
God of his good grace will grant thee to have still more within thy
household.²¹

The depiction of Argyll reigning as a second Arthur over his lands and kinsfolk in Inveraray is striking. Beyond the hyperbole characteristic of panegyric, there is some plausibility in this depiction of Argyll as the primary nobleman in Scotland, and the emphasis on the royalty of Arthur's line which is developed throughout the Arthurian sections is itself revealing of the divergences between Scottish and Irish Gaels. Members of Clann Domhnall were often

in other bardic poems; for example Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaire's 'Faurus iongnadh, a fhir chumainn' also recounts Arthur's love of tales and his patronage of the arts (§8-12), and the fifteenth century 'Mairg dar chumthach an chumha' draws heavily on the legend of Sir Galahad. The Caimbéal poem is conspicuous in the bardic corpus for the sheer sensuousness of its adoption of the materiality of romance. See *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr*, ed. Cuthbert Mhág Craith, 2 vols (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1967-1980) i.

²⁰ See 'Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla-easbuig', §§8, 9, 10, 36, 37.

²¹ 'Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla-easbuig', §§22-23.

reminded by Irish poets of their bloodline's claims to the High Kingship of Ireland.²² Clann Caimbéal had no comparable genealogical links to the Irish kings, nor to the royal houses of Scotland. However the royalty of their line is from Arthur's parentage: 'iomdha rígh do ríoghadh dí' ['many a king has been crowned therefrom']. Like the Tudor Myth, which promoted the House of Tudor's link with Arthur to validate their kingship, Argyll's poet invokes Arthur as a genealogical trump card over the English, Scottish, and Gaelic royal lines to legitimise his position and status in Scotland. Following the departure of James VI and the royal court for England in 1603 the position of magnates like Argyll changed. His status, especially after his patronage of the Covenanting cause, could be construed as going beyond the limits of a mere private citizen.²³ Indeed it is reported that, during a military march led by Argyll to suppress royalists in the central Highlands, his own clansmen sang that 'they were King Campbells men, no more King Stewartis.'²⁴ As David Stevenson suggests though, 'the exuberant shouts of clansmen [and perhaps even clan bards] are no evidence of their dour chief's intentions'.²⁵ Furthermore, despite his role as chief statesman, there is no real evidence that Argyll was aiming at achieving sole or regal power.²⁶ Indeed the dynamism, and the eventually fatal tension of the Covenanting position was that it held loyalty to the king and armed resistance to him as mutually reconcilable. Argyll's wealth and military manpower, however, rendered him almost too powerful to be a subject, and constant

²² See Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, 'Fada cóir Fhódla ar Albain', *The Bardic poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn*, ed. Eleanor Knott, 2 vols (London: ITS, 1922-1926); Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh, 'Éireannaigh féin fionn-Lochlannaigh', edited in Lambert McKenna, 'Poem to the First Earl of Antrim', *The Irish Monthly*, 48:564 (1920), 314-318.

²³ Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon, noted of Argyll 'without mentioning of whom there can hardly be any Mention of Scotland.' *The life of Edward earl of Clarendon, in which is included, a continuation of his History of the grand rebellion. Written by himself. Now for the first time carefully printed from the original ms. preserved in the Bodleian library*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), i, p.367.

²⁴ Quoted in *Memorials of Montrose and his Times*, ed. Mark Napier, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1848-50), ii, p.477.

²⁵ David Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644: The triumph of the Covenanters* (1973; repr. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2003), p.200.

²⁶ MacInnes, *The British Confederate*, p.138.

reminders of his near-regal status may not have been welcomed by him or his covenanting allies.

The ambition and position of Argyll emerges more clearly when we examine what the National Covenant was, and what role Argyll played in the Covenanting movement. The National Covenant formed out of widespread discontentment with Charles I's attempt to reform the church as it had been established in Scotland. In 1638, after petitioning against the new prayer book Charles was attempting to introduce, a committee of lairds, burgesses, ministers, and nobles agreed that it was necessary to form a band or union amongst themselves to force them to stand together if the king decided to try them for treason. They renewed a form of an older confession of faith dating from 1581 but this new confession also stated that the signatories were bound into a corporate bond with all other signatories. This Covenant was soon preached from pulpits across Scotland and whole parishes signed up at a time.²⁷ The Covenanters saw Scotland as an elect nation, a new Israel, which enjoyed a special relationship with God.²⁸ Mass communication, it has been argued, plays a key role in forming groups into communities with a distinct national consciousness.²⁹ Benedict Anderson has also famously asserted that nations are 'imagined communities' inasmuch as they are communities that are connected through communication and interaction beyond personal contact. The mass distribution, preaching, and signing of the National Covenant in some parts of Scotland is in many ways a key moment of Scottish national imagination. A community of the godly was rapidly raised up into a national identity with a providential

²⁷ See Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution*, pp.82-86.

²⁸ Such typologies which read the nation's fortunes in the light of the history of Israel were common not just to Scottish Covenanters, but can be found in royalist literature, Gaelic poetry, and puritan pamphlets from the same period. See Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, p.110; Scott Spurlock, 'The problem with religion as identity: the case of mid-Stuart Ireland and Scotland', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, 6:2 (2013), 1-31, p.11; "Introduction" in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3-13, p.6.

²⁹ See Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1966).

purpose.³⁰ As John Morrill describes it 'the Covenant was, in aspiration and in effect, a document of the Scottish nation. Most men took it and few resisted it'.³¹ Something similar happened over the course of the English Civil Wars, but the mass signing of the Covenant and acts of self-definition it implied were not paralleled by similar processes in England. The National Covenant flourished where Protestantism had been securely established in Scotland, and the Covenanted government which was eventually established was fairly effective at coercing the more Catholic and royalist regions of Scotland – particularly the western Gàidhealtachd – to pay into the regime with both money and manpower. The National Covenant then not only represents a significant imagination of and mass participation in a form of Scottish national identity, it also, for a period, enforced that aspiration with powerful state and ecclesial mechanisms.

Argyll's position as a power broker for the central authorities in the western Gàidhealtachd put him in the prime position to impose and extend the authority of the Covenant in that region. In 1640, Argyll was given permission to pursue with force those who had opposed the Covenanted regime. Amongst these was James Ogilvie, 1st Earl of Airlie, who had marched to England in support of the Royalist cause in 1640. Argyll marched through the central and eastern Highlands, and his devastation of Airlie's estate in the process is commemorated in the famous ballad 'The Bonnie House O Airlie.' In the ballad, finding Airlie's wife in command of the house, Argyll calls to her:

'Come down, come down, Lady Margret,' he said,
 'Come down, and kiss me fairly.'
 'O I will not kiss the great Argyll,

³⁰ John Morrill recognised something of this nationalistic potential when he described the Covenant as 'in aspiration and in effect, a document of the Scottish nation.' 'The National Covenant in its British Context', *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context 1638-51*, ed. John Morrill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 1-30, p.15.

³¹ Morrill, 'The National', p.15.

If he should not leave a standing stone in Airly.’³²

Subsequently, Argyll searches for Margret's dowry (or in other versions the treasure of the house), he pulls down and burns the house, and in some traditions he also rapes Margret. The picture here is as far away as possible from the chivalric romance associations the Gaelic bards had clustered around Argyll. The facts of Argyll's actions in this particular instance are unknown, but his reputation as a hard-nosed politician is more deserved than that of a chivalric lord. Argyll was neither aspiring to be ‘king Campbell’ nor indeed a chivalric hero. In another bardic poem addressed to him the 1640s he was likened to a Hector for defence of his country, a Pompey, a Cato for royal memory, a Caesar for omens of victory, a Cu Chulainn for war endurance, a Conall Cearnach for valour, and an Aristotle for learning.³³ This litany of classical and Gaelic heroes of combat, civic duty, and culture is impressive enough in itself and like all panegyric it presents the poet's vision of what the addressee ought to be rather than necessarily what he is. However in this list of comparisons we may see something that aligns closely with the 8th Earl's own ambitions. The Hector, Pompey, and Cato references in particular, conjure an image of defence of one's country and dedication to civic responsibility.

In the early years of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms two threats arose on the borders of the covenanted nation. The Parliamentarian faction in England had much in common with the Covenanting movement in Scotland and Argyll saw the need to engage with them diplomatically and forge an understanding and cooperation between them. In Ireland, a rebellion, which began with a failed Catholic attempt to seize power in 1641, developed first into widespread violence against planters in Ulster and then into the

³² ‘The Bonnie House O Airlie’, *English and Scottish popular ballads*, ed. Helen Child Sargent and George Lyman Kittredge (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, c.1932), p.482, §4.

³³ ‘Rug edrain ar iath nAlban’, §§3, 4, 5, 13, 26, edited in Watson, ‘Unpublished Gaelic Poetry-IV., V’.

formation of the Irish Confederation. The Confederation was an Irish Catholic attempt at self-government that held control over most of Ireland from 1642–1649 against the forces of the Scottish Covenanters, Irish Royalists, and Parliamentary forces. This Catholic power represented a grave threat to Scotland's western seaboard, and from 1642 onward a large Scottish army occupied parts of Ulster with the aims of protecting Protestant planters and destabilising the Confederates' attempts to consolidate control over the whole island. As part of this invasion, one of Argyll's own regiments was sent to Rathlin Island and subsequently occupied all of the 2nd Earl of Antrim's estates except for Dunluce Castle.³⁴ Argyll's attempts to negotiate with the English Parliamentarians and to contain the Irish Confederation's activities to Ireland itself represent a dedication to safeguarding the Scottish religious and political order established from 1638, and also projected a Scottish vision for the reordering of British politics as a whole through the vehicle of the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 – which formed a treaty between the Covenanters and the Parliamentarians.³⁵ Argyll and his predecessors had been frequently hailed and lauded as leaders of the Gaels, and politically they had established themselves as key magnates in Scotland and Ireland during the late medieval period. During the first phases of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, Argyll dominated the military and political arenas of Britain to an extent only surpassed by Charles I himself and Oliver Cromwell.³⁶ Materially Argyll had the much coveted 'Ceannas Ghaidheal', and in his archipelagic activities he also was a fit scion of Arthur the great British king. This Britannic motif in Caimbéal poetic representations

³⁴ Tradition asserts that the Caimbéal troops perpetrated a massacre of the inhabitants of Rathlin, and some have seen in Argyll's actions a utilising of the general war moment to further a personal vendetta against his family's foes – Clann Domhnall. See David Stevenson, *Highland Warrior: Alasdair MacColla and the Civil Wars*, 1980 (Edinburgh, John Donald, 2014), p.121. See also Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, p.157.

³⁵ Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, pp.161-162, 5-7.

³⁶ See Coira, *By poetic authority*, p.132; Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, p.5.

found expression in a most remarkable address by a nameless poet to the 8th Earl in 1641 who hailed him as ‘a shearc bhraoinInnsi Breatan’ [‘oh lover of the dewy isle of Britain’].³⁷ As Coira notes, this is a unique development of the traditional poetic conceit that presented the High-King of Ireland as the spouse of the land. The Caimbéals were insistent on their Gaelic identity and place in the Gaelic world in Scotland and also to a lesser extent in Ireland, but they were equally insistent on embracing a wider British and even European identity, and the 8th Earl's actions need to be seen in both these lights.

1.2: Alasdair mac Colla and Montrose – Gaeldom, Scotland and the Royalist clans

The ‘Scottish Moment’ in which the Covenanters led by Argyll significantly influenced the course of politics in the archipelago was brief. The mid 1640s brought serious internal and external pressure ending ultimately in a total disintegration of Covenanter power as Scotland was finally annexed to the English Commonwealth in 1651.³⁸ Argyll's reputation, so boldly proclaimed by his poets, and his power, so clearly exemplified in his expeditions in Scotland and Ulster, suffered a series of reverses beginning in 1644. The Covenanting administration in Scotland had its first serious internal attack in the form of a royalist uprising in 1644 led by James Graham, 1st Marquess of Montrose, and Alasdair mac Colla, a member of Clann Eóin Mhóir (the southern branch of the wider Clann Domhnall). Mac Colla was fighting for the Irish Confederate army; he led a small force from Ireland to Scotland and linked up with Montrose and other royalists. Montrose was a Lowlander, and initially a subscriber to the Covenant but, opposing the harder Presbyterian and increasingly anti-regal

³⁷ ‘Mó iná ainm Iarrla Gaoidheal’, §28. Quoted in Coira, *By poetic authority*, p.138.

³⁸ Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, p.161.

politics of some Covenanters, he switched to the king's side.³⁹ The successes of his campaign of 1644-1646 rising rested on a coalition of royalist Gaelic clans and a veteran Irish Confederate army captained by the Hebridean Alasdair mac Colla, but they gained legitimacy through the leadership of Montrose who had been appointed the king's Lord Lieutenant in Scotland. Montrose and mac Colla both embody the complex cross-border fusions that characterise Scottish and Gaelic identities in the early modern period. Montrose, though a committed Protestant peer, educated at St Andrews University, was able to forge a successful partnership with Alasdair mac Colla and, with him, to mobilise the clans into an effective military force. Mac Colla, as a Scottish Gael fighting for Irish forces, stands in a long tradition of military interchanges between Scottish and Irish Gaeldom. His later apotheosis into both a Highland and Irish folk hero is testament to this wider Gaelic identity. We might term Alasdair mac Colla's career as representative of a wider 'Gaelic Moment,' unique and brief, which brought Gaels from Ireland and Scotland to the fore of archipelagic politics.⁴⁰

This conjunction of Irish and Scottish forces was largely orchestrated by Ragnall Mac Domhnaill, 2nd Earl of Antrim, who saw in his kinsman mac Colla a chance to restore some of Clann Domhnall's patrimony in Scotland and strengthen Catholicism in the region while weakening the enemies of the Crown. Certainly several poets shared this view of the wars in Scotland. We have noted above the arguments over royal charters in the bardic poems of earlier decades and centuries of Clann Domhnall and Clann Caimbéal. Another

³⁹ Spurlock convincingly argues that we can see Montrose's change in allegiance, at least partially, as a continued commitment to the original spirit of the Covenant which stressed allegiance to the King in balance with the settlement of right religion. 'The problem with religion as identity', pp. 16-20.

⁴⁰ See David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates: Scottish-Irish Relations in the mid-seventeenth Century* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1981), p.189.

path to legitimacy, otherwise unattested in Scottish Gaelic verse, was offered in one poem in praise of mac Colla:

Cairt an chloidhimh dhóimh as dúthchus
don droing dhána;
minic chuirid síos gan séla
cíos is cána.

The broadsword's charter is the birthright of that bold people; often
without the seal's impression do they impose tax and tribute.⁴¹

This charter by the sword, outside of legal norms, was in practice a royalist insurgency which lasted until 1646 and, though brief, inflicted several serious defeats on large covenanting armies. Vernacular poetry, often from Clann Domhnall poets, engaged vigorously with themes of royalism, events in the campaign, and attacked Argyll himself. This political awareness is almost entirely absent from bardic poetry, which traditionally did not directly comment on such matters. The engagement of the vernacular poets would have ensured a large and more socially varied audience would have been capable of hearing and receiving their messages. Indeed the preservation of these songs, which occurred primarily through oral transmission, demonstrates the enduring resonance they had with the communities that performed and preserved them.⁴²

This political engagement is most powerfully represented in both the life and works of the poet Iain Lom Mac Domhnaill (c. 1624–c. 1710). Iain Lom was a member of the Keppoch branch of Clann Domhnall in Lochaber. Iain Lom regarded mac Colla as a kinsman

⁴¹ 'Mór mo mholadh ar mhac Cholla', edited in William J. Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry – III', *SGS*, 2 (1927), 75-91, §5. As Coira notes, this reference to the 'sword's charter', a common motif in Irish bardic verse, is only twice recorded in Scottish bardic verse, here and in a poem to Alasdair's father Coll Ciotach. *By poetic authority*, p.73.

⁴² As Colm Ó Baoill notes that in the case of Gaelic vernacular verse 'the audience for the song was its critics: if they did not like a song they would not sing it, and it would disappear from the repertoire.' "Introduction", *Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh: Song-maker of Skye and Berneray*, ed. Colm Ó Baoill (Glasgow: SGTS, 2014), pp.1-22, p.19.

and became personally acquainted with Montrose. He also played his part in the 1640s campaign.⁴³ His substantial body of poetry celebrates Montrose and the royalist cause more generally, but it also elaborates the vexed place of Scottish Gaeldom within the British polity; he captures its liminality to Scotland, its sense of its own coherence, and its complex relationship with Gaelic Ireland. Iain Lom's poetry is commonly read in light of his status as a 'clan poet,' i.e. as someone who interprets the world almost exclusively through the narrow lens of his clan's pre-occupations and undertakings.⁴⁴ Although much of his poetry falls within this category, the assumptions we may draw from it are perhaps limiting and negative. As a member of Clann Domhnall his interest lies with what was one of the preeminent Scottish Gaelic kindreds, and as a supporter of the House of Stuart his poetry has affinities with other royalist poets across Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland. Iain Lom's celebrated poem on the Battle of Inverlochy (1645) is traditionally held up as the strongest example of a perspective in which 'national events' are 'interpret[ed ...] through a local, clan-based or Gaelic lens'.⁴⁵ The sweeping royalist success is presented in the poem as the glorious victory of Clann Domhnall over the 'Caimbeulaich nam beul sligheach' ['wry-mouthed Campbells'].⁴⁶ The poet is keen to construct a martial heroic identity for his clansmen:

'S lionmhor claidheamh claisghorm còmhnaidh
Bha bualadh 'n lamhan Chlann Dòmhnail.

Numerous are the blue fluted well-balanced swords that were wielded in
the hands of Clan Donald.⁴⁷

⁴³ He was clearly one of the campaign's prime propagandists, but there is also a tradition that he guided Montrose's troops on their brilliant outflanking manoeuvre to surprise the Covenanters at the Battle of Inverlochy (1645). See Stevenson, *Highland Warrior*, p.120.

⁴⁴ Derick Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1974), p.119.

⁴⁵ Carla Sassi and Silke Stroh, "Nation and Home" in *The International Companion to Scottish Poetry*, ed. Carla Sassi (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2015), 144-155, pp.148-9.

⁴⁶ Iain Lom, ' 'N cuala sibhse 'n tionndadh duineil', 193, 215.

⁴⁷ Iain Lom, ' 'N cuala sibhse 'n tionndadh duineil', 228-229.

This stands in a tradition of panegyrics to Clann Domhnall that represent them as heroic warriors, and it reduces the royalist army to a host of Clann Domhnall or at least it singles them out for privileged emphasis. Iain Lom is infamous for combining such panegyrics with ruthless vaunts and criticism over his clan's enemies. He addresses the widows and mothers of the fallen Caimbéals:

Sgrios oirbh mas truagh leam bhur càramh,
'G éisdeachd anshocair bhur pàisdean,
Caoidh a' phannail bh'anns an àraich,
Donnalaich bhan Earra-Ghàidheal.

Perdition take you if I feel pity for your plight, as I listen to the distress of
your children, lamenting the company which was in the battlefield, the
wailing of the women of Argyll.⁴⁸

The national, religious, and political strife of the civil wars is submerged in Iain Lom's bitter invective against the Caimbéals. Yet, despite a clan focus, Iain Lom is rarely narrow or blind to wider events. The clan conflict of Inverlochy seems separate from the progress of wider events, but it is in fact a local permutation of tensions that were boiling over across the archipelago. For example, aside from the clan conflict, other observers interpreted Inverlochy as part of the religious wars that were ravaging Ireland and England. The Scottish Jesuit missionary, Fr. James MacBreck, presented the war in Scotland in a letter to his superior as primarily a war between heretics and Catholics. He describes Inverlochy as the defeat of 'the enemy who blasphemed the Mother of God'.⁴⁹ Such differing representations of the same event – Iain Lom makes no mention of the religion of his opponents – remind us

⁴⁸ Iain Lom, ' 'N cuala sibhse 'n tionndadh duineil', 270-273.

⁴⁹ James MacBreck, 'Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus from Scotland, 1642-1646, addressed by Fr. James MacBreck to the Very Reverend Father Francis Piccolomini, General of the Society of Jesus', *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, ed. William Forbes-Leith, 2 vols (London: Longmans, 1909) i, pp.229-358. p.320.

of the multiplicity of issues at stake during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, and this holds true from Westminster to the west of Scotland.

While Iain Lom vaunted over the Caimbéal fallen and celebrated the demise of his enemies, there were powerful voices of dissent and despair from within Clann Caimbéal itself, most notably directed at Argyll's less than heroic behaviour. Argyll was injured by a horse fall prior to the battle and retired to a galley anchored in Loch Linnhe. Command of the Covenanter forces was given to his kinsman Sir Donnchadh Caimbéal of Achnambreac. Sir Donnchadh was killed and his death, along with the deaths of numbers of Caimbéal clansmen caused significant dismay to the wider clan. An unknown Caimbéal woman identified the Irish troops as the main cause of the Covenanter defeat:

Bho ruaig nan Eireannach dhoithe
Thàinig a dh'Albainn gun stòras,
Le bha dh'earras air an cleòcaibh,
Thug iad spionnadh do Chlann Domhnaill

From the charge of the grim Irish
Who came to Scotland without anything
But what they had on their cloaks:
They added to the strength of Clan Donald.⁵⁰

For this poet, it was the coming of the Irish to Scotland that strengthened her kindred's opponents and led to calamity.⁵¹ The empty-handedness of the Irish on arrival is subsequently linked in the poem to their spoliation of the Caimbéal lands and their acts of looting and raiding. There is no cultural or ethnic recognition of the Irish as Gaelic, or indeed of her opponents as anybody other than Clann Domhnall. The ethnic and the political

⁵⁰ 'O, gur mi a th'air mo leònadh', *Songs Remembered in Exile*, ed. John Lorne Campbell, rev. Colm Ó Baoill (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1999), pp.205-207, 3-6.

⁵¹ Fiona Anne MacDonald has suggested that the presentation of the Irish in this other Caimbéal poem 'was a subtle device to demean the Royalist clans, that is, implying that they needed assistance from Ireland to defeat the Campbells.' 'Ireland and Scotland: historical perspectives on the Gaelic dimension 1560-1760', p.920.

appear to be submerged here in a similar way to Iain Lom's poem above. The poem goes on to recount succinctly the tragic personal cost of the battle:

Mharbh iad m'athair is m'fhear pòsta,
'S mo cheathrar bhràithrean 'gan stròicheadh,
'S mo cheathrar mhacanan òga,
'S mo naoinear chodhaltan bòidheach

They killed my father and my husband,
They struck down my four brothers
They killed my four young sons
And my nine handsome foster-children.⁵²

This litany of loss is transmuted into a unique moment of anger and criticism directed at Argyll himself:

Thug Mac Cailein Mòr an linn' air,
'S leag e 'n sgrìob ud air a chinne!

The Earl of Argyll took to the water
And let that blow fall on his people!⁵³

Criticism of a clan chief was unusual at this time, and it is testament to the depth of feeling after Inverlochy that a poet felt constrained to utter such an indictment.

Whilst more politically muted than 'O, gur mi a th'air mo leònadh', the poem 'Turas mo chreiche thug mi Chola' records, if possible, an even greater depth of tragedy in the aftermath of Inverlochy. This poem is ascribed to Fionnghall Chaimbéal, the sister of the slain Sir Donnchadh, and the wife of Iain Garbh Mac Gille Eóin, 8th Laird of Coll. Iain and Fionnghall's son, Eachann Ruadh, fought on the royalist side at Inverlochy. The poem broods on the sadness of marrying into a rival family, and registers, albeit allusively, the chilling divisions that civil war could raise within the home. The poem recounts first of all the lowly position Fionnghall was accorded in Iain Garbh's house after their marriage and the indignity

⁵² 'O, gur mi a th'air mo leònadh', 7-10.

⁵³ 'O, gur mi a th'air mo leònadh', 22-23.

of her treatment there.⁵⁴ The events of the civil war make an abrupt, though oblique and mysterious, entrance into the poem:

Chaidh iad don t-searmoin Di-Dòmhnaich
 'S dh'fhàg iad san taigh bhàn mi am ònar
 'S an tubhailte chaol ma m' dhòrnaibh
 'S mi an ceangal am fuil gu m' bhrògan,
 'S gum b'e fuil mo bhràithrean òga.

On Sunday they went to the sermon
 and left me alone in the deserted building,
 my wrists bound with the fine-woven towel,
 down to my shoes in blood, fettered,
 and that was the blood of my young brothers.⁵⁵

This strange image is arresting, and depicts the isolation and trauma of a woman in Fionnghall's position. The Mac Gille Eóins had converted to Protestantism and it is interesting that their attendance at the 'sermon' is noted here as is their devotion to other Protestant forms of devotion in other poetry of the same period:

Bha gràdh is eagal Mhic Dé ort
 An àm sgriobtair a leughadh
 Ann ad chaisteal mun éireadh do bhòrd.

You had the love and fear of the Son of God when the scripture was read in
 your castle before your table arose.⁵⁶

The common love of scripture and attendance at Sabbath sermons that Protestant clans such as Clann Ghille Eóin and Clann Caimbéal shared was not enough to bind them into allegiance with one another and is a reminder that often religious identities alone did not determine political action. Fionnghall's poem goes on to recall her slaughtered brothers in eulogistic terms:

B'ann agam fhèin a bha na bràithrean
 Bu doinne ceann 's bu ghile bràighe,

⁵⁴ Fionnghall Chaimbéal, 'Turas mo chreiche thug mi Chola', *GnC*, 1-11.

⁵⁵ Fionnghall Chaimbéal, 'Turas mo chreiche thug mi Chola', 12-16.

⁵⁶ Eachann Bacach, 'Thriall bhuir bunadh gu Phàro', *BCG*, 260-262. This poem addresses Sir Lachlann Mac Gille Eóin of Duart who fought on the royalist side and died in 1649.

Is an dà ghruaidh mar ròs an gàrradh
'S am beul cho dearg ris an sgàrlaid.

They were my own, those brothers,
heads the brownest and throats the fairest,
their cheeks like a rose in a garden,
mouths as red as cloth of scarlet.⁵⁷

She mourns that Donnchadh was not given a proper burial at Inveraray (21-30), perhaps a veiled attack on Argyll, but this is not a poem of criticism of the Caimbéal or Covenantan leadership, rather an account of grim familial division and tragedy. She turns her anger not on Argyll but Eachann Ruadh her own son, and on her own grandchildren, wishing for

Eachann Ruadh a dhol an dolaidh
'S nìor faiceam a chlann mun doras
No a chuid mhac a' dol na choinne.

Eachann Ruadh to be ruined
and let me not see his children round the threshold
or his sons going to meet him.⁵⁸

This is a short poem and it deals with its subjects indirectly for the most part, but it is a powerful evocation of grief and division. In both these poems the personal side of politics is given first place, but criticism of chiefs and husbands is embedded in them and bitterly woven in to laments for loved ones in a way which demonstrates the rupture civil war causes in a society so rooted in its own family structures.⁵⁹ Loyalty to patriarchal structures such as the clan, the chief, and the husband are all called into question in these poems of loss as the social inversions of civil war are made manifest. Iain Lom exults in taking no pity on the wailing of the Argyll women, but in these two poems there is much to be heard.

⁵⁷ Fionnghall Chaimbéal, 'Turas mo chreiche thug mi Chola', 17-20.

⁵⁸ Fionnghall Chaimbéal, 'Turas mo chreiche thug mi Chola', 45-48.

⁵⁹ See also Seónaid Chaimbéal 'S tha 'n oidhche nochd fuar' which recounts a love affair which crosses similar familial and political boundaries as Fionnghall's marriage. *Early Modern Women Poets: An Anthology*, ed. Jane Stevenson and Peter Dawson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.267-269.

Clan and family rivalry are only ever one way of understanding the political works of the Gaelic vernacular poets of the seventeenth century. The clash of Covenanters, Parliamentarians, Confederates, and Royalists arose out of real archipelagic struggles over political and religious identity, and many of the Gaelic poets demonstrate their awareness of these problems in their poetry. Even in his poem on Inverlochy, Iain Lom shows a consciousness of the British contexts of the conflict in Scotland. He castigates the Marquess of Huntly, who, though a Royalist, had refused to join Montrose due to a personal rivalry. Iain Lom calls Huntly by his family nickname the 'Coileach Shrath Bhalgaidh' ['Cock of Strathbogie'], but inverts the name into taunt by saying that he is: 'An t-eun dona chaill a cheutaidh / An Sasann 'n Albainn 's an Eirinn,' ['the poor fowl which lost its comeliness in England, in Scotland and in Ireland'].⁶⁰ That is to say that Huntly's prevaricating has diminished his status in all three kingdoms. As his later poems to mac Colla, Montrose, Huntly, and Charles II demonstrate, Iain Lom was acutely aware of the wider implications of Montrose's campaign and the royalist cause, and was unashamed to address, upbraid, and praise the key participants in the Scottish theatre of conflict. Iain Lom's network of addressees is a sign of his connection with the politics of the Scottish civil wars; in contrast, mac Colla, after Montrose's defeat at Philliphaugh (1645), 'refused to co-operate with the royalist Huntly, who still held out in the north, stating bluntly that he did not pretend to be fighting for the king; he was seeking to recover his lands and revenge himself on his enemies'.⁶¹ Mac Colla's actual commitment to Royalism or the Confederates is hard to measure, when hard pressed he swapped sides several times in the first years of the Irish Rebellion. This sense of self-preservation was linked to a clear desire to protect his family

⁶⁰ Iain Lom, ' 'N cuala sibhse 'n tionndadh duineil', 249-51.

⁶¹ Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, p.186.

and to re-establish Clann Domhnall in their patrimony in the south west highlands and islands.⁶² His loyalty to Catholicism and his desire to defend it against the anti-Catholic Covenanters and Puritans is easier to gauge. Fr. James MacBreck states that mac Colla's troops were 'much edified at seeing the commander of the regiments receive the most holy Eucharist after duly coming to confession, and fasting three days in the week'.⁶³ R. Scott Spurlock has noted that MacBreck's depiction of mac Colla's motivations amounts to one of 'a religious crusade' but notes that even in MacBreck's understanding it was a crusade that 'was also thoroughly cultural and kin based too'.⁶⁴

The divergent priorities and commitments of Iain Lom and mac Colla demonstrate that the clan conflict was both enmeshed in the wider archipelagic wars and simultaneously discrete and separate. This is not atypical, as the various conflicts throughout the archipelago of the 1640s overlap and are interconnected but also distinct processes with their own unique causes and aims. At the cultural and political level though, the clan conflict exists in a space that has been more fully submerged or detached at the British or national level. Iain Lom elaborates this space in his acknowledgement of his audience: a chiefly elite whose cultural and familial ties are imagined to extend from Caithness to Ireland:

O Theamhair gu h-I,
Gus a' Chananaich shios,
Luchd-ealaidh bho'n chrìch 'nur dàil

⁶² See Stevenson, *Highland Warrior*, pp.88-129. The very real danger to his immediate and wider family, some of whom were captives, should caution us about regarding Alasdair's actions and commitments in a too cynical light.

⁶³ James MacBreck, 'Annual Letter of the Society of Jesus from Scotland, 1642-1646', p.303.

⁶⁴ R. Scott Spurlock, 'Confessionalization and Clan Cohesion: Ireland's Contribution to Scottish Catholic Renewal in the Seventeenth Century,' *Recusant History*, 31 (2012), 171-94, p.188. For earlier Clann Domhnall links with religious conflict see John L. Campbell, 'The Letter sent by Iain Muideartach, Twelfth Chief of Clanranald, to Pope Urban VIII, in 1626', *Innes Review*, 4:2 (1953), pp.110-16. Also pertinent to our understanding of the religious motivations of the Royalist clans is Iain Lom's claim that Royalist defeat must be ameliorated by Mass, fasting, and prayer; see 'Mi ag amharc Srath Chuaiche', 643-650.

In your company are minstrels from all the lands from Tara to Iona, and north to the Chanonry of Ross.⁶⁵

This is an evocation of Gaeldom in its most expansive sense: a cultural space stretching from the symbolic heartlands of Tara and Iona to the north of Scotland. This cultural space becomes more politically loaded when we recall that the addressee of these particular lines was Sir Domhnall Gorm Óg Mac Domhnaill, 8th of Sleat: a leading member of Clann Domhnall, and with the Earl of Antrim, responsible for mobilising the royalist cause in the Gàidhealtachd.⁶⁶ Whilst McLeod, amongst others, has deftly warned us of the danger of overemphasising the cultural commerce between the west of Scotland and Ireland, the dynamic of interaction still held some sway, particularly in the Clann Domhnall imaginary.⁶⁷

Iain Lom's vernacular poetry also demonstrates familiarity with the shared Irish-Scottish myths of the Fianna and Oisín, and with Clann Domhnall's supposed descent from Conn Ceudach.⁶⁸ He claims that since the heroic warbands, the 'Fian', are no more, the Mac Domhnaills are the leaders of the Gaelic clans and he goes on to list those who will join forces with them.⁶⁹ With regards to this phenomenon of listing of allies, McLeod has argued that 'the purpose is to locate the chief in his ideal imagined community, not to lay out a realistic political presentation'.⁷⁰ Iain Lom's listing of allies both performs and stiffens a collective resolve, and also presents a heroic identity that Clann Domhnall is fit to embody. However, we might consider that during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, at least, there was a greater correspondence with the real military and political situation than at other times,

⁶⁵ Iain Lom, 'A Dhòmhnaill an Dùin', 179-181.

⁶⁶ Annie M. Mackenzie, 'Notes' in *OIL*, pp.230-327. p.236.

⁶⁷ Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh notes the same cultural interactions in an address to Sir Domhnall's wife: 'Eireóchthar fós le cloinn gColla', §§43, 45. See Bardic Poetry Database: <https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/>.

⁶⁸ See Iain Lom, *OIL*, 85, 1285, 1427,

⁶⁹ Iain Lom, 'A Dhòmhnaill an Dùin', 135-142

⁷⁰ McLeod, *DG*, p.216.

and no doubt, this was because of the very real factional strife that was at play not just in the Gàidhealtachd but across the archipelago. Iain Lom's poetry throughout the War of Three Kingdoms addresses a community of royalists and potential allies comprising Scots, and Gaels – he even addresses and chastises Charles II for his seeming inactivity.⁷¹ Cultural connections were not only asserted with Ireland but also between Scottish Gaels and Scots. Iain Lom praises the royalist Sir Lachlann Mac Gille Éóin of Duart as 'B'e sin grianan nan Gàidheal/ Agus uaisle fir Alba' ['The sun bower of the Gaels and the noblest of Scotland'].⁷² Here the nation of Scotland is the natural arena for elites such as Sir Lachlann to compete and pursue their careers. This image emerges from a marginalised space. On the one hand 'Gaelic Scotland was at once marginal to the Gaelic world, and a fully fledged, fully accepted participant in it,' and on the other hand it stood in an ambiguous (and uneven) relationship with the Scottish polity, which, within the British context itself, was also struggling for an identity.⁷³

It is important to emphasise these struggles with identity in the early modern period precisely because early modern national and cultural identities are often so poorly understood and misrepresented. In the case of the Gaelic involvement in the War of the Three Kingdoms it is often presented that the Gaels were fighting either an inter-clan feud, or an inter-Scottish civil war between Gaels and Lowlanders.⁷⁴ We have seen already how

⁷¹ Iain Lom, 'Mi ag amharc Srath Chuaiche', 579-610.

⁷² Iain Lom, 'Cuid de adhbhar mo ghearain', 453-455.

⁷³ McLeod, *DG*, p.193; Stroh, *Uneasy*, p.13.

⁷⁴ For example see Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates* p.30; in *Highland Warrior* Stevenson argues that 'For most of the clans in the Western Highlands and Isles, however, the decisive factor in determining their allegiance in the coming civil war was not national political or religious issues but their own, much narrower clan interests, especially in relation to the Campbells; would civil war give them a chance to challenge Campbell supremacy by breaking the alliance of the Campbells with the monarch?' (p.91). As we have seen this is an overstatement and oversimplification of the case. Allan MacInnes exemplifies the second analysis when he argues that Iain Lom believed the civil war 'was ultimately a racial and cultural struggle between the Gael and the Gall for supremacy in Scotland.' *The British Confederate*, p.205 n.15.

Caimbéal panegyric sought to fashion a flexible and expansive identity with both Gaelic and British dimensions, and how their political activities over the course of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought them significant power in Scotland. The interjection of mac Colla and his Irish troops in the campaign of 1644-1646 further alerts us to the cultural complexities embroiling the Gaelic world. The wider Gaelic dynamics, as well as the contexts of intra-Scottish and inter-clan conflict inform the responses of the poets and their understanding of their identity and place in the world. There is a world of difference in cultural perceptions between the hostility of the bereaved woman of Argyll, who termed mac Colla's troops the 'Eireannach dhoithe' ['grim Irish'], and the barbarity that Covenanter propaganda projected onto them when the Committee of Estates slandered the once godly Montrose for having 'now joined with ane Band of Irish Rebels, and Masse-Priests, who haue thir two years by-gane, bathed themselves in the bloud of God's people in Ireland'.⁷⁵ The association of Irish and barbarity, a commonplace in English discourses during the Tudor reconquest, was also one with increasing resonances in Scottish discourses after the Reformation, and was mirrored in James VI's reign in an increasingly hostile rhetoric towards the Western Gaels:

As for the Hie-landes, I shortly comprehend them all in two sorts of people: the one, that dwelleth in our maine land, that are barbarous, and yet mixed with some shewe of ciuilitie: the other, that dwelleth in the lles, and are alluterly barbares, without any sort or shew of ciuilitie.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ 'Reward of £20000 Scots for Montrose, Dead or Alive, Edinburgh: 12 September 1644', *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns*, ed. Robert Steele, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), ii, pp.325-6, p.325.

⁷⁶ James VI of Scotland, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh: 1599), p.42. These attitudes were echoed regularly in other contexts. William Drummond of Hawthornden presented a sometimes mixed and contradictory view of the Gaels in his historical writings but was not above denigrating them as 'barbarous Canibals' when they appeared to him disruptive of Scottish political life. *The History of Scotland, from the Year 1423. until the Year 1542* (London: Henry Hills, 1655), p.65. See also Martin MacGregor 'Gaelic barbarity and Scottish identity in the later Middle Ages', *Mìorun mòr nan Gall, 'The great ill-will of the Lowlander'? Lowland perceptions of the Highlands, medieval and modern*, ed. Dauvit Broun and Martin MacGregor (Glasgow: Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow, 2009), pp.7-48.

However, the distinction between Scottish and Irish Gaels could be made, at least in theory, by Lowland authorities. After the final defeat of Montrose's army at the Battle of Philiphaugh in 1645, the Covenanters rounded up and executed his Irish troops despite initially promising them quarter. Stevenson notes that 'these were as likely to have been Highland as Irish' but the attempt at distinction, and indeed its difficulties, points to the partially overlapping but distinct cultural and national identities of the Scottish Gaels as both Gaels and Scots.⁷⁷

Colin Kidd has emphasised the uneven and secondary nature of ethnic discourses in early modern Britain, and how easily modern notions of racism may be displaced onto sentiments that were yet to feel the bite of racial categorisation that was to emerge more fully in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Kidd the racial and ethnic discourses that developed from Mosaic accounts of the peopling of the earth, and even the antiquarian debates on Saxonism and Gothicism, ultimately stressed the overarching familial connections between peoples, even Celts and Saxons.⁷⁸ Whilst this holds true for mainstream Anglo-British attempts at genealogy and ethnography, the Gaels preserved their own mytho-historical traditions and genealogies. The distinction between Gaels and Goill, that is a key motif in much Irish bardic verse, has a definite and often adversarial ethnic component to it. While Gall itself is a term subject to fluctuation in precise meaning over both time and place, it remained a resolute signifier of the other and the un-Gaelic. Attitudes to the Goill were not fixed however, as we have seen it was perfectly possible for a bardic poet to praise the Earl of Argyll as 'iarla Gall is Gaoidheal' ['Earl of the Gall and the Gael.']. Furthermore, the processes of Gaelicisation of Norman, Norse, and English families rendered

⁷⁷ Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, p.178.

⁷⁸ Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.287, 72.

the two categories less than immutable, although classical Gaelic genealogists maintained the distinct descents of Gaels and those who were merely Gaelicised.⁷⁹ A striking example of the complexities that embroil the seemingly simple distinction between Gael and Gaelicised occurs in a poem by Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh addressed to the 1st Earl of Antrim. The poem welcomes Antrim and the return of Clann Domhnall to Ireland as a homecoming, but his first line registers the ethno-cultural intricacies of this moment. He begins: ‘Éireannaigh féin fionn-Lochlannaigh.’ Lambert McKenna translates this as ‘Fair Lochlannaigh are of Eire too’, another translation might read ‘Fair Norsemen are themselves Irish’.⁸⁰ The reference is to the mixed Norse-Gaelic descent of the Hebridean families and whilst the rest of the poem emphasises the Irish heritage of Clann Domhnall, the opening line neatly demonstrates the genealogical memory retained by the Gaelic learned orders.⁸¹ In the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, ethnic markers were used for denigration and point-scoring by both Gaels and non-Gaels alike. This was more or less a new development, at least in the case of Scottish Gaelic poets.⁸² Iain Lom paradoxically praises Montrose (an English speaker) saying that:

Dh’fhàg thu falt is fuil bhrùite
Mu shùilibh luchd Beurla.

You left hair and bruised blood about the eyes of those of English
speech.⁸³

⁷⁹ There are exceptions to this strict delineation though. The anonymous ‘Cóir feitheamh ar uaisilbh Alban’, for example, addresses a John Stewart of Rannoch (fl. 1455-1475) as ‘Gaidheal do chloinn Ghaltair’ [‘a Gael of Walter’s family’], §4, edited and translated in *Bardachd Albannach: Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, ed. William J. Watson (Edinburgh: SGTS, 1978). This is Walter the 6th High Steward of Scotland and father of the Stewart monarch Robert II, a Scotto-Norman rather than a Gaelic family. Whilst written in a competent *Séadna* metre, it is possible this is the work of a learned amateur and not the product of a fully trained poet. On the extant panegyric and genealogies of various Gaelicised Scottish kindreds, see Coira, *By poetic authority*, pp.183-277.

⁸⁰ Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh, ‘Éireannaigh féin fionn-Lochlannaigh’, §1.

⁸¹ See Coira, ‘The Earl of Argyll and the Goill’, pp.144-145.

⁸² Coira notes that the theme of war against the Goill is almost entirely absent from extant Scottish Gaelic bardic verse. *By poetic authority*, p.321. Jokes at the expense of the Gaels though were more commonplace in Scots tradition. For a typical example see ‘How the first Helandman was maid’, *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, 4 vols (Glasgow: The Hunterian Club, 1896), iii, pp.460-461.

⁸³ Iain Lom, ‘Soraidh do’n Ghràmach’, 331-2.

Although the categorisation here is linguistic, in this case it carries an obvious ethnic undertone. More explicitly he refers to his Caimbéal opponents at Inverlochy as 'Ghallaibh glasa' ['sallow-skinned Lowlanders'].⁸⁴ This confusion of ethnic terms and categories both enforces and obscures the importance of ethnic differences. 'Gall' can be used as a term of scorn that can also be turned, paradoxically, on fellow Gaels.⁸⁵

It is not just the ethnic boundaries of Scotland and Gaeldom that register in the writing of the period, but the geographical and physical boundaries of Scotland feature strongly in Iain Lom's poetry at least. The royalist campaign relied on high mobility and guerrilla-like tactics, and naturally during the course of the campaign those who followed the troops traversed a good deal of the country. In Niall Mac Muireadhaigh's account of the war he recounts a conversation which illustrates the entanglement of geographical space with historical and cultural awareness. Whilst the royalist army was ravaging the Mearns on the Scottish east coast, Niall records that they met and spoke with an old man:

A tarra sennduine onórach dhoibh & iád ar an chreichsin do bi ag innisin sgéala & is senchais doibh accenn gach sgéil eile dar innis doibh a dubhert nar chreachadh an Mhaoirne o náimsir do creachadh le Domhnall a h-Íle í an bhliaghain tug se cath Garbhthec do diuibhche Murchagh ' & saoilim ógánaigh gur ar sliocht na ndoine ata sibhsi masa sibh chaipdin Chloinn Raghnaill.'

an honourable old man who was telling them stories and historical affairs and along with the other stories he told them, he said that the Mearns had not been spoiled since the time it was spoiled by Donald of Isla, the year he fought the battle of Garioch or Harlaw against Duke Murdoch; 'and I suppose, young man, that you are descended from him, if you be the captain of Clanranald.'⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Iain Lom, ' 'N cuala sibhse 'n tionndadh duineil', 264.

⁸⁵ Iain Lom does not reference the British or continental genealogies that the Caimbéals promulgated but refers to a late vernacular addition to their genealogy which gives the clan descent from 'Diarmaid an Tuirc' ('Diarmaid the Boar'), a member of the Fianna. 'Air mo dhruim 'san tom fhalaich', 418. This indicates that Iain Lom was happy to view the Caimbéals as Gaels. For discussion of this addition to the Caimbéal genealogy see Coira, *By poetic authority*, pp.120-121.

⁸⁶ Niall Mac Muireadhaigh, 'The Book of Clanranald', pp.196-197.

By the early modern period the Mearns was no longer a Gaelic speaking area and this old man's knowledge demonstrates that memory and history (the Battle of Harlaw had occurred in 1411) could connect persons and events over cultural or linguistic boundaries. In the poetry of Iain Lom, geographical boundaries and assumptions come to be questioned. The notion that the Highlands and Islands (and further still their inhabitants) existed in some sort of static seclusion, isolated from the central geographies of Britain, is compromised by Iain Lom's persistent spatial awareness, and long-stepping journeys. Many of his poems open in *media res*, a journey is being undertaken or contemplated that the following lines will explain and situate. His lament for Montrose following his execution in 1650 begins: 'Mi gabhail Srath Dhruim-uachdair' ['As I travel the Strath below Drumochter'] grounding the poet as he mourns the loss of his friend and captain in a liminal passing place – the pass of Drumochter being a dividing line between Perthshire and the Highlands.⁸⁷ The poet has turned his back on Edinburgh and vows to go there no more since Montrose's execution has thrown the Scots into bondage like 'Cloinn Israél' [the 'Children of Israel'] in Egypt.⁸⁸ Similarly, in his poem on the Keppoch Murders, we meet the poet hurrying along a road leading into the west Highlands as he pursues the murderers with the intent of bringing them to justice.⁸⁹ These spatial frames, which occur frequently, depict Iain Lom as a restless wanderer, journeying ceaselessly from Kintyre to Edinburgh, Aberdeen to Skye; an eyewitness to executions and a guest of chiefs and peers of the realm. As he accumulates distance he also experiences and composes on great events, be they in the Gàidhealtachd or

⁸⁷ Iain Lom, 'Mi gabhail Srath Dhruim-uachdair', 651.

⁸⁸ Iain Lom, 'Mi gabhail Srath Dhruim-uachdair', 679, 667-8. The resort to typological biblical imagery to explain the conflicts of 1639-60 was a commonplace in the literature of the archipelago at the time, regardless of creed or faction.

⁸⁹ Iain Lom, ' 'S tearc an diugh mo chùis ghàire', 974-5.

the ‘machair nan Gall’ [‘Lowland plain’].⁹⁰ This ability to traverse supposed cultural boundaries, and to cross disputed lines destabilises a fixed binary geography of Scotland. Iain Lom perceives this restless and irrepressible motion in Montrose whom he beckons to return and fight for the cause after the defeat of 1646:

Soraidh do’n Ghràmach
Tha air mhàrsal air fògradh,
Ge tamall o làimh e,
Ta dhàil ri theachd oirne;
Ge bè ionad do’n champa,
Anns an Spàin no ’san Olaind,
Aon neach leis am b’àill i,
Deoch-slàinte Mhontròsa.

Good wishes to the illustrious Graham who though in exile is on the march;
although some distance away, his tryst is to meet with us; wherever he be
in camp in Spain or in Holland, who so will let him drink a toast to
Montrose.⁹¹

On the occasions when Iain Lom does not open with a spectacle of travel he still takes care to depict a vista and location for his poem.⁹² These settings are often less specific, but they root the matter of the work in a concrete and personalised occasion. In his lament following the death of Alasdair mac Colla (1647), Iain Lom re-enacts, in the present tense, what he did and where he was when he heard the news of his kinsman's death: ‘Air mo dhruim ’san tom fhalaich’ [‘As I lie on my back on the stalking knoll’].⁹³ This is at once an intimate setting of private grief, but it is also enmeshed within a communal geography; we can infer that ‘*the* stalking knoll’ was a definite point known to the Keppoch Mac Domhnaills, and possibly a place Iain Lom had been with Alasdair mac Colla in the past. It is appropriate

⁹⁰ Iain Lom, ‘Is cian ’s gur fad’ tha mi ’m thàmh’, 863.

⁹¹ Iain Lom, ‘Soraidh do’n Ghràmach’, 301-8.

⁹² Of course there are examples of similar locative openings in other Gaelic poetry from the period but Iain Lom's use of space seems to be distinctively insistent. See for example Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh's ‘’S mi am shuidhe air an tulaich’.

⁹³ Iain Lom, ‘Air mo dhruim ’san tom fhalaich’, 381.

that he laments mac Colla's death in solitude but also on a spot known to his immediate listeners – people who would have been similarly affected by mac Colla's death. We meet the poet in a similar, though less specific, location in his song on Charles II's coronation: 'Mi 'n so air m'uilinn / An àrdghleann munaidh, / 'S mór fàth mo shulais ri gàire.' ['As I lie on my elbow in a high mountain glen, I have good reason to find joy in laughter'].⁹⁴ Images such as these position Iain Lom in an emotional relationship with the landscape, but they also personalise and realise his connections with political events. Whilst the bardic poets drew on a wealth of lore and stylised epithets to describe their geographies and to situate their subjects, Iain Lom's poetry is sparser, and more direct in his descriptive language. His poems abound with place names and evocative terrains, but it is the deeds of great men as they inhabit or move through these settings that interest him and that bring his poems to life.

Events are often described from the vantage point of some hill or knoll giving Iain Lom an all-seeing-eye of the actions and people he depicts. The physical terrain of Scotland is there to be lived in and enjoyed and indeed to be conquered if need be. This is most fully realised perhaps in the lament for Huntly; when looking at Strathquoich the poet recalls with grief the hillside upon which the lord once made a feast:

Gur beag mo chùis aighear
 'S mi ag amharc an lòistean,
 Mi a' faicinn an ruighe
 Far na shuidhich iad bòrd duit;
 Tha e nis fo ghleus chapall
 'Na fheur fada 's na fhòlach,
 A threas fàs luibh na machrach,
 Ard Mharcus o' *Gòrdon*.

Little cause have I for joy as I look upon your camping place, and see the hillside where a table was laid out for you; it is now given over to be trodden by horses and overgrown with uncut and rank grass, and its third growth will be wild plants, noble Marquess of Gordon.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Iain Lom, 'Mi 'n so air m'uilinn', 902-4.

⁹⁵ Iain Lom, 'Mi ag amharc Srath Chuaiche', 539-46.

This is an emphatic aristocratic vision of the lord and his land in harmony, and it is also redolent of Gaelic classical imagery in its depiction of the desolation that follows the lord's death. It is striking that this is directed towards a non-Gaelic lord, and that Iain Lom felt comfortable in offering comparable praise to the Hebridean chiefs as he did to Scots such as Huntly and Montrose. There is a locative insistence and awareness in much of Iain Lom's corpus that roots him and his poetry very firmly into the various places of Scotland.

McLeod has demonstrated that "'imagining Scotland" was not a high priority in the bardic schools; the terrain was not populated with the depth of mythical and historical associations that it was in Ireland, and poetic epithets for Scotland and its places were few.⁹⁶ But that is not say that place and space did not resonate in Scottish Gaelic thought. The most striking instance from this period comes from an anonymous Mac Domhnaill poem from around the time of the Restoration in 1660. Aonghas Mac Domhnaill of Largie was considering selling his land but a clansman composed these poignant lines in protest:

Shaoil mi 'n darach uthann àrd,
Tarruing 'ur bàrr as a fréumh,
Gu 'n gluaiste 'na creagan dilinn,
'Nan dìbreadh o'n Leirg do thréibh.

I thought of pulling a broad high oak out by the top from its roots, timeless
rocks could be moved if your family forsook Largie.⁹⁷

The concept of a clan's 'dùthchas', which can be variously translated as 'patrimony', 'homeland', 'birthplace', or 'heritage,' is clearly exemplified in this poem addressed to Mac Domhnaill of Largie. This vision of rootedness is complemented in Iain Lom's use of place and

⁹⁶ McLeod, *DG*, p.142.

⁹⁷ 'O! 's tuisleach an nochd a taim', §2. Quoted in Allan I Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), p.123. See *The MacDonald Collection of Poetry*, ed. A. MacDonald and A. MacDonald (Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, 1911), pp.59-60.

his conceptualisation of the nation. A traditional claim made for the dùthchas of Clann Domhnall is that they have rights to 'a House and Half of Scotland', and Iain Lom's journeys could be seen as a reclamation of the land of Scotland for Clann Domhnall more specifically or the Gaels more generally.⁹⁸ In the vernacular poetry of the mid seventeenth century then we can see a new imagining of Scotland taking place as its places are filled with the people and the poignant doings of the day.

1.3: Royalist defeat and the Gaels' engagement with national politics

The royalist campaign of 1644-1646 won many notable victories against the covenanter forces. In mid-1645 the Earl of Antrim attempted to resupply his Irish troops in Scotland. A bardic poem survives which asks for a blessing on this voyage and predicts Antrim's ultimate victory

Beid mar do bhádar roimhe
clann Domhnall fhóid Iughoine,
laoich gan chruas nach beag buidhne,
suas gan chead don Chomhairle.

Clan Donnell of Iughoine's land [Ireland] – the generous warriors of mighty companies – they shall be exalted as aforetime they were, do the Parliament what it will.⁹⁹

The wider war effort here is selectively reduced to emphasise only the battle between Clann Domhnall and the Parliamentarians, and in a subsequent verse the feud with Clann

Caimbéal appears:

⁹⁸ John MacInnes, 'Gaelic Poetry and Historical Tradition', p.21. For examples and variations on this motif see Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, 'Tha ulaidh orm an umharrachd', 729-734; see also 'Mór mo mholadh ar mhac Cholla', §6. MacInnes has argued that during the seventeenth century the Scottish Gaels increasingly saw Scotland as the rightful dùthchas of the House of Stuart. *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, p.24.

⁹⁹ 'Beid mar do bhádar roimhe', §1, edited in Robert Flower, 'An Irish-Gaelic Poem on the Montrose Wars', *SGS*, 1 (1926), 113-118.

Claidhfidh rea nert a námhuid
 beid na bhfuigheall fanámhuid
 Duibhnigh . . . a ccloinne
 fa bharr doilghe is doghrainne.

His might shall overwhelm his foes, remnant of mockery shall they be, clan
 Campbell ... shall suffer the extreme agony of disaster.¹⁰⁰

Antrim however was unable to make contact with his troops and the mission failed. The run of military successes came to an end after a split between mac Colla and Montrose following their resounding victory at the Battle of Kilsyth in 1645.¹⁰¹ Shorn of the majority of his Highland troops and facing a far larger Covenanting force Montrose's army was decisively beaten at Philiphaugh in September 1645. After the battle Montrose wintered in the Highlands until Charles I (who was captured in May 1646) ordered him to lay down his arms as part of a settlement that was being negotiated with the English Parliament. Montrose went into exile on the continent in September 1646. Alasdair mac Colla continued to pursue Covenanters and the enemies of the Clann Domhnall in the west of Scotland. Antrim again attempted to sail to Scotland to make contact with his forces there and in late 1646 he was successful. Despite finding mac Colla isolated from Montrose, royalists gathered round them again as a fresh attempt on Charles' behalf was contemplated. Antrim's landing was greeted by an anonymous poet in exultant strains:

Failt' a Mharcuis a dh' Alba,
 E fein is armait, le caismeachd,
 A' tighinn a dhùthaich a shìnnsear,
 An dream rioghail bha smachdail;
 Clann Domhnuill a lle,
 Rìghrean Innse nan gaisgeach,
 Ceannas mar' agus tìr dhaibh,
 Buidheann riomhach nam bratach.

Welcome to Scotland to the Marquis and his army, as they march with
 martial strains to the land of his ancestors, the regal people who were

¹⁰⁰ 'Beid mar do bhádar roimhe', §7.

¹⁰¹ See Stevenson, *Highland Warrior*, pp. 278-301.

lordly, MacDonalds of Islay were they, and kings of the isles of heroes. May sovereignty over land and sea be to the royal company of the banners.¹⁰²

Not only is this a strident articulation of the perception that Clann Domhnall's poets had of their kindred's status and place in history, it neatly reverses Fear Flatha Ó Gnimh's poem to the first Earl of Antrim 'Éireanaigh féin fionn-Lochlannaigh'. Ó Gnimh's poem, like other poems addressed to the clan, emphasised Clann Domhnall's return to the homeland of Ireland and its rightful place in Ireland's royal history, conversely, in this poem Antrim's return to Scotland is a return to his natural dùthchas.¹⁰³ The poem is not however a simple exercise in clannish nostalgia, but recognises that Antrim has been employed on the king's service in Scotland and Ireland throughout the 'aimlisg' ['disorder'] of the wars.¹⁰⁴ There was no rejuvenation of Scottish royalism though, and Antrim's move was made as much to bolster his own interests as to benefit Charles. Antrim soon returned to Ireland and by June of 1647 mac Colla had sailed back and rejoined the Confederate army there. The royalist campaigns of mac Colla and Montrose were brief and ultimately made redundant first by Charles' negotiations with his enemies and then by the rapidly deteriorating relationship of the Covenanter government with the English Parliament over the course of 1648 to 1651.

Alasdair mac Colla and Antrim's aims for restoration of their Scottish lands also came to nought. The high hopes for mac Colla and Montrose's troops reverberated throughout the royalist clans of the western Gàidhealtachd, and both were remembered in songs, poems, and histories. The fervour of adulation for Alasdair is best represented by Diorbhail Nic a

¹⁰² 'Failt' a Mharcuis a dh' Alba', §1 quoted in John A. MacLean, 'The sources, particularly the Celtic sources, for the history of the Highlands in the seventeenth century' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1939), pp.64-67. See also *The MacDonald Collection of Poetry*, pp.46-7.

¹⁰³ See also Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, 'Fada cóir Fhódla ar Albain'.

¹⁰⁴ 'Failt' a Mharcuis a dh' Alba', §§2, 5, 6.

Bhriuthainn's love song to him. The poem was supposedly written on seeing one of mac Colla's ships sailing past on a raid:

Mo chruit, mo chlàrsach, a's m' fhiodhall,
 Mo theud chiùil 's gach àit am bithinn
 'Nuair a bha mi òg 's mi 'm nighinn,
 'S e thogadh m'intinn thu thighinn,
 Gheibheadh tu mo phòg gun bhruithinn,
 'S mar tha mi 'n diugh 's math do dhligh oirr'.

You are my lute, my harp, my fiddle,
 Wherever I go, my string of music,
 When I was young and a little girl
 My spirits would be raised by your arrival,
 You would get my kiss without pressing,
 Safe your right to it today, the way I am feeling.¹⁰⁵

The loving union imagined in Nic a Bhriuthainn's poem, mirrored another union or reunification that some imagined was taking place. The poem praising mac Colla's armed arrival in Scotland 'Mór mo mholadh ar mhac Cholla', recounts the commonplace that

Gaidhil Éireann agus Alban
 aimsir oile,
 ionann a bfrémha is a bfine:
 sgéla ar sgoile.

The Gaels of Ireland and of Scotland long ago were the same in origin and blood, as our schools relate.¹⁰⁶

McLeod suggests a different, more charged, translation of 'aimsir oile' as 'once again' rather than as 'long ago' or 'at another time'.¹⁰⁷ Diorbhail Nic a Bhriuthainn may have awaited Alasdair mac Colla's coming like an expectant lover or bride, but for this poet the connection of the Scottish royalist cause with that of the Irish Confederates represented a reconnection and revivification of the Gaelic world at a crucial moment.

¹⁰⁵ Diorbhail Nic a Bhriuthainn, 'Alasdair a laogh mo chéille', *Early modern women poets: an anthology*, pp.271-276, 15-20.

¹⁰⁶ 'Mór mo mholadh ar mhac Cholla', §14.

¹⁰⁷ McLeod, *DG*, pp.194-5.

The plantations of Ulster had driven a wedge into the wider Gaelic world. The strange and enforced cultural mixing that occurred in Ulster during the period of Tudor conquest and Stuart plantations had been noted by the poets. Early in the seventeenth century Eoghan Ó Dubhthaigh lamented the state of the land during the influx of Lowland Scots:

Ag siúd sluagh Saxan ad dháil,
a laith Fáil, chosnas an chóir;
is fir Alban, do chin uait,
thorut fa gcuairt - is tuar bróin.

Behold there the Saxon host assailing you,
o land of Fál [Ireland], that defends what is right;
and the men of Scotland, who sprang from you,
around you everywhere – it is a matter for sadness.¹⁰⁸

The bitterness is that it is Scots, whose nation could be traced back to Irish roots, who were oppressing the Gaels in Ireland. The establishment of the Mac Domhnaill Earls of Antrim, and Alasdair mac Colla's cross-channel exploits briefly reversed this dynamic. They rejuvenated the ancient links across Gaeldom, and mac Colla in particular was perceived to stand in opposition to the religious and political enemies of the Gaels. Without the cultural and intellectual burden of the bardic poet's compositions, the Scottish Gaelic vernacular poets elaborate slightly different values and aspirations in their works during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. The outlook is often more parochial than the pan-Gaelic survey that sometimes colours bardic works, but the arena is more distinctly national. The Mac Gille Eóin poet Eachann Bacach did not look back to great Gaelic ancestors in his lament for the royalist Lachlann Mac Gille Eóin of Duart, rather he described that family as 'Craobh a thuinich ré aimsir, / Fhreumhaich bun ann an Albainn; / Chuidich fear dhiubh Cath Gairbheach' ['A tree which stood for a long time and put down roots in Scotland. One of

¹⁰⁸ Eoghan Ó Dubhthaigh, 'A Bhanbha, is truagh do chor', §2. Quoted in Wilson McLeod, *DG*, p.131. See also *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr*, i.

them assisted at the Battle of Harlaw’].¹⁰⁹ Obviously, this does not preclude knowledge of Ireland or the doings of Gaels in that kingdom, the same poem goes on to mourn that: ‘Dh’imich Alasdair fhéin uainn, / Thuit le baran an Éirinn’ [‘Alasdair himself has left us, fallen by the hand of a baron in Ireland’].¹¹⁰ It is Iain Lom however, though always the staunch propagandist for Clann Domhnall, whose poetry most fully grasps the national and even Britannic implications of the royalist rising beyond that of the brief and ultimately futile reconnection of Scottish and Irish Gaelic interests and endeavours.

Montrose returned to Scotland in 1650 in another attempt to raise the royalist party, this time he was swiftly captured and executed. Montrose's own fervent commitment to the cause is captured in his poems such as ‘To his mistress’ as much as in his deeds. His ‘Metrical prayer’ written in anticipation of his execution demonstrates his firm belief in his own righteousness:

Let them bestow on every Airth a Limb;
Then open all my Veins, that I may swim
To Thee, my Saviour, in that Crimson Lake;
Then place my purboil'd Head upon a Stake;
Scatter my Ashes, throw them in the Air:
Lord (since Thou know'st where all these Atoms are)
I'm hopeful, once Thou'lt recollect my Dust,
And confident Thou'lt raise me with the Just.¹¹¹

The comfort and confidence Montrose imbued this poem with was not shared by his supporters and friends who survived him. Iain Lom composed a bitter lament on the loss in which he recounted his own personal grief:

Ge duilich leam 's ge dìobhail
M'fhear-cinnidh math bhith dhìth orm,
Chan fhasa leam an sgrìob-s'
Thàinig air an rìoghachd bho chd.

¹⁰⁹ Eachann Bacach, ‘Thriall bhur bunadh gu Phàro’, 132-134.

¹¹⁰ Eachann Bacach, ‘Thriall bhur bunadh gu Phàro’, 212-213.

¹¹¹ James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, ‘On himself, upon hearing what was his Sentence’, *The Penguin Book of Scottish Verse*, ed. Robert Crawford and Mick Imlah (London: Penguin, 2006), II.1-8.

Although I deem it a grievous loss that I have lost my worthy clansman
[mac Colla], equally heavy to endure do I find this blow which has come
upon the poor country.¹¹²

There is evidence that Iain Lom and Montrose had developed a friendship and we need not read this as the traditional formulaic outpouring of grief that is frequently encountered in bardic laments for the dead.¹¹³ More notable still is the recognition of the national implications of Montrose's death. Iain Lom's verse has none of the spiritual comfort of Montrose's prayer. Indeed the people of Scotland are compared to the Hebrews in captivity, and Scotland's plight is put down to the nation's sins against God:

Tha Alba dol fo chioschain
Aig farbhalaich gun fhìrinn
Bhàrr a' chalpa dhìrich—
'S e cuid de m' dhiobhail ghòirt.

Tha Sasannaich 'gar faireigneachd,
'Gar creach 'gar murt 's 'gar marbhadh,
Gun ghabh ar n-Athair fearg ruinn,
Gur dearmad dhuinn 's gur bochd.

Mar bha Cloinn Israéil
Fo bhruid aig Rìgh na h-Eiphit,
Tha sinn' air a' chor cheudna,
Chan éigh iad ruinn ach 'Seoc'.

Scotland is being subjected to tribute imposed by strangers who have no truth in them, over and above the rightful tax- that is part of my sore loss.

The English are tyrannising over us, pillaging, murdering and slaying us.
Surely our Father is angered with us; we are neglected and ours is a piteous case.

As the Children of Israel were held in bondage by the King of Egypt, we are in the same plight; 'Jock' is the only name they have for us.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Iain Lom, 'Mi gabhail Srath Dhruim-uachdair', 655-658.

¹¹³ Mackenzie, 'Introduction', *OIL*, pp.xxi-xlv, p.xxvii.

¹¹⁴ Iain Lom, 'Mi gabhail Srath Dhruim-uachdair', 659-670.

With the deaths of Montrose, Huntly, and mac Colla the most powerful royalist leaders in the country were gone. The Scottish Covenanters who had made an alliance with Charles II were defeated by Commonwealth forces later in 1650 and the country was occupied under Commonwealth control. Iain Lom does not address these events from clannish perspective, or from the standpoint of ethnic antagonism between Gaels and Goill. In short, Iain Lom addresses the state of the nation – as a member of that nation – and for him it is bleak.

Iain Lom's poetry from the period of the Protectorate paints a picture of a poet in hiding and in mourning. On the death of Eachann Mac Gille Eóin of Duart at Inverkeithing in 1651, Iain Lom sent a song to the new chief Alan. In the poem Iain Lom expresses his sadness at the successive deaths of the two royalist chiefs, Lachlann and Eachann, and wishes Clann Domhnall had been in the King's army at Inverkeithing.¹¹⁵ Despite the total defeat of the king's supporters, Iain Lom's song ends with characteristic violence and grim determination:

Gun cluinnte feadarsaich luaidhe
An lorg sraide na cluaise,
'S mnàì ri acain, 's cha chruaidh leam an caoidh.

May the whistle of bullets be heard following upon the spark from the
priming pan, and women moaning, and I am not distressed by their
wailing.¹¹⁶

In his song to Lachlann Mac Fhionghuin of Strawwordsdale he regrets that he has not been able to visit the chief as he used to, but in the closing stanzas there is a short ally list which possibly registers Iain Lom's continued advocacy for armed struggle against the enemies of Scotland and the king.¹¹⁷ Aside from a brief revolt from 1653 to 1654, there were no further sustained royalist attempts to overthrow the Protectorate and reinstate Charles in Scotland.

¹¹⁵ Iain Lom, 'Ge fada mu thuath mi', 806-829.

¹¹⁶ Iain Lom, 'Ge fada mu thuath mi', 851-853.

¹¹⁷ Iain Lom, 'Is cian 's gur fad' tha mi 'm thàmh', 854-856, 884-895.

It is in a poem of anonymous authorship addressed to Aonghas Mac Domhnaill of Glengarry that we hear another voice of the Scottish Gàidhealtachd come to the fore:

Claidheamh geur cha ghiùlain mi,
Ga rùsgadh as a thruaill;
Gun tugainn do dh'fhear saothrach e
Chur faobhair air a thuaigh;
Gum b'annsa bhith le caibeachaibh
A' ruamhradh geig sa' chluain
Na strì re cogadh leth-cheannach
'S a' teich' air feadh nam bruach.

A sharp sword I will not take up,
brandishing it from its sheath:
I would give it to a husbandman
to put an edge on his axe;
far better working with turf-cutters
digging a trench in the field
than fighting in a shambolic war,
and fleeing across the hills.¹¹⁸

Allan Macinnes has persuasively described this poem as 'a protest song, a song of political exhaustion from the grass-roots of Scottish Gaeldom against the ideological and financial as well as military pressures exerted continuously over the past decade'.¹¹⁹ Combined with Iain Lom's catalogue of the defeats and deaths to befall Royalist Scotland it completes a picture of the desperate sacrifices made in the interconnected causes of clan interests, religious defence, and politics.

In the bardic poetry addressed to the Earl of Argyll in 1630s and 40s we can see a conscious development of an expansive identity. His headship of the Gaels of Scotland was routinely proclaimed, but in the deployment of Britannic and Arthurian imagery a broader British and even European role was envisaged for the Earl. His place as the leading statesman in the Gàidhealtachd and Scotland, and his vital role in the archipelagic politics of

¹¹⁸ 'An oidche nochd gur fada leam', *GnC*, §3.

¹¹⁹ Allan Macinnes, 'The First Scottish Tories?', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 67:138 (April 1988), 56-66, p.63.

the civil wars is reflected in the ambitious court poetry addressed to him. The poetry dealing with the civil wars themselves emphasises the connections and disjunctures both within Scotland across the North Channel. Alasdair mac Colla's cross-channel exploits and the poetry of the 'MacDonnell Archipelago' demonstrate the vitality of Gaelic links between Ireland and Scotland, but they also embody their fragility and perhaps even their anachronism. The complaint of the Argyll woman against the Irish troops at Inverlochy points towards the difficulty in extrapolating any sense of a pan-Gaelic identity in the ordinary Gaels of Scotland or Ireland. In Iain Lom's poetry, despite being the Clann Domhnaill poet par excellence, we see a sustained engagement not just with the internal politics of the Scottish Gàidhealtachd but with the Scottish national politics and persons of the civil war. These different strands of poetry point to the fused and multiple identities experienced by Gaels during this period and confuse and complicate any neat descriptions of identity along Smout's lines. Instead we can see that national and cultural or ethnic identities were to a certain extent unstable and in a constant state of development with regards to each other. The experiences of Irish Gaeldom in the same years of civil war, which is the focus of the next chapter, illustrates not only similar instabilities and uncertainties in Irish Gaelic identities, but demonstrates further the contingent yet illuminating nature of cross-channel Gaelic contacts.

Chapter Two

‘Pro deo, rege, et patria, Hibernia unanimis’ – Confederate Histories of 1640-60

Simultaneously to the events in Scotland across the 1640s and 50s, Ireland experienced its own dramatic conflicts that had a bearing on the perception and representation of cultural and national identities in Ireland. In 1641, a rebellion broke out in Ulster among the native Irish Catholics. This rebellion aimed at reclamation of land and the safeguarding of Catholic rights in the face of the increasingly anti-Catholic politics developing across the archipelago. One poet urged on the leaders of the rising to exert themselves in a holy Christian war:

Céadlaoidheadh as cóir oraibh:
creidimh Críosa le cheanglabhair
féaghaidh bhar gcoimhneart fa a ceann;
nas séanaidh d’fhoirneart Éireann.

The first exhortation you should get is this: Test your combined strength on behalf of the Christian faith through which you have united; do not deny it because of the oppression of Ireland.¹

This rising soon spread across the island and by 1643 the rebels had organised themselves into a formal Confederation with its own governing structures centred in Kilkenny. The Irish Confederation's ambition was to secure a just settlement of religious and civic issues with the king and in the meantime they stood opposed to their remaining enemies in Ireland as well as the Covenanters in Scotland and Parliamentarians in England. The Confederation's motto boasted its allegiance: ‘*Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria, Hibernia Unanimis*’ [‘For God, King, and Fatherland, Ireland United’].² Contemporaries and generations of historians since have

¹ Uilliam Óg mac Uilliam Óig Mac an Bhaird, ‘Dia libh, a uaisle Éireann!’, §4, edited in Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, ‘Dia Libh, A Uaisle Éireann (1641)’, *Ériu*, 52 (2002), 89-121.

² Hiram Morgan, ‘Confederate Catholics of Ireland’, *The Oxford companion to Irish history*, ed. Sean J. Connolly, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) <
<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199234837.001.0001/acref-9780199234837-e-391?rskey=0v6xOW&result=1> > [Accessed: 01/09/2017].

problematised each of these terms so much so that it can be legitimately asked who, in early modern Ireland, an Irish person was, who was their king, which was their church, and what was their country?³ This chapter will examine and explore some of the different literary responses to the events in Ireland from the 1641 rising to the 1660 Restoration. In focussing on divergent pro-Confederate narratives of the rising and their representations of Ireland and Irish identity this chapter will explore the nuanced and complicated implications the events of the two decades had on the formation of Irish identities. The complex ethno-political makeup of early modern Ireland, its uneven and changing relationships with Scotland and England, and its place within the British Atlantic imperial project make it an ideal object of study in relation to the Scottish dynamics discussed above.

As has been noted, early modern Ireland was ethnically and culturally vexed. Gaelic Ireland could be split between the old or mere Irish, and the Old English or Gaelic Normans – i.e. the descendants of those families involved in the twelfth century Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland who had themselves adopted (partially or fully) the Gaelic language and aspects of Gaelic culture. Both of these groups were largely (though by no means entirely) Catholic. The Old English in particular were anxious to stress their ongoing allegiance to the post-reformation English crown.⁴ As the representatives of a colonial elite, Raymond Gillespie argues that the Old English continued to construct an identity based on ‘a conviction of their moral and social superiority in exercising the duties of the governing

³ See Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: Colonization and its consequences: Essays presented to Nicholas Canny*, ed. Brian Mac Cuarta SJ (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), pp.101-130, 131-146, 163-186, 187-213.

⁴ See David Finnegan, ‘Old English views of Gaelic Irish history and the emergence of an Irish Catholic nation, c.1569-1640’, *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700*, pp.187-213, p.193. Aidan Clarke's *The Old English in Ireland 1625–42* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1966) remains an essential account of Old English motivations and involvement in Irish politics in the first half of the seventeenth century.

elite'.⁵ Both these groupings can be seen to a certain extent as increasingly opposed to the so-called New English, those settlers and colonial administrators who had come in with the Tudor (and later Jacobean) re-conquest and plantations. These were generally Protestants and increasingly favoured for administrative and governmental positions. Alongside these, and altogether more anomalous (at least from the centralised colonial perspectives of Dublin and London), were the two distinct streams of Scottish settlers in the north of Ireland. The first of these were predominately Scots Gaels and their commerce between the two islands, as seen in the previous chapter, somewhat destabilises neat state and ethnic boundaries in this period. Led by the southern branch of Clann Domhnall, their uneasy position in the North was finally legitimised and partially integrated into Stuart plans for plantation in 1620 when Raghnaill Mac Domhnaill was created 1st Earl of Antrim by James VI and I. Alongside these may be placed the large number of predominately Lowland and Protestant Scots that formed the bulwark, alongside Protestant English planters, of the plantation of Ulster.⁶ Both Scottish groups were viewed with some degree of suspicion by the authorities as

poverty and allegiance to their separate kingdom made them untrustworthy agents of the English conquest in Ireland. Culturally and racially they were close to the Irish, and in a conflict [...it was believed] that they were likely to ally with the indigenous population.⁷

In Ireland, just as in Scotland, the distinction between foreigner and native could be contextual and uncertain. These distinctions were both challenged and emphasised throughout the Irish civil war. It is also significant that the different groups within Ireland

⁵ Raymond Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s*, ed. Micheál Ó Siochrú (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), pp.212-228, p.228.

⁶ It is estimated that by 1637 there were about 10,000 adult Scottish males in Ulster. Kevin Forkan, 'The Ulster Scottish colonial community during the 1640s', *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700*, pp.261-280, p.263.

⁷ Brian Mac Cuarta, "'Sword" and "word" in the 1610s: Matthew De Renzy and Irish reform', *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700*, pp.101-130, p.122

retained varying definitions and concepts of who constituted a foreigner and who a native. Writing in 1662, John Lynch, a Catholic cleric who represented a moderate Old English perspective, claimed that ‘there is not amongst them [the Old English] a single person of any note, who has not also mere Irish blood in his veins; nor are there any men of note among the mere Irish, who do not count some Englishmen amongst their progenitors’.⁸ Richard Bellings, an Old Englishman and leading Confederate, also disparaged this tendency to categorise the different peoples of Ireland, calling the accepted differentiation between ancient Irish, old and new English, and the Scots a ‘vulgar’ and ‘evill but long-continued custome.’⁹ This desire to minimise ethnic difference could also be found amongst those Confederates more sympathetic to native Irish perspectives. The anonymous author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* (written in exile at some point during the Cromwellian occupation of Ireland) asks ‘why should such as are onely borne in Ireland, by the succession of many ages, 200, 300, and 400 years, and now hard upon 500 years others, call themselves Englishmen?’ especially as, according to the author, there never was made any legal distinction between ancient Irish and Old English.¹⁰ In their own way each of these texts puts forward a case for a convergence of interests and minimisation of ethno-cultural difference between the mere Irish and Old English.

In the early modern period there also existed on the continent a significant Irish diaspora of exiles, emigrants, and mercenaries drawn from across Irish society. In the early

⁸ John Lynch, *Cambrensis eversus*, ed. M. Kelly, 3 vols (Dublin: The Celtic Society, 1848-1852), iii, pp.147-9.

⁹ Richard Bellings, *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-1649*, ed. John Thomas Gilbert, 7 vols (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1882-1891), i, p.2. Hereafter cited parenthetically by volume and page number.

¹⁰ *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652*, ed. John T. Gilbert, 3 vols (Dublin: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1879-1880), i, part i, p.243. Hereafter cited parenthetically by volume, part, and page number.

seventeenth century, in wake of the Flight of the Earls (1607), the Ulster poet Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh lamented what he believed was the death of Gaelic Ireland:

Ionann is éag na Fodla
ceilt a cora 's a creidimh,
táire a saormhac 's a saoithe,
más fíor laoithe na leitir.

Deacair nach bas don Bhanbha
d'éis an tréid chalma churadh
do thriall ar toisg don Easbáin
mo thruaighe beangáin Uladh

The same as the death of Fodla is the suppression of her right and her faith,
the degradation of her free sons and her scholars, if lays or letters are true.

It were hard for Banbha not to die after that gallant company of champions
who went journeying to Spain –alas for the princes of Ulster.¹¹

Although the Flight of the Earls had seriously weakened the Old Irish powerbase the eradication of Gaelic Ireland speculated about here was not yet to happen. Scholars, clerics, and Gaelic nobility in exile in Europe continued to monitor affairs in Ireland, and in the Irish seminaries especially, Irish priests impressed with the new ideas of the Counter-Reformation were being trained to return to Ireland. One such was Seathrún Céitinn, who, after completing seminary in France, returned to Ireland c. 1610. His prose history, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (c.1634), recounted the history of Ireland from its creation to the coming of the Normans. Céitinn's history deliberately tried to create an expansive definition of the Irish nation, one that transcended ethnic origin and embraced religion as a unifying factor. He made particular use of the term 'Éireannaigh' to denote 'Irish people' expanding its

¹¹ Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh, 'Beannacht ar anmain Éireann', §§2-3, edited in Osborn Bergin, 'Unpublished Irish Poems. XXXV: The Death of Ireland', *Studies*, 15:59 (1926), 437-440. See also Ó Gnímh's 'Mo thruaighe mar táid Gaoidhil' in which he laments that providence has allowed there to become 'Saxa nua dan hainm Éire' ['A new England named Ireland'], *Measgra Dánta*, ed. Thomas F. O'Rahilly (Dublin & Cork: Cork University Press, 1927), 90 [my translation]. For a cogent exposition on the novelty of Ó Gnímh's depiction of the situation facing the Irish after 1607 see Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Poetry and Politics in Early Modern Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, 7 (1992), 149-175, pp.154-158.

definition to mean those who were born in Ireland and who professed the Catholic faith.¹²

David Finnegan argues that 'as the seventeenth century wore on Catholicism became increasingly central to Irish national identity and the older colonial community came to accept the Gaelic past as the root of that nationality.' Furthermore, he points out that 'it is surely of considerable significance to an understanding of the early modern Irish nation, both real and imagined, that this thinking first began among the Old English.'¹³

Though the religious and ethnic layering of early modern Ireland differed greatly from that of Scotland, it is striking that the term 'Albannaich' [Scottish people] was not deployed as such a distinct marker of identity or difference. John MacInnes has argued that 'To the Gael [...] a Lowlander is unequivocally an Albannach [Scottish person]'.¹⁴ This is complicated though by the common usage 'Goill' ['foreigners'] to describe them, and even when they were deemed Albannaich [Scots] this was not always presented as an inclusive identity which could accommodate Gaels and Lowlanders equally. Coira argues that in classical Mac Domhnaill panegyrics their status as Albannaich, and by implication as proud members of a Scottish nation, is conspicuous.¹⁵ However the nations and identities signified by 'Gael' and 'Scot' were clearly not fully congruent and especially during the 1640s we can see hostility directed towards the Goill of Scotland as the 'Fir Alban' [men of Scotland] in both classical and vernacular texts.¹⁶ Furthermore, as we have seen, Britannic identities took on new valencies and resonances especially in the years following the 1603 Union of

¹² Céitinn, *Foras feasa ar Éirinn*, i, pp.4, 40. See also Finnegan, 'Old English views of Gaelic Irish history', p.193. See also, Brendan Bradshaw, 'Geoffrey Keating: apologist of Irish Ireland', *Representing Ireland: literature and the origins of conflict 1534-1660*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.166-190, p.169.

¹³ Finnegan, 'Old English views of Gaelic Irish history', p.213.

¹⁴ John MacInnes, 'Gaelic Poetry and Historical Tradition', p.6.

¹⁵ Coira, 'The Earl of Argyll and the Goill', p.149.

¹⁶ 'Mór mo mholadh ar mhac Cholla', §§3, 9. In this usage being Scottish is not the same as being a Gael and the two are opposed to one another.

Crowns. Scots speakers could identify and be identified as Scots or Britons, and amongst the Gaels the 7th Earl of Argyll was addressed uniquely as the 'Breat-Ghaoidheal' ['British-Gael'].¹⁷ Céitinn's usage of 'Éireannaigh' then, looks a more defined and potentially useful act of identification than the looser and perhaps more contextual terms used in Scotland. However, analysing the Irish bardic poetry of the period, Michelle O Riordan argues that 'there is no evidence for the development of anything like a coherent new political consciousness based on religion or race'.¹⁸ O Riordan's analysis is broad ranging and even takes into consideration poetry written by Céitinn himself; however, despite the strong continuity in form and expression exhibited across the entire bardic corpus, it would be wrong to deny that an entirely novel cultural and political situation was unfolding in the first half of the seventeenth century, and indeed that this did impact on both professional and amateur poets of period. A new conceptualisation of Irish identity was in process during the years of the Irish Confederation and took on serious political significance during that time. It has left its mark on all politically engaged Irish literature from the period. O Riordan is correct to point out the fundamental conservatism of mentality amongst the bardic poets, but such conservatism did not disbar Irish thinkers from grappling with the new realities of the mid-century crises.¹⁹

Irish identities were also the subject of comment from those who did not identify themselves as Irish. The ethnic intermingling that frequently occurred in the colonial setting of Ireland was frequently referred to as 'degeneration' by the new waves of Tudor and

¹⁷ C. 1595. Quoted in McLeod, 'Sovereignty, Scottishness and royal authority in Caimbeul poetry of the sixteenth century', *Fresche Fontanis*, p.244.

¹⁸ Michelle O Riordan, *The Gaelic Mind and the Collapse of the Gaelic World* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1990), p.244.

¹⁹ Marc Caball has perhaps expressed this most succinctly in his argument that bardic poetry can have two concurrent discourses within it: 'one traditional in outlook and the other dynamic in emphasis.' 'Bardic Poetry & the Analysis of Gaelic Mentalities', *History Ireland*, 2:2 (Summer, 1994), 46-50, p.48.

Stuart colonists. This found one of its most famous expressions in Edmund Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. This text had a double life as it was first circulated in manuscript in 1596 and then was printed in 1633. For the anxious Tudor colonist, the Old English were 'grown almost mere Irish, yea and more malicious to the English than the very Irish themselves'.²⁰ In 1635, an offended Old Englishman protested that Spenser's inflammatory remarks were divisive and biased. He claimed the Old English were drawn by natural affection to country of their birth, and should be termed instead Ireland's 'new adopted English children'.²¹ Spectres of degeneration, although deployed to emphasise ethnic division, actually foreground the porous nature of such divisions. Ireland thus became a melting pot of ethnic and cultural change: a process that at one end of the spectrum could be termed 'degeneration' and at the other 'adoption.' Furthermore, even staunch colonists, such as Spenser, could emphasise the common origins of the different ethnicities of Ireland, thus minimising difference and partially sanitising the shifts in identity they otherwise reviled. For Spenser, their ultimate ethnic origin in the Scythians renders 'Scotland and Ireland [...] all one and the same,' at the same time he recognises that the 'Gallish [Gaelic] speech is the very British' and is related to that spoken by the Welsh, Cornish, and 'French Britons'.²² He concludes that 'there is no nation now in Christendom nor much further, but is mingled and compounded with others'.²³ Whether they were intermingled 'degenerates' or ancient 'purebreds', the different groups of Ireland were conscious of cultural and ethnic divisions, and experienced the civil war and Cromwellian occupation of 1641-1660 in

²⁰ Edmund Spenser, *A view of the present state of Ireland*, ed. W. L. Renwick (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p.48.

²¹ *History of the Irish Confederation*, I. pxvi.

²² Spenser, *A view*, pp.38, 45.

²³ Spenser, *A view*, p.44. For a critical discussion of the implications of Spenser's convoluted and rhetorical depiction of ethnicity in *A view* see Maley, *Nation, State and Empire in English Renaissance Literature*, pp.63-92.

different ways. The writing of histories functions to both rationalise and organise the experience of these years, but also to exert hegemonic interpretations onto the conflicts and trauma of the two decades.

Those who took the Confederate oath of association vowed that ‘there shall be no difference between the ancient and mere Irish and the successors of English, modern or ancient’ so long as they ‘be professors of the holy church and maintainers of the country's liberties’.²⁴ This statement, along with the motto quoted above, explicitly attempts to elide ethnic and political differences and forge a united Ireland. This was to be achieved through making loyalty to the Catholic church the determining attribute of ‘Irishness’. This simultaneous loyalty to a king and church opposed to one another presented a paradox and an ideological tension within the Confederacy.²⁵ These tensions are both foregrounded and optimistically collapsed in the visual symbolism adopted by the Kilkenny administration. The Confederate Seal (Figure 1, p.79) featured in the centre a long cross, a crown on the left and a harp to the right, a flaming heart below, and a dove above the cross.²⁶ This array of symbolism was designed to demonstrate and harmonise the dual temporal and ecclesial loyalties that shaped the Confederacy. The Seal encodes religion as central to the nascent Confederacy, whilst it is flanked by the Irish harp, the merciful heart of Christ, and crowned by the inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit. The crown sits in a tension and balance with the Irish harp and the religious imagery in the centre, top, and bottom. Ó Buachalla has

²⁴ Quoted in D. George Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1991), p.81.

²⁵ Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, ‘Conflicting Loyalties, Conflicted Rebels: Political and Religious Allegiance among the Confederate Catholics of Ireland’, *The English Historical Review*, 119:483 (September 2004), 851-872, p.852. A parallel tension may be noted in the Scottish Covenanting movement which simultaneously professed loyalty to the king and to a church settlement he opposed.

²⁶ See *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-1649*, ed. John Thomas Gilbert, 7 vols (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1882-1891), I, p.lxv, p.lxvii-lxviii.

Figure 1. SEALS OF THE
IRISH CONFEDERATION



Reproduced from *History of the Irish Confederation and War in Ireland*, ed. Gilbert, vol ii, p.84.

argued that the orthodoxy of early modern Irish intellectual endeavour was ‘the unassailable position of the Stuarts as kings of Ireland and their unquestionable right to the crown of Ireland’.²⁷ The hierarchal imagery of the Confederate seal suggests that the increasing centrality of religious and national identity demanded to be properly incorporated into the orthodoxy of Stuart rights. The very tension between crown and cross, harp and heart, represents the challenges and strains of maintaining the existing order.

2.1: The Irish and their discontents: identity, ethnicity and religion in the Irish Confederacy

This chapter focuses on two Confederate histories, the aforementioned *Aphorismical discovery*, written in the wake of Cromwell's conquest, and Richard Bellings's *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland* written in the 1670s. It is intended as an exploration of what these two histories, as literary works, have to say in regards to Irishness and identity during this cataclysmic period.²⁸ The prose of Bellings is as normative and indeed Anglicised as one would expect from a poet educated at the Inns of Court and remembered for his elegant and popular continuation of Philip Sydney's *Arcadia*. In the preface to that work, Bellings was anxious to excuse his language in case it offended English ears by asserting that his ‘*mother-tongue differs as much from this language, as Irish from English*’.²⁹ The same apologetic air can be detected in the opening lines of the *History*:

In the year 1641, on the 22nd of October, the conspiracy was discovered which occasioned the war of Ireland, a war of many parts, carried on under the notion of soe many interests, perplexed with such diversity of rents and divisions,

²⁷ Ó Buachalla, *The Crown of Ireland*, p.39.

²⁸ An indispensable modern history of the Confederation, focussing on its development and inner workings is Micheál Ó Siochrú's *Confederate Ireland, 1642–49: A Constitutional and Political Analysis* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999).

²⁹ Richard Bellings, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia: written by Sir Philip Sidney, Knight, Now the sixt time published, with some new additions. Also a supplement of a defect in the third part of this historie, by Sir W. Alexander* (London, 1627 [i.e. 1628]), p.485.

among those who seemed to be of a side, as will transmit to posterity observations perhaps as usefull, although not so memorable and full, as a war mannadged with more noise, greater power, and betweene Princes, whose very names may bespeak attention for their actions. (I, p.1)

There is a slight unease and sensitivity about perceived inferiority of language in the *Arcadia* and this is mirrored in the concern over the 'memorableness' of the wars in Ireland.

However, this is dispersed by the author's determination in the *Arcadia* to add '*a limme to Appelles Picture*', and his belief that the history of Ireland, despite its relatively humble contexts and actors, will provide a lasting 'usefulness'.³⁰ The register of the *Aphorismical Discovery* is perhaps more idiosyncratically Irish than Bellings's prose. The hint of an accent is occasionally registered: i.e. the description of musket balls falling '*as ticke as haile*' [my emphasis] (I, i, p.129). Its syntax often strains under the weight of the Discoverer's passion, yet its frequently pleonastic and dense texture yields to moments of unexpected and striking clarity.

The English-language prose histories of the Confederacy that form the focus of this chapter record, more directly than much of the poetry, a new literary and historical consciousness of 'Irishness'.³¹ Both histories are written by Old Englishmen – though the Discoverer explicitly emphasises his equal Gaelic and Norman origins – and both are quite outside of, though seemingly aware of, the traditional confines of Gaelic literature. Both authors clearly had some competency in Irish language and literature and particularly the work of Céitinn himself.³² The form of Irish identity articulated by the likes of Céitinn

³⁰ Bellings, *Arcadia*, p.485.

³¹ All the same, some bardic poetry from the period emphasises the unity of purpose of the 'Gaidheal is Gall' against the new enemies and even addresses 'Éireannaigh' or the people and territory of Ireland explicitly. See for example Gofraidh Óg Mac an Bhaird, 'Deireadh flaithis ag féin Gall', edited in Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, 'Gofraidh Óg Mac an Bhaird cecinit: 1. "Deireadh flaithis ag féin Gall"', *Ériu*, 65 (2015), 57-86; see also Uilliam Óg mac Uilliam Óg Mac an Bhaird, 'Dia libh, a uaisle Éireann!'

³² Bellings, *History of the Irish Confederation*, I, p.2; *Contemporary history of affairs*, I, i, p.2; see Gillespie, 'Social thought of Richard Bellings', p.213.

centred on Catholicism and the land of Ireland itself; its capacity to unite the catholic Irish was put to the test as it was integrated into the Confederate oath of association and motto. The history of the internal politics of the Confederation is complex, but three broad groups may be described. The first of these cohered around a desire to settle with Charles I and his representative in Ireland, James Butler the 1st Marquess of Ormond. This faction was broadly content with securing political representation for Catholics and were eager to serve Charles in his archipelagic struggles if an agreement could be reached.³³ The second faction centred on the papal nuncio Cardinal Rinuccini, and was led militarily by Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill. This grouping primarily desired a restoration of the Catholic Church's status in Ireland, along with greater independence for the Irish parliament, and a reversal of the land settlements of the plantations. A significant third faction of moderates who sought a middle way also exercised considerable influence.³⁴ Written from a Confederate, but staunchly anti-Ormondist perspective, the *Aphorismical Discovery* at once embraces the 'faith and fatherland' concept of Irish identity that works such as Céitinn's had developed and that the Confederates had adopted in their symbolism. However, throughout its narrative, the Confederacy's failure to realise a united Catholic Ireland is frequently exposed. The *Aphorismical Discovery* also inadvertently emphasises the porousness of identity when faced with the prospect of Scottish Gaels who, in some ways, both were and were not Irish. Bellings's *History* is over-archingly concerned with presenting Confederate Ireland and the Irish as royalists opposed to the anti-monarchical forces of the English Parliament and the Covenant. His vision of the 1640s is one of the inversion of social norms and hierarchies. His sympathies lie overwhelmingly with those of Old English extraction and the disdain he

³³ See Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland*, pp.220-234.

³⁴ See Ó Siochrú's *Confederate Ireland, 1642–49*, p.243.

occasionally allows himself to express towards the Irish 'natives' exposes further some of the tensions within Catholic Ireland (V, p.5).

The *Aphorismical Discovery* attempts from the beginning to see beyond ethnic divisions. In a prefatory epistle to the reader the author states he is 'indifferent between both ancient and recent Irish [...] as my purest bloude equally flowing through their channels these 300 years, being so intimate unto both' (I, I, p.9). In identifying the cause of the rising, the text identifies political and religious marginalisation – particularly the subjugation of the Irish Parliament to the English as set out in Poyning's Law – as the immediate cause of discontent and friction. This explanation of the root cause of the Irish rising is common to both histories, and Bellings describes 'The New English, who in these later times came out of England to possess those places of honour, profit, and trust, whereof neither the Ancient Irish, nor the Old English, because they were Catholickes, were capable' (I, p.2).³⁵ A Confederate poem, most likely written by Bellings himself, pointedly addresses Charles I directly with the political realities, and indeed the black comedy of the Irish situation within the three kingdoms:

Most gracious Sovereigne, grant that we may have
Our ancient Land and Faith: tis all we crave.
Your English, and your Scots, (not so content)
Claime all that's Yours, by Act of parliament.³⁶

Confederate self-presentation consistently sought to subsume existing ethnic tensions into unified political action. The desire on the part of the Confederates to overcome these differences was genuine, but in the historical narratives this was frequently undermined by

³⁵ See also Ó hAnnracháin, 'Conflicting Loyalties, Conflicted Rebels', p.854.

³⁶ *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland*, ed. Andrew Carpenter (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), pp.227-228. For the identification of the author with Bellings see Deana Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift: English writing in seventeenth century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.192.

the reality of political fracturing which, to a certain extent, followed the ethnic fault-lines of the catholic Irish.³⁷ O Riordan overstates this situation though when she argues that the old Gaelic 'mentality [was] stamped on every action of the Confederate Irish during the decade and a half 1640-1655'.³⁸ O Riordan characterises this mentality as a political outlook which was primarily local and kinship based, often individually self-serving at the expense of a united or developed response to the colonial encroachments in Ireland. The factional splitting within the Confederation, and indeed the ethnic characterisation of those splits, was heavily determined by the very different circumstances pertaining to different groups of the catholic Irish in 1641. However, the real and increasingly visceral ethno-religious hatred directed against Irish Catholics by some members of the Dublin administration could act as a galvanising counterweight against the internal divisions of the Confederacy, and efforts by the Dublin government in 1641 to divide the catholic Irish on ethnic grounds failed to stop the mounting rebellion. Having fulminated against 'Irish Papists' in an earlier proclamation, the Dublin administration sought to assuage the fears of Old English palesmen that they would face official reprisals for the Ulster rising by reassuring them that

by the words, Irish Papists, we intended only such of the Old meer Irish [...] we did not any way intend, or mean thereby any of the Old English of the Pale [...] being well assured of their fidelities to the Crown, and having experience of the good affections and services of their ancestors in former times of danger and Rebellion.³⁹

Unconvinced by such assurances the lords of the Pale met with the Ulster incendiaries and joined forces.⁴⁰ In Bellings's account of these issues there is more than a hint that the

³⁷ See also Scott Spurlock, 'The problem with religion as identity: the case of mid-Stuart Ireland and Scotland', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, 6:2 (2013), 1-31, pp. 2-5.

³⁸ O Riordan, *The Gaelic Mind*, p.255.

³⁹ 'Proclamation by Lords Justices and Privy Council in Ireland, 29th October 1641, Dublin', *History of the Irish Confederation*, ii, pp.228-9. See also Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland*, p.225.

⁴⁰ See Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland*, pp.225-233.

inimical Dublin administration was actually trying to force the Old English into open rebellion so as to offer an opportunity for a final and complete conquest of Catholic Ireland (I, pp.40-42).⁴¹

The *Aphorismical Discovery* is pointedly silent on the problematic reports of massacres in Ulster in the 1641 rebellion – massacres which were to become pivotal in the English and Scottish demonization of the ethnic Irish. Rather, it immediately mobilises the language of massacre and biblical conflict to describe the activities of Sir Charles Coote who was operating for the Dublin administration.⁴² As Coote and his men scoured the lands of the Pale – still untouched by revolt – they:

killed all in their way, both man, woman and child, nay would murder the women in their very travel, where one of his troupers carried on the point of his spear the head of a little babe, which he cut off in the very instant of his delivery, and killed the poor mother, which Coote observing, said that he was mightie pleased with many such frolics (I, i, p.13).

Coote became a unifying hate-figure for Confederates of all shades, and the text states that, even before the uprising, he had espoused extreme genocidal solutions to the Irish problem: namely that ‘all the Irish women should be deprived of their papps, and the men gelded, to render the one uncappable of future generation, and the other of nourishing’ (I, i, p.31). In a rare instance of agreement between the two histories Bellings's narrative also relates how the ‘exorbitantly cruel’ Coote hung a pregnant woman on flimsy charges and then

⁴¹ Gillespie, ‘Social thought of Richard Bellings’, p.223.

⁴² The various documents emerging from the events in Ulster 1641 constitute a vital yet paradoxical deposit of material. Sections (at times heavily edited), of these reports reached the English reading public containing grisly and traumatising narratives of the savage Irish preying on the helpless colonial community. Reaction was visceral and left an enduring legacy in English public consciousness. In 1649 John Milton still balked at the notion of making peace with ‘those inhumane Rebels and Papists of *Ireland* [...] after the merciless and barbarous Massacre of so many thousand *English*.’ ‘Observations upon the articles of peace with the Irish Rebels’, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes, gen. ed. Don M. Wolfe, 8 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-82), iii, 259-335, p.301.

proceeded to play disturbing and ultimately lethal tricks upon Irish peasants (I, p.35). Eamon Darcy has argued convincingly that in the case of the reporting of the Ulster massacres, the language drew on a small set of images ultimately derived from biblical sources. The repeated deployment of these images (such as the slaughter of babies and pregnant mothers above) created a discourse which meshed with parallel narratives arising from the Thirty Years War, Spanish colonial cruelty, and indigenous uprisings in the British colonies of North America.⁴³ Ulster was already constituted materially and imaginatively as a colonial space, and the use of massacre imagery in the Ulster depositions binds the Irish further into wider discourses of Popish and New World savagery.⁴⁴ Both accounts here are quick to reverse the colonial discourses pertaining to Ireland by harnessing the same images of colonial barbarity, but displacing savagery onto the coloniser rather than the colonised. Bellings in particular was conscious of this process, and attempted to be even-handed in his treatment of atrocities perpetrated by either side: 'lest, that having already mention some cruelties on the part of the Irish, I should be thought less indifferent if I should wholly omitt to write of the cruell effects of those animosities on the parte of the English' (I, p.110).

The *Aphorismical Discovery* is not so nice in its attempts at impartiality, but the reversal of the discourses of savagery is most vividly realised in the narrative of a besieged Confederate castle in Kildare. The government forces had in their ranks a 'blackamoore, an ould beaten souldier, and (as was thought) was either possessed by a deuill or a witche' (I, i,

⁴³ Eamon Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641 and The War of the Three Kingdoms* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp.130, 135, 175. Compare the passage on Coote above with the 'Proclamation by Lords Justices and Council at Dublin 8th Feb 1641-2': The Irish in Ulster have 'robbed and spoyled many thousands of his Majesties good subjects, Brittish and Protestants [...] murdered many of them [...] stripped naked many others [...] and committed many other barbarous cruelties and execrable inhumanities, upon the persons and estates of the British and Protestants, men women, and children in all parts of the Kingdome, without regard of qualitie, age, or sex.' Printed in *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland*, i, i, pp.383-393, p.385.

⁴⁴ See Annaleigh Margey, 'Representing colonial landscapes: early English maps of Ulster and Virginia, 1580-1612', *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700*, pp.61-81.

p.27). This 'blackamoore' was the subject of much fear and speculation on the part of the Irish defendants who claimed to have shot him many times but never slain him. Finally two of the defendants having observed this seemingly demonic invincibility decided that 'they should make crosses on their bullets, and aim at the blackamoore together,' this they did and killed him instantly (I, i, p.27). This episode clearly illustrates the purity and faithfulness of the youthful Irish defenders as opposed to the semi-demonic forces of the 'Puritans'. It continues the process of inverting the discourse of savagery normally directed towards the Irish, but it also simultaneously lessens the distance between the Irish and English. It should remind us that whilst the Irish may have seen themselves (and been seen) as ethnically distinct from the Scots or English, they were certainly consanguine in a way which is utterly denied to the demonised veteran 'blackamoore.' The use of a brutalised colonised other to symbolise the evil of the Parliamentarians indicates a lack of what Silke Stroh has termed 'transperipheral solidarity' in her thesis on related discourses in Scots Gaelic culture.⁴⁵ Here, discourses of savagery and rebellion are othered and displaced from the Irish to the non-European.

The colonial status of Ireland, and its uneasy implications for Irish identity, are immediately registered in the *Aphorismical Discovery*. The text is prefaced with a dedicatory epistle to Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill, then serving in the Spanish army and destined to be the main actor and hero of the narrative. By applying the myth of the Golden Fleece to Ireland, the epistle positions Ireland as a land coveted by greedy colonialists:

This Aeta betokineth the kingdome of Ireland, enjoying the goulden fleece,
a most delicate, temperat and fruitfull soile, abounding with plentifull store
of all kinde of myne whearof foraigne and neighbouringe nations as

⁴⁵ Stroh, *Uneasy Subjects*, p.75. See also Wilson McLeod, 'Gaelic poetry and the British military experience, 1756-1945', *Within and Without Empire: Scotland Across the (Post)colonial Borderline*, ed. Carla Sassi and Theo van Heijnsbergen (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), pp.61-76.

Frenche, Brittons, Wailshe, Normans black an white, Dutch and British weare most earnest for its recooper, made severall courageous attempts upon it, but ever with losse, by the warrlicke opposition of Meilds of Spaines descent (I, i, pp.1-2).

Despite its mineral and agricultural richness, Ireland, the author insinuates, has still remained free of a total colonisation. As Nicholas Canny points out, both Irish and English historiography had come to characterise the 'dynamic' of Irish history as 'a series of invasions', however Irish historians, most notably Céitinn, 'argued that the conquest of Ireland by the Clanna Milidh, the Milesians or Gaelic Irish, had been the final one'.⁴⁶ The implication for this being that all subsequent invaders would eventually be expelled or assimilated by the Gaels and Ireland reclaimed as their rightful inheritance.⁴⁷ Céitinn's poem 'Mo thuaighe mar tá Éire' (written circa. 1644) laments that the 'fíor-Ghaoidheal' ['true Gaels'] have been banished from Ireland, figuring this as a widowing of Ireland, the poem also anticipates their eventual return in force.⁴⁸ For the Discoverer the wealth of Ireland remains pure and untouched for Ó Néill to reclaim (as an invading yet simultaneously reconquering Milesian) and as 'another Jason of Thesaly, [...] for the recooper of the goulden fleece.' The author invites this Jason to return from Spain and to bring with him a band of loyal followers. He refers to Ó Néill's son and Lieutenant-General as a 'Cid in chivalry' and 'a Hector in arms' respectively (I, i, p.7). It is no accident that the Spanish origin

⁴⁶ Nicholas Canny, 'The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750', *Past & Present*, 95 (1982), 91-116, p.101.

⁴⁷ For the assimilative capacity of bardic poetry and the poets' willingness to accommodate foreigners into specifically Gaelic textual and cultural frameworks see O Riordan, *The Gaelic Mind*, pp.43-51. Taking the example of Muireadhach Albannach Ó Dálaigh (fl. 1200-1228) addressing a prospective Norman patron, O Riordan argues that from the earliest years following the Norman conquest Gaelic poets were flexible in their distinctions between foreigners and Gaels: 'a dhream ghaidhealta ghallda' ['ye who are become Gaelic, yet foreign']. See Ó Dálaigh, 'Cred agaibh aoidhigh a gcéin', §1, edited in Osborn Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry*, ed. David Greene and Fergus Kelly (Dublin: the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1984), 88-92.

⁴⁸ Seathrún Céitinn, 'Mo thuaighe mar tá Éire', §§7-8. *Dánta amhráin is caointe Sheathrúin Céitinn: dochtúir diadhachta (1570-1650 AD)*, ed. John C. Mac Erlean (Dublin: The Gaelic League, 1900), 67-70 [my translation]. The poem in its MS form is badly corrupted; for a reconstructed version in dán díreach see Brian Ó Cuiv, 'Mo thuaighe mar tá Éire', *Éigse*, 8 (1956/7), 302-308.

of the band is emphasised and complimented in the comparison to El Cid, and the Roman Catholic connection in reference to Hector who can be seen to embody part of the Trojan origin of Rome. This registering of the most important continental influences on the Confederates also underpins the text's positioning of the Irish conflict as both defensive and a 'holy war,' as El Cid died battling the Moorish Almoravids in Spain, and Hector the invading Greeks in Troy (I, i, p.7). This layered deployment of Classical and European references forms a key praxis through which the text interprets the recent Confederate past. This is most pronounced in the eponymous aphorisms, drawn from a wide range of texts, that begin almost every chapter. Although the *Aphorismical Discovery* is in many ways the chronicle of an Old Irish experience of the civil wars, it is interesting that the author fails to compare Ó Néill to the 'Meilds of Spaines descent' – i.e. the Gaels mythically descended from Milesius of Spain – themselves, or indeed to significantly reference or quote any Irish authorities on these narratives.⁴⁹ From the perspective of Irish mythology, Ó Néill's approach from Spain to Ireland repeated the original Gaelic conquest of Ireland, and the lack of a specifically Irish interpretation or aphorism for this moment is perhaps indicative of the author's (unacknowledged) problems of source. The lens of learned quotations and allusions through which the author attempts to marshal and organise recent history is itself clouded. As John T. Gilbert - the editor of *The Aphorismical Discovery* - and Deana Rankin discuss, the aphorisms are drawn almost verbatim from Robert Dallington's *Aphorismes Civill and Militarie* (London, [1613]). Dallington's text was, as Rankin highlights, 'originally intended for his patron Prince Henry' who, it was hoped, would take an active military role in the future of European Protestantism.⁵⁰ The Irish lacunae in the aphorisms and references

⁴⁹ The Discoverer does acknowledge that his sources for Irish history generally are Céitinn and Conall Mac Eochagáin's translations of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (I, i, p.2).

⁵⁰ Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, p.133.

is perhaps an uncomfortable but direct symptom of this heavy borrowing from a militant English Protestant text.

The continental and colonial awareness of the *Aphorismical Discovery* registers further tensions at the heart of the Irish cultural and political nation. The alluring material richness of Ireland is evoked in terms that are reminiscent of colonial tracts such as Walter Raleigh's description of Guiana for Elizabeth.⁵¹ Ó Néill, as the scion of a noble clan, a man whose immediate ancestors were famed for their military and political actions against an encroaching English state, is wooed like a would-be foreign conqueror. As an émigré, a slight uncertainty about Ó Néill's place within Ireland and Irish politics is perhaps registered in the use of the Spanish title 'Don' and the Latinised form of his name 'Eugenius.' However, Ó Néill certainly fits the criteria of an Irishman set out by the text and Confederacy itself, and his earlier career had demonstrated a continuing enthusiasm for the Irish cause.⁵² The return of continental expatriates was vital to the development of the Confederation, so much so that Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin has argued that both the Confederate military and clergy were a product of continental rather than Irish training and experience.⁵³ Their place within the military and political struggles of 1640s Ireland was an immediate source of contention and distrust on all sides. For an Old English participant like Bellings, whose goal was the preservation of his patrimony and the furtherance of his and his comrades' political involvement, the return of Irish clergy and troops from the continent, who had little personal investment in Ireland's peaceful pre-1641 settlement, was a challenge and a

⁵¹ See Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. Joyce Lorimer (London: Ashgate and the Hakluyt Society, 2006), p.37.

⁵² See Darren Mac Eiteagain, 'Unmasking Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill', *History Ireland*, 2:3 (Autumn, 1994), 21-25, p.22.

⁵³ Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Disrupted and disruptive: continental influence on the Confederate Catholics of Ireland', *The Stuart Kingdoms in the Seventeenth Century: Awkward Neighbours*, ed. Allan I. Macinnes and Jane Ohlmeyer (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), pp.135-150, p.136.

threat.⁵⁴ For many of the Gaelic Irish there was clearly less to lose in the upheaval following the émigrés' return. The author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* reads the establishment's distrust of these continental veterans, and specifically of Ó Néill, as selfishly motivated (I, i, p.45).

Ireland in the *Aphorismical discovery* is an essentially compromised space. It has been colonised and brutalised, its patriots are in exile, and its ethnic boundaries are tangled. Furthermore, continental powers jockeyed for influence in Ireland and promoted competing factions and aims.⁵⁵ The Kilkenny Confederacy attempted to straddle and mitigate some of these differences. Its genesis is described approvingly in the *Aphorismical Discovery*, and put down wholly to the efforts of the catholic clergy. The first motion approved at the new assembly was that, according to counter-reformation theology, the Irish cause could be considered 'not onley just and lawfull, but godly,' and in accordance they formed a government and codified rules for the administration of war and justice (I, i, pp.36-7). However, the author notes from the outset the discrepancies and divisions in the make-up and activities of the administration. Half the membership of the executive Supreme Council is given over to Ormond's 'creatures' (I, i, p.39). Divisions between Old English and Mere Irish are mapped onto the immediate struggle between the Ormondists seeking rapprochement with Charles I on terms guaranteeing their political freedoms and landholdings, and the clerical faction which primarily demanded the return of church properties lost in the Reformation and greater religious freedoms. These tensions are registered in the Discoverer's narrative of an embassy to the Spanish crown. This embassy, tasked with securing funding and munitions, was led by an Old Irish priest, but he was snubbed by the

⁵⁴ See also Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, p.213.

⁵⁵ See Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Disrupted and disruptive: continental influence on the Confederate Catholics of Ireland'.

Confederacy which heaped praise on his Old English subordinate (I, i, p.49). The Gaelic Irish were further disregarded when the munitions finally arrived from Spain as the Confederate government 'would not afourde any one of them one single muskett, to keepe his castle, or imply it in seruice, but to seuerall of the recent Irish they bestowed great sumes, though for no martiall use' (I, i, p.50). For the Discoverer, the situation soon worsened under the military leadership of General Thomas Preston, an Old English rival of Eoghan Ó Néill. Preston's blunders and hapless leadership were deemed so execrable that they are referred to simply as 'Prestonian treachery' (I, i, p.63). The text goes on to brand both Ormond and his allies within the Confederate government as 'enemies of God, King and kingdome, of truth, justice and loyalltie, and friends to all treacherie, misbelief, periurie, disloyaltie, covenantiers, puritanizme and faction' (I, i, pp.75-6). The factional nature of the Confederacy made it impossible for ethnic mistrust to dissipate, and the text has Ó Néill suspect that the blundering Confederacy's actions aimed deliberately 'onely to the annihilating of the ancient Irish' (I, i, p.80). The fundamentally divided Confederacy is set in stark opposition to its non-Irish enemies. Whilst the text laments Ireland as a 'poore nation, O more weake then goshlings,' it describes the determination of its opponents, the Scottish Covenanting army and the English Parliament, who are united in the common purpose of 'the extirpation of holy religion and the ancient Irish' (I, i, p.43). Bellings too lamented the factionalism of Ireland's Catholics by comparing them with the diverse sects and parties of Protestants in Scotland and England who he argues were united against Ireland on two fundamentals: 'The one was their unanimous aversion to the pope's supremacy [...] that was the centre of their union, and they made it their common cause, under the name of Protestants, to oppugn the pope's supremacy. The other was the interest of the British nation, which all of them made their concernment to defend against the Irish natives' (VI, p.27).

The war in Ulster was fought by Ó Néill's Confederate troops against the armies raised from the 'British' planters, as well as the 10,000 strong Covenanting army (led by General Robert Monro).⁵⁶ At the beginning of the rising a fourth grouping had existed, the anomalous troops led by Alasdair mac Colla. The term 'redshank' refers to the Scottish mercenaries who had fought in Ireland throughout the Middle Ages and early modern period.⁵⁷ The *Aphorismical Discovery* relates a falling out between mac Colla and Félim Ó Néill. Ó Néill was deemed to have treated mac Colla's troops as mercenary redshanks and not given them a privileged position in the army (I, i, p.33). Offended, mac Colla left with his troops. It would seem that in this instance mac Colla's troops and the southern Mac Domhnaills no longer saw themselves as mercenaries, but fighters with a personal, rather than economic, part in the conflict. This intriguing discrepancy reoccurs when the narrative turns to the Earl of Antrim and mac Colla's conjunction with Montrose in Scotland. In 1646, Antrim sailed to Scotland to get a personal update on the expedition and to resupply his troops. The text tells us that 'His freight was welcome, to his Irish partie (soe the Reddshanks and their adherents were called)' (I, i, p.89). Irish-Scottish troops fighting for Montrose are 'Irish' when they are in Scotland, but were termed 'reddshanks' when they were in Ireland. The awkward interstice of the North Channel seems to serve as a barrier for the complete inclusion of the Scots Gaels into the Irish or Scottish cultural and political bodies. Despite being a Hebridean, mac Colla could be accommodated by the Confederate criteria to be recognised as an Irishman as set out in the oath quoted above, and as explicitly agreed by the Confederate government itself. Bellings relates that, once established, the Confederate council immediately

⁵⁶ Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, p.58.

⁵⁷ See Stevenson, *Highland Warrior*, pp.88-135.

endeavoured also to prevent the animosities which might proceed from those nationall distinctions of Old and New English and Ancient Irish. Moreover, they granted all the privileges of a native, and an exemption of a third part of all publique charges and levyes to anie of the English, Welsh, or Scottish nation, being a Romane Catholicke, that would reside amongst them. (I, p.113).⁵⁸

The narrative of the *Aphorismical Discovery* consistently (if indirectly) highlights some of the failures to realise fully this accommodation. Whilst in Scotland, mac Colla's troops are termed – along with Montrose – as ‘Machabeyans’ fighting the ‘roundheads,’ and this trope of a Maccabean conflict is repeatedly applied to mac Colla's career in Scotland and Ireland (I, i, p.89). This biblical typology carries with it associations of ethnic struggle, revolution, holy war, and a fight for cultural-religious survival in the face of destruction at the hands of the enemies of God. Parallel to mac Colla and the Scots Gaels' partial assimilation into the Irish body politic, is the accommodation of the covenanting General Robert Monro himself: ‘This Montroe [...] an ould beaten souldier of fortune, by birth a Scottsman, but descended of the O’Kahans of the north’ (I, i, p.25). Whilst the Discoverer expects no particular sympathy to arouse from this identification of Irish origins, it is another instance of the awkwardness surrounding the two neighbour kingdoms, and is reminiscent of Eoghan Ó Dubhthaigh's poem on the Ulster plantations which emphasises the consanguinity of the Scots planters and Ulster Irish.⁵⁹

After the collapse of first Montrose's and then mac Colla's insurgencies in Scotland in 1647, the surviving Scottish-Irish troops returned to Ireland. They were joined by a second detachment under the command of the Aonghas mac Alasdair Dheirg, Chief of Clann Domhnall of Glengarry. Referred to as Maccabees or ‘patriotts’, the Scots fighting for the

⁵⁸ See also Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, pp.240-241.

⁵⁹ Eoghan Ó Dubhthaigh ‘A Bhanbha, is truagh do chor!’, § 2.

Confederation are assimilated into that patriotic struggle by the Discoverer (I, i, p.153).

Indeed they are conspicuous for the praise that is heaped on them; mac Colla himself is described as 'another Jonathas' (I, i, p.175).⁶⁰ It has been noted that the text has a strongly 'pro-Ó Néill' bias, and an overarching focus on Ulster.⁶¹ This pro-Gaelic, pro-Catholic Ulster perspective may explain the ease with which the Scots Gaels were accepted as allies and often as kin and compatriots. That this outlook was not universal amongst the catholic Irish is evidenced immediately by the reception the influx of Scottish troops received. Ever suspicious of the Confederate administration's intentions, the Discoverer describes how the:

regiment of reddshanks under the comannde of Clangary was neither permitted to joine with the former [mac Colla's troops], theire patriotts to Monster, or to Generall Neyll, but to Preston and his armie, that both should perish without the assistance of either to other, which was the whole scope of those authors of disunion and distraction as the euent will euidently auer hereafter (I, i, p.153).

The Scots were not permitted to join forces together or to serve with their most natural ally in Ireland: Ó Néill. The narrative swiftly recounts the Confederation's betrayal of the Scots Gaels. At the disastrous Battle of Dungan's Hill in August 1647, the text implies that General Preston deliberately withdrew his troops leaving Glengarry's troops exposed to meet the enemy advance (I, i, p.156). Whilst Glengarry survived this and escaped, he was later to fall foul of the diverging factions within the Confederacy. The Discoverer relates how, after siding with Antrim and the Cardinal's faction, his regiment was captured and all his followers 'inhumanly killed' (II. i, p.20).⁶² Glengarry was eventually ransomed by Antrim and this fugitive of the Montrose and Confederate wars returned to Scotland to fight in the 1653-54

⁶⁰ I.e. Jonathan son of King Saul slain at the battle of Mount Gilboa. *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version, Second Catholic Edition* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006), 2 Samuel 1:25.

⁶¹ Mac Eiteagain, 'Unmasking Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill', p.22.

⁶² See also 'The Book of Clanranald', *Reliquiae Celticae*, p.207.

royalist Glencairn Rising. In the Discoverer's narrative, mac Colla's fate, which follows on swiftly from Dungan's Hill, serves as perhaps the most poignant and sustained expression of despair and rage in the text until the death Eoghan Ó Néill himself.

At the Battle of Knocknanuss, fought in November 1647, Confederate forces, led by Viscount Taaffe, were routed by the parliamentary army of Murchadh Ó Briain, 6th Baron of Inchiquin. Mac Colla and his whole force were wiped out at the battle, making them the last significant body of Gaelic Scots to fight in Ireland.⁶³ The *Aphorismical Discovery* spins a tale of 'horrid and inhumaine treason' perpetrated by Taaffe who, 'like another Judas against our Saviour,' accepted a bribe from Inchiquin to expose and abandon the Highlanders at the front of the battle (I, i, p.174). In the Discoverer's account, Taaffe ordered mac Colla's regiment to charge whilst silently withdrawing himself, leaving only the Scots engaged in battle:

the heroycke and valiant reddshankes never yeildinge, but rather gaininge grounde, were all for the most part slaughtered, their warrlicke chieftain behaving himself like another Jonathas, that noe durst aneere him, noe such feats was seene by our progenitors acted by an ordinarie man (unlesse assisted by a higher power) whoe could not be either killed, vanquished or taken prisioner, but of his own accorde, seeing the mortalitie of his men and his owne present danger, yelded upon quarter of life and armes (I, i, p.175).

Quarter was given and then, once the arms had been laid down, revoked, and all were slaughtered according to the 'covenant agreed between Taaffe and Inchiquin' (I, i, p.175). Bellings records and laments the same breaking of quarter in the case of mac Colla but does not consider the accusation of treason, and is happy to term Taaffe and other Old English royalists 'good patriots' (VII, p.35; III, p.16). There is a fascinating parallel here, not drawn in

⁶³ For the significance of the this final moment on inter-channel Gaelic relations see Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, p.313. Scottish-Irish interactions did not cease after the defeat of the Confederacy, and, although Highlanders never again fought as 'redshanks' in Ireland, Irish troops played their part in several of the Jacobite rebellions in Scotland.

the sources, with mac Colla's kinsman and erstwhile comrade Manus Ó Catháin. Ó Catháin led an Irish contingent under mac Colla during the Montrose campaign. After mac Colla and Montrose parted ways Ó Catháin opted to remain with Montrose and lead the remaining Irish troops. After their final defeat at the Battle of Philiphaugh, 1645, the Irish troops surrendered under conditions of quarter but were then executed by their captors who saw this as something of an act of vengeance legitimated by Covenanter propaganda which depicted Montrose's allies as barbarous, bloodthirsty, Catholic, and Irish, and thus deemed somewhere outside the normal rules of Christian warfare.⁶⁴ Ó Catháin and his men were executed because they were Irishmen fighting in Scotland. The *Aphorismical Discovery* does not present us with the reasons for the Confederation's betrayal of the redshanks, but we are left assuming that, as Scots, they somehow fell outside the norms and considerations of the Irish conflict just as the Irish had done in Scotland.

The Discoverer presents an epitaph for mac Colla in Latin verse:

Alexandri Colliadae Mac Daniell, Tribuni militum (Qui velut alter
Machabaeus, pro fide et Patria, fortissime certans, gloriosus occubuit)

Epitaphium:

Ad Nossas heros vicit, victorque perivit,
Venditus a sociis, emptus ab hoste, suis.
Infelix praxis Judae, non Martis alumni,
Qui patriam tradens, vendidit aere ducem.
Inversum fatum, Taffum, tunc nominis esse,
Dum laetum in tristem, verterat arte diem.

Alasdair mac Colla Mac Domhnaill, Tribune of the Soldiers (who, as if
another Maccabee, while fighting most bravely for faith and fatherland,
died full of glory)

Epitaph:

⁶⁴ Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, pp.174-9. A contemporary Scot, known only as 'Gordon', commented ruefully that his Covenanting compatriots treated the Irish, both men and women 'With such savage and inhuman cruelty as neither Turk nor Scythian was ever heard to have done the like'; quoted in *History of the Irish Confederation*, Vol. IV, p.xv.

At Knocknanuss the hero conquered and died triumphant,
 He who had been sold by his allies and bought by his enemy.
 Wretched practice of a Judas, no protégé of Mars,
 Who surrendered the fatherland, he sold the commander for money.
 Topsy-turvy fate then to be of the name of Taaffe,
 As he quickly turned the happy day into a sad day. (I, i, p.176 [my
 translation]).

Mac Colla's fate and its treatment in the text highlights an uncertainty in the boundaries of Irish (and indirectly Scottish) identities. He is described as fighting for 'faith and fatherland,' but we must remember that, though a Gael, mac Colla was heavily committed to the reclamation of his family's dùthchas in Scotland. Whilst Taaffe's leadership was poor on the whole, it seems doubtful that he would have deliberately betrayed and sacrificed his only veteran troops as the narrative depicts.⁶⁵ However paranoid the text is with regards to the reality of royalist treachery from within the Confederate ranks, to depict the betrayal by an Old English Confederate of Scots Gaelic 'patriots' to Inchiquin (himself the head of a major native Irish family) raises questions about the boundaries of Irishness. The very prominence given to the mac Colla episode, and indeed all mentions of the 'redshanks', suggests the perception that there is something singular or different about them from everyone else in Ireland. Whilst mac Colla's martial deeds may have been remarkable, the only justification for their prominence in the text is his, and his fellow Scots, otherness as Scots. This hint of foreignness makes their deeds on behalf of the Confederacy so singular, and the betrayal by their adopted 'nation' so abominable, and thus so worthy of narration. Conspicuous for their difference though, they are, paradoxically, naturalised to Ireland. Mac Colla as a

⁶⁵ Indeed, Taaffe had earlier been involved in a plan with mac Colla to ship troops to France. See Stevenson, *Scottish covenanter and Irish Confederates*, pp.170-182. For a detailed focus on the Munster army in 1646 and 1647 and other allegations of treachery see Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin 'The poet and the mutinies: Pádraigín Haicéad and the Munster army in 1647', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature*, 108C (2008), 65-74, pp.72-74.

Maccabee fighting for 'faith and fatherland' is far more at home within the text's vision of an Irish nation than is the 'Judas' Taaffe.⁶⁶ Indeed mac Colla's actions are compared favourably with the valour of ancient Irish heroes and gods (I, i, p.175). Reading the Maccabean quest to rescue a holy nation and sacred priesthood from foreign domination, and the Biblical friendship of a second Jonathan to an Irish David, onto the Scots Gaels, simultaneously renders them exceptional, yet uncomfortably native.

2.2: Between Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill and the Marquess of Ormond: in search of an Irish Hero

The Confederacy begun with a broadly inclusive commitment to house Catholics willing to struggle for an Ireland that accommodated their needs and demands. The common grievance of the Ulster revolutionaries and the Old English palesmen was their 'political disabilities that were associated with their being Catholic'.⁶⁷ But Boyce argues from anachronism when he states that 'the boundaries of sectarian politics, which were always blurred and confused even up to 1640, had now become clear: loyalty to king or parliament had been exchanged for loyalty to Catholicism or Protestantism'.⁶⁸ The grievances the rebellion sought to redress were deeply intertwined with the deterioration of Catholic standing in Ireland, but loyalty to the king remained absolutely essential to galvanising support amongst the different groupings.⁶⁹ The Ulster leaders repeatedly assured the Old

⁶⁶ This is all the more ironic when we consider that mac Colla's commitment to the Rebellion of 1641 was less than wholehearted, and that his longstanding aims seemed to centre around survival and vengeance for both himself and his family.

⁶⁷ Nicholas Canny, *From Reformation to Restoration: Ireland 1534-1660* (Dublin: Helicon, 1987), p.207.

⁶⁸ Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, p.84.

⁶⁹ In describing the situation facing the Old English Clarke's analysis is characteristically nuanced: 'The problem of the Old English was to reconcile their traditional heritage with an increasingly unsuitable environment: by heritage, they were sincerely catholic, owned land, and were conscious of an obligation of loyalty towards the

English lords that they in 'noe way intended to decline the obedience due from them to the King, but rather meant by fighting to the last man for his rights and prerogatives' (I, p.35).

The rebellion was necessarily constructed as a reaction against the 'Malignant party in England', and the existential dread of an invading Scottish army 'designed to extirpate Catholicke religion out of this kingdome' (I, pp.35-36). Nevertheless, the double-pull of loyalty to Charles and the church rendered the coalitions the nascent Confederacy depended on inherently weak. As it splintered into factionalism, it is possible to see that political allegiances often merged with, but could also violently clash with familial, ethnic, and religious identities. The progression of the war in Ireland was bound up with the various crises engulfing the wider British polities. There were two stark paths the Confederacy could take to respond to these crises. The first of these was some form of rapprochement with the royalist party in Ireland led by Ormond, and thus wider integration into the archipelagic struggles between King Charles and his parliaments. As Charles was unwilling to offer much in the way of religious toleration this inevitably involved large compromises on the part of the Confederates. The second option for the Confederacy was to continue to pursue a total military victory in Ireland which, once entirely united under the Confederacy, could then strike a hard bargain with Charles. It must, however, be borne in mind that, though significantly different in detail and means, both factions had convergent interests in maintaining Charles's power and in maximising toleration for Catholicism. Both the historical narratives examined here register this in myriad ways, not least in their embrace and continuous repetition of the ostensible Confederate devotion to 'Deo, Rege, et Patria.' The two historical narratives, which cohere around the two broader positions, seek to construct

king of England. Their instinct was, of course, to retain all three, rather than set about the business of determining priorities and deciding which was basic and which secondary.' *The Old English in Ireland*, pp.220-221. See also Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, pp.238-241.

heroes: Ormond for the peace party, and Ó Néill and the Papal Nuncio, Cardinal Rinuccini, for the hard line faction. In doing so, the texts necessarily engage in depicting ideal goals for the Irish nation to attain both in its own internal affairs and its relationship with the crown.

Proper conduct in warfare became a site of contention within the Confederacy, and an opportunity to construct both heroes and villains. Bellings derisively depicted the mismanagement of war as part of an inversion of social order and truth. This registers biting in his description of Féilim Ó Néill's early attempts to siege Drogheda in the winter of 1641 and his false claims to be able to produce gunpowder from corn (I, pp.45-49).⁷⁰ It has been noted that bungling by Confederate generals was termed 'treachery' by the Discoverer. These 'treacheries' amounted to a failure to adhere to standards and rules of war as they had been developed and experienced on the continent. Of all the returning exiles, it was inevitably Ó Néill who embodied these ideals of warfare for the Discoverer. The *Aphorismical Discovery* narrates the frustrated meeting of Ó Néill and Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of Leven, in 1642 (another returnee from continental wars and initially the supreme commander of the Covenant's forces in Ireland). Leslie's cunning and renown as a strategist is rapidly drawn by the text to make this 'terror of England' into a worthy foe for Ó Néill (I, i, p.43). However Ó Néill's own military acumen allows him to read his opponent as the very ploys of Leslie's army betray Leslie as the only possible 'author' (I, i, p.44). The marches and counter-marches of these wily men of war are depicted by the Discoverer with deft care. The scene moves from camp to camp, giving us now the inmost thoughts and fears of each general and next scouting reports and troop movements. Whilst the stage seems set for a full scale encounter, the action takes an unlikely turn when Ó Néill pens a letter to his adversary. This letter

⁷⁰ See Gillespie, 'Social thought of Richard Bellings', p.221.

bristles with chivalric politeness and formulae whilst following a steely line of enquiry. Ó Néill asks pointedly if Leslie ‘came to Ireland to searve his majestie or in the behalf of the parliament of England.’ If neither, Ó Néill commands Leslie to ‘abandon the kingdome and defend your owne native countrie, and not be accessorie to the drawing of inocent bloude of such as never yet annoyed you.’ We are told immediately that ‘as soon as Leysly reaceaved this letter, made himself ready for journey, went to Scotland, and never after returned to Ireland’ (I, i, p.45). This small set-piece epitomises the ideal military progress of the war yearned for throughout the text. The build-up is defined by the wit and intelligence of each general. The reactions and counteractions of the opposing armies are appreciated, dissected and read by the well trained eyes of the two generals. Finally, on the verge of full-scale conflagration, an appeal to the unjustness of the cause and the desire to halt bloodshed leads to a chivalric resolution.

The reverse of this neat, smoothly functioning, and rational military image is the indiscriminate slaughter and misery that accompanied many of the campaigns in Ireland. Massacres of non-combatants in the European and colonial theatres of war had led to widespread horror and the opprobrium of such actions. In 1655, John Milton would famously evoke the ‘slaughtered saints’ of the massacred of Waldensians in Piedmont, but writing on massacre had by that time already proliferated in the various pamphlets and tracts which wrestled with reports of massacres of British settlers in Ireland in 1641, and before that with commentary on the atrocities of the Thirty Years War.⁷¹ Just as the aforementioned texts heavily politicised and commodified the reporting of massacre, so the

⁷¹ John Milton, ‘*On the late Massacher in Piedmont*’ ed. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski and Estelle Haan, *The Complete Works of John Milton*, gen. ed. Thomas N. Corns and Gordon Campbell, 11 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008-2014), iii, p.245, l.1. For a lurid, but typical, example of such commentary see James Cranford, *The Teares of Ireland: Wherein Is Lively Presented as in a Map, a List of the Unheard off Cruelties and Perfidious Treacheries of Bloud-Thirsty Jesuits and Popish Faction* (London, 1642).

Aphorismical Discovery utilised the language and discourses of massacre to denounce bad generalship. Preston, who of all the Confederate generals is held up most consistently as the anti-hero opposed to Ó Néill, is frequently labelled with 'treacherous' bungling and ineptitude, but it is his involvement in massacres that culminates in the excoriating denunciation that he is drenched in 'the innocent bloude of decrepide ould age, of poore men, widowes and orphans' (I, i, p.209). Preston is termed 'this supposed Catholike Generall' now in rebellion against 'both the lawes divine and armes.' That these atrocities are perpetrated against *Irish* peasantry is, in a sense, inconsequential as the text itself names civilians, women, children, the old and infirm (regardless of nationality) as 'persons by the lawe of nations pardonable' i.e. exempt from military reprisals (I, i, p.209). It is significant that the text explicitly invokes a general notion of divine law and the rules of warfare as well as a 'lawe of nations' that governs military interactions.⁷² This integration of the Irish Confederates within an established European code of conduct is deliberately emphasised, and it is utilised to underline the civility of Ireland and its leading general Ó Néill.⁷³ Those who fall short of these limits on behaviour, regardless of which faction they belong to, are denounced (II, i, p.27).

In September 1643 the Confederates successfully negotiated a cessation of arms with the royalist party led by Ormond. For Bellings, Ormond is consistently represented as the honest voice of the Old English, as the one who understands both Ireland's and the king's predicaments. For the Discoverer however, this was an act of political suicide. He claimed

⁷² See Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Atrocity, Codes of Conduct and the Irish in the British Civil Wars 1641-1653', *Past and Present*, 195 (2007). 55-86, p.56.

⁷³ Ironically and tragically the atrocities of the Parliamentary campaigns of Cromwell and Ireton in Ireland were excused by apologists who argued, to use Barbara Donagan's words, that 'the "barbarous" Catholic Irish lay outside the protection of both honour and humanity.' Donagan, 'The Web of Honour: Soldiers, Christians, and Gentlemen in the English Civil War', *The Historical Journal*, 44:2 (2001), 365-389, p.389.

that any 'indifferent' person, even of 'shallowe understandinge,' should judge the cessation's negotiators and backers as 'perjurers, enfamous, disloyall, and treacherous' (I, i, p.73). According to the Discoverer, the cessation was hastily rushed through on the back of recent Ó Néill victories just as the Confederacy's opponents stood on the brink of collapse for want of money and ammunition. The articles of the cessation drew scorn and contempt from the Discoverer who lamented that Irish money was sent to prop up 'Ormond and his Presbyterians', whilst, due to the ensuing truce, the starving garrisons of 'purest Round-heads and rankest Puritants' now were permitted to purchase food from the Confederates (I, i, pp.74-75). Bellings however, writing from the perspective of defeat and subsequent Restoration, is always keen to paint the Parliamentarians as the greatest offenders against the king's interests. He remarks with cutting irony that during the cessation some English garrisons in Connaught remained in arms 'avowing publicly that they adhered to and depended upon the King and Parliament, a forme of expression taken up by those that fought in the King's name against his person' (III, p.14). The cessation is presented by the Discoverer as the natural aim of the peace-party within the Confederacy and seen as a bridgehead for the erosion of Confederate interests. From its very inception the council was noted to be populated with Ormond's 'creatures', and a seemingly unhealthy relationship with the Dublin administration persisted from that point on. Council members, particularly Bellings himself, were accused of leaking information to Ormond. The Discoverer notes that 'all the intelligence went thither in poetrie as an author said that y^e poets of the Supreame Councell were not sworne to secrecie but in proas, and not in myter or verse' (I, i, p.52). Whilst for the Discoverer this equates to a treasonable slipperiness with words (indeed Bellings is described as 'a lunaticall poet'), it made sense for the Old English within the Confederacy to maintain relations with Ormond (I, i, p.204). Both sides ostensibly wanted

the same thing: victory for Charles, although the place of Ireland and specifically that of the Old English elite was to be renegotiated and reintegrated into wider British political life. Beyond these grander political aims, ties of kinship and the common causes of class and origin provided yet more reasons to sustain good relations with Royalist elements within the Dublin administration. This logic operated within both high politics and in the day-to-day operations of Confederate Ireland. A potent example of this Old English entanglement with the wider royalist position is instanced during a raid in 1646 when Viscount Muskerry, the Confederate general for Munster, ordered his troops not to fire on a Royalist stronghold as the building belonged to Ormond, his brother-in-law (I, i, p.107).

Whilst the Confederate Wars perhaps saw more massacres than pitched battles, the uneasy cessation begun in 1643 was finally broken by internal dissensions within the Confederacy and large scale military campaigns in 1646. The epic moment of victory which the Discoverer builds up to, and from which Bellings dates the beginning of the dissolution of the Confederacy, was the Battle of Benburb, June 1646. Benburb, fought between Ó Néill's Ulster army and the Ulster British and Covenanting armies, was the only major field victory gained by a Confederate army. Ó Néill's power was at its apogee and the Discoverer briefly lifts his head from the weary task of charting the corrosive factionalism of the Confederacy to savour this moment of martial glory. The battle is prefixed by a lengthy speech on the part of Ó Néill. The oration explicitly invites the comparison to Hannibal's conquest of Spain and Italy, and Fabius Maximus and Publius Scipio's defeat of the invader. Implicit in the text is the fact that Ó Néill stands as another 'Cipio Affricanus' ready to rise up and defeat the Hannibalic forces of Parliament and Covenant. Ó Néill's speech moves on to the justification of a war fought in defence of the religion, 'planted in Ireland by our holy patron St. Patrick', and the 'liberties' of Ireland. (I, i, p.112). The details of the battle itself escape the narrative

which is largely compressed into a narrative of single combat between Ó Néill's son, Henry Roe, and the son of General Monro. This combat stands symbolically in place of the greater battle between the two generals, and Henry Roe's victory is directly linked to the victory of the Irish: 'by this all the horse and foote of the enemie was discomfited' (I, i, p.115). The sense of anti-climax following this battle is confirmed by the recounting of a 'Homerian' poem that was composed for the occasion. The poem describes the search of Irish widows amongst the corpses of the battlefield for their beloveds:

Whiles neere Benborbe, three diverse nations fought
And thundering Mars, to rage their captaines brought
The English, Irish, and the Scottish wives
Could not discearne theire loves that lost theire lives.
And when the mangled face could not be knowen,
They turned the stript dead bodies up and down.
The tail behind made knowen the English race,
The bleue chopt yarde bewrayed the Scottish face;
But where the founde non such, nor such strange signe,
The Irish woman said, the man is mine. (I, i, p.116).

This moment of gravity is mingled with a tawdry chauvinism that borders on the comic.

Rankin describes Benburb as the closest event 'to the desired paradigmatic contest, and the encounter with the Scottish forces under Munro,' however any sense of closure or grandeur is immediately diffused.⁷⁴ The jaunty and lurid lyrics of the Irish women are the last words on Benburb and after this Ó Néill is once more presented as at the mercy of the factionalists.⁷⁵ For Bellings, Benburb is a watershed in a negative sense, and the unique Confederate victory is seen as fatal to the Confederacy itself. In August and September of 1646 a crisis engulfed the Confederation as the Nuncio denounced the Ormond peace and threatened excommunication for those who supported it. Bellings laments that

⁷⁴ Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, p.126.

⁷⁵ Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, p.128.

by a strange change in the course of things, that the designes and affection of a few made it [Benburb] the foundation of suppressing Catholick religion in that kingdom, of rendring the Irish unable to assist it in maintaining the King's rights and prerogatives, and of bringing that servitude upon that nation under which they suffer at present (V, p.30).

For Bellings, the victory of Benburb and its galvanic effect on the Confederate clergy had the unique and unwelcome effect of unifying a nation – hitherto racked with insuperable ‘divisions’ and ‘rents’ – in ‘one common calamity’ (I, p.1, V, p.33).

In the Discoverer's narrative Ó Néill personifies the counter-reformation ideal of unswerving loyalty to the pope and church hierarchy, and also embodies a rationalised approach to warfare learned from the continent. These imported virtues may look specifically un-Irish in origin and unpromising to build an Irish nation or identity around. Indeed his role as specifically Irish leader is made ambiguous in the *Aphorismical Discovery's* ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’ which hails him as ‘in languages *Gaolglas*.’ Gilbert glosses this as a reference to Goídel Glas, the mythological originator of the Gaelic language (I, i, p.8, p.8n.). Rankin ignores this interpretation and argues that *Gaolglas* ‘approximates’ *gallóglach* [gallowglass] i.e. the mercenaries of the Gaelic-Norse Hebrides who fought in Ireland.⁷⁶ The first interpretation would emphasise the Gaelic origin of Ó Néill and bolsters his claims to be a leader of the Irish. The second interpretation fits logically with Ó Néill's actual background as a mercenary warrior fighting in foreign conflicts. Rankin's reading is attractive but the context (a list of worthy historical figures Ó Néill is deemed comparable to) would suggest that *Gaolglas* refers to a specific person i.e. Goídel Glas. The identification with Goídel Glas would seem to anchor Ó Néill to an ethnically and linguistically uncomplicated Ireland, but this comes at the end of an address that, as has been discussed, specifically embeds Ó Néill's

⁷⁶ Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, p.122.

return to Ireland within dense imagery of a colonial conquest. Whether a mercenary or a second Goídel Glas, Ó Néill came as an outsider. Ó Néill's own private correspondence reveals a starker attitude to the native Irish; on one occasion, lamenting the lack of discipline and obedience in his Ulster troops in comparison to his continental commands, he referred to his soldiers as 'nothing better than animals'.⁷⁷ An episode in Bellings's narrative specifically challenges Ó Néill's place as a leader of the Old Irish. In 1648, in the midst of escalating acrimony between the Nuncio and some members of the Confederate's Supreme Council, a sword was conveyed to Ireland. This was 'said to have been the sword of Hugh earl of Tirone' (the great Ó Néill who was the leading antagonist of the Tudors during the Nine Year's War) (VII, p.98). The sword was decorated en-route to make it appear like a 'sword of authority,' and then – in a move directly equated by Bellings to Féilim Ó Néill's falsification of the royal seal to garner support of his revolt in 1641 – it was publicised 'that the pope had sent the sword to general Owen O'Neale' (VII, p.98). Ó Néill's Irish standing, derived from his uncle Hugh Ó Néill, and his position as the 'Catholicke champion,' (II, i, p.62) are both undermined by Bellings in this episode, and the spectre of a counterfeited Irish identity is raised in reminder of the counterfeited claims of legitimacy made at the beginning of the Ulster rising.⁷⁸

These questions over Ó Néill's relationship with Ireland and Irish identity take on a new urgency in the last year or so of his life. Ó Néill's position was essentially outflanked in 1648 when, forced by defeats on the battlefield, the Confederacy dissolved itself and made peace with first Ormond and then, after his defection, Inchiquin, in a broad Royalist coalition. Ó Néill again refused to accept the Ormond peace and cut an increasingly isolated

⁷⁷ Quoted in Brendan Jennings, *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders 1582-1700* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1964) p.507.

⁷⁸ Rankin, *Between Swift and Spenser*, p.220.

figure in Irish affairs. As Ormond assembled troops for his ill-fated siege of Dublin, Ó Néill first refused overtures to join forces and then pondered his dire situation without supplies or allies: 'revolving those extremitities, like a wise generall, [he] issued a proclamation in both campe and country that by such a day would marche to a riche and plentifull countrie, to Tyrconnell' (II, i, p.41).⁷⁹ This decision marks in part an abandonment of a national Catholic strategy for a personal plan for domination of his hereditary Ulster enclave. In extremity Ó Néill showed the same concern for his patrimony as the Old English. Whilst this does not entail a callousness to the wider Irish situation, it signifies a reversion to a fundamentally survivalist outlook. This was perhaps coupled with a historical awareness that the fastnesses of Ulster had served as both the birthplace of rebellions and, in defeat, as hiding places. Concerned now with his and his troops' survival, and scrupling no longer to observe the oath to the now effectively defunct Confederation, Ó Néill made a temporary truce with the parliamentarians.⁸⁰ In his request to the English parliament he asked for 'an acte of oblivion to be passed, to extend to all and euery of his party, for all things done since the beginning of the year 1641', 'a competent command in the army, befitting his worth and quality', and finally that he and his followers 'may enjoy all the lands that were or ought to be in their ancestors possession'.⁸¹ Ó Néill's attempted rapprochement with Parliament accorded with the logic of self-preservation, and made a certain kind of sense in the context of 1649, as witnessed in the activities the Marquis of Antrim, who had achieved some level

⁷⁹ On his initial landing at Tyrconnel in 1642 Ó Néill experienced marked distaste and even horror at the prospect before him: 'the country not only looks like a desert, but like hell, if there could be a hell upon earth; for besides the sterility, destruction, and bad condition it is in, the people are so rough and barbarous and miserable that many are little better in their ways than the most remote Indians.' 'O'Neill to Hugh de Burgo, No. 25, 16-26th September 1642' quoted in Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p.507.

⁸⁰ See Mac Eiteagain, 'Unmasking Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill', p.25.

⁸¹ 'Appendix IX. Articles between General Owen O'Neil and Colonel George Monk, 1649', *Contemporary History*, II, i, pp.216-7. p.217.

of agreement with factions within the English parliament potentially amenable to some form of tolerance of Catholicism.⁸²

On his way north, Ó Néill stopped at parliamentary held Derry for supplies. There Charles Coote, the son of the infamous Sir Charles Coote, put on a feast for Ó Néill and resupplied him. The Discoverer describes how during this feast a 'cupp of poyson was ministered unto him of lingringe operation, by litle and litle peeninge him out' (II, i, p.42). It is notable that whilst the Discoverer never explicitly mentions the truce between Ó Néill and parliament – it simply would not fit with the text's idealisation of him as a native Irish hero – it, uniquely amongst the sources, ascribes blame to Coote, perhaps recognising indirectly the consequences for Ó Néill in doing business with parliament and a man scorned by all the Confederate Irish. After this feast the Discoverer observes pointedly that Ó Néill 'never after was his own man' (II, i, p.42).⁸³ However, the English Parliament rejected Ó Néill's overtures citing that 'the innocent blood which hath been shed in Ireland, is so fresh in the memory of this House, that this House doth detest and abhor the thoughts of any closing with any party of Popish rebels there who have had their hands in shedding that blood'.⁸⁴ Ironically Ó Néill, who scrupled to exemplify modern codes of warfare pertaining to massacres, and who had no hand in the infamous events during the early stages of Ulster rebellion, was rejected on grounds of the slaughter of innocents. Ó Néill died shortly after and according to a tradition related by the Discoverer,

Some deeming God in his divine clemencie, not to deale soe straight with
this poore nation, as to bereaue them of this theire onely champion, rather
the worlde beinge not worthy of soe good a masterpeece, lulled him

⁸² Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration*, p.233.

⁸³ See also Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, pp.144-48.

⁸⁴ 'Appendix XXI Colonel Monk and Parliament at London. 10 August 1649', *Contemporary History*, ii, i, pp.227-8, p.228.

asleepe, snatched him away to some secret corner of the world (as another Elias) to keep him there for future better purposes (II, i, p.63).

This comparison with Elijah, the prophet who was assumed bodily into heaven and whose return would herald the coming of the messiah, forms that apogee of a matrix of appeals to scriptural and classical typologies, and the recourse to prophecy is both an admission of temporal defeat and an appeal to an eschatological resolution.⁸⁵

Richard Bellings did not deem it unworthy of attention that Ó Néill had dallied with a parliamentary alliance. The contrast between the Discoverer's melange of triumphalism and lamentation in the parting addresses to Ó Néill, and Bellings's weary depiction of a cornered and duplicitious individual, is stark. The last vision of Ó Néill is that of anxiety and paranoia, as the paradoxical man, who was both prime defender and disturber of his state, found himself negotiating with both sides. The striving and active 'Catholicke Champion' is finally passive and played upon:

For as the parliament saw it was for their advantage that Owen O'Neale, who was busy in doing their work, should flatter himself with hopes of closing with them, Owen O'Neale, being still uncertain of the parliament's resolution, thought it not prudence to make his case desperate on the other side, by coming to an entire breach (VII, p.121).

The contrast in the changing fortunes and abilities of Ó Néill is highlighted by the advent of Cromwell a few pages later. We are told that after landing his troops in Dublin (August 1649) 'Cromwell having refreshed those he transported, and new modelled the army commanded by colonel Jones, marched to Drogheda' (VII, p.130). These are the very last words of Bellings's *History*, and it is as if, with the retrospective knowledge of the massacre that would be precipitated at Drogheda and the subsequent conquest, Irish history was

⁸⁵ See 2 Kings 2:3-8, Malachi 4:5-6.

fractured beyond repair.⁸⁶ The motion and finality of this moment recalls another apocalyptic moment in Irish literature and history: the 'rough beast' of Yeats's antichrist and the new age of violence unleashed by the end of World War One and the beginning of the Irish Wars of Independence: 'its hour come round at last,/ Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born.'⁸⁷ Writing under the restored monarchy and in the wake of the Acts of Settlement, Bellings has no advantage in narrating the Cromwellian disaster. His story had been that of the stridently royalist Irish nation, which had come to a new political consciousness, but ultimately failed to overcome the 'turnes and winding of humaine action, [... and the] abyse of God's providence' which Bellings is at pains to present as the true mover and cause of all human activities (I, p.132).⁸⁸

In the narrative of Richard Bellings the Old English nation forms the heroic centre point. This nation falls on either side of the political divide and Bellings is keen to stress the heroism and leadership of Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant, in particular. Ormond's position as the bridge between the Confederation and the Royalists is frequently held up as the ideal for which the Confederate Irish should strive. In the opening phases of the rising it is Ormond who sought to curb the belligerence of the Dublin administration whilst opposing the violence of the rising itself (I, pp.125-32). As the leading peer of the Old English, as a Protestant educated in England, and as the king's chosen representative he is repeatedly depicted as the man most understanding of Ireland's predicament, of the English

⁸⁶ Rankin, *Between Swift and Spenser*, pp.208-209.

⁸⁷ W. B. Yeats, 'The Second Coming' in *The Poems*, ed. Daniel Albright (London: Everyman's Library, 1992) II.21-2.

⁸⁸ In poetry written after the completion of the Cromwellian conquest and land confiscation there are similar attempts at consolation through the invocation of God's providence. See for example Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh, 'Mo mhallacht ort, a shaoghail', §§1-23. edited in Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, "'Mo mhallacht ort, a shaoghail'" (c. 1655): Dán is a sheachadadh', *Ériu*, 63 (2013), 41-77. See also Fear Dorcha Ó Mealláin, 'In ainm an Athar go mbuaidh', *An Duanaire 1600-1900: Poems of the Dispossessed*, ed. Seán Ó Tuama and Thomas Kinsella (Dublin: Foras na Gaeilge, 2002), pp.104-109.

parliament's treasonable bent, and of the king's interests. Whilst these themes recur throughout the text, they are most clearly illustrated in a striking episode in the prelude to Ó Néill's abortive march on Dublin in 1646, after briefly seizing control of the Confederacy. Ormond, preparing to defend the city, became anxious that the Catholics of Dublin would rise up and betray the city to the Confederate army. Ormond wrote a letter to all the Catholic clergy of Dublin, questioning their attitudes towards the king, the Catholic hierarchy, and their opinion on the Nuncio's excommunication of the peace party. They answered as both good subjects and good Catholics that they were not competent to judge the excommunication, that they would obey the Catholic hierarchy if it removed them from their posts or commanded them to stop administering the sacraments, but ultimately they claimed that 'we really in our hearts and consciences hold our sovereign lord, king Charles, to be the true and lawfull king of this citie and kingdom of Ireland' (VI, p.41). Ormond's care of the Catholics, and their explicit, but reconciled, double loyalty is held up by Bellings to illustrate how the relationship between Crown and Catholics should work in an ideal Ireland, and what is being sacrificed on the altar of war and continued conflict. In his unenviable role as negotiator between the king, Confederates, parliamentarians, and covenanters in Ireland, Ormond is characterised by the Discoverer as one who is 'dexter enough to cover two faces under one hoode,' (II, i, p.53) but the ability to look in two directions, to hold the nation's and the king's interests in simultaneous view, is held up for praise by Bellings. The Discoverer tells us that Cromwell, upon inspecting a portrait of Ormond commented that he 'was more like a hunts-man then any way a souldier' (II, i, p.55). Whilst the Discoverer, with an anxious strain of admiration, says that 'hitherto is verified in Cromwell what Plutarchus writeth of Caesar, *veni, vidi, vici*,' (II, i, p.56). The bellicosity of Cromwell's 'climacteric' advance through Ireland is given no room in Bellings' narrative, whose hero is a nation of

Englishmen born into Ireland, made up of Catholics and royalists, whose leader was the cultured 'hunter', an Irish cavalier.⁸⁹ The Discoverer's withering estimation of Ormond as 'a man of small deserving in martiall affaires, weake in his directions, could in his resolutions, and unfortunat in his actions' (I, i, p.143), arose out of his betrayal – as the Discoverer saw it – of Ireland and the Irish. Whilst both Bellings's and the Discoverer's narratives draw vastly different conclusions on the events of the 1640s, in reading them together it becomes clear that the formation of a national catholic Irish identity was undermined by pre-existing ethnic fault-lines in Irish culture. However, the events of the civil wars, and their intellectual and literary legacy would play a key role in the future crystallisation of just such an Irish identity.

2.3: Ireland Disunited

The two historical narratives discussed above record a unique moment in Irish history. The Kilkenny Confederacy was the first attempt at a centralised Catholic administration of Ireland, and nothing like it would be achieved again until Irish independence in the twentieth century. Whilst it would be wrong to suggest there was any great sympathy for separatism and independence, it would also be misleading to downplay the kindling of a new national and political consciousness in Ireland.⁹⁰ O Riordan is right to stress the dangers of interpreting early modern Irish texts from the perspective of 'later Irish nationalist

⁸⁹ Andrew Marvell, 'An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's return from Ireland' in *The Complete Poems*, ed. Elizabeth Donno (London: Penguin, 2005), p.104.

⁹⁰ The Irish cleric Cornelius O'Mahony published his *Disputatio apologetica, de iure Regni Hiberniae pro Catholicis Hibernis adversus haereticos Anglos*, on the continent in 1645. This pamphlet argued for the Irish to reject their heretical monarch and appoint a native Catholic king. The text was publicly burned by the Kilkenny Confederation.

historiography,' but overstresses Gaelic Ireland's failure to produce a new and robust political culture.⁹¹ The bardic poetry she analyses was conservative, but still a living art form. The traditional elite artistic culture it arose out of was not one which was amenable to developing a vocabulary for a radical reinterpretation or representation of Ireland's political life. However, it still engaged with the events of the 1640s and 50s within its own formal constraints. In the broader poetic corpus of the mid seventeenth century there is quite clearly evidence of a new understanding of political horizons and experiences. The proto-aisling, 'Innisim fíis is ní fíis bhréige í' (often referred to as '*An Síogaí Rómhánach*' ['The Roman Fairy']), was written in Rome circa 1650. To my knowledge, it is unique among contemporary Gaelic poetry in its criticisms of King Charles's activities in Ireland and in its acceptance of his execution:

's gan labhairt i dteanga na Gaelge
 's gan 'na háit ag cách acht Beárla.
 Órd is aifreann do bacadh leis d'éisteacht.
 Tré gach gráin dá ndéarnaidh ar Éirinn,
 [...]
 far dheónaigh Dia an triath so 'shéana
 leis an lucht do thug do géilleadh,
 Parliamentárians na dtárr maothlach
 ler baineadh a cheann le linn fhaobhraigh.
 Don rí do baineadh an ceann céadna
 is lena linn do thionnsgain Éire.

He proscribed the Gaelic tongue,
 And commanded Saxon speech for all.
 By him were mass and music prohibited.
 Every horror has been wrought upon Erin
 [...]
 It was God's will to eschew this prince
 And those who did him homage.
 Parliamentarians, vile boors,
 Beheaded, with a keen sword,
 This fair-headed, evil King.

⁹¹ O Riordan, *The Gaelic Mind*, p.41, p.298.

During their time Erin awoke.⁹²

The royalism ostensibly espoused by the Gaelic and Old English Catholics alike is markedly absent here. Ireland, says the poet, awoke in the time of crisis, and the clear-eyed depiction of Charles's failings and his execution is a ground breaking moment in Irish poetry.⁹³

This departure from royalism is in stark contrast to the prose narratives which embrace a broader, if equally divisive, political and cultural arena. In an Irish assembly in 1650 the Discoverer recounts a young Irishman's passionate appeal to resist a compromised peace. He laments that:

we are the dreggs of Israell and the lice of Jacob, soe forgettfull wee are of the Egiptian thraldom wee endured under the Pharaoes of Dublin in the last peace, to whom [...] at their pleasure had our haukes, dogs, horses, our wiues and maidens to satisfie their lust; but beinge sett almost at libertie, from the tallons of heresie, by Gods unexpected favours, contraries to all humaine judgements, haue hitherto readier heartes to returne to our former vomits and Egiptian durance, then endure any calmitie of warr, for the glorie of God, the quiet of the church, his majesties right and comon libertie (II, i, p.121).

This millenarian appeal to a prophetic biblical history echoes the use of biblical typologies throughout the War of Three Kingdoms. The identification with the election and persecution of the children of Israel was, according to Smith and Hutchinson, 'a powerful impetus to the growth of national sentiment among the middle strata' of Puritan England.⁹⁴ Whilst in Scotland 'developments in covenant ideas [...] led to Scotland being seen as a nation enjoying a special relationship with God, to the Scots being seen as a chosen people, successors to the Israelites'.⁹⁵ However, those opposed to the puritan and

⁹² 'Innisim fí is ní fí bhréige í', 103-106, 110-115. *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems*, ed. Cecile O'Rahilly (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1952), pp.12-32. I have used J. T. Gilbert's literal translation see: 'Appendix XXIV. "The Irish Vision at Rome"', trans. J. T. Gilbert, in *Contemporary History*, III, ii, pp.190-196.

⁹³ Ó Buachalla also sees other aspects of the poem as innovative, particularly the identification of Henry VIII as a root cause of the contemporary troubles. 'Poetry and Politics in Early Modern Ireland', pp.168-169.

⁹⁴ "Introduction" in *Nationalism*, p.6.

⁹⁵ Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2003), p.45.

covenanting theologies could still claim the Israelites as their own model. We have already seen above that Iain Lom identified the woes of the Scottish royalists with those of the Israelites in Egypt. Similarly, during the interregnum, the Welsh Royalist poet Katherine Philips read the bondage of Israel onto the exile of Charles II:

For England (though growne old with woes) will see
Her long deny'd and soveraigne remedy.
So when Old Jacob could but credit give
That his prodigious Joseph still did live,
(Joseph that was preserved to restored
Their lives, who would have taken his before)
It is enough (sayes he) to Egypt I
Will go, and see him once before I dye.⁹⁶

The political speech recorded by the Discoverer should be seen in relation to these archipelagic appeals to old-testament typologies.⁹⁷ However, the Discoverer imbues the familiar political language and biblical typology with a powerful negative force reminiscent of Milton's pointed lament on English history that the English people frequently 'shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of their own libertie, than [...] under a foren yoke'.⁹⁸ For the Discoverer, even if the catholic Irish are indeed the chosen and elect nation they are simultaneously seen to be inadequate in the extreme.

The greatest internal failure of the Confederation was its factional nature, its ultimate inability to reconcile different ethnic and class groups, and the legacy of these key structural failures is embedded in both the linguistic registers and the narratives of the texts themselves. The heroes that each text valorises are indicative of this divergence, as are the varying and fissured concepts of Irishness. In 1641, at the outbreak of the rebellion,

⁹⁶ Katherine Philips, 'On the numerous accesse of the English to waite upon the King in Holland' in *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips*, ed. Patrick Thomas, 2 vols (Cambridge: Stump Cross Books, 1990), i, ll.19-26.

⁹⁷ See also Marc Caball 'Providence and Exile in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies*, 29:114 (1994), 174-188.

⁹⁸ Milton, *The History of Britain* in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, V, Part 1, p.61.

Uilliam Óg mac Uilliam Óig Mac an Bhaire urged the chiefs of the Gaels and the Old English to remain united in purpose:

Ná bíodh tnúth cáigh le chéile
d'imreasain nó d'aimhréidhe;
ag léaghadh an uile eang
déanadh gach duine a dhícheall!

[...]

Ná bíodh feasda re a rádh ruibh
'drong ag gabháil re Gallaibh,
is ar-oile a-nonn 's a-nall,
agus drong oile i n-éanrann'.

[...]

Múchaidh na folta fine!
Báthaidh gach béas náimhdidhe
's an tsíon chagaidh gacha cinn
do bhíodh agaibh i nÉirinn!

Do not be jealous of one another because of contention or disagreement;
reading every [trace], let everyone do his best.

[...]

From now on, let it not be possible to speak of you as: 'One group siding
with the [new] Goill, and another toing and froing, and another group
forming a united front.'

[...]

Extinguish the family feuds! Smother every hostile way and the warring
atmosphere between every leader that you used to have in Ireland!⁹⁹

The call for unity was a common one amongst the poets and in 1644 Céitinn anticipated that the death of Ireland would come about through 'lomthnúth ardfhlaitheadh mBanbha' ['the great envy of the high chiefs of Ireland'].¹⁰⁰ By the end of the decade, this plight of the divided and politically and culturally compromised polity that was Confederate Ireland, was, in vigorous English prose, neatly echoed and summed up in the Discoverer's mocking description of the negotiating position Ormond was forced to inhabit. On Ormond's

⁹⁹ Uilliam Óg mac Uilliam Óig Mac an Bhaire, 'Dia libh, a uaisle Éireann!', §§19, 21, 39. Mac Cárthaigh translates 'ag léaghadh an uile eang' as 'reading every land', this should be amended to 'reading every trace'. I am grateful to Dr Máire ní Fhlathúin for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁰⁰ Seathrún Céitinn, 'Mo thruaighe mar tá Éire', §9 [my translation].

attempts to appeal to the diverse Catholic interests within the Confederation and the Puritan party within Dublin, the Discoverer wryly remarks, 'how impossible it be to bringe those unto one centre of agreement is transcendent to all humaine sense, excepte the Omne potens Ormond' (II, i, p.17).

In both Bellings's and the Discoverer's texts, the inclusion of entire letters, decrees, poems, and speeches from politicians, clerics, and even monarchs (both in quotation or paraphrase and in their entirety), alongside authorial political and religious comment and criticism represents the medium's capability to contain, organise, and dissect multiple discourses and modes of writing, and its ability to sustain new political and cultural discourses. Gillespie refers to Bellings's use of such material as 'old-fashioned' and 'antiquarian' in the context of the time, but both narratives combine this material with the freshness of eye-witness accounts and polemical interpretations.¹⁰¹ The result is a startling combination of analysis and documentation. Operating quite independently of the poetic traditions, the prose histories do not just record a unique moment in Irish history, but they themselves mark a novel moment in Irish literary history. Both narratives seek to use English to shape and express the history of the Confederation, which is clearly felt to be a historical watershed, and both narratives succeed in housing a record of a uniquely Catholic Irish experience within English prose.¹⁰² In recording the history and documents of

¹⁰¹ Gillespie, 'Social thought of Richard Bellings', 215.

¹⁰² Against their value as unique contemporary records must be set their relatively insubstantial history as read texts. See Gilbert, 'Preface', *History of the Irish Confederation*, pp.i-lxxxv, p.ix. Gillespie terms Bellings's text as not 'without influence' pointing to a limited manuscript circulation, but it seems the readership of Bellings' text was fairly narrow. Gillespie, 'Social thought of Richard Bellings', p.214. See also Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, p.234; Gilbert, 'Preface', *Contemporary history of affairs*, pp.i-xlii, p.i. Gilbert saw his editorial task as one of recovery and rehabilitation of Catholic Irish history at a difficult time in Irish-British relations. His wife and biographer, Rosa Mulholland, reported his claim that 'they will never be able to blacken the period again' as he believed the documentary evidence and the historical narratives shed 'the light of truth' upon the 'admirable conduct of the Irish Confederates.' Mulholland, *Life of Sir John T. Gilbert* (London: Longmans, 1905), p.278.

the Confederation, both texts point to the emergence of a distinct Irish national consciousness founded on the patria and religious unity of Ireland. Their narratives however demonstrate the ethnic and factional disruptions and disconnections that undermined the Confederation and prevented a full and coherent development of an Irish national identity. These issues would continue to be relevant in the Jacobite conflicts of 1688–1691 in Ireland. These conflicts, fought between supporters of the ousted James II and William of Orange, embroiled Scotland and Ireland and continued to be fought along older religious grievances as well new Britannic political and cultural dynamics. The next two chapters focus on Scottish and Irish involvement in these conflicts, and continue the examination of the divergence between Scottish and Irish Gaels and the development of cultural and national identities in literature by and about the Gaels.

Chapter Three

Scottish Jacobite Literature of the Williamite Revolution

The civil wars of the mid seventeenth century mark a novel moment in the role of the Gaelic peripheries of Britain in the national politics of both Ireland and Scotland, and indeed the archipelago as a whole. The nucleus of an emergent Irish Catholic identity is discernible in the workings and disintegration of the Kilkenny Confederation and the texts produced during this period reflect this, as they also reflect the deep ethnic fractures within that identity. The rebellion and Confederation in Ireland are a key dynamic that must be factored into any understanding of political developments in the English and Scottish civil wars of the 1640s. In Scotland, the significant intervention of Gaelic clans, on both sides of the political affray, gave them a new prominence in national and British arenas. The military links between the royalist Gaels and the Irish Confederation may have played into Clann Domhnall's ideas of their pan-Gaelic relevance, but the connections were ultimately short lived and unsuccessful. Gaelic interventions on both sides of the Irish Sea had little immediate lasting impact on the progression of British high politics. The – for a time – stunningly effective guerrilla campaigns of Montrose and mac Colla ended in abject defeat. Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl of Argyll, one of the chief architects of the Scottish covenanting polity, was increasingly side-lined after the English Commonwealth's annexation of Scotland and was finally executed after the Restoration of Charles II. Whilst Catholic Ireland may have gained some of its most enduring myths and narratives in its brutal destruction by Cromwell's New Model Army, it came into Charles II's power much as it had come under English suzerainty in the middle ages and again during the Elizabethan reconquest – a bloodied and colonised space. The needs and hopes of Irish Catholics for greater tolerance

and for restoration of their lands were, for the most part, disregarded during Charles II's reign.

If the prevailing experience of Gaelic Britain after the two decades of civil blood-letting was one of defeat, it shared that experience with other communities and factions. The royalist clans in Scotland had the – for them – somewhat novel experience of being part of a broader coalition of royalists across the archipelago whose defeat seemed total until the rapid disintegration of the English Commonwealth towards the end of the 1650s. As such, the royalist clans were not alone in genuinely rejoicing after Charles II's coronation in Westminster. Remembering the days of the protectorate, Iain Lom welcomed the news of Charles's return:

'S ge fad am thosd mi,
Mas e 's olc leibh,
Thig an sop a m' bhràghad.

Although I have long been silent, if that is what displeases you most, I shall remove the silencing wisp out of my throat.¹

The Cromwellian occupation of Scotland is imagined as a physical block to the poet which is now removed by the return of the rightful King, which crowns and restores society and song to their proper places. Whilst operating in a separate literary mode and tradition, Iain Lom's image has parallels with the welcome poem of John Dryden 'Astrea Redux'. In Dryden's imagery the preceding decades were 'govern'd by the wild distemper'd rage / Of some black Star infecting all the Skies,' but the Restoration is to be recognised in a reordering of the poetic sphere:

Oh Happy Age! Oh times like those alone
By Fate reserv'd for Great *Augustus* Throne!
When the joint growth of Armes and Arts foreshew

¹ Iain Lom, 'Mi 'n so air m' uilinn', *OIL*, 905-907.

The world a Monarch, and that Monarch *You*.²

Joy at the Restoration, couched in Augustan imagery in Dryden's poem, is made into a physical and personal experience in Iain Lom's poem, which opens with a characteristic vignette of the poet and his place in the landscape:

Mi 'n so air m'uilinn
An àrdghleann munaidh,
'S mór fàth mo shulais ri gàire.

As I lie on my elbow in a high mountain glen, I have good reason to find joy in laughter.³

The situation in Western Scotland remained uneasy throughout the Restoration period, but the violence of the civil wars largely gave way to repressive government crackdowns on banditry and crime and tense legal battles and struggles for representation at Charles's court.⁴ Despite the setbacks suffered by the House of Argyll, Clann Caimbéal's accumulation of land and power increased apace. By buying up debts of the royalist Clann Ghille Eóin of Duart, the House of Argyll was able to claim vast sums against their estates.⁵ In a poem addressed to Mac Gille Eóin of Duart, Iain Lom lamented that:

Tha sgrìob ghiar nam peann gearra
Cumail dìon air Mac Cailein,
'S e cho briathrach ri parraid 'na chòmhradh

The sharp stroke of short pens protects Argyll, he who is as eloquent in conversation as a parrot.⁶

² John Dryden, 'Astrea Redux', *The works of John Dryden*, ed. H.T. Swedenberg Jr. et al, 20 vols (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1956-1990), i, ll.112-113, 320-323.

³ Iain Lom, 'Mi 'n so air m'uilinn', 902-4.

⁴ Allan Macinnes, 'Gaelic culture in the seventeenth century: polarizations and assimilation', *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485-1725*, ed., Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (London and New York: Longman, 1995), pp.162-194, p.182.

⁵ See BCG, pp.xl-xliii.

⁶ Iain Lom, 'Mur bhith 'n abhainn air fàs oirnn', 1764-6.

Legal eloquence here has a force greater than the eloquence of poems or speech, and indeed facility with the corrupting languages of politics and legalism is implicitly contrasted with a more honest patriotism. Throughout this period, Iain Lom uses his verse to imagine and create a poetry of resistance to both Caimbéal encroachments, and the disintegration of the traditional clan culture. Iain Lom's poetry from this time is characterised by a note of caution and wariness. The bloodless "Battle" of Tom A' Phubaill in 1675 saw a coalition of clans mobilise against Argyll's encroachments on Mull. Whilst Iain Lom lamented that a decisive military blow was not struck, he lauds Lord MacDonald's swiftness in arguing Clann Ghille Eóin's case in Edinburgh and London:

Ach a Mhorair Chlann Dòmhnail,
 Chum thu chòmhdhail gu h-ullamh,
 Chaidh thu 'n coinne 'n Iarl Adhraich
 'N uair a shaoil e bhith 'm Muile;
 Bha thu roimhe 'n Dùn Eideann-
 Sheas thu 'm feum ud gu duineil;
 Is neo-throm leam an cosgadh
 On a choisinn thu 'n Lunnainn.

But, Lord MacDonald, readily did you keep the tryst; you engaged the Inveraray Earl when he thought to lord it in Mull; you were ahead of him in Edinburgh and manfully conducted that business. Trivial do I deem the expenditure involved since you won your point in London.⁷

The increasing recourse to the courts of Edinburgh and London brought a new focal point to local Highland politics. But even the dismissing of the expense of going to London disguises a hint of anxiety about the 'Inverary Earl's' recent successes in weaponising debt.

In 1674 the Clann Ghille Eóin, refusing to pay their debts, suffered a government-sanctioned invasion of their land in Mull by the 9th Earl of Argyll. By 1680 Mull was lost, and by 1681 their last castle on the Treshnish Isles had surrendered. At some point between

⁷ Iain Lom, 'Ho ró, gur fada', 1892-1899.

1674 and 1681 the Mull poet, Anndra mac an Easbuig, wrote of the desolation of his clan's lands:

Mhàighean farsaing
Bu shàr-ghasd aitreabh
Gun dìon gun fhasgadh
Gun spàrr gun alt gun chòmhlà.

Gun cheòl pìoba,
Gun òl fiona-
Còir an gnìomhadh:
'S leòr dhomh mhiad de dhòrainn.

Its wide plains of delightful dwellings, all without roof or protection,
without beam or joint or door.

No pipe-music, no wine-drinking – quite proper things to do: so much
anguish is enough for me.⁸

Despite setbacks such as these, an anti-Covenanter and anti-Whig coalition was maintained along the western seaboard and was perhaps fundamental to the mobilisation of these clans around the Jacobite cause after James II's eviction from power in 1688. The fast-evolving and often precipitous nature of clan conflicts during the Restoration period, and their increasing recourse to the court of Charles or the patronage of his brother James (then Duke of York) led to a developing political consciousness not just in the clan chiefs but also their poets. Iain Lom's poems of the period address people such as the Marquess of Atholl, Lord MacDonald, Eóghan Camshrón of Lochiel, the Mac Dhòmhnaill of Sleat, and the Mac Gille Eóin of Duart. This grouping of powerful royalist leaders are repeatedly reminded of the perfidy of the Caimbéals, the need to band together, and both the dangers and opportunities of taking clan politics to London. Iain Lom writes of Lochiel's visit to Charles II in 1685 with fear and anxiety:

Fear do chéille bhith 'n Sagsann,

⁸ Anndra mac an Easbuig, 'Uam-s' tha ràitinn' in *BCG*, 712-719. See also John Bannerman, *The Beatons: a medical kindred in the classical Gaelic tradition* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1986), pp.36-38.

Gun fhios nach b'éigneach a' bheart e,
Ma thig eug ort an taice Rìgh Seurlas.

And the thought that a man of your wisdom should be in England when, perhaps, should you die at King Charles' court, the situation might be critical.⁹

After the death of Lord MacDonald in 1680, Eóghan Camshrón of Lochiel assumed increasing importance to the royalist clans. Such is the prominence of Lochiel in Iain Lom's thinking that he wishes he could make him a 'diùc' (duke) over all the Hebrides. Even whilst acknowledging the tendency to hyperbole in panegyric poetry, this suggestion, coming from a promoter of Clann Domhnall power and domination of the isles, is a telling indicator of the shift in priorities and outlook from clan politics to broader factional politics. The proof of Lochiel's growing importance can be seen in the military coalescence of Scottish Jacobite plans around the person and territory of Lochiel himself in 1688 and 1689.¹⁰

The tide of events was against the royalist clans. At the hands of Charles in London, and his government in Scotland, the clans lost more than they won. Central government responses to perceived endemic Highland lawlessness became increasingly heavy-handed, leading to what Allan MacInnes describes as methods that 'turned the Highlands into a training ground for military repression'.¹¹ However, during the sojourn in Edinburgh of the Duke of York (the future James VII and II) during the Exclusion Crisis, 1679–1681, the relationship between the clans and the government improved somewhat. In this time James 'ushered in the only phase of conciliation in the Highlands during the Restoration era,' whilst, in the words of Murray Pittcock, a simultaneous 'attempt was being made [by

⁹ Iain Lom, 'Cha b'e turneal a' chnatain', 2263-5.

¹⁰ See John Drummond of Balhaddy, *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiell* (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842), pp.233-247.

¹¹ MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, p.132.

James] to turn Edinburgh into a distinctively Scottish royal capital'.¹² MacInnes is right to argue that the brief co-operative and conciliatory intervention of James 'did much to lay the practical foundations for the overwhelming support of the clans for the Jacobite cause,' however royalist support also stemmed from the knowledge that the crown represented the only legitimate authority that could curb Clann Caimbéal expansion on the western seaboard, and the maintenance of a "royalist" faction throughout the Restoration period was predicated on this assumption.¹³ Indeed the utility of this factionalism became clear in the brief rising of the 9th Earl of Argyll against James II as part of the Monmouth Rebellion in 1685. Royalist clansmen under the Marquess of Atholl assisted in putting down this brief rebellion and Argyll was swiftly executed in Edinburgh. A Caimbéal poet mourned him as the 'Roghainn nan Albannach uile' ['Choice of all Scots'] and the 'ceann-taic nan Gàidheal' ['chief-support of the Gaels']. Another poet, oddly given the circumstances, mourned the Earl as the 'buachail a chrun' ['shepherd of the crown'] and stressed the historic loyalty of the house of Argyll.¹⁴ These verses again emphasise the encompassing position in both Scotland and Gaeldom that the Earls of Argyll sought to occupy but they also demonstrate the reversals and inversions of settled orders and hierarchies that civil war and rebellion brought to the Highlands. MacInnes asserts that by the end of the mid-century civil wars the Scottish clans were committed entirely to 'Scottish as against Gaelic politics.'¹⁵ The situation was in reality more complex. The Irish dimension, briefly but inflammatorily present in civil wars, was muted from that point onwards, and the British situation

¹² MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, p.139. Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.17.

¹³ MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, p.150.

¹⁴ An Aos-Dana MacShithich, 'Tha sgeul agam, 's cha chùis ghàire' [my translation]; see BG, 4644, 4626. 'Is maith mo leaba is olc mo shuain', §1 [my translation]; see *Leabhar na Feinne: Heroic Gaelic Ballads collected in Scotland chiefly from 1512-1871*, ed. John Francis Campbell (London: Spottiswoode and Co, 1872), p.211.

¹⁵ MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, p.114.

fluctuated somewhat in both the access the clans got and the reception they received from Charles II, but these cultural and political arenas certainly remained live concerns for some of the Scottish Gaelic elite. Furthermore the internal politics of the Gàidhealtachd and the necessity to retain a united front continued to affect the activities and outlook of the royalist clans, and how they engaged with the Scottish polity. Looking beyond the western seaboard, and even beyond Scotland, Iain Lom remained anxious on behalf of Charles and the royal family's stability within the three kingdoms:

Deir siad uil' 'Ar ceann-riaghlaidh
Rìgh Breatainn 's na h-Eireann,'
Ach dh'fhàg an gnìomharra breugach an glòir.

They [the English Parliament] all say, 'Our sovereign, King of Britain and Ireland,' but their actions have belied their words.¹⁶

For Iain Lom the events of the civil wars demonstrated that the Gaels and the Scots were part of a set of archipelagic political and cultural dynamics, and that Scottish Gaels had to understand their actions within these frameworks.

This necessarily brief overview of some of the salient aspects of clan experience of the Restoration period is intended as an introduction to the main body of this chapter which will focus on literary depictions of the Jacobite movement in Scotland in particular. The subsequent chapter will deal more specifically with concurrent events in Ireland. The Revolution of 1688 and the Jacobite wars that followed in Ireland and Scotland mark another turning point in Gaeldom's relationship with the wider archipelago. The Scottish Gaelic royalist bloc that had emerged during the mid-century civil wars for the most part maintained allegiance to the house of Stuart during the first Jacobite rising. The experience of being in rebellion was not new to many Scottish Gaelic clans, but as in the 1640s, the

¹⁶ Iain Lom, 'Trom euslaint' air m'aigne', 1534-6.

Jacobite rebellion was in the cause of an undeniably legitimate monarch. Jacobitism, like royalism before it, was not the preserve of a single cultural group; its political and cultural pulls cut across British society engaging a gamut of interests ranging from constitutional ideology to religious identity. The work of scholars such as Howard Erskine-Hill, Éamonn Ó Ciardha, and Murray Pittock has encouraged us to examine the cultural dynamics of Jacobitism, to understand it as a political aspiration which could draw within its gravity a whole variety of cultural experiences and expressions in varying ways across the British Isles, and also as a dynamic movement which evolved and changed over time.¹⁷ Furthermore, Jacobite ideology and the historical narratives of the Jacobite risings have been potently remembered and misremembered long after the historical end of Jacobitism as a major force in British politics. The primary focus of this chapter is James Philp's unfinished Latin epic the *Grameid*: a contemporary imaginative exploration of what Jacobitism could mean to a sympathetic Scot in the 1680s and 90s. It is at once a work intent on remembering and memorialising the recent past, but also on mythologizing it. Philp, an Episcopalian from Arbroath, was a participant in the raising of the Scottish Jacobite army in 1689 and its subsequent campaign against the Williamite forces. His highly innovative narrative of that campaign houses a unique poetic imagining of the Gaels and their place within contemporary Scottish and British politics. Whilst the military defeat of the first rising was total, Philp probably envisaged his poem as a cultural victory, perhaps believing as in the words of a later Scot that 'if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of the nation'.¹⁸ Philp's rhetorically expansive and fanciful work

¹⁷ See for example Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause', *Modern Language Studies*, 9:3 (Autumn, 1979), 15-28.

¹⁸ Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1655-1716) quoted in Cairns Craig, 'The Study of Scottish Literature', *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, ed. Ian Brown et. al., 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), I, pp.16-32, p.23.

makes a good counterpoint to the more sober Gaelic and ballad poetry describing the same events, and, as the record of a Scot's encounter with his compatriot Gaels, its forceful reimagination of the cultural boundaries of the archipelago is unique. By looking at this text alongside vernacular Gaelic poetry and Scots ballads a more nuanced picture of the experience of rebellion and the cultural arena of early Jacobitism will emerge, as will some of the fault-lines between Scots and Gaelic interpretations of Scottish experience, history and identity.

3.1: Establishing the historiographical context of Philp's *Grameid* - the Roman, British and Scottish myths

James Philp of Almerieclose (c.1654–1714?) begun his *Grameid* in 1691 and probably worked on it into the early years of the next century. The poem is a neo-Latin epic depicting the Scottish Jacobite rising of 1689 narrated from a staunchly pro-Stuart perspective. It has been called the 'The first great work of Jacobite literature' and 'the last major attempt at a Latin epic written in the British Isles.'¹⁹ Both these claims are now open to challenges with the recent "rediscovery" and publication of the anonymous *Poema de Hibernia*, which, as a neo-Latin epic on the Jacobite wars in Ireland, clearly has fascinating parallels to Philp's work in both context and content. However, Philp's poem certainly remains the most important and unique text to emerge from early Jacobite Scotland.²⁰ Yet despite this, it has received severely limited critical attention or acknowledgement in the three centuries and

¹⁹ Colin Kidd, 'The ideological significance of Scottish Jacobite Latinity', *Culture, politics and society in Britain, 1660-1800*, ed. Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp.110-130, p.133. Murray Pittock, 'Philp, James, of Almerieclose (1654/5–1714x25)', *ODNB*.

²⁰ See Chapter Four for a detailed discussion of this text.

more since it was written.²¹ Philp, a committed Episcopalian and otherwise seemingly sedate member of the landed gentry of Arbroath, opposed the Williamite coup of 1688 and the Scottish Convention of Estates' accommodation with the new Williamite monarchy. He became the standard bearer for his kinsman John Graham of Claverhouse, 1st Viscount Dundee, for the duration of his campaign against the Scottish Williamite forces in the failed 1689 rising, and was briefly imprisoned in the years following it. Written as an ardent defence of the Stuart monarchy and in admiration of the eponymous Graham, Philp's poem eulogises Dundee's action on behalf of his king, and mourns the collapse of the three kingdoms of Britain into civil war. Of particular interest here, and the focus of this current study, is Philp's significant, and at times unique, imagining of the Scottish landscape and peoples, and his mobilisation of Scottish and British histories and mythologies to create an epic texture to his poem. His work is not a mere chronicle of the rising; his highly charged poetic register and his rich imagination lay new ground for thinking and talking about Scotland. The use of a classical form and language by a politically sympathetic Lowlander to describe events, places, and peoples in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd offers a singular perspective on the Scottish polity and the events of the Jacobite rising, as well as its subsequent mythologizing. Furthermore, the chronicling and poeticising of the military exploits of another Graham (Dundee was a kinsman of James Graham, Marquess of Montrose) amongst the Gaels and against opponents of the house of Stuart, from a non-

²¹ It found an early admirer in Drummond of Balhaddy, who clearly had access to it when writing the corresponding narrative of his *Memoirs of Lochiell*, and attempted some translations in heroic couplets (pp.235-250). Philp's only editor, the Episcopalian Rev. Alexander D. Murdoch, traces the discernible manuscript history of the poem through various Episcopalian ecclesiastics, antiquaries, and the Scottish Advocates Library; see Murdoch, 'Preface', *The Grameid an heroic poem descriptive of the campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689*, ed. Alexander D. Murdoch, Scottish History Society Volume III (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1888), pp.ix-xlvi, xxvii-xxxiv.

Gaelic perspective offers a useful point of comparison to the Gaelic poetry of the civil wars discussed above.²²

Murdoch, Houghton, and Pittock have all to greater or lesser degrees emphasised the classical models used by Philp. Murdoch notes that 'Virgil has evidently been so thoroughly studied and absorbed by our author, that his parodies have often the freedom of spontaneity'.²³ Pittock argues that 'In defiance of claims of a bloodless "Glorious" Revolution, Philp's work emphasizes Lucanian darkness and violence as a counterbalance to its Vergillian promise of hope and restoration,' and Houghton reads in Philp's opening lines a 'programmatic parallel [with Lucan's *Pharsalia*], which underlies the repeated references to civil conflict throughout the later text.'²⁴ This classical underpinning is undeniable and the prism of references, homages, and departures is vital to our understanding of Philp's work, and indeed was clearly key to his own processes of composition. Indeed, in many ways, the entire tradition of European epic from Virgil onwards is generically self-referential, and this can be used to build a generic glue of associations which simultaneously strengthen continuities and emphasise original departures. This is evident from the first line: 'Bella Caledonios civiliaque arma per agros' which not only recalls Lucan's 'Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos' but in its deployment of both 'bella' and 'arma' yokes together the main themes of Lucan and Virgil.²⁵ Philp's opening lines set forth the content and the tone of the poem. The theme is

²² The legacy of Montrose is warmly embraced by the poet and he becomes a richly typological figure of opposition to tyranny and Scottish patriotism. See Philp, *Grameid*, 2.61-64.

²³ Murdoch, 'Preface', *The Grameid*, p.xxxvii.

²⁴ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p.40. L. B. T. Houghton, "Lucan in the Highlands: James Philp's *Grameid* and the traditions of ancient epic", *Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles*, ed. L. B. T. Houghton, Gesine Manuwald (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2012), pp.190-207, p.191.

²⁵ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.1. Lucan, *The Civil War*, 1.1. See also Houghton, "Lucan in the Highlands", p.192.

given as 'Bella Caledonios civiliaque arma' ['Scottish wars, and civil strife'], and the hero and his mission are established as

Magnanimumque Ducem, pulso pro Rege cientem
Arma, acresque viros, ipsumque in saeva ruentem
Vulnera terribilemque in belli pulvere Gramum
Ingentemque heroem animis armisque potentem

And we sing the noble Leader, calling brave men to arms for an exiled King,
and himself rushing to meet cruel wounds. We sing the mighty Graham,
the great Hero, terrible in the dust of battle, mighty in spirit and arms.²⁶

Deliberately echoing Lucan, 1.8, Philp asks 'Quis novus arctoum nunc o furor excitat orbem? / Sollicitatque feros in barbara bella Britannos/ Ire iterum?' ['Oh! what new madness now excites the northern world, and tempts fierce Britons into barbarous wars?'].²⁷ As Houghton points out, the world of Philp is very much the epic world of the Latin poets, and the classical dichotomies of 'furor' and 'pietas' shape the moral universe of the poem.²⁸ The insanity and the fierceness of the British peoples is repeatedly stressed by Philp as well as the full horror of civil war:

Sed fera barbaries, cognato sanguine gaudens,
Exuit humanos, O secli infamia! mores.
Proh scelus! horrendos malesana Britannia motus
Concipit, et diros ardet renovare furores,
In sua damna ruens; nunc ira furorque tumultus
Concitat insanos, et tristia trudit ad arma.

But fierce barbarism rejoicing in brothers' blood casts off all human feeling.
Oh infamy of the age! Oh shame! Insane Britain conceives fearful revolution,
and burning in desire to renew past fury, rushes to her own destruction.²⁹

²⁶ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.4-7. Alexander Murdoch's *Grameid* is closer to a paraphrase than a full translation and frequently compresses or occludes the elaborate descriptive elements of Philp's verse. I have opted to retain Murdoch's readings by and large, but wherever there are errors, or if it obscures or overly compresses the original, I have supplied my own. All references are to Murdoch's translation except when explicitly stated otherwise.

²⁷ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.9-11.

²⁸ Houghton, "Lucan in the Highlands", p.193.

²⁹ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.38-43.

As above, the emphasis on the 'renewal' of civil war is linked with the condemnation of it as insanity, a hubristic failure to learn from the recent mistakes of the 1640s and 50s. The legacy of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms clearly shaped the understanding of 1688 and the Williamite wars, and the recurrence of an exiled king and another Graham leading the royalist charge clearly indicated a cyclical interpretation of history to Philp's imagination. Of the few critical engagements with Philp's work, Murray Pittock's reading of the poem has probably been the most influential. Pittock sees in the forgotten epic an instance of a wider Jacobite appropriation of Virgillian imagery. In his words, 'the forceful image of an exiled Aeneas, a dispossessed Augustus, was developed rapidly by Jacobite writers.'³⁰ Pittock's broader suggestions of an Aenean typology that could be applied to the exiled Stuarts are apt and insightful, and indeed many of the details of the *Grameid* support this argument.

Alongside the Virgillian and Lucanian elements, another set of referents underpins this text and, though comparatively under-analysed, these are equally vital to our understanding of its meaning and its strategies for representing contemporary Britain. This is the Scottish historiographical tradition of the likes of Hector Boece and George Buchanan. This tradition located the foundation of the Scottish kingdom in the mythical arrival of Fergus from Ireland and his establishment of a line of kings which stretched to the Stuarts. This was held by many to contradict and oppose Geoffrey of Monmouth's mythology, espoused in much English historiography, of the Trojan, Bruttian establishment of an original pan-Britannic imperium.³¹ The scholarly wrangle between (and within) these

³⁰ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p.38.

³¹ For the two most influential Scottish narratives of Fergus's arrival in Scotland see: Hector Boethius, *Scotorum Historia* (Paris, 1575), 1.19-21. and George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (Edinburgh, 1582), 2.18. The *locus classicus* for the Bruttian narrative is Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (c. 1136); see *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1973), pp.53-74.

two conflicting traditions could underpin greater political tensions. The Brutus myth was often trotted out in support of the English crown's claim to hold original suzerainty over Scotland. Conversely, the Fergusian myth was promulgated by Scottish patriots in a 'a quite deliberate attempt to scotch imperialist history emanating from the English court'.³² As shall be discussed presently, the deft deployment of both the Bruttian and Fergusian narratives by Philp forms a key paradigm in which to read the poem and is often in concert with the typological stress created by his utilisation of Virgillian and Lucanian models.

Despite its subject matter, or rather because of it, the poem maintains an almost unbroken pacific emphasis throughout. Longing for war is deemed 'insani,' but, if Britain must war, the poet asks why war cannot be on behalf of Christendom against the 'Getae' ['Turks/Tartars'] who are besieging the 'Pannonii' ['Hungarians'], or to conquer the 'Ethiopae' and 'Mauri' ['Ethiopians and Moors'].³³ A new Crusade is mooted as a means of diverting the martial ardour of the Britons:

O invicti animi juvenes pia ducite signa
In Mahometicolas, quaque omnipotentis Iesu
Busta Dei repetenda vocant,

Oh! Youths of unconquered spirit! carry your pious banners against the
Moslem, where the Sepulchre of Jesus, the Almighty God, calls you to
recover it.³⁴

In contrast to this pious hope, Philp queries of the events of 1688 'Haecne fides Superum? Restaurataeque verendus /Relligionis honos,' ['Is this religion? Is this the glory of the Reformed Faith?'].³⁵ The issue of religious identity is further touched on by Philp declaring his belief that Calvinism:

³² Roger A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brut: Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth Century Britain', *Scotland and England 1286-1815*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), pp.60-84, p.64.

³³ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.20-24.

³⁴ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.29-31.

³⁵ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.62-3.

At simulata fides, pridemque renata Genevae
[...]
Brutigenumque dolis tria Regna coercet iniquis

the false faith, previously reborn of Geneva [...] encompasses the three
Kingdoms of the British with treacheries.³⁶

Within this outpouring of despair, which persists through most of Book One, Philp deploys a complex terminology for talking about Britain which is key to his negotiation of the different mythical histories available. Philp refers to the British as 'Brutigenum' i.e. the descendants of Brutus. If this equates to an acceptance of the Trojan foundation, it is an irony that Philp opposes the 'Hectoridum' ['Romans' [literally 'the descendants of Hector']] to the 'Brutigenum' ['British'].³⁷ The Trojan pedigree of both is highlighted here as if to explicitly make the British cousins of Romans – perhaps this is a conscious hint towards the folly of civil war. The romanisation of the ancient Britons and/or their Saxon successors has a long history in the historiographical discourses and controversies of English letters, but the Scottish tradition did not fit easily into these dynamics.³⁸ Philp – as with other contemporary Scottish and Irish writers – maintains the primacy of the Fergusian tradition in reference to the Stuarts:

Satis est, jam martia tellus
Fergusique domus, miseranda vel hostibus ipsis
Concidit, et propriis a culmine vertitur armis.

It is enough! The martial land and house of Fergus fall, by their own arms,
an object of pity even to an enemy.³⁹

³⁶ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.146, 148 [my translation].

³⁷ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.17-18.

³⁸ See Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, pp.115-140.

³⁹ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.79-81. See also Roderic O'Flaherty, *Ogygia: or, A chronological account of Irish events*, trans. J. Hely, 2 vols (Dublin, 1793), i, pp.228-292. O'Flaherty records the establishment of Dalriada by Fergus and the descent of Scottish/British kings down to Charles II. It is worth noting however that neither of the two extant bardic poems to a Stuart monarch, Ferghal Óg Mac an Bháird's 'Trí coróna i gcairt Shéamais' and Eochaidh Ó hEódhasa's 'Mór theasda dh'obair Óivid', make a connection between the House of Stuart and the House of Fergus.

The 'land and house of Fergus' refers at least to some part of Scotland and most certainly to the Britannic house of Stuart. Roger Mason has discussed Scottish attempts to harmonise the two foundation traditions, arguing that 'while there were many Scots who sought to discredit the British History, there were some who sought to domesticate it – or rather to domesticate Scotland within it.'⁴⁰ Philp's treatment of the material seems to shy away from either Scottish contempt for the Brutus myth, or an attempt at 'domesticating' the Fergusian foundation to the Bruttian. Pittock suggests that Philp 'shows a tendency to alternate between Anglo-British and Scottish foundation-myths'.⁴¹ It is possible though that there is something more at work here, and that a compromised and nuanced accommodation of both is developed throughout the poem. Philp definitely does utilise both but invariably manages with much deftness to integrate the two narratives in a way which preserves their unique distinctions. The imperialistic overtones of the Brutus/Arthur narrative are emphasised to highlight moments of Scottish-British tension, yet it is the House of Fergus whom history has proved the victor, as it is his descendant James who has the rightful claim to imperium over the 'Brutigenum'. Indeed Charles II is described as

gloria Regum
Prisca Caledonii soboles, stirpsque inclyta Scoti,
Atque sagittiferi decus immortale Britanni

the glory of the kingly race, primitive stock of Caledonia, illustrious stem of the Scots, unfading ornament of the arrow-bearing Briton.⁴²

The link to Scotland is necessary and ancient, whilst that to the wider British peoples is contingent.

⁴⁰ Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', p.62.

⁴¹ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p.39.

⁴² Philp, *Grameid*, 5.672-674.

Like the Scottish historiographers before him who promoted the Fergus narrative, Philp takes particular pride in Scotland's antique royal house, and its record (dubious) of never having been conquered. Indeed for Philp, as for the historians before him, it was the special

Gloria Scotorum

[...]

Imperiis nunquam externi parere tyranni
Nec tolerare jugum, aut dominis servire superbis
Sueta, nec injecto servilia vincula collo
Passa, nec hostiles errare impune maniplos,
Scotia plebeios nec gesserat inclyta fasces,
Substitit hic domito Romana potentia mundo;
Atque triumphatis utroque a cardine terris
Scotia limes erat, Romanaque repulit arma.

The Glory of the Scots

[...]

Never to yield to the empires of foreign tyrants, nor to bear the yoke, or accustomed to be slaves to arrogant lords, nor to suffer the servile chain around their necks, nor had renowned Scotland born plebeian fasces, nor had she come under the harsh laws of an enemy; here halted Roman sovereignty over a beaten world, Roman arms were here repelled, and the border of Scotland was a limit to their triumphs.⁴³

Pittock perceptively reads such boasting in the context of Calgacus' much vaunted defence of Scotland against the Romans, and Philp continues a theme that had followed Calgacus down the ages.⁴⁴ For Philp, the purity of Scottish independence had subsequently been guaranteed against the 'Cymbri, 'Angli, and 'Dani ['Britons, Angles/English, and the Danes'].⁴⁵ The royal house is praised as reigning 'bis mille per annos, / Centum sex proavi Reges' ['a hundred and six ancestral kings [...] for twice a thousand years'].⁴⁶ Whilst the

⁴³ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.486-496 [my translation].

⁴⁴ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p.41. See Tacitus, *Agricola*, 30-32.

⁴⁵ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.497-498. Murdoch renders 'Cimbri' as the 'Britons' deriving from the Medieval Latin term for Wales, 'Cambria'. It could also possibly denote 'Cimbrorum' the Germanic tribe. Murdoch's reading has the advantage of reinforcing Philp's genealogical distinction between Scotland and the Britons, but either may be possible.

⁴⁶ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.504-505.

Scottish monarchy is presented as uniquely stable, and the geographical territory of 'Scotia' is distinct by its very impermeability – it is indeed an absolute defining limit to other powers – the people of Scotland are more elusive and more prone to terminological slippage. Philp's terms for the inhabitants of Scotland, though varied, seem indifferent; there is little to differentiate between: 'Scotigenam' ['the Scottish race'], 'Caledonii' ['Caledonians'], 'Scotis' ['Scots'].⁴⁷ A more exact nomenclature develops around the Fergusian myth itself. There is an emphatic clustering of terms establishing a link between the 'Fergusiadae' ['sons of Fergus'], the 'Grampigenae' ['sons of the Grampians' [my translation]], and the 'Monticolae' [Highlanders'].⁴⁸ Related to this cluster of terms is the royal house itself which is regularly referred to as the House of Fergus. Through his terminology he explicitly depicts within Scotland an authentic Fergusian residuum which is specifically associated with the contemporary Gaels. Any reference to the glory of the Scots more generally is located in the past and is indeed deliberately contrasted with the present:

Sed nunc degeneres animi nil praeter inanes
Gloriolae fumos, et inertem nominis umbram.

But now we, degenerate men, possess nothing but the empty vapour of
glory, the dim shadow of a name.⁴⁹

The irony of this position is neatly encapsulated by Colin Kidd who argues that Gaeldom 'which in practice constituted the periphery of the Scottish nation, and was treated accordingly in the public policy of an anti-pluralist centre, continued – as its recognised aboriginal heartland – to define Scotland's identity and the historical legitimacy of its

⁴⁷ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.508, 1.536, 1.509.

⁴⁸ Philp, *Grameid*, 4.471, 3.344, 2.188.

⁴⁹ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.522-523.

institutions'.⁵⁰ Whilst this is true in the main for seventeenth century Scotland, the reliance on Fergusian history largely became a Jacobite endeavour after the 1688 revolution.

3.2: A Scots 'Ennius' amongst the Gaels

The 'vaporousness' of contemporary Scotland and the Scots is to be contrasted with the physical solidity of the Gaels and their abode, and it is these that dominate Philp's text. The narrative of the *Grameid* follows Dundee from the Convention of Estates in Edinburgh on his journeys to Dundee, Inverness, and Lochaber, and his final approach towards Killiecrankie where the text abruptly cuts off – unfinished. Dundee's travels on behalf of the king take him to the heart of mainland Gaeldom:

O Fergusiadum semper domus ardua regum
Abria, magnorumque altrix animosa virum gens

O lofty Lochaber, always a home for the Kings of Fergus' line, already the
bold nurse of great men.⁵¹

The journeys of the great royalist general, accompanied by his poet are compared to that of the Scipio Africanus and the pre-Virgillian epic poet Ennius: 'Sic medio bellorum in turbine fortem / Scipiadem ipse pater stipaverat Ennius olim' ['Thus did Father Ennius amid the storms of war, follow the heroic Scipio'].⁵² Whilst eulogy of his hero is the primary purpose

⁵⁰ Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism*, p.127.

⁵¹ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.448-449.

⁵² Philp, *Grameid*, 2.149-150. Francesco Petrarch in his Latin Epic *L'Africa* (1501) recounts Ennius's eulogistic motivations:

Hoc igitur mecum indignans sub mente movebam
Precones meritos tua quod notissima virtus
Non habitura foret. [...]
Non parva profecto
Est claris fortuna viris habuisse poetam
Altisonis qui carminibus cumulare decorem
Virtutis queat egregie monumentaque laudum.

of Philp's work, it is perhaps most powerful as a poetic penetration into the Highlands by men describing in wonder (admixed with horror) entirely new experiences and sights.

Dundee and his march to Inverness is described in vaulting tones:

Alipedum iam Marte ferox rapit agmen equorum,
Et petit aerios, Grampi trans culmina, montes
Ad boream, aeternis horrentiaque arva pruinis,
Martia Grampiacos ut mittat in arma colonos
Legitimi quibus est nomen venerabile Regis.

Now roused to war, he carries his troop of wing-footed horse over the Grampians, through regions of perpetual frost. He seeks those lands that he may send forth the sons of the hills in martial enterprise. In them was a reverence for the name of the lawful King.⁵³

In Philp's poetic imagination, the Grampians (which seem to stand for all the mountain ranges of north and west Scotland) form a permanent boundary of ice and cold. This sense of a discrete and bounded zone is enforced a few lines further in the description of the movements of the opposing general, Hugh MacKay of Scourie: 'Interea arctois M'Kaius appulit oris, Jussus ad extremos boreae penetrare recussus' ['Meanwhile MacKay advances towards the North, with orders to penetrate to its utmost bounds'].⁵⁴ This is juxtaposed with the tilled lands of the Scottish east coast that Dundee passes by: 'Ad Bacchi Cererisque insignem munere Ketham' ['We come to Keith, famous for the gifts of Bacchus and Ceres'], and 'Tandem inter dulces Forressae insedimus agros, / Monstrat frugiferas ubi laeta Moravia messes' ['At length we rest mid the sweet fields of Forres, where gladsome Moray is wont to

It was indeed this thought that moved my heart
To indignation: that your peerless worth
Would find no proper eulogist. [...]
Indeed

It's no small thing for famous men to know
A poet skilled in use of lofty verse
To sing their virtues and proclaim their praise.

Latin Text: Francesco Petrarca, *L'Africa*, ed. Nicola Festa (Florence: Sansoni, 1926), 9.49-51, 54-7. Translation: *Africa*, ed. Thomas G Bergin and Alice S. Wilson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977).

⁵³ Philp, *Grameid*, 2.161-165.

⁵⁴ Philp, *Grameid*, 2.173-4.

show her rich harvests’].⁵⁵ Whilst the geographical contrast between the ice-bound north and the tilled, ordered and bountiful lowlands is stark, the cultural and political arenas are recognised as being more entangled as we are told that MacKay had previously served militarily under James VII, now his enemy, and that he was himself a native Gaelic speaker.⁵⁶

The emphasis of the geographical distinction is not a simple dichotomy of good and bad, civil and barbarous – although there are elements of this – but rather a nuanced, and highly original, poetic imagining of the spaces of Scottishness takes place. The journey to Lochaber and the description of its environs is the highpoint of this poetic conception. On the exposed Rannoch Moor, the scene is one of otherworldly desolation, which though certainly hyperbolic, contains a sentiment perhaps psychologically credible for a comfortably settled member of the landed gentry of Arbroath. Led on by the indomitable Dundee the loyal band enter a new zone of experience:

Verna licet patulos vestiret gloria campos,
Tyndaridumque polo sidus praefulserit alto,
Membra pruinosis convellimus algida stratis;
Incompti glacie horrentes riguere capilli,
Diraque ab intonsis pendebat stiria barbis.

Although the spring-time glory adorned the wide-sweeping plains, and the constellation of the Tyndaridae may have shone forth in the lofty heavens, we wrench our cold limbs from their frosty coverlets, our dishevelled hair is standing on end and grown stiff with ice, and cruel icicles hung down from our beards.⁵⁷

The march across the Highlands takes Dundee's troop past the realms of normal human experience and requires the superhuman dedication of their leader:

Jamque viam carpit, scopulosaeque ardua rupis,
Excelsoque apices scandit, praeruptaque saxa,
Perpetuo damnata gelu, loca nullius ante
Trita pede, et nullis equitum calcata catervis.

⁵⁵ Philp, *Grameid*, 2.247, 2.253-254.

⁵⁶ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.378-382.

⁵⁷ Philp, *Grameid*, 2.698-702 [my translation].

Tristiaque aeternum spirantes frigora montes
 Tranat, et exesis juga cautibus invia transit.
 Rupibus imposuitque jugum, caeloque minantes
 Submisit scopulos, et ferrea claustra reclusit
 Naturae, celsos et saxa aequantia nimbos
 Transiit aereis volucrum vix pervia pennis.

And now he follows the path and clambers up the heights of rocky cliffs and of lofty summits, and scales broken precipices. Regions damned to perpetual snow, and never before trodden by the foot of man or horse. He sails across mountains eternally exhaling gloomy winter, and crosses inaccessible ridges. Summits of rock, threatening to heaven, submitted to him, and he opens the iron bolts of nature. He crossed over rocky places reaching as high as the lofty clouds, hardly traversed by the airy wings of birds.⁵⁸

These passages demonstrate the efforts Philp went to describe and magnify the experience of a Lowland band caught up in the Highlands. Against this Philp paints a negative picture of the mundane farmlands of the Lowlands, we are told that Dundee

Posthabitis patuli trepidis cultoribus agri,
 Ignavum bello genus, et mercedibus emptum;
 Turbamque imbellem, molles et spernit agrestes

Despised the Lowland race, slow to war and ready for a bribe – the cowardly herd of easy-going rustics, the faithless inhabitants of the well-tilled lands.⁵⁹

In an inversion of classic spatial poetics, the dispraise of the pastoral and the rural space forms a kind of anti-Georgic.⁶⁰ With an eye on his epic models, Philp echoes the epic trope of the descent into the underworld to emphasise how far beyond the boundaries of history they have travelled:

Haec loca Martigenae nunquam videre Quirites
 Non Cimbri furor, aut rabiosi Saxonis arma
 Attigerant; non ipse suo sol lumine lustrat.

⁵⁸ Philp, *Grameid*, 2.703-712 [my translation].

⁵⁹ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.206-208.

⁶⁰ I am grateful to Dr Sebastian Mitchell for this suggestion.

Roman, Cimbrian, Saxon, ne'er reached so far, and here the sun itself
scarce darts a ray.⁶¹

Philp is constantly at pains to point to the epic scale of contemporary exploits, and the actions of his hero frequently surpass the classical models he cherished. As Houghton notes 'the sheer scale of the arena in which the action of *Grameid* is played out dwarfs even the most gargantuan expeditions known to the ancient world, or conceived by the literary imagination'.⁶² That being said, Philp's use of space and boundaries resonates with Lucan's geography of civil war. The penetration of boundaries, geographical, cultural, and ethical, is a key feature of Lucan's poetics. As Micah Y. Myers argues

Instead of seeing the Roman world as delineated by center and periphery, Lucan's civil war paradigm focuses his poem on the major characters of his epic—Pompey, Caesar, and Cato—whom he flings to the edges of the world and brings together in cataclysmic conflicts. With the exception of the triumphantly destructive Caesar, these conflicts render the boundaries of empire and of individuals alike unrecognizable.⁶³

Philp's focus on the liminal geographical space of the Gàidhealtachd goes hand in hand with his re-ordering of Scotland's ethnic and cultural boundaries and with his depiction of a country consumed by civil war.

We are told that 'Hannibal haud tanto contrivit saxa labore / Cum flamma aereas et aceto rumperet Alpes' (Hannibal, with less labour, clave his way, by vinegar and flame across the lofty Alps).⁶⁴ Unlike Hannibal, who crossed the Alps as a would-be conqueror, Dundee's arrival in Lochaber to raise the king's party is pictured as a return to a right pattern and right relationship with the land: 'Abria jam gremio Gramum accipit ardua laeto' ['Gladly Lochaber

⁶¹ Philp, *Grameid* 2.720-722. See the previous note on Philp's usage of the 'Cimbri' and possible interpretations.

⁶² Houghton, 'Lucan in the Highlands', p.201.

⁶³ Micah Y. Myers, 'Lucan's Poetic Geographies: Center and Periphery in Civil War Epic', *Brill's Companion to Lucan*, ed. Paolo Asso (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), pp.399-415, p.401.

⁶⁴ Philp, *Grameid*, 2.713-714.

receives the Graham into her bosom.’]⁶⁵ Viewing with awe the vista of Lochaber, Dundee's party look on the almost blasphemous mass of Ben Nevis:

vel qua Balnavius ingens
Emicat, et salebris, durique crepidine saxi
Arduus, et magno attollens fastigia mole
Exsurgentem apicem stellanti immittit Olympo;

Here noble and steep Ben Nevis springs from the rutted ground, and, from
her foundations of cruel rock, a swelling mass of slopes and exalting peaks
she hurls into starry Olympus.⁶⁶

It would be anachronistic to think of Philp writing in a Romantic mode – he predates such aesthetics by half a century – but, under the auspices of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux's 1674 translation, Longinus's first century treatise *On the Sublime* was beginning to influence European aesthetics towards prioritising eliciting a heightened emotional response in readers.⁶⁷ Philp certainly sets out to create an epic Highland landscape designed to stir wonder in his readers. Not only is this an early instance of the aesthetic of the sublime influencing archipelagic literature, it is a nuanced depiction of the Highland landscape that is wholly unique for its time. By going beyond classical tropes of pastoral space, and moving into an ambiguous area of wildness, Philp's use of space and place is a new phenomenon in Scottish letters.⁶⁸ It certainly predates the depiction of rural and pastoral spaces in the poetry of Allan Ramsay, James Thomson, or Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair.⁶⁹ Like his

⁶⁵ Philp, *Grameid*, 2.729.

⁶⁶ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.16-19 [my translation].

⁶⁷ Longinus defines the five sources of sublimity as ‘grand conceptions’, ‘inspiration of vehement emotion’, ‘figures of thought and figures of speech’, ‘nobility of language’, and ‘dignified and elevated word arrangement.’ *On the Sublime*, in *Aristotle: Poetics, Longinus: On the Sublime, Demetrius: On Style*, pp.143-307, 8.1. An English translation by the parliamentarian supporter John Hall, published in 1652, may have been known to Philp. Hall was not unconnected with Scottish letters, having been responsible for the editing and publishing of Drummond of Hawthornden's *History of Scotland* in London in 1655. See Longinus, *Peri hypsous: or Dionysius Longinus of the height of eloquence*, ed. John Hall (London, 1652).

⁶⁸ For a fuller discussion of Classical epic use of geographies see James S. McIntyre, ‘Written into the landscape: Latin epic and the landmarks of literary reception’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 2008), pp.1-87.

⁶⁹ Louisa Gairn, ‘Nature, Landscape and Rural Life’, *International Companion to Scottish Poetry*, ed. Carla Sassi (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2015), pp.132-143, pp.133-135.

description of Ben Nevis itself, Philp's hexameters attempt to soar up and up into peaks of rhetorical excess.

The sight of Ben Nevis draws two related exclamations from the observers:

meta est certe ultima longe
Abria terrarum, quascunque liquentibus ulnis
Astrorum nutrix amplectitur Amphitrite.

Lochaber, surely, is the extremity of that earth, which Amphitrite, nurse of the stars, holds in her watery bosom.⁷⁰

And this is then extended:

Jam certe extremis terrarum insedimus oris,
Obris et arctoi fines, spatia ultima mundi
Emensi, terras longinqua sede repostas
Oceani, penitusque alio sub sidere gentes
Vidimus indomitas, toto et procul orbe revulsas
Hebridas, et populos incinctos cernimus usque
Montibus aëreis, gelidoque sub axe jacentes.

We have surely come to the limits of the North, and to those islands where indomitable races of men have settled under another sky, the Hebrides – torn off from the rest of the world. We see around us people enclosed by lofty mountains, under a bitter climate.⁷¹

The extremity of this position at the edge of the map is linked directly to the type of people that can dwell there. Philp's 'Grampigenae' ['children of the Grampians'] are given a distinct genealogy and appearance, linking them to their surroundings in a unique way. Philp talks about their 'Gorgonei' ['Gorgon'] eyes, he describes them as 'picta croco, glastoque infecta' ['painted with yellow and woad' [my translation]] – a description which could refer to clothing or tattooing or both – and compares them to 'gigantes' ['giants'], 'immanesque Scythae' ['immense Scythians' [my translation]] and the 'pictos Agathyrsos'

⁷⁰ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.43-45.

⁷¹ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.50-56.

[‘painted Agathyrsi’].⁷² These descriptions blend together various classical descriptions of barbarism, as well as contemporary ethnography.⁷³ They are ‘nudi humeris, nudique pedes’ [‘naked as to feet and shoulders,’] and much of their vast, painted bodies, and monstrous faces are fully revealed to the onlooker.⁷⁴ Though the barbarism of the grotesque body is perhaps slightly softened by the classical martial nudity of the Gael, this description ties them into the immense strangeness of their habitat, and makes them unmistakably other and different from the poet and his audience. In his study of classical epics, James McIntyre aptly terms this phenomenological linkage of landscape and people as an ‘ecopoetics,’ and Philp’s sublime ‘ecopoetics’ of the Gaels and Gàidhealtachd consistently emphasise the unity of place and people.⁷⁵

Having penetrated to Lochaber, the utmost rim of the earth, Philp proceeds to describe a unique mythological origin for the Gaels:

Olim siderea cum nondum sede potitus
 Jupiter, aut patrio pulsus Saturnus Olympo,
 Fama refert vacuos sine tecto errasse per agros
 Semiferum genus hoc hominum, et si credere dignum,
 Gens erat illa prior Luna, et radiantibus astris,
 Quae nata e ramis, et duri robore trunci
 Sponte sua ad terram, Zephyro motante cadebat.

The story goes, that before Jupiter possessed the throne, or Saturn was driven from Olympus, this semi-barbarous race was already wandering naked in these desolate regions, and (if it may be believed) that it existed before the moon and the light-giving stars, and that it sprang spontaneous from the branches and trunk of the oak, and by the movement of the zephyrs was shaken to the ground.⁷⁶

⁷² Philp, *Grameid*, 3.69, 3.72-4. See Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.146. ‘Picta’ is perhaps deliberately reminiscent of the ‘Picts’.

⁷³ See Murdoch, *Grameid*, p.83n for discussion of seventeenth century linking of the ancient Picts and the modern Gaels. See also Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism*, p.61 for discussion of early modern genealogies of the Gaels that tied them to the Goths.

⁷⁴ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.75.

⁷⁵ McIntyre, *Written into the landscape*, p.3.

⁷⁶ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.85-91.

There are several things to note about this description: the Gaels are said to be ‘semifer’ [‘semi-barbarous’], they are a pre-Saturnian race originating before the Hesiodic or Ovidian Ages of Man; and, falling outside of all normative origins, they are an essential emanation of their own ‘vacuos agros’ [‘desolate regions.’] Their generation is likened to the ‘hyperboreis anser silvester’ [‘wild goose of the North’] i.e. the barnacle geese which in medieval and early modern bestiaries were said to originate from barnacles hanging from rotten wood – ‘Sic fere Grampiadum stirps edita frondibus, altis/ Ut ramis delapsa solum simul attigit, artus, / Induit humanos, vitalesque hauserat auras’ [‘So – it is said – did the fierce races of the Grampians spring from the leaves, and falling from the branches, assumed human form and life on touching the soil’].⁷⁷ This race is described as ‘Monstrum informe, ingens, seu cruda Libistidis ursae / Progenies’ [‘monstrous, mis-shapen, immense, as the rough progeny of the Libyan bear’], and were ‘nulla arte politum’ [‘polished by no art’].⁷⁸ The natural, original shape and state of the Gaels is pre-human, beastly, and uncivilised.

This history is all of Philp's own imagining; no other comparable myths come down from the Scots and certainly not from the Gaels themselves, but Philp then welds his rough beasts into the Fergusian narrative:

Tandem decursi post longa volumina sêcli,
Primus ab aequorea veniens Fergusus lerna
Prisca Caledonii posuit fundamina Regni

At length, after the long lapse of ages, Fergus the First, coming from sea-girt Ireland, laid the foundation of the Caledonian Kingdom.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.92, 3.102-104.

⁷⁸ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.105-106.

⁷⁹ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.121-123.

Fergus's landing is the transformational moment that clothes the 'Grampigenae' with human dignity. At first we are told that

Et sibi belligeras late victricibus armis
Addiderat gentes, terrasque in fronte Britannae
Dorides imperio, et magna ditione tenebat.
Martius at juveni postquam deferbuit ardor,
Jam meliora sequens, et rebus pace sequestra
Compositis, placidas sese convertit ad artes.

Under his sway he brought the warlike races of the [British] sea-board, and when martial ardour had cooled, he guided his people into the peaceful arts.⁸⁰

On the 'Britannae' sea-coast, and amongst the British peoples, Fergus is figured as a benign conqueror administering 'Jura aequa' ['just laws'] to the subjugated peoples.⁸¹ However there is a more sinister side to this colonisation and civilising of barbarity. On 'Audierat gentem indomitam per secula celsis / Insedisse jugis' ['hearing that [in Lochaber] an indomitable race had been established for ages'] Fergus was 'subito inflammatus amore / Augendi imperii fines' ['suddenly inflamed with desire to increase the bounds of empire'].⁸² The Abrians are treated as 'saevas' ['wild beasts'] and are surrounded on Ben Nevis where:

Implicuitque plagis laqueisque ingentibus, illi
Clamores tollunt horrendos, unde profundae.
Insonuere umbrae, crebrisque ululatibus ingens
Silva gemit, resonantque cavis e vallibus antra.

He hemmed them in a mighty web and snare from whence they raise an awful wailing. The shadows discharge clamours and the mighty wood groans with constant shrieking till the caves and valleys echo.⁸³

The poet here indirectly describes the gruesome sounds of the massacre, but demurs from depicting Fergus as bloody or brutal, indeed the very next line lauds Fergus in stentorian

⁸⁰ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.124-129.

⁸¹ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.130.

⁸² Philp, *Grameid*, 3.134-135 [my translation].

⁸³ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.153-156 [my translation].

tones as ‘Pater arctoe domitor carissimus orae / Fergusus’ [‘Father of the North, the illustrious lord of the coast’].⁸⁴ In this narrative the ‘Grampigenae’ are treated as a distinct race from the other Britons conquered by Fergus, a race requiring much more brutal modes of pacification.

The ‘Grampigenae’, so often referred to as the ‘sons of Fergus’, are Fergusian only by dint of brutal subjugation and domestication. Subsequently it was Fergus we are told, who instructed them in arts, religion, and agriculture.⁸⁵ In this way the primacy of Fergus and his royal descendants is asserted over the Gaels whom he holds as imperial subjects, whilst his introduction of culture is credited as the origin of their love for their kings.

Indeed their historical royalism is figured as an innate inheritance of gratitude to Fergus:

Hinc et hyperborei magnum Jovis incrementum
Ad natos natorum aeterno foedere surgit,
Et facti decus, et soboli jam rebus egenis
Inconcussa fides manet, aeternumque manebit,
Quam nec longa dies, dubii aut discrimina fati,
Solvere nec possunt violenti fulmina belli,
Ambitiove levis, nec duro mota tumultu
Seditio, aut dubiis anceps fortuna procellis.

Hence, too, this great and never-failing Highland contingent appears to uphold the throne, one generation succeeding another, in glorious deeds and uncontaminated fidelity, and will for ever be steadfast through hardship, changes of fortune, fierce war, and the tumults of sedition.⁸⁶

As Pittock observes, this passage demonstrates that the glorification of the Highland patriot was not ‘a creation of the sham Celtification of nineteenth-century Scotland’.⁸⁷ On the other hand, this is certainly a fascinating volte-face from common Scots’ depictions of the Gaels, which usually emphasised their disobedience to the crown and their disruptive interjections

⁸⁴ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.157-8.

⁸⁵ Philp, *Grameid*, 164-174.

⁸⁶ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.180-187.

⁸⁷ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p.41.

into Scottish civil life. In Philp, however, the Highlander becomes an icon of loyalty to the monarchy:

Sed temeratus honos, et Regum laesa potestas,
 Et civile nefas, vetitique licentia ferri,
 Et struere arte dolos, fraudemque innectere Regi
 Irritatque animum, et generosas provocat iras.
 Gloria quin Regum mentes accendit honestas,
 Et decor infandos impulsat adire labores,
 Pro quibus egregiam haud dubitant per vulnera mortem
 Oppetere, et certae caput objectare ruinae.
 Namque ab avis, et avorum atavis ab origine prima
 Fida leonigeros venerata est Abria Reges.

The defaming of their King, the attack on his power, civil treachery, the purchased desertion of his soldiery, all enrage their minds and provoke a generous wrath. The glory of their King fires their noble minds, and his honour impels to desperate labours, to wounds and death. From their first ancestors, from the origin of the race, they derive their veneration for the lion-bearing kings.⁸⁸

This association of the Gaels with strident loyalty to the crown represents a new reality of archipelagic Scotland. In the civil wars of the mid century, and the Williamite Wars of the 1680s and 90s the royalist Scots Gaels backed the Stuarts for a spectrum of reasons; ranging from cultural and social hierarchal concerns, religio-political fears, to intra-Gaelic pressures such as Caimbéal expansionism. The royalist clans were by-and-large royalists out of pragmatism – although a patriarchal ideology no doubt persisted, it had never stopped clans rebelling against the crown before. Philp's mythology of the loyal Highlander is almost as suspicious as the Romantic Celtification mentioned by Pittock. It erroneously treats the Gaels as a monolithic bloc, ignoring the large variety of religious and political affiliation within Gaeldom, and it rests upon a sham Gaelic mythology which renders them the domesticated subjects of a conquering Fergus rather than the Fergusian

⁸⁸ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.188-197.

conquerors themselves. This is a subtle way of avoiding the slightly embarrassing Gaelic origin of the Scottish crown whilst retaining the positive benefits of the Fergus narrative. The Scottish reuse of actual Gaelic historiography had become divorced from Gaelic usage, and indeed the Gaels of seventeenth century Scotland found much more meaning in their clan identities than as the sons of Fergus.⁸⁹ Alongside this is their attachment to being "Gaelic" itself; as W. J. Watson argued the 'name "Gaelic" is a national name' in a way obscured by the more commonplace geo-cultural term 'Highland'.⁹⁰ A revealing instance of these processes at work is in the distinct treatment of Dundee in the poetry of Iain Lom and Philp. Both depict the assembly of Jacobite clans and both depict Dundee addressing them. Philp's Dundee addresses the clans as the 'magni Fergusi clara propago' ['bright sons of mighty Fergus'], whereas Iain Lom has Dundee address them as 'A chlanna nan Gàidheal' ['Sons of the Gael'].⁹¹ The 'Book of Clanranald' records the Fergus narrative and thus attests to its survival in learned Scottish Gaelic discourses, but the rest of the text focuses wholly on clan history rather than national history, much as wider Scottish historiography was tending to privilege family histories over the national narrative.⁹² The context of revolution and rebellion in which the *Grameid* is set, and during which it was written, required of the author a reassessment of the paradigms of Scottishness, and the many axes upon which a Scottish identity could be negotiated and constituted. In a British context the poet mourns the entanglement of the Scottish and English thrones as this is seen as the cause of the civil wars in Scotland. He yearns for the long-past time when

⁸⁹ See McLeod, *DG*, p.125.

⁹⁰ Watson, 'Morning Session', *Transactions of the Celtic Congress*, quoted in Newton, 'Scotland's Two Solitudes Abroad: Scottish Gaelic Immigrant Identity in North America', p.216.

⁹¹ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.405; Iain Lom, 'Is mithich dhuinn màrsadh as an tìr', 2371. The silent acts of translation here are also fascinating as it seems unlikely that Dundee would have addressed his troops in either Latin or Gaelic.

⁹² 'The Book of Clanranald', *Reliquiae Celticae*, p.150. See also Nicola Royan with Dauvit Broun, 'Versions of Scottish Nationhood, c.850-1707', *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, I, pp.168-183, p.182.

Nec nisi cum saevis Regni pro finibus Anglis
Lis erat, externus vel quando lacerasset hostis.

The quarrel was only with the fierce English for the borders of the
Kingdom, or when an external enemy had assailed us.⁹³

The archipelagic civil wars are mourned not just for the civil blood-letting but the direct threat they have posed to the royal line. In the poem it is most pointedly the English who are accused of plotting against Charles I's 'innocuis natis' ['innocent sons'].⁹⁴

The situation of Williamite Britain remained too complex for Philp to be satisfied with drawing a simple Scottish-English binary. For Philp, the Stuarts were the legitimate monarchs of the Britons and the Caledonians, and, despite his misgivings about the regal union, he continued to advocate a just settlement for all three kingdoms under one monarch. To this end the enemies of the Stuarts are generally denigrated as altogether foreign, thus the Gaelic Williamite general Hugh MacKay is termed 'Batavus' ['the Dutchman'], and William is scorned as a 'Batavus tyrannus' ['Dutch tyrant'].⁹⁵ The categorisation of the Williamite regime as a tyranny runs throughout the poem and is yoked with the 'turbatum Comitium' ['troubled Committee', i.e. the Convention of Estates in Scotland and the Parliament in England]. This tyrannical bureaucracy is opposed to the just rule of the Stuarts who represent the struggle for 'libertas' ['liberty'].⁹⁶ Whilst claims for a Gaelic espousal of the classical values of 'libertas' would be overblown, the poetry of Iain Lom is quick to find fault with the same bureaucratic bodies as Philp:

An comunn ciotalach tlàth
Shuidh an ionad nan Stàt,
Mar *chommitte* chuir Sàtan saoilè riu.

⁹³ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.162-163 [my translation].

⁹⁴ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.188-9.

⁹⁵ Philp, *Grameid*, 2.262, 3.205.

⁹⁶ Philp, *Grameid*, 5.9, 3.437.

That inept vacillating company that have sat in the place of the States of the realm, as a committee Satan has set his seal upon them.⁹⁷

This fulmination against Whiggish institutions could also be combined with a critique of state encroachment on religious worship. In 1689, Aonghas mac Alasdair Ruaidh of Glencoe thought it fit to remind his listeners of the oppressions following the last disruption of the monarchy:

Ri linn Chrombail a dhòirt oirnn,
Móran órduighean aoraidh ;
E fein 's a luchd-leanmhuinn,
'S i gheur-leaumhuinn a leugh iad,
'S o'n a fhuair sinu ar saorsa,
Gur ni faoin e gu 'n géill sinn.

During the time of Cromwell there poured upon us many rules of worship; he and his followers practised persecution. Since we have gained our freedom, it would be a foolish thing for us to yield.⁹⁸

The processes of vilifying William by linking him to a past of Cromwellian religious persecution and a present of corrupted governmental institutions, are completed by a repeated emphasis on the foreignness of the new regime which is a theme shared by Jacobite literature from all genres.⁹⁹ In Iain Lom's invective against William and Mary he exclaims 'Is mairg Rìgh a rinn cleamhnas /Ri Duitseach sanntach gun tròcair' ['Pity the King who made an alliance in marriage with a covetous and merciless Dutchman'], and in a Jacobite ballad circulating shortly after Killiecrankie, the Williamite forces are presented specifically as the 'Hogan Dutch' opposed to 'Clavers and his Highland men'.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Iain Lom, 'An aninm an àigh nì mi tus', 2430-2.

⁹⁸ Aonghas mac Alasdair Ruaidh, ' 'S e do làth'-sa Raoin-Ruairidh', §32 quoted in MacLean, 'The sources, particularly the Celtic sources', p.166.

⁹⁹ See also An Clarsair Dall, 'Séid na builg sin, ghille, dhom', *The Blind Harper (An Clarsair Dall): The Songs of Roderick Morison and his Music*, ed. William Matheson (Edinburgh: SGTS, 1970), ll.337-344.

¹⁰⁰ Iain Lom, 'Oran Air Rìgh Uilleam Agus Banrigh Mairi', 2632-2633; 'Killiecrankie', *Jacobite Songs and Ballads*, ed. Gilbert S. MacQuoid (Nottingham: C. J. Welton, 1888), §1, §5.

The political irony of Philp's choice of a Lucanian rhetorical style and content – albeit with notable Virgillian elements – is that, as Robin Sowerby has argued, Lucan's *Pharsalia* was 'regarded as a radically anti-Augustan poem, antithetical to the *Aeneid* both in theme and form' and indeed 'the political theme of *Pharsalia*, traditionally interpreted as a lament for republican liberties lost in the Roman civil war, seems to have met with a strong resonance in Whig circles in the wake of the 1688 Revolution'.¹⁰¹ Philp clearly felt no aversion to couching a Jacobite epic in Lucanian style and may indeed have been partially inspired by Montrose's well known love of the *Pharsalia*.¹⁰² The opposition of the just 'Rex' and the usurping 'Tyrannus' that occurs throughout Philp's text could be seen to uphold the Lucanian 'lament for republican liberties.' As Pocock has argued, early modern discourses on classical republicanism didn't necessarily envisage an 'acephalous' state, instead an image of an Augustan crowned republic meant a republic could 'remain a *corpus* of which the prince is the head'.¹⁰³ As such, a strident royalism could be couched in Augustan rhetoric which prioritised constitutional legitimacy. In this sense, the 'republicanism' of Lucan's text could be subsumed into a support of the rightful Stuart monarch. Furthermore, as Houghton points out the Stuarts are described not in Lucanian terms of tyranny, but in the Virgillian mode of 'pietas', brightness, and virtue.¹⁰⁴ In Philp this reaches its zenith in the Augustan

¹⁰¹ Robin Sowerby, 'Epic' in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, ed. Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005-), iii, pp.151-172, p.155. See also Philip Hardie, 'Lucan in the English Renaissance', *Brill's Companion to Lucan*, pp.491-506, and Christine Walde, 'Caesar, Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, and their Reception', *Julius Caesar in Western Culture*, ed. Maria Wyke (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), pp.45-61, p.46.

¹⁰² As a schoolboy Montrose wrote in the flyleaves of his copy 'As Macedo his Homer, I'll thee still / Lucan, esteem as my most precious gem,' effectively promising to carry Lucan on all his exploits as Alexander the Great (Macedo) had reputedly carried Homer's works on his. See Robin Bell, *Civil Warrior: The extraordinary life and complete poetical works of James Graham, First Marquis of Montrose, Warrior and Poet, 1612-1650*, (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2002), p.17.

¹⁰³ J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p.339.

¹⁰⁴ Houghton, 'Lucan in the Highlands', p.192-13.

image of Charles I, which, influenced by the *Eikon Basilike* tradition, paints him as a 'Martyr et Heros' ['martyr and hero'] who:

Namque aditum virtute nova super ardua Coeli
Stravit, et exemplo callem patefecit Olympo.

Strewed the steep ascent to Heaven with new virtues, and made easier, by
his example, the narrow path to Olympus.¹⁰⁵

This imagery, itself a direct descendant of the Caroline masque iconography, is extended to Charles's sons who are figured to have restored a golden age in the Drydenian, Saturnian, mode.¹⁰⁶ Charles II is described as

Brutigenae Rex augustissimus orae
Saecla Caledoniae qui condidit aurea terrae
Quique indignantem sub jura redegit Iernam

That most august monarch [of the sons of Brutus], whose reign was the
golden age of Scotland, who reduced impatient Ireland to obedience.¹⁰⁷

This memorial of Charles is reminiscent of texts like Dryden's poem on the death of Charles II, 'Threnodia Augustalis', which foregrounds its use of Augustus in its title but also evokes the entire Augustan typology when eulogising 'the peaceful Triumphs of his Reign'.¹⁰⁸ Philp gives this typology its fullest treatment in the Jacobite host's celebration of 29th May, Charles II's birthday and the anniversary of his 1660 entrance into London. Dundee begins proceedings by announcing that:

O Fergusiadum gens Grampica gloria regum,
Festa dies reduci Ca'lo celebranda quotannis
Hactenus auricomam diffudit ab aethere lucem.

¹⁰⁵ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.170, 1.183-184.

¹⁰⁶ For further discussion of the production of Caroline iconography in masques and related genres see Thomas Black, 'The Iconography of Kingship: Masques, Antimasques, and Pastorals', *Midlands Historical Review* (November 2017) < <http://www.midlandshistoricalreview.com/the-iconography-of-kingship-masques-antimasques-and-pastorals/> > [Accessed: 01/03/2018].

¹⁰⁷ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.204-206.

¹⁰⁸ John Dryden, 'Threnodia Augustalis', *Works*, iii, 346.

O Grampian race! The glory of the Fergus-descended kings, the annual
festal day of the restored Charles has at length shone out in golden light.

The phrase 'auricomam lucem' carries the particular sense of 'golden-haired light' diffusing
throughout the sky, and is a delicate image to frame the rituals honouring 'pacifero
Cařlo'.¹⁰⁹

Aside from the Virgillian conceits of the Golden Age, other epic conventions also
form part of the structure of Philp's poem and generate significant associations. The epic
trope of the mustering of the armies is repeated in Philp's text as a vast clan gathering on a
scale that explicitly surpasses the wars at Troy or Aeneas' conquest of Latium.¹¹⁰ The
incoming clansmen are embedded in this classical motif in a way that emphasises their
ancient simplicity – in the positive Roman sense – but also their barbarity. Alasdair Dubh
Mac Domhnaill, the heir of Glengarry, is presented as the native leader of the clans, and
welcomes Graham as the leader of the Scots:

O patria decus! O Scotorum maxime ductor,
Grame, (evertendis nomen fatale tyrannis)

O Graham! (name fatal to tyrants) O glory of your country!
Noblest leader of the Scots.¹¹¹

Glengarry stands as a type of Fergus or Calgacus; calling Dundee a 'leader of the Scots' is a
broad and inclusive term that could include the clans, and the reminder that the clans had
previously rallied around another Graham is calculated to present Dundee's leadership as
acceptable. Glengarry also reminds his listeners of the Fergusian and Calgacan myth that
'Haec sola est magni regio intra moenia mundi /Quae nunquam hostiles accepit victa
securis' ['This is the only region of the earth which never bowed before an invading

¹⁰⁹ Philp, *Grameid*, 4.561-563, 4.67.

¹¹⁰ Philp, *Grameid*, 4.36-38.

¹¹¹ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.428-489.

sovereign.’] With an urgency emphasised in the poetic repetition, Glengarry incites the clans to preserve this indomitable legacy by following the leader appointed by the heir of Fergus – the only acceptable monarch to the Gaels:

Nunc nunc ille tuus ductor multo agmine Gramus
Caesareis venit auspiciis, atqua arma capescit,
Et patriae vindex pro libertate laborat
Impia sacrilegi contra molimina Belgae.

Now, now the Graham comes as your leader with a great force under the auspices of the King. He labours as the avenger of his country for her liberty against the impious designs of the Belgian.¹¹²

As Pittock has observed, Glengarry finishes his speech with a direct borrowing from the *Aeneid*, an interesting intellectual development from the giants of Philp's earlier description.¹¹³ This constant blending of classical imagery with his own mythology and observations of the Gaels characterises all of his attempts to describe them. Houghton describes Philp's descriptions of clothing with terms such as ‘Tyrian purple’ or ‘Phrygian needlework’ as having ‘more regard for Virgillian glamour than for seventeenth century economic reality’.¹¹⁴ Whilst no doubt this is correct, Philp really gives a double image, one of classical fashion, but also claims to report ‘quae oculis coram vidi, quaeque auribus hausī’ [‘that which only I have seen with my own eyes, which I have heard with my own ears’].¹¹⁵ Thus alongside Greco-Roman arms and dress Philp endeavours to put Gaelic garb into Latin: ‘picta chlamys velatque humeros, et caetera nudi’ [‘A coloured plaid veils their shoulders, otherwise they are naked’].¹¹⁶ This double image of tartan made with ‘phrygioque labore’ [‘Phrygian skill’] is indicative of the way Philp views the Gaels as living relics of a heroic and

¹¹² Philp, *Grameid*, 3.463-466.

¹¹³ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p.40; Philp, *Grameid*, 3.481; Virgil, *Aeneid*, 5.230.

¹¹⁴ Houghton, ‘Lucan in the Highlands’, p.196.

¹¹⁵ Philp, *Grameid*, 4.73.

¹¹⁶ Philp, *Grameid*, 4.81.

savage past.¹¹⁷ As Colin Kidd argues, this epic mode suits Philp precisely because ‘there is the recognition of a genuine parallel between Highland society and classical mythology; both were peopled by heroic figures who were also in some respects barbarians’.¹¹⁸ Indeed the ‘Phrygian plaid’ is in itself a good image of the interlocking yet distinct polarities of heroism/barbarism, Fergusian/Bruttian, and Gaelic/Scottish with which Philp furnishes his Highlanders and upon which the poem as a whole ponders.

The vesting of Glengarry and his cohorts with partially Latinised dress and speech is a process as vexed as the translation of names itself. Whilst listing the different clans assembling, Philp takes a brief moment to mourn the uncouth Gaelic names his Latin pen is forced to domesticate: ‘quorum/ Horrescunt Latiae tam barbara nomina Musae’ [‘barbarous names at which the Latin Muse shudders’].¹¹⁹ This brief foregrounding of Philp's process and difficulties of translation should alert to us the overdetermined and problematic nature of his Latinity and his Latinising of the Gael. Philp's obviously dexterous and free use of Latin in his verses demonstrates an intellect that, as Kidd puts it, found like many other Scottish writers a ‘home from home’ in the Latin language.¹²⁰ However, his decision to write in Latin – no matter how competent with the language he was – necessitated a translation of his experiences and ideas into a language loaded with specific social and cultural expectations. Kidd has spoken about the privileging of Latin letters by Scottish Jacobites and Episcopalians more generally, but James Philp's foray into the 1689 rising breaks new representational ground and encounters serious challenges.¹²¹ By avoiding writing in Scots or English Philp

¹¹⁷ Philp, *Grameid*, 4.78.

¹¹⁸ Kidd, ‘The ideological significance of Scottish Jacobite Latinity’, p.114.

¹¹⁹ Philp, *Grameid*, 4.211-214.

¹²⁰ Kidd, ‘The ideological significance of Scottish Jacobite Latinity’, p.113.

¹²¹ As Kidd has discussed, Latin became highly politicised in Restoration Scotland and indeed in post-revolution Scotland, see, Kidd, ‘Scottish Jacobite Latinity’, p.117-122. Philp's more illustrious contemporary, Archibald Pitcairne satirises what he terms ‘presbyteriane Latine’ in his comic play *The Phanaticks*; see Pitcairne, *The Phanaticks*, ed. John MacQueen, Scottish Text Society, Fifth Series no. 10 (Edinburgh: Boydell Press, 2012),

sidesteps the long histories of denigrating the Gaelic and Irish other by both cultures, but his encounter with the Gael is perplexing, and clearly difficult to poeticise without ambiguities bordering contradictions. The repeated emphasis on the purity of Gaelic history from outside invasion is vexed by the narrator's own admission that not only did the Gaels originate as proto-human monsters, but their contemporary language and customs also smack of barbarism. The smooth polish of his Latin hexameters only emphasises this almost comic juxtaposition. Latinising the Gael, even if the intention is to glorify them, always runs the risk of rendering them either comic rustics or threatening savages. Philp's often ingenious representation of Gaelic names and places involves a literary domestication; his verse emphasises their contradictory roles as heroic warriors and barbarians and yet their appearance in their alien linguistic garb is simultaneously emasculating. Their shackling to a history that they themselves had started to treat with caution, and indeed the embellishment of that history with an exotic grotesquery, actually minimises their agency and renders them little more than a latent force inherent to both the Highland landscape and the Jacobite cause. This force, associated as it is with geography, could perhaps be bounded and contained by that geography following a Jacobite victory as had happened to the Gaels after the Restoration. The Latinisation of the Gaels and their mythological brutalisation comes close to constituting the long-resisted Latin conquest of the Gàidhealtachd. Philp's use of the Highlanders could almost be deemed anticipatory of nationalism in the Renanian sense that a nation requires 'a heroic past, of great men, of

5.1.36. It is important not to lose sight of the fact that the learned Gaelic orders had maintained a vigorous commitment to Latin learning themselves up to this period, and that Latin was just as 'native' to Gaelic as well as Lowland Scotland. However the use of Latin remained different between the two cultures, and we do not find the same use of Latin for the creation of literature in Gaelic Scotland as we clearly do elsewhere. See Bannerman, *The Beatons*, pp.110-112.

glory'.¹²² For Philp however, Scotland's heroes are a remnant of the past, active in the present, but perhaps not of relevance after the fatal denouement of Killiecrankie.

3.3: Killiecrankie and Jacobite defeat in contemporary Scottish Jacobite literature

The Jacobite army of 1689 marched under the auspices of Dundee towards a fatal victory at Killiecrankie. This destination is anticipated throughout Philp's poem in the epithet given to Dundee the 'Kilychranichus heros' ['Killiecrankian Hero'].¹²³ Dundee's death in the hour of his victory was mortal to the whole Jacobite campaign in Scotland, and was memorialised as a watershed moment by Archibald Pitcairne, the pre-eminent Scottish Latinist of his time, in his 'In mortem Vicecomitis Taodunensis.' Dundee is remembered as the 'Optime Scotorum atque ultime' ['best and last of Scots'].¹²⁴ In Dryden's adaptation of the same elegy he writes emphatically that '*Scotland* and thou did each in other live'.¹²⁵ This sentiment is in keeping with Pitcairne's verse which paints an emptying of the old Scotland and its replacement with 'novi Cives' ['new citizens'] and 'novi Dei' ['new gods'] following the death of Dundee and the solidification of Williamite control over Scotland.¹²⁶ The Jacobite adoption of an Augustan typology of Restoration, of Golden Ages, of the fecundity associated with Stuart rule, is predicated, as Murray Pittock has argued, on a fundamentally cyclical view of history.¹²⁷ One of the benefits of such a typological view is that the wheel of history that brings about a defeat may always turn again and transmute loss into a restoration. A

¹²² Ernest Renan, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?', quoted in *Nationalism*, p.17.

¹²³ Philp, *Grameid*, 2.608.

¹²⁴ Archibald Pitcairne, 'In mortem Vicecomitis Taodunensis', *The Latin Poems*, ed. John MacQueen and Winifred MacQueen (Assen, The Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 2009), 8.

¹²⁵ Dryden, 'Upon the Death of the Earl of Dundee, English'd by Mr Dryden', *Works*, iii, 5.

¹²⁶ Pitcairne, 'In mortem Vicecomitis Taodunensis', 3-4.

¹²⁷ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, pp.9-10.

Jacobite defeat, which is indirectly present in the *Grameid*, could be understood as a 'confession of the timebound nature of Stuart defeat' which will give way to Stuart triumph.¹²⁸ In Philp's poem, this process is complicated by its lack of ending. There is no evidence whether he finished the poem or not; the earliest surviving manuscript is clearly a good draft copied from a rougher working copy, and it terminates abruptly fifty-five lines into the sixth book.¹²⁹ However, Philp's narrative – regardless of its completion or otherwise – moves inexorably towards Killiecrankie which must have been envisaged as the climax of the action of the poem, if not necessarily the ending. That this climax would have been one of defeat is historically certain, and it hard to speculate on how Philp would have depicted it. Discussing a similar issue the with the Irish Jacobite epic *Poema de Hibernia*, Keith Sidwell asks 'at the moment of defeat, why would one think of the epic or didactic genre rather than, say, elegiacs, where at least the theme of lamentation forms part of the tradition? And how [...] does one actually approach composition as a member of the losing side?'¹³⁰ However, whilst epics are rarely written solely from the perspective of the losers, they have often included voices of the defeated that are so powerful as to unbalance and threaten the perspective of the victors. Priam's supplication of Achilles in Book 24 of the *Iliad*, and Aeneas's brutality in Book 12 of the *Aeneid* both disrupt the simple progression towards victory and resolution, and as such complicate our reading of the poems as a whole.¹³¹ Aside from Dundee's epithet which anticipates the climacteric battle, the poem as we have it is

¹²⁸ Murray G. H. Pittock, 'Jacobite Ideology in Scotland and at Saint-Germain-en-Laye', *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp (London and Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp.113-123, p.115.

¹²⁹ Murdoch, *Grameid*, p.240n.

¹³⁰ Keith Sidwell, "'Now or never, now and forever": an unpublished, anonymous Irish Jacobite epic on the Williamite War (1688-91)', *Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles*, pp.250-67, p.225.

¹³¹ See Craig Kallendorf, *The other Virgil: 'pessimistic' readings of the Aeneid in early modern culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). See also David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p.8.

predominantly a victory poem, a celebration of royalism, and the distinctly Gaelic contribution to the rising. Like Lucan's epic however, it contains within it a strident condemnation of civil war which goes beyond factional side-taking. The lack of ending may indeed have been intentional as the poem sidesteps the difficulty of confronting defeat, but the reality of civil war's brutalities remains insistently present in the poem as we have it. What reflections and complications Philp may have generated out of Dundee's defeat remain unknowable, but his commitment to peace and his condemnation of war are evident throughout the poem.¹³² It is perhaps a sad irony that Philp, the great admirer of Dundee, did not manage to describe the climax of his hero's life, but other poets did.

For Philp the righteousness of the Jacobite cause is embodied in a physical refulgence redolent of Augustan typologies of the Golden Age. The vast host of Gaels marching towards Killiecrankie is described in his characteristically expansive rhetoric thus:

solem aere laccessit
 Ignivomisque armis, et territat aethera pilis;
 Grampica fulmineis et turba coruscat in armis.
 Utque tuos tandem tetigit, Badinothia, fines,
 Sparsa per acclives extendit cornua colles;
 Sole repercussae procul effulgere catervae,
 Mille micant, totidem sonuere pharetrae;
 Et mille auratis radiant mucronibus hastae;
 Atque securigeris pulsantur rura manipulis;
 Grampus et signis volitantibus horruit ingens.

The Highland army, with its glitter of brass and flash of bright musket, braves the sun, and with bristling spears affrights the air, as it moves forward. When at length it touched thy borders, O Badenoch! Its wings were extended widely over the declivities of the hills. Far off the clans were seen shining in the light of the sun. A thousand helmets glitter, as many quivers resound; a thousand spears, from their points bright with golden

¹³² I am particularly grateful for Dr Adam Rounce and Dr Nicola Royan's thoughts on the pessimistic potentials of epic.

light, reflect the rays, and the fields feel the tread of the axe-bearing Gael,
and the Grampians are terrible with the flaunting banners.¹³³

This army of light is made up of the same half-naked savages that Philp had paraded before his reader in the previous book, but now they are welded into the just cause they physically enlighten the land and drive the moral darkness of their opponents before them. This has a parallel in Iain Lom's lament over Dundee's body after the battle of Killiecrankie. He sings:

Bu mhor cosgradh do làmh
Fo aon chlogaide bàn,
'S do chorp nochdaidh geal dàn gun éideadh air.

Wearing your white helmet, you wrought great slaughter single-handed,
and now your naked body lies white and shameless, and all unclothed.¹³⁴

Dundee's heroism and strength here is figured as whiteness, as is the purity and innocence of his dead body. Gaelic poetry of the rising did not partake in the typology of cyclical defeat and victory, usurpation and restoration that is evident in the works of Anglophone poets – as ever it maintained its own literary development – but Iain Lom's image of Dundee lends him a form of permanent victory even in his death. And he cannot avoid the language of cycles altogether, in mourning the death of Dundee he recasts a Scottish proverb:

Tha an cogadh so searbh,
Air a thogail gu garg:
Ge ceann nathrach bidh earball peucaig air.

This war is a bitter one and is waged violently; though it has a serpent's head, it will have a peacock's tail.¹³⁵

¹³³ Philp, *Grameid*, 4.530-539. Murdoch's unusually full rendition of this passage captures the main points of the original, however Philp never makes any effort to use terminology that could be translated directly as 'the Gael.'

¹³⁴ Iain Lom, 'An ainm an àigh nì mi tùs', 2460-2462. This is reminiscent of the divinely preserved corpse of Hector in Book 24 of the *Iliad*. Whilst it seems highly unlikely this is a literary borrowing, an association between Hector and Dundee as defeated patriots seems especially apt. Classical allusions are not uncommon in bardic poetry, but seem to be much less common in vernacular poetry of this period. See Homer, *Iliad*, 24.410-424. I am grateful to Dr Adam Rounce for bringing this to my attention.

¹³⁵ Iain Lom, 'An ainm an àigh nì mi tùs', 2493-2495.

The ultimate source of this proverbial saying, as Annie Mackenzie points out, is an inversion of an image in William Dunbar's poem 'Of the Changes of Life'.¹³⁶ This is for its time, a rare instance of high Scots literature influencing Gaelic, and, even though the influence is undoubtedly indirect, the absorption of a canonical Scots poet into a Gaelic proverb and its deployment at the moment of Jacobite collapse illustrates Carla Sassi's characterisation of Scottish literature as 'contaminations, hybridisations, borrowings and reappropriations, across three cultures'.¹³⁷

Iain mac Ailein's poem on Killiecrankie also describes a manifestation of one of the other 'contaminations' to which Gaelic poetry in particular was susceptible. He depicts the Irish Jacobite troops that fought at Killiecrankie in ambiguous terms. Whilst appreciative of the military bite these troops added, Iain mac Ailein's description registers a feeling of cultural difference between the Scottish and Irish Gaels:

Cha bu ghealtach bhith gan seachnadh –
 Cha robh am faicinn bòidheach:
 An lèintean paisgte fui'n dà achlais
 'S an casan gun bhrògan;
 Boineid dhaite a' dìon an claiginn
 'S an gruag na pasgan fòithe,
 Bu chosamhla an gleus ri treudan bhèistean
 Na ri luchd cèille còire.

There was nothing cowardly about avoiding them –
 The sight of them was not lovely;
 Their shirt-tails caught up under their oxters

¹³⁶ Annie Mackenzie, *OIL*, p.316n.

For ȝistirday I did declair
 How that the sasoun soft and fair
 Come in als fresche as pacok feddir
 This day it stangis lyke ane eddir,
 Concluding all in my contrair.

William Dunbar, 'I seik aboute this warld onstable', *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt, 2 vols (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1998), i, 6-10. This in itself may possibly derive from an older Scottish weather proverb; see Bawcutt, *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ii, p.333.

¹³⁷ Carla Sassi, 'Introduction', *The International Companion to Scottish Poetry*, p.3.

And their feet without footwear;
 Garish bonnets to protect their skulls
 With their hair matted below them
 Their get-up was more like herds of beasts
 Than men of justice and reason.¹³⁸

The Irish here are valorous but also physically grotesque and bordering on the savage, and their state of semi-undress is not so different from Philp's heroic Highlanders. Iain mac Ailein's description of Irish Jacobites as semi-bestial others is perhaps a development of the sentiments already explored in the Caimbéal poem on the Battle of Inverlochy which lamented the coming of the 'Eireannach dhoithe' ['grim Irish'].¹³⁹ If anything, Iain mac Ailein's description is less positive and perhaps registers an accelerating disintegration in links and sympathies between post-civil war Ireland and the Scottish Gaels. John A. MacLean translates the final lines of the above stanza as 'their charge was more like to the stampede of cattlebeasts, than to the charge of beloved and related people'.¹⁴⁰ This emphasises still further the feelings of separation between the Scottish and Irish Gaels that Iain mac Ailein captured in his poem. The uneasy ambiguity of Iain mac Ailein's poem is entirely absent in the contemporary Scots ballad 'Killiecrankie.' The balladeer is happy to take the side of the Highlanders and appreciates their part in the struggle. Indeed the Jacobite army is described simply as 'Clavers and his Highlandmen'.¹⁴¹ The overriding emphasis on party over cultural identity is foregrounded in the balladeer's puns on the party politics of the Williamites, with lines such as 'The solemn league and covenant / Came whigging up the hills, man'.¹⁴² The Irish, termed here 'King Shames' red-coats', seem to fall outside the protecting aegis of party and are castigated. The balladeer complains that they should be 'hung up/ because

¹³⁸ Iain mac Ailein mhic Iain mhic Eòghainn, ' 'N àm dhol sìos, 'n àm dhol sìos', *GnC*, §12.

¹³⁹ 'O, gur mi a th'air mo leònadh', 3.

¹⁴⁰ MacLean, 'The sources, particularly the Celtic sources', p.302.

¹⁴¹ 'Killiecrankie', *Jacobite Songs and Ballads*, §1.

¹⁴² 'Killiecrankie', *Jacobite Songs and Ballads*, §4.

they ran away,' and that the battle would have been won had they stood firm.¹⁴³ There is no record that the Irish troops deserted and of course the battle was won despite Dundee's death. Philp's poem as we have it actually ends with the dispatch of the same Irish troops to Scotland, so it cannot be known how they would have been treated, but Philp does bemoan the siege of Derry and the entire Irish campaign, describing Ireland as something of a backwater unconnected with the heroic arena of the Grampians. Dundee asks in soliloquy:

Quid Iernia belli
Segnia regna tenes, et molles Marte colonos,
Imbellisque in bella vocas, qui sanguine fuso
Pabula praestabunt tantum civilibus armis.

Why dost thou [James] cling to unwarlike Ireland, and call out its peaceful rustics to yield up their blood as food for civil feuds?¹⁴⁴

This statement seems to both perpetuate the British myths of Ireland as a place of unchanging ignorance and simplicity, as well as to seemingly forget the recent history of Irish civil wars and rebellion.¹⁴⁵

Whilst the Augustan typological mode of history may have been largely alien to Gaelic poetry, it can be seen to resonate with Gaelic concerns for the right succession and Gaelic beliefs about the fundamental link between a territory's flourishing and the legitimacy of the ruler.¹⁴⁶ In Iain mac Ailein's poem on Killiecrankie, he stresses with disarming straightforwardness his support for a divinely ordained hereditary monarchy:

Dham bharail fèin, ga beag mo lèirsinn,
Gheibh mi ceud ga chòmhdach,

¹⁴³ 'Killiecrankie', *Jacobite Songs and Ballads*, §6.

¹⁴⁴ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.305-308.

¹⁴⁵ See Drummond, *Memoirs of Lochiel*, pp.239-240.

¹⁴⁶ It is also worth noting that a substantial prophetic tradition permeated both bardic and vernacular poetry. In Scotland a prophecy of the reawakening of the Gaels centred around the figure of Thomas the Rhymer. See John MacInnes, 'Gaelic Poetry and Historical Tradition', p.21. See also John Gregorson Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland: Collected entirely from Oral Sources* (Glasgow: 1900), pp.269-72. See also Jamie John Kelly, 'The pulpit and the poet: Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Gaelic cosmologies in Scotland, 1689-c.1746' (unpublished MRes thesis, University of Glasgow, 2015), pp.43-47. See also Philp, *Grameid*, 1.443.

Ge b'e tì dhe'n dèan Dia rìgh
 Gur còir bhith strìocadh dhò-san;
 'S gad thomhais e ceum d'a làn-toil fèin
 'S gun e cur èiginn òirne,
 Saoil sibh pèin an lagh no reusan
 Dol a leum na sgròban?

I am of the opinion, though limited my vision,
 I will get a hundred to confirm it,
 That whoever the man God makes king
 To submit to him is proper;
 And though he behaved just as he pleased
 But without putting us to trouble,
 Do you think by law or reason
 Of leaping up at his gullet?¹⁴⁷

It is from this platform of constitutional certainty that Jacobite verse hurled invectives against William, Mary, and the Whig ascendancy after Killiecrankie. Philp devotes almost an entire book of his epic to deriding the Presbyterian faction in Britain, and William and Mary more generally. Philp directs his attacks against the 'Cathari Britanni', Murdoch translates this appropriately as 'the British Puritans' but the reference to the gnostic Medieval sect the Cathars is a barbed attack on the very Christianity of the Whigs and Williamites.¹⁴⁸ The attack on James II by his son-in-law is figured as a second Gigantomachy bringing civil destruction to Britain:

Impius in socerum qui sustulit arma verendum;
 Qualia terrigenas sumpsisse et fama gigantes
 In superos, celsi peterent dum culmina coeli.

He who raised his hand against his venerated father-in-law; a deed like that, as goes the tale, which the earthly giants essayed against the gods, when they assailed the heights of heaven.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Iain mac Ailein, ' 'N àm dhol sìos, 'n àm dhol sìos' §7. As Erskine-Hill points out, the legalist appeal to patriarchal or divine right succession was common across all early Jacobite interventions, as Jacobite writers had 'inherited the full authority of what had been only recently most central and orthodox doctrine'. 'Literature and the Jacobite cause', p.17. See also Aonghas mac Alasdair Ruaidh, ' 'S e do làth'-sa Raoin-Ruairidh', §30, *The MacDonald Collection of Poetry*, pp.74-81. The appeal to 'Divine Right' is something relatively novel in Gaelic representations of kingship and legitimacy.

¹⁴⁸ Philp, *Grameid*, 5.52.

¹⁴⁹ Philp, *Grameid*, 5.208-210.

The act of aggression against James is so shocking because of its resemblance to patricide, and in the above passage the comparison implies an attempted deicide which further illustrates the alleged impiety and unchristianity of the 'Cathari Britanni.' To compound this image Philp calls the new royal couple a second Tullia and Tarquin – the famed patricides and regicides of ancient Rome.¹⁵⁰ This familial betrayal finds its fullest condemnation in Iain Lom's 'Oran Air Rìgh Uilleam Agus Banrigh Màiri' ['A song to King William and Queen Mary'] written in 1692 when a Jacobite reinvasion nearly materialised. This reminds William of the Biblical story of David and Absalom:

Bha mac aig Rìgh Dàibhidh
 'S bu deas àill air ceann sluaigh e,
 Chaidh an aghaidh an athar,
 'S am fear nach catharr' d'a bhuaireadh;
 'N uair a sgaoileadh am blàr sin
 Thug Dia pàigheadh 'na dhuais da,
 'S on bu droch dhuine cloinn' e,
 Chroch a' choill' air a ghruaig e.

King David had a son, and erect and handsome was he at the head of a host, who opposed a father, incited by the Alien One. When that battle came to an end God gave him his deserts. Because he was an evil son the tree hanged him by the hair.¹⁵¹

However this anticipation of divine retribution is overtaken by Iain Lom's own violent passion for a restoration of James and he resorts to cursing the family of William and Mary:

Sgrios gun iarmad gun duilleach,
 Chan iarrainn tuille am dhàn duibh,
 Gun sliochd a dh'iadhadh mu t'uilinn
 De ghnìomh bruinne droch Mhàiri.

Destruction without posterity, without green leaf on your family tree – I would not ask for better on your behalf in my song, with no offspring to gather round your elbow from the fruits of evil Mary's womb.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Philp, *Grameid*, 1.717-722; See also Livy, *History of Rome*, 1.46-48.

¹⁵¹ Iain Lom, 'Oran Air Rìgh Uilleam Agus Banrigh Màiri', 2640-2647. The Absalom story had already been used for political ends in other royalist literature, most notably in Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681).

¹⁵² Iain Lom, 'Oran Air Rìgh Uilleam Agus Banrigh Màiri', 2656-2659.

These strikingly bitter lines invert the New Testament image of Mary's womb, 'full of grace', and the 'Hail Mary's' reference to the 'fruit of thy womb', into a curse upon the fertility of the royal couple.¹⁵³ In these lines the Jacobite typology of rebirth and fertility accompanying the reign of the Stuarts finds its most radical and most viciously pronounced antithesis.

A strong identification with a native monarchy and increasing integration into the Scottish and British political and cultural worlds are the hallmarks of early Jacobite Gaelic poetry. We can broadly state that for Gaels national and political identity and aspirations could be located very strongly in the state and monarchy of Scotland whilst preserving a distinct and equally important cultural identity as Gaels within Scotland. Smout's concentric rings of identity offer little illumination in these circumstances. Rather than nestling one within the other, cultural and national identities can overlap but also remain disjointed and disconnected at fundamental levels. Philp's poem embodies some of these complications and indeed disrupts the nativeness of the monarchy and of the Gaels themselves. The *Grameid* builds up a strong association between the descendants of Fergus and the Gaels, but Philp's history of the Gaels serves ultimately to divide and complicate the relationship between Scotland, the Gaels, and the monarchy. The legitimacy of Fergus's line, as embodied in the ruling house of Stuart, is never questioned, but the place of the Gaels within the Scottish polity, despite their loyalty to the monarchy, retains the impress of their initial brutal subjugation. However, the ecopoetics of the Gàidhealtachd and the focus on the sublime and exotic elements of Gaelic culture and space softens this narrative, and his eye-witness descriptions of the Gaels are unique among his contemporaries for the positive qualities he describes. In Philp's depiction of the Gaels, their bondage to a place and history

¹⁵³ Luke 1.28.

outside of modernity is something that implicitly threatens to shackle them in the future.

In Jacobite Ireland, the internal cultural and ethnic politics continued to develop largely separately from the Scottish Gaels, but, as in Scotland, identities continued to be influenced by political, religious, and cultural factors and to be refracted in Jacobite literature in Gaelic, English, and Latin. This literature and the discourses of Irish identity and Jacobitism are the focus of the following chapter, and, taken together with the parallel Scottish discourses, allow us to evaluate further the development of national identity and national consciousness in both countries.

Chapter Four

‘Tros et Rutulus’: The cultural contours of national consciousness and early Irish Jacobitism

Irish Jacobitism has been comparatively understudied when the growth of Scottish and English Jacobite studies is taken into account. Over the last twenty years a handful of major works have attempted to redress this imbalance, notably Éamonn Ó Ciardha's *Ireland and the Jacobite cause, 1685-1766* (2002). There are many possible reasons for this unevenness in Jacobite Studies. A possible factor is that whilst major Jacobite military campaigns punctuated Scottish history for over half a century after the initial Williamite coup, Jacobite Ireland did not mobilise another military challenge after 1691.¹ The problem with this interpretation is that England did not produce a single Jacobite rising or war, but English Jacobitism has still received serious scholarly treatment.² Of more importance perhaps is that the long tradition of Irish republicanism intertwined with nationalism has rendered the aspirations, perspectives and, most importantly, the literature of the Irish Jacobites difficult to grasp by later generations of Irish readers. Royalism has been dismissed as a form of servility, political immaturity, or ineptitude, whilst the literary glance to James and later to Prince Charles have been deemed as nostalgic and sentimental.³ Scottish Jacobitism and Jacobite texts have been repeatedly subject to the same criticisms, but despite this Scots

¹ As Ó Ciardha points out ‘It is often forgotten that Irish Jacobites alone had mobilised in great numbers in support of their king in 1688, in spite of the fact that they had already suffered from Stuart ingratitude at the hands of Charles II in 1660.’ *Ireland and the Jacobite cause, 1685-1766: a fatal attachment* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), p.31.

² See Paul Monod's *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

³ Retrospect and anachronism clearly inform two of the most important nineteenth century editions of Irish poetry from this period: James Hardiman, *Irish Minstrelsy: or Bardic remains of Ireland*, 2 vols (London: Joseph Robins, 1831); John Daly, *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry* (Dublin: Samuel Machen, 1844). For their editors, the Jacobitism of these works is largely contextual and incidental.

such as Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson have still successfully produced stirring, national (and most importantly robustly canonical) Jacobite romances such as *Waverley* and *Kidnapped*.

Regardless of the reasons for the historical lack of attention paid to Irish Jacobitism, the situation is rapidly changing, and recognition of the enduring and evolving intellectual, cultural, and political significance of Jacobitism to many different Irish people over the long century of Jacobite activity is increasing. Irish Jacobitism has begun to receive serious historical attention recently; and this has entailed extensive discussion of the Irish Gaelic literary sources in particular. In this present study, Irish Jacobite literature and the relationship with contemporaneous literature from Scottish Jacobites will be studied.

Without wishing to perpetuate the myth that Jacobite Ireland was fatally truncated with the decapitation of the Marquis of Saint-Ruth at Aughrim in 1691, this chapter will focus on the literature that was written in the immediate context of James II's succession to the throne and first years following the Jacobite collapse in 1691.⁴ Specific attention will be paid to the development of national consciousness in Jacobite literature written in the various languages of Ireland and the comparative differences of Irish Jacobite mentalities from Scottish Jacobites. The Irish literature surrounding the accession of James and the wars of 1688-91 comprises prose and poetry written in English, Irish Gaelic, and Latin. The parallels between much of this material and similar Scottish Jacobite material renders it fertile ground for evaluating the variegated cultural and political drivers of Jacobitism, and indeed its impact on diverse communities from Cork to Caithness. It has been argued that 'the thematic and ideological similarities between Irish, Scots-Gaelic and English Jacobite

⁴ David Dickson, *New foundations: Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000), p.32. For a wider discussion of this position and a general assessment of Irish historiography of the Jacobite period see Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, pp.21-51.

literature are striking and give further credence to Howard Erskine-Hill's concept of a 'rhetoric of Jacobitism'.⁵ Whilst there is obvious merit to this concept, this study will hope to illustrate some of the unevenness and diversity within the rhetoric of Jacobitism across Scotland and Ireland.

As in Scotland, the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 and the decades of his rule that followed constituted a period of weakness and considerable unease for Irish people who had fought on the royalist side during the civil wars. This situation was significantly worse for the Irish elites (Gaelic and Old English alike) who had lost land during the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland. The Cromwellian land redistribution in Ireland benefited Commonwealth veterans and adventurers – it has been described as an 'elaborate league of guilt' and an 'all-out attack on Catholic property' – but Charles was either unwilling or unable to effectively reverse this situation after his restoration.⁶ The complexities of the land issue have been discussed in much historiographical literature but it remains important to emphasise that to many of the most ardent Irish royalists of the 1640s and 50s the Restoration settlement was an unexpected and traumatic breach of faith.⁷ To those who lost out it must have looked, in John Prendergast's words, like Charles 'gave the lands of those who fought for him to those who fought against him'.⁸ Nicholas Plunkett (not the Confederate lawyer but probably a member of the same Plunkett family), the contemporary author of a prose narrative of Jacobite Ireland, wrote of Charles' restoration that 'there is nothing now to be seen or heard but joys and jubilees throughout the British empire, for the

⁵ Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, p.44-5; Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a rhetoric of Jacobitism?', *Ideology and Conspiracy, Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1757*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982) pp.49-70.

⁶ Liam Irwin, 'Purgatory Re-visited: The Historical Context of Ó Bruadair', *Dáibhí Ó Bruadair: His Historical and Literary Context*, ed. Pádraigín Riggs (London: ITS, 2001), 1-17, p.6.

⁷ See Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, p.369.

⁸ John P. Prendergast, *Ireland from Restoration to revolution 1660-1690*, (London: Longmans, 1887), p.15.

royal physician is come to heal the three bleeding nations, and to give them the life of free-born subjects'.⁹ This jubilation soon turned to lament: Plunkett described the land settlement as making 'an entire ruin of a whole, great, ancient, noble nation,' and warned that such a monumental transgression of the right to private property and inheritance 'turns government to former anarchy, and provokes the people to resume their original liberty'.¹⁰

This almost Hobbesian analysis of the relation between property and sovereignty may be a foray into the realms of a political philosophy unusual for an Irish Jacobite, but criticism of Charles II was a commonplace in a way in which it seems to have been unconscionable in much Scottish Jacobite literature.¹¹ Whilst the relationship with James, even as Duke of York, was warmer than it had been with Charles II, Scottish Jacobite literature did not tend to look back with bitterness towards his reign.¹² Catholicism, a much larger factor in Ireland than in the rest of the archipelago, played its part in the upturn in Irish hopes after the Jacobean succession. James II was the first Catholic monarch of Ireland since Mary I (†1558), and the expectations of the Irish could be placed in him in a new way. As Joep Leerssen points out, James was 'the first monarch to unite both criteria for Gaelic sympathy, descent and religion,' and, as Ó Buachalla argues, James had been effectively nativised to the messianic Irish prophetic tradition which anticipated a unifying saviour to

⁹ There is uncertainty over the identity of this Nicholas Plunkett, but it is clear that he was in some way related to the important Plunkett family who held the Earldom of Fingall, and who retained some of the important manuscript copies of his work. See Patrick Kelly "'A light to the blind": The voice of the dispossessed élite in the generation after the defeat at Limerick', *Irish Historical Studies*, 24:96 (1985), 431-462, pp.437-444; see also Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649*, pp.269-271.

¹⁰ *A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland*, ed. John T. Gilbert, 1892 (Shannon: Shannon University Press, 1971), pp.1, 15, 11. This text is also known as *A light to the blind*, and, as Patrick Kelly points out, Gilbert only included a portion of it in his edition, as the original continues its narrative of Irish and European affairs into the early eighteenth century. See Kelly, "'A light to the blind'", p.434.

¹¹ Iain Lom's poetry certainly expresses some of the tensions and uneasiness of the period, and does directly criticise Charles II. See 'Cha b'e tùirneal a' chnatain' and 'Ho ró, gur fada'.

¹² Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, pp.139, 150.

heal and restore Gaelic Ireland.¹³ Whilst Jacobitism, across all three kingdoms, was linked to the royalist history of the 1640s and 50s in manifold ways, this nativisation of James represents a distinct evolution of political ideology. The collapse of the Confederation of Kilkenny, and the miseries the Cromwellian conquest inflicted on Royalist and Catholic Ireland, have been discussed in a previous chapter in the specific context of the bitter recriminations and factionalism between Old Irish and Old English. That interethnic and cultural mistrust was a primary factor in the downfall of the Confederation may be contested today, but it is undeniable that contemporaries who lived through the period often interpreted the political situation in these terms.¹⁴ These divisions persisted after the Restoration, but we can delineate a change and a greater move towards a realisation of a more unified Irish Catholic identity in the Jacobite period. As shall be seen below, the factionalism of the Irish Jacobites still remained a key bone of contention in the literature of the Williamite War, but the cultural mistrust of the 1640s and 50s seems to be more muted in the contemporary analysis of the 1680s and 90s. The factors that led Jacobitism into becoming a coherent political nucleus around which Irish Catholics of various backgrounds could adhere, will be analysed in the poems and prose of those turbulent years.

As Kelly and others have noted, there is a relative paucity of Jacobite political and literary material that has survived from the early Jacobite period in Ireland, and in the context of the repressive penal laws that followed William's victory this is not particularly

¹³ 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 edn (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), p.223. Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'An mheisiasacht agus an aisling', *Folia Gadelica essays presented by former students to R. A. Breatnach*, ed. P. de Brún et al. (Cork: Cork University Press, 1983), pp.72-87, p.80.

¹⁴ Ó Siochrú has demonstrated that the internal tensions of the Confederation were not simply bound to ethnic or religious differences, but, as highlighted in 'Chapter Two' of this study, religious and ethnic considerations formed the prism through which contemporaries frequently interpreted Irish history. See *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649*, pp.237-250.

surprising.¹⁵ Some key texts are extant though, and a brief outline of the sources shall be sketched out here. Two contemporary English-language prose narratives of the war written by Irishmen have survived: Nicholas Plunkett's *Light to the Blind*, and Charles O'Kelly's *Macariae Excidium* – a lightly coded *histoire à clef*. In their espousal of different Jacobite heroes, Tyrconnell and Sarsfield, these two texts have generally been described as exemplifying two polarised Jacobite perspectives on the Williamite War, much as Belling's text and the *Aphorismical Discovery* championed the Ormondist and Rinuccini factions within the Confederacy.¹⁶ The antagonism between these two view points is not as strong as that of the Confederate texts, and indeed the factionalism may have been somewhat exaggerated in a subsequent historiography which has lacked any other extensive sources. A new source has, thankfully, been unearthed in a long-neglected manuscript in the Dublin City Library, and published in a comprehensive edition by Keith Sidwell and Pádraig Lenihan in 2018. The *Poema de Hibernia* is a Latin epic, written in Lucanian mode by an unknown Jacobite incarcerated by the Williamite regime not long after the defeat at Limerick in 1691. The poem is divided into six books, and in the first three the narrative moves from the plot to oust James to the actual Williamite invasion of England and James's eventual escape to France. The final three books deal in detail with the Jacobite war in Ireland up to the defeat at Limerick in 1691. The *Poema*, in its form, content, and context, obviously invites direct comparison with Philp's *Grameid*, and the connections between these two texts shall be discussed below. It is important to stress from the outset that the production of these texts was wholly independent of each other and no evidence suggests they have ever been read

¹⁵ Kelly, "A light to the blind", p.431. Some similar restrictions did apply in Scotland though they probably did not reach the zenith of their application until the post-Culloden period, and even during and long-after that long period of repression a strong folk tradition of Jacobite song and activities persisted.

¹⁶ Pádraig Lenihan and Keith Sidwell, 'Introduction', *Poema de Hibernia: a Jacobite Latin epic on the Williamite Wars*, ed. Pádraig Lenihan and Keith Sidwell (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2018), pp.xvi-lxxiv, p.xviii.

together. That being said the simultaneous recourse to a primarily Lucanian mode of representation by disappointed Jacobites on either side of the channel points to the need to understand further Royalist and Jacobite literary politics and the reception of classical texts across the archipelago at this point in history. The absorption and refraction of Lucan's supposedly "republican" *De Bello Civili* in the works of these poets, in defence of a monarch generally deemed to be autocratic, can be partially explained by the pacific ideology the Stuarts (particularly James I) had adopted and promulgated since their accession to the three kingdoms. The breaking of this Augustan façade of peace by political and religious fanatics, clearly resonated with Julius Caesar's disruption of the Roman polity in the minds of some Jacobites. The *Poema* then can enrich our understanding of Jacobite literature across the archipelago, but it also adds a vital new literary strand to Jacobite Ireland. As such, it can be productively read in the context not only of the prose responses to the Williamite War, but also with Jacobite poetry in Gaelic. Overtly political poetry in Gaelic has had slightly better survival rates than that in English. No doubt Gaelic poetry was harder for the authorities to control due to linguistic incomprehension and the oral transmission of much of the material. As a result, speaking Gaelic became associated in the minds of the administration and colonists with sedition and Jacobite politics, whilst simultaneously the process of the oral transmission and dissemination and manuscript creation would have fallen for most part outside of the authorities' effective control.¹⁷ Major poets in the literary post-bardic tradition include Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair (c.1625–1698) and Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta (c.1647–1733), and beyond the scope of this current chapter Aodhagán Ó Rathaille

¹⁷ Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, p.102. Indeed, as Ó Ciardha points out, James II failed to recognise the particularly Gaelic flavour of popular support for his cause and counselled his son to promote English to 'wear out the Irish language'. See *Life of James II*, ed. James S. Clarke, 2 vols (London: Longmans, 1816), ii, p.636.

(1670–1729), who, in the early eighteenth century, stands as a transitional figure straddling the popular and literary traditions.

Aside from ballads and popular songs, in both Irish and English, these constitute the main literary texts of seventeenth century Irish Jacobitism, and whilst particular focus will be given the *Poema* – which aside from the pioneering work of its editors is yet to receive critical analysis – all of these texts will inform this study. The evolution of the perceived ethnic rift within Gaelic Ireland shall be discussed, as shall both the political continuities and novelties of Jacobitism. The role of Catholicism in the development of Jacobitism and Irish identity shall also be debated. Ó Ciardha is right to highlight that we should be wary to make Catholicism synonymous with Irish Jacobitism, and indeed to lose sight of the small but influential circles of Protestant Jacobites in Ireland, however the literary legacy of this group is too slight in this period to affect this study.¹⁸ As this study has highlighted the connections and divergences across the Gaelic worlds of Scotland and Ireland, the experiences of Jacobitism in Gaelic Ireland and Scotland offer another opportunity to explore the continuing changes within Gaeldom and Gaelic identities.

The development of the idea of an Irish nation, which we have seen in the context of the Confederacy and the works of counter-reformation Irish clerics such as Seathrún Céitinn and Pádraigín Haicéad, can be discerned in all strands of early Irish Jacobite literature and it is important here to distinguish between ‘national consciousness’ and ‘nationalism’. In a distinction useful for this study, Séan Connolly defines national consciousness as an ‘awareness of belonging to one nationality or another’, and nationalism as ‘a political philosophy and programme for action built around the proposition that national

¹⁸ Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, p.108.

consciousness finds its only proper expression in the achievement of a nation-state'.¹⁹ The awareness of a 'nation' in seventeenth century Ireland seems to be well established now in critical debate; the formation of a programmatic or ideological 'nationalism' remains more contentious. Furthermore the various roles of language, religion, and ethnicity in the formation of Irish national consciousness remain debateable.²⁰ The insistent Catholicism of the Confederation – despite its internal tensions – surely solidified the tethering of Catholic identity to Irish identity. The political disagreements surrounding the Irish parliament from before 1641 were not resolved by either Cromwell's invasion, or the Restoration, and in this sense a significant Irish constitutional patriotism continued to develop amongst the political elite. Irish language and descent could be valorised, but lack of these elements certainly did not exclude people from partaking in Irishness. Alongside this an interesting shift in the geographical conceptualisation of Ireland had taken place since the mid-century. This shift has been described as a move away from the bardic epithets of dynastic territorial divisions of Ireland, towards terms which covered the whole island. As Leerssen has observed this trend is most evident in the writings of exiles such as Haicéad who picture an 'affective homeland' that could be loved and mourned by all 'Éireannaigh', Old English and Gaels alike.²¹ This patria was central to the development of national consciousness, and the literary portrayal and development of a putative Jacobite Irish nation out of these disparate strands of identity is a prime focus of this study.

¹⁹ *Oxford Companion to Irish History*, ed. Séan Connolly, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199234837.001.0001/acref-9780199234837>> [Accessed 22/06/18].

²⁰ For highly contested arguments see T. J. Dunne's 'The Gaelic Response to Conquest and Colonisation: The Evidence of the Poetry' (1980), and Breandán Ó Buachalla's particularly withering analysis of Michelle O Riordan's *The Gaelic Mind and the Collapse of the Gaelic World* (1990), 'Poetry and Politics in Early Modern Ireland' (1992). Since that time the critically informed acceptance of much of Ó Buachalla and Bradshaw's arguments for an early modern date to some form of Irish national awareness has become more commonplace.

²¹ Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael*, p.216.

4.1: The *Poema de Hibernia*: What kind of Jacobitism? What kind of nation?

The author of the *Poema* remains unknown, and, unless new evidence comes to light, unknowable. The editors of the *Poema* have, however, painstakingly identified both the criteria for identification and the most likely candidates in their introduction. Without repeating that analysis here, it seems important to address some of the known details about the author.²² Sidwell and Lenihan identify eight candidates and only absolutely exclude one of them. The criteria for selection follow on from the autobiographical details disclosed in the *Poema* itself. On these grounds we can be clear that the author was an active participant in Jacobite Ireland, he served on the king's bench under James II, and after the treaty of Limerick opted to remain in Ireland under the new regime rather than join the army in exile. He was imprisoned for a time and wrote at least some of the poem whilst incarcerated. These criteria do not unfortunately offer us any way of being certain about the poet's origins, but throughout the poem we can detect other facets of the poet's background. He obviously had some knowledge of Gaelic as his use of place names and etymologies demonstrates, however he does not seem to be particularly versed in Irish poetry and his deployment of this material is 'hit and miss'.²³ He also was clearly aware of earlier Irish Latin poetry, specifically *Ormonius*, as well as the works of the royalist English poet John Cleveland, and possibly Shakespeare's *Henry V*. His knowledge of classical Latin literature was extensive, and, as with Philp's *Grameid*, Lucan's *De Bello Civili* seems to be the work's principal model. In a departure from Philp, the *Poema*'s use of Lucan

²² The following description is derived from the editors' account.

²³ Sidwell and Lenihan, 'Introduction', p.lx.

accommodates significant criticism of James himself.²⁴ Indeed, this more analytical response to James and his predecessors could be described as a salient feature of Irish Jacobitism, and it may well arise out of the nature of the harsh penal restrictions that emerged following the Jacobite defeat in Ireland which were not replicated in Scotland. The editors of the *Poema* have suggested that:

the poet may not have been an Irish Jacobite at all, Irish Jacobitism was not a British ideology in the eighteenth century, or, *a fortiori*, in the 1690s. It paid relatively little attention to themes such as the sovereign authority of the crown, the divine right of kings and the principle of hereditary succession by primogeniture. It was distinctive in its abhorrence of protestantism, its support for Ireland's status as a distinct and ancient kingdom and, more immediately, its burning desire to revoke the acts of settlement and explanation. In these respects, the man who composed our epic is more of a British Jacobite than an Irish one.²⁵

This distinction between 'British' and 'Irish' Jacobitism is salutary. However, aside from the markedly Irish concern of the land settlements, and the particularities of religious freedom, the difference between Irish and other Jacobitisms could be too sharply emphasised. Irish acceptance of the house of Stuart, while not predicated on primogeniture in the strict feudal sense, certainly acknowledged the legitimate succession of James II.

The emphasis on the distinct independence of the Irish Crown was, however, a particularly Irish concern and one that manifests in some of the literature studied here. That James was senior heir to 'every English and Scottish surviving royal line (save only that of Baliol) since before the Norman Conquest,' further solidified his claims for Irish and British Jacobites alike.²⁶ Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair incited Gaelic Ireland to lend its support to James on grounds of his supposed regal Gaelic descent:

Ríghe don Scotfhuil chraoisigh choscraigh

²⁴ Sidwell and Lenihan, 'Introduction', p.lvii.

²⁵ Sidwell and Lenihan, 'Introduction', p.xvii.

²⁶ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p.28.

Daoibh ní drochfhuil deoranta
Acht sreabh don fheolfhuil i gclannaibh Eoghain

The warlike, victorious Scottic blood's sovereignty
(A blood neither evil nor strange to you,
But a stream of the very life-blood of the Eoghanacht).²⁷

The question of the differences between feudal primogeniture and Irish tanistry is of little import here. Irish poets, and we may assume Irish people more widely, accepted the reality of primogeniture in their Stuart kings, and saw them as heirs of the three crowns of the archipelago.²⁸ Analysing the *Poema*'s intersections with, and divergence from, these wider trends within the Irish intelligentsia will help establish its political perspective and aims. Irish political thought was wedded to the vision of Ireland as a crowned kingdom, and readily accepted that its king held two other crowns. In a pointed passage the *Poema* describes James II's claim to the crown through that of his grandfather James I:

Jacobe, teneres
Nostra, Caledonij Titulis superaddita sceptri,
Prime Stuartorum Trabeis indute Britannis
Et premeres Latium infenso Diplomate Clerum.

James, Thou heldst,
But recently our realms, which added were
To titles of the Caledonian throne,
First of the Stuarts clothed in Britain's robes,
And wert oppressing with hostile decree

²⁷ Ó Bruadair, 'D'fhigh duine éigin roimh an ré so', *DDUB*, iii, §XVII. 'Scottic blood' [Scotfhuil] is an epithet for Gaelic Irish being derived from *Scota* – the wife of *Míl*, and 'Eoghanacht' [clannaibh Eoghain] refers to the senior kingly line of the Gaels descended from *Míl*. It must be emphasised here that this is a departure from earlier bardic treatments of the Stuarts which in Scotland and Ireland, acknowledged them as a royal Scottish house, Gaelicised at points in its history, but ultimately of non-Gaelic origins. For example neither of the extant Irish poems addressed to James VI and I describe a Gaelic genealogy for the Stuarts; instead his right to the crown of Ireland came from England's own dominion over Ireland. See Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird 'Trí coróna i gcairt Shéamais' and Eochaidh Ó hEódhasa 'Mór theasda dh'obair Óivid'.

²⁸ Ó Bruadair's poem greeting the birth of the Prince Wales, 10th June 1688, hammers home this acceptance of Stuart legitimacy: 'Uim úr eolais an sceoil se thig I dtír', iii. It must also be stressed that since Seathrún Céitinn at least, a space had arisen in Irish discourse for an emphasis on the contractual or conditional basis of kingship alongside acknowledgment of the Stuarts rights of succession. See David Finnegan, 'Irish political Catholicism from the 1530s to 1660', *Irish Catholic Identities*, ed. Oliver P. Rafferty, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp.77-91, p.84.

The Latin clergy.²⁹

This is a pragmatic description of the Scottish royal line's contingent accumulation of kingdoms, and does not shy away from acknowledging James I's hostility to Catholicism; it is very different from the appeal to an Irish lineage that we saw in Ó Bruadair's poem above.³⁰

At the moment of James's actual accession the *Poema* reemphasises its Britannic theme:

Eboraci mutatus Honos Titulique recentes
Praepediunt jam vocis iter. Namque inter utrumque
Et Regem et Satrapam titubando lingua vacillat.
Obrueris plausu. Tibi enim, tibi Saxo Britoque
Et Camber properat festinis currere votis

Thine honour as the Duke of York is changed;
New titles now impede the voice's path.
For tongues do trip and waver over both:
'O King', 'O Satrap'. Thou art drowned with praise.
For 'tis to Thee, to Thee the Saxons haste,
The Britons and the Cambrians, to run
With hurried prayers.³¹

The stress is on the disparate people James rules – although no Irish are mentioned at this stage. The first three books are indeed quite London-centric in their emphasis on British high-politics, and it is perhaps this focus which led its editors to describe its Jacobitism as British rather than Irish. However, politically speaking, the Irish glance towards London was at this stage perhaps more ingrained than in Scotland. Ireland had not been visited by her monarch since being declared a kingdom in 1542, nor had there been a native High King of Ireland ['Ard-Rí na hÉireann'] since the Norman conquest. Furthermore, under Poyning's Law, the Irish Parliament was formally subjugated to the Lord Deputy of Ireland and the English Privy Council. This political dependency, which signified its enduring colonial status,

²⁹ *Poema*, trans. Keith Sidwell, 3.330-333.

³⁰ The *Poema* only mentions James's Fergusian heritage in one passage, 6.525-528, and makes no connection between this bloodline and James's triple monarchy.

³¹ *Poema*, 1.253.

was in no way equivalent to the constitutional status of Scotland between 1603 and 1707, and as such necessitated a far greater awareness of the London political scene in Irish politics.³²

As in Scotland, the Jacobite wars in Ireland were seen by some of their participants as a continuation or resurrection of the conflicts of the 1640s and 50s. Ó Bruadair's famous poem of 1684, known as the 'Suim purgadóra bhfear nÉireann' ['Summary of the Purgatory of the Men of Ireland'], had a consciousness of the recent history between Ireland and England.³³ The poem charts the miserable condition of Ireland's Catholics: loyal to a defeated prince in Charles I, defeated and robbed by Cromwell, and disappointed in an indifferent and uncaring monarch in Charles II. History was seen through the paradigm of a purgatory created through their own sins:

Do fearadh a flathas tré peacadh na prímhféinne
ó ar haithreadh a maireann do mhaicne chríche Éibhir
acfainn a gcascartha a gcreachta 's a gcroidhechéasta
i nglacaibh na haicme lear fealladh ar King Séarlus.

Through the sin of the ancestors by whom were begotten
All those who survive of the children of Éibhear's land,
Power to kill, rob, and grieve them from heaven was showered down
Into the hands of the gang who betrayed King Charles.³⁴

Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie argue that by 1684 Ó Bruadair may have been sensing the ending of this purgatory and anticipating a restoration of the Irish Catholics to the comparative comforts of the days before the Civil Wars.³⁵ James II's

³² See Brendan Bradshaw, 'The beginnings of modern Ireland', *'And so began the Irish Nation': nationality, national consciousness and nationalism in Pre-modern Ireland* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp.141-162, pp.142-144; H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press 1952), pp.269-81.

³³ Subsequently cited by its first line: 'Do fearadh a flathas tré peacadh na prímhféinne'.

³⁴ Ó Bruadair, 'Do fearadh a flathas tré peacadh na prímhféinne', iii, §1; see Liam Irwin, 'Purgatory Re-visited'.

³⁵ Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, 'Lost worlds: History and Religion in the Poetry of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair', *Dáibhí Ó Bruadair: His Historical and Literary Context*, pp.18-45, p.38.

accession to the triple monarchy constituted the emergence from this purgatory into a triumphant new world in which the Gaelic poet could praise his king as ‘fionntur Bhreatain’ [‘fair tower of Britain’] and the first English king to trust and arm the native Irish.³⁶ This last point is important. Charles I had indeed speculated about arming Irish Catholics and this was a contributing factor in the stiffening of Puritan and Presbyterian opposition to Charles throughout the three kingdoms.³⁷ James's arming of Irish Catholics restarts the cycle of history, and the subsequent ruptures of revolution, exile, and penal repression were easily read back into the interpretive framework of recent Irish history. In the *Poema* the Williamites are referred to as ‘Cromvelli posthuma Proles / Augusta ardescens vibrare in colla Secures.’ [‘Posthumous Cromwell children, who do burn/ To aim your axes at Augustan necks!’], and, as Sidwell and Lenihan argue, the first three books ‘hammer home the point that those who killed their king in 1649 are the same kind of people who would drive his son into exile nearly forty years later’.³⁸ Diarmaid mac Sheáin Bhuidhe Mac Cárthaigh's poem ‘Céad buidhe re dia i ndiaidh gach anfaidh’ [‘A hundred thanks to god after each fearful storm’] (c. 1687-8) celebrates the triumphant ascendancy of the Irish peasantry under the Catholic monarchy of James: the Irish Tadhg no longer quakes in fear upon hearing ‘You Popish Rogue’ but instead can boldly reply you ‘Cromwellian dog’.³⁹ The memory and pain of the Cromwellian conquest is etched in the literature of the Williamite War, and a desire to efface and triumph over that past predominates the literature of the first years, but by the close of the war the fear of a second conquest begins to inform the literary response.

³⁶ Ó Bruadair, ‘Is buan i mbéalaibh suadh is éigeas’, iii, §§3, 14.

³⁷ See Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates*, p.24; Aidan Clarke, *Old English in Ireland, 1625-42*, p.125.

³⁸ *Poema*, 6.590-591; Sidwell and Lenihan, ‘Introduction’, p.xvii.

³⁹ Diarmaid mac Sheáin Bhuidhe Mac Cárthaigh, ‘Céad buidhe re dia i ndiaidh gach anfaidh’, *DDUB*, iii, §5.

The trauma of the 1640s and 50s seems a key process in the solidification of an Irish sense of nationhood. Taken together, collective struggle, trauma, and a hope for redress grounded in the reality of James II's kingship form a strong environment for the elements of Irish national consciousness developed in the mid-century to mature and grow. The Williamite War was not just a contest between two claimants to the throne but, in Ireland, it became a contest of nations, and was conceived of as such. The Old Irish/Old English dynamic that was still so crucial in Irish perceptions of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, was significantly more muted by 1688. The émigré Irish on the continent (a group Ó Ciardha usefully posits as a fundamental component of an Irish nation) had continued to breathe ideological life into the concept of Irishness.⁴⁰ As we have seen, the Old English scholar Seathrún Céitinn's *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* is the key text in this development.⁴¹ The ethnic distinctions he developed in his writings gave Irish writers clear ethnic and national terminology to think with.⁴² The increasing identification of Irishness with the counter-reformation Catholicism of émigré clerics like Céitinn and Haicéad gave solid criteria for applying that terminology. This confessional element is different from the parallel developments in Scottish Gaelic representations of identity of the same period. In that context confessional and even ethnic differences were more regularly minimised in relation to identification with overarching political factions and the Scottish monarchy. T. J. Dunne has argued that the work of writers such as Céitinn and Haicéad 'is best seen in terms of a specific form of patriotism and Catholicism rather than "nationalism"'.⁴³ However, as

⁴⁰ Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, p.34.

⁴¹ Ó Ciardha has enthusiastically termed it 'the first book of the Old Testament of Irish Catholic nationalism.' 'Irish-language sources for Irish Catholic identity since the early modern period: a brief survey', *Irish Catholic Identities*, pp.139-153, p.141.

⁴² Céitinn, *Foras feasa ar Éirinn*, i, p.4, p.40.

⁴³ T. J. Dunne, 'The Gaelic Response to Conquest and Colonisation: The Evidence of the Poetry', *Studia Hibernica*, 20 (1980), 7-30, p.17.

Bradshaw argues, the willingness to look beyond ties of blood, and to point instead towards a common homeland, particularly in Céitinn's *Foras Feasa* 'anticipates the inclusive concept of the Irish nation that [...] informed the ideology with which the Irish armies that fought on the side of James II at the end of the century were imbued'.⁴⁴ The Irish nation was demonstrably on the minds of Irish writers of the Jacobite period. Charles O'Kelly reached back into Ireland's pre-Tudor history, and wrote that in the centuries after the Norman conquest the Old English and Irish had become in effect a 'united nation' in marriage, customs, and speech, and this union was undermined by the Protestant reconquest under Elizabeth.⁴⁵ Similarly, Nicholas Plunkett defines 'the Irish *Catholic* the nation of Ireland' and, in an early eighteenth century pamphlet, went on to define a nation as 'a natural society, or association of people born upon the same soyl'.⁴⁶ Plunkett went further still and specifically sought to put aside the ethnic wrangles of Catholic Ireland, arguing adherence to the same religion as well as centuries of intermarriage and cultural assimilation could unite Ireland's Catholics against the Cromwellian 'fanatic scabs'.⁴⁷ The elements of the Irish terra, Irish culture, and Irish Catholicity identified in the works of writers like Céitinn were forcefully represented together again in the context of the Jacobite War in Ireland.

The *Poema* does not fit entirely comfortably within this national consciousness of the Irish literati described above. The two prose histories, O'Kelly's and Plunkett's, as well as Ó Bruadair's oeuvre, show an awareness of Irish history, and the ramifications of that

⁴⁴ Brendan Bradshaw, 'Reading Seathrún Céitinn's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*', *Geoffrey Keating's FORAS FEASA AR ÉIRINN: Reassessments*, ed. Pádraig Ó Riain (London: ITS, 2008), pp.1-18, p.2.

⁴⁵ Charles O'Kelly, *Macariae Excidium*, ed. John Cornelius O'Callaghan (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1850), p.28. See Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor Ghael*, p.169, for discussion of medieval Anglo-Norman anticipations of this unifying dynamic. The question of ethnic difference did not disappear, subsumed into the unified nation; rather Jacobite texts, like the Confederate texts, continue to demonstrate the sometimes uneasy tensions between ethnic identity and national identity.

⁴⁶ *A Jacobite narrative*, p.55; 'To the catholics of Ireland' (1703) quoted in Kelly, "'A light to the blind'", p.453.

⁴⁷ *A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland*, p.5.

history on the Irish present, but the *Poema*, from the beginning, takes a broader perspective. British history and a British arena, at least for the first three books, takes precedence.⁴⁸ The classical Virgillian conceit of ‘penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos’ [‘the Britons, wholly sundered from all the world’] is replicated in the *Poema* and with it the idea of a discrete British, archipelagic history.⁴⁹ Many contemporary Irish texts bristle with continental awareness, indeed the lungs of Jacobite Ireland were in its ‘nation’ of continental exiles, but the *Poema* remains imbued with the paradigms and contexts of Britishness. There is an awareness of the Germanic kinship between the Saxons and the Dutch, and the Williamites of the *Poema* suggest this historic kinship will develop into a revived Germanic mastery of the waves.⁵⁰ This significance of this Germanic mastery of the seas is seen in the latter books where Britain's overseas imperial interests are shown to be a source of wealth for the archipelago.⁵¹ However, the treatment of the wealth of empire is revealing. William, through his tyrannous inclinations, is represented as someone who will disrupt trade and growth if he remains in power for too long. However, if the legitimate order is restored, an overseas imperialism is envisaged which could hold Britain and Ireland together.⁵² The key point of this treatment of empire is that, for the author of the *Poema*, Ireland stands or falls with Great Britain, it is tied in to the system economically, politically, and constitutionally. This explicitly British model did not exactly accord with other Irish Jacobite texts which hoped for parity of self-governance and independence with the English and Scots in any

⁴⁸ This mirrors, to an extent, the structure of Lucan's poem as we have it; the first four books of *De Bello Civili* deal with Caesar in Italy and the campaigns in Spain and Africa, it is only at the half-way point in book five that Caesar crosses the Adriatic en-route to his climactic confrontation with Pompey at Pharsalus. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Nicola Royan for drawing my attention to this.

⁴⁹ Virgil, ‘Eclogues’, 1.66. See *Poema*, 2.646.

⁵⁰ *Poema*, 1.670-672.

⁵¹ *Poema*, 6.1306-1307.

⁵² *Poema*, 2.620-634.

three-kingdoms Jacobite settlement.⁵³ Both Plunkett and O'Kelly argue that an armed Catholic Ireland was the only guarantor against future Protestant rebellions in England and Scotland, which suggest that they believed a Stuart-ruled, Catholic Ireland, could exist in opposition to and in independence from Great Britain. Indeed, O'Kelly castigated the Jacobite mismanaging of the Irish war claiming it arose from a false belief that a victorious Jacobite Ireland would preclude James's English and Scottish subjects from ever accepting him back. This bad policy, in O'Kelly's opinion, made the Irish Jacobites nothing more than a sacrificial offering to James's ambition:

it would be a great Hardship on the *Cyprians* [Irish] to sacrifice their Lives, their Estates and Fortunes, the Religion of their Ancestors, and all that was dear to them in this World, out of a vain Presumption that by their Ruin *Amasis* [James II] (would be) reenthroned in *Cilicia* [England], whilst they and their Posterity should be reduced to an inevitable Necessity of enduring a perpetuall Bondage.⁵⁴

It would be wrong to suggest that these writers aspired to an independent Ireland, but they did aspire to an independence within the three-kingdoms framework on an equal footing to that of Scotland and England. Early Scottish Jacobites such as Philp had more ambiguous attitudes to independence, both recognising the good of the 1603 Union and the horrors of civil war that had affected the entire archipelago in the mid-century crises.

Religion, as in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, was vital to the development of an Irish sense of identity and to Irish responses to the Williamite revolution, but it also shaped their view of their neighbours. Plunkett observed that:

It is an experience above controlment, that the pretended reformed people of England are prone to rebellion; that de facto they have dethroned three kings one after another, of late years; that of the three

⁵³ Plunkett's vigorous defence of a three kingdoms system based on an interdependence of strong kingdoms, without the subservience of the Irish parliament to the English is forcefully stated in *A Jacobite narrative*, pp.183-4.

⁵⁴ O'Kelly, *Macariae Excidium*, p.92.

nations, the *Catholic* people of Ireland have showed themselves most loyal; nay, constantly loyal in the three last revolutions happening under the aforesaid princes.⁵⁵

This reverses the long-standing trope in English literature and policy that the Irish are an intrinsically rebellious people who require the civilising control of the English crown. Charles O'Kelly framed the whole Jacobite war and aspirations in denominational terms:

It was the true Intrest of *Amasis* [James II] to goe on after such a Manner in *Cyprus* [Ireland], that might enable him to enter into *Cilicia* [England] with the Sword in Hand, and as a Conqueror reestablish the ancient Worship of *Delphos* [Catholicism], and secure his Royall Prerogative from being hereafter invaded by his inconstant *Martanesian* [Protestant] Subjects, who, by the Principles of their new Religion, were sworn Enemies to Monarchy.⁵⁶

In the prose histories the reformations of England and Scotland are seen as the key rupture in the fabric of British culture, but neither recognise the variation within Protestantism as it developed both in the archipelago and in Europe. O'Kelly's text makes no distinction between Anglican royalists and Presbyterian covenanters or any of the numerous sects and denominations that persisted with little or no state 'authorisation'.⁵⁷ This sense of rupture is replicated in the *Poema* which recounts that 'Toxica Saonico sorbente nocentia primum' ['Saxons first absorbed / his [Luther's] noxious poison'].⁵⁸ From this toxic tincture the *Poema* charts the growth of diversity within Protestantism, and it derisively recounts the proliferation of sects and schisms in England:

Hinc Independens, Tremuls, Brounista, Socinus,
Coetus Amore calens et Baptizator adultus,
Qunitomonarchales et queis Patriarcha Mukelton

⁵⁵ *A Jacobite narrative*, p.39.

⁵⁶ O'Kelly, *Macariae Excidium*, p.93. Ó Buachalla has argued that throughout the seventeenth century a shift took place in Irish poetry which began to identify the foreigners in Ireland solely as those who were 'followers of Luther and Calvin.' 'Poetry and Politics in Early Modern Ireland', p.159.

⁵⁷ I am grateful to Dr. Nicola Royan for raising this issue.

⁵⁸ *Poema*, 1.72.

Independents, Quakers, Brownists, hence
 Socinians, Familists (burning with love),
 Adult Baptists, the Fifth-Monarchy Men,
 Those who have Muggelton as patriarch.⁵⁹

To this myriad of factions is opposed the unity and the horror of Scottish Calvinism whose Presbyters 'Sacrilego vomit ore movens convicia Caelo' ['vomit prayers with sacrilegious mouth/ Ne'er hear or understood, abusing Heav'n'].⁶⁰ In the *Poema* it is the heady mix of these two streams of Protestantism in the National Covenant which has spawned violence and regicide in the archipelago.⁶¹ This, it must be noted, is a specifically Irish interpretation of events. In Scotland and England, Catholics supported James alongside Episcopalians and Anglicans. Philp may have poured scorn for the various 'unauthorised' denominations of Protestantism, but he did so as a Jacobite from within the Protestant tradition.

Alongside the steady Irish adherence to their ancient religion and the house of Stuart, the British predilection for religious novelties is seen as a form of madness, and the exchanging of governments and kings as a kind of adultery. The author in his search for a cure for these conditions relates Pausanias's description of Canathus:

Est apud Argivos illimibus inclytus undis
 Fons Canathus, quo Juno decus renovare quotannis
 Virgineum didicit, Quam Graiae ex more secutae
 Non profecturis moechae se tingere lymphis
 Consuerunt damno pro virginitatis ademptae.
 Tali ego quàm cuperem Nostros se posse lavacro
 Abluere innocuumque animum reparare Britannos,
 Munda verecundo signantes ora rubore.

There is among the Argives a famed fount,
 With mudless waters, Canathus by name,
 Where Juno every year learned to renew
 Her virgin honour, whom from custom long
 The Greek adulteress following used to bathe

⁵⁹ *Poema*, 1.83-85.

⁶⁰ *Poema*, 1.101.

⁶¹ *Poema*, 1.103-106.

In ineffectual stream, to mark the loss
 Of her virginity. How I could wish
 Our Britons could them wash in such a bath,
 Repair their innocence and mark their face,
 Now clean, with modest blush.⁶²

This, of course, mirrors the Gaelic conceit that a king was married to his land. The *Poema* advances no Canathus, no solution to Britain's adulterous union with William, and looks no further than the prospect of claiming Ireland for James, which further complicates our understanding of the text as British or Irish in its Jacobitism. Once William's decision to invade Ireland was made the *Poema* gives us this description:

Martem igitur tentare procul stat in avia Regna
 Ultra promissos hac deditione Britannos
 Et furere in miseros proprij Rectoris amore
 Primaevaeque notâ Fidei zeloque flagrantes
 Hybernos, sero positam sub vespere Gentem.

Therefore is the determination made
 To try out battle on the pathless realms
 Beyond the Britons promised to the King
 By this capitulation and to rage
 Against poor Irishmen, who burned with love
 For their own King, with tokens and with zeal
 For their primeval faith, a race which lies
 Far to the west.⁶³

As in the days of the Confederation, Ireland's resistance could form under the banner 'Pro deo, rege, et patria, Hibernia unanimis' ['For god, king, and fatherland, Ireland is united'], and whilst, ultimately, it remained unable to defend itself against its adulterous neighbour, Irish Jacobitism became the dominant political ideology of Irish Catholics for almost a century and furthered the development of Irish national consciousness into nationalism.

⁶² *Poema*, 2.752-759. See also Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 2.38.2: 'Of the walls, too, ruins still remain and in Nauplia are a sanctuary of Poseidon, harbors, and a spring called Canathus. Here, say the Argives, Hera bathes every year and recovers her maidenhood.'

⁶³ *Poema*, 3.181-185.

4.2: Two epics: Jacobite Latinity in the divergent contexts of Ireland and Scotland

Scottish Jacobite Latinity has been the subject of scholarly articles and studies, and the works of the likes of Archibald Pitcairne have found a secure place in eighteenth-century Scottish literary studies.⁶⁴ Jacobite Ireland's Latin legacy has been deemed slighter – a weighting that will have to be reconsidered with the re-emergence of the *Poema* – and less characteristic of Jacobite Ireland's literary response.⁶⁵ The editors of the *Poema* are currently editing Fr John White's Latin poems on the battle of the Boyne and the siege of Limerick, but, other than these texts and the *Poema*, the primary texts to emerge from the Williamite War are in Irish Gaelic or English.⁶⁶ It is important therefore to situate the *Poema*, within its specifically Irish literary contexts, as this study has sought to do, but it is also productive to examine where it fits in with its Latin sources, and the wider realm of Jacobite Latinity and a 'rhetoric of Jacobitism'. The similarity in context, sources, and content between the *Grameid* and the *Poema* (texts which must now be considered the most extensive and ambitious literary works of Jacobitism in any linguistic tradition), offer fruitful grounds for comparative study. The divergences in religious and national backgrounds, and the different ramifications of Jacobite defeat each country also makes this comparison of texts a key route into understanding how Jacobitism developed in the diverse arenas of Scotland and Ireland.

⁶⁴ See Kidd, 'The ideological significance of Scottish Jacobite Latinity'; Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*.

⁶⁵ Whilst there has been deemed to be a relative paucity of Irish Jacobite material in Latin, the two most important works of Restoration Ireland, Roderic O'Flaherty's *Ogygia* and John Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus*, are works of solid Latin scholarship, and evidence of a still vigorous indigenous Latin tradition.

⁶⁶ Sidwell and Lenihan, 'Introduction,' p.xviii.

The intended audiences of these two poems remains tantalisingly obscure, but the patterns of associations, echoes, borrowings, and transformations that undergird the *Poema* and the *Grameid* reveal something of the literary cultures they emerged from and also of their intended audiences. Both texts are written in the full tradition of European classical letters and demand to be read in that tradition. As discussed, Lucan's *De Bello Civili* is the predominant literary model for both poems, although both poets have also absorbed and redeployed significant Virgillian themes, images, and discourses. In light of their literary models and their language, their intended audience was necessarily a highly learned one. The transmission histories of the manuscripts of both poems have serious early lacunae, and renders reconstructing the readership of the poem highly speculative. We can say with certainty that there were at least three, possibly four, copies of Philp's poem extant in the first half of the eighteenth century. Of the *Poema*, nothing is known of the history of the only extant manuscript before 1869.⁶⁷ With regards to the wider literary culture they partook in, there is more certainty. Scotland possessed a thriving and combative neo-Latin literary culture which was particularly associated with royalism and Jacobitism. Whilst the Greek and Latin classics had formed a key impetus to literary and cultural endeavours throughout Europe generally during the early modern period, there is particular evidence that Lucan was especially prized in England and associated with republicanism and political protest, and this may have fed into the rest of the archipelago.⁶⁸ These two poems' Jacobite appropriation of that discourse points to a marriage of Virgillian and Lucanian themes to criticise rebellion and to praise legitimate government as necessary for a nation's moral and spiritual life. However, neither text is a detailed apologia for this perspective, and, despite

⁶⁷ See Murdoch, *Grameid*, pp.xxvii-xxxii; Sidwell and Lenihan, *Poema*, pp.xxxviii-xlvi.

⁶⁸ Hardie, 'Lucan in the English Renaissance', p.491.

Sidwell's suggestion that the *Poema* is didactic in part, it seems unlikely that these poems were written to persuade people to adopt the Jacobite cause rather than to preach to the converted on the legitimacy of James and the tyranny of William. There is also a clear sense these poems were written to memorialise the fallen and the defeated and – particularly in the case of the *Poema* – to buoy up the survivors with hopes for a future restoration. The intended audiences of these poems were clearly co-religionists and the politically like-minded. There may well have been an international dimension, a hope that the poems would provoke sympathy and aid from friendly powers on the continent, but there is no direct evidence for this. Beyond the scant evidence for audiences that the poems and their textual histories afford us, in their actual content there is material enough for rich comparisons to be made.

The *Poema* was written in isolation from James Philp's *Grameid* and, although it bears several striking parallels with that text, it also displays an unfamiliarity with the Jacobite war in Scotland (much as Philp does of the situation in Ireland). In a strange passage, James is reminded that 'Est tibi Dundei gravis et Claverus' ['Thou grave Dundee and Clavers hast'].⁶⁹ This splitting of Dundee and Clavers into two distinct persons is explained by the editors as 'a rhetorical device, the point of which is to emphasise the strength and power of his personality,' however this explanation seems forced and a genuine ignorance of Dundee's title of 7th Laird of Claverhouse seems more likely.⁷⁰ Identifying the *Poema*'s content, structure and genre is perhaps more challenging than that of the *Grameid*. Sidwell has suggested reading it (at least partially) as a didactic rather than

⁶⁹ *Poema*, 2.431.

⁷⁰ *Poema*, p.133.n.40. Other Irish commentators on the Jacobite Wars of 1688-1691 acknowledged that a rising had taken place in Scotland, but were under no illusion that Jacobite hopes hinged on the Irish theatre. Plunkett refers to the Scottish rising as 'that little war' (*A Jacobite narrative*, p.86).

epic poem, intent on instructing its readers on the truth of the war in Ireland and how best to respond.⁷¹ This is attractive on the grounds of interpretation because substantial portions of the text are decidedly un-epic in their tone and content, and fuse a variety of satirical registers.⁷² However, this, in itself, can be considered redolent of a Lucanian cynicism towards celebratory Augustan epic as found in traditional readings of Virgil. Unlike the *Grameid*, the *Poema* is complete and in its ending it grapples with some of the problems in writing a lengthy narrative poem from the perspective of the defeated party.

The Britannic perspective of the first three books offers points of comparison with the *Grameid*. The tumult of civil war is seen as a mad act of self-slaughter:

Heu!, Vecors Hominum Genus, an tibi defuit Hostis
Turca ferox Maurusque procax et Tartarus atrox?

Alas! Mad race of men, did you lack foes
In fierce Turk, bold Moor and Tartar cruel?⁷³

Philp's treatment of civil war, particularly in his opening lines, has been called a 'programmatic parallel' with Lucan, and clearly the *Poema* is also heavily and self-consciously imbued with the same material.⁷⁴ Given their use of same poetic models, similarities and indeed the occurrence of similar phrasings between the *Poema* and the *Grameid* are not perhaps surprising, but there are parallels in both poems' more original passages. Both Philp and the author of the *Poema* lament that civil war cannot be averted and Christendom be galvanised into a final crusade:

Non redimenda forent Solymorum Tempia cruore
Hoc, quem Catholicae fundunt per proelia Dextrae?
[...]

⁷¹ Keith Sidwell, "'Now or never, now and forever'", p.253.

⁷² The *Grameid* also includes a lengthy satirical diatribe on "John Presbyter" but its tone is more out of kilter with the epic and heroic stature of events and persons in the rest of the poem than the corresponding passages in the *Poema*.

⁷³ *Poema*, 2.884-885. See Lucan, *De Bello Civili*, 1.8-32; Philp, *Grameid*, 1.9-43.

⁷⁴ Houghton, 'Lucan in the Highlands', p.191.

Sacra Palestinae priscis cultoribus arva
 Restauranda forent, Sancti et Monimenta Sepulchri
 Recludenda Pijis, ea adire volentibus?

Should not the temples of Jerusalem
 Have been redeemed by that blood which in wars
 Is now spilled forth by Catholic right-hands?
 [...]

The lands
 Of sacred Palestine should be won back
 For their first cultivators, and to those
 Who piously wish to visit, be unlocked
 The Holy Sepulchre's great monuments.⁷⁵

This call for a holy and just war to replace an unjust and sacrilegious war within Christendom highlights the moral values both poems place on Jacobite struggle and civil war more generally. That Christians should be reduced to conflict with one another is abhorred, and by implication the perpetrators of this conflict (namely the Williamites) are guilty of upsetting the religious and secular order of Europe.

The continuities and divergences between the *Grameid* and the *Poema* are particularly revealing in their treatments of the territories of Scotland and Ireland respectively. In their poetics of space and place they mirror something of the same upset of order and civility as the civil war itself. In the *Grameid*, Dundee's men, after reaching the western Highlands of Scotland, exclaim:

Jam certe extremis terrarum insedimus oris,
 Obris et arctoi fines, spatia ultima mundi
 Emensi, terras longinqua sede repostas
 Oceani, penitusque alio sub sidere gentes
 Vidimus indomitas, toto et procul orbe revulsas
 Hebridas, et populos incinctos cernimus usque
 Montibus aëreis, gelidoque sub axe jacentes.

We have surely come to the limits of the North, and to those islands where indomitable races of men have settled under another sky, the Hebrides –

⁷⁵ *Poema*, 2.886-7, 2.893-895. See Philp, *Grameid*, 1.29-31.

torn off from the rest of the world. We see around us people enclosed by lofty mountains, under a bitter climate.⁷⁶

This is an epic and climacteric moment in which the journey from the civilised Lowlands through the hyperborean Highlands is completed in the revelation of utter isolation on the extreme edge of the British map. The language of this moment is informed by the ethnic and cultural boundaries of early modern Scotland, and its pathos rests on the realisation of a Jacobite identity which traverses and embraces such dialectically opposed geographies as the Highlands and Lowlands. This is a moment which is echoed very closely in the *Poema*, but the difference in tone and meaning reveal a great deal about the different situations Ireland and Scotland found themselves in. Book 3 of the *Poema* opens with 'Bifrons [...] Ianus' ['two-faced Janus'] opening his temple gates and letting war flow into Europe.⁷⁷

William, settled in his possession of England and Scotland, turns his attention to Ireland:

Jam propere petitur nova scena futura Cruoris
Banvia, fida suo veteri vetus Insula Regi,
Ultima Terrarum Hesperio seposta [sic.] sub Axe,
Qua Thetis occiduum Phoebi jubar excipit undis.

Now hastily is sought as theatre new
For slaughter Banba, ancient island, loyal
To its own ancient King, the last of lands,
Placed far apart beneath the western sky,
Where Thetis does receive the setting rays
Of Phoebus in her waves.⁷⁸

The points of convergence and divergence between the two passages are manifold. Both poems emphasise the extremity of the geographical position: 'Ultima terrarum' / 'extremis terrarum', 'Hesperio seposta [sic.] sub Axe' / 'arctoi fines [...] gelidoque sub axe.' However, the perspectives of the poets and the purposes of deploying this language of extremities are

⁷⁶ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.50-56.

⁷⁷ *Poema*, 3.1-80.

⁷⁸ *Poema*, 3.258-261.

manifestly different. The *Grameid*'s journey into the Highlands is a literary retelling of Philp's own journey, thus it represents the thoughts and impressions of someone approaching Gaelic Scotland as an intrigued and sympathetic outsider. The emphasis is on an internal cultural and geographical division within Scotland. The harshness of the climate and the inhumanity and isolation of the geography are all emphasised by Philp because it helps him explain the people he encounters. The *Poema*'s approach to Ireland is entirely different. After surveying the vast tumults in Britain and the continent unleashed by Janus and the tyranny of William, the *Poema* retreats to Ireland. William turns his eye on Ireland with slaughter ['cruoris'] in mind, but the poem, on reaching Ireland, softens and takes a moment to describe it. The island is treated as a whole, and its loyalty to its ancient king is emphasised. Unlike Philp's Hebrides, violently cast into the sea and suffering 'gelido sub axe' ['under a bitter climate'], the *Poema*'s imagery presents a sensuous and harmonious mingling of the world's western limit melting into sunset and sea.⁷⁹ The *Poema*'s use of the bardic epithet 'Banba' ['Banvia'] for Ireland is a fascinating instance of cross-lingual and cross-cultural interplay and it is appropriate that in this small way the classical Gaelic idiom should be housed in the neo-classical hexameters of the *Poema*. Both the use of 'Banba' and the description of Ireland imply a poet describing his own country and addressing his own people. Banba, as one of the epithets of the entire island of Ireland, also encodes a sense of a geographical and cultural unity that could form a patria for an Irish people. Philp's fulsome descriptions, so necessary for a Scottish audience's relative ignorance of its Highland

⁷⁹ These passages could also be productively compared with Tacitus's description of the abrupt and unexpected mixing of sea and land and mountains in Caledonia: 'when you cross the border [into Caledonia] a vast and irregular tract of land runs out forming the final stretch of coast-line and eventually tapers as it were into a wedge [...] nowhere has the sea more potent influence: many tidal currents set in various directions; nor merely do the incoming tides wash the shores and ebb again, but penetrate the land deeply and invest it, and even steal into the heart of hills and mountains as though into their native element' (*Agricola*, 10).

neighbours, have no place in the *Poema*'s Ireland, whose ethnic boundaries were not geographically enforced in the same way as in Scotland, and whose different cultures were more used to mixing with one another. The *Poema*'s perspective is more "native" then, than that of the *Grameid*. Philp's depiction is also more fundamentally Lucanian than the *Poema*'s. The classical topos of the *locus horridus*, a site made physically reflective of the horrors and disjunctures of civil war in Lucan's work, is fitted into the Scottish landscape by Philp in a way alien to the treatment of Ireland in the *Poema*.⁸⁰

The *Grameid* attempts to inspire wonder and awe in its audience in its descriptions of Gaels and Gaeldom, and no such dynamic does or even could exist in the *Poema*. The only approach at reaching a similar emphasis on ethnic otherness in the *Poema* is in the brief description of the Scottish Gaels themselves. In the *Poema* the Scottish Gaels, a people who evoked a myriad of significant names and genealogies in the *Grameid* ('Fergusiadae', 'Grampigenae', 'Monticolae'), are given the simple descriptor 'Scoto-Hybernorum'.⁸¹ Sidwell translates this as 'Gaelic Scots', but it could be translated more literally 'Scots from Ireland,' or 'Irish Scots', and as such is parallel to contemporary Scots usage of 'Erse' ['Irish'] for the Gaelic language. 'Scoto-Hybernorum' is a simple and direct description of the Scottish Gaelic connection with Ireland and implicitly acknowledges there are also Scots who are not from Ireland. Both their Scottishness and their Irishness are directly stated, but they are subject to the same othering descriptions as employed by Philp:

His modo scuta humeris laterique accingitur Ens,
Saepe pharetratis properant in proelia turmis
Arcu habiles, sclopis aliàs armantur et hastis,

⁸⁰ See McIntyre, 'Written into the Landscape', pp.25-87.

⁸¹ Philp, *Grameid*, 4.471, 3.344, 2.188; *Poema*, 2.434. In Classical Latin 'Hibernorum' is unambiguously the genitive plural of 'Hibernus' ['winter']. In medieval and early modern Latin a variety of new nouns and adjectives were developed to describe nations and nationalities unknown to Classical Latin. See 'Hibernus', *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. Ronald Edward Latham, David R. Howlett et. al. (London: Oxford University Press, 1975-2011) < <http://logeion.uchicago.edu> > [Accessed: 09/07/18].

Tibia sufflato queis classica praecinit Utre.
 Versicolore plicas geminant in veste repandâ,
 Quam simul aspecto cumulant in collibus hoste
 Inque aciem vadunt humeros ac pectora nudi.

With only shields
 upon their shoulders, swords upon their flanks,
 Oft do they rush to fight in quivered ranks,
 Skilled with the bow, at other times with spears
 And muskets armed, their battle-signal played
 On pipes by an inflated bladder blown.
 In turned-up cloaks of various hue they twin
 The folds, and then, the enemy once spied,
 They pile them on the hills and to the fray
 They run with naked shoulder and bare breast.⁸²

There is not, here, the Philpian emphasis on barbarity and primitiveness, but there is a recognition of difference (specifically in dress, military customs, and musical instruments) and the need to describe that difference to an unfamiliar audience. This acknowledgement of difference nestles alongside the term ‘Scoto-Hybernorum’ and complicates it, and indeed it emphasises that the Irish in Scotland are quite separate from the Irish in Ireland. We have seen above that an Irish Gaelic poet like Ó Bruadair could describe James II's bloodline with the term ‘Scotfhuil’ i.e. ‘Scottish blood’, not to directly emphasise his Scottish heritage but his Irish Gaelic lineage; there is not the same elision or compression of Gaelic Scotland in the *Poema*, but it is represented as both other and Irish.

The interior ethnic boundaries of Ireland and Scotland differed significantly, but Jacobitism, in both countries, could cut across ethnic divides. The *Poema* does not embark on the genealogical and mythographical expositions of the *Grameid*, but it does utilise the language of Virgil to point to the cultural contours of early modern Ireland. The Jacobite Viceroy of Ireland, Richard Talbot, 1st Earl of Tyrconnell, died of illness shortly before the

⁸² *Poema*, 2.436-442.

surrender of Limerick and end of the Williamite War in 1691. His viceregency was turbulent, and, after James's flight from Ireland following the capitulation at the Boyne, he bore the mantle of civil and military leadership in Ireland. His reputation in Ireland was polarised: as O'Kelly's 'Coridon' he was accused of a plot to bring the Irish under English domination again, yet to Diarmaid mac Sheáin Bhuidhe Mac Cárthaigh he was 'Tyrconnell na lann mo bhall dearg sa' ['the swordsman Tyrconnell, my Balldearg of prophecy'].⁸³ The *Poema*, described him as a 'Numa' ['Numa'] in justice and refers specifically to his approach to the Old Irish and Old English: 'Cui Tros et Rutulus simul indiscreta fuere / Nomina' ['To whom the names of all, / Trojan [Old English], Rutulian [Old Irish], were at once the same'].⁸⁴ The choice of Trojan and Rutulian to symbolise the two halves of Catholic Ireland is slightly skewed in its implications. The Trojan epithet honours the Old English by paying heed to the Bruttian (i.e. Trojan) foundation of Britain. The use of Trojan and Rutulian potentially opens a space for a unification modelling the anticipation of Virgil's *Aeneid* that Aeneas' Trojans will fuse with the conquered Rutulians, but it also carries with it the undercurrent of colonisation and domination that remains insistently present in Virgil's account. Juno's prayer on behalf of the Latins best illustrates the positive form of this unification:

illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur,
 pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum:
 cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus, esto,
 component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent,
 ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos
 neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari
 aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem.

⁸³ O'Kelly, *Macariae Excidium*, p.90; Diarmaid mac Sheáin Bhuidhe Mac Cárthaigh, 'Céad buidhe re dia i ndiaidh gach anfaidh', iii, §xxviii. 'Ball dearg' refers to an Gaelic Irish prophecy about a redeemer who would drive out the Gall. Ó Bruadair retained his confidence in Tyrconnell at least until the end of the war as his poem 'Gé d'fhásadar táimhfhir' makes clear. See Ó Bruadair, iii.

⁸⁴ *Poema*, 6.1493-1495. Numa, the second king of Rome, is also an poignant choice for comparison, for not only was he famed as a lawgiver, but he was also not ethnically Roman but Sabine. Livy, *History of Rome*, 1.18-21.

sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,
sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago

This boon, banned by no law of fate, I beg of you for Latium's sake, for your own kin's greatness: when anon with happy bridal rites – so be it! – they plight peace, when anon they join in laws and treaties, do not command the native Latins to change their ancient name, nor to become Trojans and be called Teucrians, nor to change their language and alter their attire: let Latium be, let Alban kings endure through ages, let be a Roman stock, strong in Italian valour.⁸⁵

This fusion, and Latinisation of the Trojan conquerors is, in some ways, an apt parallel of the Gaelicisation of the Anglo-Normans after the twelfth century whose development into Gaelic speaking 'Éireannaigh' by the time of the seventeenth century matches the Trojan transformation into Romans. However, despite the process of Latinisation, the context of the Trojan conquest and violent subjugation of the autochthonous Rutulians cannot be forgotten, nor fail to be compared with the Norman conquest of Ireland.⁸⁶ The ambition of looking beyond the cultural fault-lines produced by the Norman Conquest, was one which much Irish Jacobite literature hoped would be realised.⁸⁷ It cannot be denied, though, that writing in the aftermath of the Jacobite defeat O'Kelly, much as the Aphorismical Discoverer, blamed defeat on a fundamental cultural split within Catholic Ireland, namely 'an inveterate Hatred to the old *Cyprian* [Irish] Race, lest they might be restored (by the Recovery of *Cyprus* [Ireland]) to their ancient Grandeur'.⁸⁸ Vincent Morely, in his comparison of Scottish and Irish Gaelic Jacobite poetry, has argued that whilst Scottish Gaelic poetry remained narrowly concerned with the issue of dynastic succession, Irish Gaelic poetry convoked

⁸⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 12.819-827.

⁸⁶ Indeed the violence and oath-breaking of the final book of the *Aeneid* in particular is so intense that it at least partially occludes the positive denouement of the narrative and the prophetic future of Rome. For a detailed discussion of such readings and creative reactions to the darker elements of the *Aeneid* see Kallendorf, *The other Virgil*.

⁸⁷ See *A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland*, p.5-6.

⁸⁸ O'Kelly, *Macariae Excidium*, p.104.

religious issues and national feelings in a new way.⁸⁹ This could be countered with Scots Gaelic poetry's general embrace of wider political concerns and engagement with concepts of Gaeldom, Scotland, and the three kingdoms, but it is interesting that the pattern Morley describes is most certainly not applicable to the Latin literature about the Irish and Scottish Gaels. The *Poema*, in a way similar to the Irish Gaelic poetry, recognised but tried to transcend ethnic and cultural divisions. However, Philp's genealogy of Scottishness emphasised the Scottish Gaels and their significance to any concept of a Scottish nation in a way that was very distinct from that of Scottish Gaelic poetry, and yet he simultaneously maintained the cultural partition between Gaels and modern Scots. In Philp's work there is no final absorption of both cultures into a unified nation as is hoped for in the *Poema*.

The usage of classical sources, especially Lucan, provides another key point of contact and comparison between the *Poema* and the *Grameid*. The Lucanian model in particular provided a common paradigm for interpreting the Williamite War: James and William, father-in-law and son-in-law, faced each other like a second Pompey and Caesar, son-in-law and father-in-law, at the pivotal battle of the Boyne. This parallel was noted by contemporaries in Ireland and on the continent. In his *Mémoires* Claude Louis Hector, duc de Villars, compared the kings facing each other at the Boyne to another Pharsalus.⁹⁰ For Plunkett, the River Boyne was 'the old Rubicon of the Pale, and the frontier of the corn country'.⁹¹ He made the connection even clearer when he wrote of William's conquests in the south of Ireland that 'Here the prince of Orange may say, as Julius Caesar did in his

⁸⁹ Vincent Morley, 'Idé-eolaíocht an tSeacaibíteachais in Éirinn agus in Albain', *Oghma*, ix (1997), 14-24.

⁹⁰ Claude Louis Hector, duc de Villars, *Mémoires du Duc de Villars* (The Hague, 1734), p.194: 'Un des grand événemens de cette année, est la bataille de la Boyne. On y vit deux Roix aux prises, dont l'un étoit le beau-père, l'autre le gendre; comme on vit autrefois Pompée & Cezar dans les plaines de Pharsale.'

⁹¹ *A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland*, p.98.

expedition of Zela, "*veni, vidi, vici*".⁹² William's association with the conquering Caesar is emphasised in these texts, and is a constant motif of the *Poema*. There is then a clear departure in the two epics' response to Lucan in their handling of Caesar and Caesarean imagery. Sidwell argues that the *Poema* makes capital of the noted parallels between Caesar and Pompey and William and James and in doing so 'appropriat[es] the ancient poem's outright condemnation of the aggressor, Caesar – for whom, in this case, read the son-in-law, William of Orange'.⁹³ This Caesarean model is embedded (with occasional self-contradiction) throughout the text, but it is a world apart from Philp's uncritical depiction of James II as Caesar.⁹⁴ James is regularly described as a Caesar with no qualms of the implications or associations on Philp's part. Philp's rhetoric alienates his readers from William then not by his association with the classical Caesar, but by emphasising repeatedly William's foreignness and his tyranny. This makes sense in the context of the *Grameid* which invests so much energy on accounting for the origins of the Scots and the House of Stuart and in depicting the legitimacy of James's rule. This does not mean Philp was unaware of some of the negative associations of Caesar's name and it is important to distinguish between the man Julius Caesar and the 'office' or title of 'Caesar'. When Philp produces a passage such as 'Caesaris et partes depulsi totas anhelat / Dundius' ['Dundee pants to serve his Caesar'], 'Caesar' should be read as an augustus, king, or emperor, rather than as a type of Julius Caesar.⁹⁵ In the *Poema* this distinct use of Caesar is rarely made, and we may almost always read 'Caesar' as the man rather than the office. Only on one occasion is

⁹² A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland, p.108.

⁹³ Sidwell, "'Now or never, now and forever'", p.254.

⁹⁴ Houghton, "Lucan in the Highlands", p.195.

⁹⁵ Philp, *Grameid*, 3.270-271 [my translation]. Robin Sowerby ('Epic', p.155) makes the point that Lucan's text in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Britain had 'always been regarded as a radically anti-Augustan poem.' This holds true for the Whig usages of Lucan but, despite their different uses of Caesar, both the *Poema* and the *Grameid* successfully marry Lucanian paradigms with an Augustan approach to the legitimate monarchy.

James explicitly compared to Caesar and this is to emphasise the positive military prowess shared by them both. In a description of the Irish army being led by James, the *Poema* pronounces 'rapiunt sua signa Cohortes / Quaque migrant, Quae adversa vident, cum Caesare vincunt' ['And where'er / They go, and whatsoe'er forces adverse / They see, they conquer, Caesar at their head'].⁹⁶ Not only is James termed 'Caesar' but the triplicate of going ('Quaque migrant'), seeing foes ('Quae adversa vident'), and conquering them ('vincunt') replicates Caesar's famous tricolon 'Veni, vidi, vici.' This is a relatively isolated moment however, and generally the *Poema* makes great poetic capital out of the Caesarean language surrounding William. In the *Poema* the Williamite forces invading England directly are presented in reference to the battle of Pharsalus: 'Vix tot Pharsalicam complevit Caesar Arenam / Gentibus aut Magnus fatis congressus iniquis' ['Scarce with so many tribes did Caesar fill / Pharsalian sand, or Pompey when he met / His unjust fates'].⁹⁷ The Battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, perhaps the two most significant defeats suffered by the Jacobites, both occurred in the month of July, and at the outset of the sixth book the *Poema* mourns a month which has proved fateful to Rome through the centuries (the poet recounts the death of Quirinus, the disaster at the Allia, and the burning of the Capitol, all events that occurred in July) and connects these disasters with Ireland's present state:

Et nunc Romanis titulis venit Ominis idem
Iulius infausti Fideique Reique Latinae,
Nominis Authorem culpato in Caesare damnans.

This same July, of evil omen still
To Roman faith and to the Roman cause,
Condemning in damned Caesar its name's sore.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ *Poema*, 3.740-741.

⁹⁷ *Poema*, 3.37-38.

⁹⁸ *Poema*, 6.18-20.

The move from republican Rome to Roman Catholic Ireland is seamless and each still is tormented by a tyrannous Caesar. The implicit connection between James, the Catholic Church, and the Roman Republic, is not perceived to be ironical by the poet, and critiques of James and the Church as autocratic clearly held little weight with the author.

The Caesarean-Pompeian imagery is more fully sustained throughout the *Poema* than in the *Grameid*, and this continued focus on James and William in the *Poema* is occasioned by the presence of both in Ireland during the conflict whereas Philp's focus is given to the main Scottish actors: Dundee and Hugh Mackay. After his victory at the Boyne and James's flight from Ireland, William entered into Dublin. Many of the inhabitants loyal to James had retreated with the army, leading William in the *Poema* to meditate and soliloquise on his actions. He asks himself 'Vacuumne subimus / Plebe Gubernaculum populoque carentia Regna?' ['Shall we enter in / Upon a government without a plebs / And realms that have no people in at all?']⁹⁹ He is then struck by doubt and misgivings for all his actions since staging the coup against his father in law. He wishes he had overcome his 'pectoris aestus' ['breast's fire'] but is now 'captum ambitione' ['ambition's prisoner'].¹⁰⁰ His choice was such that he could have spurned earthly glory and instead 'Iperiumque Mei mihimet' ['have been the King and conqueror / of mine own self'].¹⁰¹ This choice is presented in the language of an interior Rubicon, as whilst mourning his past choices he reconciles himself to his present execution of those choices:

At sapimus sero cum jacta sit alea. Noster
Hactenus haud caruit, si qui est, successibus Error.
Pergimus!

Well, when the die is cast we learn too late!

⁹⁹ *Poema*, 6.312-13.

¹⁰⁰ *Poema*, 6.314-315.

¹⁰¹ *Poema*, 6.316.

Our error, if 'tis such, has hitherto
Not lacked successes. We shall carry on!¹⁰²

This verbally echoes Caesar's famous words on entering the Rubicon and initiating civil war 'iacta alea est' ['the die is cast'].¹⁰³ This poignant moment of interior dialogue briefly humanises William, and indeed approaches the genuine ambivalence which typifies Lucan's own treatment of Caesar.¹⁰⁴ It elicits a moment of concern from the reader on account of the moral peril in which William has fallen and is in danger of plunging into still deeper. The Caesarean decision to cross the Rubicon, come what may, emphatically seals the fate of William's soul and he binds himself directly to Caesar's pattern:

Exempla inversa sequamur.
Pompeium pepulit generum malè Julius Ille
Nos socerum vacuumque solum populamur adepti.

Let's pursue
Inverted models. Julius the famed
Drove Pompey into exile violently,
His son-in-law, our in-law father we
And we lay waste the empty soil we've gained.¹⁰⁵

Once on the far side of this moral Rubicon, William's character is sealed into a cycle of mean violence and hubris. His ambition aspires now not only for the solidification of his hold on the three British kingdoms, but also to revive the English claim to the Kingship of France which had fossilised into the titles of the English crown:

tumefacta Lutetia, vestros
Ludentumque pilis pro vectigale remissis
Mittentique malum Gallo exitumque minatum
Absentem domuit voto jam praepete Gallum.

O Paris puffed with pride,
He has in swift wish tamed the absent Gaul,
Long since, by sending back the tennis-balls

¹⁰² *Poema*, 6.321-323.

¹⁰³ Suetonius, *Divius Iulius*, 33.

¹⁰⁴ See Christine Walde, 'Caesar, Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, and their Reception', pp.47-54.

¹⁰⁵ *Poema*, 6.323-325.

(Received instead of tribute) of the players
 Who threaten ill and death against the Gaul
 Who sent them over.¹⁰⁶

This invocation of Henry V's conquest of France, a high-point of medieval England's continental influence, and a moment celebrated in literature popular and elite throughout the renaissance, is witheringly undercut by the poet who immediately reminds William, 'Nec veterum tu Rex Britonum de Traduce Regum es' ['nor art thou, King, a scion / Of British Kings'].¹⁰⁷ William's claim to the Kingship (of both France and England) is null, and neither does he possess the descent from the great Henry which might give him legitimacy or cause to hope for a like conquest. The final unravelling of William's character comes at the close of the first siege of Limerick (1690). On sounding the retreat after the abandonment of the siege, William 'Militis hinc aegri et labefacti vulnere multo / Imperat accendi rapidis Nosocomia flammis' ['Th'infirmery, for soldiers sick and weak / From many a wound, he orders to be burnt / With rapid flames'].¹⁰⁸ This slaughter of his own wounded troops is William's final act in the poem before he departs Ireland to leave the managing of the war to his generals, and it underscores the callous inhumanity into which his ambition has led him. It also perhaps serves as a counterpoint to James's own departure long before the war was finished. James's flight is not deemed to be his own decision and his survival, like that of Pompey after Pharsalus, points to the potential of a future restoration:

Ille autem Consulta Ducum non sponte secutus
 Tristis et (Aemathios olim ut culpaverat Agros
 Arma sui fugiens Soceri Civilia Magnus)
 Multa gemens Aciem turbataque castra relinquit.

¹⁰⁶ *Poema*, 6.437-440. The most famous instance of the story of the tennis balls, and a possible inspiration for the present passage, is Shakespeare's *Henry V*: 'When we [Henry V] have matched our rackets to these balls / We will in France, by God's grace, play a set / shall strike his [the Dauphin's] father's crown into the hazard. / Tell him he hath made a match with such a wranglers / That all the courts of France shall be disturbed / With chases.' *King Henry V*, ed. T.W. Craik (England: Routledge, 1995), 1.2.262-267. See also Sidwell and Lenihan, *Poema*, p.429 n.28.

¹⁰⁷ *Poema*, 6.444.

¹⁰⁸ *Poema*, 6.803-804.

He, following his generals' advice,
 Not of his own accord, with mighty groans,
 Did leave the battle and his troubled camp
 In sadness, just as Pompey long ago
 Had laid blame on th' Emathian fields, whist fleeing
 His own son-in-law's internecine arms.¹⁰⁹

4.3: Making defeats victories – Irish responses to the Williamite War

The triumphant march of Dundee to Killiecrankie is the enduring image of the *Grameid*.

Whilst Killiecrankie ended in a Jacobite victory, the death of Dundee led to a rapid disintegration of the military resistance to William. The campaign was brief and the emotions of such a pyrrhic victory followed by defeat were highly charged. The belief that another military attempt would follow soon was a hallmark of each of the Jacobite risings in Scotland. The Williamite War in Ireland was of a wholly different character. Dominated as it was by the pivotal sieges of Derry and Limerick, as well as large set piece battles, it stretched out over two years and not only claimed many lives. In its aftermath not only were significant penal restrictions placed on the Irish Catholic population but also large numbers of both the Jacobite elites and soldiery left for the continent; their aim, in the words of their leader Patrick Sarsfield, was to 'make another Ireland in the armies of the great king of France'.¹¹⁰ As Ó Ciardha has demonstrated, this 'other' Ireland became a focal point of Irish Jacobites' hopes and fears.¹¹¹ In this context, how Irish Jacobites wrote the Williamite War was somewhat different from how Scottish writers responded to Jacobitism. Jacobite Ireland had the added honour, and shame, of being led in person by her monarch

¹⁰⁹ *Poema*, 6.215-18.

¹¹⁰ Mark McLaughlin, Chris Warner, *The Wild Geese. The Irish Brigades of France and Spain* (London: Osprey Publishing, 1980), p.5.

¹¹¹ Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, pp.87-112.

and then deserted by him. James's Irish legacy is polarised between representations as varied as Ó Bruadair's 'fionntur Bhreatain' ['fair tower of Britain'] and the alternative tradition of 'Séamas an chaca, a chaill Éirinn / lena leathbhróg ghallda is a leathbhróg Ghaelch' ['James the shite, who lost Ireland / with his one foreign shoe and one Gaelic shoe'].¹¹² Ó Ciardha has emphasised the popular dimension of the latter tradition and argues that Irish Jacobite literature on the whole sought to defend and support James, yet criticism of James could be acute even if he was accepted as the only hope of the Catholic cause.¹¹³ It is in these contexts that the *Poema's* treatment of James, and the war in general, must be read. James emerges as a generally positive figure in the *Poema*. The coup, which emerges from within his own family, is described in such a way as to maximise our sympathy with James. His own daughter, Mary, proclaims 'Tullia rite vocer mea dum carpenta per ipsa / Viscera Patris agam' ['Let them call me Tullia / Fitly, provided I may drive my car / Over the very entrails of my sire'].¹¹⁴ This most shocking self-identification with one of the most detested figures from classical antiquity establishes very quickly the moral tenor of the powers opposing James and the sympathy readers are meant to feel for him. The power of James as a military leader, is, as we have seen above, compared to Caesar's own prowess, yet he is also painted as a humane and merciful ruler. In the hope of mollifying the inhabitants of Derry and sparing them from a bloody siege James departs Dublin to treat with them in person: 'Nec mora, carpit iter miserescere prodigus Hosti / Jacobus veniae immeritae largitor anhelus' ['Without delay James started on the road, Profuse in pity for his enemy, Panting to grant a pardon undeserved'].¹¹⁵ This concern for his foes is the opposite

¹¹² Quoted in Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Briseadh na Bóinne', *Éigse*, xxiii (1989), 83-107, p.84 [my translation].

¹¹³ Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, p.84; see also O'Kelly, *Macariae Excidium*, p.48.

¹¹⁴ *Poema*, 1.556-7. Philp also made the comparison of Mary with Tullia, and this may further point to a common 'rhetoric of Jacobitism.' See *Grameid*, 1.717-19.

¹¹⁵ *Poema*, 4.66-67.

of William's callousness towards his own injured troops. In his defeat at the Boyne he is dignified and reluctant in his departure, and the *Poema* vividly depicts the turmoil of the inhabitants of Dublin transmuted into joy in the knowledge that their king is safe:

Sedati tamen at sana jam mente recepta
 Posthabitis sese exultant unamque salutem
 Servatam gaudent Regisque ante omnia vitam
 Elapsam tantis juvat evasisse periclis.

Calmed once again, however, and returned
 To sanity now, they put themselves aside
 And do exult, rejoicing that one life
 Is saved and it delights them most of all
 That from such dangers has the King escaped.¹¹⁶

The overall attitude of the *Poema* towards James is best situated in relation to Ó Buachalla's statement that

when James II returned to France in the aftermath of his humiliating retreat from the Boyne in 1690, he sailed not into oblivion but into a well-defined niche in traditional Irish ideology - the rightful King who was banished from his kingdom, but who was destined to return and reclaim his patrimony.¹¹⁷

Ó Bruadair famously described the defeat of the Jacobite cause in 1691 as 'an longbhriseadh' ['the shipwreck'] of Irish history.¹¹⁸ He lamented the frailty of Irish Catholic unity and identified their sinfulness as the cause of their downfall:

Innmhe ag gallaibh ní machtnamh dom thairimsi
 is cunnail a gcaingean sa gcaradas buan gan scur
 ní hionann is clanna na n-ainnear ór ghluaiseasa
 do rithfeadh a gceangal go rantaibh le ruainne fuilt.

The success of the Galls is no wonder at all to me;
 Discreet is their compact, unbroken their friendship lasts,
 Not like the sons of the women from whom I spring,

¹¹⁶ *Poema*, 6.267-270.

¹¹⁷ Breandán Ó Buchalla, 'Irish Jacobite Poetry', *The Irish Review*, 12 (Spring-Summer 1992), 40-49, p.42. This cyclical promise of exile and return has many typological forbears, not least, in the case of Jacobitism, in the *Aeneid*. These promises and typologies resonated with Jacobitism across the archipelago, from Gaelic to non-Gaelic traditions, as can be seen in Christine Gerrard's description of what she aptly terms 'emotional Jacobitism' in her account of the English poet Richard Savage (1697/8-1743), *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725-1742* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.234.

¹¹⁸ Ó Bruadair, 'Le ciontaibh na healta ag ar dalladh a gcluastuigse', iii.

Whose bond would, if pulled by a hair, be dissolved in bits.¹¹⁹

This is a plunge back into the purgatory that had characterised Irish history from 1641 to 1685, but Ó Bruadair did not reengage with the cyclical typologies of revolution, exile, and restoration. In the painful malaise of Irish Gaeldom immediately following 1691, Ó Bruadair noted that not only was the secular and religious order changed and broken, but the artistic order was also lost:

Dá dtigeadh le héinneach gréas i gcosmhalacht chirt
i gcunnail i gcéim 's i réimibh scoile do chur
iar dtuireamh an scéil do adéaradh scoturra glic
ionnus a chéille ais féin nach doirche Dutch.

If anyone could write a piece of poetry correct in form,
Prudently embroidered in the style and metres of the school,
When the tale was told, a clever Scottic [Irish] yeoman would assert
That its sense to him was such that Dutch could not be more obscure.¹²⁰

This is not just a snobbish disdain for those uneducated in the arcane 'ceremonial metrical discourse' of the Gaelic Irish bards, but an expression of true horror at a sense of such profound alienation from Irishness that 'authentic' Irish would sound like the foreign conqueror's language.¹²¹ Given this contemporary horror at the degeneration of the Irish language and poetry the choice of the author to write the *Poema* in Latin, another foreign and imperial language, is charged in itself, and the spectre of the imperial subjugation of Rutulians by the Trojans at the close of the *Aeneid* finds renewed resonance and charge after the disintegration of the Jacobite position in 1691. Whilst the desolation of 1691

¹¹⁹ Ó Bruadair, 'Le ciontaibh na healta ag ar dalladh a gcluastuigse', iii, §2.

¹²⁰ Ó Bruadair, 'Is urchra cléibh gan éigse chothrom ar bun', iii, §3.

¹²¹ Leerssen's definition of Irish bardic poetry as a 'ceremonial metrical discourse' seems to me a very apt one as it privileges the poetic formal elements (of such importance to the poets), the material contexts of ceremony associated with composition, recitation, and patronage, and the rather less, to our minds, poetic elements of genealogical, mythological, and political discourses that bardic poetry sustained. *Mere Irish and Fíor Ghael*, p.152. See also Marc Caball, 'Bardic Poetry & the Analysis of Gaelic Mentalities', *History Ireland*, 2:2 (Summer 1994), 46-50.

registers in all Irish Jacobite literature of the period, Ó Bruadair's pessimism was not the only response.¹²² Not only did James take his part in the cycle of exile and anticipated restoration, but so did Jacobite Ireland as a whole. Ó Ciardha argues that 'when Sarsfield led the Irish Jacobite army from Limerick in 1691, neither he nor his Protestant or Catholic contemporaries and their successors believed that exile would terminate their involvement in Irish political affairs'.¹²³ Plunkett's *Light to the blind* carried on the narrative, shifting focus to the continental wars and awaiting the change in power and fortunes that would send James or his son back to the throne.¹²⁴ Militarily, the ongoing activities of Irish rapparees and tories – associated with Jacobitism in the minds of the administration if not always in practice – helped to keep parts of Ireland militarised and uneasy.¹²⁵ In poetry, Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta urged these bandits to keep up the fight until the Gaels returned in force from across the sea.¹²⁶ A restoration, or a reinvasion, remained on the minds of Jacobites for much of the next century, and Irish Jacobites, like their Scottish and English fellows, followed the fortunes of the house of Stuart on the continent with a keen eye, though optimism must have faded in the long years between 1715 and 1745 and faltered utterly following the calamity of Culloden.

¹²² O'Kelly, for example, describes the close of the war and the departure of Irish Jacobite troops as 'the saddest Day [...] that ever appeared above the Horizon of Cyprus [Ireland]', *Macariae Excidium*, p.156.

¹²³ Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, p.25.

¹²⁴ Kelly, "'A light to the blind'", p.451.

¹²⁵ Rapparees and tories were forms of banditry active in Ireland from the Confederation onwards. See Éamonn Ó Ciardha, 'Tóraíochas is Rapairíochas sa seachtú haois déag / Tories and Rapparees in the Seventeenth Century', *History Ireland*, 2:1 (Spring 1994), 21-25. See also Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause*, pp.89-95.

¹²⁶ Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta, 'Sé is léir liom uaim gurab oighre ar Ghuaire', *Rainn agus Amhrain. Cnuasacht rann agus amhrán ó Chonndae na Midhe, ó Chonndae Lughmhaidh agus ó Chonndae Ardmhacha*, ed. Éammon Ó Tuathail (Dublin, 1925), pp.2-4.

The closing passages of the *Poema*, however, echo this cyclical hope of 1691. An ode to Patrick Sarsfield, the 1st Earl of Lucan – to many the hero of the Jacobite cause – hails him as

Dignior illius Lucani carmine, campum
Qui canit Aemathium et plus quam Civilia Bella
Et Soceri et Generi consertos ensibus enses
Cognatasque Acies diruptaque foedera Regni,
Quam nostra rudiore cani vinctaque Camoena.

More worthy of
The poem by that Lucan who did sing
Of the Emathian plain and of the wars
Much more than civil, of swords facing swords
Of in-law father and of in-law son,
Of kindred troops, laws of the realm in shreds,
Than to be sung of by our ruder Muse,
Enchained.¹²⁷

This is a playful moment of poetic self-consciousness that makes capital out of the coincidence of the two different Lucans operating in the poem, but the poem moves onto a grander theme. A prophecy is uttered over Sarsfield that he may safeguard the Jacobite interest over the coming generations:

Magnanimosque tuae Genitoris imagine natos,
Et Gradivicolas patriae largire nepotes,
Trina quibus Magni sint Sceptra tuenda Stuarti
Et Rerum Venerandus Apex, Minorennis et Ille
Exul in externum nimium properatus Asylum.
Qui resipiscentes (post funera sera Parentis)
Et coadunatos aequè dominetur in Anglos
Et Scotos semperque suos (ut novit) lernos
Et Britonas, quorum Regio Illi Wallia nomen
Nascenti dederat, Princeps quo Wallicus audit.

And lavish sons upon thy fatherland,
Great-hearted, in the image of their sire,
And grandsons who adore Gradivus' name,
To keep the mighty Stuart's three sceptres safe
And venerate the pinnacle of state

¹²⁷ *Poema*, 6.1738-1742.

Together with that exiled minor, he
 Too quickly sent to safety overseas,
 That he may rule in fair and equal way
 (Upon his father's very tardy death)
 The English, in their senses once again
 And now as one united, and the Scots
 And Irish, ever his (as well he knows),
 And Britons, they whose region, Wales, him gave
 At birth the name he bears, the Prince of Wales.¹²⁸

Sarsfield made an impact on all the literature of early Irish Jacobitism, and he became the main hero of popular folk memories of the Williamite War.¹²⁹ These lines from the *Poema* seem to corroborate some aspects of the myth of Sarsfield in the sense that they are an expression of a contemporary estimate of his extreme value to the Jacobite cause. They also point to the dynastic and political resolution for which the *Poema* still holds out. James, or the Prince of Wales, guarded by the loyal Irish overseas, will eventually return to their repentant states and receive back their stolen sceptres. The emphasis is on the Irish role in these affairs; if the Stuarts are to be the saviours of Ireland, then the Irish, loyal in the past, and loyal now in exile, are also to be the saviours of the Stuarts. The final lines of the *Poema* describe the exiles leaving for the continent:

Et clamant uno ore: 'Vale, Sancta Insula, nosque
 (Auspicijs Magni et fato meliore Stuarti)
 Ad Te mox Superi, Satiati hac clade, reducant.'

And with one voice they cry aloud: 'Farewell,
 O holy island! May the gods above,
 With this defeat quite satiated, soon
 Under the banners – and with better fate –
 Of our Great Stuart bring us back again!'¹³⁰

¹²⁸ *Poema*, 6.1750-1759.

¹²⁹ His most famous action, a successful night-time raid on a Williamite artillery caravan, is lavishly described by each of the major Jacobite authors studied here: see *Poema*, 6.605-766; Ó Bruadair, 'A rí na cruinne do rín ise', iii; O'Kelly, *Macariae Excidium*, p.64; *A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland*, p.114. For an account of the literary legacy of Sarsfield from 1691 onwards, see John Gibney, "'Sarsfield Is the Word": The Heroic Afterlife of an Irish Jacobite', *New Hibernia Review*, 15:1 (Spring 2011), 64-80. Contemporaries were also quick to blame him for some of the mistakes of the Jacobites: see O'Kelly, *Macariae Excidium*, pp.154-5.

¹³⁰ *Poema*, 6.1873-1875.

The *Poema*'s counterpoint to Ó Bruadair's 'shipwreck' of Irish history and hopes, is a boatful of Irish heroes looking towards a final victory. These lines invoke the common idea of divine retribution falling on Ireland for her sinfulness, but express the hope that this purgatorial purification is nearly over and the cycle of restoration can begin again. The unity of grief and expectation in the departing Irish is matched by the integrity of the land they are leaving, 'Sancta Insula.' This is perhaps a backwards glance to the tradition that viewed medieval Ireland as a golden age, a peculiarly blessed island of 'saints and scholars,' and in the words of Aodhagán Ó Rathaille, 'na ndiadhairí's na dtighearnaidhe sciathneart ríge' ['of divines and of nobles, the bulwark of sovereignty'].¹³¹ The poem's enduring vision for the Irish nation, at home and abroad is, a holy, Catholic Ireland, united and whole, and under the banners of the 'Magni Stuarti.'

The Jacobite moment of 1688–1691, explored in this and the previous chapter, was a watershed moment in British history. The succession of the senior male line was disrupted by a coup, Catholics were barred from the throne in 1701 and this in turn led to the 1714 Hanoverian Succession which replaced the Stuart dynasty altogether. In Ireland a strident Irish Catholic national consciousness had found expression in support for James II but had also met with the challenges of penal repression following his defeat. Like the Cromwellian oppression of the mid-century, these challenges also served to strengthen Irish Catholic identities through shared suffering and repression. In Scotland political, social, and religious change continued apace but, Jacobite or Whig, the Scottish Gaels continued to increasingly participate in and identify with the Kingdom of Scotland. Jacobitism however, remained a live concern in both Scotland and Ireland, but it was not to be reenergised militarily until

¹³¹ See Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Island of saints and scholars: myth or reality?', *Irish Catholic Identities*, pp.21-31, for discussion of this particular representation of Ireland. Aodhagán Ó Rathaille, 'Inis fá réim I gcéin san Iarthar tá', 16. This poem is itself a translation into Irish of a 9th century apostrophe to Ireland by St. Donatus.

after the 1707 Union of the Parliaments of Scotland and England. As such the following chapter examines the growth and development of Gaelic identities in relationship to some of the key political and cultural discourses pertaining to the 1707 Union and the Jacobite rebellion of 1715.

Chapter Five

Union and Divergence – the Gaelic Contexts of 1707

The 1707 Union of the Parliaments of Scotland and England has gained status in historical and cultural scholarship as one of the watersheds of British History, indeed perhaps even the date in which you can begin to speak of "British History" as opposed to "Archipelagic History". The convenience of this status is to make 1707 either a terminus or a point of departure for various narratives and studies. A relevant example here is John Kerrigan's *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics 1603-1707* which traces Anglophone writing from 1603-1707. This neat timeline – demarcating the multiple-monarchy period – is, however, partially transgressed by Kerrigan in his epilogue entitled '1707 and All That' which looks forward to the Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the ramifications of 1707 as far as the nineteenth century. As Kerrigan notes in defence of his timeline, 'it makes sense for *Archipelagic English* to end with 1707 – which cannot mean *in* 1707, since the implications of the Treaty, and its lasting importance, were in key respects only realized later, and in different ways around the archipelago'.¹ On the other hand T. M. Devine, the doyen of Scottish historians, in *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* takes the Union as his starting point and charts what might be called Scotland's interconcilium until the reopening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. In a sense this current chapter continues this neat splitting of the pre- and post-union archipelago, but it also offers complicating voices, which draw not just on elements of the recent past already examined in previous chapters, but also point towards alternative futures. In this chapter, I propose to look at some of the different cultural, and

¹ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.410-11.

political contexts of the years either side of the 1707 Union. I will examine both how different aetiologies, histories, and visions of Britain – and its constituent peoples and nations – were figured by writers from across the archipelago in the early decades of the eighteenth-century. In this chapter, I will examine the 1707 Union from two distinct – though necessarily overlapping perspectives – firstly the 1707 Union in the continuing context of Jacobitism across the archipelago; and secondly, the 1707 Union in the context of the advances of Celtic linguistics and antiquarianism, progressing apace throughout the archipelago. Jacobitism, from its obviously dynastic foundations, formed a key context and impetus for a range of varying cultural developments across the archipelago and, as such, evaluating its place in Scottish Gaels' responses to the Union of 1707 is vital for understanding both the development of Jacobitism but also the changing nature of Gaels' identification with the states of Scotland and Ireland, and the wider British project. Concurrent with the move towards union and the political developments of dynastic succession, there is a discernible increase in scholarly interest in the Gaels, from both outside and inside Gaelic culture. The cultural and scholarly discourses on Gaelic language and culture from this moment offer us new and complimentary insights into Gaelic identities simultaneous to the political upheavals of 1707-1715. In these contexts I shall examine what affect 1707 had on Gaelic perceptions of identity on both sides of the north channel.

5.1: Contexts of Union – 1707 and the '15

The Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland radically changed the political landscape of Great Britain and had important consequences for the archipelago as a whole.

It was brought through the Scottish parliament in the teeth of popular petitions and protests in opposition, and its passage was considerably eased through the judicious funnelling of treasury funds to key members of parliament and commissioners.² Benedict Anderson has famously stressed the connection between a mass-print news or literary culture and the growth of national consciousness facilitated by the creation of a large community of readers in the vernacular.³ Nationhood and a sense of national identity is in the Andersonian sense predicated then on mass communication via widely intelligible print vernacular. One form of Scottish national identity had already been promulgated and imagined in the mass readings and signings of the National Covenant in the 1630-40s. The speeches, news reports, and tracts published around the Union debates constitute another form of national conversation, and one with a necessarily far broader constituency of interests than that of the National Covenant.⁴ Alongside print culture and mass communication, another key pillar of national identity that is often identified is that of shared national institutions, such as the courts, universities and churches.⁵ In this sense, David McCrone has described Scotland since the 1707 Union as a 'stateless nation,' i.e. an entity that had some of the formal characteristics and institutions of a nation but lacking the structure of a state.⁶ In emphasising the discursive nature of nation building Leith Davis has

² George Lockhart of Carnwath, the only anti-Union commissioner, published some of the correspondence regarding this bribery and a list detailing the recipients. The overall claim of state bribery to procure a pro-Union vote is not in dispute. See *The Lockhart Papers*, 2 vols (London: 1817), I, pp.262-272.

³ Benedict Anderson, 'Imagined Communities', *Nationalism*, pp.89-96, 93-4.

⁴ Public and clandestine reporting, and discursive disputation of the passage of Union Treaty through parliament was voluminous and often frantic. Daniel Defoe's and John Hamilton's coverage of the subject are well treated by Leith Davis, *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation, 1707-1830* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998). George Lockhart of Carnwath's *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland* (1714) is another fascinating case of print discourse on the subject of the Union.

⁵ On the instance of Scotland see Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, 2nd edn (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1999), p.82.

⁶ David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a stateless nation*, 1992 (London: Routledge, 1996). McCrone was writing before the reestablishment of the Scottish Parliament, but within the limits of devolution something of his thesis continues to hold true.

recognised the role both these institutions (all of which remained distinct and independent after the Union), and the public written disputes about them have had in the formation of Great Britain: 'Ever since its formal establishment in 1707, Great Britain has been a site of contest – not always on the material level, but certainly on the discursive level – between the nations from which it was constructed'.⁷ This disjuncture then, between the loss of the state apparatus of a national parliament and monarchy, but the retention of separate legal, educational, and religious systems, alongside the mass engagement of the population in terms of signing of petitions, popular protests, and wide consumption of political discourse in print, leads us to consider how Scots' sense of national identity was effected by the Union.⁸

Many of these issues have indeed been subject to multiple studies from many different disciplines and theoretical perspectives. Scotland, however, contained within it a significant minority of Gaelic speaking Gaels, and their position with regards to the Union and the early eighteenth century has yet to be fully explored. Many Gaels were in contact with the worlds of Glasgow and Edinburgh print gossip, but many were not.⁹ Many of these had signed the National Covenant, but again, far more had not. Davis has argued that British 'national identity was forged as a negotiation between the incommensurabilities of its internal populations. Some of these, like the Highlanders, were forcibly silenced, while others were allowed to speak only in a particular fashion'.¹⁰ That many Gaels were politically aware and engaged in the political arenas of Scotland and Britain has been made clear

⁷ Davis, *Acts of Union*, p.1.

⁸ The important reverse of this is that England and Wales also lost an independent national parliament and monarchy and this has indeed generated varying forms of comment and discontent ever since.

⁹ Although political news did obviously travel throughout the Highlands and Islands so it is not correct to think of people totally cut off from the "outside world".

¹⁰ Davis, *Acts of Union*, p.5.

throughout this study, and the case was no different in the first decades of the eighteenth century. This section will analyse the engagement of Gaels in these political arenas with particular focus on the Gaelic literary engagements with the Union itself and the Jacobite Rising of 1715. This will explore how a sense of Scottish identity was further developed in these engagements.

Jacobitism played a large part in many of the poets' reactions to the Union, and it is in this that we can see clearly the widening divergence between Irish and Scottish Jacobite interests. The intellectual and cultural processes over the course of the seventeenth century that led to the forming – however elusive – of a Catholic Ireland loyal to the Stuarts, are very different from the experiences of the Scottish Gàidhealtachd. Identification with the state of Scotland and the emergence of a meaningful national identity in Scotland are patchy in this period. Religious differences, clan loyalties, and the Gàidhealtachd/Galldachd split (both real and imagined) militated against an easy Gaelic identification with the Scottish nation. Social and economic change alongside the political and military events of Jacobitism and the experiences of the civil wars had tied them more immediately in the political landscapes of Scotland and Britain. Ironically, the 1707 Union of Parliaments may have galvanised Gaelic support for a wider Scottish national project, just as that nation seemed to have disappeared into a new Great British amalgam. James Francis Edward Stuart (or James VIII and III to his Jacobite supporters) immediately recognised the potential for the Union to act as a spur to a wide gamut of Scottish interests. In a declaration to 'his good people of the Ancient Kingdom of Scotland' of 1708, he wrote of his intentions to make a speedy invasion to free himself and them:

We further declare that We will, with all convenient speed, call a free Parliament, that by their advice and assistance, We may be enabled to repair the breaches caused by the late Usurpations, to redress all

grievances and to free Our People from the unsupportable burden of Taxes and Impositions they now groan under, that so Our Ancient Kingdom of Scotland may be restored to its former honour, Liberty, and Independency, of which it has been so treacherously deprived. What they suffer'd under the Tyranny of Cromwell, as also the usage they met with in the affaire of Darien, and the Massacre of Glenco under the Usurpation of the Prince of Orange, and the present Union or rather Subjection, demonstrate that Usurpations have allways been fatal and ruinous to the Liberty of Scotland.¹¹

James clearly recognised the many different strands of opposition to the union, be it burghers' concerns about tariffs and taxation, to antiquarian and patriotic interests in the sovereignty and independence of Scottish institutions. It is notable that he also links the Union into a larger history of "Whig" interventions in Scotland – Cromwell, the 1688 Revolution, and Glencoe – as well as the much-lamented imperialist folly of the Darien expeditions. The inclusion of the Glencoe massacre in particular speaks to James' awareness of Scottish Gaelic experiences of this recent history and his willingness to include them in his own political ambitions.

Direct discussion of the 1707 Union is relatively poorly attested in Scottish Gaelic verse, but these infamous moments of "Whig" history were widely remembered and rehearsed. The Union is the explicit subject of one poem (dubiously) associated with Iain Lom, known as 'Òran an Aghaidh an Aonaidh' ['A song against the Union'], and it is mentioned again in a slightly later poem by Sileas na Ceapaich, another Keppoch Mac Domhnaill poet, in a poem urging James to lead a rising.¹² In 'Òran an Aghaidh an Aonaidh', the poet attacks architects of the union within the Scottish parliament. The poet identifies

¹¹ James Francis Edward Stuart, 'Declaration, 1st March 1708, St Germain', *Calendar of the Stuart Papers belonging to his Majesty the King preserved at Windsor Castle*, 4 vols (London: HMSO, 1902-10), i, 218-221, p.219.

¹² Iain Lom was traditionally held to have lived to see the 1707 Union giving him the lengthy, but certainly plausible life span c.1620 - c.1707. Colm Ó Baoill disputes this and ascribes the 1707 poem to a minor Perthshire poet. See 'Bàs Iain Luim', *SGS*, XVI (1990), 91-94. In line with the convention used throughout this study 'Òran an Aghaidh an Aonaidh' shall be referenced hereafter by its first line 'Ge bè dh'éireadh 'san Iasair'.

with venom Thomas Hay, Viscount Dupplin, James Douglas, 2nd Duke of Queensberry, and William Mackenzie, 5th Earl of Seaforth, as the prime men responsible for delivering the union. Of Dupplin the poet sings that:

Mhorair *Duplin* gun fhuireach
 Dh'fhosgail uinneag do sgòrnain,
 Dh'éirich rosgal ad chridhe
 'N uair chual' thu tighinn an t-òr ud;
 Shluig thu 'n aileag de'n gheanach,
 Dh'at do sgamhan is bhòc e,
 Dh'fhosgail teannsgal do ghoile
 'S lasaich greallag do thòna.

Lord Dupplin, the entry to your throat immediately opened and a turbulence rose in your heart when you heard that gold coming your way. You swallowed (concealed) the panting breath of avarice, your lungs inflated and swelled; your control upon your greedy gullet gave way, and your obstructions loosened.¹³

This indictment of bribery and the general fiscal greasing of the parliamentary progress of the Treaty is probably the earliest poetic instance of Robert Burns's famous 'bought and sold for English gold' accusation, and is symbolised in the visceral image of Dupplin's inability to control his bodily functions at the thought of gold.¹⁴ To the poet, those who had pushed the Treaty through had conspired to 'Toirt a' chrùin uainn le ceannach / An ceart fhradharc ar sùilean' ['to trade away from us, before our very eyes, our crown and sovereign rights'].¹⁵ The whole poem has an air of being particularly informed and engaged with the manoeuvrings of parliament and the national picture as a whole. This mourning of a loss of national sovereignty is reminiscent of Iain Lom's poem to Montrose which similarly laments the state of the country under Cromwellian occupation.

¹³ 'Ge bè dh'éireadh 'san lasair', *OIL*, 2880-2887.

¹⁴ Robert Burns, 'Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation', *The Complete works of Robert Burns*, ed. Allan Cunningham (Boston: Phillips, Samson, and Company, 1855), l.23.

¹⁵ 'Ge bè dh'éireadh 'san lasair', 2918-2919.

The secret plot by John Murray, 1st Duke of Atholl, to march on Edinburgh at the head of a Highland force of around eight thousand men and stop the treaty by violence, is warmly commended by the poet. The plan was aborted at the last moment, but around five hundred men still made the tryst. The poet states that ‘Là randabù ’n t-sléibhe / Bha mi fhéin ann is chunnaich’ [‘On the day of the rendezvous on the moor, I myself was there and was an eye-witness to it’].¹⁶ And he holds up Atholl as the leader to break the power of the Whigs in Scotland:

’S mór tha ghliocas na rìoghachd
Deagh sgrìobht’ ann ad mheamhail,
Bha thu foghlam as t’òige
Chur na còrach air adhart
’N aghaidh Banndairean misgeach
Bha ri bristeadh an lagha,
Nam biodh iad uile gu m’òrdugh
Gheibheadh iad còrd agus teadhair.

Great is the wisdom in government which is well graven in your mind. From your youth you have been learning to promote the just cause in opposition to the intoxicated Covenanters who were breaking the law; if they were all subjected to my way of thinking their portion would be rope and tether.¹⁷

Though a staunch opponent of the Union, Atholl is a strange figure to laud in this way. He had fought on the Williamite/Covenanter side in the Williamite Revolution, and was married to Catherine Hamilton, daughter of the steadfastly Presbyterian Anne, 3rd Duchess of Hamilton. Anne Hamilton envisaged the Presbyterian Kirk as a national and popular religion, under threat from the proposed union, and it seems likely that these issues formed part of the general discontent with the Union in the Atholl household.¹⁸ This unexpected

¹⁶ ‘Ge bè dh’éireadh ’san Iasair’, 2872-2873. The author’s claim to be an eye-witness to this gathering is perhaps another reason to hesitate in ascribing the song to Iain Lom, who must have been in his mid-eighties at this point.

¹⁷ ‘Ge bè dh’éireadh ’san Iasair’, 2848-2855.

¹⁸ See Rosalind Carr, ‘Women, Presbyterianism, Political Agency, and the Anglo-Scottish Union’, *The Shaping of Scottish Identities: Family, Nation, and the Worlds Beyond*, ed. Jodi A. Campbell, Elizabeth Ewan, and Heather Parker (Guelph, Ontario: Centre for Scottish Studies, University of Guelph, 2011), pp.43-58, p.50.

intersection of different religious and cultural groupings around a central issue – in this case opposition to the Union – alerts us once again of the inherent difficulties in drawing neat divisions between groups of peoples in this period. The ‘Song against the Union’ saves its most violent and bitter scorn for William Mackenzie, 5th Earl of Seaforth. Seaforth was one of the more powerful Gaelic lords, and would be actively involved on the Stuart side in the 1715 and 1719 Jacobite risings.¹⁹ However, for reasons that are unclear, he seems to have been a keen supporter of the Union at this early stage of his career; a sign perhaps that loyalty to the Stuarts was not necessarily felt to be in conflict with support for the Union.

The poet threatens Seaforth with these lines:

Iarla Bhrathainn a Sìoford,
 Cha bhi sìothshaimh ri d’ bheò dhuit,
 Gum bi ort-sa cruaidh fhaghaid
 Thall a staigh de’n Roinn Eòrpa;
 Ach nam faighinn mo raghainn
 Is dearbh gu leaghainn an t-òr dhuit,
 A staigh air faochaig do chlaiginn
 Gus an cas e do bhòtainn.

Earl of Seaforth from Braham, there will be no peace for you as long as you live; there will be a hot hunt at your heels abroad, anywhere within the bounds of Europe; but if I had my way, truly I would melt gold for you, and inject it into the shell of your skull until it would reach your boots.²⁰

If the poem is indeed Iain Lom's, then these, the last lines ascribed to him, are a culmination of all the partisan passions of his career into one final violent outburst towards another Gael. However, regardless of the authorship, these are lines of desperate and excessive violence. James Stuart had recognised opponents of the Union formed a broad and varied constituency, ranging from people who had fought for William in the Revolution, such as Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, to those like the chieftains who had remained steady and active

¹⁹ Colm Ó Baoill, *BSnC*, p.140. See also William Matheson, ‘Further Gleanings from the Dornie Manuscripts’, *TSGI*, 45 (1967/8), 148-195, in which Matheson prints two Mackenzie poems addressed to Seaforth.

²⁰ ‘Ge bè dh’éireadh ’san lasair’, 2928-2935.

supporters of the house of Stuart. The composer of this particular 'Song against the Union' however was still applying the old Covenanter/Royalist, Williamite/Jacobite dichotomies of the recent past in a context where such easy binaries were cut across by the new realities of 1707. It is important to note as well that, in its contents, this poem is a patriotic, even nationalistic text, but it is not necessarily a Jacobite text, and no reference to the dispossessed Stuarts is made.

The prevaricating of Atholl and his eventual withdrawal from his planned rising is a significant reminder that at this time the Scottish Gaels were normally only willing to intervene in Scottish politics under the auspices of a prestigious (and often Lowland) leader. Atholl proved to be no Dundee or Montrose, but the fact that several thousand Highlanders were willing to make the rendezvous, and that in spite of Atholl's withdrawal five hundred still did so, is testament to the underlying feeling across much of the Highlands.²¹ Despite the dearth of immediate commentary on the Union coming from the Scottish Gàidhealtachd, it is clear that in some ways the clans were biding their time and waiting for the right moment or leader. As many have noted, Jacobite poetry of this period from across the archipelago often focussed on ideas of the regeneration or rebirth that would attend the monarch's return and restoration. In the context of Irish poetry after 1691, Breandán Ó Buachalla writes that 'Return, renewal, restoration were central and common elements in both Jacobite rhetoric and in the traditional Irish ideology of Kingship'.²² Murray Pittock develops much the same point both in his exposition of Jacobite typological history and in his analysis of Irish Gaelic poetry.²³ One of the most famous example of this can be found in Aodhagán Ó Rathaille's

²¹ Annie M. Mackenzie, *OIL*, p.326. The popular discontent this seems to indicate was by no means absent in many areas and constituencies of the Lowlands.

²² Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Irish Jacobite Poetry', *The Irish Review*, 12 (Spring-Summer 1992), 40-49, p.43.

²³ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, pp.1-29.

aisling [vision] poems. In one such poem (probably written between 1707 and 1715) he imagined that:

Fearastar scím dhraoidheachta nár dhorchasnuadh,
O Ghaillimh na líog lí-geal go Corcaigh na gcuan,
Barra gach crainn síor-chuireas toradh agus cnuas,
Meas daire ar gach coill, fír-mhíl ar chlochaibh go buan.

A magic film of hue not dark spread itself around,
From Galway of the bright coloured stones, to Cork of the harbours;
The top of every tree ever bore fruit and produce;
In every wood were acorns, and sweet honey continually on the stones.²⁴

Within this vision the poet describes seeing fairy women lighting three candles, he asks what this signifies and:

D'fhreagair an bhríghid Aoibhill, nár dhorchasnuadh,
Fachain na dtrí gcoinne do lasadh ar gach cuan:
I n-ainm an ríogh dhíograis bheas againn go luath
I gceannas na dtrí ríoghachta, 's dá gcosnamh go buan.

The maiden Aoibhill, not dark of aspect, gave in reply
The reason for lighting the three candles over every harbour:
In the name of the king for whom we yearn, and who will soon be with us
Ruling the three kingdoms and maintaining them long.²⁵

Ó Rathaille awakes from the trance and feels confused and sad. The trope of regeneration, the trope of vision, and indeed of the bright maiden symbolising either Ireland itself or a prophetic hope became the staples of a whole school of aisling poetry.²⁶ Although the anticipation of regeneration has obvious roots in ancient Gaelic cultural associations with right rulership, Scotland produced no comparable aislings, and indeed the wider Jacobite

²⁴ Aodhagán Ó Rathaille, 'Maidean sul smaoin Titan a chosa do luadhail', *Danta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille*, ed. Patrick S. Dinneen and Tadhg O'Donoghue, 2nd edn (London: ITS, 1911), 5-8.

²⁵ Ó Rathaille, 'Maidean sul smaoin Titan a chosa do luadhail', 13-16.

²⁶ Daniel Corkery in his classic (though now contested), *Hidden Ireland*, describes the Aisling thus: 'a typical example would run somewhat like this: 'The poet, weak with thinking on the woe that has overtaken the Gael, falls into a deep slumber. In his dreaming a figure of radiant beauty draws near. She is so bright, so stately, the poet imagines her one of the immortals. Is she Deirdre? ... or is she Helen? or Venus? He questions her, and learns that she is Erin; and her sorrow, he is told, is for her true master who is in exile beyond the seas ... the poem ends with a promise of speedy redemption on the return of the King's son.' *The Hidden Ireland A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1925), p.129.

motif of regeneration and pastoral plenty seems to have been subsumed or indeed sidelined by the continuation of an altogether more hard-nosed and bellicose intrusion of the political into the poetic.²⁷

During the early modern period it becomes clearly noticeable that the Scottish Gàidhealtachd produced significantly more notable female poets than Ireland. In Scotland it has been posited that a prevalence of slightly smaller and more economically hard-pressed social units led to a slightly looser hierarchy which tolerated the greater prevalence of learned or semi-learned female poets.²⁸ Whilst Irish national and political concerns were often voiced by the elusive visionary females of the *aisling*, female Scottish Gaelic poets were singing of their own personal, familial, and often political concerns.²⁹ Despite their apparent frequency, these poets were often treated – either at the time or in the accumulated traditions – with suspicion and hostility: as Ó Baoill puts it ‘Gaelic society in the Scottish Highlands has been remarkable in the number of women poets it has produced over the centuries, and in the degree of suspicion and mistrust it seems to have accorded them’.³⁰ Sìleas na Ceapaich is one such poet who produced a variety of verses on a whole range of topics, but who has been viewed, perhaps in part because of her wide oeuvre, with

²⁷ Murray Pittock however, has made a good case for an expansion of the definition of the *aisling*, which by its nature became bound up with a particular form of Irish nationalism. In ‘The Jacobite song: was there a Scottish *aisling*’ Pittock points to the many *aisling* features found in Anglophone Irish and Scottish verse, and also its resonances in Scottish Gaelic verse. See *Crossing the Highland Line: cross-currents in eighteenth century Scottish Writing Selected papers from the 2005 ASLS Annual Conference*, ed. Christopher MacLachlan (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2009), pp.85-95.

²⁸ See Máire Ní Annracháin, ‘The Highland Connection: Scottish Reverberations in Irish Literary Identity’, *Irish University Review*, 21:1 (Spring-Summer, 1991), 35-47, p.36; John MacInnes, ‘Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod’, *SGS*, 11:1 (1966), 3-25, pp.20-22.

²⁹ Anne Catherine Frater’s ‘Scottish Gaelic Women’s Poetry up to 1750’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1995) is the most extensive study on this subject. See also Frater’s ‘The Gaelic Tradition up to 1750’, *A history of Scottish women’s writing*, ed. Douglas Gifford and Dorothy MacMillan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp.1-14.

³⁰ Colm Ó Baoill, ‘Neither Out Nor In: Scottish Gaelic Women Poets, 1650-1750’, *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, ed. Sarah Dunnigan, C. Marie Harker and Evelyn S. Newlyn (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2004), pp.136-152, p.136. See also Allan Bruford, ‘Workers, weepers and witches: the status of the female singer in Gaelic society’, *SGS*, 17 (1996), 61-70.

suspicion in retrospect. Like Aoibhill in Ó Rathaille's dream, Sileas sang of James returning to take his place on the British thrones, but her vision was not one of pastoral rejuvenation, rather she imagined in her political verse the military, naval, and political actions of such an event.³¹ Many Jacobites had hoped and begun to believe that James Francis Edward Stuart, the son and heir of James VII and II, would succeed to the throne when his half-sister, Queen Anne, died. In the event, George of Hanover, Anne's second cousin, succeeded as the next Protestant in the line of succession in 1714. On receiving this news, James Stuart set about planning for an invasion, and the news of this potential rebellion spread throughout the archipelago. In Sileas' song to James (c.1714), we are told that the news of an invasion fleet delights the poet, and then she explains what it has been like living without the rightful kings:

Nan tigeadh oirne Seumas,
 Le chabhlach làidir ghleusta,
 Ge fada sinn 'n ar n-éiginn
 Fo ainneart Cuigse 's cléire,
 'S e sud a dhèanadh feum dhuinn

If James were to come to us with his trim and mighty fleet, that would be of great help to us, however long we have suffered under the oppression of Whigs and clergy.³²

Like the Irish Aisling poets, a reordering of the spheres of justice and religion is expected, but the typological rejuvenation of the type of Dryden's 'Astraea Redux' or other, more contemporary Jacobite verse is absent. The debasement of kingship under Hanover is explicitly alluded to:

Tha do chathair aig Hanòver,
 Do chrùn 's do chladheamh còrach,
 Tha 'n sean-fhacal cho cinnteach

³¹ This more bellicose content is matched in the Irish poetry too, notably in Ó Rathaille's 'Aisling meabhuil d'aicill mh'anam, seal gan tapa seang tím tréit'.

³² Sileas na Ceapaich, "S binn an sgeul so tha 'd ag ràdhainn', *BSnC*, 180-186. All of Sileas's poems are quoted from this edition. I have excluded refrain lines from this and all subsequent quotations from Sileas's poems.

'S gur barail leam gur fìor e,
Nach marach muc an dìollaid

Hanover has your throne, your crown and your sword of justice; the proverb is so accurate that I think it must be true, that a pig in a saddle is not a horseman.³³

As Ó Baoill points out, Sìleas wrote this song with a particular melody in mind, an air from King William's time that seems to have been popular in Ireland and the Lowlands as well as the Highlands.³⁴ A song like this, sung to a known and recognisable tune, could no doubt quickly spread through the ceilidh houses of the Gàidhealtachd, and thus both disseminate news and encourage popular dissent. Ronald Black has described the ceilidh as the 'power-house of eighteenth-century Gaelic culture' following the collapse of chiefly courts and patronage after 1715.³⁵ The ceilidh was in essence a gathering which featured music, song, riddles, and stories. It was an occasion of gossip and education that a whole township would take part in. It is important to note that in the first half of the 18th century the ceilidh existed alongside the decaying remnants of chiefly patronage and Sìleas' work would perhaps have had an audience in both settings. The broad appeal of this kind of verse then gives it a dangerous and disruptive dynamic.

In an extremely rare act for a Scottish Gaelic poet of this time, Sìleas personifies Scotland.³⁶ Again this diverges from the Aisling tradition that would typically personify Ireland as a distressed women in mourning – a tradition that reached its apogee in W. B. Yeats and Lady Gregory's nationalist *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (1902) – Scotland is not

³³ Sìleas na Ceapaich, "'S binn an sgeul so tha 'd ag ràdhainn', 196-202.

³⁴ Ó Baoill, *Bàrdachd Shìlis*, pp.227-229.

³⁵ Ronald Black, 'Introduction', *An Lasair: Anthology of 18th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001) pp.xi-xlii, p.xii.

³⁶ Colm Ó Baoill, 'Sìleas na Ceapaich', *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, pp.305-14, p.306.

personified with a specific gender, nor in a passive role, but rather the poet incites Scotland to unify and liberate itself:

Ach Alba éiribh còmhla,
Mun geàrr Sasunnaichh ur sgòrnan,
'Nuair thug iad air son òir uaibh
Ur creideas is ur stòras,
'S nach eil e 'n diugh ur pòca.

But arise, Scotland, as one, before the English cut your throats, since they have robbed you of your credit and your possessions in return for gold which is not in your pockets.³⁷

In the following stanza she punningly calls the Union a 'uinnean puinnsein' ['poisoned onion'], sliced and fed to the entire nation.³⁸ Thus the occasion of this unified and personified appearance of Scotland in Gaelic verse is that of the Union of Parliaments, something which has poisoned the national body politic. It is not stretching the evidence to suggest that by this point in Scottish Gaelic history the main focus of patriotism and identification, beyond of course the still-relevant claims of clanship – had become for many Gaels, Scotland itself, specifically its state apparatus of an independent monarchy and parliament.

It is of course ironic that this is voiced most clearly in the moment of Union which, from a patriotic perspective, dissolved much of that distinctly Scottish state into the emergent British state. James Stuart, the Jacobite pretender to throne, clearly recognised that the Union of Parliaments had changed the political dynamics of the archipelago. In his declaration issued to the Scots on the lead up to his departure to Scotland he wrote:

We are come to take Our Part in all the Dangers and Difficulties to which any of Our Subjects, from the Greatest down to the Meanest, may be exposed on this important Occasion, to relieve Our Subjects of Scotland, from the Hardships they groan under on account of the late unhappy

³⁷ Sìleas na Ceapaich, "S binn an sgeul so tha 'd ag ràdhainn', 204-210.

³⁸ Sìleas na Ceapaich, "S binn an sgeul so tha 'd ag ràdhainn', 216.

Union; and to restore the Kingdom to its ancient, free, and independent State.³⁹

In this passage not only does James seek to identify himself in solidarity with all the people of Scotland, but he specifically emphasises the Union as the cause of Scotland's misfortune. Its ancient status, liberty, and independence has, according to the pretender, been superseded and destroyed by the Act of Union. James's identification with that pre-Union state, and his solidarity with its people are key rhetorical thrusts in his campaign's propaganda, but we must also accept that many in Scotland believed elements of this account. Without perhaps the dynamic force of English parliamentarism and antiquarianism, Scottish historians and political thinkers had come to emphasise the importance of their independent institutions, and the antiquity of their state.⁴⁰ The 'Òran an Aghaidh an Aonaidh' speaks to the willingness of some at least, to resort to violence to keep the song going. The absorption of anti-Union attitudes by Scottish Jacobites seems a natural reaction against the anti-Jacobite establishment which had ushered it through, but of course it widened the gap in experience and aspiration between Scottish and Irish Jacobites.⁴¹

³⁹ James Francis Edward Stuart, 'Declaration, 25th October 1715, Commerc', printed in *The Political State of Great Britain*, ed. A Boyar, 60 vols (London, 1716), x, pp.626-630, p.628.

⁴⁰ For example, the historiographical spats between Mackenzie of Rosshaugh, and O'Flaherty on the status and antiquity of the Scottish kingdom point to one strand of this sentiment. See Roderic O'Flaherty, *Ogygia Vindicated against the Objections of Sir George Mackenzie*, ed. Charles O'Connor (Dublin, 1775); George Mackenzie, *The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland* (London, 1686).

⁴¹ In terms of clan loyalties and assessing the potential impact of the Act of Union it is interesting to note how clan participation in the 1715 rising differed from the 1689 war. The total number of clans that came out for the Jacobite cause decreased from twenty-eight to twenty-six, and for the Whigs from nine to eight. A number of previously Jacobite clans remained neutral during the '15, and for others the loyalties of the clansmen were manifestly divided. Several striking changes in allegiance did occur however, most notably the Campbells of Glenorchy – the Earls of Breadalbane and the second most powerful branch of Clan Campbell – who moved away from their covenanting roots and joined the Jacobite side. The picture of clan allegiance in the post-union period then is one of slight flux but overall solidity of Jacobite sympathies; the drastic decline in willingness to support the Jacobite cause is certainly registered by 1745 at which time only eighteen clans came out unequivocally in support of Bonnie Prince Charlie. Only a very few clans remained resolute in Royalist/Jacobite or Covenanter/Whig support from 1639-1745. See Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce, and the House of Stuart*, pp.246-249.

Sìleas is one of those who sang the 1715 rising, and her voice, and those of her fellow contemporaries recount vividly the experience of that tumultuous year. In a development of the traditional ally lists that vernacular poets would sing to their chiefs, Sìleas composed one of the first ‘Oran nam Fineachan’ [‘Song of the Clans’] in which the clans who would come out in support of James are listed.⁴² Her song to the army of the Earl of Mar begins with an expression of sadness at being left behind by friends and family who have departed for the Jacobite muster – this is obviously a very different perspective from that of other poets such as Iain Lom who seemingly tramped across Scotland following and fighting in the armies of the Stuarts.⁴³ The poet particularly hails her own kindred, the various branches of Clann Domhnall, including her own brother, the Chief of Keppoch – she also addresses the powerful Gordon family. Sìleas had married Alexander Gordon of Camdell, a member of a junior branch of the Gordon family and factor to Duke of Gordon for the lands of Lochaber and Badenoch.⁴⁴ The Duke of Gordon had been imprisoned by the authorities earlier in the year in Edinburgh Castle out of fear that he would join a Jacobite invasion if one materialised, but Sìleas plays with the Duke of Gordon's traditional nickname ‘Cock o' the north’ and imagines him calling out his kinsmen to battle nonetheless:

‘Gig Gig!’ thuirt an Coileach, ‘s e ‘n sàs;
 ‘Tha mo sgoilearan ullamh gu blàr;
 Am fùidse nach coisinn,
 Cuiribh a cheann anns a' phoca,
 ‘S chan fhiù dhuinn bhith ‘g osnaich mu bhàs.’

Crath do chirein, do choileir ‘s do chluas,
 Cuir sgairt ort gu feachd an taobh tuath,
 Cuir spuir ort ‘s bi gleusta
 Gu d’ nàimhdean a reubadh,
 ‘S cuir Mac Cailein fo ghéill mar bu dual.

⁴² See Derick Thomson, ‘Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair’s Political Poetry’, *TSGI*, 56, (1989), 185-213.

⁴³ Sìleas na Ceapaich, ‘Tha mulad, tha gruaim orm, tha bròn’, 228-237.

⁴⁴ See. Ó Baoill, ‘Introduction’, *BSnC*, pp.xlv-l.

‘Gig Gig!’ said the Cock in captivity; ‘my scholars are ready for battle; as for the coward who will not fight in defence, put his head in the bag, and it is not worthwhile for us to sigh about his death.’

Shake your comb, your collar and your ear; call out to the army of the north; put spurs on and be ready to tear your enemies asunder, and subdue Argyll, as you always did.⁴⁵

Sìleas's verses here are a deft homage to the Gordon's sense of pride in their mastery of the north of Scotland, and also a reminder of their long-standing animosity with the house of Argyll, the only rivals to Gordon power in the Highlands. All this is woven into the violent image of a cock-fight. The poem addresses several families in turn, some more likely than others to join the rising, and in these lines Ó Baoill describes her as ‘a worthy practitioner of blackmail, for if a chief's Jacobite credentials are heralded in a popular song he will be under great pressure to lead his men out’.⁴⁶ This pressure was exacerbated by the fact that the song is written in limericks, a traditional and popular Gaelic verse form that would have been appealing and accessible to a wide range of people.⁴⁷ Whilst the poem is addressed to the clans of the Highlands and Islands, it is not a Highland or even a Scottish victory that Sìleas anticipates, instead, grasping the Britannic aims of Jacobitism, the poet urges the clansmen to fight on until they reach ‘Lunnainn nan cleòc’ [‘London of the cloaks’] where their bodies will be clad in silk as they parade along London Bridge.⁴⁸

In the fact that she was left behind, Sìleas's poetry offers an alternative perspective on the Jacobite rising that, whilst more spatially circumscribed than that of the male clan poets, still manages to be expansive and outward looking. Indeed in occupying the feminine space of the home, and in her anxious greeting and farewelling of kin and companions, Sìleas's

⁴⁵ Sìleas na Ceapaich, ‘Tha mulad, tha gruaim orm, tha bròn’, 263-272.

⁴⁶ Colm Ó Baoill, ‘Sìleas na Ceapaich’, p.307.

⁴⁷ See *BSnC*, pp.229-232; Colm Ó Baoill, ‘Sìleas na Ceapaich’, *Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, p.308.

⁴⁸ Sìleas na Ceapaich, ‘Tha mulad, tha gruaim orm, tha bròn’, 303.

poems on the rising evoke the cost of war, whilst simultaneously urging her menfolk on to battle. In a campaign that afforded few victories for the Jacobite side, it is natural that some of her poems should take on an elegiac tone. On the disastrous – for the Jacobites – battle of Sheriffmuir no less than three poems are ascribed to Sìleas. There seems to be a little doubt over the authorship of two of these but the first (beginning: ‘Sgeul a thàinig an dràsda oirnn’ [‘News has come to me just now’]) seems to be more certain and plays with Sìleas's position of being at home and following the news of the campaign from a distance.⁴⁹ The poem opens with a report coming to the poet of disaster on Sheriffmuir: Clann Domhnall and Mac Coinnigh have fallen in the van of battle, and the 5th Marquess of Huntly (Sìleas's Gordon kinsman by marriage) fled the battle with his cavalry. Sìleas laments the blow to ‘ar dùthaich’ [‘our country’] occasioned by the cowardice of the likes of Huntly.⁵⁰ In this moment of despair Sìleas engages the whole of Scotland in the Jacobite cause. Despite her remove from the battle and her reliance on messengers, Sìleas takes heart and resolves to wait for more news:

Ge bu lag mise ghlac mi misneach
 'S thubhairt mi ri càch:
 'Beir uam ur sgeula dona breugach,
 Na tugaibh éisdeachd dhà:
 Gar am biodh ach Gòrdanaich 's Clann Dòmhnail
 Thachairt còmhla anns a' bhlàr,
 Cha toir an saoghal orm a shaoilsinn
 Nach tug iad aodainn dàibh.'

Though I was weak I took courage and said to them all: 'Take away from me your wicked, lying report, and pay it no heed. Even if only the Gordons and Clan Donald were together on the field, the whole world will not make me think they did not stand up to them.'⁵¹

⁴⁹ For a good overview of the evidence of the ascriptions see the relevant summaries in *BSnC*, pp.138-154.

⁵⁰ Sìleas na Ceapaich, 'Sgeul a thàinig an dràsda oirnn', 308-323.

⁵¹ Sìleas na Ceapaich, 'Sgeul a thàinig an dràsda oirnn', 324-331.

Her stoic patience is rewarded as the next stanza relates the arrival of a second messenger with different news. Whilst Huntly did indeed flee, the clansmen fought valiantly, and those who died, died facing the enemy. Sheriffmuir is claimed as a victory of sorts. The outcome was indeed debatable with neither side routing the other, yet the Jacobite decision to withdraw the following day is seen as a tactical error which essentially conceded the victory to the government forces.⁵² In the subsequent two poems on Sheriffmuir published in *Bàrdachd Shìlis*, scorn is heaped upon those deemed to have betrayed the cause; Huntly and Seaforth's flight are widely condemned as indeed is Mar who led the debacle. Clann Domhnall are the only ones for whom praise of any sort is reserved. The final stanza of the first Sheriffmuir poem retains Sileas's characteristic understanding of the innocent causalities of these masculine encounters; she addresses the children and widows of the fallen:

Chaill sibh òigridh shèamhaidh sheòlta
 Dh' an tughas móran gràidh,
 'Gan robh m' eòlas o thùs m' òige—
 Leam bu bhròn an call;
 'S e meud an dùrachd anns a' chùis ud
 Chuir air lùths an lann,
 'Gan spadadh le luaidh ghlas 's le fùdar,
 'S b' e mo dhiùbhail bh' ann.

You have lost wise and clever youths to whom I have given much love, and
 whom I have known since I was very young; their loss was a great sorrow

⁵² In relation to this uncertainty of the outcome William MacKay prints part of a ballad on Sheriffmuir:

There's some say that we wan,
 And some say that they wan,
 And some say that nane wan at a', man ;
 But one thing I'm sure
 That at Sheriffmuir
 A battle there was that I saw, man.
 And we ran, and they ran,
 And they ran, and we ran,
 And we ran, and they ran awa', man!

Quoted in William Mackay, 'The Camerons in the rising of 1715: A vindication of their leader, John Cameron, Younger of Lochiel', *TSGI*, 26 (1907), 60-80, p.62.

to me. It was the greatness of their devotion to the cause that sent their blade swinging, to be slaughtered by grey lead and powder, and it was a great loss to me.⁵³

Here there is mourning and tenderness and a realisation of the human cost of war, but there is no questioning of the "cause" itself.

This poem also affords a stanza in lament of Ailean of Moidart, the 14th chief of Clanranald, whose death loomed large in all recollections of the '15:

Mo chreach lot àrmainn Mhùideart,
Bu chliùthmhor a bheus;
B' e sud an seobhag sùil-ghorm
Fhuair cliù am measg nan ceud;
'S e dol cho dàna 'n uchd do nàmhaid
Thug an call ort fhéin,
Ach 's goirt an cridhe fhuair do chàirdean
'Nuair a dh'fhàg iad thu 'n an déidh.

Alas for the wounds of the champion of Moidart, whose deeds were famous; he was the blue-eyed hawk who earned fame among hundreds. Going boldly against your enemies brought disaster upon you, but sore was the heart of your friends when they left you behind.⁵⁴

His death is also mentioned in the other two Sherrifmuir poems in *Bàrdachd Shìlis*.⁵⁵ He was mourned in three poems (one a bardic piece, two in vernacular) by Niall Mac Muireadhaigh, the last fully competent classical bard, and in a poem by Iain Dubh mac Iain Mhic Ailein, a vernacular poet attached as a sort of household poet to the Clanranald family.⁵⁶ In Niall's poems (composed at the end of his own life when in his eighties) the death of the dynamic young chief is figured as the last blow to the house and clan:

Meic Míleadh féin s gan iad ann,
Síol Chuinn is Cholla ar chomhchall

⁵³ Sìleas na Ceapaich, 'Sgeul a thàinig an dràsda oirnn', 380-387.

⁵⁴ Sìleas na Ceapaich, 'Sgeul a thàinig an dràsda oirnn', 356-363.

⁵⁵ Sìleas na Ceapaich, 'Mhic Choinnich bho 'm tràigh', 442-445; 'Dh'innsinn sgeula le reusan', 494-501.

⁵⁶ In her poem lamenting the death of Sir Iain Mac Gille Eòin, 4th Baronet of Duart and Morven, who died in 1716 not long after having fought at Sherrifmuir, Mairghread nighean Lachlainn also notes that: ' 'S mairg rioghachd dhe 'n deachaidh / Sir Iain is Caiptein Chlann Ràghnaill.' ['Woe betide the kingdom from which both Sir Iain and the Captain of Clanranald have departed.'] ' 'S goirt leam gaoir nam ban Muileach', *Mairghread nighean Lachlainn: Song-maker of Mull*, ed. Colm Ó Baoill (Edinburgh: SGTS, 2009), 563-564.

Clann Domhnaill na ndiaidh ag dul
sar ndoghrainn ríoghfhuil Raghnuill.

The sons of Mílídh themselves survive no longer,
The race of Conn and of Colla are both lost,
Clan Donald follows after them, and – it is
our affliction – (so does) the royal blood of Ranald.⁵⁷

And in one of his vernacular laments the death of the chief is poignantly compared with his own useless continuation:

Tha mi sgèth 's gun mi ullamh
'S mi 'n deaghaidh mo churaidh
Gun dùil risèan tuille –
B' fheàrr nach bitheadh na h-uiread
On là chualas gun d' chuireadh do leòn ort,
On là chualas gun d' chuireadh do leòn ort.

I am tired and unfinished
From surviving my hero
With hope of seeing him now gone –
I'd prefer it were shorter
Since the day that we heard you were wounded,
Since the day that we heard you were wounded.⁵⁸

In Niall's verses the desire to formally mourn him in bardic verse and also in vernacular song points clearly to the real and pervasive sense of loss that he experienced following Sheriffmuir. To Iain Dubh, Ailean's death has still wider ramifications for all the 'fir Alba' ['Scotsmen'], and the only remaining remedy was to implore of God 'A Rìgh nan Rìgh, na leig eucoir d'ar còir' ['O King of Kings, keep injustice at bay'].⁵⁹ Ailean was also the subject of an epitaph composed by Alexander Robertson of Struan – this Gaelic chieftain left behind a considerable body of verse in English (it is also said he composed in Gaelic, French and

⁵⁷ Niall Mac Muireadhaigh, 'Do thúirlinn seasuimh Síol Cuinn', 145-8, trans. Derick Thomson, 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic Poets: Niall Mór, Cathal and Niall MacMhuirich', *Bards and Makars*, ed. Adam J. Aitken, Matthew P. MacDiarmid, and Derick S. Thomson (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977), pp.221-246, p.228. See also *Reliquiae Celticae*, ii, pp.248-259.

⁵⁸ Niall Mac Muireadhaigh, 'Gur e naidheachd na Ciadaoin', *An Lasair*, 55-60. See also Derick Thomson, 'Poetry of Niall MacMhuirich', *TSGI*, 46 (1969), 281-307.

⁵⁹ Iain Dubh mac Iain mhic Ailein, 'Bliadhna leua d'ar milleadh', *An Lasair*, 29, 90.

Italian), and he is particularly notable as the only officer to have fought in all three major Jacobite campaigns.⁶⁰ In his poem on Ailean we are told:

THIS Tomb contains a Wonder to be told,
One like a Lamb was meek, a Lion bold;
Born to command, yet willing to obey,
Neither to bear, nor claim unmanly Sway;
He fell supporting his true Prince's Cause,
To raise his Country and restore the Laws.⁶¹

Like much of the occasional verse left by Robertson of Struan, there is a perfunctory air to this particular poem, but it also makes clear that the Jacobite project could be conceived of in ideas of justice and restoration of the whole country. Considerable was the lament that was raised for Ailean, and it rung out – uniquely perhaps – in Scotland's two vernaculars and in one of her classical literary languages.⁶² Ailean of Moidart was a new kind of chief, he had French connections, was notable for his continental tastes, and yet was lauded for his engagement in a rehabilitation or indeed a refashioning of chiefly patronage. His death seems to have stifled a genuine feeling of hope and dynamism that surrounded him.⁶³ A few years before the rising the Mac Gille Eòin poet Maighstir Seathan, himself a supporter of the house of Stuart, had written bitterly that:

'S maìrg a chailleas a dhaoine
Le rìgh no 'na aobhar,
'S gun fios gu dé'n taobh thig an stoirm.

Alas for him who loses his people for a king or his cause, for no-one knows
from which side the storm will come.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Murray G. H. Pittock, 'Alexander Robertson of Struan (c. 1670–1749)', *ODNB*.

⁶¹ Alexander Robertson of Struan, 'Epitaph upon the Captain of CLANRANNALD who was killed at Sheriffmuir 1715', *Selected poems of Alexander Robertson of Struan*, ed. John Vladimir Price (Edinburgh: Tragara Press, 1971).

⁶² Clanranald's activity at Sheriffmuir is also mentioned in the ballad 'Will ye go to Sheriffmuir'. See Mackay, 'The Camerons in the rising of 1715', p.61. The register of this is the kind of English to be expected in a popular ballad; it does not seem to have any salient Scots features.

⁶³ See also Thomson, 'Poetry of Niall MacMhuirich', pp.290-291.

⁶⁴ Maighstir Seathan, 'Ge grianach an latha', *BCG*, 1124-6.

Poets like Sileas and Iain Dubh continued to identify with the Jacobite cause even in defeat, and indeed found a new boldness to address a Scottish nation they felt part of, but, alongside such political commitments, sentiments like Maighstir Seathan's also played their part in the shaping of Scottish Gaelic political attitudes in the years between 1715 and 1745.

5.2: Contexts of Union – 1707 and the Archipelagic Celts

The links between the 1707 Union and Jacobitism are not strong enough for us to say that the '15 was a direct reaction to the events of eight years previous. However, what we can unequivocally say is that for many Scottish Gaels a new emphasis on Scotland as a distinct polity of which they were a part became much clearer from that time on. It is also clear that this identification with Scotland was overtly cultivated by the full gamut of Jacobite supporters ranging from the clan poets to the dispossessed Stuarts themselves. This can be seen in relation to Ireland where the Jacobite hope in the king over the water as expressed in Ó Rathaille's vision, anticipates the return and restoration of the Kingdom of Ireland most commonly, but also of the Three Kingdoms. Concerted Jacobite activity between Irish and Scottish supporters was not the norm but this section shall move beyond the Jacobite contexts of the early eighteenth century and examine some of the new circumstances which affected the wider Gaelic world at this crucial juncture of history.

Scholars have suggested many different dates and events that could signal the 'collapse of the Gaelic world', to borrow Michelle O Riordan's phrase. Kinsale, the Flight of the Earls, the Cromwellian Invasion, and the Williamite War are the common candidates in an Irish context, the demise of the Lordship of the Isles, the Statutes of Iona, and Culloden would seem to be the most likely Scottish examples. It is noteworthy that these events span

almost two centuries and none of them were pan-Gaelic in their ramifications. Gaelic poets, especially of the older bardic tradition, were often heralding the imminent end of Gaelic culture. Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh, the great Scottish Gaelic bard of the mid-seventeenth century, proclaimed in the 1650s

D'éis na gcliarsa do chuaidh dhinn
mé a-nois ionnamhail Oisín
gan spéis gan trighe toile
d'éis na Féinne fiannoidhe.

After these poets who have departed from us, I am now like Ossian, lacking esteem and with no quickening of appetite, after the death of the warrior-like Fian.⁶⁵

The poet here looked back to Ossian – the great early poet of Gaelic mythology – and saw himself similarly alone and dejected as he imagined himself to be the last bardic poet practising in Scotland. In the 1690s, in the aftermath of the Treaty of Limerick Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair despaired that

Is urchra cléibh gan éigse chothrom ar bun
is fuireann gan scléip dobhéaradh oirthisi cion
tar imioll is méala spéir a crotha do dhul
sa bhfuilid gan ghléar gach ré ar a lorg a bhus.

My heart is broken at the absence of correctly written verse,
And of the gentle-minded folk who would bestow its due on it;
'Tis sad the beauty of its form hath vanished from the reach of sight,
While many here, though ill-equipped, are searching for it all the time.⁶⁶

Ó Bruadair mourns the passing of mandarin Classical Gaelic and the complex and intricate verse productions of the bards as well as those willing and able to patronise them. He identifies that there is still an appetite for the old verse but there is now insufficient competence and patronage in Irish poetry to pull it off. Declan Kiberd sees such elegies on

⁶⁵ Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh, 'Cionnas mhaireas mé am aonar', 45-8, quoted in Thomson, 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic Poets', p.230. See Ronald Black, 'The Genius of Cathal MacMhuirich', *TSGI*, 50 (1976-1978), 327-366, p.340.

⁶⁶ Ó Bruadair, 'Is urchra cléibh gan éigse chothrom ar bun', *DDUB*, iii, §1.

the state of Gaelic culture as a key and recurring motif throughout bardic discourse: 'Gaelic Ireland always seemed to be dying – if not at the funeral of a lord, then on the deathbed of a poet, if not in the loss of native speakers to death or emigration, then in the sheer impoverishment of the words in the spoken language'.⁶⁷ Edward J. Cowan has wryly summed up something of this idea in a Scottish context:

As we all know, 'It is no joy without Clan Donald', but despite successive obituaries they were an unconscionable time a-dying, and of course they never did, as neither arguably did the culture with which they had supposedly been entrusted. An epitaph resurrected and reapplied from generation to generation rapidly loses its effectiveness yet it is trotted out again and again with reference to the last MacDonald's of Islay, to the departure of Alasdair mac Colla following the Montrose campaigns in 1644-5, to Glencoe, Culloden and the Clearances and it is a theme of numerous Gaelic poems.⁶⁸

Scholars and poets have been keen to identify the death of the bardic, medieval, Gaelic culture and the birth of the vernacular, modern Gaelic culture. In doing so they have often elided half the tradition and world they wish to describe. Kiberd writes 'Gaelic *Ireland* always seemed to be dying.' O Riordan set out to describe the 'collapse of the Gaelic *World*' [my emphases], but rarely strayed beyond the unity of Inis Fáil. Colm Ó Baoill has offered a corrective aimed at such oversights by reminding us that it is 'important to remember, for it is often forgotten (especially in Ireland), that Scotland had no Kinsale, and the old Gaelic way of life survived here for another century and a half.'⁶⁹ But Ó Baoill perhaps falls into the pitfall elaborated by Cowan of buying in to the metaphor of cultural death. The classical traditions of Gaelic literature did not disappear overnight in Ireland (and certainly not in

⁶⁷ Declan Kiberd, *Irish Classics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p.21.

⁶⁸ Edward J. Cowan, 'Contacts and tensions in Highland and Lowland culture', *Crossing the Highland Line*, 1-21, p.2. It is interesting to note that this motif had a continuation as well as a significant refashioning in Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's decision to title his landmark collection of poems in 1751 an 'Ais-Eiridh' ('Resurrection'). *Ais-eiridh na Sean Chánoin Albannaic, no, An Nuadh Òranaiche Ghaidhealach* (Edinburgh: 1751).

⁶⁹ Ó Baoill, 'Introduction', *GnC*, pp.1-40, p.7.

Scotland) after Kinsale, though they did evolve and develop in Ireland and Scotland across the seventeenth century as new social and cultural conditions prevailed. Furthermore, though the relationship between bardic and vernacular poetry is yet to be fully explored, there is a significant overlap of motifs, themes, and concerns between them which may lead us to question the extent of the 'death' of the old culture. Thomson's survey of the Mac Muireadhaigh bardic output of that century leads him to observe that 'we have a reasonably clear picture of the last century of Mac Muireadhaigh bards coming gradually to terms with the world around them, in the sense of talking to an audience that could understand them, while still holding fast to standards and traditions that had been bred into them'.⁷⁰ Change came, and a similar observation could be made of the new breed of poets in Ireland who were influenced by European and Counter-Reformation contexts but still produced magnificent works in classical, or semi-classical, forms such as Seathrún Céitinn and Pádraigín Haicéad.

There is then a slippage in the terminology and criteria deployed by contemporary scholars. The unitary Gaelic 'world' is all too often a shorthand for Ireland. A pan-Gaelic world with any meaningful shared social institutions had probably ceased to exist by the time of 1707. The last bardic poets were Scottish rather than Irish, and the vernacular traditions of Gaelic Ireland and Scotland were diverging under the very different day-to-day realities of life on either side of Sruth na Maoile in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁷¹ However both post-bardic cultures had emerged from a highly

⁷⁰ Thomson, 'Three Seventeenth Century Bardic Poets', p.240.

⁷¹ The dogged persistence of the bardic order outside of its geographical and cultural heartland of Ireland, is to be compared to the situation of today's Scottish and Irish Gaelic speakers so neatly summed up by Máire Ní Annracháin: 'the affinity which many Irish people experience at their first close encounter with Scottish Gaeldom is akin to finding not only a sibling, but a twin, whose existence was kept a secret through the formative years of socialisation into a Gaelic identity'. She goes on to relate that 'the Irish are greatly surprised when they first hear that there are almost three times as many native speakers of Scottish Gaelic (c. 80,000) as there are of Irish (c. 28,000), and so must accept that the Gaelic-speaking world today is predominantly

connected culture, resonances of which continued to echo in the Gaelic song-lines of the new poets. We must then speak of Gaelic *worlds*; worlds that came into contact with each other, and that shared a common heritage, but worlds that were notwithstanding becoming more, and not less, separate. There are various ways in which Scotland's Gaelic poets both were, and were not, interested in or greatly aware of their Irish connections in the first decades of the eighteenth century, and the same can be said of their Irish counterparts. One of the greatest points of contact between Irish and Scottish Gaeldom in this period is the enduring popular support for Jacobitism. But Jacobitism, and its recent history, also held the seeds of much of the divergence as well. Scotland had no Limerick, the Jacobite clans, though defeated at Killiecrankie and Cromdale, aside from the 1692 massacre of Glencoe, did not suffer the same penal restrictions that their Irish counterparts did in the wake of the Treaty of Limerick, nor were they so closely associated with the proscribed Catholicism as the Irish. The Union in 1707 facilitated Jacobitism in Scotland into becoming a constitutional and political ideology whereas in Ireland it remained largely a religious issue albeit bound up with the significant grievances associated with penal restrictions and loss of landholding. After defeat in 1692 many Scottish Jacobite leaders fled to the continent as they also did in Ireland, but many also returned or maintained strong links with their lands and kin in the succeeding years. The clan system – which had survived the modernisation of landholdings, the Scottification of the Crown, the Covenant, and Cromwell – limped on into the eighteenth century in a way that no comparable Irish Gaelic cultural institutions did.⁷²

Scottish and Protestant, rather than Irish and Catholic.’ This strange historical reversal, is not, as Ní Annracháin clearly sees, without its ironies. ‘The Highland Connection’, pp.38-9.

⁷² Allan Macinnes actually stresses that the clan system by the time of 1715, rather than adhering to unflinchingly conservative and traditional models, had largely incorporated ‘Whig’ ideals of property, progress, and commercial enterprise within the imperial framework of Britain. *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, p.172.

Whilst no chiefs could now maintain a full suite of individuals from the various learned orders, nor was any clan's traditional dùthchas entirely intact, the clan still provided a potent system of social organisation and a potentially powerful symbol of political unity.

Alongside this image of the continuing Scottish-Irish Gaelic divergence from their common heritage, the early eighteenth century provided new points of British and even Celtic contact, and a new perspective on the death – or otherwise – of Gaelic culture. By happy coincidence, the Welsh lexicographer, Edward Lhwyd, 1660-1709, published the first volume of his landmark *Archæologia Britannica* in 1707. This work, *Glossography*, was the culmination of years of exhaustive fieldwork, and aimed to provide a history and comparison of the different British languages. This in turn was meant as a groundwork for the subsequent volumes on British history, which, owing to Lhwyd's untimely death, never materialised. A native Welsh speaker, Lhwyd endeavoured to learn as much of Cornish, Breton, and Gaelic as possible, and, in so doing, recognised clearly the relationship between the languages. Lhwyd's *Glossography* has been called 'the first truly comparative compendium of Celtic languages' and 'a significant milestone in the history of European comparative linguistics, a pioneering study which would not be matched until the advent of the new philology of the nineteenth century'.⁷³ Significantly for this current study, Lhwyd was one of the first people to recognise the affinity between the ancient British – i.e. the Welsh and Cornish – and the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland, and furthermore to posit that they were all linked to the classical Celts of Greek and Roman history. Whilst links between Gauls, Bretons, and the Welsh had been speculated on before, Lhwyd was the first to

⁷³ *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, ed. Dewi W. Evans & Brynley F. Roberts (Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 2009), p.1.

demonstrate the relationship between this group and the Gaels and indeed identified the linguistic divider that is still used to class Celtic languages – P and Q Celtic.⁷⁴

The *Glossography* is a profoundly polyglot text: it uses multiples scripts, and orthographies - including Lhwyd's own peculiar system for writing Welsh – and is a text with multiple authors and contributors if the significant body of commendatory verse is taken into account, yet it is a remarkable attempt at synthesis. It would be callow to draw a hard and fast link between the serendipitous publication of this research in 1707 (it had been three years in the publishing and far longer in the research and drafting) and the great political union of 1707.⁷⁵ Cultural patriotism rather than political intervention seems to be the driving force of Lhwyd's work – though that is not to say that the two cannot be linked. Indeed it was rumoured by some so-called 'men of Passion and Intreague' that Lhwyd's work was designed 'to serve a certain interest'.⁷⁶ William Baxter in his letter declines to elaborate on this much further but it may be assumed that some sort of Welsh, anti-English patriotism may have formed the 'interest' alluded to, or even Jacobite sympathisers. However, as Nancy Edwards has argued, Lhwyd's work was prompted not through any anti-English ire but by the recognition that what his scholarly colleagues had done for the field of

⁷⁴ Evans and Roberts, *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, p.18. For Lhwyd's account of the difference between P and Q Celtic languages see 'Edward Lhwyd to Mr Babington, 14 October 1703', *Life and letters of Edward Lhwyd*, ed. R. T. Gunther (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp.490-1. Edmund Spenser had declared that 'the Gaulish speech is the very British' but for him the discovery of British words in Irish was evidence of an original Arthurian dominance over the entire archipelago. See *A view of the present state of Ireland*, p.46; Patricia Palmer, 'Babel is Come Again: Linguistic Colonisation and the Bardic Response in Early Modern Ireland', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 20/21 (2000/2001), 366-376, p.369. See also John Kerrigan's discussion of this and the usage of "Celtic" in early modern discourses. 'Prologue: Díonbrollach: How Celtic Was Shakespeare?', *Celtic Shakespeare: The Bard and the Borderers*, ed., Willy Maley and Rory Loughnane (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp.xv-xli, pp.xxiii xxvi.

⁷⁵ See Simon James, *The Atlantic Celts: ancient people or modern invention?* (London, British Museum Press, 1999), pp.44-8.

⁷⁶ William Baxter, *A letter from Mr. William Baxter to Dr Hans Sloane, R.S. Secr. containing an account of a book intituled, Archæologia Britannica* ([London, 1708]), p.4.

Anglo-Saxon studies needed to be done for Welsh.⁷⁷ In her study of post-1707 Welsh literature, Sarah Prescott has emphasised that while Welsh writers often lauded the Protestant succession and 'seemed to embrace the idea of British unity, they also emphasized a distinct Welsh cultural and linguistic identity that resisted assimilation and Anglicization'.⁷⁸ Lhwyd's work provides no ammunition against the political unity of Great Britain, but it would certainly have proved a source from which not only Welsh writers, but Irish and Scottish too, could draw material and cultural pride from. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the prefatory material of *Glossography*, and some of the issues arising from Lhwyd's correspondence. The prefatory material includes four different prefaces, in English, Welsh, Cornish, and Gaelic, and a collection of commendatory verse from several poets in Scottish Gaelic, Welsh, and Latin. The main body of the text is made up of comparative etymologies, grammars, and vocabularies of different Celtic languages, and a catalogue of extant British manuscripts. In his Celtic language prefaces, Lhwyd became almost certainly the first person to be able to read and compose in all the surviving Celtic languages. Linked to this, the commendatory verses demonstrate the value that his different correspondents, particularly in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, placed on his work. Lhwyd's life and work, and the connections he made with people from across the Celtic world afford a rare moment of a specifically Celtic self-consciousness at the exact moment a new Anglo-Scottish Union was reshaping the archipelago's politics.

As Evans and Roberts point out, the main theme in the commendatory verses sent to Lhwyd is that he 'has revived and restored the ancient and neglected languages of Wales,

⁷⁷ Nancy Edwards, 'Edward Lhuyd and the origins of early medieval Celtic archaeology', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 87 (2007), 165-96, p.168.

⁷⁸ Sarah Prescott, "'What foes more dang'rous than too strong Allies?": Anglo-Welsh relations in Eighteenth-Century London', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 69:4 (2006), 535-554, p.535.

Scotland and Ireland'.⁷⁹ This revivification ought to be read in tandem with the common poetic conceit of cultural death and decay described above. The verses emerge out of a network of correspondents and friends who helped Lhwyd gather and assess his material for *Glossography*. Notable names such as the Irish antiquarian Roderic O'Flaherty, and the Scottish mathematician Colin Campbell appear alongside otherwise unknowns such as R. Jones of Carmarthen. Lhwyd's large corpus of extant correspondence reveals an even broader network of contacts across the Archipelagic world, as his work brought him into contact not only with his learned colleagues at Oxford, but poets, clerics, antiquarians, and tradition-bearers across Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. These poems and letters are direct evidence of how individuals responded to Lhwyd's project. For Scots and Irish Gaels in particular, the novelty of genuine, non-hostile interest in their culture and language was deeply reassuring and gratifying. O'Flaherty's rather ponderous verse (sent and subsequently revised over several letters but not actually published by Lhwyd) hails Lhwyd as 'En novus interpres Scotorum idiomate et Anglo: / Hospes utroque tribu, Cambrobritannus homo' ['a new interpreter of the Irish people [Scotorum], and he does it in English; in ancestry he is a stranger to both, for he is a Welshman'].⁸⁰ For O'Flaherty this was a striking moment in which a Welshman was writing about the Irish in English. In a

⁷⁹ Evans and Roberts, *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, p.11.

⁸⁰ Roderic O'Flaherty, 'O'Flaherty's Revised Latin Poem', trans. Richard Sharpe, *Roderick O'Flaherty's Letters to William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd, and Samuel Molyneux, 1696-1709*, ed. Richard Sharpe (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2013), pp.377-384, p.379. The convoluted composition and redrafting of this poem is partially accounted for here and in Evans and Roberts, *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, pp.100-4. However, neither edition fully accounts for O'Flaherty's final emendations. It is made more complex in that Lhwyd did not print the original poem, sent to him 1704, but printed another in O'Flaherty's name, mistakenly or otherwise. For the letters dealing with O'Flaherty's displeasure with the printed poem and his subsequent revisions see 'Roderick O'Flaherty to Edward Lhwyd, 22 November 1707', 'Roderick O'Flaherty to Edward Lhwyd, 9 December 1707', and 'Roderick O'Flaherty to Edward Lhwyd, 12 March 1707/8', in Brynley F. Roberts, Richard Sharpe, and Helen Watt ed., 'The Correspondence of Edward Lhwyd', *Early Modern Letters Online*, Cultures of Knowledge, <http://emlo-portal.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections/?catalogue=edward-lhwyd> [Accessed: 07/09/2018].

slightly different version of the poem O'Flaherty insists that 'Scotus Hibernus erunt, et Scotobritannus et Anglus / Aeternum memores' ['The Irishman and the Scotsman and the Englishman – they will be eternally mindful'].⁸¹ Lhwyd's field work, his correspondence, and ultimately his published work can be seen to represent an unexpected interface or meeting point of various persons all individually concerned with British or Gaelic lore, language, and history for a variety of reasons. His correspondence with O'Flaherty, and their reciprocal reading and correcting of each other's works marks one aspect of this, but O'Flaherty was in some ways a poor Irish scholar and only of limited help to Lhwyd in his linguistic questions.⁸² Other connections may have proved more fruitful such as his famed interview with John Beaton.⁸³ As J. L. Campbell writes

the meeting of Lhuyd and the Rev. John Beaton, Episcopalian minister of Kilninian in Mull and the last learned member of the famous Beaton family, formerly hereditary physicians of the Lords of the Isles, is one of the most interesting encounters in Scottish literary history.⁸⁴

Unfortunately no documentary description of their meeting survives, just Lhwyd's notes on the different manuscripts Beaton possessed.⁸⁵

Other correspondents in the Highlands and Islands, such as Gaelic scribes, clergymen, and the writer Martin Martin provided him with a great deal of material, and they saw great hope for themselves and their culture in his work. Maighstir Seathan, an Episcopalian minister who had met with Lhwyd in the Highlands, and who was a friend of

⁸¹ O'Flaherty, 'O'Flaherty's original poem, as preserved in a letter 17 November 1704', trans. Ceri Davies, *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, p.103.

⁸² Lhwyd himself complained of some of O'Flaherty's shortcomings in a letter to Humphrey Humphreys, Bishop of Hereford: 'Edward Lhwyd to Humphrey Humphreys, 14 January 1704/5', 'The Correspondence of Edward Lhwyd', *Early Modern Letters Online*.

⁸³ For an extensive discussion of the Beaton kindred see Bannerman, *The Beatons*. See pp.35-40 for a particular account of John Beaton.

⁸⁴ J. L. Campbell, *Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands 1699-1700*, ed. J. L. Campbell and Derick Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p.12. See also Bannerman, *The Beatons*, p.133.

⁸⁵ See *Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands*, p.36-46; Bannerman, *The Beatons*, pp.112-119.

the above John Beaton – praised Lhwyd's work in an extraordinary poem to the Gaelic language itself. He narrates the history of the language from Gàidheal Glas's mythical voyage from Spain through to the history of Columban monasticism and the early kingdom of Scotland:

Nuair a dhfás a mpór ud mór, a bhos is tháll,
 'Bhi meas is prís fa 'n *Ghaoidheilg* ans gach báll
 A Teanga líonmhur, bhríoghmhur, bhlasda, bhínn,
 'san chan'mhain thartrach, líobhtha, ghasta, ghrínn.
 A ccúirt na Ríogh, ré mile bliadh'n is tréall,
 Do bhí si 'ntús, mun do thog caint *Dhúbhghall* ceann.

When that seed [Gaelic poetry and learning] grew great, here and across
 the sea, [Ireland]
 Gaelic obtained respect and was valued everywhere:
 A widely-spoken, vigorous, sweet and melodious tongue,
 A strong, polished, beautiful and accurate language.
 For a thousand years and more it held first place in the court of kings,
 Before the speech of [Dúbhghall] raised its head.⁸⁶

Like the great bardic poets before him, Maighstir Seathan takes pride in the glorious history of the language and its speakers and compares it to its woeful state in the present:

Reic iád san chúirt í, air cáint úir o Nde,
 's do thréig le hair budh nár leo ngcán'mhain fein.

It [Gaelic] has been sold in the court for a new speech dating from only
 yesterday,
 And scornfully [?] abandoned: people were ashamed of their own
 language.⁸⁷

Yet unlike the last of the bards who could envisage nothing to redeem this situation, he hails Lhwyd as a reviver:

Air sár o *Líath*, biodh ádh, is cuimhnu' is buáidh,
 Do rinn gu húr a dusgadh as a huáimh.

Good luck, fond memory and success to the great Lhuyd

⁸⁶ Maighstir Seathan, 'Air teachd on Spáin, do shliochd an Gháoidhil ghlais', *BCG*, 1170-1175. 'Dúbhghall' literally means 'black foreigners' and often referred to Norsemen as much as Saxons.

⁸⁷ Maighstir Seathan, 'Air teachd on Spáin, do shliochd an Gháoidhil ghlais', 1192-3.

Who has awakened it afresh from its grave.⁸⁸

Maighstir Seathan's fascinating poem narrates the birth, death, and resurrection of Gaelic language, pride, and culture. What is so unique about this moment is that the spark that reignites and revives has come from outside the Gaels, who, in the narrative of the poem, have hitherto only ministered to or suffered at the hands of the various foreigners they've come into contact with. What is more, this extrinsic injection of life is mirrored in the verse form itself which models itself not on a classical poetic or vernacular song form, but on English heroic couplets. These are given a distinctly Scottish Gaelic flavour with frequent internal rhymes on the second and third stresses, but they are iambic pentameter, rhyming couplets nonetheless.⁸⁹ To add to this conjunction, the language is closer to a loose form of Classical Gaelic rather than vernacular Scottish Gaelic and this is mirrored in the use of traditional mythical history and praise forms.⁹⁰

Semus mhac Mhuir, a Presbyterian minister of Kildalton, Islay, displays similar sentiments in a more traditional fashion.⁹¹

Sé 'do bheatha a Fhocloir chaoimh,
 su críchaibh arto chlanna *Gaoidhil*;
 su inir fós na cùis zcoisgeadh,
 ir e 'do bheatha san uibhir.

⁸⁸ Maighstir Seathan, 'Rainn', 1194-5.

⁸⁹ Ó Baoill speculates that this is a conscious influence from John Dryden's works. See *BCG*, p.296-7.

⁹⁰ See also *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, p.28.

⁹¹ Very little biographical information is discernible about Semus. The church records for the Presbytery of Argyll state baldly that 'James MacVurrich (or Currie)' was licenced September 1697, ordained August 1698, and died in January 1712. He married and had a daughter. *Fasti ecclesiae scoticae; the succession of ministers in the Church of Scotland, Volume IV Synods of Argyll, and of Perth, and of Stirling*, ed. Hew Scott (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1923), p.75. He clearly had some classical knowledge as his signature appears on some extant Gaelic MSS. The presence of a potentially learned clergyman/poet with the surname Mac Mhuirich on Islay at the start of the eighteenth century is tantalising, but no evidence exists to link him with the contemporary practising members of the bardic family (Mac Muireadhaigh), who, for one thing, remained staunch Catholics as far as we know. As Derick Thomson has elaborated, and as the surviving parish records demonstrate, Mac Mhuirich – in its various anglicised forms – is a relatively well attested surname in the original Clan Donald South territory that the bardic family inhabited before their move to the patronage of Clanranald. See Thomson, 'The MacMhuirich Bardic Family', *TSGI*, 43 (1963), 276-304, pp.293-5.

Welcome to you, fair dictionary, to the high lands of the *Gaels*, to the island of the five provinces also, welcome without limit.⁹²

This opening stanza elides the separation of Scotland and Ireland by seamlessly joining the ‘críchaibh ard’ to the five provinces of Ireland. For this Islay minister, Lhwyd's work was pan-Gaelic in its ramifications. A few stanzas down the motif of resurrection is also applied:

Do òuifearh rìoc as anúaigh,
an chanamhuin chruaigh òo bhi r̃aoi r̃mall
ceangsa bhi cían r̃aoi zheir̃aibh,
òo cuir̃earh leat a ñlo r̃e r̃eal.

The hardy tongue which was under a cloud has been roused by you from the grave, a tongue long under enchantment has presently been set in print.⁹³

This is similar to Maighstir Seathan's verse, but the emphasis here is on the printing of Gaelic. Not only did Lhwyd print Gaelic (and Welsh, Cornish, and Breton), he also did so with some use of Gaelic typefaces. I have presented the lines from Semus mhac Mhuir in a mix of Gaelic and regular fonts to approximate the visual effect of Lhwyd's publication.⁹⁴ After examining the printed *Glossography* text it is clear that Lhwyd's Oxford printer had utilised some insular type (they possibly had an entire set but if so they did not use it all) in some of the Gaelic poems such as the present one: lower case f, t, d, r, s, and g are used in tandem with normal Roman font for the other letters creating a dual typography within single words. This mixed typography may have appeared startling and possibly even cryptic to both Gaelic and English readers alike. Acute and grave accents are used, but lenition dots are not. Also some consistent errors in orthography crop up such as ‘Neirinn’ for nEirinn/n-Eirinn, or as in the above poem ‘Halban’ for h-Alban/hAlban, though it is difficult to know how accurately

⁹² Semus mhac Mhuir, ‘Sé do bheatha a Fhocloir chaoimh.’, trans. Colm Ó Baoill, *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, 1-4.

⁹³ Semus mhac Mhuir, ‘Sé do bheatha a Fhocloir chaoimh’, 9-12.

⁹⁴ See also "Figure 2" on p.257.

this reflects the orthography of the poems as they were sent to Lhwyd or whether they are a misunderstanding on the part of Lhwyd or the printer.⁹⁵ Gaelic typefaces were rare – indeed O'Flaherty complained to Lhwyd that his Glasgow printer 'had not the character of Scotie letters for impression' – books printed using them were just as rare.⁹⁶ The Vatican congregation Propaganda Fide had commissioned an Irish fount in 1638 to assist in the counter-reformation efforts in Ireland.⁹⁷ Queen Elizabeth had a fount cast as early as 1570 for the printing of an Irish Bible. Accordingly the New Testament was printed in 1602, the Old Testament in 1685, and then the complete Bible in 1690. Yet aside from these efforts, as T. C. Barnard has pointed out, the Dublin administration used this type but rarely and 'the world of print, elsewhere so conspicuous a cause or consequence of Protestantism's spread, touched early modern Ireland but lightly, and its Gaelic worlds hardly at all'.⁹⁸ This needs to be treated with caution when we remember that Séon Carsuel had his *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* ['The form of the prayers'] printed 1567, which was a major Reformation Gaelic text as well as the first printed text in Gaelic. Nevertheless, Semus mhac Mhuir's reference to print, and the fact it appears in (semi) Gaelic font is all the more noteworthy. Printing in Gaelic – regardless of font – was a comparative rarity, and the decline of the learned orders could also mean, at least in Scotland, a decline in manuscript creation,

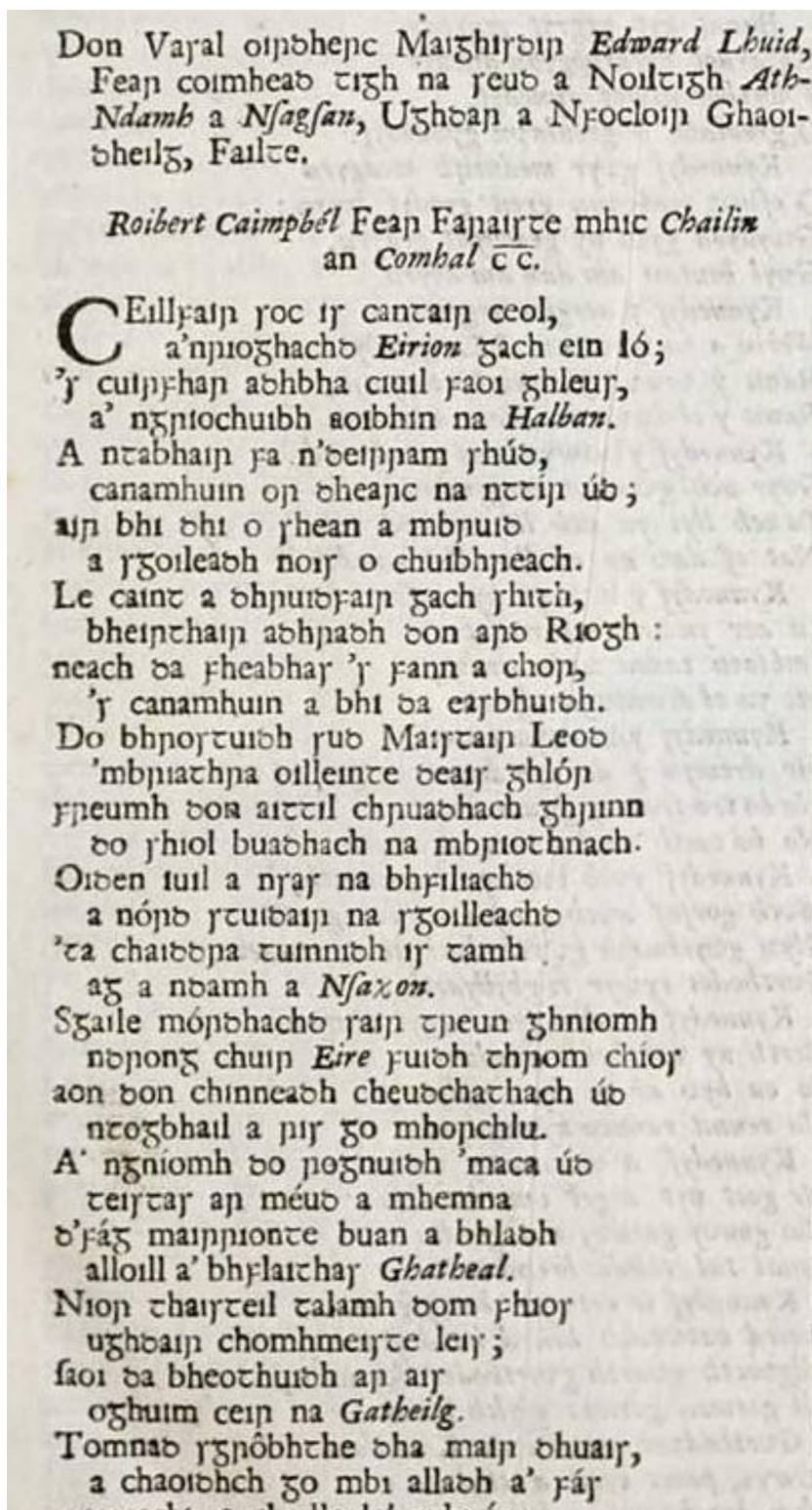
⁹⁵ See Edward Lhwyd, *Archæologia Britannica: giving some account additional to what has hitherto been published of the Languages, Histories and Customs of the Original Inhabitants of Great Britain from Collections and Observations and Travels through Wales, Cornwall, Bas-Bretagne, Ireland and Scotland, Vol 1 Glossography* (Oxford: 1707). The pages containing the prefaces and commendatory poems are unpaginated. The same orthography can be observed in the Irish preface pp.310-16.

⁹⁶ 'Roderick O'Flaherty to Edward Lhwyd, 7 February 1705/6', 'The Correspondence of Edward Lhwyd', *Early Modern Letters Online*.

⁹⁷ Bartholomew Egan, 'Notes on Propaganda Fide Printing-Press and Correspondence concerning Francis Molloy, O. F. M.', *Collectanea Hibernica*, 2 (1959), 115-124, pp.115-6.

⁹⁸ T. C. Barnard, 'Protestants and the Irish Language, c. 1675-1725', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44:2, (April 1993), 243-272, p.245. See also Niall Ó Ciosáin, 'Print and Irish, 1570-1900: an exception among the Celtic languages?', *Radharc*, 5/7 (2004-2006), 73-106, p.78.

Figure 2. ORTHOGRAPHY AND TYPFACES USED IN
ARCHAEOLOGIA BRITANNICA



Reproduced from Edward Lhuyd, *Archæologia Britannica*, p.16 <
<https://digital.nls.uk/78365829> > [Accessed: 14/08/19].

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transmission, and copying.⁹⁹ Regardless of the poetic conceits of death and decline, Gaelic was under pressure as a written language, even if its vernacular oral traditions were in full and vigorous voice. Lhwyd encountered this very fact of Gaelic illiteracy in his correspondence with Martin Martin who wrote to him that ‘You have guess’d right as to my Native Language [Scottish Gaelic], tho I have not been taught to read it’.¹⁰⁰ Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's *Galick and English Vocabulary* (1741) is generally regarded as the first secular Scottish Gaelic text to be printed, but the Gaelic poetry at the beginning of *Glossography* must surely be regarded as the first printed secular Scottish Gaelic texts, and this illustrates succinctly the originality of Lhwyd's attempt.

Lhwyd's intervention provided a bolstering for the written language on both sides of the North Channel, and that is how it seems to have been perceived. However, as a linguist he perceived part of the problem with Gaelic to be its own script and written practice. In his Gaelic preface he explained that elements such as mute consonants at the beginning of words would seem so outlandish to non-native speakers that even ‘at the Sight of an Irish Book; insomuch, that the Language (however full and copious in itself) is looked upon to be but wild and barbarous’.¹⁰¹ With regards to Irish script, Lhwyd went so far as to suggest that the sheer scarcity of Gaelic founts endangered printed Gaelic, he proposed a new orthographic and typographic system using hybridised Greek and Roman alphabets.¹⁰² However unlikely this idea would be to find favour with native writers, and it didn't, it was a pragmatic response to the material difficulties facing Gaelic writers. At the end of the Gaelic

⁹⁹ See also Éamonn Ó Ciardha, ‘The Irish book in Irish in the early modern period, 1691-1800’, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, 28 (2013), 13-36.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Martin Martin to Edward Lhwyd, 22 December 1702’, ‘The Correspondence of Edward Lhwyd’, *Early Modern Letters Online*.

¹⁰¹ Edward Lhwyd, *A translation of the Irish Preface, to Mr Lhuyd's Irish Dictionary*, in William Nicolson, *The Irish Historical Library* (Dublin, 1724), 191-215, p.203.

¹⁰² Lhwyd, *A translation of the Irish Preface*, pp.204-205.

preface Lhwyd's practicality meets his own profound respect for the various Celtic languages; in what is perhaps the closest he comes to a political statement in the entire work Lhwyd writes that:

As concerning those who propose it were better to teach all Manner of Persons in the three Kingdoms to speak *English*; I will readily agree with them in that, as being of universal Advantage in order to promote Trade and Commerce ; but those Gentlemen do not inform us how that is to be accomplishd. We have been now, for several hundred Years, subject to and conversant with the English and Scots in the Lowlands of Scotland; and yet how many thousands are there in each Kingdom that do not yet speak English ? And therefore it was my whole design, and what I have still at heart, that this Book may prove somewhat useful in this respect.¹⁰³

This is typical of Lhwyd and indeed typifies *Glossography* in that his aim is to connect people across languages, and that is not just an intra-Celtic aim but encompasses those English speakers of good will as well. Lhwyd accepts that trade and commerce would be easier if there was simply one spoken vernacular but he does not insist that the Celtic languages are barbarous or backward, he rather wishes to instruct the English reader in them. O'Flaherty missed the point when he griped that 'I find fault with your admonitions to the Reader in your Welsh, Cornish, & Irish Preface rather than in English common to the 3 nations, whereas one in a hundred can reade one of the 3 & one in a 1000 (if any) expert in all 3.'¹⁰⁴ Lhwyd, through tremendous personal effort, had laid down the fundamentals for anyone to learn all three. Anndra mac an Easbuig, who contributed verses to *Glossography*, perhaps misunderstood Lhwyd's intentions in a different way when he wrote:

Molfid Mc Liath na Sheanchas,
Ochd mhacigh'achd do leanmhuinn oirinn,
Brathreachus Gaoidhil Fear Shaxan,
Thabhart nar ccuimhne ceart na loirg.

¹⁰³ Lhwyd, *A translation of the Irish Preface*, pp.214-215.

¹⁰⁴ 'Roderick O'Flaherty to Edward Lhwyd, 22 November 1707', 'The Correspondence of Edward Lhwyd', *Early Modern Letters Online*.

Lhuyd will recommend in his History that adoption should come to us,
[and] that we should be reminded, immediately thereupon, of the
brotherhood of the Gael to the Men of England.¹⁰⁵

As Ó Baoill notes it is hard not to read this 'adoption' in terms of the proposed 1707 Union, something which Anndra seems to welcome.¹⁰⁶ This position becomes more interesting when it is considered that Anndra was a Jacobite captain at Killiecrankie. His feelings of brotherhood towards the 'Fear Shaxan' are clearly not strained by his past loyalty to James Stuart. The 'adoption' Lhwyd aims to facilitate or procure is not so narrowly political as unionist or anti-unionist politics, but rather peace and understanding between Gaels, Britons, and the English speakers of the archipelago. Roibert Caimpbél of Argyll recognised this most profoundly in his verse:

Le caint a dhruiofair zach rhich,
bheir chair aohraoh don arto Rìogh:
neach da pheabhar 'r fann a choir,
'r canamhuin a bhi da earbhuioh.

With speech every peace-accord is sealed
and worship given to the high King:
anyone of whatever worth, his plight is feeble
if he lacks language.¹⁰⁷

In Campbell's verse peace, religion, and politics are all understood to be dependent on language and understanding and Lhwyd's work signals a restoration of right worship, politics, and peace throughout the archipelago through linguistic understanding.

Lhwyd's correspondence and the dedicatory verses reveal that many people immediately saw practical applications for his work. In letters from the Scottish historian Robert Wodrow and the Church of Scotland minister Lachlan Campbell he was asked to

¹⁰⁵ Anndra mac an Easbuig, 'Ordheirc an gnìomh saor bhuir comhlunn', *BCG*, 888-895.

¹⁰⁶ Ó Baoill, *BCG*, p.247.

¹⁰⁷ Roibert Caimpbél, 'Ceillfair soc is cantair ceol', *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, 9-12.

provide extra copies so that the Argyll Synod could use the Gaelic material to improve their preaching and evangelisation in the western Highlands and Islands.¹⁰⁸ However, this particular avenue of use was almost immediately snuffed out by the 1709 foundation of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which initially discouraged Gaelic in its schools. It would not be until the Society commissioned the young Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair to write his *Galick and English Vocabulary*, that a more accommodating attitude to Gaelic would take a serious place in Scottish Protestant evangelism again.¹⁰⁹ J. L. Campbell and Derick Thomson note that the nascent interest and study of Gaelic language and antiquity, of which Lhwyd was the prime luminary, was quickly extinguished out by the 'political and sectarian passions aroused by the Union of Scotland and England in 1707, the foundations of the S. P. C. K. in Scotland 1709 [...] and the Jacobite risings'.¹¹⁰ Whilst the external interest of scholars such as Lhwyd clearly faltered after his death and none were willing or able to take up and continue his research, Lhwyd's work may be said to have made a quiet but ongoing impact in Scottish Gaelic, Irish, and Welsh culture. Jacobitism may have helped foster the continuing image of the barbaric and disruptive Gaels, but Gaelic speakers themselves took cultural confidence from Lhwyd's work. Eóghan Mac Gille Eóin, a Gaelic scribe who assisted in Lhwyd's gathering of materials, wrote and provided a translation for a cryptic couplet in the margin of a letter to Lhwyd in 1700:

Seinsioracht ni thugan ceart ar thír da bfağthar le neart:
calmacht na bfhear is ceart ann: is ní hisdagh fear n-anbhann

Seynyeorship gives no good right. to a countrey won by armes & might

¹⁰⁸ 'Robert Wodrow to Edward Lhwyd, 26 August 1709' and 'Lachlan Campbell to Edward Lhwyd, 17 January 1705', *The Correspondence of Edward Lhwyd*, *Early Modern Letters Online*.

¹⁰⁹ See *Highland Songs of the Forty-Five*, ed. John Lorne Campbell (1933; repr. Edinburgh: SGTS, 1997), pp.322-323.

¹¹⁰ Campbell and Thomson, *Lhwyd in the Highlands*, p.xxiii.

Vigour of men makes out that right. & not faint eldership in fight.¹¹¹

This is not necessarily a statement of political intent, but it elucidates that the author understood perhaps both the native Gaelic and Lhwyd's own narrative of Gaelic antiquity and recognised that seniority alone would not be enough to secure Gaelic's position, only struggle. John Balfe, a notorious rapparee from County Wicklow, recognised that Lhwyd's printing of Gaelic had serious implications:

Gí gur do shliocht gall
Máisdír Lhuid neamhmall
Is ionmhuin gaoghilig a chur a gló
Anaigh dúthchus na sean-tsló.

Although the busy Master Lhwyd is a foreigner it is a fine thing to put Irish into print and to publish the traditions of the ancients.¹¹²

Balfe was hanged for his activities in 1706 but his name carried seditious connotations for some time afterward.¹¹³ Interest in Lhwyd persisted in Ireland into the 1740s and at that time the noted poet Seán na Ráithíneach Ó Murchú transcribed the Gaelic sections and composed poetry to Lhwyd.¹¹⁴ In Scotland, Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair clearly had access to a copy – perhaps Maighstir Seathan's – and was influenced not just by the *Glossography*, but also by Maighstir Seathan's poem to the Gaelic language which is a clear source for much of the style and themes of his encomium to the Gaelic language 'Gur h-i as crìoch àraid'.¹¹⁵

The Gaelic poets that contributed to *Glossography* straddled the political and religious divides of Scottish Gaeldom – O'Flaherty's Latin poem is the only poem originating

¹¹¹ 'Eóghan Mac Ghilleóin to Edward Lhwyd, 3 January 1700', The Correspondence of Edward Lhwyd', *Early Modern Letters Online*.

¹¹² John Balfe, Gí gur do shliocht gall', *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, 1-4.

¹¹³ *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, p.253n.

¹¹⁴ See 'Bíodh nár Ghaedheal Éadbhard', *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*; See also Seán na Ráithíneach, ed. Torna (Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1954).

¹¹⁵ See Derick Thomson, *Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair: Selected Poems* (Edinburgh: SGTS, 1996), pp.77-82.

from an Irish pen that we know to have been sent to Lhwyd. Presbyterian and Episcopalian ministers made similar claims for Lhwyd's work and also felt confident expressing some enduring connection with Ireland as a continuing part of a coherent Gaeldom. Poems in Latin from Wales, Scotland, and Ireland also feature, and some of these are quite different in their implications. Andrew Frazier, a Scottish Presbyterian minister, compared Lhwyd to the great Scottish humanist George Buchanan:

Quid si reversus spiritus afforet
Jam Buchanani, nobile callidi
Tentare plectrum, pristinumque
Officium renovare chordis?

Antiqua tellus, dic, age, Scotia,
Quem destinares Tu, facili Virum
Ornare versu; quem parares
Non humili celebrare cantu?

What if the spirit of Buchanan were to return and be present now,
Buchanan who was skilled at handling the celebrated plectrum and at
performing anew their ancient function on the lyre's strings?

Come you ancient Scottish land, what man would you elect to adorn with
favourable verse. Whom would you prepare to celebrate with lofty
song?¹¹⁶

For Frazier, Lhwyd's work in recovering Gaelic deserves praise from someone as elevated as Buchanan. Buchanan of course was a native speaking Gael who disdained the language later in life, and is perhaps a strange choice in the circumstances, but as Frazier's poem progresses it is clear that the value of Lhwyd's work is seen to be more the recovery of the past and Scottish history, rather than any work on Gaelic for its own sake, and this is perhaps more amenable to the legacy of Buchanan. John Keill, an Edinburgh born mathematician and natural philosopher at Oxford, saw similar values in the *Glossography*:

¹¹⁶ Andrew Frazier, 'In Edv. Luidi Glossographiam', trans. Ceri Davies, *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, 1-8.

Scotia me genuit, rigidi terra aspera Fergi,
 Terra antiqua, potens armis, tamen ubere glebâ
 Haud nimium felix; placidis sed amica Camoenis;
 Utcunque Aoniae mihi non risêre Sorores.
 Rusticitas mihi prisca placet, salebrosaue vocum
 Fragmina, quae patriis in montibus audiit olim
 Cum proavis atavus, quique hos genuêre parentes.

Scotland gave me birth, the harsh land of stern Fergus: an ancient land,
 mighty in arms, but not too rich in fertile soil. Yet it too is a friend of the
 kindly Muses, no matter the Aonian sisters have not smiled upon me. My
 delight is in ancient rusticity and in rugged fragments of words which were
 once heard on these native mountains by my forefathers and ancestors,
 and even by those who begat those forbears.¹¹⁷

Keill takes less obvious delight than Frazier in the recovery of a usable national past, but values antiquity and a connection to both a familial and a patriotic history that Gaelic might offer. The use of smooth Latin hexameters to expound favourably on the ruggedness of the Gaelic tongue is a departure from Philp's despair at the barbaric sounds of the Gaelic names his Latin verse had to accommodate. For the Welsh poet Edward Wynn of Anglesey, Lhwyd's work had far more obvious national implications:

Inde loqui formata tuis stirps Celtica libris
 Exigit ad veterem rediviva vocabula normam:
 Qualia percussas penetrarunt Caesaris aures
 Masculina verba, suas audax Caratacus olim
 Cum caneret pugnas pleno mirante Senatu
 Roma catenatum & tremere spectare Britannum.

Next the Celtic stock, fashioned by your books, claims to have been revived: manly words, such as struck and penetrated the ears of Caesar, when in olden times bold Caratacus sang, to the amazement of a packed Senate, of battles he had fought, and Rome herself trembled to behold the chained Briton.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ John Keill, 'Ad Edvardum Luidium in Primum Archæologiae Britannicae Volumen', trans. Ceri Davies, *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, 8-14.

¹¹⁸ Edward Wynn, of Anglesey, 'Ad Clariss. Virum E. Lhuidum Arch. Brit. Auth.', trans. Ceri Davies, *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, 10-15.

Wynn is one of the few to explicitly follow Lhwyd's arguments about the consanguinity of the ancient Gauls and Britons and the present day Welsh. The patriotic capital to be made out of this connection becomes clear with the link to Caratacus, the great British hero of Tacitus' *Annales*.

Aside from this, the bridge between the Gaels and the Britons that Lhwyd's work demonstrated went largely unnoticed or heralded. Colin Campbell – another Gaelic Presbyterian minister – makes the most explicit reference to the linkage that Lhwyd had discovered:

Britannum
Historiae ut taceant, statuit; sermonis amussi
Albanii metas Britonis Cambrique resignans.
Primus enim Cephilos Scotos, Pephilosque Britannos,
Nosque notas Britonum sib'lasse ostendit anhelas.

although the histories are silent on the matter; by the rules of speech he [Lhwyd] reveals the boundaries between the Alban Briton and the Cambro(-Briton). For he is the first to demonstrate that the Gaels [Scoti] pronounce 'Cephili' and the Britons 'Pephili', and that we have turned into 's' the well-known aspirate breathing of the Britons.¹¹⁹

This draws on Lhwyd's own example of the difference between P and C (Q) Celtic languages: 'the C [Britons] would begin no word with a P and therefore for *pen* a head, they said *cian* or *kean* [Ceann in modern Scottish Gaelic]'.¹²⁰ This corresponds with Campbell's 'Cephili' or 'κεφαλή' the ancient Greek for 'head'. The insistence on Lhwyd's part of the demonstrable classical genealogy for both Welsh and Gaelic was no doubt inspired by the desire to refute such attacks on the languages as William Richards's scurrilous *Wallography; or the Britton Describ'd* (1682). Richards's is a farcical account of a supposed tour of a Londoner around

¹¹⁹ Colin Campbell, 'In amici singularis E. Luidii Archæologiam', trans. Ceri Davies, *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, 24-28.

¹²⁰ 'Edward Lhwyd to Mr Babington, 14 October 1703', *Life and letters of Edward Lhwyd*, p.491.

Wales; he had denigrating things to say about most aspects of Welsh culture but he reserved particular scorn for the Welsh language:

That which we admir'd most of all amongst them, was the *Virility* of their Language, not deflower'd by the mixture of any other Dialect: The purity of *Latine* was debauch'd by the *Vandals*, and was *Hun'd* into corruption by that barbarous People; but the sincerity of the British remains *inviolable*. 'Tis a Tongue (it seems) not made for every Mouth; as it appear by an Instance of one in our Company, who, having got a Welch *Polysyllable* into his throat, was almost choked with *consonants*, had we not by patting him on the back made him *disgorge* a Guttural or two.¹²¹

Lhwyd had first-hand experience of attitudes of this type as he made clear in the dedicatory letter to Sir Thomas Mansel in which he describes suffering 'with Patience the Remarks of those whose Education or Natural Talent disposed them to ridicule'.¹²² He also knew that such attitudes were commonly extended to the Gaels and Gaelic and he wrote to Thomas Molyneux explaining:

The main cause of their [the Scottish Gaels'] being reputed Barbarous I take to be no other than the Roughness of their Countrey as Consisting very much of barren mountains and Lough and their retaining their antient habits Custom and Language on which very account many Gent of good sense in England Esteem the Welsh at this day barbarous & talk so much of wild Irish in this Kingdom.¹²³

This common heritage of misrepresentation and ridicule was clearly another link Lhwyd saw between the Britons and Gaels and something he strove to clear away. In the commendatory verse, and indeed in the individual output of the contributors it does not seem that Lhwyd's ambitions were fully understood or developed. What was articulated in the commendatory verse though was a deep sense of cultural patriotism, more or less de-coupled from the

¹²¹ William Richards, *Wallography; or the Britton Describ'd* (London, 1682), pp.121-122.

¹²² Lhwyd 'To the right honourable Sr Thomas Mansel of Barga, Bar: Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household', *Glossography*, B1^r.

¹²³ 'Edward Lhuyd probably to Thomas Molyneux, 29th January 1700', in *Lhuyd in the Highlands*, pp.6-8, p.6.

political sphere, and understood instead as a cultural and linguistic identity that had finally arrived in the print world.

It is unclear what practical difference the work of Lhwyd made in Ireland and Scotland at the outset of the eighteenth century. Whether or not the Argyll Synod procured its copies of *Glossography* is unknown. Lhwyd's work made little impact in the scholarly world of Oxford and Cambridge, which was after all his primary sphere. As Evans and Roberts point out, unlike George Hickes's influential work on Anglo-Saxon linguistics, which received commendatory verse from the great scholars of the age, Lhwyd's work did not:

In one sense [...] the collection of commendatory verses was a double-edged sword. Though they are an indication of regard for Lhwyd's work, the writers are not part of the mainstream of English intellectual life, where Lhwyd himself had his base; John Keill is the exception that proves the rule as he is here as a Scottish representative rather than as an Oxford scholar. The scholarly 'great and good' who would immediately command attention are not named here.¹²⁴

This is not perhaps surprising given common attitudes to Gaelic and Welsh matters outlined above. Not only was Lhwyd's scholarship not continued, but also the networks that he fostered seemed to disintegrate without his involvement. One of the fascinating things that emerges from his correspondence is the cross-checking he got Gaels on both sides of Sruth na Maoile to carry out on each other's work. Roderic O'Flaherty and Lachlan Campbell describe reading each other's material and finding that the vernacular of the other is difficult but not impossible to understand.¹²⁵ There is no evidence however that they corresponded past their involvement with Lhwyd. Furthermore O'Flaherty's work on a sequel to his *Ogygia* (which Lhwyd was supposed to be annotating and helping to publish) was never brought to conclusion, and remained unpublished until Charles O Connor published it as *Ogygia*

¹²⁴ Evans and Roberts, *Archæologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, p.27.

¹²⁵ See 'Lachlan Campbell to Edward Lhwyd, 17 January 1705', and 'Roderick O'Flaherty to Edward Lhwyd,' 28 May 1706', *The Correspondence of Edward Lhwyd*, *Early Modern Letters Online*.

Vindicated in 1775. Martin Martin, author of the noted *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703) – a work Silke Stroh has characterised as ‘Gaelic self-marketing’ to the political centre – was unable to pursue his studies of Gaelic history and anthropology and ended his life a doctor in London.¹²⁶ Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart states that it was Martin's ‘ambition to succeed as a “British Gael”’, if so his chosen route through, history, linguistics, and ethnography – a particularly Lhwydian approach to identity – ultimately failed him.¹²⁷ Furthermore there is no evidence of the Gaelic world reaching out to the Welsh or Cornish beyond Colin Campbell's brief remarks in the commendatory verse. Lhwyd's direct impact on the reawakening and unshackling of Gaelic vernacular verse, which is what is repeatedly hailed in the commendatory verse, was probably not felt until Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's 1741 lexicography and 1751 ‘Resurrection’ of Gaelic verse. In fact the only immediate spur to Gaelic poetry seems to have been the commendatory verses themselves, as we possess nothing else that can be ascribed to Roibert Caimpbél or Semus Mac Mhuir. *Glossography*, and the nexus of work that clusters around it, constitutes a moment of pan-Celtic awareness, and an expression of hope for the future of the Celtic languages, but no stable connections or identifications endured Lhwyd's own death. Pan-Gaelicism and pan-Celticism had no material reality or political power in the eighteenth century (it is doubtful that they ever have) and the poets of each nation – Scotland, Ireland, and Wales – quickly returned to singing their own national songs.

The 1707 Union of Parliament enabled the creation of a unified Parliament of Great Britain that would house both Scottish and English representatives. It provided for a Protestant succession by stipulating that should Queen Anne fail to have any issue the

¹²⁶ Silke Stroh, *Gaelic Scotland in the Colonial Imagination: Anglophone Writing from 1600-1900* (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press: 2017), p.101.

¹²⁷ Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart, ‘Martin Martin (d. 1718)’, *ODNB*.

succession would go to the Hanoverian line. Many distinct national elements were preserved within the Union such as the retention of the Scottish legal system and the undisturbed rights of Scottish royal burghs. Ireland was not included in this Great British endeavour, and its parliament remained subordinate to the British parliament until the full union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800. The 1707 Union further bound Scotland into Britannic dynamics and increasingly the politics of Britain and her empire played their role in shaping the identities of Scots, Gaels and non-Gaels alike. However, the spectre of Jacobitism and anti-Unionism continued to haunt the new British state and we can see in the poetry and proclamations of the 1715 Jacobite rebellion that these forces were capable of mobilising strong passions and sacrifices from Gaels who continued to identify with the old dynasty and the Kingdom of Scotland. The work of Lhwyd and his associates points to another, perhaps less politicised but nonetheless vibrant, facet of Gaelic identities on both sides of the Irish Sea: cultural patriotism. The cultural pride evident in the poetic contributions to *Glossography*, as well as the diligent labour Lhwyd's many contacts provided for him, points to the ongoing relevance and dynamism of Gaelic identities, despite the political marginalisation and brutalisation of Gaels over the previous century. In spite of the ending of the bardic order and the rich cultural interactions it fostered across the North Channel, and despite the bifurcation of Jacobite politics between Scotland and Ireland, a meaningful and mutually intelligible cultural inheritance continued to shape the identities of the sea-sundered Gaels.

Conclusion

This thesis has analysed literary engagements with three moments of wider Gaelic significance: the civil wars of the 1640s and 50s, the Williamite Wars of 1688-1691, and the political and cultural contexts of the 1707 Union of Parliaments. In doing so, this study has explored the presentation and development of national and cultural identity in the literature of the Gaelic worlds of Scotland and Ireland. This has resulted both in a focus on Scottish-Irish connections and also in a study of the internal cultural and political dynamics of Scotland and Ireland separately. Identities could cut across these different spheres and territories forming connections and divergences. The texts studied are works in which individuals and communities engaged with the political and cultural changes of the years 1639–1715 and are vital to understanding how these people represented and understood their own identities. In light of this work, any sense of the fundamental unity or of sustained political and cultural interchange between the Gaelic worlds or indeed Ireland and Scotland more generally during this period clearly needs to be revised, as this study draws further attention to the contingent and patchy nature of such cross-channel connections. However, this study has also consistently endeavoured to explore the moments of connection and of disjunction in tandem and to develop a comparative understanding of developments on either side of the North Channel.

The Gaelic worlds experienced dramatic, and often traumatic, ruptures and changes during this period. Their political interdependence was fragmented and desiccated in the decades prior to this study's focus, but their cultural and social connections were partially sustained into the eighteenth century, and archipelagic events drew them into new contacts with one another. Many of their divergences were already rooted in the vastly different

national contexts which Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland found themselves in. In the poetry of the Scottish Gaels who fought on the royalist side in the 1640s and 50s, and those who fought on the Jacobite side in the 1680s and in 1715 we can see an ever closer entanglement of their identity in the Scottish nation. Politics and religion had polarised the Scottish Gàidhealtachd, but simultaneously bound it further into Scottish and later British dynamics. In Ireland, over the same period, in poetry and prose we can clearly see the hardening of a national self-consciousness predicated on Catholicism, the Irish territory, and loyalty to the Stuart monarchy. The distinction between Gaels and Goill, though a continuing thorn in the internal politics of Confederate and later Jacobite Ireland, became increasingly muted in this period as an Irish identity founded on broader principles than ethnicity clearly emerged. The neo-Latin works studied here are significant in their binding of the Gaels into Classical, European, and British cultural frameworks which were part of the intellectual mainstream of early modern Europe in a way that much Gaelic literature was not. These epics of defeat are also epics of the people and cultures they depict and reveal insights into the development of Gaelic identities outside of the boundaries of Gaelic literary expression. Finally, in the work of Edward Lhwyd and his associates, we can see the potential of a revived Gaelic cultural patriotism that is dynamic and outspoken. This patriotism was not explicitly linked to a political or state project and was uniquely pacific, pan-Gaelic, and indeed archipelagic in its scope. However, much of its material and cultural ramifications were attenuated or delayed by Lhwyd's premature death in 1707 which disrupted the networks he had developed, and then the Jacobite rising of 1715 which stifled the positive reception and influence of his work across the archipelago.

Identity, as studied here, cannot be conceived of as a series of neat concentric rings of levels of group identity radiating out from the self. A consistent theme in many of the

texts discussed above is the entanglement and (con)fusion of identities. Also consistently demonstrated is the different values and meanings different groups and individuals assigned to different categories. For example Scottish Gaels' consciousness of belonging to Alba, an ancestral Gaelic kingdom now dominated by the Goill, is clearly different from other Scots' senses of national identity and history. The ethnographical inventions of James Philp read alongside Gaelic texts reveal further the different meanings that different groups could generate out of history, culture and a common patria. For Scottish Gaels national and cultural identities were often experienced to be in misalignment, overlapping but with different values and pulls in different directions and contexts. For Irish Catholic writers an attempt was made to subordinate ethnic and cultural differences to a greater religious identity, but so often their writings reveal an uneasy concern with the very differences they sought to occlude. The territory of Ireland, as a discrete, and unitary space, became a symbol for an Irish identity that nevertheless contained within it fractures and divisions that threatened that unity. Gaelic experiences and identities became more enmeshed in national identifications with the states of Scotland and Ireland over the course of this period, and became increasingly impacted by the realities of archipelagic politics, but nevertheless in their poetry we can discern a broader, and perhaps more personally relevant, identification with the customs and culture of Gaeldom. Regardless of political or religious affiliation, simply being Gaelic remained a deep source of pride for many of the poets and communities singing on either side of *Sruth na Maoile*.

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