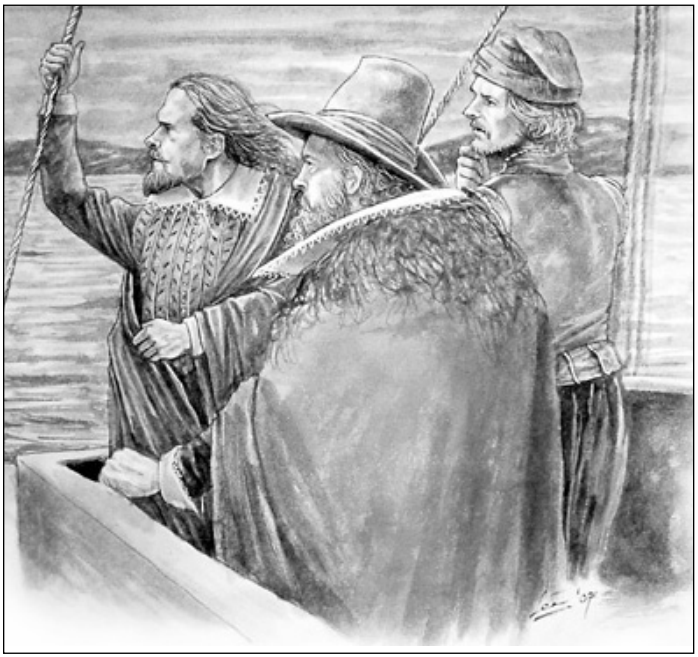
specialists who wish to read more in-depth analyses of Iberian epics will find it useful to supplement this book with literary studies by Elizabeth Davis, James Nicolopulos, Paul Firbas, Antonio Sanchez-Jiménez, and José Antonio Mazzotti. This limitation notwithstanding, *Puritan Conquistadors* is a goldmine of information and ideas that will be as valuable to scholars of Renaissance English literature who engage Spanish- or Portuguese-language sources as it will to their Hispanist counterparts.

John McCavitt with original drawings by Seán Ó Brógáin. *The Flight of the Earls: An Illustrated History*. Co. Down, No. Ireland: April Sky Design. 144pp + 127 B&W ill + 35 color ill. Cloth, £20, paper, £14. Review by MAUREEN E. MULVIHILL, PRINCETON RESEARCH FORUM, N.J.



Éire's Choice Heroes: Rory O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill, with Flight of the Earls facilitator (far right) Cúchonnacht Maguire, chieftain of Fermanagh, disguised as a French mariner. A modern rendering by Seán Ó Brógáin (An Clochán, County Donegal) © 2007. From jacket (verso), John McCavitt's *Flight of the Earls: An Illustrated History* (2007); and image detail, p 74. With kind permission, May 2008

Warrior heroes and the lore of warrior heroes are the foundation of Irish cultural memory. One of the great set pieces of early modern Ireland is the clandestine exodus (or 'flight') of two such warriors: the charismatic Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and his fellow chieftain Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell.

On the morning of 14 September 1607, these desperate fugitives from the English crown quietly departed the shores of Lough Swilly, Rathmullan, Donegal, in an 80-ton French vessel (or 'barque') carrying 'ninety-nine persons' according to contemporary diarist and Flight of the Earls participant, Tadhg Ó Cianáin. Cúchonnacht Maguire, disguised as a French mariner, was instrumental in rescuing the earls from imminent danger. It was Maguire who procured the vessel, christened 'Maguire's ship' by a mournful bardic poet at the time. It was Maguire who helped to navigate its perilous transit to the Continent. It was Maguire who effectively secured the mission. And as Jerrold I. Casway has reminded us, the Flight of the Earls was not without its women. Be they nobles or domestics, the seventeen women in the Flight of the Earls can no longer be overlooked in modern accounts of this moment in Irish history (*New Hibernia Review*, 7.i [2003], pp 56-74).

The goal of the fleeing earls was twofold: escape from the Crown forces of James I and securing military might from Catholic Spain, England's longstanding arch rival. But serious actions often have negative results; for this secret 'flight' left Gaelic Ulster without critical leadership. Indeed, the action effectively ceded control to the Crown of large swaths of Northern Ireland. Adding to this, Philip III of Spain did not prove the faithful ally the Irish warlords had hoped.

Its high drama and noble purpose notwithstanding, this quiet departure has been a polarizing subject for historians. The majority view is harsh and vocal: The Flight of the Earls was a strategic, intemperate, ill-advised blunder: "Woe to the heart that meditated, woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the council that decided on the project of their setting out on the voyage!" (*Annals of the Four Masters [Annala na gCeithre Mháistrí],* 1630s, as quoted in Cusack, *Illustrated History of Ireland,* 1868; rpt 1995, p 468). The reaction in Ireland at the time was utter bewilderment, owing to the utmost secrecy and apparent impetuosity of the action. It was viewed in the oral culture of the

early seventeenth century as a sorrowful loss: a wake, without a body in view. Bardic poetry of the period documents a genuine longing for the earls' return, particularly the Earl of Tyrone, characterised as an Irish Moses. Sadly, this liberator neither recreated nor found a promised land for his tribe. Rash pragmatism and self-serving impulses of two shrewd and wily chieftains with money on their heads led to the Flight, so we read in most modern accounts; and the action was not only a failure, it smacked of cowardice–*this was not a 'flight,' this was an escape*. Modernists roundly agree that the action failed in its immediate goal to secure military succor from Catholic monarchs on the Continent. The earls had hoped to return to their homeland with new supporters and a winning agenda for the clans: *but there was no glorious return*. The romantic saga of the rebel earls began and ended that September morning in 1607. The chief criticism of such contrarians, of course, is that the Flight left large areas of the north of Ireland (Armagh, Coleraine, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Cavan, Donegal) wholly destabilized and vulnerable to foreign incursions and then domination. The Flight effectively left leaderless most of the north and its demoralized clans; this created an immediate opportunity for the English crown to accelerate its agenda for the wholesale resettlement of northern Ireland, being the crown's program of land confiscation (and some documented atrocity) known as the Plantation of Ulster. The Flight also marked the first of many Irish diasporas to foreign lands. For Ireland, a small and vulnerable island long-battling for political and cultural independence, few events in early-modern history had as many serious repercussions as the Ulster Plantation and the steady emigration of Ireland's native stock. The Flight of the Earls clearly played a role in the country's increasing Anglicisation. As late as 1943, the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of The Gaelic League, Eamon De Valera would publicly lament the island's continuing disunity and its loss of cultural characteristics, primarily its principal ethnic identity: its language. "Restoration of the unity of national territory and restoration of a national language are the greatest of our uncompleted national tasks" (radio broadcast; for full audio text, see "The Ireland That We Dreamed Of," courtesy RTE; http://www.rte.ie/laweb/ll/ll_t09b.html).

Cometh the hour, cometh the man. John McCavitt (PhD, Queen's University, Belfast; presently, Senior Master, The Abbey, Newry, County Down, No. Ireland) is a newly-elected Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, London, and author of two books on seventeenth-century Irish history: *Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1605-1616* (Belfast, 1998) and *The Flight of the Earls* (Dublin, 2002); his third book (2007), the subject of this review, is a fitting complement to his previous research. His recent book is a self-published venture owing to costs (the book includes many color plates and illustrations, more than McCavitt's publisher, Gill & Macmillan, were willing to finance) and also timing (the book's publication date was timed for the Flight of the Earls 400th Anniversary events in 2007). Critics of the self-published book need to take a look at the magic McCavitt has wrought.

McCavitt's new book on the Flight of the Earls is remarkable on two grounds: its historical approach and its multimedia methodology. First, McCavitt the historian. We see in this scholar a broad, even-handed contextual view of his subject. While certainly not valorizing the fleeing earls, he asks that we see this moment in Irish history under a wider lens. Working in the best mode of 'revisionist' historiography, he has set in place the facts and significance of this important moment by valuably moving the event from lore and 'cultural studies' to serious historical scholarship. "I give all sides a fair hearing–that's my rubric as an historian….As for Hugh O'Neill, I consider him to have been an outstanding military leader and an able politician. But that doesn't mean I've airbrushed his marital problems or have hidden away the 'fact' that his wife had an affair with the nephew of the Irish primate in Rome (an English spy). Everything is mentioned in context." McCavitt views the incongruities of seventeenth-century politics with the distancing eye of a neutral scholar; he is assembling a subject with facts and contemporary commentary (reportage): one does not sense a political agenda afoot and he fairly engages both the English and the Irish view of the Flight. In this, his second book on the subject, McCavitt has given history his own contribution to the 400th anniversary of the Flight of the Earls (2007) while also rerepresenting the subject as a more layered, complex set of events than heretofore appreciated. The recent commemoration of the Flight, incidentally, inspired lectures, scholarly essays, book-length studies,

and special events in Louvain, Lisbon, Rome, London, Chicago, and New York City, as well as a handsome commemorative stamp for the Irish postal service illustrated by Seán Ó Brógáin. Clearly, the subject has come into its own as an important historical moment and it will continue to garner scrutiny.

Most historians of seventeenth-century Irish history perforce mention the Flight of the Earls, but no one until now has supplied the full canvas. Roy Foster, e.g., in *Modern Ireland* (1988), a received canonical text, merely glances at the subject (Chapter 2) and the event even fails to make the book's index. As McCavitt explains on his website, his new book probes the subject of the Flight as an event with serious local, national, and international contexts. His approach emphasizes, for example, the impact of the imprisonment of Dublin aldermen following the Gunpowder Plot in England in 1605 and the way events unfolded at Rathmullan two years later. Also considered in greater depth is the role played by the Fermanagh chieftain, Cúchonnacht Maguire, in orchestrating the earls' escape. Relevant events in Derry are also introduced, as is the European cast of the Flight: "People from at least four different countries were involved: Irishmen, French, a Spaniard, and a Scot. While many who departed from the shores of Lough Swilly were Ulstermen, evidence shows that all four provinces were represented on the vessel that left Rathmullan." The diasporan aspect of the Flight cannot be overstated: The exodus of the northern earls marks the beginning of the Irish Diaspora. Finally, McCavitt lends considerable attention to the 'Noble 99' of the Flight: he supplies a partial list of known and recorded passengers (71-72) and he sorts through some of the myths that have arisen over the centuries about them. Of special interest, he is able to document the sad life of the earls after they left Ireland; he also can comment on the fate of those few who managed to return (defeated) to their homeland.

The principal achievement of this second book of McCavitt's on the Flight of the Earls is its multimedia approach. In a slim book of only 144 pages (format: 8" x 10") McCavitt presents 127 black–and-white images and 35 color images (many of these being full-page color plates), as well as an illustrated dust-jacket. Realizing the limitations and constraints of the print medium, McCavitt shows how the cultural memory of the Flight throughout the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries has been preserved in a broad range of sources; he has newly presented a good many of these sources with full annotation. He is effectively recreating for a twenty-first-century audience both the historical facts of his subject as well as its construction as an iconic moment in Irish cultural memory, and he does this in the book medium by exploiting the agency of print and especially the visual image. This is all a bit more than merely creating a mood or an atmosphere for one's subject with a few diverting illustrations; and this is surely no coffee-table picture book. This is rather a systematically assembled visual narrative of a complex subject from the images of the time. When he attempts, for example, to convey contemporary attitudes to the Flight, he presents not only his own balanced commentary, as well as Tadhg Ó Cianain's eye-and-ear witness account, but also visual documentation, such as a photograph of the detailed title-page of C P Meehan's narrative of the Flight (*The Fate And Fortunes*…[Dublin: James Duffy & Sons, 1886, 1890]); but then McCavitt jumps mediums, so to speak, by also presenting selected illustrations from the popular media of the time–printed music of drinking songs, as well as ballads, slogans from the oral culture of the day, and the like. While many scholars and writers over the years have lent their talents to the romantic saga of the Flight of the Earls–the Reverend Meehan, Paul Walsh, Canice Mooney, Tomas Ó Fiaich, J J Silke, Nicholas Canny, R J Hunter, Jerrold Casway, Murray Smith, Grainne Henry, Mary Ann Lyons, Brian Friel, inter alia–it fell to McCavitt to cleverly assemble this illustrated book on the Flight based almost entirely on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century visual sources. This first-ever imagistic reconstruction of the story offers good selections from all of these many mediums: portraits, signatures, costume, military armaments, navigational vessels, title-pages, sketches and cartoons, broadsheet ballads, topography, maps and travel itineraries (Donegal to Spain, then to France, then on to Rome), castles, funereal inscriptions, broadsheets, tracts, ephemera, etc. One of many special images is a rare portrait of Owen Roe O'Neill, courtesy of the chief of the Clandeboy O'Neills, Dom Hugo O'Neill, Lisbon. John McCavitt is the first historian of this subject–and the first historian of seventeenth-century Irish history–to apply a broad multimedia approach to a serious subject of Irish historiography. Yes, there were

precedents for such an approach, but precedents on other material, such as the handsomely illustrated bicentennial edition of Thomas Packenham's *Year of Liberty: The Great Irish Rebellion of 1798*. (Random House, 1998) and Mary Frances Cusack's *Illustrated History of Ireland* (London: Longmans, 1868; rpt Senate/Tiger Books UK, 1995). It is McCavitt's new book of an illustrated history of the Flight which will come to be accepted as the working model of this essential historical methodology.

The high costs of this book, as McCavitt mentions, were partially met with financial assistance from Bertie Ahern, former Prime Minister (Taoiseach) of Ireland, who also distributed copies of the book to selected foreign dignitaries and recent visitors, such as former U.S. President William Clinton. Irish ambassador to Italy, Seán Ó Huiginn, former ambassador to the USA and a key figure in the Northern Ireland peace process, described McCavitt as "the universally acknowledged leading academic expert" on this subject when McCavitt spoke at his residence in April, 2008 to a capacity audience, as reported, an audience which included John Hume and Cardinal Brady. More recently, McCavitt was a guest in Lisbon at the ancestral villa of the present Chief of the O'Neill clan: Dom Hugo O'Neill, a distinguished historian in his own right.

There are a few items which McCavitt may have included or may wish to mention in further work on the matter: (1) In the interest of making his work forcefully multimedia, he should consider including, in future printed material, a CD-ROM disc of, say, selected songs and lectures associated with the Flight. (2) There is the recent lecture (6 February 2007) on the Flight by Dr Edel Bhreathnach, with special focus on the relevance of the Wadding Papers archive, University College Dublin. (3) Adding to McCavitt's research on constructions of the Flight in Ireland's oral culture, this reviewer calls attention to the famous pub sing-along, "O Donnell Aboo" (O'Donnell forever or O'Donnell triumphant), being the clan Connell war song and an emotional appeal for homerule (copies, National Library of Scotland, Broadsides Collection). The song has been sung and recorded by the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem on Irish Gold (I:44; Disc 2; audio clip at http://www.last.fm/music/The+Clancy+Brothers+and+Tommy+Makem/_/O+Donnell+Aboo). The lyric was written, circa

1840s, by Michael McCann of Galway and evidently first published under the title, "The Clan Connell War Song" in *The Nation*, January 1843. A copy of the tune in broadsheet format may be viewed at http://www.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/15846/criteria/donnell. This reviewer is grateful to Eoin Shalloo, Curator, Rare Book Collections, National Library of Scotland, for prompt and generous information on this matter.

John McCavitt has further plans for the Flight of the Earls: a play he has recently written, "Destruction by Peace" (the very words of Hugh O'Neill); and a biography of O'Neill timed for the 400th anniversary (2016) of O'Neill's death. In McCavitt, we have a scholar who has fully claimed his subject. May continuing success attend him.

Diane Kelsey McColley. *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007. 252 pp. + 10 illus. $99.95. Review by NICOLLE JORDAN, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI.

Diane Kelsey McColley offers an original perspective on seventeenth-century poetry, tracing certain poets' awareness of the tactile and sonorous quality of language and its capacity to awaken the mind to experience that integrates humanity with the wider world. Her commitment to environmentalism drives her interpretation of the material, and in this sense, our own climatically fragile historical moment is what grants her readings their urgency. She organizes her book around a sequence of threats to the environment, with most chapters integrating discussion of contemporary natural historians that complements or contrasts with the poetry under investigation. Two poets–Marvell and Milton–serve as bookends for the project, and, (as the title suggests), heroes of the story. Thus Chapter One, "Perceiving Habitats: Marvell and the Language of Sensuous Reciprocity," is a close reading of *Upon Appleton House* that interweaves poetic analysis with the ideas of such men as Robert Hooke (author of *Micrographia*), John Ray (co-author of *Ornithology*), and the sermons of Richard Bentley. Milton matches Marvell in terms of linguistic achievement, and in the final chapter, "Milton's Prophetic Epics," McColley suggests that the *Paradise* epics illuminate a path to ecological