

MAPPING THE CELTIC FRINGE IN EARLY MODERN BRITAIN

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the complex ways in which a range of texts participated in the discursive production of national and cultural identities in early modern Britain and Ireland. The central focus is discourse on Ireland, especially as this discourse intersects with representations of the heterogeneous, intermingling, and warring cultures of the British Isles. Seeking to bring the elaborate cultural and political history of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain and Ireland to bear on English literary history of the period, my study situates these representations within the wider context of an expanding English polity that gradually, violently incorporated the “Celtic fringe.”

Beginning with England’s Irish kingdom/colony, the first chapter considers questions of identity formation in the much-neglected 1577 and 1587 editions of “Holinshed’s” Irish *Chronicles*. The two editions of the Irish *Chronicles* foreground competing, conflicting claims to English political and cultural identity by rival representatives of Englishness in colonial Ireland. In fact, the Irish *Chronicles* enact a discursive struggle for English identity in Ireland, a struggle that took place on the apparent margins of English culture yet had a profound impact on both sides of the Irish Sea. Continuing with Ireland, the second chapter examines the demarcation of cultural boundaries in Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* and *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Focusing on the inscription of “proto-racial identities” in these two texts, I open with an examination of how the literary conventions of classical encomiastic rhetoric in Spenser’s dynastic epic sustain discourse on race. In Spenser’s prose dialogue, on the

other hand, the encoding of early modern notions of civility and race is underpinned by a less formal, distinctly early modern practice of historical ethnography.

Shifting to England, the third chapter locates the *Chronicles*' and Spenser's concern with the nation's past, with cultural memory, with contested borders and hostile neighbours in Shakespeare's "national" history plays, in particular *Henry V*. My attention to the anxious staging of the "British Problem" in *Henry V* carries over into the final chapter, which attends to the chorographic and cartographic representations of the British Isles and the vexed question of Britishness in John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*. As a formative cultural artefact of a multi-national state, Speed's *Theatre* bears ample witness to the ways in which national and cultural identities across the British Isles were redefined, refashioned, and reinforced in the wake of King James VI and I's arrival in London.

Keywords: Early Modern Britain, England, Ireland, Identity, Cultural Politics and Literature, Chronicle, Epic, History Play, Maps.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library, London
<i>Conquest</i>	<i>The Conquest of Ireland</i>
<i>Description</i>	<i>A Treatise Containing a Plaine and Perfect Description of Ireland</i>
<i>Discovery</i>	<i>A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued and Brought Under Obedience of the Crown of England Until the Beginning of His Majesty's Happy Reign</i>
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
F1	The First Folio of Shakespeare
L & L	<i>The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon</i>
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PW	<i>The Political Works of James I</i>
<i>Sp. Enc.</i>	<i>The Spenser Encyclopedia</i>
SRP	<i>Stuart Royal Proclamations</i>
<i>Theatre</i>	<i>The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine</i>
TRP	<i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i>
Union	<i>The Jacobean Union: Six Tracts of 1604</i>
<i>A View</i>	<i>A View of the Present State of Ireland</i>

INTRODUCTION

"No realme, no nation, no state, nor common wealth throughout all Europa," writes John Hooker in the dedicatory epistle to Sir Walter Raleigh that prefaces his *Conquest of Ireland* (1587) "can yeeld more nor so manie profitable lawes, directions, rules, examples & discourses, either in matters of religion, or of ciuill gouernment, or of martiall affairs, than doo the histories of this little Isle of Britaine or England. "I would to God," he continues, "I might or were able to saie the like, or the halfe like of Ireland, a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of bloud, murther, and lothsome outrages; which to anie good reader are greeuous & irkesome to be read & considered, much more for anie man to pen and set downe in writing, and to reduce into a history" (103). This comment on writing Ireland is remarkably odd given that Hooker himself made substantial contributions to the second volume of "Holinshed's" *Irish Chronicles*, from which this passage is taken. In fact, the English profusely penned and set down Ireland, especially histories of Ireland, in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Witness King James VI and I's response upon inspecting the contents of the State Paper Office: "We had more ado with Ireland than all the world besides" (qtd. in Andrews 1983:21). *Mapping the Celtic Fringe in Early Modern Britain* is a study of this heterogeneous "ado" and its relation to a less than homogeneous "We."

Hooker's and James's remarks draw attention to the crucial place Ireland and the burgeoning English discourse on Ireland occupy in the political and cultural history of early modern Britain. It has long been recognized that Ireland, dubbed by the English a "land of ire," repeatedly surfaces in English colonial discourse as an island inhabited by barbarians: simply put (surely too simply), the Irish are the other against which the English self is defined. Sustaining Hooker's pronouncements on Englishness and Irishness is the assumption that "we" are civil while "they" are savages. Much of this dissertation is given over to tracing similar pronouncements, whether in the writings of Edmund Spenser or Sir John Davies—whose careers, like Hooker's, brought them to Ireland—or in the work of Londoners like William Shakespeare, John Speed, and Ben Jonson—none of whom ever set foot in England's Irish kingdom. Of course it was only in the sixteenth century that Ireland became a (subaltern) kingdom; yet, it very much remained a colony, not only in terms of the exploitation of its native population, but also in the multiple ways in which Ireland and the Irish were figured in the English imagination. "[W]hat can be more pleasant to God," asks Hooker, "than to gaine and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospell, and a true christian religion..." (107). As this passage makes clear, Ireland also witnessed a reformation in the early modern period, and the ideological and cultural legacy of that violent reformation would play itself out in the colonial and postcolonial histories of the British Isles.

Questions of coloniality receive their fullest treatment in the opening chapter, which compares and contrasts an Old Englishman's (Richard Stanyhurst's) and a New Englishman's (Hooker's) respective contributions to the 1577 and 1587 editions of

“Holinshed’s” Irish *Chronicles*. As the nomenclatures “Old” and “New” English suggest, my reading of the *Chronicles*, indeed this dissertation, is in no way offered as a systematic or chronological study of a homogeneous, hegemonic anti-Irish discourse. Informed by postcolonial theory, the first chapter calls attention to the fractious religious, political, and cultural conflict between Elizabethan Ireland’s competing colonial communities—a conflict that would increasingly become more tangled and eventually even more volatile in the wake of the Jacobean plantation of Scottish settlers in Ulster. Incoming Protestant settlers, the likes of Hooker and Spenser, struggled to (re)invent a sense of Englishness against both the Gaelic Irish and Ireland’s Catholic Old English community—that is, the collective descendants of the Anglo-Norman invaders who partially conquered Ireland in the twelfth century and who primarily, but not exclusively, inhabited the English-dominated area surrounding Dublin, known then as “the English Pale.” Early modern Ireland, to be sure, served as a site of intense identity formation. But it also served as a paradigmatic site of identity deformation: an island where emergent essentialist, nationalist imaginings of community were complicated by the intermingling of various cultures.

Continuing and complementing the first chapter, the second explores a crucial element in the ideology of collective identity formation in Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* and *A View of the Present State of Ireland*: namely, the peculiar constructions of proto-racial identities that dynastic epic and historical ethnography afford. Here, as in all four chapters, I am fully attentive to the ways in which a particular genre enables, and at times constrains, the ideological investments and effects embedded in and generated by a given discursive form. Dynastic epic, for instance, encodes encomiastic strategies that ostensibly

participated in the fashioning of royal lineages, what Spenser calls “famous auncestries” (2.10.1). As *A View* attests, early modern historical ethnography forged less formal genealogies, genealogies that sought to delineate civil and uncivil lines of national descent. While I acknowledge the impact of Spenser’s proto-racial discourse on subsequent forms of racial typology, I try not to lose sight of the complex and conflicting cultural configurations in his writings. Responding to Willy Maley’s recent call for a “salvaging” rather than a “savaging” of Spenser, I consider how Spenser’s discourse on race, on the one hand, reinforces hierarchical colonial identities, but, on the other, participated in loosening fixed social identities by opening a discursive space for the fashioning of an upwardly mobile New Englishness.¹

One of the central arguments of this dissertation, then, is that early modern English inscriptions of national and cultural identity do not constitute a univocal, monolithic dominant discourse. I have sought to historicize and theorize not only the geographical and institutional settings in and from which heterogeneous inscriptions of nation and culture were produced and disseminated, but also the social and political differences among the various writers studied and their apparent audiences.² *Henry V* is often described as Shakespeare’s epic, but as I turn from Spenser’s epic-romance to Shakespeare’s history play, I shift from a decidedly imperialist text (most of which was written in Ireland) committed to fashioning a homosocial community of colonial gentleman to a play (written in London for a socially diverse audience) that expresses much anxiety about the cultural hybridity that England’s expansion across the British Isles fostered. The word “degeneracy,” it is important to point out, first surfaced in the English language at

the turn of the sixteenth century, at a time when England's borderlands, the "Celtic fringe," were being incorporated by an increasingly centralized state.³ The Englishries in Wales and Ireland, however, did not always retain those cultural traits that were viewed as the constitutive elements of Englishness. *I Henry IV*, for instance, represents a reversal of the "civilizing process" as an effeminate Edmund Mortimer, the earl of March, gives not only his love to a Welsh woman but also his tongue: "But I will never be a truant, love, / Till I have learned thy language" (3.1.213-14). In his *Geography Delineated Forth in Two Bookes* (1625), Nathanael Carpenter writes "people suffer an alteration in respect to their seuerall transplantations ... [c]olonies transplanted from one region into another, farre remote, retaine a long time their first disposition, though by litle and litle they decline and suffer alteration" (sig Mm*3). As I argue in the third chapter, it is precisely the threat of "decline" and "alteration" that haunts *Henry V*, a threat evinced in the play's many instances of linguistic corruption and cultural contamination. That Henry himself is anxiously imagined as culturally hybrid—he is addressed as "brother Ireland" (5.2.12); he woos the French Princess, Katherine, in broken French, and twice he dubs himself a Welshman—suggests that the play's incipient nationalism is at odds with the interests of the state, a state that was engaged in a brutal war in Ireland at the time of the play's production.

Although *Henry V* dramatizes past conflict between the English and the French, I argue that the play, with its Irish, Scottish, and Welsh captains, enacts what historians have come to call the "British Problem."⁴ France is a fitting staging ground for a late-Elizabethan enactment of the British problem: with the shameful loss of Calais in 1558,

England's last outpost on the Continent, the English were forced to concentrate on consolidating an empire within the British Isles.⁵ By no means do I wish to suggest that the English did not have problems with the French, or the Spanish. Nor do I mean to suggest that the question of Britain should be treated in isolation from England's/Britain's involvement, interaction, and conflicts with the predominantly Catholic Continent. The auld Franco-Scottish alliance certainly compounded English fears of "the Scot ... pouring [south] like the tide into a breach" (*Henry V* 1.2.154-55). And Spanish intervention in the Munster "rebellion" and Tyrone's "rebellion" served to remind the English that the Spanish were ever-willing to lend aid to Ireland's Catholic population. If *Henry V* reveals how the British problem could be displaced onto a French setting, Hooker's dedicatory epistle to Raleigh bears witness to the ways in which discourse on Ireland often overlapped with discourse on Spain and the New World. While glorifying Raleigh's voyage to Virginia, Hooker takes the opportunity to demonize the Spaniards:

you had recouered a land, and made a plantation of the people of your
 owne English nation in Virginia, the first England colonie that euer was
 there planted, to the no little derogation of the glorie of the Spaniards, &
 an impeach to their vaunts; who bicause with all cruell immanitie, contrarie
 to all naturall humanitie, they subdued a naked and a yeelding people,
 whom they sought for gaine and not for anie religion or plantation of a
 commonwelth, ouer whome to satisfie their most greedie and insatiable
 couetousnesse, did most cruellie tyrannize, and most tyranicallie and
 against the course of all humane nature did scorch and rost them to death,

as by their owne histories dooth appeare. (107)

In a move familiar to early modern English colonial rhetoric, Hooker others the Spanish in order to depict the New English presence in Ireland as a “civilizing” mission. Unlike the Spanish, the English seek to “frame” the natives “from a sauage life to a ciuill government” (107). Thus, Hooker figures England in opposition to both Ireland and Spain, which indubitably occupied an important place in the process of English self-definition. When England is studied in relation to the monumental events that unfolded on the Continent, however, what tends to be obscured is the complex history of the British Isles, “the plural history,” as J.G.A Pocock defines it, “of a group of cultures situated along an Anglo-Celtic frontier and marked by an increasing English political and cultural domination” (1975:605). England never was a self-contained geopolitical entity. No matter what Shakespeare’s John of Gaunt says, England isn’t an island unto itself.

Consider, for example, the passage that opens my introduction. If it is unclear whether Hooker imagines England as a realm, nation, state, or commonwealth, so too the name of the land that this realm, nation, state, or commonwealth encompasses is less than stable: “this little Isle of Britaine or England.” This startling instance of slippage reminds us that the borders that served to delimit England were far from fixed in this period.⁶ Moreover, the gendered and classed bodies in which Englishness supposedly inhered were refashioned as they spread themselves across the British Isles and as the Union of the Crowns in 1603 brought, for the first time in history, a truly British monarch to the throne. In the wake of James’s arrival in London, royal proclamations, court masques, and a host of other discursive forms participated in the process of reinventing Elizabethan English

bodies British ones. Sir Francis Bacon, for example, addressed James “not as a man born in England, but as a man born in Britain” (*L & L* 228). Not all of James’s subjects, however, were willing to renounce their identities for a nascent Britishness. In the final chapter of this dissertation, the question of Britain receives its fullest treatment as I consider the ambivalent cultural and ideological work performed in John Speed’s *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*—the earliest comprehensive (at once chorographic and cartographic) atlas of the British Isles. In this chapter Britain is very much a question. “We had more ado with Ireland than all the world besides.” To whom does “We” refer? Is James, as the King of Scotland, speaking on behalf of his native Scottish subjects? Or is he, as England’s monarch, speaking on behalf of the English? Or, as the self-styled King of Great Britain, does he have in mind some nebulous notion of Britons? And, given that James was the King of not only Great Britain but also Ireland, why does “We” exclude Ireland? After all, it was in Jacobean Ulster that Scottish and English planters began to think of themselves as British, and Northern Ireland remains the last repository of a residual Britishness.

No doubt many Irish nationalists would respond by saying that “we” doesn’t include Ireland because “we” are “ourselves.” Yet, as Pocock’s wonderful historiographical work reminds us again and again, British history “has not been confined to the island that cartographers have named ‘Britain’.” “The history of Irish nationality,” he adds, “is as much a part of ‘British history’ ... as is the history of Union and Empire, and ‘British history’ thus denotes the historiography of no single nation but of a problematic and uncompleted experiment in the creation and interaction of several

nations" (1982:318). Throughout this dissertation I use "Britain" to refer to the actual island that contains England, Scotland, and Wales. Following Pocock, my use of "Britain" and "British history" often includes Ireland. This is not an attempt to subsume the Irish, Scottish, or Welsh under an English rubric. The terms "British" and "English" are not synonymous: in fact, "British" is invoked as a conceptual term not only to complicate the simplistic identity politics that an anglocentric historiography has foisted upon the cultural history of the British Isles, but also to resituate and reexamine the textual products of English cultural imperialism within the intricate history of the British Isles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

I would like to think that my project continues and contributes to the on-going rewriting of the Renaissance, to cite the title of a well-known collection of essays, that began in earnest in the 1980s. Just as new historicists opened the canon to non-canonical works and broadened literary history to include supposedly non-literary texts, just as feminist scholars challenged androcentric accounts of "man's rebirth" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I have sought to add my voice to the construction of an early modern, indeed early colonial, literary history attentive to the heterogeneous writers and readers throughout the British Isles.⁷ Of course, what Pocock says about British history is perhaps even more true in the case of writing a literary history of early modern Britain and Ireland: "As a major obstacle to all that I have said about the need for British history, we have to acknowledge that there are extremely powerful and valid professional and historical reasons pressing us toward the continuation of the Anglocentric perspective" (1975:613). Not the least of which, for literary historians, is the fact that the sixteenth-

and seventeenth-century texts that we read and teach—that I read in this dissertation—are written in (or translated into) English. That I think the field can be remapped, that I believe English texts can be reread without reinscribing their cultural exclusions, is evident in the following pages.

NOTES

1. See, in particular, Maley's introduction to *Salvaging Spenser: Colonialism, Culture and Identity*.

2. By no means do I assume to know exactly who read what in this period or how they read. In some instances, who read what and even how she or he read is clear—we know, thanks to his commonplace book, that Milton read Spenser's *View*. The question of Spenser's readership, however, is far from simple: "One of the problems of reading English Renaissance literature," Andrew Hadfield notes, "is that one is never sure who most texts were written for or who actually read them. This difficulty is especially acute in the case of Spenser, given his relatively isolated location (although an Irish existence did not necessarily mean intellectual banishment for an Englishman), seemingly limitless ambition, and avant-garde writing strategies. While the letter to Raleigh would suggest that the poem was addressed to a male reader, the gentleman whom the poem was intended to fashion, in other places the poem's narrator seems to address a woman reader, specifically, the queen" (1997:8-9). Of course, dedicatory epistles and poems, as well as commendatory verses, provide one way to get a sense of a text's readership, a writer's coterie, and throughout this dissertation I have been alert to this material.

3. "These English borderlands," Steven Ellis points out, "have traditionally been marginalized by historians as 'the Celtic fringe,' although they actually comprised over half of the geographic area of the Tudor state" (1996:55).

4. “The British Problem,” as it is being called by historians, refers specifically to the complex inter- and intra-island politics of the British Isles in the 1640s and 50s. The “English Civil War,” historians are now reminding us, had its origins in the larger framework of the British Isles: the Scottish invasion of England in 1638, the Ulster Rising of 1641. See, for example, Conrad Russell, “The British Problem and the English Civil War,” *History* 72 (1987): 395–415. In his *The Emergence of a Nation State: The Commonwealth of England*, Alan Smith speaks of the “British problem” as the problem of “ensuring that all constituent parts of the British Isles were under firm English control” (57). More generally, and from a less anglocentric perspective, Ellis notes that a new British historiography aims “to construct a British history which reflects what happened beyond the purview of English administration as well as change in the south-east. In this way, the growth of political unity reflected in the establishment of the United Kingdom can be understood as something more than simply an English conquest or domination of ‘the Celtic fringe’” (1988:42). I draw upon this new British historiography in order to situate the works I study within the wider context of British state formation.

5. “It is one of the paradoxes of English Renaissance culture,” Maley argues, “that a period characterized by Europeanisation can be viewed as a time in which England virtually turned its back on the continent in order to concentrate on matters ‘domestic,’ in order, in fact, to domesticate the British Isles in the interests of English sovereignty. The Reformation isolated England from Catholic Europe. The Celtic fringe had to be tamed, brought under English jurisdiction, or it would offer access to Spain, by way of Ireland, or France, through Scotland” (1997c:93). That the Continent did not turn its back on

England, of course, meant that England could not turn its back on the Continent.

Nevertheless, Maley's point is well taken.

6. In his magisterial study of the Elizabethan writing of England, Richard Helgerson draws attention to this discursive instability: "Not even [England's] name remained fixed. Following the lead of King James, John Speed called the entity he described the 'Empire of Great Britain.' Camden adopted rather the ancient Roman name and wrote of 'Britannia.' Spenser's England was alternatively 'Britayne land' and 'Faery lond'; Warner's was 'Albion'; and Drayton's 'Poly-Olbion.' Nor was the national territory designated by these names any more stable. For many Englishmen, 'England'—or whatever they called it—included Wales. Did it also include Ireland and Scotland? For some it did; for others it didn't" (8). Unfortunately, Helgerson never pursues the British question; thus, his work, underpinned by a tradition of anglocentric historiography, perpetuates an anglocentric cultural, political, and literary history. While I believe that much of his work is full of wonderful insights, I will be challenging some of his readings, readings that seem less insightful when viewed from a larger British perspective.

7. In their introduction to *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, Margreta da Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass note that "the period division 'Early Colonial' at least assumes the presence of colonized as well as colonizer, object as well as subject." (5).

CHAPTER 1

History, Identity, and Memory in “Holinshed’s” Irish *Chronicles*

In his *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil* (1592), Thomas Nashe sets up a hierarchical opposition between historical drama and chronicle history that still informs critical approaches to early modern plays and their narrative sources. While he celebrates the affective power of historical drama, Nashe describes “our English chronicles” in contradistinction as “worm-eaten books ... wherein our forefathers’ valiant acts ... have long laid buried” (112-13). Both historians and literary historians have tended to reinforce Nashe’s disparaging representation of Tudor chronicles.¹ Witness, for instance, Stephen Booth’s comment on the introduction of a special volume of some leaves of the second edition of “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles*: “we care about *Holinshed’s Chronicles* because Shakespeare read them” (qtd. in Patterson 1994:3).² Sustaining Booth’s remark is the assumption that had Shakespeare not drawn upon “Holinshed” the *Chronicles* would have been relegated to the dustbin of history. However, Shakespeare and his fellow Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists were by no means the only readers of “Holinshed’s” voluminous *Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande*. The influence and impact of the *Chronicles* is borne out in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century

historiographic, chorographic, and cartographic works that contributed to the discursive production of the British Isles and its inhabitants—texts ranging from the multiple editions of William Camden’s *Britannia* to John Speed’s *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*. We care about “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles*, I would argue, because among other things many younger Elizabethans read them.³

Annabel Patterson’s *Reading Holinshed’s Chronicles* has single-handedly initiated a critical re-evaluation of conventional approaches to this massive repository of British history.⁴ Rejecting the traditional view that “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles* are little more than providential narratives intended to legitimize the Tudor dynasty, Patterson calls attention to the ways in which the *Chronicles* opened a discursive space for “the largest definition of the nation produced at that time.” Not only were the *Chronicles* assembled by representatives of the middling sort, but they were also “directed toward an already large and largely literate middle class” (Patterson 1994:xii). It should come as no surprise, then, that “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles* are emerging as a prime resource for the study of the political and cultural history of the British Isles in the early modern period.

Informed by Patterson’s important work, this chapter situates “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles*, the product of England’s burgeoning print culture, within the context of late Elizabethan cultural production. But my project differs significantly from Patterson’s in that I focus on the heterogeneous representations of Englishness and Irishness in “Holinshed’s” Irish *Chronicles*. Like the sections devoted to England and Scotland, both the 1577 and the 1587 editions of the Irish *Chronicles* contain multiple authorial voices. Yet, it is crucial not to think of these texts as the expression of a collective voice.

Composed by a syndicate of middle-class entrepreneurs and antiquarians who wrote from various locations within the British Isles and, in some cases, held heterodox views, the *Chronicles*, Patterson argues, “were dedicated to the task of showing what it might mean to be ‘all Englishmen’ in full consciousness of the fundamental differences of opinion that drove Englishmen apart” (1994:23). The Irish *Chronicles*, however, articulate a less inclusive process of identity formation than the collaborative, dialogical “all Englishmen” model Patterson proposes.⁵ In fact, the two editions of the Irish *Chronicles* foreground competing, conflicting claims to English political and cultural identity by rival representatives of Englishness in colonial Ireland. As I shall argue, the Irish *Chronicles* enact a discursive struggle for English identity in Ireland, a struggle that took place on the apparent margins of English culture but had a profound impact on both sides of the Irish Sea.

I

The writing of national history has always played a crucial role in the construction of national self-consciousness. The case of early modern England is no exception. Following the accession of King Henry VII, historiography emerged as an important ideological tool for the “new monarchy.” When Henry commissioned Polydore Vergil to write a history of England, he did so with the express purpose of legitimating, in the eyes of his fellow European monarchs, his dubious claim to the throne. Written in Latin by an Italian, Polydore’s *Anglia historica*, F.J. Levy reminds us, “was intended primarily for

consumption on the Continent” (55). Polydore’s *Anglia historica*, then, is not exactly a monumental artefact of English national self-definition. In the wake of England’s break from Rome under Henry VIII and the emergence of a sovereign territorial nation-state, national histories soon found new audiences within England, beyond the monologic realm of the Court. Commenting on the shift from the universal history of the Middle Ages to the rise of national self-representation in sixteenth-century chronicles, Levy writes:

Just as the interest in history revived, as it did more or less contemporaneously with the Tudors, the divisions of the War of the Roses ended, and men no longer felt that their loyalty belonged to one or the other of the warring factions but to England. The Reformation, by cutting some of the ties binding England to the common body of Catholic Christendom and by raising up new enemies to force Englishmen into a common purpose, served to increase the power of the new national feeling. And the emphasis on English as a language equal in its potentialities to any other—a legacy of the very early Renaissance by way of Chaucer, and of the Reformation with its insistence on the vernacular—operated in the same way. Men wanted to read English history first. (8)

Although Levy supplies an informative description of the enabling social and cultural conditions in which Tudor chronicles were compiled, what goes unacknowledged in his account is the significance of print culture to the production and consumption of Tudor chronicles. In his *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson points to the eighteenth century as the dawn of the age of nationalism, but he notes that the “coalition between

Protestantism and print-capitalism” within parts of sixteenth-century Europe “quickly created large new reading publics” (40). If the advent of print-capitalism enabled the mechanical reproduction of national histories, the demands of a burgeoning, patriotic reading public sustained the dissemination of narratives devoted to the nation’s cultural roots.⁶ These nascent national readerships, Anderson adds, “formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community” (44).⁷ The production of national culture and the culture of the book—a chronicle, an epic, an atlas—were inextricably linked.

It is only partly useful, therefore, to think of “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles* as merely Court or state propaganda. “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles* tell more than the story of monarchs; indeed, its ideological range is much broader than that of earlier chronicles, such as Edward Hall’s *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre & Yorke* (1548). Even the nomenclature “chronicle” obscures the various discursive forms embedded in “Holinshed.” Consider, for example, the inclusion of William Harrison’s *Historicall Description of the Iland Britaine*, in which chorography and ethnography are interwoven. Monarchs and the land, as well as Britain’s early inhabitants, vie for the sixteenth-century reader’s attention. Levy is certainly correct to maintain that “the great chronicle tradition” had its origins in the official histories that catered to the interests of the state. With the publication of the first and second volumes of “Holinshed,” however, chronicle history was emerging as a massive repository of collective memory. As Richard Helgerson points out, chronicle was “the Ur-genre of national self-representation” (11).⁸ “More than any other discursive form,” he adds, “chronicle gave Tudor Englishmen a

sense of their national identity” (11). Reading national history, surveying the nation’s land fostered Elizabethan imaginings of nationhood.

Although Helgerson’s reflections on the constitutive power of chronicle are particularly relevant to “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles*, they are in a way that he never explores. His subject is the Elizabethan writing of England. Thus, when he speaks of chronicles he has in mind the story of England’s past. The bulk of the *Chronicles*’ pages are, to be sure, given over to English history. However, “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande* house the intersecting histories of the inhabitants of the British Isles.⁹ It is crucial, therefore, to situate this “national” history within the larger framework of a plural British history. What cannot be underestimated is the way in which the *Chronicles* worked to give the English a sense of their national identity by insisting on what they weren’t. “Historical discourse,” Michel de Certeau observes in *The Writing of History*, “makes a *social identity* explicit, not so much in the way it is ‘given’ or held as stable, as in the ways it is *differentiated* from a former period or another society” (45).¹⁰ The title page of the 1587 edition, for instance, announces a volume of chronicles consisting of distinctly demarcated descriptions and histories of the three “kingdoms”:

1. The description and historie of England,
2. The description and historie of Ireland,
3. The description and historie of Scotland.

The production of Englishness in the *Chronicles*, however, takes place within both the description and history of England and the descriptions and histories of England’s Celtic neighbours, especially the Irish.¹¹ “The English,” John Morrill reminds us, “were the first

to develop their name and identity, separating out their 'English' from their 'British' (=Celtic) origins, and clearing the confusion between their 'Angle' and 'Saxon' identity (1996a:6). "Holinshed's" *Chronicles* bear witness to this on-going process of ethnic clearing: that is, early modern English attempts at dislocating Anglo-Celtic historical, geographical, and cultural proximity. Yet, just as the English were re-inventing notions of the "savage" Celt, the expansion of English political and cultural systems were bringing all of the inhabitants of the British Isles closer together. English cultural imperialism, however, was no mere "sweep of a sickle on a map."¹² Along with encountering fierce military resistance, the English were forced to redefine their identity against alternative, "degenerate" forms of Englishness.

Edward Said astutely remarks that "ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power" (1979:5). As a performative discursive practice that constitutes the subjects and events it represents, historical narrative, especially national history, plays a crucial role in the formation of racial bodies and cultural identities. This is particularly true of the Irish *Chronicles*, which were compiled by English colonial administrators, men with a vested interest in Ireland. Far from the objective work of English antiquarians, the Irish *Chronicles* are motivated by a colonial discourse that figures the colonized (to borrow Homi Bhabha's definition) "as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction" (1994:70). While Bhabha's definition of colonial discourse informs my reading of the Irish *Chronicles*, I want to resist positing Ireland as a distant colony, or

anchoring Ireland in a New World context.¹³ When the *Chronicles* were published, Ireland was, under English law, a kingdom of the realm of England; in other words, the Gaelic Irish were political subjects of Queen Elizabeth. Sixteenth-century English discourse on the Irish frequently represented them as both lapsed civil subjects and colonial savages. This ambiguous description of Ireland as both kingdom and colony, Paul Brown explains, “arose out of historic claims that the land was *both* a feudal fief under British lordship (then, under the Tudors, under direct British sovereignty), whose truant subjects needed reordering and pacification *and* also a colony, where the savage other needed to be civilised, conquered, dispossessed” (55). By representing the Irish as a subject people—whether lapsed civil subjects or colonial savages—the Irish *Chronicles*, to be sure, disseminate an ideology of conquest, settlement, and plantation. To situate Ireland within a monolithic colonial context, to place the Irish within an ideologically coherent colonial discourse, however, runs the risk of obscuring the peculiar cultural and political history of England’s adjacent Irish kingdom/colony, of eliding the conflicting, dissident voices that represented Ireland.

Although Said’s pioneering work on Orientalist discourse, defined as “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (1979:3), offers valuable insight to a reading of English representations of Ireland and Irishness in the Irish *Chronicles*, early modern Ireland’s complex colonial situation complicates the self-other binarism Said’s method of colonial critique employs.¹⁴ The first and second editions of the Irish *Chronicles* construct Englishness in contradistinction to Ireland’s native population, but they also register a less rigid, tertiary model of identity formation.¹⁵ Tudor Ireland, it

is important to remember, was the site of *reconquest* and *recolonization*: it witnessed the superimposition of Protestant “New” English settlers upon a Catholic “Old” English colonial community. The term “Old English”—introduced by Spenser in 1596—refers to the collective descendants of the Anglo-Norman invaders who partially conquered Ireland in the twelfth century and who primarily, but not exclusively, inhabited the English-dominated area surrounding Dublin, known then as “the English Pale.” In the wake of the Reformation, when it became critical for England to extend its authority beyond the Pale, King Henry amended his title from Lord to King of Ireland (33 Hen. VIII, c.I).¹⁶ As one royal proclamation effortlessly puts it: “the said title and name of King of Ireland, together with our said whole realm, should be united and annexed to our imperial crown of our realm of England” (*TRP* 1:307). Uneasy with England’s limited, tenuous control over (parts of) Ireland, Henry sought to “reduce” all of Ireland “to better order, peace, civility than it hath been many years past” (*TRP* 1:307).¹⁷ With Ireland now ostensibly part of the English polity, the Old English of the Pale would no longer serve as the King’s sole representatives in Ireland. Sixteenth-century Ireland witnessed the appointment of an English-born Lord Deputy, as well as a new wave of Protestant settlers from England.

As historians of Elizabethan Ireland (Munster in particular) have pointed out, the arrival of the New English in Ireland sparked a political and cultural struggle between rival colonial groups. The presence of the Catholic Old English in Ireland forced the incoming Protestant New English settlers to construct their own distinct identity (Canny 1987b:160). Instead of embracing an all-inclusive Englishness, the new settlers quickly dissociated themselves from the Old English community. England’s Irish colony, then,

became a site of intense identity formation: it witnessed a fashioning of English identity by the descendants of the original colonizers and a refashioning of identity by post-Reformation English settlers.¹⁸ If the emergence of a “fragmented colonial milieu” ruptured any homogeneous sense of Englishness, the Old and New English collectively participated in the production and dissemination of an identity-forming colonial discourse in which Englishness was defined against the island’s Celtic inhabitants, as well as those so-called “degenerate” settlers of Anglo-Norman descent who planted themselves in the remoter parts of Ireland and adopted Gaelic customs, language, and family names.¹⁹ Indeed, Old English representations of the Irish were appropriated, reproduced, and reworked by the New English.²⁰

The two editions of the Irish *Chronicles* are valuable texts precisely because they give voice to this competition for English identity.²¹ The 1577 edition was compiled in large part by Richard Stanyhurst, a prominent member of Dublin’s Old English elite, whom Holinshed commissioned to gather material on Ireland.²² His father was recorder of the city of Dublin and speaker of the Irish House of Commons from 1557-68. Considering the Stanyhursts’ involvement in Dublin’s colonial administration, it is hardly surprising that the 1577 edition, which was dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney (Elizabeth’s Lord Deputy in Ireland at the time), is committed to the “civilizing process” in Ireland. The general editor and revisor of the 1587 edition was John Hooker, an antiquary and chamberlain of Exeter who had previously lived in Ireland. Hooker is best remembered, however, as one of the editors of the second volume of “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles* and for his extensive additions to both the English and the Irish *Chronicles*—including his

Conquest of Ireland (a translation of Gerald of Wales's *Expugnatio Hibernica*) and his *Supplie of the Irish Chronicles* (which he inserted to bring Irish history up to date). That Hooker made notable contributions to the Irish *Chronicles* is not surprising; he was well acquainted with Ireland, having sat as a member of the Irish Parliament in 1568-69. Nor is it surprising that he translated Gerald's text. As Sir Peter Carew's solicitor, Hooker arrived in Ireland in 1568 to pursue Carew's territorial claims.²³ If Hooker himself is not exactly representative of the upwardly mobile New English settlers who came to Ireland in the mid to latter part of the sixteenth century in search of land and possible fortune, his writings are of signal importance because they adumbrate those of subsequent English colonials in Ireland (Munster in particular), most notably Spenser.

As these brief accounts of Stanyhurst and Hooker attest, the two editions of the Irish *Chronicles* by no means participated in the transmission of the shared history of a monolithic English colonial community. Nor were they "dedicated to the task of showing what it might mean to be 'all Englishmen' in full consciousness of the fundamental differences of opinion that drove Englishmen apart." Irreconcilable social, cultural, and religious differences underwrite Stanyhurst's and Hooker's competing claims to Englishness, and these differences account for their distinct, contested articulations of Englishness and Irishness. Stanyhurst's cultural nationalism functions as a defence of Dublin's pre-Reformation settlers, who were threatened by a resistant and encroaching Gaelic civilization, as well as an equally hostile New English population.²⁴ Hooker's additions to the second edition of the Irish *Chronicles* are committed to a re-assertion of Englishness, a refashioning of cultural identity.

II

The 1577 Irish *Chronicles* open with Stanyhurst's *Description of Ireland*, which includes a genealogy of the origins of the native Irish, a pseudo-etymology of the name Ireland, a description of the partition of the land and the names of its boroughs, an account of the language of the people, and a final section devoted to "the disposition and maners of the meere Irish, commonlie called the wild Irish." Significant portions of the *Description* are given over to chorographic and topographic accounts of Ireland. But these are not simply impartial "descriptions," for in writing Ireland Stanyhurst refigures the Irish landscape through an ideology of colonial space. Take, for instance, Stanyhurst's representation of the English Pale. Historically, the Pale was that part of Ireland over which English jurisdiction, in the wake of the Anglo-Norman invasion, was established. Coming into existence at the end of the thirteenth century, the Pale consisted of a number of counties surrounding Dublin. As English control over this area diminished during the Middle Ages, so too did the size of the Pale; an act of 1475 refers to the Pale as a dike around Dublin only. In 1494, the Parliament of Drogheda provided for a new dike and ditch along the borders of the counties facing the Gaelic Irish: Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth. As Stanyhurst attests, the Pale (from the Latin *palus*, a stake, hence fence) served as a physical barrier segregating the English and the Irish:

There is also another diuision of Ireland, into the English pale, and Irishrie.

For when Ireland was subdued by the English, diuerse of the conquerors planted themselues neere to Dublin, and the confines thereto adioining, and

so as it were inclosing and impaling themselves within certeine lists and territories, they feazed awaie the Irish; insomuch as that countrie became meere English, and thereof it was termed the English pale. (3)

“Feazed awaie,” that is, put to flight, the Irish are physically, geographically, culturally situated beyond the Pale, outside the lists. Enclosed and impaled, Dublin is figured simultaneously as an isolated, besieged location of culture. Much more than a neutral description, Stanyhurst’s text works to demarcate an ideological border between the English and the “Irishrie,” between “civil” and “savage” societies. By reaffirming the “meere” Englishness of the Pale’s inhabitants, by representing Dublin as “the Irish or yoong London” (21), Stanyhurst asserts the cultural purity of the Dublin’s English inhabitants.²⁵

If the Old English of the Pale regarded themselves the guardians of English culture within the Irish kingdom, they also considered “their historic role” as that of “promoters of English civility in Ireland” (Canny 1987a:11). In 1537, the Palesmen introduced in the Irish Parliament “An Act for the English Order, Habit and Language” (28 Hen. VIII. C.15). Aimed at anglicizing the Irish by eliminating cultural differences between colonizer and colonized, this Act proclaimed that the Irish shall conform “in language, tongue, in manners, order and apparel, with them that be civil people.” To whom “them that be civil people” refers is made perfectly clear: “his Grace’s subjects of this part of this his land of Ireland, that is called the English Pale” (qtd. in Maxwell 113-14). As many passages in the *Description* attest, Stanyhurst was a vocal supporter of this policy of cultural translation. Witness, for instance, his vision of an anglicized Ireland, a vision that

reinscribes the colonial imperatives of the Act of 1537. “[T]ake this with you,” he writes,

that a conquest draweth, or at the leastwise ought to draw to it three things, to wit, law, apparell, and language. For where the countrie is subdued, there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same law that the conqueror is governed, to weare the same fashion of attire wherwith the victor is vested, and speake the same language that the vanquisher parleth.

And if anie of these three lacke, doubtlesse the conquest limpeth. (5)

For Stanyhurst, the self-appointed role of the Old English of the Pale is clear: they are to compel the Irish to speak English, to cause them to dress like Englishmen and women, to require them to obey English laws, in short, to render them “wholie Englished” (5). In its commitment to the “civilizing process,” the *Description* disseminates what de Certeau terms “a writing that conquers” (xxv). Yet, the inscription of hierarchical subject positions in the *Description* is not devoid of a profound sense of cultural anxiety about the Englishness of the Pale.

Given the introductory manner in which Stanyhurst presents Ireland, it is safe to say that his contribution to “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles*, as Andrew Hadfield remarks, “was intended primarily for domestic English rather than colonial consumption” (1993:76).²⁶ And there are other indications that Stanyhurst was writing for an English audience on the other side of the Irish Sea. His uneasy insistence on the cultural purity of Dublin’s pre-Reformation settlers throughout the *Description* suggests that he wishes to convince his domestic English readership that Dublin’s Old English community is indeed English. This is particularly evident in the final section on “the disposition and maners of the meere Irish,

commonlie called the wild Irish.” Stanyhurst’s ethnography of the “wild Irish” ostensibly serves to reinforce the “meere” Englishness of the inhabitants of the Pale. However, this section opens with a disturbing warning to the English reader not to mistake the Old English of the Pale for the Gaelic Irish:

BEFORE I attempt the vnfoldinge of the maners of the meere Irish, I thinke it expedient, to forewarne thee reader, not to impute anie barbarous custome that shall be here laid downe, to the citizens, townesmen, and inhabitants of the English pale, in that they differ litle or nothing from the ancient customes and dispositions of their progenitors, the English and Welsh men, being therefore as mortallie behated of the Irish, as those that are borne in England. (66-67)

If the “inhabitants of the English pale” are altogether unlike the “mere Irish,” then why does Stanyhurst caution the reader not to confuse the two? If language, apparel, and customs distinguish the Old English from the “Irishrie,” then why does the distinction between the “mere Irish” and “mere English” need to be reiterated?

Underpinning Stanyhurst’s warning to the reader is the threat of geographical and cultural proximity, of cultural hybridity, a threat that disrupts the text’s inscription of proto-racial identities. It is important to remember of course that not all Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland “feazed awaie” the Irish. Many of them, especially those living outside of the Pale, “went native.” While discussing the “present ruine and decaie” of Ulster’s English families, Stanyhurst writes:

They were inuironed and compassed with euill neighbours.

Neighbourhood bred acquaintance, acquaintance waffed in the Irish toong,
 the Irish hooked it with attire, attire haled rudenesse, rudenesse ingendered
 ignorance, ignorance brought contempt of lawes, the contempt of lawes
 bred rebellion, rebellion raked thereto warres, and so consequentlie the
 vtter decaie and desolation of that worthie country. (5)

This passage is remarkable for the way in which a rhetorical ordering of things—organized around the rhetorical figure gradation, or *gradatio*—struggles to contain or counteract the unsettling account of “degeneracy.” “Gradacion,” writes Thomas Wilson in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1560), “is when we reherse the worde that goeth next before, and bryng another woorde thereupon that encreaseth the matter, as though one should go up a paire of staires” (405). Stanyhurst, on the other hand, recounts a negative gradation: the English settlers, losing first their speech, next their apparel, have gradually “degenerated” from a state of civility to one of “rudenesse.” Although the *Description* attempts to forge an Old English identity against both the Irish and “the verie English of birth,” who “conuersant with the sauage sort of people become degenerat” (69), the horror of “degeneracy” is not restricted to settlers beyond the Pale. Indeed the Pale itself is represented as a site of cultural contamination, as the following passage makes clear:

The inhabitants of the English pale haue beene in old time so much
 addicted to their ciuilitie, and so farre sequestered from barbarous
 sauagenesse, as their onelie mother toong was English. And trulie, so long
 as these impaled dwellers did sunder themselues as well in land as in
 language from the Irish: rudenesse was daie by daie in the countrie

supplanted, ciuillite ingraffed, good lawes established, loialtie obserued,
 rebellion suppressed, and in fine the coine of a yoong England was like to
 shoot in Ireland. But when their posteritie became not altogether so warie
 in keeping, as their ancestors were valiant in conquering, the Irish language
 was free dennized in the English pale: this canker tooke such deepe root, as
 the bodie that before was whole and sound, was by little and little festered,
 and in manner wholie putrified. (4)

Mixing horticultural and monetary metaphors, the reference to “the coine of a yoong England” depicts the English of the Pale as a prosperous stock of Englishness. But this line also affords another, more disturbing interpretation. The reference to “coine” (and its variant spellings: “coyne,” “coignye,” etc.) could have been read by early modern readers as an unsettling reminder of those Anglo-Norman settlers whose assimilation into Gaelic culture resulted from their compliance with Irish social customs such as coyne and livery.²⁷ In his *Conquest of Ireland*, Hooker blames the Geraldines, one of the great Old English dynastic families in Ireland, for having “brought in coine and liuerie, and a number of manie other Irish and diuelish impositions, which hath beene the ruine of their honour, the losse of their credit, & in the end will be the ouerthrow of all their houses and families” (198).²⁸ If Stanyhurst’s reference to “the coine of a yoong England,” to quote Hadfield and Maley, “stresses the Englishness of the Pale” (1993:8), it also betrays a latent anxiety about the polluting of the Pale.

“The body,” writes Mary Douglas in *Purity and Danger*, “is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are

threatened or precarious" (115). This is particularly true of the construction of colonial bodies and colonial space. For Stanyhurst, both Dublin's English bodies and Dublin's English body politic are delimited by the circumscribing "Irishrie." Irish proximity, however, threatens to undo the engrafting of "civility." The text's spatializing strategies are severely strained as the Irish, figured as disease, have penetrated the supposedly fixed physical and cultural boundaries of the Pale. "We should expect," Douglas points out, "the orifices of the body to symbolise its specially vulnerable points" (121). Not surprisingly, a particular body part—the contaminated oral cavity, the infected "mother toong"—synechdochically signifies a greater decay, the "festered" English body.²⁹ Earlier in the text, Stanyhurst asks if his "owne ancient natiue toong shall be shrowded in obliuion, and suffer the enimies language, as it were a tetter or ringworme, to harbor itself within the iawes of English conquerors?" (5). With the "Irish language ... free dennized in the English pale," Dublin's English body politic, a communal body that was once "whole and sound," once "wholie English" (5), has become "wholie putrified." If these passages highlight the crucial connection between language and identity in the *Irish Chronicles*, they also suggest that linguistic contamination effects a loss of identity. Consider the following passage on the intermingling of English and Irish tongues in Wexford: "in our daies [the English] haue so acquainted themselues with the Irish, as they haue made a mingle mangle or gallimaufreie of both the languages, and haue in such medleie or checkerwise so crabbedlie iumbled them both together, as commonlie the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neither good English nor good Irish" (4). Although this passage displaces "degeneracy" onto those of a lower social order, it nevertheless raises the

question what language, what identity occupies the liminal position between “neither good English nor good Irish?” The *Description*, then, betrays an uneasiness that renders the cultural distinctions the text works to construct as tenuous as the border delimiting them.

Although it repeatedly calls for the anglicization of the Gaelic Irish, ultimately Stanyhurst’s text is haunted by scenes of mistranslation, scenes in which instead of the Irish becoming “wholie Englished,” the Old English are contaminated by the Irish. Not surprisingly, it closes with a dire call for the translation of “degenerate” settlers

from rudenes to knowledge, from rebellion to obedience, from trecherie to honestie, from sauagenesse to ciuilitie, from idlenesse to labour, from wickednesse to godlinesse, whereby they maie the sooner espie their blindnesse, acknowledge their loosenes, amend their liues, frame themselues pliable to the lawes and ordinances of her maiestie, whome God with his gracious assistance preserue, aswell to the prosperous gouernment of hir realme of England, as to the happe reformation of hir realme of Ireland. (69)

By the time of the publication of the second volume of “Holinshed,” however, New Englishmen were calling for more than the conversion of the “mere” Irish to English language, laws, and apparel. The outbreak of the Desmond rebellion in Munster in 1579, the 1580 revolt, led by James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass, within the Pale, convinced the New English that both the Gaelic Irish and the Old English were enemies of the state. As Hooker writes in his *Svpllie of the Irish Chronicles*, “whatsoever tofore hath beene doone, none were so tragicall, impious, and vnnaturall, as were the last warres of the

Giraldines of Desmond in Mounster." (458). In the wake of these failed rebellions, Munster was opened up for plantation, and a new wave of planters from England began arriving to "repeople" the land. These recent political upheavals convinced the incoming New English settlers that Ireland was in need of a fundamental reconquest. Whereas the Catholic Old English pursued a policy of assimilation and anglicization, the New English urged a root and branch reformation as the only "cure" for Ireland.³⁰

III

John Hooker's major contribution to the second volume of the Irish *Chronicles*—his translation of Gerald's *Expugnatio Hibernica*—is at once a continuation and a departure from the 1577 edition. By translating the *Expugnatio*, Hooker, like Campion and Stanyhurst, acknowledges his debt to Gerald's writings. Of course it is not surprising that the compilers of the Irish histories return again and again to Gerald's twelfth-century depictions of the Irish. "The most significant and influential representations of Ireland and the Irish in the early modern period," Hadfield points out, "date back to the conquest of Henry II." Indeed, Gerald's two works, *The History and Topography of Ireland* and *The Conquest of Ireland*, "were acknowledged on both sides of the Irish Sea to be founding texts for the discourse of English writing about Ireland" (Hadfield and McVeagh 7).³¹ The Irish, writes Gerald in his *Topography*, are a "wild and inhospitable people. They live on beasts only, and live like beasts. They have not progressed at all from the primitive habits of pastoral living" (101). Written more than

three hundred years before the Reformation, Gerald's construction of the Irish is supported more by a belief in Anglo-Norman cultural superiority than religious animosity. If Gerald's pre-Reformation writings remind us that the origins of anti-Irish discourse have little to do with anti-Catholic invective, the 1577 Irish *Chronicles* demonstrate that not all post-Reformation anti-Irish discourse was sustained by an opposition between Protestant English and Catholic Irish.³² Nevertheless, a heightened insistence on the absolute difference between the English and the Irish takes on a pronounced voice in the writings of many Protestant New English.³³ In the 1587 Irish *Chronicles*, for example, Hooker's call for a radical "reformation" of Ireland—a "reformation" that only drastic military measures could effect—goes hand in hand with a redefinition of Irishness and Englishness.

The rejection of a policy of assimilation in favour of one of conquest was sustained by a vicious re-invention of the Gaelic Irish by English-born settlers in the latter half of the sixteenth century.³⁴ Unlike Stanyhurst, who perceives the differences between the English and Irish as cultural and therefore reformable, Hooker naturalizes cultural differences. A sense of the contrast between Stanyhurst's and Hooker's views of the Irish is evident in the language the 1587 volume uses to represent Irishness. In a passage on the "nature of the Irishmen" in his continuation of Irish history from the death of Henry VIII, Hooker supplies a diatribe on the "the nature and disposition of this wicked, effrenated, barbarous, and vnfaithful nation" (369). Of signal importance here is his use of the word "effrenated." On the one hand, it reinforces the notion of the "wild Irish" (the Latin *efferus* meaning wild, savage), a notion that goes back to Gerald, if not earlier, and appears throughout sixteenth-century Old English representations of the Irish.³⁵ On the

other hand, Hooker's designation of the Irish as "effrenated" does more than simply reproduce Gerald's and Stanyhurst's constructions of Irish alterity. In its early modern denotation of "unbridled" or "ungovernable," the word "effrenated" (from the Latin *effrenus*) locates Irish savagery no longer in just the clothes and customs of the Irish. The savagery of the unbridled, ungovernable Irish now inheres in their bestial bodies.³⁶ "The Irish nation and people," Hooker writes in his marginal notes to the *Conquest*, "euen from the beginning haue beene alwaies of a hard bringing vp, & are not onelie rude in apparell but also rough & ouglie *in* their bodies" (228 my emphasis).³⁷ For Hooker, as well as many of his fellow New English settlers, Irishness has penetrated the skin and become a innate property of the physical body.

Since, for Hooker, the Irish are naturally "wicked, effrenated, barbarous, and vnfaithful," since Ireland is a "broken commonweale and ruinous state, being as it were a man altogether infected with sores and biles, and in whose bodie from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot there is no health" (328), a novel means must be employed to effect a radical cleansing of this corrupt body politic. Force, rather than persuasion, is necessary:

withdraw the sword, and forbear correction, deale with them in courtesie, and intreat them gentlie, if they can take anie aduantage, they will surelie skip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and the sow to the durt & puddle they will returne to their old and former insolencie, rebellion, and disobedience. This is to be meant of the Irishrie and sauage people, who the further they are from the prince and court, the further from dutie and

obedience; the more they are vnder their Obrian gouernment, the lesse dutifull to their naturall souereigne and prince. (369)

In order to “frame” the Irish “from a sauage life to a ciuill government” (107), the sword must perform the task that the word failed to accomplish. Put another way, only a violent “reformation,” Hooker insists, will effect a disciplining of the “wicked race of the Irishrie” (371). It is not surprising, then, that Hooker translates and therefore circulates a conquest narrative.

In that *The Conquest* revisits the original invasion of Ireland and defeat (albeit, incomplete) of the Irish, Hooker presented his fellow English readers with a text that spoke to them as much as it did to its original twelfth-century Anglo-Norman audience. As its title unambiguously suggests, *The Conquest of Ireland* was not simply an impartial record (or translation) of past events; it served to disseminate an ideology of conquest. While the first section consists mainly of descriptions of battles, combined with speeches by commanders of the opposing armies, the second section manifests the text’s exhortatory function. Along with valorizing the Anglo-Norman conquerors as well as denouncing the “rebellious” Irish, *The Conquest* includes a chapter outlining “The titles of the kings of England vnto Ireland,” and it repeatedly insists that “by other old and ancient records it is apparent, that the English nation entered not into this land by wrong and iniurie, (as some men suppose and dreame) but vpon a good ground, right, and title” (221). *The Conquest*, however, not only upholds England’s right to rule Ireland; it actively encourages it. Chapter 38, which addresses “The causes why England could not make the full and finall conquest of Ireland,” informs the reader that “such a savage, rude,

and barbarous nation was by good counsels, discreet directions and prudent government to have beene governed and reduced to good order and conformitie” (227). As the use of the past perfect tense (“*to have beene governed*”) suggests, *The Conquest* exposes the mistakes of previous English colonizers in order to provide, indeed enforce, contemporary solutions. In both the penultimate chapter, “How or by what manner the land of Ireland is throughlie to be conquered” and the final chapter, “How the Irish people being vanquished are to be governed,” the practical, political uses of Hooker’s translation are readily apparent. Appearing ten years after the publication of the 1577 Irish *Chronicles*, and just after a period intense resistance to the (New) English in Ireland, *The Conquest* reads as a “how to” manual for Elizabethans involved in the reconquest of Ireland—men such as Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom it is dedicated.

In his dedicatory epistle to Raleigh—who, as an undertaker in the Munster plantation, had a vested interest in Ireland—Hooker supplies a metacommentary on his translation. According to Hooker, the study of history provides informative analogues, political lessons for the present: records of the past function as a site of ethico-political discourse. The stress on the political uses of history is, of course, a Renaissance commonplace. In his *Book Named the Govenor* (1531), Sir Thomas Elyot advised English princes to read Caesar, for “thereof may be taken necessary instructions concerning the wars against Irishmen or Scots, who be of the same rudeness and wild disposition that the Swiss and Britons were in the time of Caesar” (38). It is precisely this insistence on “necessary instruction” that motivates Hooker’s translation; in fact, he presents his patron with numerous exemplary imperial figures from the past, including Moses, Alexander the

Great, and Julius Caesar.³⁸ These heroic figures offer Raleigh “a model of excellence, an icon after which [he] is to be formed” (Hampton xi). Take, for instance, the following edifying remarks on Alexander the Great:

when he was to enlarge his empire, he gaue himselfe to the diligent reading of Homer, the most exact chronographer of the Troian wars: and so he esteemed that booke, that in the daie time he caried it about him, and in the night time he laid it vnder his beds head; and at all times conuenient he would be reading of it, and in the end was so perfect therein, that he could verbatim repeat the whole without booke; the stratagemes, the policies, and the manie deuises vsed in those warres he practised in his owne warres, which stood him in great steed. (102)

Just as Alexander kept a copy of Homer by his side, so, too, should Raleigh diligently read *The Conquest*. It is no coincidence that the same year in which *The Conquest* was published, Raleigh was granted 42,000 acres in Counties Cork and Waterford (Quinn 1947:136). As the dedicatory epistle makes clear, the “general end” of Hooker’s translation is to fashion a colonial gentleman, or to refashion a New English gentleman.

If the nightmare of a reversal of the “civilizing process” haunts the *Description*, Hooker’s major contribution to the 1587 *Chronicles* registers a powerful narrative of remembering, repeating, and working-through. “Remembering, Repeating and Working-Through,” is, of course, the title of a well-known essay by Freud, an essay that anticipates his subsequent discussion of the compulsion to repeat in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. According to Freud, victims of a traumatic event who fail to remember the initial trauma

are destined merely to re-enact the traumatic event again and again. On the other hand, if victims can revisit the traumatic event and psychically work through it, then “unpleasure itself is mastered by means of repetition” (Ricoeur 285). In other words, remembering, repeating and working-through allows victims to undo, and thereby master, past trauma. I invoke Freud not because I wish to psychoanalyse the writing subject or his readers; rather, I want to foreground *The Conquest*’s textual dynamics, the way in which it encodes an ideologically charged, as well as therapeutic, narrative.³⁹

As a chronicle history, though, *The Conquest* isn’t exactly a narrative. “The chronicle,” according to Hayden White,

often seems to wish to tell a story, aspires to narrativity, but typically fails to achieve it. More specifically, the chronicle usually is marked by a failure to achieve narrative closure. It does not so much conclude as simply terminate. It starts out to tell a story but breaks off *in media res*, in the chronicler’s own present; it leaves things unresolved, or rather, it leaves them unresolved in a storylike way. (5)

True to White’s definition, *The Conquest* merely breaks off. The last line reads: “Thus farre Giraldus Cambrensis” (232). *The Conquest*, then, does not achieve narrative closure as White defines it. However, by taking its readers back to England’s original, partial conquest of Ireland, it functions to inspire Elizabethans, such as Raleigh, to enact a reconquest of Ireland. In other words, Hooker’s translation invites, indeed instructs, colonial gentleman like Raleigh to complete the conquest, to write their own ending to this “tragicall discourse of Ireland” (103). Through an act of remembering an earlier failed

conquest of Ireland, Hooker wants his readers to believe, New Englishmen can effect a complete conquest.

If *The Conquest* calls attention to the political uses of acts of remembering, it also foregrounds the constitutive power of acts of forgetting. “Being obliged to forget,” Bhabha has pointed out, “becomes the basis for remembering the nation” (1994:161). In that *The Conquest* revisits the initial “English” invasion of Ireland, it seemingly elicits cultural memory in order to create a sense of continuity between the twelfth-century and sixteenth-century colonizers in Ireland, to foster a colonial identity rooted in the past.⁴⁰ I want to argue that Hooker’s contributions to the Irish *Chronicles* are concerned less with the twelfth-century beginnings of Englishness in Ireland than the end of a particular form of Englishness in Elizabethan Ireland. The 1587 edition of the Irish *Chronicles* announces itself as a continuation of the 1577 edition; however, it functions as a response to—a rewriting of—the earlier text. In his dedicatory epistle to Sir Henry Sidney, Stanyhurst writes “who so will be addicted to the reading of histories, shall readilie find diuerse euentis worthie to be remembred, and sundrie sound examples dailie to be followed” (sig. b4). But for the Elizabethan reader the *Description* recollects events that would best be forgotten. It is precisely the ideological and cultural work of forgetting that the 1587 edition performs.

Although Hooker is deeply ambivalent toward the Old English inhabitants of the Pale, his writings adumbrate the increasing New English displeasure toward them.⁴¹ Consider, for instance, Hooker’s equivocal description of the Old English as “meere Englishmen, but of Ireland birth” (148). On the one hand, he figures the Old English as

“meere,” that is purely English; on the other hand, the unsettling, conditional “but” seems to qualify their Englishness. To have been born in Ireland, this passage suggests, is to have one’s Englishness contaminated.⁴² Indeed, in his *Supplie of the Irish Chronicles*, Hooker looks forward to a radical cleansing of Ireland’s corrupt body politic that would not spare the infected Old English bodies of the Pale, bodies that, as he points out, “were alied in mariage” (325) to the Irish. Here, Hooker’s contributions to the *Irish Chronicles* anticipate the later writings of Spenser and Sir John Davies, writings that struggle to construct a colonial identity dissociated from the remnants of a failed conquest, writings that similarly call for a collective act of forgetting. “Forgetting,” Ernest Renan wrote, “is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation” (Bhabha 1990:11). Although Renan has in mind a different historiographic context, his words nevertheless shed valuable light on the complex and often contradictory strategies of cultural identification in early modern Ireland. To rewrite Englishness, to forge a new, pure, essentialized English identity, “degenerate” Englishmen and Ireland’s Catholic English community had to be rendered oblivious, erased from cultural memory. If this act of forgetting, this cleansing of memory, this process of cultural displacement works to bring New Englishness into being, it simultaneously ruptures any notion of an authentic national identity.

IV

The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland was not “completed” until Hugh O’Neill, earl of Tyrone, submitted to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, at Mellifont in March 1603—six

days after the death of Queen Elizabeth. Hooker's translation of Gerald, then, did not effect any immediate conquest of Ireland. *The Conquest* remains an important cultural artefact, though, because it bears witness to the complex process of identity formation and deformation in Elizabethan Ireland. Indeed, both the 1577 and 1587 editions of the Irish *Chronicles* are invaluable documents to cultural historians of early modern Britain, for they remind us that early modern discourse on English identity emerged not only within England, but also, and much more violently, on the so-called margins of English culture. Helgerson's claim that "younger Elizabethans...drew on chronicle," that they "imitated it, borrowed from it, reacted against it, and rewrote it" (11-12), is particularly relevant to the reception history of the Irish *Chronicles*. Just as Stanyhurst and Hooker turned to Gerald as their primary source for "information" on Irish history, late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century representations of the "Celtic fringe" were heavily indebted to the Irish *Chronicles*. Camden borrowed from the Irish *Chronicles*; Spenser borrowed from them.⁴³ In turn, Spenser's writings on Ireland informed seventeenth-century representations of the Irish, including those of John Milton.⁴⁴ Throughout the late sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century, the Irish *Chronicles* played a determining role in the heterogeneous on-going constructions of the inhabitants of the British Isles.

Moreover, Hooker's rewriting of Stanyhurst's constructions of Englishness and Irishness serves as a material and symbolic reminder of the ways in which Ireland afforded England's middling sort the opportunity to occupy social positions that were traditionally reserved for England's national and colonial elite. "As well as being the site of the 'degeneration' of Englishness," Hadfield and Maley observe, "Ireland was the locus of a

re-generation of a newly developing Englishness, in the face of an upwardly mobile gentry” (1993:11). As I argue in the following chapter, Spenser’s life and writings are a prime example of such social mobility. Spenser went to Ireland in 1580 as secretary to Lord Grey of Wilton, who, as Lord Deputy, was sent over to suppress recalcitrant Old English lords, such as Gerald Fitz James Fitzgerald, fourteenth earl of Desmond in Munster and Viscount Baltinglass. In August of 1582, Spenser attained lease of one of the former estates of Viscount Baltinglass; in October of 1590, “Edmund Spenser, gentleman” received royal grant to the 3028 acres of Kilcoman castle in Munster, a castle formerly held by the earl of Desmond (Maley 1994b:36, 55). In Spenser’s case, Ireland served to raise the son of a clothmaker to the status of gentleman.⁴⁵ If Hooker’s writings appropriate the discursive space of the Old English aristocratic elite, Spenser goes one step further by laying claim to their expropriated land.

NOTES

1. In her *Stages of History*, Phyllis Rackin, for example, draws an opposition between the “monologic” historiographic text and “the polyphonic form of theatrical performance” (25).

2. Following Annabel Patterson, I refer to the *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* as “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles* because Raphael Holinshed, the editor and main compiler of the 1577 edition, was by no means the sole author. That the *Chronicles* were published in two different editions—the first in 1577, the second, produced after Holinshed’s death, in 1587—bears witness to the collaborative process involved in the production of this compilation that scholars now conveniently refer to as “Holinshed.” Various pages in the second edition include different dates of publication; the actual date of publication was January, 1587.

3. In the first of his *Three Proper, and wittie, familiar Letters* (London 1580), Spenser, for instance, acknowledges that his *Epithalamion Thamesis* has been “furthered” and “aduantaged” by the work of “Master Holinshed” (*Poetical Works* 612). Apparently, the 1577 edition of “Holinshed’s” *Chronicles* sold well, for an enlarged second edition appeared ten years later.

4. Although E.M.W. Tillyard’s mapping of the “Tudor Myth” onto Shakespeare’s history plays has been rigorously challenged by literary critics, this challenge has had little impact on studies of Tudor chronicles themselves. See especially Patterson 1994:5-6.

5. Christopher Highley argues that “Annabel Patterson’s claim that Holinshed’s *Chronicles* as a whole is no ‘tool of hegemony’ but a deeply provocative work, grounded upon principles of multivocality and inclusiveness, is especially true of the section on Ireland” (9-10). The Irish section is multivocal in that it includes more than one authorial voice; however, I disagree with the claim that Irish section is “grounded upon *principles* of multivocality and inclusiveness.”

6. Michel de Certeau also comments on print culture’s contribution to the decline of the imagined community of Christendom. “When the religious unanimity of Christendom was broken down into the diversity of European states,” de Certeau observes, “a knowledge was needed to receive a distinctive definition. With the effects of the printing press, of a growing literacy and education, knowledge became a tool of unification and differentiation” (26).

7. Because Anderson conceives of nationalism as a cultural artefact, because he attends to sites of reading and the affective power of reading, it is not surprising that his work has been well received by literary historians. But, as David Carroll argued in a paper presented at the University of Western Ontario (October, 1996), Anderson’s work is sustained by an uncritical, Romantic reading practice that serves to reinforce the identificatory aesthetics of imagined communities. Witness, for example, the phonocentrism in Anderson’s suggestion that “the eerie splendour” of Thomas Browne’s prose “can bring goose-flesh to the napes only of English-readers” (147). By foregrounding the uneasy discursive struggle for English identity in Ireland, this chapter emphasizes the ways in which the Irish *Chronicles* at once stabilized and destabilized an

English reader's sense of Englishness.

8. Although Helgerson argues that "chorography defines itself in opposition to chronicle," he cites the inclusion of Harrison's *Description* in "Holinshed" to note that these two discursive forms "flourished in symbiotic union" (132).

9. While literary historians have focussed on the sections of "Holinshed's" *Chronicles* devoted to English history, the Scottish and Irish *Chronicles* have attracted less critical consideration. Of course the Scottish *Chronicles*, because of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, has attracted the attention of Shakespeareans. Historians of early modern Ireland often make reference to the texts collected in the Irish *Chronicles*; however, much of the scholarship on the Irish material appears in the form of introductions to volumes containing accounts of early modern English views of Ireland and the Irish. Two notable exceptions are Andrew Hadfield's "English Colonialism and National Identity in Early Modern Ireland," a paper that has influenced my approach to the Irish *Chronicles*, and Willy Maley's "Shakespeare, Holinshed and Ireland: Resources and Con-texts." In his *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland*, Highley briefly discusses the Irish section (9-12), but I know of no sustained analysis of both the 1577 and 1587 editions of the Irish *Chronicles*.

10. "To constitute itself as a nation-state," Helgerson remarks, "a political or cultural community must distinguish itself not only from its neighbors but also from its former self or selves" (22). For the English, in the early modern period, the process of distinguishing themselves from both their neighbours and their former selves was interrelated since England's British neighbours were also representatives of England's

British past. “What probably made the English, *Angelcynn*,” R.R. Davies writes, “most aware of themselves as a single people deserving a single name—in spite of their memory that they were composed of different ethnic groups (Saxons, Angles, Jutes) and in spite of their divided political structures and loyalties—was their awareness of their solidarity *vis-à-vis* the other peoples, more especially the Celtic-speaking peoples, of Britain” (1995:8).

11. I say “especially the Irish” because English attitudes toward the Irish (which includes the “Irish Scot,” that is, non-Lowland Gaelic inhabitants of Scotland) were, generally, significantly more negative than their attitudes toward their northern (Lowland) neighbours. Compare, for example, the title pages of the 1587 editions of the Scottish and Irish *Chronicles*. The separate kingdom of Scotland is accorded the dignity of nationhood: the title page reads, *THE Historie of Scotland, conteining the beginning, increase, proceedings, continuance, acts and gouvernement of the Scottish Nation....* Ireland, on the other hand, is figured as a land of ire: the title page reads, *THE Second volume of Chronicles: Conteining the description, conquest, inhabitation, and troublesome estate of Ireland*. Of course Ireland, Ulster in particular, was unique in that it was the only one of the three kingdoms in the British Isles in which large English, Irish, and Scottish populations were present; moreover, after 1603, the English, Irish, and Scots within Ireland were subjects of the same British monarch.

12. This quotation comes from A.L. Rowse’s jingoistic *The Expansion of Elizabethan England*, vii.

13. For examples of studies that place English involvement in Ireland within a larger, transatlantic framework, see David Beers Quinn’s chapter “Ireland and America

Intertwined” in his *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, and Nicholas Canny’s “The Ideology of English Colonization: from Ireland to America.” As Andrew Murphy notes in a critical essay, Quinn’s and Canny’s work “has been necessary, important, and fruitful.” “But,” he adds,” the danger of viewing Anglo-Irish history exclusively within a global colonialist frame is that it may lead to the loss of any adequate sense of the historical particularities of the Irish colonial situation” (1996a:17).

14. In his *Culture and Imperialism*, Said demonstrates the danger of using simple binary oppositions in the context of the British Isles: “literary historians, “ he writes, “who study the great sixteenth-century poet Edmund Spenser ... do not connect his bloodthirsty plans for Ireland, where he imagined a British army virtually exterminating the native inhabitants, with his poetic achievement or with the history of British rule over Ireland, which continues today” (1993:5). As Hadfield points out, Said’s “easy use of the term ‘British’ may hide a multitude of sins in that it rigidly separates Ireland from a mainland Britain which, in this context at least, is assumed to be united and homogeneous, existing from the sixteenth century to the present” (1997:2).

15. By no means was Ireland’s “native” population as monolithic or homogeneous as many early modern English representations suggest. As John Morill points out, the native population had a series of distinct and overlapping identities: “that of the tribe, clan or sept; that of the region; that of the people of Ireland (*fir Erenn*); and that of the *Gaedhil*, an identity which united the Celtic peoples of Scotland and Ireland” (1996a:7).

16. On Ireland’s geopolitical importance in the sixteenth century, Karl Bottigheimer writes “the late medieval decline of effective English influence in Ireland

intersected calamitously with the growing need of the early modern monarchy for strategic support in the western island. Irish support for the Yorkists demonstrated to the Tudors the dangers of an independent Ireland, and the events associated with 'the new monarchies' and the emerging European state system dramatized the importance of keeping England's enemies out of Ireland" (48). Witness, for instance, the following passage on the Desmond rebellion from John Hooker's *Synplie of the Irish Chronicles*: "it was throughlie concluded betweene the pope and king Philip, to make a through conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentlie as time should serue, to doo the like with England" (436). See also Aidan Clarke 256-57.

17. "It is difficult," Michael Neill points out, "to overestimate the significance of this statute [Statute 33 of Henry VIII] for the subsequent direction of Irish affairs, for it marks the point at which wholesale incorporation of the native Irish into the body politic defined by English settlement became, for the first time, legally enunciated policy. Under this new dispensation a systematic war of subjugation could be presented not as the aggressive conquest of an alien people but as a defensive operation designed to secure the good order of the realm against rebels" (1994:5).

18. Of course the presence of Scottish settlers in Ulster adds a further dimension to the complex process of identity fashioning in early modern Ireland. "The colonization endeavor of these Scots," Nicholas Canny notes, "was presented in a positive light by the English-born settlers and administrators whenever it was seen to be supplementary and subordinate to that of the English themselves, but the English in Ireland generally viewed the Scots as rivals and this consideration drove them with even greater urgency to forge

an identity that would serve to legitimize their emergence as the dominant social group in Ireland” (1987b:160).

19. The phrase “fragmented colonial milieu” is Hadfield’s (1993:70). Unlike most remote settlers, the Old English around Dublin were able to keep in close contact with England because they benefitted from the government’s legal, administrative, and military services. Sons of both landed and merchant families often finished their education in England, as did Richard Stanyhurst. Yet, as Clarke notes, the Old English “remained conscious of the reality that differences of situation prevented them from being accepted as wholly English” (255).

20. Concerning Old *and* New English attitudes toward the native population, Canny writes “whatever their differences over policy, Old and New English were united by their mutual contempt for the Gaelic inhabitants of the island” (1983:11). This “mutual contempt,” as the 1577 and 1587 editions of the Irish *Chronicles* attest, was articulated in significantly different ways.

21. By no means do I wish to endow the two editions of “Holinshed’s” Irish *Chronicles* with an exclusively formative place in Elizabethan discourse on Ireland. Yet, what distinguished the *Chronicles* from much of the Elizabethan writing of Ireland, which remained (and in many cases still remains) in manuscripts and letters, is the fact that they were published (in London). Spenser’s *View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596), it is important to remember, was not published until 1633. In his dedicatory epistle to Sir Henry Sidney, Holinshed writes “when I came to consider of the histories of Ireland, I found my self so vnprovided of helps, to set downe anie particular discourse therof, that I

was in despaire to enterprise to write anie thing at all concerning that realme, otherwise than incidentlie as fell to purpose to touch the same in the historie of England” (sig. b).

After the publication of the Irish *Chronicles*, this could no longer be said.

22. Holinshed, Stanyhurst, and John Hooker (alias Vowell) compiled as much as they composed history. Both the first and second editions of the Irish *Chronicles* contain a page that lists “the authors out of whom this historie of Ireland hath beene gathered” (sig. b2v). Included on this list is Edmund Campion, whose *Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland* (1571, published in 1633)—a gathering of previous material on Ireland, in particular, Gerald of Wales’s *Topographia Hibernica*—was incorporated into the *Chronicles*. Born and raised in England, Campion was a fellow at Oxford. After Stanyhurst’s graduation from Oxford, Campion travelled with Stanyhurst to Ireland where he assembled his *Histories* while residing at the Stanyhurst household from 1570-71. Although geography separated Campion and Stanyhurst, religion brought them together. Colm Lennon, Stanyhurst’s biographer, notes that the Jesuit Campion later served as a Catholic Counter-Reformation agent; in 1581, he was executed for treason. In 1579, Stanyhurst departed for the Spanish Netherlands, where he “became fully committed to the Catholic cause” (Lennon 33). While residing in Flanders, Stanyhurst wrote *De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis* (Antwerp 1584), which represents the Irish in a significantly more favourable light: see Lennon 88-98, 131-160. It is important, however, not to divorce Stanyhurst’s contributions to the *Chronicles*, as Brendan Bradshaw has attempted to do, from negative representations of the Irish (1993:166-87). I agree with the editors of a recent edition of the 1577 Irish *Chronicles* who argue that Stanyhurst “recounts the

Norman invasion from an obviously English point of view but, given that, he is not as overtly anti-Irish as some of his contemporaries" (Miller and Powell xiii).

23. Hooker convinced Carew that he was entitled to land in Munster that had belonged to Carew's ancestors, including Robert Fitz-Stephen, whose daughter married a Carew. See the *DNB* entry on Carew, and Canny's brief account of him 1987: 86-87.

24. "A considerable part of 'the English image of Ireland' was," Bottigheimer notes, "manufactured in the Pale, and reflected less the ignorant prejudice of metropolitan Englishmen than the calculated snobbery of a struggling élite within Ireland" (49).

25. In its early modern denotation "meere" was not a term of abuse; instead, it meant "pure" or "unmixed." See Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh 275, n.7.

26. Before being read by an English audience, Stanyhurst's contributions to the *Irish Chronicles* were censored by the Privy Council. According to the *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, the inclusion of "many thinges ... falcely recited and contrarie to the ancient records of the said realme" accounted for the censorship (qtd. In Miller and Power xvi). See also Patterson 1994:11-12.

27. The *OED* defines "coyne and livery" as the practice of "the billeting of military followers upon private persons; food and entertainment exacted, by the Irish chiefs, for their soldiers and attendants."

28. In his *Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued*, Sir John Davies condemns coyne and livery as "the most wicked and mischievous custom" (166-67).

29. "As the one organ that can move in and out of the body," Carla Mazzio says of

the tongue, “its symbolic position in a range of discourses lies on the threshold between the framed and the unframed, between the space of the self and the space of the other” (55-56).

30. As Clarke points out, no monolithic policy on Ireland existed: “The country might be brought under control through the anglicization of its people and their social institutions, as the palesmen urged and the government itself accepted in principle and sought to achieve through ‘surrender and regrant’ transactions, or it might be conquered outright and ‘made English’ by the importation of new English colonists. In the event, no choice was made between these two competing policies: both were pursued” (256). This division, however, was not etched in stone, for some New Englishmen (including Richard Beacon, author of *Solon His Follie* [1594]) viewed assimilation as the key to colonialism.

31. “The number of surviving manuscript copies of Gerald’s Irish books,” writes W. R. Jones, “indicate that both works were popular during the Middle Ages” (9). Graphic evidence of the pervasiveness of Gerald’s writings in the early modern period is evident on the map of Ireland in the second edition of Abraham Ortelius’ *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1572): the unmapped spaces in Ulster and Connaught are filled in with quotations from Gerald (Dunlop 311). John Gillingham has written a number of important articles on Gerald; see my list of works cited.

32. To insist that early modern representations of Catholic Ireland as a land of savages is determined solely by the Protestantism of those doing the representing obscures the crucial fact that Stanyhurst and Campion, both of whom figure the Irish as less civilized than the English, rejected Protestantism.

33. According to Canny, the Elizabethan settlers in Ireland were “for the most part, extreme Protestants; many of them, like Carew [for whom Hooker served as solicitor] had fled England in Queen Mary’s reign and associated themselves with the exiled English divines on the continent” (1973:584). Barnaby Rich’s numerous pamphlets on the Irish—including his *Anothomy of Ireland* (1615)—contain some of the most virulent anti-Irish/anti-Catholic propaganda. Yet, as Maley points out, “Protestant planters appear to have been more intent upon confiscation of property than condemnation of popery” (1997a:49).

34. Along with Hooker’s writings, John Derricke’s *The Image of Irelande with a Discoverie of Woodkarne* (London 1581), which appeared with woodcuts, survives as a significant illustration of early New English representations of the Irish.

35. For instance, in his “Conjectures Concerning the State of Ireland” (1554), Edward Walshe, an Old Englishman from Waterford, wrote “without Iustice evin englishe bloodes wax wylde yrishe” (316).

36. On the same page, Hooker speaks of the need to keep the Irish “brideled” (369). Two pages later, he again refers to the Irish as “that effrenated and hardnecked people” (371).

37. In his *Anothomy of Ireland*, a dialogue presented to King James VI and I on December 15, 1615, Barnaby Rich’s two speakers, Antidonus and Phylautus, revisit the nature/nurture debate: “*Phy*: why then I perceyve thys savage maner of incevylyte amongst the *Iryshe*, it is bread in the bone. they have yt by nature ... *An*: they have it no lesse by nature then by nurture, that are trayned uppe in treason in rebellyon...” (83). Just

as there was no monolithic Elizabethan policy on Ireland, discourse on the Irish was never unified or coherent.

38. "The promotion of ancient images of virtue as patterns that aim to form or guide readers," Timothy Hampton reminds us, "is a central feature of almost every major text in the Renaissance" (ix). As a captain under Lord Grey, Raleigh had already performed the violent acts that Hooker is exhorting him to do. In fact, in his *Svpplie*, Hooker narrates the English massacre at Smerwick in which Raleigh played a major role: "When the captiene had yeelded himself, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, capteine Raleigh together with capteine Macworth ... entered into the castell, & made a great slaughter, manie or the most part of them being put to the swoord" (439).

39. See Peter Brooks' *Reading for the Plot*, esp. 90-112. See also David Quint's chapter "Repetition and Ideology in the *Aeneid*" in his *Epic and Empire*.

40. Exactly what name to give the twelfth-century invaders of Ireland has been hotly debated. In response to the use of "Norman," "Anglo-Norman," "Anglo-French," "Cambro-Norman," and "Anglo-Continental," John Gillingham suggests that we speak of the "English" invasion of Ireland so as to foreground the Irish origins of English imperialism (1993:29-30). Victor Kiernan, on the other hand, argues that it was precisely because the twelfth-century invaders had no fixed sense of ethnic identity (witness Stanyhurst's reference to the English and Welsh progenitors of the inhabitants of the Pale) that many of them embraced Gaelic culture: "As in the Highlands, and on the Welsh Marches, Anglo-Normans could all too easily fit themselves into Celtic society and turn half-Irish, the more so because their own ethnic background was so indeterminate" (6). I

find this confusion and disagreement about nomenclature among historians to be highly productive, for it foregrounds the instability of collective, historically rooted identities in early modern Britain.

41. For a particularly vehement denunciation of the Old English, see *The Supplication of the Blood of the English Most Lamentably Murdered in Ireland, Cryeng out for the Yearth for Revenge* (1598), an anonymous tract written by a New English planter after the destruction of the Munster plantation.

42. Bottigheimer poses a question that surely was on the mind of New Englishmen like Hooker: “if Englishness was to be defined as a virtue in Ireland, who could be more English than the English-born newcomers?” (49). It is important to note that land grants in the Munster plantation of the 1580s (the confiscated lands of the Geraldine earl of Desmond, not the native Irish) were restricted to those born in England (Clarke 257).

43. “Stanyhurst,” W.L. Renwick writes in his notes to the Oxford edition of Spenser’s *View of the Present State of Ireland*, “is probably the source to which Camden and others refer when they speak of Irish chroniclers: he was Irish born, and claimed knowledge of Irish chronicles” (200). While in living Antwerp, Stanyhurst served as a source of information for cartographic images of Ireland: “The exiled Richard Stanihurst,” R. W. Dudley Edwards and Mary O’Dowd point out, “contributed to Mercator’s knowledge on Ireland” (121). For further discussion on the influence of the Irish *Chronicles*, see Rudolf B. Gottfried, “The Early Development of the Section on Ireland in Camden’s *Britannia*,” and Frank F. Covington, Jr., “Spenser’s Use of Irish History in the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland*.” As Maley suggests, it is not unlikely that

Shakespeare read the Irish *Chronicles*: “We know that Shakespeare leaned heavily on Holinshed for the history plays of the 1580s and 1590s. One would expect him to rely therefore on the Irish section of that work for his allusions to ‘Irish’ character” (1997b:28).

44. Milton’s commonplace book, Patterson points out, contains two references to Spenser’s *View* (1993:43). See also Maley’s chapter, “How Milton and Some Contemporaries Read Spenser’s *View*” in his *Salvaging Spenser*; he persuasively argues that Milton “read the [*View*], not as an antiquarian exercise, but as a practical guide” (1997a:121).

45. Raleigh, it is important to recall, arrived in Ireland as a captain, not a courtier, in the service of Lord Grey; see Maley 1997a:51.

CHAPTER 2

Spenser and the Bounds of Race

You will take especial note of the marvellous independence and true imaginative absence of all particular space or time in the Faery Queene. It is in the domains neither of history or geography; it is ignorant of all artificial boundary, all material obstacles; it is truly in land of Faery, that is, of mental space....

In Spenser we see the brightest and purest form of that nationality which was so common a characteristic of our elder poets. There is nothing unamiable, nothing contemptuous of others in it. To glorify their country—to elevate England into a queen, an empress of the heart—this was their passion and object....

Samuel Taylor Coleridge

Coleridge's reflections on *The Faerie Queene* are representative of a nineteenth-century ideal of timeless poetic imagination that prefigures, indeed nourished, New Critical

readings of Spenser's elaborate narrative poem.¹ Recent readings of Spenser mark both a sharp contrast and a sharp reaction to critical approaches that disassociate the aesthetic or literary from the realm of the socio-political or non-literary. Rather than bracketing Spenser's writings from the domains of history and geography, historians and literary historians are currently engaged in a revisionary project of situating them in the ideologically charged colonial context that not only informed but also enabled their production.² Renewed interest in the violent colonial milieu in which Spenser struggled to fashion himself a gentlemanly author has sparked a re-evaluation of the Spenserian canon and has drawn attention to the socially heterogeneous readership to whom his works were addressed and among whom they circulated. The impact of this re-evaluation is most evident in criticism that refuses to divorce Spenser's so-called "imaginative" poetry from his prose dialogue, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Until the appearance in the early eighties of seminal studies by Stephen Greenblatt and David Norbrook, approaches to *The Faerie Queene* and *A View* had been, as Patricia Coughlan puts it, simplistic and impoverished: "historians cleaving to the *View* as to a clear window on matters of fact and politics, literary critics preserving the imaginative structures of *The Faerie Queene* supposedly immune from the infection of mere ideology" (1989:47). Many of Spenser's shorter poems, most of *The Faerie Queene*, and *A View* were written while Spenser served as a colonial administrator in Ireland. His texts, then, are thoroughly infected by the actual political conditions of his time; moreover, they had a significant effect on the real and imagined political relations of his time.

While scholarship on "Spenser and Ireland" is by no means new, recent critical

efforts enlarge and enrich the scope of interpretation by placing Spenser's career and writings within the broader cultural and political history of English colonial expansion across the British Isles.³ The emphasis on Spenser's work as the product of a New English resident in Ireland has opened his texts to crucial theoretical and historical concerns that challenge traditional narratives of Spenser as the quintessential Elizabethan court poet, the poet of the "land of Faery." Whereas Coleridge pronounced *The Faerie Queene* "ignorant of all artificial boundary," I wish to foreground the pervasiveness of boundaries and borders between selves and nations in Spenser's texts.⁴ These boundaries and borders are hardly stable and rarely secure, however. Throughout his works, especially *The Faerie Queene*, "civil" English bodies come under unrelenting attack from "savage" forces. Perhaps more so than any other early modern author, Spenser's writings call into question, just as they vigorously assert, any notion of "the brightest and purest form of [English] nationality."

As a planter and colonial administrator in Ireland, Spenser, like so many of his fellow New English settlers, was committed to the enforcement of racial oppression.⁵ But rather than simply labelling Spenser a racist, this chapter explores the demarcation of cultural boundaries through an examination of the encoding of early modern notions of civility and race in *The Faerie Queene* and *A View*. While I approach these texts fully attentive to the historical and geographical domain in which they were written—Elizabethan Ireland—I realize that significant generic differences render *The Faerie Queene* a fundamentally different text than *A View*. How ideology impinges upon a text and how a text reconfigures ideology cannot be addressed without considering a text's place in

literary history or its discursive form. Thus, my account of the inscription of what I will be calling “proto-racial identities” in these two texts opens with an examination of how the poetics of praise—the literary conventions of classical encomiastic rhetoric—in *The Faerie Queene* incites discourse on race. In Spenser’s prose dialogue, on the other hand, the construction of racial difference is sustained by a less formal, distinctly early modern practice of historical ethnography. Before tracing the ways in which Spenser’s texts participated in the heterogenous production of proto-racial identities, let me first venture to place race within the context of the British Isles in the closing decades of Elizabeth’s reign.

I

“Between the expulsion of the Jews and Moors from Spain and the landing of the first Negro in the North American colonies in 1619,” Ivan Hannaford observes, “the word ‘race’ entered Western languages” (147). If it was at this time that the word “race” slowly surfaced in European languages, it was not until the end of the seventeenth century, according to Hannaford, that the word “race” acquired the meaning that we now attach to it. In her study of “early anthropology” in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, Margaret Hodgen similarly maintains that the attempt to distinguish among the “races” on either anatomical, physiological, or cultural grounds was foreign to the early modern period. “Racialism in the familiar nineteenth- and twentieth-century sense of the term,” she writes, “was all but nonexistent” (213). Although Hannaford’s and Hodgen’s

insistence on a strict demarcation of premodern and modern Western notions of race seriously elides the important ways in which later biologically informed discourse on race recuperated earlier prescientific imaginings of racial difference, their remarks speak to the importance of historicizing critical practices when discussing race in an early modern context. This is not to say that historicizing race entails merely contextualizing and then readily recovering some stable, coherent premodern notion of race. Any discussion of race in the early modern period, as Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker point out, necessarily involves attending to the “complex, multiform and even contradictory senses of this term” (1).

Although of obscure origin, “race,” according to the *OED*, entered the English language in the early sixteenth century, adopted from the Italian *razza*, the Spanish *raza*, and the Portuguese *raça*.⁶ Among the various definitions under the headword “race,” the *OED* includes the following early modern denotations:

- 2.a. A limited group of persons descended from a common ancestor; a house, family, kindred.
- b. A tribe, nation, or people, regarded as of common stock.
- 6. Without article: a. Denoting the stock, family, class, etc. to which a person, animal, or plant belongs, chiefly in phr. *of (noble, etc.) race*.

These definitions all share an idea that is central to premodern constructions of race: namely, the emphasis on lineage or genealogy. Yet, they also bear witness to the heterogeneity and fluidity of early modern meanings of race. For instance, race could function as a relatively inclusive term: referring to an entire nation (*nacio*), a collective

people (*gens*); on the other hand, it could also entail exclusion: expressly in reference to a “limited group of people,” or to a royal or “noble race”—that is, a select group within an entire nation or kingdom.

The word “race” appears throughout *The Faerie Queene*, and often it designates a representative of an exclusive, aristocratic class. In her entry under “lineage” in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, Jane Hedley notes that “Spenser’s original audience believed that heredity determines one’s proper place in a hierarchic social order.” “Lineage,” she adds, “is correspondingly important in the aristocratic genre of chivalric romance, where, as a figment of class ideology, it justifies the economic and political power of the ruling class as a natural endowment, an ontological prerogative” (437). Perhaps it is not surprising that the editors of the *OED* turn to *The Faerie Queene*, a fine example of “the aristocratic genre of chivalric romance,” for textual evidence of one sixteenth-century definition of race: namely, race as “[d]enoting the stock, family, class, etc. to which a person ... belongs, chiefly in phr. of (*noble*) *race*.” Under this definition the *OED* includes the following line from Spenser’s text: “Thou, faire ymp, sprong out from English race” (1.10.60). In this example, “English race” refers not to all of England’s inhabitants, but specifically to an elite group within the nation. In other words, Redcrosse’s princely status is distinguished precisely by his lineage, his being sprung “from ancient race / Of *Saxon* kings” (1.10.65). Throughout the 1590 *Faerie Queene* race underwrites fixed, hierarchical, as well as patriarchal, social identities.

In the sixteenth century, then, race often served to mark difference not so much in terms of skin colour but along lines of social or class distinctions, distinctions determined

by one's lineage. Yet, the *OED* provides only a partial understanding of a complex term, a term that resists easy definition given that race was in the process of being invested with new meaning and voiced in diverse contexts. While race "originates as a category that hierarchically privileges a ruling status..." (Boose 36), in the early modern period it quickly began to cut across social boundaries, especially as it was articulated by non-aristocratic subjects. In the colonial milieu of Elizabethan Ireland, in particular, race was reconceptualized, and violent social practices—plantation, segregation—inspired a form of institutionalized racism.⁷ In his *A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland was Never Entirely Subdued* (1612), Sir John Davies three times uses the phrase "descended of English race" to refer to the English colonials in Ireland (70, 83, 96). If Davies uses the word "race" to denote the common stock of the English settlers, the manufacturing of Englishness and Irishness involved more than just dissimilar lines of descent. As I argued in the previous chapter, in the writings of New Englishmen "race" functions as a term of abuse when it refers to the entire Irish race and, crucially, their inherent nature.

To get a sense of how "race" could function as a term of abuse, consider the following supplementary definition of "race" in the *OED*: "Natural or inherited disposition." It is this specific denotation of "race" to which many of Shakespeare's editors turn when glossing Miranda's initial address to Caliban:

Abhorred slave,

Which any print of goodness wilt not take,

Being capable of all ill! I pitied thee,

Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour

One thing or other. When thou didst not, savage,
 Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
 A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes
 With words that made them known. But thy vile race,
 Though thou didst learn, had that in 't which good natures
 Could not abide to be with. (1.2.422-34)⁸

This is the only occurrence of the word “race” in the play, and, as Anthony Appiah suggests, “an unprepared modern reader risks misunderstanding it” (279). Miranda’s description of Caliban’s “vile race ... which good natures / Could not abide to be with” (I.ii.430-4) is *not* symptomatic of an emergent “racialist” discourse, Appiah argues, because her remark is directed only to Caliban, not to an entire race. According to Appiah, racist discourse emerges in the eighteenth century when a notion of natural or inherited disposition is mapped onto an entire people. In other words, Miranda’s lines have less to do with differences shared by an entire people and more to do with Caliban’s individual differences. But does the text not allow (invite?) readers to view Caliban—who is identified in the 1623 Folio’s list of characters as “a salvage and deformed slaue”—as a symbolic representation of an entire (colonized) people? To what extent does Appiah’s characterological reading, his sheltering of Miranda’s reference to Caliban’s “vile race” from racist discourse, inhibit the opportunity to theorize the formation of “proto-racial” discourse in early modern Britain? Miranda’s reference to Caliban’s “vile race” does more than simply mark his “individual moral incorrigibility” (Appiah 279). What Miranda gives voice to is a colonial grammar that not only demarcates but also naturalizes or

essentializes the boundaries of civility and savagery. What *The Tempest*, not to mention *The Faerie Queene* and *A View*, bears witness to is “an active and pressing but not yet fully articulated” (therefore *proto-racial*) discourse, a discourse that had a profound impact on subsequent forms of racial typology.⁹

II

Given its generic status as dynastic epic, *The Faerie Queene* (or, more accurately, the 1590 installment) is a poem in which the politics of time, space, and race are deeply embedded.¹⁰ Dynastic epic, as Andrew Fichter defines it, designates those Renaissance texts—Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata*, and Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*—that are committed to “the rise of *imperium*, the noble house, race, or nation to which the poet professes allegiance.” With Virgil’s *Aeneid* as his model, the Renaissance dynastic poet went about recovering the historical (or inventing the quasi-historical) past, a past in which “the struggle for the formation of *imperium*, the laying of geographical, genealogical, cultural, and moral foundations, takes place” (Fichter 1).¹¹ Fichter’s definition of dynastic epic, with its emphasis on ideological “struggle” as well as cultural and genealogical “formation,” draws attention to *The Faerie Queene*’s dynamic role in the production and dissemination of Elizabethan cultural identity. I want to argue that the ideological and generic legacy of dynastic epic—forging geographical, genealogical, cultural, and moral roots—is most discernible in those encomiastic moments in the poem that ostensibly celebrate its royal patron. Critical attention to the presence of laudatory

rhetoric in *The Faerie Queene* has often generated readings that perpetuate Karl Marx's well-known description of Spenser as "Elizabeth's arse-kissing poet" (305).¹² To represent Spenser as merely a sycophantic court poet seriously obscures other crucial elements of his encomia: in particular, how the poetics of praise function as a contested nexus of not only monarchical but also authorial and national identity formation. A heightened understanding of the significance of Spenser's encomia, then, must take into account the larger social implications of his encomiastic strategies.

"Western literature," Greenblatt observes, "has been one of the great institutions for the enforcement of cultural boundaries through praise and blame" (1990:226). Although Greenblatt is commenting on literature in general, his provocative remark invites a reading attentive to the ways in which Spenser's national epic—written with the explicit epideictic function "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline" (Letter to Raleigh)—played an active role in (re)defining, (re)enforcing Elizabethan social and cultural practices. In fact, it is precisely in those moments of praise and blame—moments that perform the ideological work of inclusion and exclusion—that *The Faerie Queene* manifests the constitutive power of literature. To get a sense of how the rhetoric of praise in *The Faerie Queene* lends itself to the enforcement of social and cultural boundaries, it is important to consider first the ways in which Spenser's acts of praise form, reform, and deform its subjects.

Epideictic rhetoric was a major component of the humanist education that Spenser received while attending the Merchant Taylors' School. Like most boys in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English grammar schools, Spenser would have studied Aphthonius'

Progymnasmata, a textbook in preparatory rhetorical exposition which, thanks to Reinhard Lorich's augmented edition, came into standard usage in English schools after 1546.¹³ Included among the many exercises in the *Progymnasmata* are the conventional topoi for invention of *laus*, or praise.¹⁴ The major topos of praise is *res gestae* (deeds), consisting of virtues, physical excellences, as well as gifts of fortune. Another, no less crucial component of laudatory rhetoric is *genus*, or praise through descent. Divided into *gens* (race), *patria* (native land), *maiores* (ancestors), and *patres* (parents), the rhetorical topos *genus* foregrounds the importance lineage played in fashioning the subject of praise. But by no means is *genus* an ideologically neutral delineation of the subject's genealogy. Praise through descent is frequently inflected with contemporary notions of civility and incivility, especially as these notions are mapped onto supposedly civil and uncivil races or nations. Consider, for example, Thomas Wilson's discussion of the topoi of praise in his *Arte of Rhetorique*. "[S]ome Countrey," he writes, "brengeth more honor with it, then another doth. To be a Frenche manne, descendyng of a noble house, is more honor then to be an Irishe manne; to bee an Englishe manne borne, is much more honour, then to be a Scotte" (45). Wilson's remarks remind us that early modern notions of lineage, a dominant ideology of the aristocracy, incorporated emergent articulations of national or racial groups that were underwritten by a discourse of civility. In the wake of the establishment of the English nation-state, dynastic and national allegiances were inextricably entangled in the poetics of praise.¹⁵

Praise through descent is, of course, central to the encomiastic framework of dynastic epic, itself a eulogistic genre, for it serves as the centrepiece of the construction

of a sovereign's mythical genealogy. But even well before the publication of the 1590 *Faerie Queene*, which Thomas Cain has described as "an expansion of the encomiastic topos *genus*" (111), Spenser incorporates the conventional topoi of praise into his neo-Virgilian debut as pastoral poet. The *Aprill* eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), for instance, puts the "laudable exercises" (Argument) Spenser would have learned from Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* into poetic practice. As E.K. remarks in the prefatory Argument, *Aprill* "is purposely intended to the honor and prayse of our most gracious sovereigne, Queen Elizabeth."¹⁶ Accordingly, the encomium of "fayre *Elisa*" by Colin Clout—"under whose person," E.K. writes in the Epistle, "the Authour selfe is shadowed"—involves *genus*:

For shee is *Syrinx* daughter without spotte,
Which *Pan* the shepheards God of her begot:
So sprong her grace
Of heavenly race,
No mortall blemishe may her blotte. (50-55)

In this brief moment of praise, which appeals to both *patres* and *gens*, dynastic mythmaking is interwoven with an Ovidian etiological myth to effect a mystification of the royal image.¹⁷ In the gloss, E.K. points out that "by Pan is here meant the most famous and victorious King, her highnesse Father, late of worthy memorye K. Henry the eyght." The celebration of Elisa's ancestry does not stop at Henry VIII, however. As Colin waxes eloquent on Elisa's visage, the voicing of Elizabethan ideology becomes more pronounced. In reference to Colin's description of Elisa's "angelick face" (64)—"The

Redde rose medled with the White yfere, / In either cheeke depeincten lively chere (69-70)—E.K. directs the reader to the poem's political subtext:

By the mingling of the Redde rose and the White, is meant the uniting of the two principall houses of Lancaster and Yorke; by whose longe discord and deadly debate, this realm many yeares was sore traveiled, and almost cleane decayed. Til the famous Henry the seventh, of the line of Lancaster, taking to wife the most vertuous Princesse Elisabeth, daughter to the fourth Edward of the house of Yorke, begat the most royal Henry the eyght aforesayde, in whom was the firste union of the Whyte Rose and the Redde (80-81).

The poem's production of Tudor ideology, then, is underpinned by a celebration of Elizabeth's royal lineage. Just as the *Aprill* eclogue participates in the construction of the cult of Elizabeth, it also provides Spenser with what Paul Alpers has termed a "domain of lyric," that is, a space for forging his own authorial identity. Writing in the tradition of the *rota Virgilii*, Spenser's pastoral poem proclaims the arrival of "the new Poete" (Epistle), an Elizabethan Virgil whose eulogistic pastoral augurs further praise of Elizabeth in his ensuing major poetic project, the 1590 *Faerie Queene*.

As dynastic epic, as sustained praise, *The Faerie Queene* encodes much more elaborate encomiastic strategies than Spenser's Platonic pastoral praise. One obvious instance of *genus* surfaces in Book 3, canto 3, where Merlin informs Britomart (an Elizabeth type) that "from thy wombe a famous Progenie / Shall spring, out of the auncient *Troian* blood" (22). I want to focus, however, on another instance of sustained

praise in *The Faerie Queene*, one that amplifies the rhetorical topos of *genus* by tracing the Queen's "linage" (2.2.10) well beyond Britomart and Artegall, all the way back to Trojan Brutus' arrival in Britain. I am referring to *Briton moniments*, a chronicle of British monarchs that unfolds Arthur's and, by implication, Elizabeth's "realme and race" (4). The opening lines of Book 2, canto 10 announce to the reader that the ensuing praise will consist of a heightened instance of *genus*, for the dynastic poet promises to recount "the famous auncestries / Of my most dreaded Soueraigne..." (1). In this, Spenser, like Virgil and Ariosto before him, produces a fabulous genealogy for his sovereign; in fact, the introductory lines to canto 10 rehearse Ariosto's opening lines in praise of the Este dynasty in the third canto of *Orlando Furioso* (1532).¹⁸ But just as Spenser acknowledges his indebtedness to Ariosto, his use of a nine-line stanza evinces an intention to overgo Ariosto's *ottava rima*. Spenser's encomium, moreover, overgoes Ariosto's in another significant way, one that involves not only poetic self-fashioning but also the delineation of collective identities.

While Arthur is within Eumnestes' chamber, housed in the turret of Alma's Castle, he comes across "an auncient booke, hight *Briton moniments* / That of this lands first conquest did deuize" (2.9.59). It is certainly no accident that Arthur locates a book devoted to his "countries auncestry" (60) in Eumnestes' "Librarie" (59). If Eumnestes is "a man of infinite remembrance" (66), then his library, located in the head of the allegorical body that is Alma's Castle, serves as a spatial embodiment of memory. A "moniment," from the Latin *monumentum*, is literally something that reminds, a memorial. A "moniment" could also denote something that serves to bestow identity.¹⁹ Thus, not

unlike so many other early modern texts that participated in the discursive production of Britain's inhabitants, *The Faerie Queene* turns to the past, to memory in order to forge an identity in the present.²⁰ But to what extent can Eumnestes' library be viewed as a site of *national* memory? After all, the chronicle that Arthur reads in the House of Alma concerns only the "royall Ofspring of his natiue land" (2.10.69 my emphasis). It would seem, therefore, that the chronicle concerns the identity of Britain's monarchs only. This chronicle history, however, is not simply an extended royal genealogical myth, for the identities *Briton moniments* encodes were in the process of being hammered out in early modern Ireland.

Although various historiographical sources (including "Holinshed's" *Chronicles*) inform Spenser's version of British history in *Briton moniments*, the main source from which he borrows is Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* (c. 1138).²¹ But Spenser's representation of the original conquest differs significantly from its sources, and it is expressly in its departure from these sources that *Briton moniments* participates in the construction of proto-racial identities. In order to gauge these differences, it is useful to compare Spenser's account with that of Geoffrey. Concerning Brutus's arrival in Albion, Geoffrey writes:

At this time the island of Britain was called Albion. It was uninhabited except for a few giants. It was, however, most attractive, because of the delightful situation of its various regions, its forests, and the great number of its rivers, which teemed with fish; and it filled Brutus and his comrades with a great desire to live there. When they had explored the different

districts, they drove the giants whom they had discovered into the caves in the mountains. With the approval of their leader they divided the land among themselves. They began to cultivate the fields and to build houses, so that in a short time you would have thought that the land had always been inhabited. (72)

In Geoffrey's narrative, the imperial gaze glides over the rather uneventful giants—the original inhabitants of Albion—focussing instead on the fecundity of the land. Thus, Geoffrey offers less a conquest narrative than a casual completion of a predestined *translatio imperii*. In *Briton moniments*, on the other hand, the representation of the original inhabitants is the centrepiece of this originary, climacteric moment in "British history." Indeed, a conquest narrative inaugurates British history, a narrative in which the identity of the fathers of Britain's noble race are fashioned in violent opposition to the bodies of the vanquished. Here is part of the account of Brutus's discovery that Arthur reads:

But farre in land a saluage nation dwelt,
Of hideous Giants, and halfe beastly men,
That neuer tasted grace, nor goodnesse felt,
But like wild beasts lurking in loathsome den,
And flying fast as Roebucke through the fen,
All naked without shame, or care of cold,
By hunting and by spoiling liued then;
Of stature huge, and eke of courage bold,

That sonnes of men amazd their sternnesse to behold.

But whence they sprong, or how they were begot,

Vneath is to assure; vneath to wene

That monstrous error, which doth some assot,

That *Dioclesians* fiftie daughters shene

Into this land by chaunce haue driuen bene,

Where companing with feends and filthy Sprights,

Through vaine illusion of their lust vnclene,

They brought forth Giants and such dreadfull wights,

As farre exceeded men in their immeasurd mights.

They held this land, and with their filthinesse

Polluted this same gentle soyle long time:

That their owne mother loathd their beastlinesse,

And ganne abhorre her broods vnkindly crime,

All were they borne of her owne natieue slime,

Untill that *Brutus* anciently deriv'd

From royall stocke of old *Assaracs* line,

Driuen by fatall error, here arriu'd,

And them of their vniust possession depriu'd. (7-9)

Much more the humanist antiquarian than Geoffrey, much more the Protestant New

English colonial, Spenser amplifies his representation of the “hideous Giants” with detailed descriptions of their appearance, their mode of existence, their supposed origins, their lack of “grace,” and, most importantly, their “filthinesse.”²²

In reference to the eighth stanza, some critics have drawn attention to the scepticism *Briton moniments* voices over the fabulous narratives produced to account for the origins of Albion’s supposed prehistoric giants. Commenting on the line “whence they sprong, or how they were begot, / Vneath is to assure,” Elizabeth Mazzola argues that Spenser views Geoffrey’s received narratives as “a tall tale, something even impossible to believe” (135). Turning her attention to what she regards as the “fractured history” (131) of *Briton moniments*, Mazzola represents a Spenser critical of the mystifying practices that were often embedded in Tudor historiography. Mazzola provides an illuminating reading of this episode, and I shall be returning to the fault lines evident in this “fractured history.” But to insist on Spenser’s acutely ironic historiography at the expense of the depiction of the “hideous Giants” precludes an analysis of the intense process of othering that sustains the representation of the “saluage nation.”

Despite the incredulity *Briton moniments* voices over the original inhabitants’ legitimate origins, this chronicle nevertheless devotes three whole stanzas to them. As is so often the case in both epic literature and early modern conquest narratives, the discourses of gender and sexuality are vital to the construction of the identities of the conquerors and the conquered.²³ Originating from the male seed “of old Assaracs line,” Britain’s noble race is delineated through a patrilineal line of “fathers and great Grandfathers of old” (4). Whereas Brutus is “aunciently deriv’d / From royall stocke,” the

indigenous inhabitants of Albion are figured as the monstrous offspring of ungoverned female sexuality and deviant sexual acts. In this, *Briton monuments* bears ample witness to Jonathan Crewe's reminder that racial categories "are never constructed independently of other cultural-political categories, notably those of class, sexuality, gender and nationality" (15). I would add one more category to Crewe's matrix of convergent discourses of class, gender, nation, and race: namely, a discourse of civility (and incivility), especially as it was defined within the volatile context of early modern Ireland, for a discourse of civility underpins the construction of noble and ignominious lines of descent in *Briton monuments*.

The transgressive sexual acts of "*Dioclesians* fiftie daughters," for instance, are rendered all the more transgressive because these acts involve "filthy Sprights" and "lust vnclene." Thus, it is not only lineage that underwrites the demarcation of proto-racial boundaries in *Briton monuments*, but also an emphasis on natural or inherited disposition. Indeed, the giants are "like wild beasts" precisely because of their inherent "filthinesse," precisely because they "[p]olluted" the "gentle soyle." In case further indication of the giants' incivility is required, the obscure allusion to their "unkindly crime" is revealed in Book 3, canto 9 when Paridell, rehearsing the Trojan myth, speaks of "an huge nation of the Geaunts broode, / That fed on liuing flesh, and druncke mens vitall blood'" (49).²⁴ Cannibalism, "filthinesse," "beastlinesse"—these are the cultural categories used to construct Britain's prehistoric giants. The demarcation of proto-racial identities in *Briton monuments*, therefore, is sustained by the intersection of fluid early modern notions of race, one defined in terms of (imaginary) lines of descent, the other in terms of natural or inherited disposition.

Although critical response has been far from unanimous, many Spenserians view *Briton moniments* as unqualified propaganda.²⁵ As a moment of sustained praise, *Briton moniments* seems to be, as Greenblatt says of the entire *Faerie Queene*, “wholly wedded to the autocratic ruler of the English state” (1980:174). But Spenser’s chronicle does not exactly wax eloquent on the history of “Briton kings.” Upon concluding his reading of *Briton moniments*, Arthur, the narrator claims, is “rauisht with delight” (69); however, Arthur’s response is a complete non-sequitur. Harry Berger’s summary of *Briton moniments* speaks volumes: “In the sixty-four stanzas there are perhaps eleven good kings to whom Spenser allots more than a line or two of brief praise; some nine or ten are mentioned in transit; of another nine it is merely stated that they reigned. For the rest, one inordinate example follows another: carnage, anarchy, sedition” (90).²⁶ Nevertheless, Spenserians have gone about recuperating Spenser’s chronicle.²⁷ “What we and Arthur read,” Thomas Roche writes, “is the Tudor view of history, the progress and triumph of British nationalism in the full heat and patriotism of the late sixteenth century” (45). Roche is right to insist on the nascent nationalism—if “nationalism” is the right word—in *Briton moniments*, but I would not label it British, but rather English. *Briton moniments*, to be sure, lays no claims to a homogeneous British people; it eschews any notion of purity, of original identity. As *A View* makes clear, national identities are forged through conquest and sustained by a discourse of civility.²⁸

What I am suggesting, then, is that Brutus’s conquest of the “hideous Giants” was in the process of being re-enacted in Ireland, where Spenser and his fellow New English colonials performed a Brutus-like role.²⁹ Crucial to Spenser’s refashioning of the Trojan

genealogy is the representation of proto-racial identities that underwrite Brutus's conquest of the indigenous "saluage nation" (7). The description of the giants as a "saluage nation" indubitably calls attention to Spenser's Irish experience, since, as Lisa Jardine notes, "saluage nation" is Spenser's customary phrase for Ireland in *A View* (69).³⁰ Of course the text itself invites consideration of the Irish context, and not just in Book 5. For example, before Arthur and Guyon enter Alma's Castle they are besieged by Maleger's "ragged, rude, deformd" (2.9.13) crew who, in an epic simile, are compared to gnats from "the fennes of Allan" (26). If Maleger's explicitly Irish forces represent an attack on the classical, civilized body, in Ireland this classical, civilized body was beginning to be inhabited by New English settlers of less than noble birth. Although ostensibly dedicated to the fashioning of the royal image, this passage's encomiastic strategies open a space for the articulation of a collective identity, a New English identity. The culturally constructed civil and savage identities that underpin Brutus's conquest served to legitimate, if only tentatively, Spenser's plantation in Ireland.

III

If *Briton monuments* is a "fictional" account of Elizabeth's lineage, Spenser's various inscriptions of proto-racial identities were by no means confined to the realm of "fiction." Witness, for example, the way in which historical ethnography in *A View* constructs the native peoples of the "Celtic fringe."³¹ Irenius, one of *A View*'s two interlocutors, goes to great lengths to map a dubious genealogy onto the Irish, a

genealogy that seeks to render them a “savage nation” (1). But just as *A View* goes about tracing an Irish genealogy, or, more precisely, Irish genealogies, it registers a deep scepticism towards the whole process of discovering any singular origins. For Spenser, identities emerge less from lines of descent than the customs and manners of the people.

Informing, but not determining, *A View*’s investigation into the original inhabitants of Ireland are the multiple narratives of Irish origins housed in “Holinshed’s” Irish *Chronicles*. I speak of the *Chronicles*’s multiple narratives because in Stanyhurst’s and Campion’s accounts the Irish are genealogically overdetermined. In Stanyhurst’s *Description of Ireland*, for instance, the Irish are represented as speakers of a mongrel language: part Scythian, part Egyptian, part Spanish, part Danish, even containing remnants of speech from the scattering at Babel (6). Although far from consistent in their representations of Irish origins, Tudor writings have in common an insistence on the Scythian roots of the Celtic inhabitants of the British Isles. Following Gerald of Wales’ account of the arrival in Ireland of Nemedus, the son of the Scythian Agnominus, Campion’s *Historie of Ireland* alludes to an “armie of Scythians, who made claim to [Ireland] by a title of right which they pretended from their forefather Nemodus” (76). Of course, this raises the question as to why the Scythians are figured as the first inhabitants of Ireland? What does it mean to render the Irish Scythian?

In order to answer these questions it is important first to consider representations of the Scythians in ancient Greek and Roman historiography, as well as early modern reworkings of the Scythian. In his book-length study of Herodotus’ representations of otherness, François Hartog examines the ancient Greek historian’s fascination with non-

Greeks, focussing especially on the Scythians. Hartog notes that the Greeks (Athenian city-dwellers) viewed the Scythians, who were depicted as nomads—without houses, towns, or ploughed fields—as *barbaros* (βάρβαρος).³² For the Greeks, the word *barbaros* was used to describe “one not a Greek,” “a foreigner.” In Herodotus’s text, what renders the Scythians *barbaros* is their different customs, their separate, harsh language, and their nomadic mode of existence, which is represented as an alternative to agrarian Greek culture. In fact, Scythia, as Hartog points out, was often referred to as an *eschatia*, the zone beyond a cultivated area. Crucial in this designation is the groundwork it lays for a hierarchical opposition between agrarian and nomadic cultures.

Although many Roman writers—including Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Tacitus—continued to depict the Scythians as barbarians, it cannot be taken for granted that they considered them savages. Consider, for example, Lucian’s *Toxaris*. In this dialogue between a Greek and a Scythian both speakers see themselves in contradistinction to savages (Hadfield 1997:106). In the hands of many sixteenth-century writers, however, classical comparative ethnology underwent a radical revision. The early modern period, it seems, witnessed a collapse in the distinction between barbarian and savage. In his *Description*, Stanyhurst, for instance, speaks of the “barbarous savagenesse” of the Irish (4). Whereas the Greeks deemed the Scythians *barbaros*, that is, foreign, sixteenth-century Englishmen refigured the Scythians as the *ne plus ultra* of barbarity. Erasmus provides a sense of this reformation of images of the Scythian: “The cruelty of the Scythians,” he writes in his *Adages*, “became proverbial in Greek: when they wanted to convey that something was boorish or barbarous and ferocious, they called it

‘Scythian’” (148). In his dismissal of Cordelia, King Lear explicitly attributes the act of cannibalism to the Scythians:

The barbarous
Scythian,
Or he that makes his generation messes
To gorge his appetite, shall to my bosom
Be as well neighbored, pitied and relieved
As thou my sometime daughter. (1.1.128-133)³³

In early modern refashionings of the “barbarous Scythian,” barbarousness signifies not only difference, but also culturally constructed categories of the monstrous, vile, and grotesque.

When Irenius begins “to consider from whence [the Irish] first sprung” (37) it is not surprising that he foregrounds their Scythian roots. While acknowledging that “not of one nation was [Ireland] peopled as it is, but of sundry people of different conditions and manners,” Irenius contends that the “chiefest which have first possessed and inhabited it, I suppose to be Scythians” (37).³⁴ But Irenius adamantly refuses to respect received narratives about the genealogical origins of the Irish. Eschewing “fabulous and forged” chronicles, he reinforces the cultural proximity of the Scythians and Irish by calling attention to their “likeness of manners and customs, affinity of words and names, properties of natures and uses, resemblances of rites and ceremonies, monuments of churches and tombs, and many other like circumstances” (39). In other words, *A View* fabricates the Scythian cultural roots of the Irish through an incipient form of

anthropological exploration. If *A View* marks a distinctly early modern attempt to stabilize what R.R. Davies describes as “the essential fluidity of early medieval peoples and their nomenclatures” (1995:6), it does so more along the lines of civility and savagery than genealogy.

As already noted, Herodotus opposed Greek agrarian and Scythian nomadic ways of life. Central to the early modern reinvention of the Scythian was the reinscription of an agrarian and nomadic binarism demarcated in terms of civility and savagery. In *The Fardel of Facions*, William Waterman’s 1555 English translation of Johann Boemus’ *Omnium gentium mores* (1520), the Scythians are figured as the world’s most barbarous people (“a people not tameable with any toile”) precisely because they “neither knowyng what tillage meant, ne yet hauyng any houses or cotages to dwell in [wander] vp and doune the wilde fieldes ... drivyng their cattle afore them” (3:19). We can be sure that Spenser read Boemus, for Irenius cites him while he is attempting to convince Eudoxus that “the Irish are anciently deduced from the Scythians” (59). There is one custom, Irenius claims,

amongst [the Irish] to keep their cattle and to live themselves the most part of the year in Bollies, pasturing upon the mountain and waste wild places, and removing still to fresh land as they have depastured the former days; the which appeareth plain to be the manner of the Scythians as ye may read in Olaus Magnus et Johannes Boemus.... (49)

Under the English colonial gaze, the Irish practice of “booleying” or transhumance—that is, the seasonal transfer of grazing animals to different pastures—sufficed to render the Irish

nomadic: “look you,” says Irenius, “into all countries that live in such sort by keeping of cattle, and you shall find that they are both very barbarous and uncivil ...” (158).³⁵ Once the nomadic, Scythian roots of the Irish were established, early modern readers took it for granted that the Irish were savages. Because they have inherited the cultural practices of the “barbarous” Scythians, the Irish, according to Irenius, have become “the most barbarous nation in Christendom” (43). Thus, whereas *The Faerie Queene*’s fabulous historiography traces the western movement of a noble race from the ashes of Troy to “Troynouant” (3.9.38), *A View*, in its construction of the Scythian nature of the Irish, posits a negative *translatio imperii*.

A View, then, is no mere antiquarian exploration into the origins of the Gaelic Irish. Just as Spenser’s refashioning of Geoffery’s conquest narrative points to the “filthinesse” of the giants in order to justify Brutus’s appropriation of their “unjust possession” of the land, *A View* disseminates a similar strategy of dispossession.³⁶ To claim, as Irenius does, that “the Irish are aunciently deduced from the Scythians” is not only to establish their savagery and, therefore, England’s superior civility but also to legitimize English appropriation of Irish land. Identifying Irish cultural practices with Scythian ones sets the groundwork for an ideology of conquest and a repressive colonial regime. “One reason for developing this theory of national origins,” Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass point out, “was to argue that the Irish, like Scythians, were nomads and therefore had no claim to have settled the land” (158). To be uncivilized was to be unproductive, and to be unproductive meant relinquishing one’s right to the land. By fashioning the Irish as always already a subject people, *A View* works to disguise the violence of colonial aggression.

In 1572, Sir Thomas Smith, a major figure in the plantation of the Ards, wrote in a promotional pamphlet, “no Irishman, born of Irish race and brought up Irish, shall purchase land, bear office, be chosen of any jury or admitted witness in any real or personal action, nor be bound apprentice to any science or art that may endamage the Queen Majesty’s subjects hereafter...” (qtd. in Quinn 1966:108). In her contribution to *Representing Ireland*, Lisa Jardine argues that Spenser was aware of Smith’s proposals through Gabriel Harvey, who took part in debates over the conquest and colonization of Ireland with Smith. What *A View* has in common with Smith’s proposals is the dissemination of an explicit policy of racial oppression, a policy that was soon to play a significant role in the trade in slaves and the invention of the white race.³⁷ What I have been calling proto-racial discourse, therefore, has less to do with the construction of blackness or whiteness. Instead, it involves the intersection of dubious genealogies and a discourse of civility and savagery. While early modern notions of race differ significantly from modern biological and phenotypical categories of racial difference, it is important not to downplay the connections.³⁸ Just as early modern notions of race recuperated classical and biblical processes of othering, modern theories of race are the product of other, much older discourses.³⁹ To say that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe marks a formative period in the history of racial discourse is not to collapse the difference between early modern and modern notions of race. Nor is it to argue that someone in the sixteenth century would have maintained, as *Punch* magazine did in 1849, that the Irish were “the missing link between the gorilla and the Negro” (qtd. in Lebow 40). But to insist on a strict separation between these two periods is to ignore the residue of earlier proto-racial

discourse that underpins Mr. Punch's hideous statement.

IV

Dedicated to the queen, addressing "gentle" readers, narrating the adventures of noble knights, *The Faerie Queene* images an elite culture. It is crucial, however, not to regard the poem as merely the product of a hegemonic court culture.⁴⁰ Consider, for instance, the dedication page to the 1596 edition of *The Faerie Queene*, which registers Spenser's devotion to "THE MOST HIGH, MIGHTIE And MAGNIFICENT EMPRESSE....." The dedication page indubitably displays the poem's imperial and dynastic allegiances.⁴¹ For some critics, the dedication page serves as further evidence that "Spenser was a penpusher in the service of imperialism" (Shepherd 4). New historicists and cultural materialists were not the first readers to give us a sense of an alternative Spenser. The posthumously published 1611 first Folio of his collected works, for example, heralds Spenser as "England's Arch-Poët." As this suggestive description of Spenser reveals, some seventeenth-century readers regarded Spenser as the nation's poet, not Elizabeth Tudor's. In fact, in the eyes of many disgruntled Jacobean poets, Spenser had become "a symbol of proud poetic and political independence" (Norbrook 199). Although it is important not to confuse Spenser's cultural politics with the anti-monarchic writings of Milton, the fact that *A View*, first published in 1633 in Sir James Ware's *Ancient Irish Chronicles*, was read and appropriated by seventeenth-century Englishmen, like Milton, who struggled against Britain's monarchy cannot be easily dismissed. I agree

therefore with Maley's representation of Spenser as a "reluctant royalist" (1997a:129). Of course Maley is not alone in his representation of Spenser's complex politics. In his work on the encomiastic strategies in *The Faerie Queene*, Cain, for example, draws attention to the foundering of praise in the last three books of *The Faerie Queene*. Drawing a less hard and fast division between the first three and last three books, Richard Helgerson provides perhaps the most emphatic reinterpretation of the poem. Attending to the poem's commitment to a residual feudal culture, Helgerson argues that Spenser's "chivalric romance" affords "no place for the representation of a powerfully centralized and absolutist governmental order." Helgerson does not deny that Spenser's poem ostensibly celebrates royal power; however, he does well to observe that *The Faerie Queene* "grants a high degree of autonomy to individual knights and their separate pursuits, represents power as relatively isolated and dispersed" (48). *The Faerie Queene*, according to Helgerson, embodies "the most ambitious single Elizabethan poem" not only in size but also content: that is, in its investment in "a Gothic ideology of nascent aristocratic power" (5, 59).

Nowhere in *The Faerie Queene* is the clash between "militant aristocratic autonomy" (Helgerson 50) and centralized power more pronounced than in Book 5, the Book of Justice. Having been given the task of rescuing Irena, an allegorical figure for Ireland, Artegall and his "yron man" (5.1.12) Talus are prematurely recalled to "Faerie Court" before they can "reforme that ragged common-weale" (5.12.27, 26). This thinly-veiled allegory of Lord Grey's (to whom Spenser served as secretary) frustrated and much maligned role as Lord Deputy in Ireland is accorded full voice in *A View*. One lengthy

passage in particular sheds valuable light on the oppositional, gendered politics of Book 5.

In the context of a discussion of the harsh measures needed to effect the “reformation” of Ireland, Eudoxus states:

I do now well understand you, but now when all things are brought to this pass, and all filled with these rueful spectacles of so many wretched carcasses starving, goodly countries wasted, so huge a desolation and confusion ... if it shall happen that the state of this misery, and lamentable image of things shall be told and feelingly presented to Her sacred Majesty, being by nature full of mercy and clemency, who is most inclinable to such pitiful complaints, and will not endure to hear such tragedies made of her people and poor subjects, as some about her may insinuate, then she perhaps for very compassion of such calamities, will not only stop the stream of such violence and return to her wonted mildness, but also con them little thanks which have been the authors and counsellors of such bloody platforms. So I remember that in the late government of that Lord Gray, when after long travail and many perilous assays, he had brought things almost to this pass that ye speak of, that it was even made ready for reformation ... like complaint was made against him, that he was a bloody man ... Ear was soon lent thereunto ... upon which all former purposes were blanked, the governor at a bay, and not only all that great and long charge which she had before been at quite lost and cancelled, but also all that hope of good which was even at the door put back and clean frustrate.

(105-06)⁴²

If this passage echoes the narrator's disapproval of Artegall's recall—"ere he could reforme it thoroughly ... His course of Iustice he was forced to stay" (5.12.27)—it also sheds valuable light on the ambivalent depiction of Mercilla/Elizabeth in Book 5. Many critics assume that the representation of Mercilla registers "Spenser's most explicit portrait of Elizabeth as a Christian prince" (Wells 125). Such a reading, however, elides the unsettling rhetoric that surfaces throughout canto 9, another thinly-veiled allegory: in this case the 1586 trial of Mary Queen of Scots. Consider, for instance, the depiction of Mercilla, who, after Zele (usually read as Lord Burleigh, who zealously prosecuted Mary) has condemned Duessa/Mary Stuart, is asked to pass judgement on Duessa's "punishment" (49):

But she, whose Princely breast was touched nere
 With piteous ruth of her so wretched plight,
 Though plaine she saw by all, that she did heare,
 That she of death was guiltie found by right,
 Yet would not let just vengeance on her light;
 But rather let in stead thereof to fall
 Few perling drops from her faire lampes of light;
 The which she covering with her purple pall
 Would have the passion hid, and up arose withall. (5.9.50)

The use of pleonasm in *The Faerie Queene*, Cain points out, usually functions to alert the reader's suspicion (142). When read alongside *A View's* uneasiness with the queen's

“mercy and clemency,” the reference to Mercilla’s “piteous ruth” suggests that she, not unlike Elizabeth during the trial of Mary Stuart, fails to dispense “just vengeance.”⁴³ In *A View*, “mercy and clemency” must give way to “the sword.”⁴⁴ Much has been made of the sword that lies at Mercilla’s feet, a sword “[w]hose long rest rusted the bright steely brand” (30). This rusty sword is usually read as a compliment to Elizabeth’s peaceful rule.⁴⁵ But Mercilla’s rusty sword seems less praiseworthy in light of the earlier description of Artegall as a representative of justice:

Whereof no brauer president this day
Remaines on earth, preseru’d from yron rust
Of rude obliuion, and long times decay
Then this of *Artegall*.... (5.4.2)

While Artegall is offered as a precedent, the alternative spelling here serves as a disturbing reminder to the queen that Ireland, in place of an absentee monarch, was serviced by lord presidents. In his dedicatory sonnet to Sir John Norris, Lord President of Munster, Spenser celebrates Norris as “the honor of this age. / And Precedent of all that armes ensue” (498). Arguing for the “reformation” of Ireland “by the sword,” Irenius states “by the sword I mean the royal power of the prince, which ought to stretch itself forth in *her* chief strength” (95 my emphasis).⁴⁶ Royal power “*ought to* stretch itself forth,” but throughout *The Faerie Queene* power is executed by Gloriana’s knights.⁴⁷ Perhaps it is not surprising that power is often represented synecdochically: “powre is the right hand of Iustice truly hight” (5.4.1).

Spenser’s depiction of a passive Mercilla/Elizabeth is of course informed by an

oppositional politics that emerged under and in reaction to England's neutral foreign policy, a politics often described as militant Protestantism.⁴⁸ If militant Protestantism grew out of what is referred to as the Leicester-Sidney circle, perhaps its unofficial leader, at least in the 1590s and before his disastrous campaign in Ireland, was Robert Devereux, earl of Essex. That Spenser was a supporter of Essex is evident in his *Prothalamion*, which was published the same year in which *A View* was written. Spenser honours Essex as "Great *Englands* glory and the Worlds wide wonder, / Whose dreadfull name, late through all *Spaine* did thunder" (146-47). Moreover, in *A View* Irenius speaks of the instalment of a post of "lord lieutenant" to be held by one "of the greatest personages of England (such as one I could name, upon whom the eye of all England is fixed and our last hopes now rest)" (168). Critics generally agree that "the eye of all England" is fixed on Essex.⁴⁹ Recent criticism also suggests that the homosocial New English colonial community in Ireland provided the most vocal support for a violent "reformation" of England's Irish kingdom.

Strong textual evidence suggests that Spenser's politics were informed by the Leicester-Sidney circle. But did this circle determine his politics? *The Faerie Queene*, to be sure, valorizes an ethos of militant aristocracy. But to claim, as Helgerson does, that *The Faerie Queene* entertains no "doubts concerning the aristocrat myth of natural, inborn superiority" (57) elides some of the unsettling moments in Spenser's "chivalric romance." Book 6 of *The Faerie Queene*, containing the legend of Courtesy, definitely provides ample support for Helgerson's position.⁵⁰ For instance, when Calidore initially encounters Tristram, who is fighting on foot and is dressed in "woodmans jacket," it is easily apparent

to Calidore that Tristram is “borne of noble race” (2.5). And just a few stanzas later Tristram declares himself “Briton borne, / Sonne of a King” (27). Discoveries of true, inherent nobility occur again and again in Book 6. Even the Salvage Man is “borne of noble blood” (5.2). Yet, as Michael Schoenfeldt points out, Book 6 “makes powerful but contradictory claims about whether courtesy is bestowed at birth or attained by practice” (151). The episode with the “litle babe” that Calidore rescues from the jaws of a bear reveals that courtesy is an acquired social skill:

This litle babe, of sweete and louely face,
 And spotlesse spirit, in which ye may enchace
 What euer formes ye list thereto apply,
 Being now soft and fit them to embrace;
 Whether ye list him traine in cheualry,
 Or noursle vp in lore of learn'd Philosophy. (4.35)

As this passage makes clear, the social practices of courtesy can be “enchaced,” that is literally engraved, upon this child who is represented as something of a *tabula rasa*. No doubt the training and nursing of this “litle babe” would have been achieved through conduct manuals, such as Castiglione’s *Book of the Courtier*, that ironically sought to maintain notions of true, inborn civility. But, as Schoenfeldt notes, “the very existence and immense popularity of these works belies the assertion” that nobility was innate (154). As “how to” books, conduct manuals helped pave the way for social mobility.⁵¹

Perhaps it is not surprising that Spenser himself wrote a commendatory sonnet for one such conduct manual: William Jones’ translation of Giovanni Battista Nenna’s

Nennio, or A Treatise of Nobility: Wherein is Discoursed What True Nobilitie Is, with Such Qualities as Are Required in a Perfect Gentleman (1595). Spenser's commendatory sonnet recapitulates the book's argument: namely, that there are two types of nobility and it is the reader's task to choose between them. Indeed, Spenser's sonnet echoes Nennio's pronouncement that "the nobilitie of the mind, is farre more true, and far more perfect, then the nobility of bloud conioyned with riches" (sig 96v). In favour of "hee who is simplie borne noble," Nennio promotes "he ... who of himselfe becommeth noble" (96v). Although Spenser leaves it to the reader to decide, it is not difficult to discern his choice:

Who so wil seeke by right deserts t'attaine

Unto the type of true Nobility,

And not by painted shewes and titles vaine,

Derived farre from famous Auncestrie,

Behold them both in their right visnomy

Here truly pourtray'd, as they ought to be,

And striving for termes of dignitie,

To be advanced highest in degree.

And when thou doost with equal insight see

The ods twixt both, of both then deem aright

And chuse the better of them both to thee,

But thanks to him that it deserves, behight:

To *Nenna* first, that first this worke created,

And next to *Jones*, that truely it translated. (*Shorter Poems* 774)

In this instance, “true Nobility” is something that can be acquired; it is something “t’attaine.” Exactly what “true Nobility” is is not clear; by no means is it “painted shewes and titles vaine.”⁵² What is most remarkable is this sonnet’s disdain for “famous Auncestrie.” In light of Spenser’s earlier praise of “the famous auncestries / Of my most dreaded Soueraigne....,” this sonnet takes on a note of defiance.

Inasmuch as Spenser’s commendatory sonnet valorizes nobility, albeit a specific type of nobility, it would be foolish to describe it as altogether anti-aristocratic. As Louis Montrose reminds us, “Spenser’s motives were undoubtedly to affirm his status as a gentleman rather than to assert his place in the vanguard of the bourgeoisie.” But that Spenser, the son of a merchant taylor and a student at Cambridge on the condition that he serve his gentle classmates as a “sizar,” achieved the status of a gentleman is significant. As Montrose adds, “we may see in some of the thematic preoccupations of his later poetry, adumbrations of those values and aspirations that came increasingly to characterize the lives of the middling sort and the culture of mercantile capitalism” (1996b:97). The complexity and ambivalence in Spenser’s heterogeneous writings bring into play a discourse of civility that, on the one hand, sustained an aristocratic ideology, while, on the other hand, played a crucial role in relaxing exclusive notions of race. One of the profound ironies of *The Faerie Queene* is that the social and cultural conditions that enabled its production are also redefined in the text.

V

In his Collège de France lectures of 1976, Michel Foucault sought to counter established histories of race and racial ideology by exploring “the subjugated knowledge and oppositional history embodied in seventeenth-century discourses on race” (Stoler 59).⁵³ Crucial to Foucault’s formulation is his insistence that race “has not always been what we might assume, a discourse forged by those in power, but on the contrary, a counter-narrative, embraced by those contesting sovereign power and right, by those unmasking the fiction of natural and legitimate rule” (Stoler 68-9).⁵⁴ Seventeenth-century France and England, Foucault reminded his audience, witnessed the advent of a discourse that contested “the uninterrupted character of the genealogy of kings and their power” (Stoler 76). Since the main reference point here is seventeenth-century France and England, not Elizabethan England, a Foucauldian genealogy of race cannot be mapped easily onto Spenser’s writings, and it is not my intention to do so. Instead, I cite these remarks in closing for they bring into play the cultural contradictions that resonate throughout Spenser’s complex writings.

Indeed, Foucault’s cogent reflections on race invite us to read the inscription of proto-racial identities in both *The Faerie Queene* and *A View* as more than simply state propaganda, more than a monolithic discourse that catered to the interests of the sovereign state only. When read in relation to *A View*, and the contested cultural politics of Books 5 and 6, *Briton monuments* can be interpreted as opening a discursive space for the reformation of a relatively more inclusive racial identity. If *Briton monuments* does not

(could not?) decisively disseminate a discourse that contested “the uninterrupted character of the genealogy of kings and their power,” it explicitly reminds its readers that the fabled Tudor lineage was indeed interrupted. Precisely half way through the chronicle, the end of Brutus’ line is announced in no uncertain terms:

Here ended *Brutus* sacred progenie,
Which had seuen hundred yeares this scepter borne,
With high renownme, and great felicitie;
The noble braunch from th’antique stocke was torn
Through discord, and the royall throne forlorne:
Thenceforth this Realme was into factions rent,
Whilest each of *Brutus* boasted to be borne,
That in the end was left no monument
Of *Brutus*, nor of Britons glory auncient. (xxxvi)

What lies beneath the surface of *Briton monuments* manifests itself in one extant manuscript of *A View* that explicitly rejects the stories told by “our vayne Englyshemen” of “the tale of Brutus, whome they devise to haue firste conquered and inhabited this lande”⁵⁵ Written at the close of the sixteenth century, this in itself is not a radical statement. When read against the conquest narrative in *Briton monuments*, however, this piece of revisionist historiography draws attention the emergence of a proto-racial discourse that, on the one hand, brutally repressed and excluded the Irish, and, on the other hand, enabled upwardly mobile New Englishmen to appropriate, to inhabit a discourse of civility and thereby loosen fixed, hierarchical social identities.

NOTES

1. The two epigraphs that open this essay are taken from Thomas McFarland's "Coleridge" entry in *The Spenser Encyclopedia* 171.

2. For a volume of essays that brings together the work of historians and literary historians, see *Spenser and Ireland: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Two articles that explicitly foreground the *domains* of history and geography in Spenser's writing are Paul Alpers' "Pastoral and the Domain of Lyric in *The Shepheardes Calender*," and Louis Montrose's "Spenser's Domestic Domain: Poetry, Property, and the Early Modern Subject." These important articles at once initiate and respond to "a call for a critical articulation of Elizabethan literary forms and conventions with Elizabethan ideologies and social practices" (Montrose 1996b:94).

3. In the early decades of this century, a group of American scholars—including Rudolf Gottfried, Raymond Jenkins, and Roland Smith—assembled valuable archival studies of Spenser's stay in Ireland. 1997 witnessed the publication of four important books dedicated wholly or in part to the burgeoning field of study of "Spenser and Ireland": Maley's *Salvaging Spenser*, Hadfield's *Spenser's Irish Experience*, Highley's *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland*, and David J. Baker's *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the Question of Britain*. Informed by postcolonial theory, interrogating questions of cultural identity and poetic authority, these four books mark a significant contribution to and redirection of Spenser scholarship.

4. Hadfield has recently remarked that Spenser's work "is defined by the Tudors' attempt to expand their boundaries and unify a nebulously conceived ideal of Britain, as well as exploit and subdue other nations and cultures" (Hadfield 1997:12).

5. In volume one of *The Invention of the White Race*, Theodore Allen makes a crucial distinction between *racial* and *national* oppression: "In the system of racial oppression, social control depends upon the denial of the legitimacy of social distinctions within the oppressed group. In the system of national oppression, social control depends upon the acceptance and fostering of social distinctions within the oppressed group" (241, n.11). Unlike *national* oppression, then, *racial* oppression flattens social or class boundaries: under *racial* oppression customs, manners, habits, identities are mapped onto an entire people. Although Irenius, one of *A View*'s interlocutors, acknowledges the existence of Irish chieftains, the Gaelic Irish are figured as a homogeneous social group within the economy of *A View*'s plans for "reformation." Allen briefly mentions Spenser in his study—"Within the walls of the port city of Cork, Edmund Spenser, the promised Sheriff of Cork, 'mused full sadly in his sullen mind' upon the ruin of the English plantation" (60)—but his comments, as this passage suggests, are less than informative.

6. See Raymond Williams' entry under "Racial" in his *Keywords*, 248-50.

7. Perhaps I should quote Boose at length, since her brief reference to *A View* is essential to my argument: "If 'race' originates as a category that hierarchically privileges a ruling status and makes the Other(s) inferior, then for the English the group that was first to be shunted into this discursive derogation and thereafter invoked as almost a paradigm of inferiority was not the black 'race'—but the *Irish* 'race.' In tracts such as Spenser's *A*

View of the Present State of Ireland, the derogation of the Irish as ‘a race apart’ situates racial difference within cultural and religious categories rather than biologically empirical ones” (36). This emphasis on cultural and religious differences is an important corrective to Hodgen’s attempt to bracket such categories from early modern discourse on race. It should be noted, however, that Boose’s placing of “a race apart” within quotation marks is misleading, since this phrase never occurs in *A View*.

8. Barbara Mowat and Paul Werstine’s New Folger Library edition of *The Tempest*, for example, glosses “race” as “inherited disposition” (38).

9. This quotation is from Williams’ discussion of emergent discourse, which “is in effect a *pre-emergence*” (1977:126). For a similar challenge to Appiah’s thesis that racist discourse originates in the eighteenth century, see Kim Hall’s *Things of Darkness*, esp. 3–4, n.7, and 13, n.15. Whereas Hall focuses on representations of phenotypical difference in early modern England—in particular, discourse on Africa and the New World—my analysis of proto-racial identities attends to the ways in which the New English emphatically asserted not only religious but also cultural and somatic differences in an attempt to distinguish themselves from the Old English and the Gaelic Irish. This is not to say that discourse on “blackness” never surfaces in early modern English discourse on the Irish. In fact, in *The Supplication of the Blood of the English Most Lamentably Murdered in Ireland...*, the anonymous author likens the Irish to Moors: “They are blacke Moores o Queene, wash them as long as you will, you shall never alter their hue. Yore mercy will not change their manners; yore benefitts be they never soe aboudantly powred upon them, will never wash away the corruption of their nature” (60).

10. I am not suggesting that *The Faerie Queene* is only and unequivocally a dynastic epic. As Richard McCabe points out, “Spenser’s attitude to the cultural duties of conquest is largely responsible for transforming a national epic into a colonial romance” (80). How one classifies the generic status of *The Faerie Queene* surely informs, perhaps determines, one’s approach to the text. The fact that Spenser’s major poem has been labelled a “dynastic epic,” a “chivalric romance,” a “national epic,” a “heroic epic,” and “an epic romance” calls attention to not simply its status as a *genera mixta*, but also its complex configurations of cultural authority and identity. Whether we label Spenser’s allegorical poem a chivalric romance (as Helgerson does), or see it as “a self-consciously experimental poem which clearly aims to go beyond previously accepted generic boundaries” (Hadfield 1997:116), the powerful traces of the ideological and generic legacy of dynastic epic, especially in the 1590 installment, should not be overlooked.

11. Whereas Fichter speaks of the “laying of geographical, genealogical, cultural, and moral foundations” in the past tense, I want to emphasize how Spenser’s major poem takes part in the Elizabethan (re)writing of these foundations.

12. The German text reads “der Elizabeths Arschkissende Poet.” Commenting on the epideictic nature of the poem, Robin Headlam Wells argues that “Spenser’s general intention may be summed up ... as being to praise Elizabeth by presenting her with a portrait of an ideal ruler—a portrait which she would recognize as her own, but which would at the same time serve as a pattern of conduct for her courtiers” (5). Similarly, Heinrich Plett’s entry under “epideictic” in *The Spenser Encyclopedia* suggests that the “purpose of Spenser’s courtly epideixis is the creation of an ideology that confirms

Elizabeth as the ideal ruler of an elect nation” (24). As I shall argue, such statements ignore the lack of praise, indeed the presence of dyslogia, in the latter books of *The Faerie Queene* and the *Mutabilitie Cantos*.

13. According to Donald Leman Clark, Aphthonius’ *Progymnasmata*, which was printed at least 73 times from 1546 to 1689, was “the most popular textbook for rhetoric in the grammar schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries” (261).

14. Much of my information on the topoi of praise comes from Thomas Cain’s invaluable study, *Praise in The Faerie Queene*; see especially the opening chapter.

15. David Lee Miller supplies a wonderful description of the historicity of the “ideological investments and the radical productiveness of Spenser’s text.” “*The Faerie Queene*,” he argues, “reflects a poetics of incorporation that could have been formulated only *after* the Reformation in England had hastened the long-term process through which the national state assumed the role of preeminent corporate in political life, and *before* the idea of the state had detached itself from the person of the monarch” (17). On the epic’s liminal position in early modern England, Linda Gregerson writes “[t]he epic, poetry’s most public genre, is also an effort to imagine a nation, to construct a model for the intersection of subject–political subject–and state” (4). For Gregerson, Spenser’s epic, unlike Milton’s, leans more towards the state: *The Faerie Queene*, she writes, “is a virtual manifesto for imperialist monarchy” (5). This chapter marks an attempt to pull Spenser in the other direction, towards the dissident, colonial New English subject.

16. All references to Spenser’s shorter poems are from *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*.

17. See Cain 16-18 and Montrose 1986:321.

18. Even more indebted to Ariosto is the third canto of Book 3, where Merlin traces Elizabeth's *genus* to Britomart and Artegall. This reproduces Merlin's prophecy of Bradamante and Ruggiero as the founders of the Este dynasty. See Cain 125.

19. In the Bower of Bliss canto, Verdant's identity, for example, would have been discernible by the "old moniments" on his "braue shield"—would have been, had these "moniments" not been "fowly ra'st" (2.12.79).

20. As in the Irish *Chronicles*, memory and forgetting are crucial to questions of identity in *A View*. Twice in Spenser's dialogue, Eudoxus asks how it is possible that the Old English could possibly forget their "own nature," "their own country and their own names" (48, 64). Surely the haunting example of the "degenerate" Old English informs Spenser's insistence on the preservation of cultural memory in both *The Faerie Queene* and *A View*. Not surprisingly, Irenius insists that the Irish subject should "learn to forget his Irish nation" (156).

21. For a detailed account of these sources, see Carrie Harper 38-47.

22. The literature on "giants" and the "gigantic" is itself enormous. I have found Susan Stewart's general musings on "The Gigantic" in her *On Longing* particularly valuable. "The giant," she writes, "is a mixed category; a violator of boundary and rule; an overabundance of the natural and hence an affront to cultural systems" (73). But rather than placing Spenser's giants in a universal framework, I want to stress the historical and cultural specificity of his representation. Although Stewart does not mention Spenser's "hideous Giants," she does cite the stanza on Orgolio's lineage (1.7.8).

23. For an informative account of epic constructions of the identities of the conquerors and the conquered, see David Quint's discussion of the series of binary oppositions that demarcate the forces of the East and the West in the *Aeneid*, esp. 23-25. In early modern rhetorical manuals, gender oppositions are inscribed within accounts of the topoi of praise. Consider, for example, the following passage from Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*: "To bee borne a manchild, declares a courage, gravitie, and constancie. To be borne a woman, declares weakenes of spirite, neshenes of body, and sikilnesse of mynde" (46). The discourses of gender and sexuality are also vital to the *loss* of masculine identity in *The Faerie Queene*. Witness the account of Talus' negation and effeminization of Braggadocchio's knighthood and masculinity: "First he his beard did shaue, and fowly shent: / Then from him reft his shield, and it renuerst, / And blotted out his armes with falshood blent, / And himselfe baffuld, and his armes vnherst, / And broke his sword in twaine, and all his armour sperst" (5.4.37). If the erasure of Braggadocchio's (false) arms serves to disnoble him, the shaving of his beard and the breaking of his phallic sword represents an act of emasculation. Talus' public shaming of Braggadocchio involves the stripping of both his manhood and (false) nobility.

24. Miller comments on the interrelating histories (195).

25. Many critics point out that by tracing the origins of Elizabeth's "realme and race" to Brutus, *Briton moniments* reinscribes the legitimating, mystifying narratives produced for the Tudor dynasty: see, for example, Cain 115-22 and Richard Waswo 554-58. Waswo's perceptive reading of the representation of Brutus's arrival in *Briton moniments* has influenced my approach to this episode; however, I do not share Waswo's

rather reductive view that Spenser “gladly assumed” the task of glorifying “the reign of Elizabeth, down to the last details (in Book 5) of her foreign policy” (547).

26. New Critical readings of *Briton moniments* traditionally read this poetic chronicle as either a providential narrative or a lesson in temperance. Working under the auspices of E.M.W. Tillyard’s account of Renaissance historiography, Harry Berger has remarked that *Briton moniments* presents the “great historical quest of mankind ... in which the aristocracy of the world—Assaracs line—seeks unconsciously *to find, to possess*, to make available to Everyman the Word of God” (101 my emphasis). Although this is an ahistorical reading, Berger’s emphasis on *finding* and *possessing* calls attention to the ideologically charged context in which Spenser wrote the bulk of his poem.

27. I agree with critics, such as Montrose and Maley, who suggest that recuperating or, to borrow Maley’s phrase, “salvaging” Spenser needs to go beyond condemning the poet for his “racist/misogynist/elitist/imperialist biases” (Montrose 1996b:122). This is particularly true of Spenser’s genealogies. “The search for descent is not the erecting of foundations,” Foucault writes, “on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself” (147). Although Spenser is no proto-Foucauldian, his genealogies destabilize pure, original identities by calling attention to their cultural constructedness, their hybridity.

28. Nowhere is this more evident than in Spenser’s prose dialogue, which celebrates William the Conqueror as an exemplary civilizing figure. Before the arrival of William, “the English were ... as stout and warlike a people as ever were the Irish.” After

the Norman Conquest, the English were “brought” to “civility” (11). Further on in *A View* the reader is reminded that “it is but even the other day since England grew civil” (67).

29. In Book 5, Grantorto, who oppresses Irena, is described as a “hideous” “Giant” (12.15).

30. Of course Spenser had a number of such customary phrases for the Irish; still, Jardine is right to insist on Ireland’s presence throughout *The Faerie Queene*. Joan Warchol Rossi also comments on the parallels between *Briton moniments* and *A View*: Spenser, she writes, “clearly sees the Irish as an unregenerate race, somewhat like his giants” (51). But Rossi concludes by stating that *Briton moniments* “presents a concept of Temperance that reconciles the triumphant, mythical virtue of Elizabeth-Gloriana with the demands of practical Governance that Elizabeth Tudor so successfully met” (58). Again, I want to worry the common assumption that Spenser unequivocally affords Elizabeth such adulation.

31. Following his various sources, Spenser posits a common descent for the non-Lowland Scots and Ulster Irish: “the wild Scots,” Irenius claims, “are indeed the very natural Irish” (59). For a fascinating reading of Spenser’s concern with the “Irish Scot,” see Maley’s chapter “The *View* from Scotland: Combing the Celtic Fringe” in his *Salvaging Spenser*. In *Briton moniments*, the island of Britain is named Albion by Brutus, and it became an island by being severed from “the *Celticke* mayn-land” (5). The Brutus myth, it seems, appealed to English poets and historians in part because it left no room for a common Anglo-Irish ancestry.

32. All Scythian cultural practices, Hartog notes, are interpreted in relation to their

Greek homologues: Greek practices function as “absent models” that provide means of interpreting Scythian otherness. English constructions of Irish alterity, therefore, have much in common with classical ethnography.

33. The New Folger Library edition of *King Lear* supplements these lines with an illustration (from Conrad Lycosthenes’ *Prodigiorum ...* [1557]) of a “Scythian” roasting a decapitated human corpse on a spit (22). In *The Elizabethan Expansion of England* (1955), a belated product of Elizabethan colonial ideology, A.L. Rowse tells an anecdote about the O’Byrnes and O’Tooles invading the English Pale while the English forces were absent; the “invaders” once nearly caught Archbishop Loftus in his house; “if they had caught him,” Rowse speculates, “they would certainly have roasted *him*” (98).

34. As Andrew Hadfield points out, two of the classical sources cited by Spenser—Strabo and Diodorus Siculus—“supplied ample evidence of the barbarian nature of the Irish. Both make the Scythian connection [with the Irish] explicit” (1997:102).

35. In his *History and Topography of Ireland*, Gerald anticipates sixteenth-century representations of the Irish: “While man usually progresses from the woods to the fields, and from the fields to settlements and communities of citizens, this people despises work on the land, has little use for the money-making of towns, condemns the rights and privileges of citizens, and desires neither to abandon, nor lose respect for, the life which it has been accustomed to lead in the woods and countryside” (101-02). Not surprisingly, *Briton monuments*’ “hideous Giants” lived “[b]y hunting and by spoiling” (7). Again, A.L. Rowse stakes a strong claim to being hailed as the last of the Elizabethans: “In the intensely Celtic North,” he writes of Ireland, “it was the habit to draw the blood of living

animals and make meat of it, as the pastoral Scythians did of old" (104).

36. See Waswo 556. It is important to note that *Briton monuments* records a traditional British claim, deriving from Geoffrey (101), that King Gurguntius—"Gurgunt" in Spenser—"gaue to fugitiues of *Spayne* ... A seate in *Ireland* safely to remayne, / Which they should hold of him, as subject to *Britayne*" (41).

37. I borrow the phrase "invention of the white race" from the title of Allen's sociological work on the formation of racial discourse in early modern Ireland and America.

38. As Christian Delacampagne observes, "racist discourse as we have known it in Europe since the nineteenth century, did not appear ex nihilo" (83).

39. For an intelligent and suggestive analysis of early modern colonial appropriations of Biblical processes of othering, see Paul Stevens' "'Leviticus Thinking' and the Rhetoric of Early Modern Colonialism" and "Spenser and Milton on Ireland: Civility, Exclusion, and the Politics of Wisdom." Although my work attends to the ideological and generic legacy of dynastic epic and the politics of early modern historical ethnography, I am indebted to Stevens' study of "the complex ways in which the secular discourse of civility was inflected, underwritten and insured by the colonial imperatives in Scripture" (1995:153).

40. Dominick LaCapra argues that the relation of elite to hegemonic culture is not a foregone conclusion. "It is misleading," he writes, "simply to conflate hegemonic with elite culture because this conflation occludes the problematic degree to which there may be critical or contestatory tendencies in elite culture itself" (137).

41. For a brilliant reading of the way in which the power relations between ruler and subject, poet and patron are “graphically manifested” on the respective dedication pages of the 1591 and 1596 editions of *The Faerie Queene*, see Montrose 1996b:87. Montrose’s attention to “the heterogeneous and sometimes contradictory inscriptions of Elizabethan ideology in the Spenserian text” (1996b:93-94) has informed my understanding of Spenser’s works.

42. One of the three short prose tracts collected as “A Brief Note of Ireland (1598?),” which was written in the wake of the destruction of the Munster plantation (October 1598), expresses similar sentiments about the queen’s vacillations; indeed, the language is quite similar to that of *A View*: “But our feare is leste your Maiestes wonted mercifull minde should againe be wrought to your wonted milde courses and perswaded by some milde meanes either of pardons or protections” (*Variorum* 9:242). Although this tract, with the heading “To the Queene,” is included in the *Variorum Prose*, whether it is the work of Spenser is not certain. A manuscript, in a seventeenth-century hand, in the Public Record Office (State Papers 63.202, Part 4, item 59) is endorsed as “*A briefe discourse of Ireland. By Spencer*”; however, as Ciaran Brady notes, it remains “among the most doubtful of writings attributed to Spenser” (*Sp. Enc.* 111). That this petition to the queen and *A View* employ such strikingly similar language to describe Elizabeth’s “wonted mildness,” suggests that Spenser may well have been the author of the former text.

43. Cain suggests that Spenser’s depiction of Mercilla is a parody of “the emblem of Iustitia blindfolded to show impartiality” (142). Elizabeth’s vacillations in the face of the Parliament’s attempt to persuade her to condemn Mary are well documented; as J.E.

Neale notes, Elizabeth responded to Parliament's continuous pleas with "an answerless" (280).

44. In *A View*, William the Conqueror is presented as an exemplary figure precisely because he was able to "overawe the subjects with the terror of his sword" (11). I am not suggesting that *A View* is a celebration of ruthless bastards. Irenius notes that Lord Grey "oftentimes ... suffered not *just vengeance* to fall where it was deserved and even some of those which were afterwards his accusers had tasted too much of his mercy." "But," Irenius adds, "his course was indeed this that he spared not the heads and principals of any mischievous practice or rebellion" (106-07 my emphasis). In other words, when the situation called for it Grey acted with *virtù*. "Machiavelli's *Prince*," writes Timothy Reiss, "had long since written male/female violence into the reason of state itself, describing how the masculine *virtù* essential to the efficient ruler of a new state had to learn to take female *Fortuna* by force" (106). See also Book 5, canto 2, where Artegall "did rew" Munera's plight, but "for no pittie would he change the course / Of Iustice" (25, 26).

45. William Nelson contends that Mercilla's rusty sword "represents a power the potentiality of which is enough to keep the peace" (51). Jane Aptekar argues that "Mercilla is even equipped with exactly the rusty sword which—as appears from evidence of one of Elizabeth's own poems—was the queen's personal emblem of her peaceful reign" (16).

46. The author of "A Brief Note of Ireland" notes that Elizabeth has "hitherto made [her] selfe through all the worlde a gloriouse example of mercie and Clemencye...." The use of the past tense is not insignificant, especially since the queen is "*nowe*" (my

emphasis) admonished to enforce “the terror of [her] wrath in avengement of there [i.e. the Irish] continuall disloyalltie and disobedience...” (*Variorum* 9:241). That Irenius uses the word “prince” to refer to Elizabeth suggests that *A View*, not unlike *The Faerie Queene* (witness the female knight of Chastity, Britomart), affords a place for female rulers that would act in a virtuous, that is manly, fashion. Elizabeth, Leah Marcus points out, effectively manipulated sixteenth-century gender constructions: “She had no objection to the term *queen* and used it herself throughout her reign. But more habitually, she referred to herself as *prince*. The word’s most basic sixteenth-century meaning was ruler, especially male ruler.... The equivalent female term was *princess*. But although Queen Elizabeth was frequently called ‘princess’ in the early years of her reign and used the word herself, with the passing of time that feminine epithet tended to disappear in favor of the more masculine *prince*. *Princess* was quite often, in the queen’s own later usage, a term of disparagement applied to discredited female monarchs like Mary Queen of Scots. In her policy statements weighing the fate of the deposed Scottish ‘princess’ Mary, Elizabeth calls herself ‘prince’” (56).

47. I find Jean Brink’s rejection of the idea that *A View* was suppressed persuasive; however, I disagree with her theory of the unfinished state of Spenser’s text. If Spenser, writes Brink, “actually wished to influence English policy in Ireland, he would have included long diplomatic passages praising the queen and might even have tempered his criticism of the English colonial administration” (213). In assuming that *A View* should praise the queen, Brink underestimates Spenser’s opposition to his sovereign’s Irish policies. Further discussion of the (alleged) censorship and the authorship of *A View* is

provided by Maley (1997a:163-94) and Hadfield (1997:78-84), although Hadfield's claim that "Spenser's dialogue was the only analytic, exhortatory work on Ireland entered into the Stationers' Register during Elizabeth's reign" (82) seriously underestimates the affective power of John Hooker's *The Conquest of Ireland*.

48. Sir Philip Sidney's reference to "idle England" (62) in his *Defence of Poetry* is generally read as a complaint about England's neutral foreign policy. Of course Philip's father, Henry, served as the Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Philip wrote his "Discourse on Irish Affairs" (1577), of which only an incomplete holograph manuscript survives, in support of his father. Not unlike most of the New English, Philip was a champion of force rather than persuasion, as the following passage from his "Discourse" reveals: "until by time they find the sweetness of due subjection, it is impossible that any gentle means should put out the fresh remembrance of their lost liberty. And that the Irishman is that way as obstinate as any nation, with whom no other passion can prevail but fear, besides their story which plainly paints it out, their manner of life wherein they choose rather all filthiness, than any law, and their own consciences who best know their own natures, give sufficient proof of it" (11).

49. See Norbrook 143.

50. It is often assumed that Book 6 marks a retreat from the harsh reality of Book 5, a pastoral retreat from the public to the private realm. Yet, Book 6 contains some of the bloodiest episodes in *The Faerie Queene*. "Courtesy," as Norbrook argues, "needs to be supplemented by violence" (152). Anticipating Helgerson's argument, Norbrook notes that "the insistence on nobility, like the violence, is a generic feature of the romances

Spenser is imitating in Book 6, but it seems also to reflect an increasing rigidity in Spenser's social thought. As defender of a bastion of English culture in a threatening milieu, he identifies very strongly with the ruling élite in his anxiety to differentiate himself from the idolatrous Catholic masses" (144). Both Norbrook and Helgerson put forth persuasive arguments, but my approach to Spenser's contribution to the politics of chivalric romance has more in common with Richard McCoy. "Spenser's devotion to the major figures and ideals of Elizabethan chivalry," he writes, "was qualified by a surprising skepticism toward many of its pretensions" (132).

51. In the previous chapter I spoke of Hooker's *Conquest* as a how-to manual, and I drew attention to its explicit intention to fashion, in Raleigh, a colonial gentleman. It is crucial to note, however, that Hooker qualifies nobility: "It is a noble thing to be borne of noble ancestors (as Aristotle saith) but his nobilitie faileth, when his ancestors vertues in him faileth" (108). This sense of conditional nobility runs throughout Spenser's oeuvre.

52. These lines echo an earlier pronouncement in *The Teares of the Muses* (1591) on "mightie Peeres" who "onely boast of Armes and Auncestrie" (80, 94). Montrose astutely describes Spenser's shorter poems as "a set of counter-generic reflections upon the heroic poem..." (1996b:87).

53. Although the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* contains some passing remarks on race, Foucault's most sustained (and relatively unnoticed) engagement with the discourse of race appears in his Collège de France lectures of 1976. My information on Foucault's treatment of race comes from the third chapter of Ann Laura Stoler's *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of*

Things. As Stoler notes, Foucault's lectures were only published once, in the pirated (hence, "quickly taken off the market") Italian edition, *Difendere la società* (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1990). The quotations from Foucault that appear in Stoler's book "are derived from a translation of the Italian text" (57, n.6). Foucault's lectures are available on "scratchy cassette recordings" at the Saulchoir library, but these cassettes, Stoler points out, cannot be quoted (56-57).

54. "Foucault's concern is not the changing meaning of race," Stoler points out, "but the particular discourses of power with which it articulates and in which it is reconceived" (68).

55. The MS. is housed the Public Record Office (S.P.Ir.202.pt.4.58). Renwick's edition of *A View* prints this variant passage, see 197. See also, Hadfield and Maley's *Edmund Spenser: A View of the State of Ireland. From the first printed edition (1633)*

44.

CHAPTER 3

“Our inland”: Cultural Anxiety in *Henry V*

While Old and New English colonials were engaged in a discursive struggle for English identity and a violent fight over property and political power in Ireland, on the outskirts of London representations of Britain’s heterogeneous, intermingling, and warring cultures were being displayed in the newly erected public theatres. The history play in particular served as a crucial public forum in which English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh figures were made to speak and act through the bodies and in the material props of London’s all-male players.¹ This chapter focuses on the British problem as it is enacted in *Henry V*, but by no means does it mark a turning away from the first two chapters. Despite obvious generic differences, not to mention geographical positions in which they were produced, Shakespeare’s history plays have much in common with “Holinshed’s” Irish *Chronicles*, as well as Spenser’s ambivalent representations of royal power. Of course Shakespeare borrowed from the English and Scottish sections of the *Chronicles*, so there is a strong possibility that he read the Irish section. But I am less interested in how Shakespeare reworked his source material than the way in which the *Chronicles*’ concern with the nation’s past, with cultural memory, with contested borders and hostile

neighbours plagues Shakespeare's "national" history plays, particularly *Henry V*.

In that *Henry V* dramatizes a past conflict between England and France, it is on the surface a decidedly anti-French, anti-Catholic play. But as many of the play's editors and interpreters, especially recently, have pointed out, the anachronistic inclusion of an Irish and a Scottish captain in Henry's army calls attention to the early modern British context informing the play's cultural politics.² Prompted by the fifth-act Chorus's allusion to "the general of our gracious empress ... from Ireland coming, / Bringing rebellion broached on his sword" (5.Chor.31-33), Shakespeareans have long been aware of the play's concern with the late Elizabethan Anglo-Irish war raging in Ireland at the time of the performance.³ Given the four direct references to "Ireland," the threat of Scottish invasion voiced in Act 1, scene 2, and Fluellen's unsettling malapropisms,⁴ *Henry V* indubitably invites a reading attentive to the question of Britain: that is, not only England but also its "giddy [Celtic] neighbor[s]" (1.2.151). "[V]arious peoples and nations, ethnic cultures, social structures, and locally defined communities," J.G.A. Pocock writes, "which have from time to time existed in the area known as 'Great Britain and Ireland,' have not only acted so as to create the conditions of their several existences but have also interacted so as to modify the conditions of one another's existence and ... there are processes here whose history can and should be studied" (1982:317). This chapter, therefore, examines inscriptions of Englishness in the play fully attentive to the historical and cultural context of an expanding English polity that included an incorporated Wales, an intractable Ireland, and an encroaching Scotland.⁵ To locate English state and identity formation in *Henry V* within the framework of a plural history of the British Isles is to examine early modern

Englishness not as a pre-given, originary identity, but as an identity “in the process of being made” (Bhabha 1990:3).⁶

To foreground the play’s British politics is not to lose sight of the domestic context—as I shall argue the boundaries between domestic and foreign are blurred throughout the play. Performed at the close of the sixteenth century, *Henry V*’s anxious articulations of national and cultural identity are typical of so many English texts written in the 1590s, a period of intense self-definition for an expanding English state. “O England, model to thy inward greatness, / Like little body with a mighty heart” (16-17) proclaims the second-act Chorus. Military victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588 marked a signal moment in the brief history of the nascent English nation-state, but in the 1590s Elizabethans had less cause for celebration. With rampant plague, poor harvests (1594-97, with 1596 a dearth year), an increase in vagrancy and social instability, the threat of a second Armada, an aging, childless queen, and the outbreak of the Nine Years War in Ireland, it is not surprising that historians speak of the closing decade of the sixteenth century in terms of the “crisis of the 1590s.”⁷ The monumental socio-economic changes—the gradual shift from feudalism to capitalism, religious reformation, an emergent British polity—that fostered social mobility and put in place incipient, interweaving discourses on the self and the nation also brought with them a traumatic dislocation of personal and collective identities. *Henry V* is very much a product of the enabling as well as the unsettling conditions of shifting social, cultural, and political identities in the 1590s.

“In Tudor England,” writes Robert Weimann in *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater*, “those who upheld the independence of the nation supported the

sovereignty of the crown; its authority was accepted not only against the claims of the Roman church but also in the face of domestic unrest and foreign invasion" (166). This is a standard narrative of the symbiotic rise of the new monarchy and the English nation-state, a narrative in which *Henry V*—described by one critic as “the greatest patriotic propaganda play in the world’s literature”(Borinski 842)—has often been absorbed. But such a straightforward formulation elides crucial questions that the play foregrounds. Since “Tudor England” included Wales and Ireland, where does one draw the line between “domestic unrest” and “foreign invasion”? The Spanish Armada was no doubt a “foreign invasion”; the earl of Tyrone’s “rebellion,” which was aided by the Spaniards, was viewed by the English as “domestic unrest.”⁸ Moreover, “the sovereignty of the crown” at the time of the play’s performance, as Essex’s revolt would soon make clear, should not be held as a given.

To make sense of these complexities, to historicize the play’s strained representation of England’s monarch, it is important to recall the liminal position in which the multinational state was imagined at the time of the play’s production. In the early modern period, a nascent nationalist discourse was caught in between what Benedict Anderson describes as “older imaginings” of the dynastic realm and discursive constructions of a nation-state made possible by newly mapped national boundaries, attempts to forge a standardized language and national literature, the writing of a common history, and an emphatic insistence on English cultural superiority. That is, representations of collective identity emerged from within the interstices of a residual “older imagining” that remained powerfully present in the sixteenth century. In the wake

of the defeat of the Armada, for instance, Queen Elizabeth's virginal monarchic body functioned as an emblem of England's sovereignty and collective identity.⁹ By staging the actions of a medieval king, *Henry V* returns to an age in which, to quote Anderson, "states were defined by centres, borders were porous and indistinct, and sovereignties faded imperceptibly into one another" (19). Throughout Shakespeare's dramatization of Henry's reign, however, England is imagined less as a medieval kingdom than a nation-state with demarcated, though permeable, borders. Described by the Bishop of Canterbury as "Our inland," England is precariously delimited by "the pilfering borderers,"¹⁰ "th'ill neighborhood" (1.2.148, 160) circumscribing it.¹¹ As the king's imperial ambitions force the inland's inhabitants outwards, however, fears about cultural hybridity haunt the play, as is evident in the play's uneasy inscriptions of a heterogeneous British linguistic community—the various speakers of "broken English" (5.2.255). But before exploring the question of England's tenuous borders and tainted tongues and bodies in *Henry V*, I want to begin by turning my attention to the theatre's position on the margins of London and some of the marginal, indeed marginalised, English figures in the play.

I

Thomas Nashe's brief defence of plays in his *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil* (1592) remains one of the most compelling contemporary accounts of the ideological and cultural uses of early modern drama. The centrepiece of Nashe's defence

is historical drama, which he applauds for resurrecting the “valiant acts” of England’s forefathers. “What a glorious thing it is,” Nashe writes, “to have Henry the Fifth represented on the stage, leading the French king prisoner, and forcing both him and the Dolphin [Dauphin] to swear fealty” (113). This reference to an earlier performance of “Henry the Fifth” has not been lost on scholars of Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre, especially readers of the First Folio version of Shakespeare’s *The Life of Henry the Fifth*. In fact, Nashe’s patriotic pronouncements on historical drama often preface critical discussions attentive to the affective force of *Henry V*’s rousing Chorus.¹² Voicing a histrionic desire to “work” upon the audience’s “imaginary forces” (Pro.19), inviting the spectators to “work your thoughts” (3.Chor.26), the Chorus solicits and shapes the audience’s collective powers of imagination and memory. Given its anticipation of the Chorus’s appreciation of drama’s interpellative powers, it is not surprising that Stephen Greenblatt—who has provided the most influential (and most contested) readings of how Shakespeare’s plays produce ostensibly subversive social elements only to contain them—invokes Nashe’s defence: “An audience watching a play, Nashe suggested, would not be hatching a rebellion” (1988:18). Greenblatt, then, cites Nashe’s didactic defence in order to forge an all-too-familiar link between “a poetics of Elizabethan power” and “a poetics of the [Elizabethan] theatre” (1988:64). Yet, Nashe’s nostalgic, patriotic defence of playing is much more complex than Greenblatt’s remark admits.¹³ Whereas Greenblatt quotes Nashe to set up a reading of subversion contained in *Henry V*, I want to consider Nashe’s complex and contradictory ideological investments in order to open a play that is often read and reproduced as an emphatically nationalist and royalist work to an

alternative reading.

In the wake of the much-debated subversion-containment model and the recent intersection of new historicist, cultural materialist, and feminist critical practices—not to mention current work on the material conditions of theatrical and textual production—the view that London’s commercial theatres were licensed and therefore controlled by the state, that they catered to the interests of elite culture only has come under severe scrutiny. Patronized by royalty and gentlemen, written by representatives of the middling sort, performed before a socially diverse audience, Elizabethan popular drama gave rise to dynamic cultural interrelations as dominant ideologies clashed with residual and emergent elements of culture.¹⁴

Far from a testimony to a theatre that functioned as an ideological state apparatus, Nashe’s defence lends support to Steven Mullaney’s insightful account of the early modern stage as “a theatre of ambivalent status but considerable ideological range and license” (vii). In particular, Nashe’s defence of plays bears ample witness to the cultural contradictions involved in the staging of the masculinist, elitist genre of historical drama in the popular theatre, a public space overdetermined by heterogeneous social forces. Nashe, no stranger to Elizabethan theatre, admires the history play’s inclusive staging of “our forefathers’ valiant acts” in the “open presence” of “ten thousand spectators” (113). Although he praises the theatre for its ability to incite patriotism, by no means should Nashe be heralded as the champion of a popular drama that participated in a carnivalesque celebration of the nation and all its inhabitants. Plays may be performed in “open presence,” but Nashe’s stage is not open to anyone and everyone.¹⁵ For instance, he

applauds the erasure of women and commoners from the stage: unlike the drama of “the players beyond the sea,” which consists of “a pantaloon, a whore, and a zany,” England’s “stately furnished” scene parades “emperors, kings and princes” (115).¹⁶ For Nashe, the “national” history play enacts the homosocial heroics of England’s noble men; women and men of the lower classes, on the other hand, are figured as threats to the nation.

While Nashe equivocally represents a potentially inclusive theatre yet an ultimately exclusive stage, his reflections on the purpose of playing are marked by further contradictions. Ironically, his defence internalizes much of the antitheatricalist rhetoric of his opponents. According to Nashe, afternoon plays, if nothing else, serve to occupy “men that are their own masters”: namely, “gentlemen of the Court, the Inns of the Court, and the number of captains and soldiers about London” (112). By representing plays as “exercise[s] in virtue,” he counters the antitheatricalist claim that the theatre “corrupt[s] the youth of the city” (114). In fact, he responds to contemporary antitheatrical polemic with the following rhetorical question: “what [but the stage] can be a sharper reproof to these degenerate effeminate days of ours?” (113). However, his reference to Elizabethan England’s “degenerate effeminate days,” his nostalgia for England’s virile forefathers (“brave Talbot,” for instance), and his desire to occupy “masterless men” during “the idlest time of the day” all echo what Jean Howard identifies as conventions of the antitheatrical genre (Nashe 113, 112).¹⁷ On the one hand, then, Nashe rejects contemporary antitheatricalist representations of the stage as a site for the erosion of established, hierarchical social identities; on the other, he reinscribes the antitheatricalist position that England’s “masterless men” require self-refashioning.

As many Tudor royal proclamations designed to control “vagrant soldiers” attest, Nashe’s uneasiness with masterless men, especially “soldiers about London,” was not uncommon in the latter half of Elizabeth’s reign.¹⁸ Readers of *Henry V* have been quick to point out that Pistol, an anachronistic inclusion, is as much a product of Elizabethan society as literary history. More than a stock *miles gloriosus*, Pistol functions as a disturbing reminder of the “vagrant soldiers” haunting the margins of late-Elizabethan London. Throughout the royal proclamations “vagrant soldiers” are described as “*pretending* to have served her highness in the wars” (*TRP* 3:46 my emphasis). If the proclamations figure “vagrant soldiers” as counterfeits, as actors, a similar description of Pistol is provided by Gower. Unlike Fluellen, who “marvelously mistook” Pistol to be “as valiant a man as Mark Antony” (3.6.80, 13-14), Gower regards Pistol as “an arrant counterfeit rascal,” “a rogue, that now and then goes to the wars to grace himself at his return into London under the form of a soldier” (60, 66-68).¹⁹ Gower, then, explicitly links Pistol with the “vagrant soldiers” targeted in the royal proclamations; and this link is reinforced when Pistol exits the play-text declaring his intention to return to England to “steal” (5.1.90). Pistol’s last lines—“patches will I get unto these cudgeled scars, / And swear I got them in the Gallia wars” (91-92)—serve to mark, both literally and symbolically, his place in Elizabethan society.²⁰

If *Henry V* betrays anxiety about discharged soldiers turned “bawd” (5.1.88), the play, according to Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, incorporates “strategies of containment” (1992:118) devised to regulate “vagrant soldiers.” In *Pierce Penniless*, Nashe outlines one such strategy. Echoing the advice Henry’s father offers his son near

the end of the second of the Henry IV plays, Nashe—in the section entitled “The Means to Avoid Sloth,” which immediately precedes his defence of plays—devises an alternative way to “busie giddy Mindes / With Forraigne Quarrels” (TLN 2750-51):

There is a certain waste of the people for whom there is no use, but war;
and these men must have some employment still to cut them off. *Nam si
foras hostem non habent, domi invenient*: if they have no service abroad,
they will make mutinies at home. Or if the affairs of the state be such as
cannot exhale all these corrupt excrements, it is very expedient they have
some light toys to busy their heads.... (112)

If “soldiers, mariners, masterless men, and other vagrant persons” (*TRP* 3:47) threaten the political stability of the nation-state, then putting them to battle provides an opportunity to dispose of the threat. Thus, for Nashe, war serves to cleanse the body politic of its “corrupt excrements.” For some critics, the staging of combat in *Henry V* symbolically effects such ideological work. In his now notorious essay “Invisible Bullets,” Greenblatt describes Henry as “the charismatic leader who purges the commonwealth of its incorrigibles and forges the martial nation state” (1988:56). To suggest that the play’s “incorrigibles” are simply purged from the play-text obscures their role as not only disturbing figures upon whom much of the play’s cultural anxiety is mapped, but also figures through whom fierce protest is directed toward the monarch. Bardolph and Nym are eventually corporally punished and Pistol is degraded; however, the king’s “unlettered, rude, and shallow” (1.1.58) former companions nevertheless comprise a counterdiscourse that interrogates the Chorus’s and Henry’s official rhetoric.²¹

Although better known for his work on closure in Shakespeare's comedies, Northrop Frye once suggested that "the comic scenes in [Shakespeare's] histories are, so to speak, subversive" (284). If Frye's comment brings to mind the Henry IV plays, what he says is no less true of *Henry V*. On the eve of the battle at Agincourt, Westmoreland laments the absence of "those men in England / That do no work today" (4.3.19-20). Henry responds by invoking a rhetoric of universal brotherhood in his famous "we band of brothers" speech (62). Whereas "those [idle] men in England" will "hold their manhoods cheap" (68), Henry's loyal soldiers will be fashioned gentlemen, that is, both gentle and men: "For he today that sheds his blood with me / Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile, / This day shall gentle his condition" (63-65). By no means, however, does this play sustain a vision of nationhood couched in terms of "a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 7). If Henry's speech marks an attempt at forging national fraternity, his reference to England's lower classes as "vile" merely reinscribes the dominant aristocratic discourse.²² In this, Henry's speech at Agincourt echoes his earlier oration at Harfleur in which the "noblest English" are represented as exemplary figures instructing "men of grosser blood ... how to war" (3.1.18, 25-26). The ensuing scene, on the other hand, is anything but instructive. While the Chorus promises the audience "culled and choice-drawn cavaliers" (3.Chor.25), the action on stage gives way to the parodic, dissenting voices of the lower-class soldiers. This scene opens with Bardolph's compulsively repetitious "On, on, on, on, on! To the breach, to the breach" (3.2.1), a parody of Henry's "Once more unto the breach" (3.1.1), shifts to the Boy's "Would I were in an alehouse in London" (13-14), a counter to the Chorus's efforts at interpolation

(3.Chor.23-25), and closes with Fluellen driving the lowly “cullions” (22)—Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol—into battle. For Nashe, war may serve to “exhale ... corrupt excrements”; in *Henry V*, however, the major battle scene consists of Pistol unheroically “suck[ing] blood” (4.4.64)—a reminder that Pistol’s mission is “to suck, to suck, the very blood to suck” (2.3.54-55). The “comic” subplot in *Henry V*, then, gives voice to a common Elizabethan complaint about monarchs and their wars.²³ Any attempt to view the play as “a voicing of imperial authority and *only* of that authority” (Baker 1992:43) seriously elides the play’s polyphonic, dissident voices.

Although recent work on Elizabethan and Jacobean drama has drawn attention to the ways in which theatrical representations contested dominant ideologies, Shakespeare’s history plays continue to be read in a manner that privileges their representations of monarchic power. Consider, for example, Richard Helgerson’s analysis of Shakespeare’s histories in his *Forms of Nationhood*, a book in which ample analysis is given over to tracing the role representations of England played in strengthening a sense of national identity “at the expense of an identity based on dynastic loyalty” (114). Helgerson acknowledges that the commoner ideology underpinning the Henslowe plays attends to “a nation that is found at the margins of [monarchic state] power” (234), but his reading of Shakespeare’s histories is sustained by an early new historicist rhetoric of subversion and containment. In a chapter entitled “Staging Exclusion” he argues that “Shakespeare’s history plays are concerned above all with the consolidation and maintenance of royal power” (296). Helgerson is right to note that throughout Shakespeare’s histories “England seems often to be identified exclusively with its kings and nobles” (195). In this,

Shakespeare follows Nashe, who locates English identity in the bodies of virile, aristocratic men such as “brave Talbot” and “Henry the Fifth.” But, as I shall argue, his suggestion that Shakespeare’s “representations of England are ... the most exclusively monarchic that his generation has passed on to us” (245) precludes a reading attentive to the ways in which the histories opened a discursive space for dissenting voices. The production of Englishness in *Henry V* is, to be sure, very much bound up with the image of the monarch. But the king’s body also serves as a conflicted site upon which anxiety about national and cultural identity is focussed. By teasing out the glaring discrepancies in Nashe’s defence, I suggested that London’s theatres served as sites of ideological and cultural contestation. In the remainder of this chapter, I shall argue that Nashe’s unsettling reference to “these degenerate effeminate days of ours” foregrounds an anxious discourse of English national and cultural identity in *Henry V*.

II

Henry’s oration to his troops before the walls of Harfleur is a critical moment in the play not only because it is undermined by the ensuing action (or lack thereof), but also because Henry represents his army as distinctly English: “our English,” “you noblest English,” “good yeoman, / Whose limbs were made in England” are the words the king uses to describe his soldiers (3.2.3, 18, 28-9). Shortly after Henry’s speech, however, the action consists of an army that includes not just an English captain but also an Irish, a Scottish, and a Welsh captain. Act 3, scene 2, often referred to as the “four captains

scene,” is the most manifestly British scene in all of Shakespeare’s histories, a scene that cuts to the heart of the British problem. Yet, critical accounts and, perhaps more importantly, editorial emendations have obscured this scene’s disruptive effects.

According to Greenblatt, “[b]y yoking together diverse peoples—represented in the play by the Welshman Fluellen, the Irishman Macmorris, and the Scotsman Jamy, who fight at Agincourt alongside the loyal Englishman—Hal symbolically tames the last wild areas in the British Isles” (1988:56). Greenblatt fails to mention that we never hear of Fluellen, Jamy, or Macmorris fighting at Agincourt (except for Fluellen’s skirmish with Williams). When the captains are together, moreover, the scene is anything but tame: it gives way to ethnic conflict between a captain designated “Welch” and another labelled “Irish,” and in doing so it serves as a prime example of the “instabilities of containment,” to borrow a phrase from Dollimore, within the play (1993:xxi-ii).²⁴

The First Folio version of *The Life of Henry the Fifth* gives three of the British captains ethnically specific speech prefixes: that is, Gower’s speech prefix is “Gower”; however, Fluellen’s speech tag is “Welch,” while Macmorris (“Makmorrice” and “Mackmorrice” in F1) and Jamy are “Irish” and “Scot,” respectively.²⁵ In 1709, Nicholas Rowe replaced the Folio’s ethnically specific speech prefixes (“Welch,” “Irish,” “Scot”) with the captains’ names, and subsequent editions have followed Rowe’s lead. Although Rowe provides no explanation for the change, his emendations were presumably informed by eighteenth-century editorial protocol that, as Random Cloud (Randall McLeod) puts it, “sought to discipline, tidy, and regulate” (95) Shakespeare’s heterogeneous play-texts. Rowe’s refashioned speech prefixes, therefore, bear witness to eighteenth-century

“Editing” practices that were committed to “the invention of dramattick character” (Cloud 88). Closing the gap between “Welch” and “Fluellen,” “Scot” and “Jamy,” and “Irish” and “Macmorris,” Rowe’s emendations betray a desire to unify, stabilize, fix the identity of dramatic characters, to render a fractured “Irish”/“Macmorris” whole.²⁶

One could certainly argue that the Folio’s ethnically specific speech tags only reinforce the play’s stereotyping of captains gathered from England’s “Celtic fringe.” In fact, Act 3, scene 2 is often interpreted as an instance of comic stereotyping, so comic as to render “[t]hese Celts ... united in their service to the English Crown” (Cairns and Richards 10). To represent the captains merely as “comic ethnic characters” (Hillman 124), however, obscures the dislocation of culture this scene effects.²⁷ Commenting on the play’s “national stereotypes,” Catherine Belsey notes that Macmorris is represented as “an irascible Irishman” (16). In this, Macmorris ostensibly comes to personify the stage Irishman. In a section of *Pierce Penniless* entitled “The Nature of the Irishman,” Nashe provides one such representation of the stock Irishman: the “Irishman,” he writes, “will draw his dagger, and be ready to kill and slay, if one break wind in his company” (86). Once again, Nashe’s text nicely connects with *Henry V*, for Fluellen, represented as a stereotypically verbose Welshman, raises Macmorris’ “ire” when he says: “Captain Macmorris ... there is not many of your nation—” (122-24). Macmorris interjects with “Of my nation? What ish my nation? Ish a villain and a basterd and a knave and a rascal. What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation?” (125-27). Far from a moment of unity, this scene of ethnic conflict opens with Fluellen’s “disciplining” of Macmorris for undermining the war effort, erupts into Macmorris’ threat to cut off Fluellen’s head, and

closes with Gower's warning that the feuding captains will "mistake each other" (137).²⁸

Mistaken identity—that is, the propinquity and fluidity of collective identities in the British Isles—is precisely what this scene brings into play.²⁹ Not that critics haven't attempted to map a stable identity onto Macmorris. Eschewing the textual indeterminacy of Macmorris' response to Fluellen, Philip Edwards offers the following gloss: "The paraphrase [of Macmorris' "What ish my nation" speech] should run something like this. 'What is this separate race you're implying by using the phrase "your nation"? Who are you, a Welshman, to talk of the Irish as though they were a separate nation from you. I belong in this family as much as you do'" (75-76). Through an act of critical ventriloquism, Edwards humanizes Macmorris in an attempt to grant him the integrity and stability of an autonomous thinking, speaking subject.³⁰ However, Edwards' character study of Macmorris inhibits further historical and theoretical reflection on the First Folio's gap between "Irish" and "Mackmorrice," a gap that invites us to read Macmorris' lines otherwise.

The First Folio, I am arguing, calls into question early modern notions of "mere Irish" and, consequently, "mere English."³¹ That historians employ such hyphenated nomenclatures as Anglo-Irish, Old English, and New English to delimit sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ireland's heterogeneous "English" community reminds us that a homogeneous English identity never existed in England's Irish kingdom. The name "Macmorris" itself bears witness to early modern Ireland's heterogeneous identities. As Michael Neill points out, "Macmorris" is a "hybrid surname (a Gaelicized version of Anglo-Norman Fitzmaurice)" (1995:272).³² In a section of his *Discovery of the True*

Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued (1612) entitled “How the English Colonies Became Degenerate,” Sir John Davies censures those colonials that “grew to be ashamed of their very English names ... and took Irish surnames and nicknames” (172). By way of an example, he points to “the great families of the Geraldines” in Munster, in particular one family that “was called ‘MacMorris’” (172).³³ Rather than reading Macmorris’ “What is my nation?” as a plea for identity, whether Irish or (Old or New) English, it is crucial to interpret this line as an interrogative that destabilizes the essentialist rhetoric of national identities. In the First Folio’s gap between “Irish” and “Mackmorrice” exists a space haunted by misrecognition and mistranslation. Far from Rowe’s and Edwards’ stable dramatic character, Macmorris, figured in the First Folio as “Irish,” serves as a sharp reminder that Irishness in the early modern period was often a disfigured English identity. Although Macmorris makes but one brief appearance in the First Folio, his “hybrid surname”—at once French, English, and Irish—is not the only unsettling instance of cultural hybridity in the play.

If Macmorris represents a disturbing element within the Elizabethan polity, Fluellen, another hybrid figure—as his anglicized name and dialect manifest—is traditionally read as a loyal subject, a product of the English “civilizing process” that led to the incorporation of Wales into the English administrative system in 1536.³⁴ Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that Fluellen goes about “disciplining” Macmorris. Although Fluellen’s “correction” (3.2.123) of Macmorris breaks off, he does deliver a humiliating punishment of Pistol: “a Welsh correction” that, in Gower’s words, serves to teach Pistol “a good English condition” (5.1.83-4). I want to suggest that Fluellen’s “Welsh correction” can be

read as not only a disciplining of Pistol but also a displaced disciplining of Macmorris.³⁵ In one Tudor royal proclamation—"Ordering Arrest of Vagabonds, Deportation of Irishman" (*TRP* 3:134-36)—"masterless men" and Irishman inhabit the same discursive space.³⁶ If this proclamation couples vagrants and Irishmen, the play too suggests a connection between Pistol and Macmorris. Just as Fluellen mistakes Pistol to be "as valiant a man as Mark Antony," Gower, according to Fluellen, mistakes Macmorris to be "a very valiant gentleman" (3.2.69). Moreover, not unlike Macmorris, who asserts that "there are throats to be cut" (2.2.114), Pistol's motto is "*Couple à gorge*" (2.1.72), a line he reiterates when threatening to cut the French soldier's throat ("I will cut his throat," "*cuppele gorge*" 4.4.31, 36). There is also Pistol's puzzling line "calmie custure me" (4.4.4). The editors of the New Folger Library Shakespeare edition of *Henry V* perhaps too hastily foreclose interpretation by suggesting that this line as it appears in the Folio is "nonsense" (170). Yet, they do note that many editors have emended this line so that it echoes the refrain of an Irish ballad. In the Oxford Shakespeare edition of *Henry V*, for instance, Pistol is made to speak in broken Irish: "Calin o custure me!" Following Edmond Malone, Gary Taylor observes that "Calin o custure me is an Elizabethan corruption of an Irish refrain, *cailin og a' stor* ('maiden, my treasure'); the corrupt refrain is used in a song ... printed in Clement Robinson's *Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1584)" (234). Frederick Sternfeld sheds further light on this refrain:

There is no doubt that English audiences considered the line 'Callino' as foreign: Davies of Hereford characterizes the burden as 'from a foreign land, which English people do not understand'; and Playford dubs the tune

'Irish'. This fact, in conjunction with the usual vagaries of Elizabethan orthography, accounts for the multiple variations in spelling. Even so, the tune was named thirteen times at least during Shakespeare's lifetime [included in the list is Nashe's *Lenten Stuff* (1599)], a frequency that suggests a reasonable amount of general popularity. (152)

If, as I am suggesting, Fluellen's "Welsh correction" functions as a symbolic disciplining of both Pistol and Macmorris, then it would seem that this scene exemplifies what Dollimore and Sinfield describe as the play's commitment to "the aesthetic colonization of [unruly] elements in Elizabethan culture" (1992:118). But it is also possible to read Pistol's broken Irish as a further instance of cultural contamination in the play. While celebrating "the chief pillars of our English speech" Nashe calls attention to the role a common language plays in the process of national self-definition. For Nashe, linguistic purity is a requisite of nationhood. England's poets, he writes, "have cleansed our language from barbarism and made the vulgar sort here in London, which is the fountain whose rivers flow round about England, to aspire to a richer purity of speech than is communicated with the commonalty of any nation under heaven" (91). In *Henry V*, however, the English language as it is spoken by representatives of the "Celtic fringe" is far from pure; even more disquieting, an English soldier speaks in broken Irish. "Degeneration," Neill points out, "was typically exposed as linguistic corruption" (1994:17). If Pistol is "purged" from the play-text, his broken Irish anticipates the linguistic contamination—"broken English"—effeminacy, and degeneracy that haunts the ensuing, final scene. In the closing scene, however, it is the king's body, not a "foreigner's" or a commoner's body, upon which the play's anxiety

about cultural identity centres.

In *Richard II*, John of Gaunt nostalgically looks back to an England imagined as a “fortress built by Nature for herself / Against infection” (2.1.48-49). In *Henry V*, England is not immune from infection. Again, editorial emendations to the First Folio have served to cleanse the text of its contaminating elements. Often overlooked by readers of the play is the moment in Act 5, scene 2 when the Queen of France greets Henry as “brother Ireland” (sig. 16v; TLN 2999; 5.2.12). As the editors of the New Folger Library Shakespeare edition of *Henry V* observe, the First Folio’s “Ireland” was changed to “England” in the Second Folio of 1632, and has remained so in all subsequent editions (214).³⁷ Although many theories exist as to why the First Folio includes “brother Ireland,” they are all based on the dubious assumption that Shakespeare intended “brother England.”³⁸ According to Gary Taylor, “brother Ireland” is a “revealing textual error,” “Shakespeare’s own ‘Freudian slip’—a slip natural enough in 1599” (7, 18). Following this argument, the change to “brother England” in the Second Folio, we are to understand, “restores” Shakespeare’s text to its proper state, disinfecting it, as it were, of “brother Ireland.”

I invoke a rhetoric of infection in order to foreground the anxious cultural context in which the Queen’s “brother Ireland” was originally voiced. “*Henry V*,” Edwards suggests, “was clearly written in the short time when England was excited at the prospect that the young hero [Robert Devereux, earl of Essex] would soon have the Irish licked” (78). While Edwards is correct to describe the line “Bringing rebellion broachèd on his sword” as “powerful,” he elides the uneasiness that the preceding line evokes: “As in good

time he *may*" (3.2.32 my emphasis).³⁹ Ireland, to be sure, never was cause for excitement during Elizabeth's reign. As Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley remind us, "Ireland was the site both of English identity formation, and of English identity crisis" (1993:8). This sense of loss of identity manifests itself in one of John Donne's verse letters, "H.W. in Hiber. Belligeranti." Written in 1599 at the height of the Nine Years War, Donne's poem addresses his close friend, Sir Henry Wotton, who at the time was in Ireland as Essex's secretary. "Went you to conquer?," Donne asks, "and have you so much lost / Yourself, that what in you was best and most, / Respective friendship, should so quickly dye?" (1-3). "Lett not your soule," Donne warns, "It self unto the Irish negligence submit" (13, 16). In these lines, Donne touches on a familiar, disturbing lament about identity deformation that surfaces again and again in early modern English discourse on Ireland and the Irish. Haunted by the infectious Irish, Richard Stanyhurst concludes his *Description of Ireland* with the lurid figure of the "degenerate" Englishman: "the verie English of birth, conuersant with the sauage sort of that people become degenerat, and as though they had tasted of Circes poisoned cup, are quite altered" (69). Here, Circe metonymically stands in for Ireland, which is represented as a feminized land that not only attracts colonial gentlemen and but also distracts them from the civilizing process, eventually emasculating them and transforming them into beasts.⁴⁰ In *A View*, Spenser explicitly cites Irish women as the source of "contagion" that causes English colonizers to undergo hibernicization: "the old English in Ireland, which through licentious conversing with the Irish, or marrying and fostering with them ... have degenerated from their ancient dignities..." (66). For Spenser, once potent English landlords have been symbolically

castrated, a castration made all the more apparent by Spenser's use of the term "degendered." An early modern synonym for degenerate, the word "degendered" reminds us that early modern notions of degeneracy and effeminacy are inextricably intertwined: both entail a decline, or slippage from a desired socio-cultural category (civility/masculinity) to its opposite (savagery/femininity).

When viewed within the context of Elizabethan early modern discourse on Ireland, the Queen of France's greeting of Henry as "brother Ireland" needs to be read as more than simply a "textual error." On the one hand, as previously noted, "brother Ireland" acts a possible title for Henry: after all, he offers Katherine England, Ireland, and France (5.2.248-49). On a more subversive level, "brother Ireland" brings to the surface the anxious masculinity and nationality that plagues Shakespeare's history plays and the chronicles that inform them.⁴¹ For an Elizabethan audience familiar with the first tetralogy, the Queen's greeting—"So happy be the issue, brother Ireland / Of this good day and this gracious meeting"—would have served as a sharp reminder of the historical Henry and Katherine's "issue": namely, King Henry VI, the "half French, half English" son that king and the French Princess will "compound" (5.2.215-6).⁴² Identified in *Henry V*'s sobering Epilogue as the king who "lost France and made England bleed" (12), Shakespeare's Henry VI is depicted in the first of the Henry VI plays as an "effeminate Prince" (TLN 44) and in the third as a "degenerate King" (TLN 206).⁴³ Far from a compositor's "misreading" (Gurr 214), "brother Ireland" marks another instance of what Patricia Parker describes as the play's ominous hints at "a translation in the opposite direction of Henry's mastery or dominion" (171). To emend the Queen's "brother

Ireland” to “brother England,” therefore, is to purge the text of one of its most unsettling moments.

The final scene of *Henry V*, as Joel Altman points out, is all too often viewed as “the obligatory coda to a rousing national epic” (32). Although Altman takes issue with critics who read this scene in such a manner, he nevertheless posits Act 4 as the play’s climax; the final scene, according to Altman, “functioned rhetorically as an ebbing of the tide” (31). Focussing on Henry’s dialogue at the expense of the unsettling female voices, Greenblatt cites Henry’s line “Kate, when France is mine and I am yours, then yours is France and you are mine” (5.2.182–44) to argue for the play’s “complete absorption of the other” (1988:569).⁴⁴ For Neill, the representation of Englishness in terms of “relaxed inclusiveness”—that is, an ostensibly inclusive colonial policy—serves to mask the play’s commitment to a colonial policy of “aggressive assimilation” (1994:20). In light of the Queen’s identification of Henry as “brother Ireland,” considering the anxiety about hybridity in the play, “absorption” is anything but “complete,” and the issue of incorporating other cultures is scarcely “relaxed.” To represent Henry’s martial victory and dynastic marriage with Katherine as crowning achievements, therefore, precludes analysis of the threat of cultural contamination that haunts the final scene.⁴⁵ Indeed, the reiteration of “broken English” and “English broken” (254) suggests that the royal betrothal generates not ideological stability, not closure but instead uneasiness about Henry and Katherine’s “incorporate league” (378).

III

Henry V has been interpreted by some critics as a prophetic, proto-unionist play. The scene with the British captains, it has been argued, looks forward to the Jacobean pacification of Ireland and the Union of the Crowns under King James VI of Scotland and I of England.⁴⁶ Such a retrospective reading smooths over the play's disturbing representation of the British captains, not to mention the xenophobic references to "the weasel Scot" (177) that litter Act 1, scene 2. Moreover, such a reading elides the political opposition by both the English and Scottish parliaments to King James's vision of a united Britain. The accession of James to the British throne in 1603 indubitably brought political stability to the island, but it also unleashed a plethora of voices that reminded the king that a unified "Great Britain and Ireland" was in reality three separate kingdoms, along with the principality of Wales. In his first statement on Union in May, 1603, James figured England and Scotland as "one Realme and Kingdome"; "the Subjects of both the Realmes" he went on to describe as "one people, brethren and members of one body" (*SRP* 1:19). Yet, as one historian observes, "[t]he union of the crowns of England and Scotland had produced not the child of peace and harmony, but the monstrous progeny of fear and distrust" (Wormald 1992:177). The difficulty of articulating English national and cultural identity under a Scottish king and within a multiple kingdom manifests itself in Shakespeare's Jacobean plays. Under James's patronage, the King's Men (formerly the Lord Chamberlain's Men) offered little in terms of English histories.⁴⁷ In the wake of James's accession as the self-styled "King of Great Britain," the words "England" and

“English” appear less and less in Shakespeare’s plays; references to “Britain” and “British,” on the other hand, occur much more frequently.⁴⁸ If Nashe’s defence of plays nostalgically looks back to a valorized English past as a remedy to these “degenerate effeminate days of ours,” *Henry V* anticipates the resistance to James’s vision of Great Britain and the cultural anxiety that “brother Scotland’s” attempts at cultural union sparked.

NOTES

1. For a general survey of stock representations of Celts in early modern drama, see Edward Snyder's "The Wild Irish: A Study of Some English Satires Against the Irish, Scots, and Welsh," esp. 162-70. Whereas Snyder merely catalogues English stereotypes of the Irish, Scots, and Welsh, my central concern is the disruptive presence of these figures in *Henry V*.

2. Joel Altman speaks of the "French-cum-Irish" (19). In fact, the French characters themselves make this connection: at one point in the play the Dauphin compares a fellow French nobleman to "a kern [i.e., foot soldier] of Ireland" (3.7.55). Unless noted otherwise, all references to *Henry V* are from Barbara Mowat and Paul Werstine's New Folger Library Shakespeare edition. References to Shakespeare's other histories are from either New Folger editions or the Norton facsimile edition of *The First Folio of Shakespeare*.

3. Evelyn May Albright describes the Chorus's allusion to "the General ... from Ireland coming" as "the clearest and most unmistakable personal and topical reference in all [of Shakespeare's] plays" (727). Critics tend to date the performance of *Henry V* between March 29, 1599 (when Robert Devereux, earl of Essex departed for Ireland) and September 28, 1599 (when he returned). However, Warren D. Smith has suggested that the "General" refers to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex as commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland in early 1600. Hence, Smith dates the play

between 1600 and the time when Mountjoy returned to London shortly after the death of the Queen in 1603.

4. See Patricia Parker 1996:166.

5. Pocock's definition of British history bears repeating: "the plural history of a group of cultures situated along an Anglo-Celtic frontier and marked by an increasing English political and cultural domination" (1974:605). As "English" histories—that is, plays written and performed in English (with the exception of the reference in *1 Henry IV* to Glendower and his daughter's exchange in Welsh) and as plays labelled by critics as "English"—Shakespeare's history plays have come to symbolize the cultural domination of which Pocock speaks. In that they stage not merely "English" history, Shakespeare's histories invite a non-anglocentric approach.

6. Homi Bhabha's work on the (dis)location of culture is important here. "What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial," he writes, "is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences" (1994:1).

7. I take this quotation from James Shapiro's "Revisiting *Tamburlaine: Henry V* as Shakespeare's Belated Armada Play," 356. As Shapiro points out, the threat of Spanish invasion was heightened by the outbreak of the earl of Tyrone's "rebellion" in Ireland, the low point of which (for the English forces) was the routing at Yellow Ford in August of 1598. "War, famine and plague," writes the historian Alan Smith, "were the three great scourges of early modern European society and England had to endure all three together during the 1590s" (234).

8. When Tyrone submitted to Mountjoy at Mellifont in March of 1603, he was reinstated as “the absolute owner of his entire lordship” (Canny 1987a:146). In other words, he remained a subject of the crown.

9. I am thinking in particular of the *Armada Portrait of Queen Elizabeth*. For a perceptive analysis of this portrait, see Louis Montrose 1986:314-15.

10. That this reference to the Scots as “pilfering borderers” had topical relevance is supported by a royal proclamation of 1596—“Ordering Peace Kept on Scottish Border”—that notes that “of late time there hath been great disorders by incursions into our realm of multitude of Scottishmen dwelling upon the borders of our realm towards Scotland, committing both murders, taking of prisoners, burning of houses, and taking of goods and cattle” (*TRP* 3:166-67).

11. If Canterbury’s use of the word “inland” denotes England’s geographic position, it also carries connotations of superior civility. The *OED*, which cites this line from the play, defines “inland” thus, “The interior part of a country, the parts remote from the sea or the border ... the inlying districts near the capital and centres of population, as opposed to remote or outlying wild parts.” Cf. Orlando’s use of the word in *As You Like It*: “The thorny point / Of base distress hath ta’en from me the show / Of smooth civility, yet I am inland bred / And know some nurture” (2.7.99-102).

12. See, for instance, Phyllis Rackin 1990:114-15 and Michael Neill 1995:256. In his rhetorical reading, Altman describes *Henry V* as “arguably the most active dramatic experience Shakespeare ever offered his audience” (2).

13. I am not suggesting that Nashe’s comments cannot be read as “evidence” of

the role drama *could* play in disseminating a state-sanctioned ideology of social obedience and control; rather, I want to suggest that Nashe's defence affords alternative views of the ideological position of Elizabethan theatre. Of course Greenblatt's monolithic notion of power has been challenged for eliding, to quote Dominick La Capra, "the fissures, heterogeneities, and uncertainties in the dominant system where forces of resistance may appear" (21). Although this quotation is drawn from La Capra's critique of Foucault's theory of power as outlined in *Discipline and Punish*, La Capra goes on to question early new historicism's "neo-Foucauldian" use of "a relatively weak theoretical overlay in the invocation of power, which itself threatens to become a universal solvent in explanation and interpretation" (191). In response to Greenblatt's claim that "Shakespeare's drama [was] written for a theatre subject to state censorship" (1988:65), Louis Montrose reminds us that Elizabethan censorship was "inconsistent and haphazard" (1996a:47).

14. The phrase "dynamic interrelations" is Raymond Williams's, as of course are the terms "dominant," "residual," and "emergent" (1977:121-27).

15. The stage itself was open to commoners, and the theatre did welcome female spectators.

16. See Rackin 1990:196-97 and Helgerson 334-35, n.26.

17. I am indebted to Howard's insightful analysis of antitheatrical tracts, which she describes as "a genre of anxiety" (23). Surprisingly, Nashe's name does not appear in her book. Howard's assertion that "not even Shakespeare's second tetralogy contests the primacy of the king's role in early modern culture" (152), is, however, a claim that this chapter puts to the test.

18. See *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 2, no. 622 and vol. 3, nos. 716, 745, 762, and 809.

19. The French soldier also mistakes Pistol for a gentleman: "*Je pense que vous êtes le gentilhomme de bonne qualité*" (4.4.2-3).

20. "Those condemned as persistent vagrants," Paul Brown observes, "could literally be marked (whipped, bored, branded) with public signs announcing their adulteration" (54). In his "'When blood is their argument': Class, Character, and Historymaking in Shakespeare's and Branagh's *Henry V*," Robert Lane provides an excellent analysis of the "commoners' disquieting role" within the context of returning soldiers and the spread of vagrancy from 1594-98.

21. "The hierarchy of dramatic genres," Rackin writes, "was also a hierarchy of social status: the subjects of history were kings and the great nobleman who opposed them; women and commoners occupied only marginal places in historical narratives" (1994:78). Although women and commoners occupied marginal places in Shakespeare's histories, they often serve to destabilize the play's dominant discourse.

22. Cf. Howard and Rackin who argue in *Engendering a Nation* that "[t]he play is premised on the consolidation of national identity through violence against foreign enemies. In war, Henry's men—whether Irish or English, Scottish or Welsh, yeoman or earl—temporarily become a band of brothers, the many differences among them rhetorically and emotionally elided by the moving eloquence of the young king and the common experience they share" (4).

23. In reference to Elizabeth's Irish wars, Altman notes that "[t]he reluctance of

those called upon actually to fight in the field was notorious" (10); and Christopher Highley points out that "the reiterated image in *Henry V* of an English army starving and sick in the field had an inescapable topical valence" (139).

24. Although Dollimore and Sinfield's cultural materialist approach to the play entails a sharp critique of Greenblatt's subversion-containment model, they too view "[t]he issue of the English domination of Wales, Scotland and Ireland ... to be more containable" (1992:124-25).

25. This scene marks Macmorris' and Jamy's only appearance, and it is the sole moment in F1 where Fluellen's speech prefix is "Welch." In his 'The very names of the Persons': Editing and the Invention of Dramatick Character," Random Cloud [Randall McLeod] reminds us that "the very names of the Persons in the earliest Shakespeare texts very frequently vary" (88). I confine my reading to F1 not because I regard *The Cronicle History of Henry the fift, With his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Together with Auntient Pistoll* (1600) as a "bad" quarto, but because Q1 does not contain the Choruses and the scene with the British captains. In fact, the word "Ireland" never appears in Q1. Annabel Patterson has argued that F1 is more committed "to ideas of national greatness and agreement" (1988:55) than Q1 precisely because Q1 includes less patriotic material (for instance, the Choruses). Following this argument, one could also argue that the absence of the British problem from Q1 renders it a less anxious text.

26. For a fuller account of Restoration and eighteenth-century emendations to the text, see Andrew Murphy's "'Tish ill done': *Henry the Fift* and the Politics of Editing." in *Shakespeare and Ireland: History, Politics, Culture*, esp. 226-27.

27. Bhabha's discussion of the colonial stereotype is helpful. "The stereotype," he writes, "is not a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality. It is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that, in denying the play of difference (which the negation through the Other permits), constitutes a problem for the *representation* of the subject in significations of psychic and social relations" (1994:75). It is precisely the play of difference that is denied when editors emend the "Irish" speech prefix to "Macmorris."

28. According to Richard Hillman, "by representing those nations of the British Isles whose factiousness runs from Richard II's Irish Wars to Owen Glendower to the Douglas," *Henry V*'s ethnic characters "promote a unity that hardly squares with their disruptive literary heritage" (124-25). Fluellen is no "irregular and wild Glendower" (*Henry IV* 1.1.40); however, the scene with the four captains hardly promotes unity.

29. Because Henry twice describes himself as Welsh (4.1.53, 4.7.111), and because he is mistaken for a Cornishman (4.1.51), Maley asks the splendid question "What is *his* nation?" (1997c:104). Although he does not mention Fl's speech prefixes, David Baker provides an intelligent reading of the displacement of colonial identities in *Henry V*: see his "'Wildehirissheman': Colonial Representation in Shakespeare's *Henry V*."

30. Some critics have embraced Edwards' rephrasing of Macmorris' "What ish my nation" speech: see, for instance, Dollimore and Sinfield 1992:125. In Gary Taylor's Oxford edition of the play, Edwards' dubious paraphrase serves as a gloss on Macmorris' lines.

31. In *A View*, the liminal position of the Gaelicized Anglo-Normans/Old English

resists ethnic classification: “most of them,” Irenius claims, “are degenerated and grown *almost* mere Irish” (48 my emphasis). This is a disturbing inversion of Bhabha’s notion of colonial mimicry as “the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite*” (1994:86).

32. See also Neill’s “Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic of Power in Shakespeare’s Histories,” and Maley’s suggestive essay “Shakespeare, Holinshed and Ireland: Resources and Con-texts.”

33. “The FitzGeralds of Lixnaw in Kerry,” the editor of *The Discovery* notes, “assumed the patronymic MacMorris (from *Maurice*)” (173, n.281).

34. Attentive to the play’s many references to “breachs” and “leeks,” Parker’s reading of *Henry V* in her *Shakespeare From the Margins* offers a less recuperative reading of Fluellen, see esp. 168-69. See also Highley, who notes that “Fluellen’s enthusiastic support for the English war obfuscates the widespread intransigence of his compatriots who, rejecting the status of submissive colonial subjects, refused to fight in Ireland” (156).

35. A similar instance of substitution occurs in Act 4, scene 8 as Fluellen acts as Henry’s stand-in.

36. TRP 3:134-6. In his *A Caueat or Warening, for Commen Cursetors Vulgarely Called Vagabones* (1566), Thomas Harman, in a section entitled “A Palliard,” refers to “many Irishmen that go about with counterfeit licences.” See *Cony-Catchers and Bawdy Baskets: An Anthology of Elizabethan Low Life* 104-5.

37. Based on the First Folio text, the New Folger Library Shakespeare edition of

Henry V reinserts “Ireland” into the play. If not for this invaluable edition, I would have been oblivious to “brother Ireland.”

38. Mowat and Werstine suggest that the name “Ireland” could have been used to refer to Henry V on the early modern stage, for Henry was described as “Lord of Ireland” in *All the workes of John Taylor* (1630), and as “*Henricus V, Angliae et Franciae Rex, Dominus Hiberniae* (i.e., Henry V, King of England and France, Lord of Ireland)” in William Martin’s *The Histories and Lives of the Kings of England* (1628); see their longer note on 243. In a forthcoming article entitled “‘Is it upon record’: The Reduction of the History Play to History,” Werstine argues that “editors who fashion palaeographical justifications for emending the Folio’s ‘Ireland’ to ‘England’ also invoke the appearance of the word ‘in-land’ in the Folio on sig. h2, TLN 289, 1.2.148.” “They construct this perfectly good word,” he adds, “as an error for ‘England,’ an error into which the compositor was allegedly drawn by a putative ‘England’ manuscript spelling.” Not only is “in-land” a “perfectly good word,” but, as I suggested earlier, it also bears witness to English anxiety about England’s “pilfering borderers” (1.2.148). As Andrew Murphy points out, Canterbury’s “Our inland” is a far cry from John of Gaunt’s imagining of England as an island, an imagining of England that erases Scotland and Wales (1996b:51).

39. For a wonderfully rich reading of *Henry V* in the context of Essex’s Irish campaign, see Highley 134-63.

40. Donne also seems to render Ireland as feminine temptress, for he tells Wotton “I / Would [not] lose your love for Ireland” (4-5).

41. “We know that Shakespeare leaned heavily on Holinshed for the history plays

of the 1580s and 1590s. One would expect him to rely therefore on the Irish section of that work for his allusions to ‘Irish’ character” (Maley 1997b:28). Furthermore, we know Shakespeare read *The Faerie Queene*; however, it is unlikely that he read *A View*, which did not appear in print until 1633.

42. The word “issue” is reiterated during the play’s betrothal scene when the King of France says “Take her, fair son, and from her blood raise up / Issue to me” (360-61).

43. In *The second Part of Henry the Sixt*, “uncivil kerns of Ireland” threaten the “blood of Englishmen” (TLN 1615-16). Perhaps it is not surprising that the rebellious York discovers Jack Cade, who is compared to a “shag-hayr’d craftie Kerne” (TLN 1673), in Ireland.

44. Similarly, Claire McEachern argues that “*Henry V* closes with the containment of the ‘effeminate’” (53).

45. Although it says nothing about the textual issues, Dollimore and Sinfield’s reprinted article on *Henry V* includes a wonderful discussion of masculinity and miscegenation in the play: “fear of miscegenation—always a complication in imperialism—has been a major preoccupation all through the play; xenophobia and racism often accompany male homosocial insecurity” (1992:139). They also point out that the betrothal scene “involves contamination of English masculinity with French effeminacy” (1992:140).

46. Some critics have suggested that the scene with the British captains was added after 1603 as attempt to please James. “By then adding a brave, pious and scholarly Scot of that name [i.e., Jamy] to the army of Agincourt,” Keith Brown argues, “Shakespeare

would be making a smiling courtesy to King James VI and I and his new concept of 'Great Britain'" (79).

47. Maley has recently suggested that "*King Lear* and *Macbeth* belong to a different *genre* from *Henry V*, not merely in the conventional sense—as tragedy rather than history—but as British rather than English texts" (1997c:105).

48. According to Neill, "*England*, *English*, and *Englishman* appear more often in *Henry V* than in any other of Shakespeare's plays" (1995:269). Consulting *The Harvard Concordance to Shakespeare*, Christopher Wortham notes that there are "460 references to England and related words such as English and Englishman: of these 435 occur in works written before 1603, and 25 afterwards. There are 64 references to Britain and related words such as British, 49 of which are after 1603" (120, n.1).

CHAPTER 4

Performing Britain: Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*

In one extant manuscript of Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, Irenius scorns the stories told by "our vayne Englyshemen" about "the tale of Brutus, whome they devise to haue firste conquered and inhabited this lande."¹ The myth of Britain's Trojan origins was not, however, altogether abandoned at the beginning of the seventeenth century; it resurfaced in the civic pageantry that celebrated the accession of King James VI of Scotland to the royal titles formerly held by Queen Elizabeth. For instance, in the "King's Entertainment," a ceremonial pageant presented for the royal entry by the City of London in 1604, the legend of Britain's eponymous founder was invoked to glorify the new king's dynastic (re)unification of the Crowns of England and Scotland.² On October 29, 1605, Anthony Munday's *The Triumphes of Re-United Britannia* similarly figured James as "our second *Brute* ... by whose happye comming to the Crowne, *England, Wales, and Scotland*, by the first *Brute* severed and divided, is in our second *Brute* re-united, and made one happy *Britania* again" (177-81). Although this Lord Mayor's Show was performed in honour both of the city's new mayor, Leonard Halliday, and Munday's guild and patrons, the Company of Merchant Taylors, it nevertheless

devotes ample praise to the author's country and his new king. But civic, national, and dynastic allegiances uneasily occupy the same discursive space in the entertainment's laudatory rhetoric. This becomes evident once we ask exactly what kind of re-union Munday's entertainment celebrates: the re-union of one happy nation (national union), or one happy kingdom (dynastic union)? And what about Munday himself; is he writing as an Englishman, or a British subject, or both? Furthermore, where does James's other (unnamed) Kingdom, Ireland, fit into this ambiguous—at once residual and emergent—discourse on Britain?³

Although *The Triumphes of Re-United Britannia* is a civic entertainment, its encomiastic strategies anticipate the lavish court masques championed by James that played a formative role in fashioning the royal iconography of the Jacobean court. The centrepiece of this iconography was the celebration of the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland, a regal union that inaugurated a period of much-welcomed peace throughout not just England or Britain but the entire British Isles. But beyond the walls of Whitehall, as we shall see, dynastic union raised fears about James's pronounced desire for British political, national, and cultural union.⁴ The prologue to Munday's *Triumphes of Re-United Britannia* furnishes an early example of the way in which James's southern British subjects struggled to articulate a discourse on Britain that reconciled, on the one hand, the crown's image of a united British realm and, on the other, a deeply entrenched concept of Britain as merely a synonym for England, a synonym that often insinuated an enlarged English state incorporating, even obliterating, Scotland and Wales. In an effort to clarify precisely what the nebulous term "Britain" signifies, Munday writes:

Because our present conceit, reacheth unto the antiquitie of *Brytaine*,
 which (in many mindes) hath carried as many variable opinions: I thought it
 not unneccesary, (being thereto earnestly solicited) to speake somewhat
 concerning the estate of this our Countrey, even from the very first
 originall, until her honourable attaining the name of *Brytannia*, and then
 lastlye how she became to be called *England*. (1-7)

Munday's archaeology of Britain shifts from the arrival of Brutus to an ancient Roman province to Anglo-Saxon England and back to contemporary Britain; the exact boundaries of "this our Countrey" are far from clearly demarcated. One thing, though, seems less ambivalent: Munday makes little attempt to accommodate Scottish and Welsh patriotism. Indeed, his anglocentric perspective on the Union of the Crowns even leads him to displace James's Scottish ancestry: "And Scotland yeelded out of *Teudors* race, / A true borne bud, to sit in *Teudors* place" (455-56).⁵ Munday's entertainment, to be sure, encodes a rhetoric of praise for the new king, but its encomiastic strategies are entirely dependent on the conventional tropes of English cultural nationalism.⁶

I begin with Munday's entertainment because it provides an apposite entry into the central focus of this chapter: namely, the fault lines evident in Jacobean discursive productions of Britain and Britishness. In particular, I attend to the work of a fellow Londoner, indeed a fellow merchant tailor, John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*. Speed's *Theatre*, the earliest comprehensive atlas of the British Isles—that is, England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales—is generally regarded, to quote one map historian, as "the best known of early English atlases" (Lynam 25).⁷ Although the *Theatre*

was not the product of exclusively English labour, there are valid reasons for designating it an English atlas. The majority of the *Theatre*'s pages are given over to cartographic images and accompanying chorographic descriptions of English counties. Moreover, Speed's county maps of England and Wales are close copies of the work of other Englishmen—specifically Christopher Saxton and, to a lesser extent, John Norden. And even though the entire *Theatre* was engraved in Amsterdam by Jodocus Hondius, it was printed by William Hall and John Beale and published by John Sudbury and George Humble in London in 1611-12.⁸ Yet, as I shall argue, to represent the *Theatre*, which initially appeared as a companion piece to Speed's *Historie of Great Britaine*, as an English atlas precludes analysis of the crucial British context in which Speed's atlas was fashioned.⁹

Modern reproductions of the *Theatre* provide a perfect example of the way in which Speed's maps and chorographic descriptions have been dissociated from the ideological and cultural conditions that enabled their production. Consider, for instance, E.G.R. Taylor's *An Atlas of Tudor England and Wales*, which includes forty plates from Speed's pocket atlas of 1627, and John Arlott's *England: A Coloured Facsimile of the Maps and Texts from The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*. Taylor's and Arlott's truncated editions reinvent an "Englished" *Theatre* only by amputating Speed's maps of Scotland and Ireland.¹⁰ As its fuller title unambiguously suggests, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine: Presenting An Exact Geography of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles adioyning* invites a reading attentive to Speed's cartographic and chorographic representations of England *and* the encompassing

kingdoms and heterogeneous cultures of the British Isles. By situating the *Theatre* in a less anglocentric, larger British context, I do not mean to elide the role Speed's atlas played in fostering early modern imaginings of English nationhood. As a formative cultural artefact of a multi-national state, however, the *Theatre* invites a reading attentive to the way in which national and cultural identities across the British Isles were redefined, reimagined, and reinforced in the wake of James's arrival in London.

By directing attention to Speed's atlas of the British Isles, this chapter marks a definite shift in focus from the first two chapters and a slight shift from the previous one. Most noticeably, I turn from works written by (Old and New) Englishmen within the historical and geographical context of Elizabethan Ireland to a text produced by a resident of London who lived, from 1603 until his death in 1627, in a newly-expanded dynastic realm ruled (for the first time in history) by a composite monarch of two islands, three kingdoms (triarch?), and four nations. As Jenny Wormald reminds us, it is critical to recall that the Union of the Crowns, a dynastic accident, "was not simply the bringing together of two kingdoms, although that was how it was described, but the addition of another kingdom to the multiple kingdoms of England and Ireland, with the dependency of Wales thrown in." (1992:184-85). In a speech to the English Parliament in 1607, James celebrated the presence of "Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English, diuers in Nation, ... walking as subjects and seruants within my court ..." (*PW* 297). Of course, it was James's desire to translate these Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English subjects into British subjects. I will consider the ways in which Speed as well as a host of other sympathetic and dissident Jacobean responded—imaginatively, ambivalently, critically—to James's British project.

This chapter also signals a shift in focus involving the discursive form to be studied. Whereas “Holinshed’s” Irish *Chronicles*, *The Faerie Queene* and *A View*, and *Henry V* are in large part (but not exclusively) concerned with the construction of national identities across time, Speed’s chorographic and cartographic representations locate the inhabitants of the British Isles within the realms of both time and, especially, space. As visual emblems of the land, maps—national atlases in particular—contributed significantly to the process of enabling, fostering, and forging imaginative constructions of territorial space, a strong sense of place. More so than any other discursive form, cartography allowed the early modern English public to take “effective visual and conceptual possession of the physical kingdom in which they lived” (Helgerson 107).¹¹ Sustaining the affective power of the cartographic image, moreover, was the fact that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps were produced in an age of increasing mechanical reproduction.

My reading of Speed’s maps, as will become clear, has little to do with traditional carto-bibliography or the work of cartographic historians, whose interest and expertise lies in observing the technical processes involved in cartographic production. Rather, I turn to these maps as a literary historian attentive to form and content, and, most importantly, the constitutive power of the cartographic imagination. Current interdisciplinary approaches to cartography have challenged the conventional method of treating sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps as merely objective, scientific depictions of the land. As recent critical attention to the ideological effects of the early modern cartographic revolution attests, the maps in the influential, reissued atlases of Abraham Ortelius and Gerard Mercator were rarely devoid of framing inscriptions and ornaments that served to

communicate culturally constructed notions of space, place, and race.¹² Of particular significance to students of Speed's maps is the work of J.B. Harley, who in a seminal essay called for a historicized "cartographic semantics" alert to a map's "total image": that is, the geographical image and the accompanying marginal emblems, descriptive notes, and decorations (1983:22, 36). "If the emblems that qualify and frame the maps are part of an ideological dialogue," argued Harley, "then it is more probable that the geography itself is discursively embedded within broader contexts of social action and power" (1992:14). Informed by Harley's important work, my focus on the "total image" of Speed's maps, especially those collected the *Theatre*, involves attending not only to the marginal figures and decorations that adorn his maps, but also to the accompanying textual commentaries.¹³

I

In his inaugural speech to the English Parliament on March 19, 1604, King James commented

shall it euer bee blotted out of my minde how at my first entrie into this
Kingdome, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meet mee?
their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of affection, their mouthes and
tongues vttering nothing but sounds of ioy, their hands, feete, and all the
rest of their members in their gestures discovering a passionate longing,
and earnestnesse to meete and embrace their new Souereign. (*PW* 269)

Although this description contains more than a touch of hyperbole, historians often cite

this speech to remind us not only that the accession of King James VI of Scotland to the English throne assuaged anxiety about the succession, but also that James's initial popularity was strengthened by the unpopularity of Queen Elizabeth in the closing years of her lengthy reign (Smith 1984:251). For England's ruling elite, Scotland's king possessed three favourable qualities that made him the obvious successor to Queen Elizabeth: he was an adult, he was male, and he was a Protestant (Wormald 1995:126). That the Nine Years War in Ireland ended (with Hugh O'Neill, the earl of Tyrone's submission to Mountjoy at Mellifont in March, 1603) the same month in which James was declared England's new monarch certainly contributed to the glowing reception James received as he progressed south to London. Indeed, the "Elizabethan" conquest of Ireland, later described by Sir John Davies as "an universal and absolute conquest of all the Irishry" (*Discovery* 71), played no small part in James's claim to have initiated a period of political stability throughout the British Isles.

Two of Speed's earliest maps—one that was published just before the end of Elizabeth's reign, the other shortly after James's accession—provide an opportunity to gauge the sharp contrast between late-Elizabethan and early-Jacobean discourse on the nation. The maps to which I am referring are earlier versions of a better-known map by Speed—"The Invasions of England and Ireland with al their Ciuill Wars Since the Conquest" (fig. 1)—which was published in 1627 and appeared in between his world atlas *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* and the reprinted *Theatre*.¹⁴ The first map, dated c1601, bears the same title as the 1627 "Invasions" map and like the later version, it, too, is accompanied by brief explanatory notes on the battles and Speed's

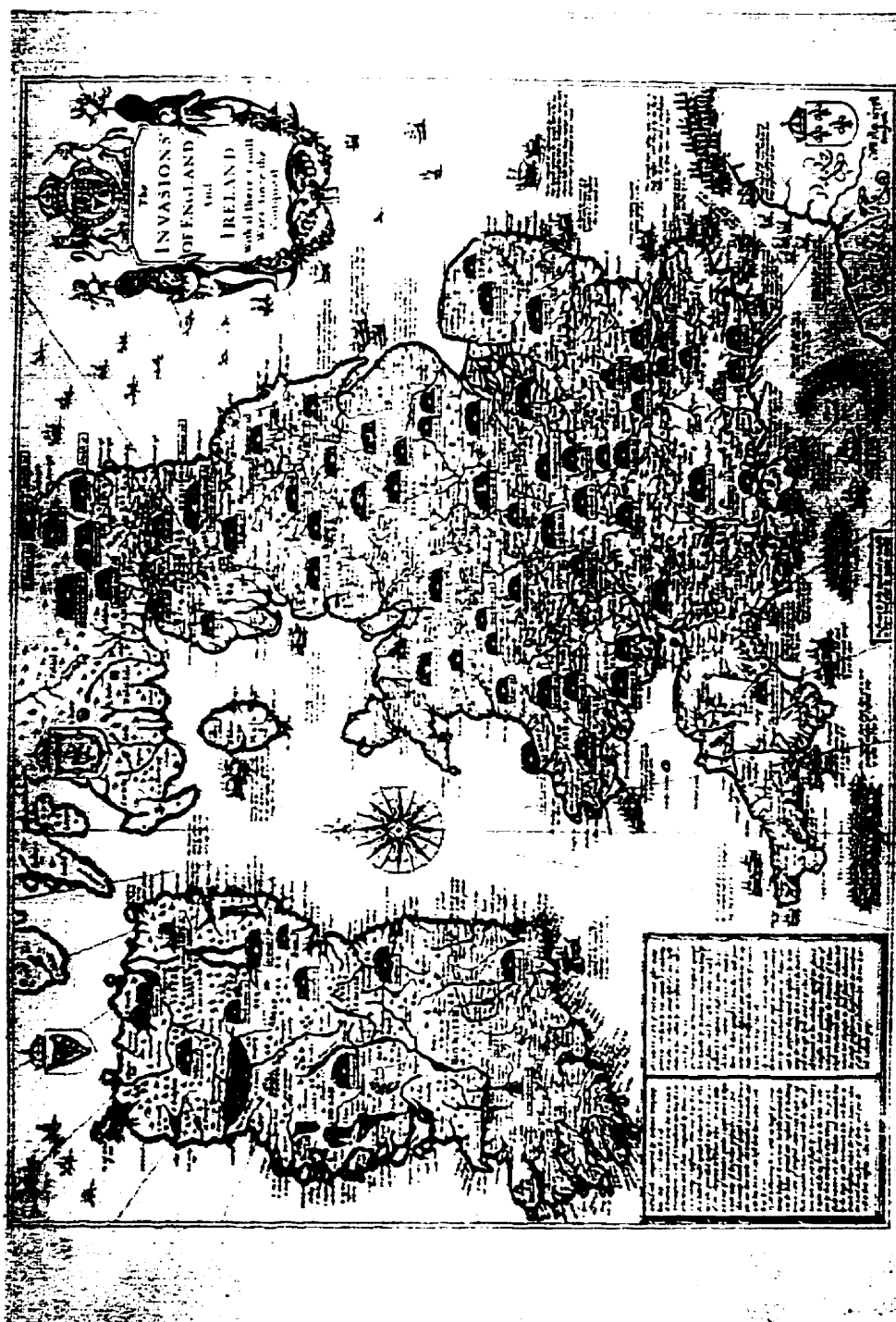


Fig. 1. "The Invasions of England and Ireland with al their Ciuill Wars Since the Conquest," from John Speed's *A Prospect of the most Famous Parts of the World*, London 1627. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. BL Maps C.7.e.13.

A Description of the Ciuill Warres of England, which had been published as a broadside the previous year (fig. 2).¹⁵ This Broadside map delineates, to borrow Speed's description, "the seuerall battels fought by Sea and Land, at seuerall times and in seuerall places of *England* and *Ireland*, and the parts adioyning, within these fiue hundred yeeres last past." Not surprisingly, this map observes not only Anglo-Irish conflicts but also England's victory over the Armada as well as various English triumphs over the Scots and the Welsh. Speed goes on to note that his Broadside map was performed "in satisfaction of the honorable desire of certain Martial Gentlemen proffessors of Armes, & louers of learning"; however, his map is far from a monument to England's martial glory. Covered with land battles indicated by opposing phalanxes of troops, Speed's map of "*Englands* ciuill wars" serves as a graphic illustration of, to quote again from his *Description*, "the markes of our owne infamies, and staines to be washed away rather with repentance, then againe to be renewed by remembrance."

In that Speed's Broadside map depicts a landscape disfigured by the "Ciuill Battels betweene meere *English-men* of one Nation," it has much in common with the recurring images of civil strife that haunt Shakespeare's history plays. In particular, John of Gaunt's lament in *Richard II* comes to mind: "That England that was wont to conquer others, / Hath made a shameful conquest of itself" (2.1.71-2). However, many of the battles displayed on Speed's map are less than "civil," that is, they are not simply "betweene meere *English-men* of one Nation." Not unlike Shakespeare's histories, this map serves as a solemn reminder of the fierce intra-island battles between the English and the Welsh as well as those between the English and the Scots. Indeed, the spatial anxiety inscribed

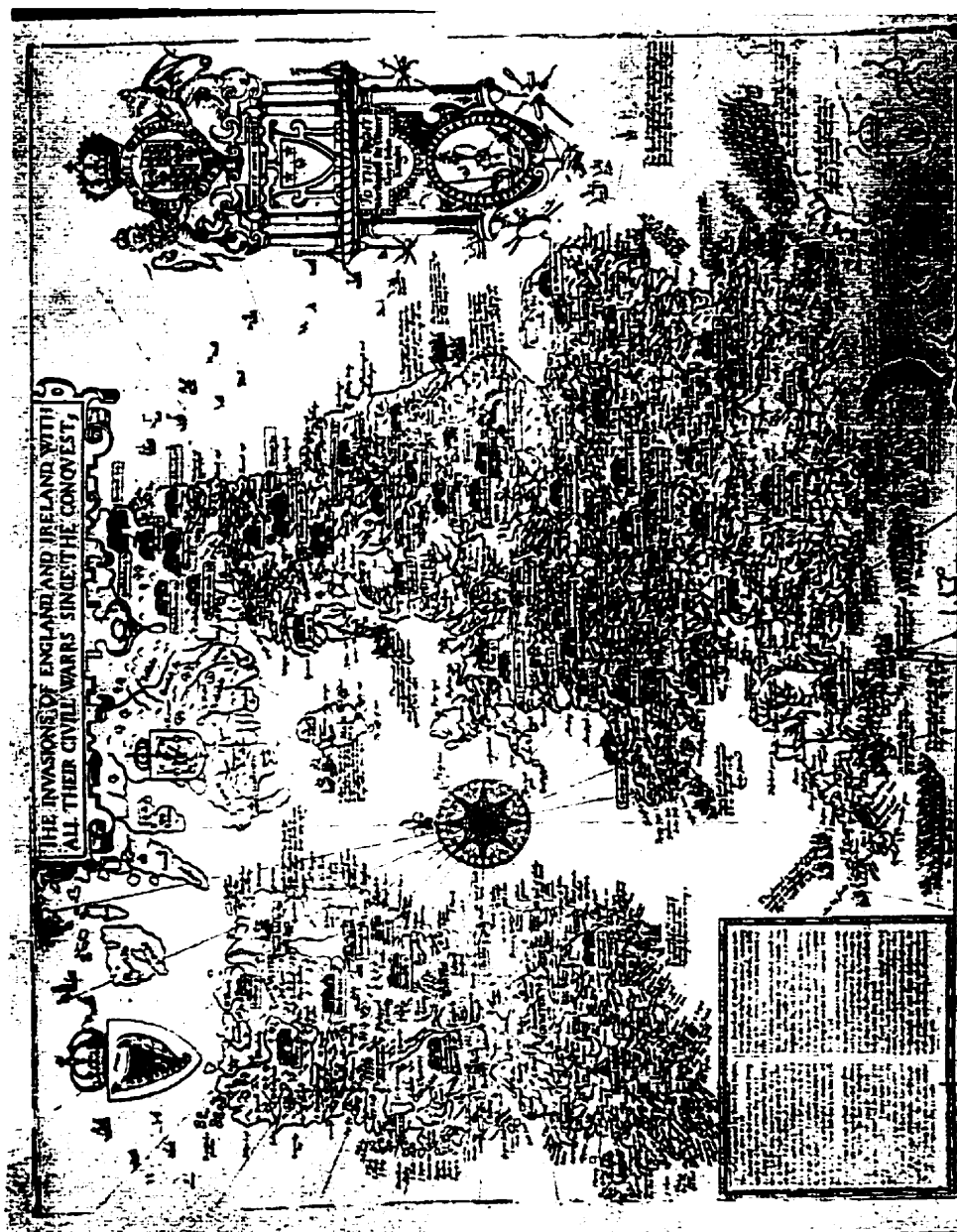


Fig. 2. "The Invasions of England and Ireland with all their Civill Warrs Since the Conquest." by John Speed, London c1601. Reproduced by permission of Cambridge University Library. ULC Maps bb.31.60.1.

on Speed's map is resonant with the complex and sometimes contradictory representations of England in the history plays as, on the one hand, geographically isolated and, on the other hand, besieged by hostile neighbouring nations. Again, Gaunt's "sceptered isle" speech is crucial for it gives voice to an idealized vision of England as an island unto itself, while simultaneously frustrating that vision:

This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands,

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.... (45, 51-5)

Underpinning Gaunt's invention of an English nation "bound in with the triumphant sea" (67) is an elision of the non-English cultures inhabiting the island of Britain, those envious "less happier lands." Yet, Gaunt's lines also betray a latent anxiety (manifested, for instance, in *I Henry IV* and *Henry V*) about England's precarious position as one of two kingdoms, one of three ethnic groups inhabiting an island. What is latent in Gaunt's nationalist rhetoric literally comes to the surface in Speed's map, for in presenting a geographical image of a scarred Britain, it testifies to the instability of Britain's intra-island territories and the contested borders that demarcate them.

If the geographical image of England, Wales, and southern Scotland is scarred by past broils, the map's image of a geographically separate Ireland bears witness to the urgent threat confronting the English in Ireland in the final years of Elizabeth's reign. The explanatory notes to the Irish battles, which appear in a panel inset into the map just below

Ireland, recount events from the original Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland through to the on-going rebellion spearheaded by Hugh O'Neill, the earl of Tyrone. The majority of the fourteen entries describe English victories by the likes of Richard Strongbow, John de Courcy, and Sir Henry Sidney over both the Irish and the "Wilde Scots." The final entry, however, sounds an ominous note:

Tyrone in his rebellions against her sacred Maiestie, hath ouerlong troubled the peace of *Ireland* but chiefly the Province of *Ulster* whose treacherous acts and sauage cruelties hath moved her Highnesse to send forces thitherward, for whose prosperous succ[e]sse, with the overthrow of all tr[e]asons and rebellions, let all true hearted Subiects pray.

Not unlike the fifth-act Chorus' allusion in the Folio version of *Henry V* to "the general of our gracious empress" who "in good time ... *may*, from Ireland coming, / [Bring] rebellion broachèd on his sword" (5.Chor.31-33 my emphasis), Speed's "let all true hearted subjects pray" articulates a deep sense of uneasiness, an uneasiness that resonates throughout Elizabethan discourse on Ireland. Harley's work again and again informs us that early modern maps were cogent "spatial emblems of power in society" (1983:22). Maps, to be sure, often bear witness to inscriptions of power, but they can also be read as sites of ideological and cultural contestation.¹⁶ Far from an "emblem of power," the cartographic image on Speed's Broadside map betrays, even generates, cultural anxiety.

Speed's untitled map of 1603-04 (fig. 3), which was produced in the wake of the Union of the Crowns, marks a sharp contrast to the Broadside map of c1601. Although the untitled map retains much of the form of the earlier Elizabethan map, its content works

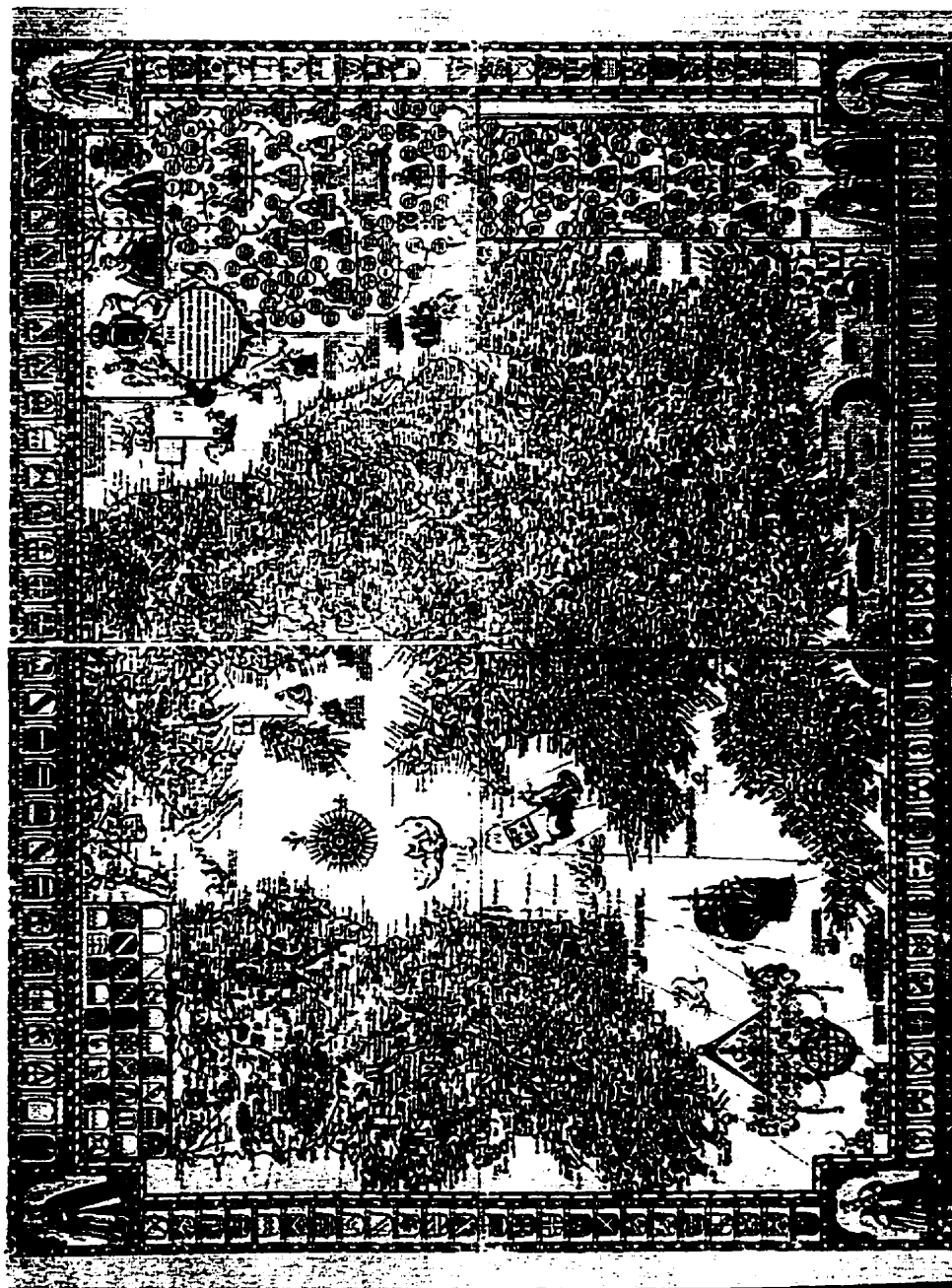


Fig. 3. Untitled map, by John Speed, London 1603-04. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. BN Rés Ge.DD.6056.

to erase the haunting memory of Britain's intra-island wars as well as the threat of rebellion in Ireland.¹⁷ In this, Speed's map is consistent with King James VI and I's self-representation in his inaugural speech to the English Parliament, where the new king proclaimed the "double forme" of peace that God had invested in his body:

First, by my descent lineally out of the loynes of *Henry* the seuenth, is reunited and confirmed in mee the Vnion of the two Princely Roses of the two Houses of LANCASTER and YORKE, whereof that King of happy memorie was the first Vniter, as he was the first groundlayer of the other Peace ... But the Vnion of these two princely Houses, is nothing comparable to the Vnion of two ancient and famous Kingdomes, which is the other inward Peace annexed to my Person. (*PW* 271)¹⁸

In accordance with this "Vnion of two ancient and famous Kingdomes" and the peace that immediately accompanied it, the land battles on the untitled map are signalled no longer by opposing phalanxes of troops but instead by tiny tents. And although the Armada, at least parts of it, is still present, as are the invasion points, much of this material is eclipsed by the elaborate genealogy of, to cite the cartouche, "The most Royall Progeny of the Kings of England continved from William Sirnamed Conqveror, to ovr most graciovs Sovereigne Iames the First King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland" Whereas the Broadside map represents the lowland tip of the independent kingdom of Scotland as relatively barren (except for a few battle scenes), the fuller description of Scotland on the 1603-04 map renders England continuous with its northern neighbour. With the map's blurring of Britain's national boundaries, Scotland and England's geographical contiguity

is *imagined* no longer as a threat but as a means of defence. Perhaps it is not insignificant that, following Mountjoy's victory over Tyrone and the complete conquest of Ireland, the text describing Anglo-Irish battles which appeared on Speed's earlier map has been replaced by an ornamental scale bar.

Whereas Shakespeare's John of Gaunt, a cultural product of Elizabethan England, extends England's borders to make them coterminous with Britain, James's English subjects found themselves reimagining their geographical, cultural, and political place within Britain. Consider, for example, Jonson's "On the Union," written in 1604:

When was there contract better driven by fate?

Or celebrated with more truth of state?

The world the temple was, the priest a king,

The spoused pair two realms, the sea the ring. (*Poems* 1-4)

England *and* Scotland now occupy this sceptred isle. But Jonson's poem is hardly an example of British cultural nationalism. As his poem makes clear, the Kingdoms of England and Scotland now share a king and an island, an island which still retains the national boundaries of the "two realms." Notice that the poem says nothing about one united British *nation*. In part, this is because at the time of James's arrival in London there was no coherent cultural discourse in place to articulate a union of English and Scottish people. In fact, no term or concept of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales as a single polity was in existence (Morrill 1996a:5).¹⁹ Just what to call the king, if a political union were to come about, was a question that prompted much debate. In one Union tract, Sir Henry Savile's "Historical Collections" (1604), three possible titles for James are

proposed:

1. *Rex Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae* (taking Britany in the notion of Tacitus [sic] and the antientest);
2. *Rex Britaniarum (vel utriusque Britanniae) et Franciae*;
3. *Rex Britanicarum insularum et Franciae*. (*Union* 209)

As the parenthetical reference following the first entry in Savile's list reveals, Jacobean search of a political term that would encompass James's entire realm turned to terminology employed by ancient geographers. "Tacitus and the Roman writers before him take ... the word *Britania*," Savile points out "in opposition to *Hibernia*"; however, "Ptolomeus ... in his *Geography* makes the two Britanies ilands, namely Albion and Ireland" (*Union* 209). Following Ptolemy, many early modern maps of Britain, Ireland, and the smaller, encompassing islands borrowed the Latin phrase *Britannicae Insulae* (Brittanic Isles) to designate the entire Atlantic archipelago.²⁰ But James followed Tacitus in choosing the title "KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE, FRANCE, AND IRELAND" (*SRP* 96).²¹ (Initially, when it came to the question of Union, Ireland, a conquered and subaltern kingdom, was left aside). Perhaps it is not insignificant, then, that Speed's map of 1603-04, unlike the earlier Broadside map, is without a title: attempts at fashioning a British nation-state were just beginning. To forge a British national consciousness, to instill a discourse on Britain and Britishness was, of course, James's primary political and personal project. As I shall argue, the title of Speed's atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, serves as a reminder that James was not entirely unsuccessful. But the ambivalent ideological and cultural work performed in the *Theatre*

points up the intense resistance (especially on the part of Englishmen) to James's British project.

II

Although James liked to think of himself as the King of Great Britain, on March 24, 1603 he in fact became (and was to remain) King James VI of Scotland and King James I of England. The Union of the Crowns was solely a dynastic, personal union located in the body of the monarch. In other words, the Union created a dual monarchy, or as Brian Levack has described it, one head with two bodies:

It did not unite the laws, political institutions, or churches of the two kingdoms and it did not therefore create a united kingdom, a united British state, or a single British nation. It united the kingdoms only to the extent that it gave them 'one Head or Sovereign'; it did not unite them in one body politic. (1)

From the moment James ascended to the English throne, however, he sought to bring about what he chose to describe as a "perfect union" between England and Scotland. That is, James desired not only a British state (parliamentary, legal, and ecclesiastical union) but also a British nation (cultural union).

James's first formal statement on union in England came in the form of a royal proclamation "for the uniting of England and Scotland," issued in May, 1603. The proclamation "commands all his Highnes Subjects to repute, hold, and esteeme both the

two Realms as presently united, and as one Realme and Kingdome, and the Subjects of both the Realmes as one people, brethren and members of one body” (*SRP* 19). Another royal proclamation, dated October 20, 1604, “concerning the Kings Majesties Stile, of King of Great Britain” continues the royal enterprise of laying the ideological and cultural foundations for a homogeneous British nation-state. Underpinning this proclamation’s rhetoric of union is the emphasis on England and Scotland’s geographical and cultural proximity:

the Isle within it selfe hath almost none but imaginarie bounds of separation without, but one common limit or rather Gard of the Ocean Sea, making the whole a little world within it selfe, the Nations an uniformitie of constitutions both of body and minde ... A communitie of Language ... An unitie of Religion ... and the surest knot of lasting Peace.²² (*SRP* 95)

For James, fashioning Great Britain entailed more than simply improving Anglo-Scottish relations; it meant transforming Englishness and Scottishness into an emergent Britishness. To persuade the inhabitants of Britain to think of themselves as Britons, James patronized court masques that sought to disseminate royal propaganda,²³ he implemented coins with images of the king’s new style inscribed on them, and he introduced a new British flag—a prototype of the Union Jack—that “joynd together” the red cross of Saint George and the white cross of Saint Andrew (*SRP* 135). As Sir Francis Bacon put it, James’s intention was to “imprint and inculcate into the hearts and heads of the people, that they are one people and one nation” (*L & L* 227).

From poems to state papers, treatises to political tracts, James’s proposals for

union elicited a plethora of contrasting and conflicting responses.²⁴ Of those in favour of a union, perhaps the name most recognizable to literary and cultural historians is that of Francis Bacon. Writing “not as a man born in England, but as a man born in Britain” (*L & L* 228), Bacon reiterated many of James’s pro-union arguments. In his *Brief Discourse Touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland* (1603), Bacon eschews the Brutus myth by honouring James as “the first king ... to unite these two mighty and warlike nations of England and Scotland under one sovereignty and monarchy.” Like James, Bacon highlights England and Scotland’s geographical and cultural proximity to reaffirm the natural union that ostensibly promises to pave the way for Britain’s political union: “there be no mountains nor races of hills, there be no seas nor great rivers, there is no diversity of tongue or language, that hath invited or provoked this ancient separation or divorce” (*L & L* 92). For Bacon, then, Anglo-Scottish union presents a remarkable means of strengthening Britain’s geopolitical stability. To force this point home pro-unionists often turned to the English incorporation of Wales (1536) as an example of an advantageous union. In his address to the English Parliament in 1603, James himself asked “hath not the vnion of Wales to England added a greater strength thereto?” Yet, as James went on to point out, “though [Wales] was a great Principallitie, [it] was nothing comparable in greatnesse and power to the ancient and famous Kingdome of Scotland” (*PW* 271). And herein lay the problem: on what terms should the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland take place?

While the example of England’s incorporative union with Wales appealed to some of James’s southern British subjects, others were openly hostile to England’s

incorporation of Scotland. Among the primary concerns expressed by dissenting Englishmen was the fear that union would open the floodgates for an influx of sycophantic courtiers as well as poor and uncivilized Scots into the economically richer southern nation. "Mak the Scottes free of Englande," Sir Henry Spelman asks in his "Of the Union" (1604), "what will be the sequele?"

First, many of their nobles and principall gentlemen will strive to seate themselves as near the Coorte as they cann. And good reason they shoulde, for who doth not desire the influence of the sonne. But our houses, our landes, our lyvinges shall by that meanes be boughtte upp in all places. And they having favour of the prince to begg and now capacitye by the lawe to take, shall not only obteyne leases and inheritances in all partes of England, but the offices of State and government also. (*Union* 175)

Whereas Bacon welcomed a natural union with reference to "*mistio*," that is "the joining or putting together of bodies under a new form" (*L & L* 94), Spelman was decidedly against the mingling of the English and the Scots: "When any of them ar thus placed," he writes, "their nexte care will be to strengthin themselves with the neighbourhoode of some other of their kinsmen, frendes and cuntrymen, and so by little and little interlace the Scottes with the English in all places" (*Union* 176). By no means was Spelman alone in his crude rejection of Anglo-Scottish union. The same year in which Ben Jonson wrote his pro-Jacobean "On the Union," he collaborated with George Chapman and John Marston to write *Eastward Ho*, a play in which one character voices a desire to see 100,000 Scots shipped to the New World, where "we should find ten times more comfort

of them ... than we do here” (3.3.41-2).²⁵

Even if the English Parliament had accepted incorporative union, James’s Scottish subjects, who, unlike the English, had never been thoroughly conquered by a foreign power, were unwilling to abandon their Parliament for Westminster, to embrace English law, or to reform the Scottish Kirk so as to meet the demands of the Anglican Church. Although the Scots were resistant to incorporation, they were not averse to a federal union that would allow the two kingdoms to retain their independent parliaments and churches while working in political, legal, and ecclesiastical unison for the benefit of all of Britain’s inhabitants. The English Parliament, however, dismissed any notion of a federal union. Even Bacon, writing just one year later, appears less assured. In his “Certain Articles or Considerations Touching the Union of The Kingdom of England and Scotland” (1604), a much more judicious but still loyal Bacon now could be heard reminding his sovereign “it is true that there are no natural boundaries of mountains, or seas, or navigable rivers; but yet there are badges and memorials of borders” (*L & L* 223). Realizing that his vision of a “perfect union” was attracting little support, a frustrated James modified the tone of his rhetoric in order to gain the support of the English Parliament as the debate over the proposed union came to a head in 1606-07. In 1607, he was still speaking of his “desire [for] a perfect Vnion of Lawes and persons,” but he was now informing Englishmen of “an Vnion, as if you had got it by Conquest ... you are to be the husband, they the wife: you conquerors, they as conquered, though not by the sword, but by the sweet and sure bond” (292, 294).²⁶ Even this conciliatory rhetoric, however, could not win over the many opponents of union. By the time of the publication of the

Theatre, indeed by 1607, James's vision of "one people, brethren and members of one body" was rejected by both the Scottish and English Parliaments.²⁷

III

If the royal iconography on Speed's untitled map of 1603-04 invites us to read *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* as a text informed by James's vision of a united Britain, so, too, does the title of Speed's atlas. Of course Speed borrows the word "Theatre" from Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.²⁸ The reference to "Great Britain" in the title, however, unequivocally echoes James's preferred nomenclature for the island. In the aforementioned proclamation of October 20, 1604, James declared "Wee have thought good to discontinue the divided names of England and Scotland out of our Regall Stile, and doe intend and resolve to take and assume unto Us in maner and forme hereafter expressed, The Name and Stile of KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE, FRANCE, AND IRELAND ..." (SRP 96). Just as Speed was influenced by James's project, the King in turn was indebted to cartographers. In fact, James highlights the role cartography played in fashioning his royal title when he notes that his new "Name and Stile" is taken from "the true and ancient Name, which God and Time have imposed upon this Isle, extant, and received in Histories, in all Mappes and Cartes, wherein the Isle is described" (SRP 97). While James's remark hints at the potential ideological uses of cartography for representing and disseminating images of a united Britain, by no means is Speed's *Theatre* merely a vehicle for royal propaganda. Indeed, the cultural politics embedded in Speed's

cartographic images and chorographic descriptions of the British Isles are much more complex than critics have hitherto acknowledged.²⁹

Dedicated to the “MOST HIGH AND POTENT MONARCH, JAMES, OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND IRELAND KING ... IN LARGER AND VNI-TER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, RESTORER OF THE BRITISH NAME, ESTABLISHER OF PERPETVALL PEACE” (dedication page), Speed’s *Theatre* announces itself as a text unambiguously invested in the (re)invention of Britain, a (re)invention which, as we have seen, was pervasive in the early years of James’s reign, especially at the time of his coronation.³⁰ The one map in the *Theatre* that seems to be most committed to James’s vision of “one people, brethren and members of one body” is the one that opens the atlas, the only map that in a single image represents all of James’s kingdoms: namely, the map of “The Kingdome of Great Britaine and Ireland” (fig.4).³¹ In his *Historie of Great Britaine*, Speed, like many of his contemporaries, praises James for “restoring to the *Iland* her ancient Name, *Brittania*” (1241). A similar strategy of praise is inscribed on Speed’s map of the British Isles. Of the two coins on the map, one depicts the female figure “Britannia,” the other portrays the ancient British King and restorer of peace “Cynobelin.” Surely the representation of Cunobelinus (Cymbeline) functions as a compliment to James, who brought peace to the British Isles and whose motto was *Beati Pacifici*. Of course the inclusion of these coins and the images inscribed on them are likely inspired by James’s introduction of new coins such as the “Unite” as well as the “Thistle Crown,” a coin which on its obverse side depicts the English rose and on the reverse the Scottish thistle and therefore literally served to circulate union propaganda.³²

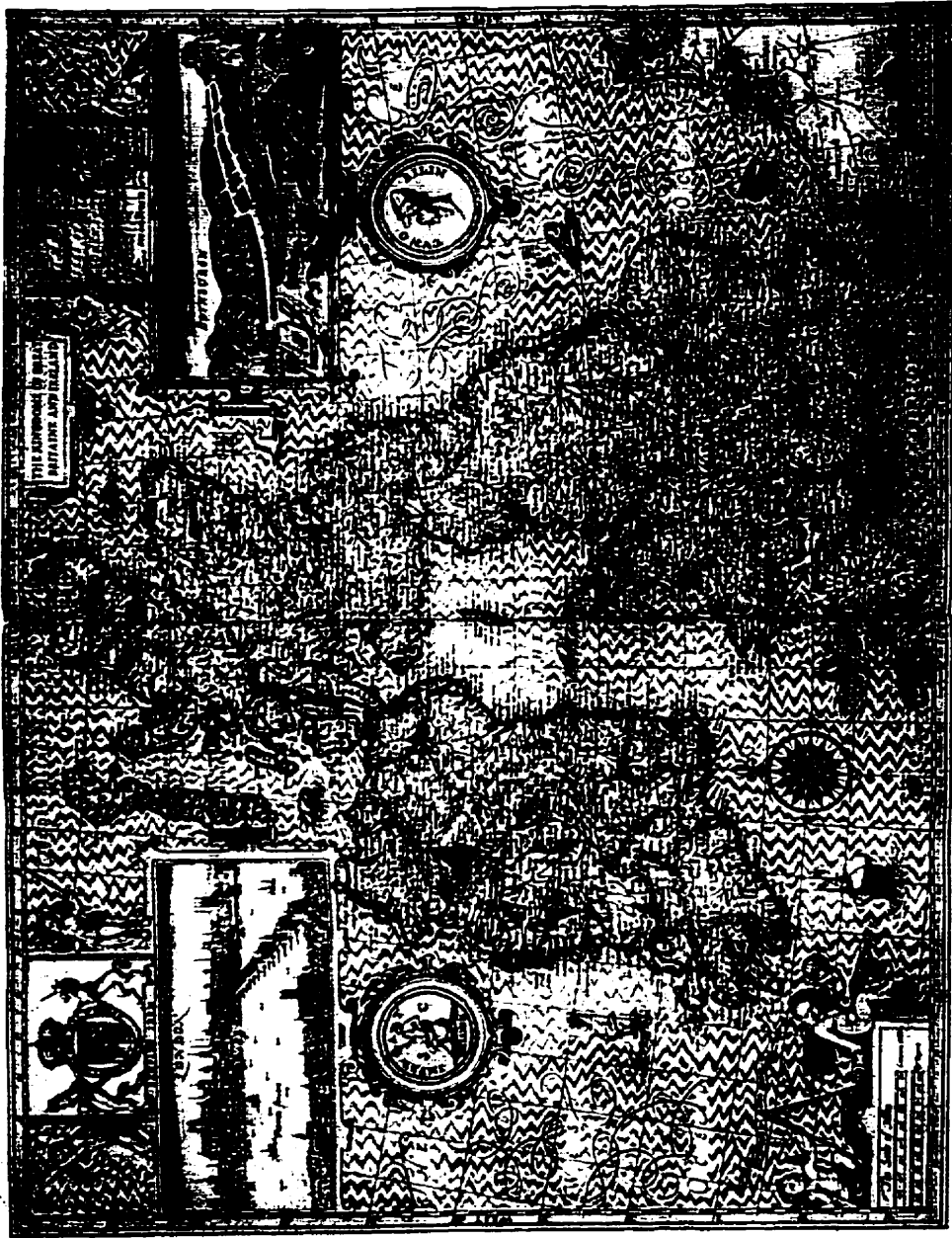


Fig. 4. "The Kingdome of Great Britaine and Ireland," from John Speed's *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae*, London 1616. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. BL Maps C.7.c.20.

That the map of “The Kingdome of Great Britaine and Ireland” celebrates the Union of the Crowns is further evidenced in the inclusion of the panoramas of London on the map’s left-hand side and Edinburgh to the right of Scotland. These panoramas, it seems, honour the residences of Great Britain’s two parliaments. But they can also be read as a poignant allusion to James’s failed attempt at parliamentary union. Dynastic union, as Bacon reminded James, would not easily obliterate centuries of Anglo-Scottish hostilities. “One of the main sources of animosity between Englishmen and Scots,” according to Levack, “was the memory of previous armed conflict between them” (193). Although Speed’s map of the British Isles ostensibly works to obscure those former hostilities, it paradoxically draws upon and therefore re-awakens the memories of them. The map’s representation of Edinburgh, R.A. Skelton has pointed out, is adapted from an earlier manuscript (BL Cotton MS Augustus I.ii.56) depicting the 1544 assault by English forces on the city (1970:37). Speed, however, has remodelled the original: the earlier manuscript map’s image of an encroaching English army has been erased, and in place of the soldiers stand trees. But beneath the harmonious surface of Speed’s map of Great Britain and Ireland lies an unsettling reminder of previous Anglo-Scottish conflict.

While I agree with traditional readings that view the *Theatre* as a monument to regal union and the accompanying peace it (briefly) delivered, I want to argue that Speed’s atlas is less certain, even anxious, about cultural union. Consider, for example, the general maps of England and Scotland. Inscribed in the margins of these maps are the people of each respective nation. The map of England represents a hierarchically and domestically ordered society of nobles, gentles, citizens, and a couple from the countryside (fig. 5).

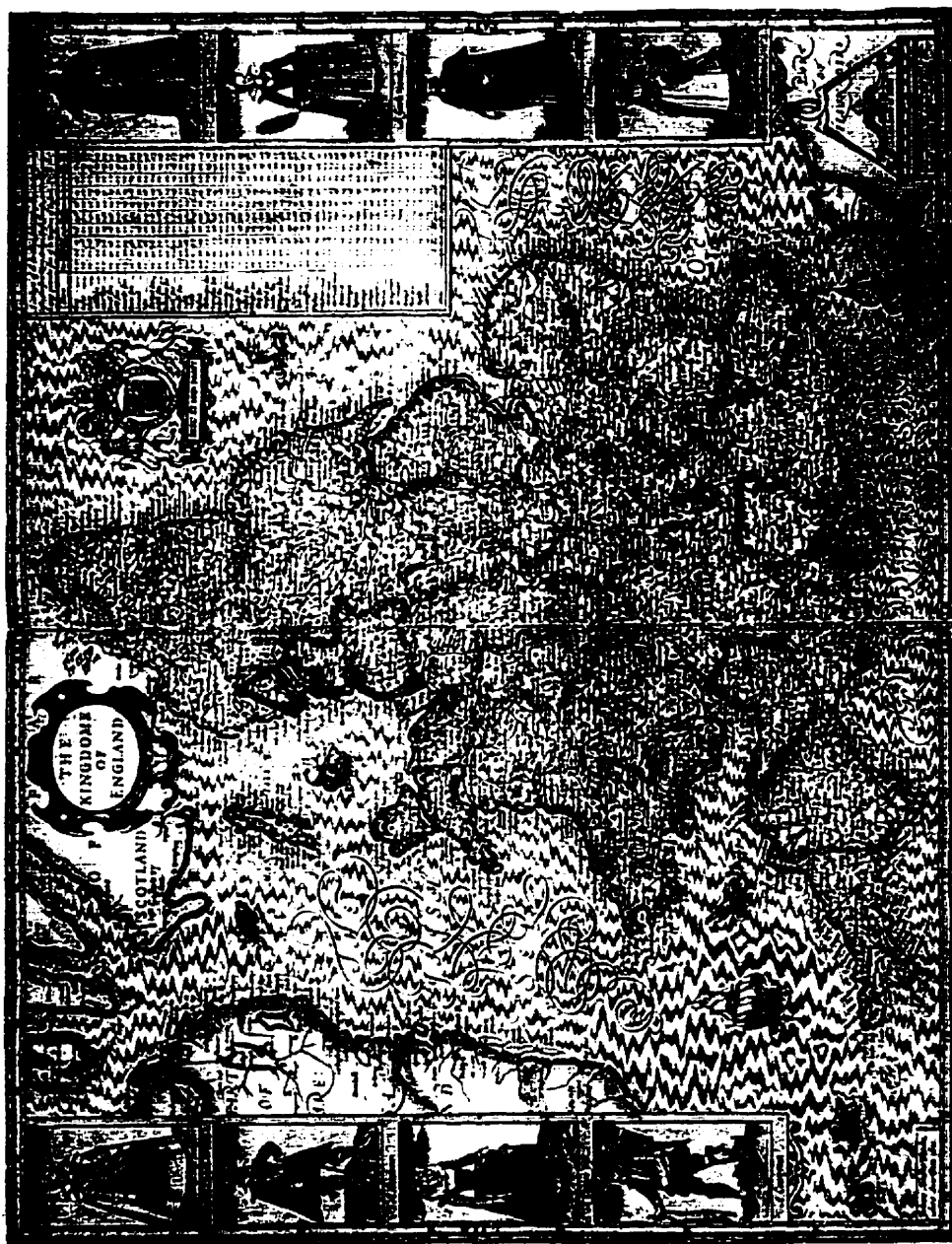


Fig. 5. "The Kingdome of England," from John Speed's *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae*, London 1616. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. BL Maps C.7.c.20.

Thus, the cartographic image presents not just the land but also socially diverse representatives of Englishness. What makes England England is both the physical kingdom and its inhabitants: England, as it were, is mapped onto itself. On the map of Scotland we find James and Anne, King and Queen of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, along with the two princes, Henry and Charles (fig. 6). James, as his title makes clear, is a composite monarch. But just as the text presents James in his preferred “Name and Stile of KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE,” it also figures him as a composite monarch of distinctly Scottish origins. Speed, to be sure, insists on the cultural and genealogical proximity of Lowland, non-Gaelic Scots and the English. The “southern people” of Scotland, he writes, “are from the same Original with vs the *English*, being both alike the *Saxon* branches” (130). But just as Speed posits Anglo-(Lowland)Scottish cultural proximity, his reference to “the English” as “us” reinscribes difference.

To what extent, therefore, is the *Theatre* ideologically invested in James’s vision of “one people, brethren and members of one body”? Speed’s atlas of the British Isles is dedicated to the King; its title admits to the influence of James’s British project, but where are the signs of, to quote Bacon, a “commixture of bodies” (*L & L* 92)? As I have suggested, the bodies on the margins of the maps of England and Scotland serve as sites of distinct national representation: that is, English bodies and Scottish bodies. The map of the British Isles, on the other hand, contains no figures in the margins, no British bodies.³³ The *Theatre*, in other words, inscribes physical embodiments of Englishness and Scottishness, but Britishness never inhabits a body.

Well, almost never. The *Theatre*’s frontispiece portrays a “BRITTAINE” (fig. 7).



Fig. 6. "The Kingdome of Scotland," from John Speed's *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae*, London 1616. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. BL Maps C.7.c.20.

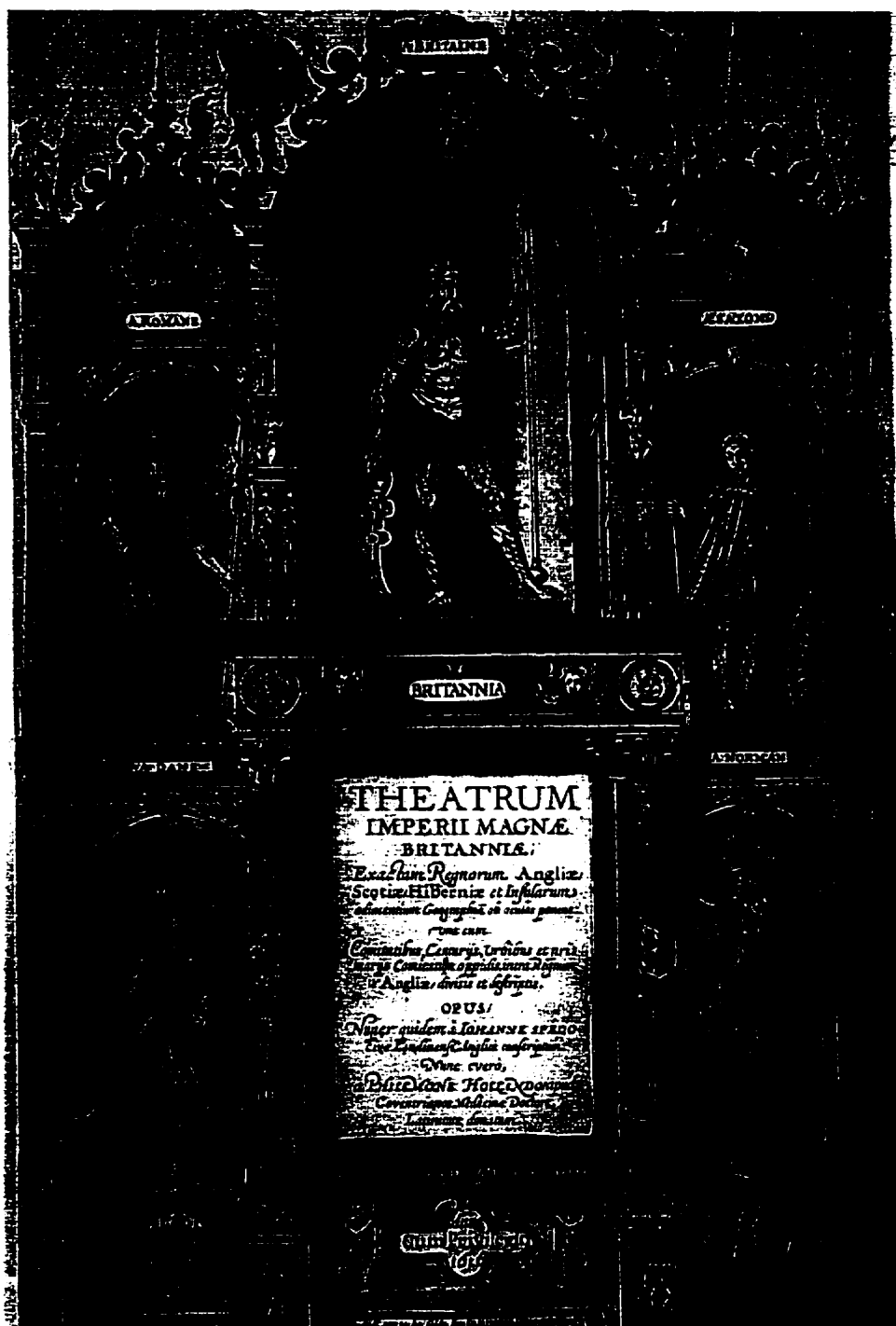


Fig. 7. Frontispiece, from John Speed's *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae*, London 1616. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. BL Maps C.7.c.20.

But this tattooed Briton is less a representative of contemporary Britishness than an archaic relic of a primitive, brutish past. The *Theatre*, therefore, shows little interest in retrieving a British subject from the dim horizon of antiquity. In fact, in his *Historie* Speed writes “[a]s touching the first *Inhabitants* and original *Names* of the *Iland*, things so far cast into the misty darknesse of obscurity and obliuion ... there is no hope left vs so lately borne to discover them” (5). Perhaps it is not surprising that the text accompanying Speed’s map of Great Britain and Ireland is given over to antiquarian discourse about a Roman province: the opening chapter is entitled “The British Ilands proposed in one view in the ensuing map. with a generall description of *Great Britaine* vnder the romans.”³⁴ It is only after the general map of Great Britain and Ireland has been displayed, only after “*Great Britaine* vnder the romans” has been described that Speed then turns to the “three kingdomes that are (in present) the chiefe Bodies of GREAT BRITAINES MONARCHIE” (2). Of signal importance here is Speed’s use of the plural: that is, the three separate national identities of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

It is important to note that the anti-unionist Spelman contributed a commendatory inscription to the *Theatre*. What, however, was there in the *Theatre* for Spelman to commend? Probably the sense that the *Theatre* identifies Britons as not only artefacts of the past but also as artefacts to be left in the past. What emerges ambivalently or tacitly in Speed’s atlas is given full voice in Spelman’s anti-union tract:

if the honorable name of England be buried in the resurrection of Albion or
 Britannia, we shall change the goulden beames of the sonne for a cloudy
 day, and drownde the glory of a nation triumphant through all the worlde

to restore the memory of an obscure and barberouse people, of whome no mention almoste is made in any notable history author but is either to their owne disgrace or at least to grace the trophyes and victoryes of their conquerors the Romans, Pictes and Saxons. (*Union* 170)

By including images of “A DANE,” “A ROMANE,” “A BRITAINE,” “A SAXON,” and “A NORMAN,” Speed’s frontispiece suggests that any notion of a purity of origins, a homogeneous British people is sheer folly: Britain’s inhabitants are the product of intersecting and intermingling peoples and cultures. By drawing attention to Britain’s heterogeneous genealogical roots, the frontispiece labels James the composite ruler of decidedly mongrel kingdoms.

It is interesting to note that the text accompanying the map of the British Isles informs the reader that

wee will (by example of best Anatomists) propose to the view the *whole Body*, and *Monarchie* intire ... and after will dissect and lay open the particular Members, Veines, and Ioints (I meane the Shires, Riuers, Cities, and Townes) with such things as shal occurre most worthy our regard, and most behouefull for our vse. (1)

Although the *Theatre* opens with a cartographic representation of the entire body of James’s realm—Great Britain and Ireland—this geographical body is ultimately subjected to dissection. As the *Theatre* turns its attention to amplifying English and politically assimilated Welsh counties, to exhibiting a general map of Scotland as well as a general map of Ireland and its four provinces, James’s vision of a homogeneous British cultural

identity is displaced in favour of several, distinct nationalities.

Perhaps I should say temporarily displaced, for the *Theatre* does not altogether abandon James's British project. I want to suggest that the Fourth Book of the *Theatre*, which consists of Speed's general map and description of Ireland along with maps and descriptions of the four Irish provinces (Connaught, Leinster, Munster, and Ulster), participates in the dissemination of a burgeoning Ulster Britishness. "The invention of Britain," Maley suggests, "was a painful process entailing both unification, represented in a British origin-myth as reunification, and colonization" (1995:6). If the *Theatre's* handling of the British origin-myth is strained, it expresses less uncertainty about colonization and the cultivation of British culture on the other side of the Irish Sea.

The historical context for this incipient Britishness is, of course, the Anglo-Scottish plantation of Ulster, begun in earnest in 1609. At the time of James's accession Ulster remained the most Gaelic of the four Irish provinces. Following the "Flight of the Earls" (Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone and Hugh O'Donnell, earl of Tyrconnell) in 1607 and the failed rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Doherty in 1608, official plans were devised for mass colonization in the six escheated Ulster counties of Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine (renamed Londonderry), Donegal, Fermanagh, and Tyrone. On the eve of this plantation project, James, speaking to the 1609 English Parliament, remarked, "as for *Ireland*, yee all know how vncertaine my charges are euer there, that people being so easily stirred, partly through their barbaritie, and want of ciuilitie, and partly through their corruption in Religion to breake forth in rebellions." In order to avert any further "rebellions" in Ireland, James informed Parliament of his plan to "maintaine there continually an Armie,

which is a goodly Seminarie of expert and old Souldiers. And I dare neuer suffer the same to be diminished, till this Plantation take effect, which (no doubt) is the greatest moate that euer came in the Rebels eyes" (*PW* 319-20).³⁵ James's reference to the mote in the eye is, of course, biblical in origin (Matthew 7:3-4); however, given the context—the plantation of a colony of non-natives in Ulster—it is not unlikely that James is punning on "moat." As one historian of Ulster pointedly reminds us, "a new Pale was in the making" (Morgan 31). As with the other English Pale at Dublin, this Pale was devised (to borrow Stanyhurst's phrase) to "feaze away" the Gaelic inhabitants.³⁶

In a letter addressed to King James, entitled "Certain Considerations Touching the Plantation in Ireland" (1608-9), Bacon described "unions and plantations" as "the very nativities or birth-days of kingdoms" (*L & L* 116). For Bacon, Ireland was to serve as the site of British identity formation, or, to pursue Bacon's metaphor, a pregnant Ireland was due to give birth to "another Britain" (*L & L* 119). As initially imagined by James, a union of his English and Scottish subjects was to be a natural union, "the worke of God and Nature, and whereunto the workes of Force or Policie cannot attaine" (*SRP* 95). Bacon promises his king that a similar non-violent union would unfold in Ireland: "For most part of unions and plantations of kingdoms have been founded in the effusion of blood: but your Majesty shall build *in solo puro et in area pura*, that shall need no sacrifices expiatory for blood" (*L & L* 117).³⁷ But Ulster could be represented in terms of a *tabula rasa* because of the violent wars that had eradicated the land's native inhabitants. Whereas Bacon's propitious rhetoric elides this violence, Sir John Davies's vision of plantation foregrounds conquest, dispossession, and plantation:

the husbandman must first break the land before it be made capable of good seed; and when it is thoroughly broken and manured, if he do not forthwith cast good seed into it, it will grow wild again and bear nothing but weeds; so a barbarous country must be first broken by a war before it will be capable of good government; and when it is fully subdued and conquered, if it be not well-planted and governed after the conquest, it will eftsoons return to the former barbarism. (*Discovery* 70)

Before planting a new kingdom, the vestiges of the old order have to be weeded out. This is not so much union as it is brutal imperial intervention. Indeed, only by means of an erasure of Gaelic culture was Ulster to become a site of a nascent Britishness.

Plantations were nothing new to Ireland. Previous efforts in Leix and Offaly (1556) and the plantation of Munster (1585) were carried out with some success; less successful were Sir Thomas Smith's (1570) and Walter Devereux's (1572-3) failed attempts at establishing colonies in Ulster. But what distinguishes the 1609 Ulster plantation from preceding ones in Ireland was the presence of both English and Scottish planters. The plantation of Ulster, as Nicholas Canny points out, was "contrived to effect the introduction of purely British communities in particular areas." "It was required," he adds, "that those selected as undertakers would be English or Scottish gentlemen of means who would receive grants of up to 3,000 acres of profitable land..." (1987a:164). Crucial, here, is the phrase "Scottish gentlemen": the Scottish planters were to be Lowland, Protestant, anglicized Scots, not Catholic Celts from the Scottish Highlands or the Western Isles.³⁸ If an Anglo-Scottish union was to take effect in Ulster, then another

union was to be dismantled: namely, the political and cultural union forged between the native inhabitants of north-east Ulster and their fellow Gaels across the North Channel.³⁹

Numerous Englishmen, Spenser among them, bemoaned the fact that a Gaelic Irish-Scots alliance had frustrated English attempts at effecting a complete conquest of Ireland. If Anglo-Scottish union was to bring geopolitical stability to the British Isles, nowhere would this stability be more welcome than in Ulster. In his “Of the Union of Britayne” (1604), the Scotsman Robert Pont predicted that a union would deliver a blow to the destabilizing presence of “wild and savadg Irish of the English dominion, and of the Scottish ilands the Hebridiani...”:

These dout lest the English and Scottish once formed into one bodie, that they by force shalbe made subject to the lawes, when as before for every light and trifling matter ... they were readie to flie out and to ayde one another in their wicked defections. And if happely by any sleight or stratagem they were hemmed in or empaled, the Irish embarqued themselves for the Scottish iles, and these Hebridiani with their complices had a fourth into Ireland—which was no small troble and chardg to both nations. Which disease and distemper may now soone be cured, the whole state of Albion being reduced to the empire of one soveraigne, their being no place of refuge for the rebell, and the stubbornes of the seditions easily tamed, the power of the prince being doubled. (*Union* 22)

Anglo-(Lowland)Scottish union, according to Pont, promised to bring about, if not the extirpation, the suppression of Gaelic culture. In this, Pont is not at odds with the official

view from Whitehall, for James, as we have seen, had no vision of cultural or political union that welcomed Ireland. Yet, we have also noted that despite (perhaps in spite of) James's rhetoric of Anglo-Scottish national union no English (or Irish) migration to Scotland took place, and no English settler community emerged in Scotland. "No Englishman married a Scottish heiress," observes John Morrill, "or acquired a large Scottish estate, in the period down to 1689." Although a number of Scottish noblemen accompanied James to London, and although some married English women, "no one sold up and moved permanently to England" (Morrill 1996b: 76-77). Ulster, then, was seen as a testing-ground for fashioning British subjects. Writing in 1612, John Davies refers to James's "*British* undertaker" (221), and speaks of a "mixed plantation of *British* and Irish" (*Discovery* 222 my emphasis). Although James's English and Scottish subjects failed to become Britons in Britain, another attempt at forging British consciousness was under way in what was formerly the crown's least obedient province.

Early modern English maps of Ireland, as is well documented by historians of cartography, were an essential resource for those involved in the reconquest, recolonization, and administration of Ireland. "As of 1550," Peter Barber observes, "the English had little knowledge of Ireland beyond the Pale." But by 1610,

ministers were familiar with the physical and political geography of the kingdom ... with Robert Lythe's surveys of Munster and Leinster (1568-71), the two John Brownes' survey of Connaught (1580s), Richard Bartlett's survey of Ulster (1597-1603), and Francis Jobson's work throughout the island providing a geographical basis for its government and

administration. (Barber 61).⁴⁰

In the wake of the 1603 conquest, if not earlier, a specific cartographic genre dominated Irish map-making: namely, government plantation surveys.⁴¹ Irish plantation surveys came about as huge amounts of land were transferred from rebellious Gaelic Irish and Old English subjects to English and Scottish colonists. “In transferring land from rebel to settler,” J.H. Andrews explains, “the authorities’ most urgent cartographic need was for an accurate record of the name, acreage and boundaries of every forfeited ploughland or ballibo” (1978:6). Many of these plantation surveys are still extant in manuscripts housed in British and Irish libraries. One such extent manuscript map is “A plott of the six escheated Counties of Vlster” (BL Cotton MS Augustus I.ii.44.), believed to be the work of the English surveyor Francis Jobson. I draw attention to this specific map because included among those named as recipients of confiscated land is “S[ir] John Davis,” who, according to the map, was awarded 1000 acres in “Clonaghmore” and “Grauetagh.” As solicitor-general (1603-06) and then attorney-general (1606-19) in Ireland, as author of *A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued* (1612), Davies played a leading role in orchestrating the carve-up and plantation of the six escheated Ulster counties, “counties which,” Canny points out, “had been surveyed and mapped by 1609 and for which grants on paper had been assigned the following year” (1987a:166). This map is of particular interest, moreover, because it is precisely Davies who, as we shall see, invites us to identify Speed’s cartographic and chorographic discourse on Ireland with the plantation project.⁴²

Unlike Davies, the “principal architect” (Canny 1987a:164) of the plantation

scheme for Ulster, Speed, to my knowledge, never actively participated in colonial adventures in Ireland. Yet, looking once again at Speed's earliest "Invasion" map of c.1601, it is important to observe its dedicatory inscription: "To The Right Worshipfull Sir Oliuer Sanct Iohn Knight" (fig. 8). At the time of the Broadside map's publication, Oliver St John was fighting alongside Mountjoy in Ireland.⁴³ It is fitting, then, that the word *Bellum* appears under the portrait of St John. In 1605, St John was made master of the ordnance in Ireland; in 1608, he was named a commissioner for the plantation of Ulster. Moreover, before St John eventually served as Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1616, he had amassed large tracts of land in Ulster. If the dedication to Saint John draws attention to Speed's familiarity with Irish politics, Davies' contribution to the *Theatre* explicitly foregrounds the ideological import of Speed's Irish maps.

Among the numerous uses to which maps could be put was "foster[ing] the ideological background to a series of plantation projects in Ireland" (Klein 1995:116). This is an important point because it calls into question the rigid boundaries that delimit early modern cartographic genres. Consider, for instance, the following statement from Julia Reinhard Lupton:

English maps of Ireland were almost always designed for military and legal purposes, in order to establish strategies of attack and defence, and, in consolidating military success, to (re)determine the boundary of property—bluntly pragmatic concerns which distinguish these documents from the humanist, antiquarian, patriotic, scientific or aesthetic ambitions of printed atlases by cartographers such as Saxton, Camden or Ortelius. (96)

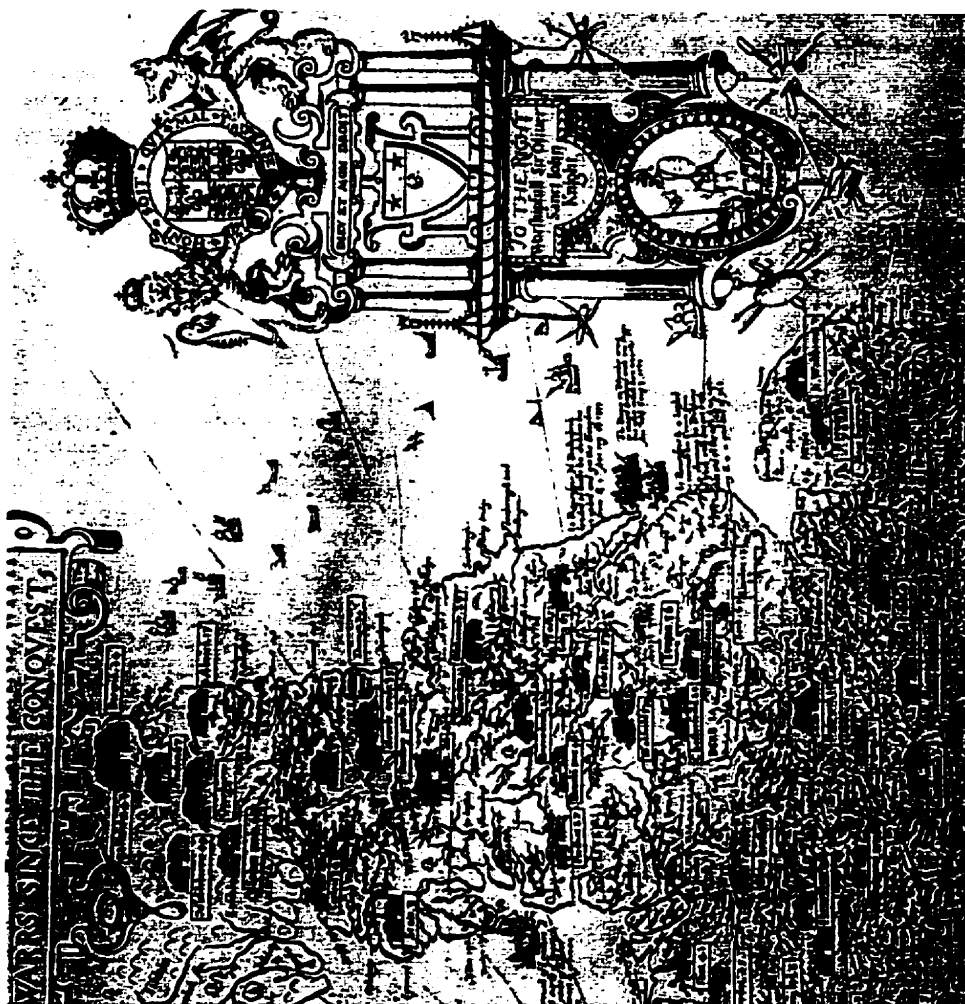


Fig. 8. Detail from "The Invasions of England and Ireland with all their Civill Warrs Since the Conquest."

Rather than maintaining a strict separation between, on the one hand, politically motivated, officially commissioned manuscript maps of Ireland and, on the other, distinctly aesthetic, antiquarian, commercial interests that underpinned the production of printed atlases, it is crucial to consider the interplay between aesthetics and ideology, the aesthetic ideology of Speed's printed atlas—an atlas which doubtless reached a greater readership than the majority of manuscript maps. Unlike an official, detailed plantation survey, Speed's general map of Ireland, as well as his charts of the Irish provinces, would not have provided much practical help to the newly-arrived British planter. Yet, his maps did perform another function, and to get sense of their symbolic value, let me turn to Davies' contribution to the *Theatre*.

At the conclusion of his general description of Ireland, Speed proposes to show his readers Ireland "as now it is, first in generall, and then in parts" (139). By no means did Speed's cartographic anatomization of Ireland elude Davies' eye. In his commendatory poem prefacing the *Theatre*, he writes:

The faire *Hibernia* that *Westerne* Isle likewise,
 In every *Member*, *Artire*, *Nerue*, and *Veine*
 Thou by thine *Arte* dost so *Anatomize*,
 That all may see each parcell without paine. (sig. ¶ 2)

By drawing an analogy between the cartographer and the anatomist, Davies brings into the open the ideological significance of Speed's maps. In relation to early modern maps of Ireland, Davies' analogy is not inappropriate. Both anatomical and cartographic discourse are given over to the organization of space: the former spatializes the interior of the

human body, whereas the latter maps out the body politic. Just as the anatomist flays and dissects the corpse, so too the cartographer exposes, displays, and dismantles the conquered colonial landscape. Likewise, just as early modern anatomists surveyed the interior of dead bodies and inscribed (their) names upon the body's organs, the colonial cartographer performed a spatial and territorial reformation of the anatomized body politic.⁴⁴ Thus, figuratively speaking, the corpse upon which the cartographer mapped English economic, legal, political, and social forms was an anatomized Gaelic political culture. The cartographic image, then, works to erase the memory of fragmented and highly unstable Irish (and Old English) lordships with a coherent image, at once real and symbolic, of a reformed, refashioned landscape.

The candid emphasis in Davies' poem on bringing Ireland into view, then, implies no neutral, disinterested gaze. The emergence of early modern surveying and mapping, although far from systematic, was crucial to reconquest and recolonization of Ireland. Cartographic representations of post-conquest Ireland continued to expose Ireland, but for purposes other than solely military. As Davies' commendatory poem makes clear, by fixing Ireland as the object of the colonizers's gaze—"That all may see each parcell without paine"—the early modern reader of Speed's appropriately named *Theatre* is placed in the position of voyeur: the male reader is invited to gaze upon a feminized, domesticated landscape. Indeed, as the word "parcel"—which could mean not only a part of the country but also a piece of property—suggests, Davies associates Speed's Irish maps with the plantation literature that sought to advertise and promote Ireland to prospective planters by exposing the lush Irish land to their view.

A prime example of this plantation literature is Thomas Blenerhasset's *A Direction for the Plantation in Vlster* (1610). Writing as "one of the Vndertakers in *Farmannagh*" (sig. A2v), Blenerhasset—whose name also appears on the aforementioned "A plott of the six escheated Counties of Vlster"⁴⁵—opens his text with the image of a barren land: "Dispoyled, she presents her-selfe..." (sig. A2). Rhetorically, Blenerhasset's oration functions to solicit prospective planters to Ulster, those to whom "she presents herself." Although vanquished and desolate, the colonial landscape is simultaneously, and erotically, reimagined for the purposes of plantation as a fecund, inviting female body: "Fayre *England*, she hath more People then she can well sustaine: goodly *Vlster* for want of people vnmanured, her pleasant fieldes and rich grounds, they remaine if not desolate, worssse" (sig. A2v). Having been stripped bare, Ulster is in need of refashioning: "now there remayneth nothing but how to couer her nakednes" (sig. D2v). Not surprisingly, the *Direction* concludes with an exhortation to England and "all the inhabitants of spacious *Brittane*" (sig. D2):

Fayre *England*, thy flourishing Sister, braue *Hibernia* ... comendeth vnto thy due consideration her yongest daughter, depopulated *Vlster*⁴⁶: not doubting ... how the long continuance of lamentable warres, haue raced & vtterly defaced, whatsoeuer was beautifull in her to behold, and hath so bereaued all her royalties, goodly ornaments, & well beseeming tyers, as there remaineth but onely the Maiesty of her naked personage, which euen in that plite is such, as whosoever shall seek and search all Europes best Bowers, shall not find many that may make with her comparison. (sig.

D1v-D2)

The feminization, eroticization, and commercialization of the landscape is, of course, a master trope in both classical and early modern colonial and travel narratives.⁴⁷ This is particularly true of “promotional narratives” of the New World which, as Patricia Parker argues, participated in “‘blazing’ or publishing ... the glories of the feminized New World, of the possibilities of commercial abundance and ‘return’” (1987:141).⁴⁸ But Blenerhasset’s depiction of Ireland as England’s “flourishing Sister” is not merely a rehearsal of a conventional narrative. The Jacobean feminization of Ulster is very much the product of specific social and historical conditions, and this feminization functions to dispel deeply ingrained cultural anxieties about Ireland. Just a decade earlier, it is important to recall, “brother Ireland” often appeared in Elizabethan discourse as an intractable “land of ire.” But in the wake of conquest, in anticipation of plantation, the “land of ire” has been rechristened by Blenerhasset “braue *Hibernia*.” No longer a land to be pacified, Ireland now is a land to be planted. As Davies puts it, “Ireland (which heretofore might properly be called the ‘land of ire’ because the irascible power was predominant there for the space of 400 years together) will henceforth prove a land of peace and concord” (*Discovery* 223).

If the message to prospective planters in Blenerhasset’s pamphlet is “make speede, get thee to *Ulster*” (sig. C4), Davies’ commendatory poem suggests that Speed’s images of Ireland will encourage the emigration of British planters to Ulster. Indeed, Davies’ comments invite us to read Speed’s aesthetically pleasing cartographic depictions of “faire *Hibernia*” alongside contemporary plantation literature such as Blenerhasset’s pamphlet

and, although a less obvious text, the 1607 augmented edition of William Camden's *Britannia*. Camden's *Britannia* began as an antiquarian study of Roman Britain; however, the 1607 edition, which was dedicated to King James, devotes ample space to Jacobean Ireland. Not only does Camden insert a general map of contemporary Ireland (based on Mercator's map of 1595), but, as Rudolph Gottfried points out, he also "improves the description of Ulster and northern Connaught, regions of which cartographers had just begun to give a recognizable picture" (Gottfried 125). Furthermore, as the text bears witness, the revisions to the Irish section of the 1607 edition were inspired by the plantation project in Ulster.⁴⁹ In fact, in his section on Ulster, Camden describes a land "so full of forrage, and so fertile, that it easily gratifies the Industrious husbandman" (1007).⁵⁰

As already mentioned, Camden's *Britannia* is the source for much of the chorographical description in the *Theatre*, and the Irish section is no exception. Consider, for example, Speed's description of Ulster's soil:

This equall temperature causeth the ground to bring forth great store of seuerall Trees, both fit for building, and bearing of fruit; plentifull of grasse for the breeding of Cattle, and is abundantly furnished with Horses, Sheepe and Oxen; the Riuers likewise pay double tribute, deepe enough to carry Vessels either for pleasure or profit, and fish great store ... though in some places it be somewhat barren, troubled with *Loughes*, *Lakes*, and thicke Woods, yet is it euery where fresh, and full of Cattle and forrage, ready at all times to answer the husbandmans call. (144)

This last line clearly echoes the 1607 edition of the *Britannia*. If this topographical description serves to encourage plantation in Ulster, so too does Speed's map of the province (fig. 9). Camden notes that in order to "keep [the Irish] in subjection and order ... this hither part was formerly divided into three Counties, *Louth*, *Down*, and *Antrimme*; and now the rest is divided into these seven Counties, *Cavon*, *Fermanagh*, *Monaghan*, *Armagh*, *Colran*, *TirOen*, and *Donegall* or *Tirconell*" (1007). With its delineation of Ulster's nine counties, Speed's map serves to disseminate an image of topographical stability. This sense of stability is reinforced by the map's inset displaying the fort at Enniskillen and the numerous fortifications in Armagh, Monaghan, and Tyrone, which serve to communicate an image of the formerly rebellious province as a secure and stable land.⁵¹ Also striking about Camden's account of Ulster is the emphasis on past rebellions. "But as the soil for want of culture, is rough and barren," he writes, "so the Inhabitants, for want of education and discipline, are very wild and barbarous" (1007). However, Camden's reference to the "wild and barbarous" Irish is noticeably qualified by the following gloss: "This is to be understood of the Irish Inhabitants, who are now so routed out and destroyed by their many Rebellions, and by the accession of Scots (who for the most part inhabit this Province) that there are not supposed to be left 10000 Irish, able and fit to bear arms in *Ulster*" (1007). Like Blenerhasset's promotional pamphlet, both Camden and Speed present an image of a depopulated yet fortified Ulster awaiting plantation.

The subject of plantation is also evident in the ideological effect of Speed's general map of Ireland (fig. 10). In the very essay in which Harley invited cultural historians to



Fig. 9. "The Province Ulster," from John Speed's *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae*, London 1616. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. BL Maps C.7.c.20.



Fig. 10. "The Kingdome of Irland," from John Speed's *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae*, London 1616. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. BL Maps C.7.c.20.

pay particular attention to a map's "total image"—the geographical image *and* the accompanying marginal emblems, descriptive notes, and decorations—he cited Speed's map of Ireland as a prime example. Reprinted in the left margin of the map of Ireland are illustrations of "gentle," "civil," and "wild" Irish men and women (fig. 11).⁵² More than mere decoration, this vertical ordering of colonial subjects—"gentle" on top, "wild" at the base—complements Speed's cartographic desire to impose spatial order on Ireland. As Harley puts it, this image disseminates "a social order among the inhabitants of Ireland which through the map would become associated with the country as a whole" (1983:n.13).⁵³ Although Harley does not make the connection, it is not difficult to see how the map's naturalization of hierarchical colonial relations works to inspire plantation. This becomes even more obvious once the map of Ireland is contrasted with the general maps of England and Scotland. On these two maps representatives of Englishness and Scottishness appear in both the left and right borders. In other words, the marginal figures encompass the geographical image; the land's inhabitants delimit the national territory. On the map of Ireland, on the other hand, the figures appear only on the left-hand margin. With the six figures pushed to one side, literally marginalized, the cartographic image opens a discursive space that serves to invite incoming planters from the other side of the Irish Sea.



Fig. 11. Detail from "The Kingdome of Irland."

V

Shortly after the publication of the *Theatre*, the Jacobean court witnessed a performance that staged the ideological work that underwrites Speed's chorographic and cartographic representations of Ireland. On December 29, 1613 (and once again five days later), Jonson's *The Irish Masque at Court* was performed before the King in honour of Frances Howard's second marriage, this time to the King's favourite, the Scottish courtier Robert Carr, newly created earl of Somerset. What is striking about this production is its mystification of the "civilizing process": striking because it was produced at a time when James's Old and New, Catholic and Protestant English subjects in Dublin were engaged in an intense struggle for Parliamentary power.⁵⁴ Jonson's masque opens with a band of uncouth Irish servants who reveal that their Lords, recently arrived from Ireland to take part in the nuptials, have lost their masquing apparel during a storm on the Irish Sea and therefore must "dance forth a dance in their Irish mantles" (125). But antimasque gives way to masque as "a civil gentleman of the nation" (127) interrupts the four Irishmen and proclaims: "Hold your tongues! / And let your coarser manners seek some place / Fit for their wildness. This is none; begone!" (136-38). Accompanying this "civil gentleman" is an "immortal bard" (137) who prophesizes a transformation of the compliant, mantle-clad Lords into newly fashioned British subjects:

Bow both your heads at once and hearts;

Obedience doth not well in parts.

It is but standing in his eye

You'll feel yourselves changed by and by;
 Few live who know how quick a spring
 Works in the presence of a king.
 'Tis done by this: your slough let fall,
 And come forth newborn creatures all. (159-66)

"In this song," the text notes, "the masquers let fall their mantles and discover their masquing apparel, then dance forth" (167-68). Given the volatile political scene in Ireland, Jonson's *Irish Masque* ranks among the more relaxed representations of colonial interaction in the early modern period. Yet, it remains an important text in that it literally enacts the process of British identity formation in Ireland. Although the word "British" is never uttered, it is important to recall that the roles of the submissive Irish Lords in the masque were performed by English and Scottish courtiers. With its British ventriloquization of Irish voices, Jonson's masque symbolizes the Anglo-Scottish appropriation of Irish land and the supplanting of Gaelic culture.

In many ways the six static figures on Speed's map of Ireland are personified in the representation of Ireland's tractable subjects in Jonson's *Irish Masque*. Indeed, the way in which the map organizes its image of a stable social hierarchy corresponds to the masque's colonial ideology: both texts exhibit images of literally refashioned colonial subjects. Just as the masquers throw off their Irish mantles, Speed's "Gentleman" and "Gentlewoman" of Ireland, as well as his "Civill Irish" man, sport English-style clothes. Their English habit, however, is shrouded by an explicitly Irish article of dress: namely, their Irish mantles.⁵⁵ If, as Jonson's masque suggests, clothes are crucial markers of political

identity, the culturally hybrid apparel on the bodies of Speed's figures points to a destabilization of the maps' image of socio-political stratification, a destabilization that is also apparent in the map's ethnic descriptions. The "gentle" man and woman at the top of the inset image are "of Ireland." Given the complex colonial context, what exactly does "of Ireland" signify? Does it mean that they are of the "reformed" Gaelic aristocracy, of Old English descent, or representatives of New Englishness? The "civil" and "wild" men and women, on the other hand, are not "of Ireland" but rather "Irish," which, it seems, insinuates that they are native to Ireland. The rugged mantles of the "Wilde" Irish man and woman as well as his glibbed hair surely designate these figures Irish. But the representation of the "Civill" Irish man and woman is more ambiguous.⁵⁶

Again, the "Civill" man is in English-style dress; however, the "Civill" woman, who cradles, swaddles a baby in her mantle (Spenser's "bad housewife"?), wears explicitly Irish attire. Her wimple-style white linen covering, one historian of Irish dress points out, was commonly worn in sixteenth-century Ireland by married women after the birth of their first child.⁵⁷ Crucial here is the liminal position of the "Civill" Irish woman, who is situated vertically in between the "Gentleman of Ireland" and the "Wilde Irish man." Since early modern discourse on Ireland often figures Irish women as agents of cultural contamination, it is possible to view Speed's "total image" of Ireland as an image haunted by the spectre of "degeneracy." Indeed, the manner in which the six figures are ordered allows for a reading that views the "gentle" subjects as threatened by, if not undergoing, a reversal of the "civilizing process." Perhaps the images on Speed's map would have reminded early modern readers of the once "gentle" and "civil" English settlers in Ireland

who, to cite Davies, “with [the Gaelic Irish] married and fostered and made gossips” and eventually “became degenerate and mere Irish in their language, in their apparel, in their arms and manner of fight, and all other customs of life whatsoever” (*Discovery* 84). As I argued in the previous chapter, moreover, cultural “degeneracy” was often couched in terms of emasculation. Spenser’s Irenius, I noted, speaks of English settlers who “through licentious conversing with the Irish, or marrying and fostering with them ... have degenerated” (*View* 66). That the “Civill” Irish woman is, sinisterly, placed to the left of the “Civill” Irish man is not insignificant. Early modern medical discourse, Ian Maclean points out, represented the “effeminate male” as the disturbing result of male semen that had been planted in the left-hand side of the uterus, a space reserved for females (38). Far from a model of ideological containment, then, Speed’s map of Ireland foregrounds Jacobean Ireland’s multiple, fluid, hyphenated identities—“native,” Old English, New English, Lowland Scots, Borders-Southwest Scots.

Writing in 1612, Davies looked forward to the day when “the next generation [of Irish] will in tongue and heart, and every way else, become English, so as there will be no difference or distinction but the Irish Sea betwixt us” (*Discovery* 217). It is interesting that Davies envisions a process of anglicization and not briticization. How quickly he has forgotten James’s British project. Of course, it would not be long until the tenuousness of James’s desire for union, as well as the “peace” in Ireland, was exposed on both sides of the Irish Sea. The strains of these intra- and inter-island conflicts are not absent from later editions of the *Theatre*. In the 1652 reissue, published in the wake of the “War(s) of the Three Kingdoms,” the four royal portraits that once graced the map of Scotland have been

replaced by less than flattering images of “A Scotch Man” and “A Scotch Woman,” below which are portraits of “A Highland Man” and “A Highland Woman” clad in plaid (fig. 12). In his description of Scotland in the first edition of the *Theatre*, Speed noted that “The whole *Kingdome* is diuided in two parts ... the *South* whereof is the more populous and more beautified in manners, riches, and ciuilitie: the *North* more rude, retaining the customes of the *Wild Irish*, the ancient *Scot*” (131). The first edition of the *Theatre*, then, defines Englishness and (Lowland) Scottishness against Irishness. Savile’s union tract makes a similar gesture: while tracing Lowland Scottish and English cultural proximity to their similar habit, he writes

whereas the Germans do and of antient time did the better sort of them use, as Tacitus sayt, *veste stricta et singulos artus exprimente*, a close and a straight garment to their body, and the Irish both now and antiently *veste fluitante*, a loose garment, it is evident that the Scots, as well as we, are Germans in the manner of their apparelling, rather than Irish. (*Union* 215)

But while Savile was defining Anglo-Scottish customs against those of the Irish, Spelman was constructing Englishness against both the Scots and the Irish: “as for their [the Scots] manners and language, though in parte often resemble us, yet the greatest parte concurreth with the naturall Irishe, embracing their mariages and customes in that respect and the unfitter also to be united” (*Union* 180-81).⁵⁸ The 1652 edition of the *Theatre* seems to be in agreement with Spelman; indeed, the demarcation of civil and wild Scot is less easily sustained. Under the pressure of Anglo-Scottish hostilities, the “wild Scot” has become a part of the map’s “total image” of Scotland. As the British Isles were mapped and



Fig. 12. Detail from "The Kingdome of Scotland," from John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, London 1676. Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. RB 204587.

remapped throughout the early modern period, as maps were decorated and redecorated, so, too, were the bodies of its heterogeneous inhabitants fashioned and refashioned.

NOTES

1. The MS. is in the Public Record Office (S.P.Ir.202.pt.4.58); however, Renwick's edition of the *View* reproduces this variant passage (197).

2. Graham Parry discusses Ben Jonson's and Thomas Dekker's contributions to the "King's Entertainment," the grand pageant that welcomed James to London on March 15, 1604. The Entertainment made much of James's reputed descent from Brutus and, not surprisingly, no mention of his mother Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots; see Parry 12-13.

3. Jacobean discourse on Britain is residual in the sense that it draws upon a Galfridian narrative as well as Elizabethan reworkings of that narrative. It is emergent in that dynastic politics obliged King James VI and I's heterogeneous subjects to redefine themselves as subjects of a British king.

4. "Though the arrival of James resolved anxieties over the succession," Martin Butler notes in his study of early Stuart masques, "its cost was a cultural dilemma over nationhood that was potentially almost as traumatic" (68). Butler provides a wonderful study of the way in which Stuart masques, often read as little more than vehicles for royal propaganda, "respond creatively and pragmatically to the novel imperatives of Union" (71).

5. See Butler 75, n.4.

6. Given that the story of Britain's Trojan origins functioned as a sustaining myth for England's sixteenth-century monarchs (who claimed suzerainty, but not sovereignty

over Scotland), it is not surprising that many Scots rejected, or rewrote, the “Brut tradition.” Particularly offensive to the Scots, Roger Mason points out, “was the claim that the kingdom of Scotland was nothing more than a dependency of the English crown” (62). Not simply an instance of sycophantic praise, Munday’s representation of James as “our second Brute” can be read as an attempt to assuage English anxiety about the arrival of a Scottish king.

7. The *Theatre*, according to Levy, “had done for Britain what Ortelius had done on a global scale” (196). R.A. Skelton suggests that the *Theatre* was “the most valuable cartographic property of the 17th century” (1970:234).

8. Although the title page of the *Theatre* bears the date of 1611, we know that the final product was the culmination of years of labour. Skelton suggests that Speed compiled the work between roughly 1596-1610. As we shall see, the textual commentary accompanying Speed’s map of Ireland was most likely written after 1607, since it echoes material that first appeared in Camden’s revised edition of the *Britannia* of that year.

9. The signatures and pagination of the first edition of the *Theatre* and the *Historie* are continuous. The *Theatre* was originally conceived as a topographical section of the *Historie*. While the *Theatre* remained popular throughout the seventeenth century, the same cannot be said of the *Historie*, which was last printed in 1650.

10. Nigel Nicolson and Alasdair Hawkyard’s *The Counties of Britain: A Tudor Atlas by John Speed* is an obvious exception, for it reproduces all of Speed’s maps from the 1616 Latin (coloured) edition of Speed’s *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae*. By designating the *Theatre* a “Tudor Atlas,” however, Nicolson and Hawkyard seriously

misrepresent a text that, although motivated by the work of Elizabethan county atlases, is very much a product of Jacobean Britain. For a similar insistence that the *Theatre* is a distinctly Jacobean, British atlas, see Bernhard Klein 1995:117. Except for brief quotations, *The Counties of Britain* does not include Speed's textual commentary, which appeared on the reverse of each map.

11. In his analysis of the "cartographic representation of England," Helgerson provides a stimulating interpretation of the way in which maps "strengthened the sense of both local and national identity at the expense of an identity based on dynastic loyalty" (114). Whereas Helgerson focuses exclusively on maps of England (actually, English county maps) and reads them against the backdrop of political (Parliamentary) resistance to the crown, I want to suggest ways of reading Speed's maps of the British Isles in relation to the ideological and cultural conflicts generated by Jacobean discourse on Britain and Ireland.

12. "The exercise of power enacted by European cartography during the early modern period," Walter Mignolo argues, "should not necessarily be taken as the paradigmatic example of an increasing mastery of the real world but rather as one more example of performative ordering of space according to sacred, economic, or political interests" (254). This is, of course, particularly true of maps of the New World and Africa; however, it also concerns early modern cartographic images of Ireland, a point to which I will return.

13. Although there is no definitive proof of whether Speed or Jodocus Hondius, who engraved Speed's maps in Amsterdam, was responsible for decorating the map-

borders, cartographic historians submit that Speed indeed supplied the accompanying material. Skelton notes that between 1605 and 1610 Speed sent to Hondius the decorative material. "From Speed," Skelton writes, "Hondius must have received compilation materials in considerable variety: printed county maps with hundred boundaries and other detail added in manuscript, coats of arms, drawings of antiquities, rubbings of coins or inscriptions, portraits, and other things from the notebooks of Elizabethan antiquaries" (1970:34). Similarly, Alan Hodgkiss writes of Hondius's "skill in blending *the material supplied by Speed* into a coherent and attractive design..." (48 my emphasis). Although having knowledge of just who supplied the material for the map's "total image" is important, I am less concerned with authorial intention than the ideological effect of the "total image."

14. This map is reproduced in R.A. Skelton's facsimile edition of *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*. The two earlier versions of this map are reproduced in Rodney Shirley's *Early Printed Maps of the British Isles, 1477-1650*; see 96-98, 106-07. Shirley reproduces only the geographical image. For the accompanying text see "The Invasions of England and Ireland with all their Civill Warrs Since The Conquest," STC 23037 (London, 1601). The slightly revised text that accompanies the 1627 "Invasions" map can be found in Skelton's facsimile.

15. *A Description of the Ciuill Warres of England* concludes with the attribution "Collected by Iohn Speede Citizen of *London*. Anno 1600." As Shirley points out, two other copies of the c1601 map exist, but only the Broadside map (which was discovered in 1969 bound up in a copy of Camden's *Britannia* in the University Library, Cambridge)

includes the explanatory text; see Shirley 96-98.

16. Although Harley's work was influential in getting historians to appreciate the political content embedded in maps, a number of critics have challenged his reading of maps as only instruments of power. I agree with David Baker, who warns against (mis)reading maps "as simple extensions of power," and (mis)reading "imperial power ... as simply extending an unbroken domination across its possessions" (1993:79).

17. In the only study of this recently discovered map, Günter Schilder and Helen Wallis note that the 1603-04 map contrasts "the conflict of past eras—the civil wars—with the achievement of a unified realm" (26).

18. Similarly, the earliest Stuart royal proclamation, drafted by Robert Cecil one hour after Elizabeth's death, announces James as "lineally and lawfully descended from the body of Margaret, daughter to the High and Renowmed Prince, Henrie the seventh ... the said Margaret being lawfully begotten of the body of Elizabeth, daughter to King Edward the fourth (by which happy conjunction both the houses of Yorke and Lancaster were united, to the joy unspeakable of this Kingdome, formerly rent & torne by the long dissention of bloody and Civil Warres) ..." (*SRP* 1-2).

19. As S.T. Bindoff points out, the earliest English use of "Great Britain" in a political sense dates from 1548 when Somerset sought to establish an Anglo-Scottish union through a marriage between Prince Edward and the infant Queen Mary. Somerset urged the English and Scots to be "like as twoo brethren of one Islande of greate Britayn" (qtd. in Bindoff 201).

20. See, for example, George Lily's *Britanniae Insulae* ... (Rome, 1546), BL

K.Top.V.(1); see also Abraham Ortelius's *Angliae, Scotia, Et Hibernia, Sive Britannicar: Insularum Descriptio* (Antwerp, 1570), BL Maps C.2.c.1—both of these maps are reproduced in Shirley.

21. Cf. the first Stuart royal proclamation, which declares the new King “James the sixt King of Scotland ... now ... also ... James the first, King of England, France and Ireland” (*SRP* 2).

22. In a speech before the English Parliament earlier in the year, James similarly remarked: “Hath not God first vnited these two Kingdomes both in Language, Religion, and similitude of manners? ... These two Countries being separated neither by Sea, nor great Riuer, Mountaine, nor other strength of nature, but onely by little small brookes, or demolished little walles, so as rather they were diuided in apprehension, then in effect” (*PW* 271-72).

23. In particular, I am thinking of Ben Jonson's *Hymenaei*, which was performed on January 5, 1606 to honour the marriage of Robert Devereux, the earl of Essex and Frances Howard. As D. J. Gordon has pointed out, James's rhetoric of union informs the masque's celebration of the Union of the Crowns.

24. See, for example, the tracts—three by Scotsmen, three by Englishmen—included in Bruce Galloway and Brian Levack's *The Jacobean Union: Six Tracts of 1604*. This volume contains a handy appendix that lists and briefly describes a number of other tracts that broached the question of union. That Speed may have been familiar with one of the Scottish tracts, Robert Pont's “Of the Union of Britayne,” is a possibility, for Speed was familiar with Robert's son's work on surveying Scotland. In fact, on the reverse of his

map of Scotland Speed notes that he “entended to describe” the counties of Scotland “had I not beene happily preuented by a learned Gentleman of that Nation” (131). That “learned Gentleman,” as noted in the margin, is indeed “Timothy Pont.”

25. For additional instances of xenophobic responses by Englishmen, see Levack, esp. 193-97.

26. In a speech to the Star Chamber in 1616 a bitter and disillusioned James declared “my intention was alwayes to effect vnion by vniting *Scotland* to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*” (PW 329).

27. Responding metaphorically to James’s description of union as “but an Embrio and no child,” Jenny Wormald notes that the “union of the crowns of England and Scotland had produced not the child of peace and harmony, but the monstrous progeny of fear and distrust” (1992:177).

28. The English edition of Ortelius, entitled *The Theatre of the World*, appeared in 1606.

29. I have in mind Helgerson’s description of Speed as “rabidly ... loyal to the crown” (128). Since Speed was a member of the Society of Antiquaries, which was officially disbanded by James, his coterie of readers would have included fellow Society members Sir Henry Spelman, Sir John Davies, and William Camden. I have already cited some of Spelman’s anti-union remarks; in the next section I shall consider Davies’ and Camden’s contributions to the *Theatre*. It is also important to note that Sir Fulke Greville, author of the anti-Jacobean *Life of Sidney* (1612), recommended Speed to a waiter’s room in the Custom House and granted him a stipend to write his *Historie of*

Great Britaine. See the *DNB* entry on Speed.

30. All quotations from the *Theatre* are taken from the 1611 edition.

31. Officially, this map does not represent all of James's kingdoms, for James included France in his royal title. But as the absence of France from Speed's map suggests, the English/British monarchy's claim to France was now hopelessly anachronistic. According to Bindoff, James, in the wake of his invention of his new style, "raised the question whether the meaningless 'France' should not be omitted" (211). Commenting on the king's style, Bacon suggested that James "transpose the kingdom of Ireland, and put it immediately after Britain, and so place the islands together; and the kingdom of France, being upon the continent, last; in regard that these islands of the western ocean seem by nature and providence an entire empire in themselves" (*L & L* 226).

32. James's "Proclamation for Coynes" of November 1604 describes the "Unite" as "stamped on the one side with Our picture formerly used, with this Our Stile, JACOBUS D'. G'. Mag'. Brit'. Fran'. & Hib'. Rex. And on the other side, Our Armes Crowned, and with this word, Faciam eos in gentem unam" (*SRP* 101). As Herbert Grueber points out, the legend on the reverse of the "Unite" is from Ezekiel 37:22: "And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all" (101). Bacon anticipates this reference when he cites the union of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel as an historical precedent for British union (*L&L* 98). For a discussion of James's self-presentation in the "Roman Image" on coins see

Jonathan Goldberg, 43-46.

33. No figures appear in the margins of the map of Wales. Wales, it seems, is represented as having been not only politically but also culturally absorbed by the English. In fact, in the text that accompanies his map of England, Speed writes “the Welsh became one nation and kingdome with the English” (5). In his *Discovery*, Davies posits the English conquest of Wales as an exemplary conquest: “the entire country in a short time was securely settled in peace and obedience, and hath attained to that civility of manners ... as now we find it not inferior to the best parts of England” (143).

34. Much of the material printed on the reverse of Speed’s maps comes from Camden’s *Britannia*, at times verbatim. Of course, as Levy reminds us, the “original *Britannia*, as we find it in early drafts ... was an investigation of Roman Britain” (152).

35. See also the 1611 “Proclamation for the British Undertakers to repaire into Ireland” (*SRP* 259).

36. According to the government pamphlet *Conditions to be Observed by the Brittish Vndertakers of the Escheated Lands in Vlster* (1610), the planters were commanded “not [to] Alien or demise their *Portions* or any part thereof to the meere *Irish*” (sig. B1r-v).

37. Bacon’s optimism was also shared by fellow English writers, including Sir John Davies who wrote “we may conceive and hope that the next generation will in tongue and heart, and every way else, become English, so as there will be no difference between us but the Irish Sea betwixt us” (*Discovery* 217).

38. In the aforementioned *Conditions to be Observed by the Brittish Vndertakers*

of the Escheated Lands in Ulster, the “British” planters are identified as “English, or Inland Scottish” (sig. A3). Canny’s use of the conditional “were to be” is telling. As Victor Kiernan points out, “[m]any settlers on the vast confiscated estates were Scots [from the Borders-Southwest], whose progenitors if not themselves had been Gaels.” However, adds Kiernan, “religion was a breach never to be closed” (8).

39. In his description of Ulster, Speed, not unlike Spenser before him, reflects upon the cultural proximity of the Ulster Irish and the Scots of the neighbouring islands: “This Prouince and furthest part of *Ireland*, affronteth the *Scotish Ilands*, which are called the *Hebrides*, and are scattered in the Seas betweene both Kingdomes; whose inhabitants at this day is the *Irish Scot*, successour of the old *Scythian*” (144).

40. Of course William Cecil, Lord Burghley, possessed a large collection of maps. By 1598, “Burghley had put together no fewer than two books of maps devoted to Ireland—an indication of its importance in English policy” (Barber 74). See also Victor Morgan who notes that the possible military threat from Scotland in the sixteenth century, continued military presence in Ireland, and the grants of Irish land “ensured that maps of the celtic fringe were of continuing utility to the government in London” (136-37).

41. “Such outline ‘plantation’ surveys,” J.H. Andrews points out, “belong to a colonial cartographic genre hardly known elsewhere in contemporary western Europe” (1978:6).

42. Perhaps I should say “Speed’s” maps, for, not unlike the majority of the maps in the *Theatre*, the geographical images of Ireland are gleaned from the work of other government surveyors, such as Robert Lythe, Francis Jobson, John Browne, and Richard

Bartlett; see Andrews 1978:2. The general map of Ireland (and Scotland) was copied from Mercator's *Atlas* of 1595; see Lynam 26.

43. According to the *DNB*, Saint John was knighted by Mountjoy at Dublin on February 28, 1601.

44. In his study of the Renaissance material (as opposed to solely scientific) "culture of dissection," Jonathan Sawday provides some insightful observations on the analogy between the anatomist and "the triumphant discoveries of the explorers, cartographers, navigators, and early colonialists." "The task of the scientist," he writes, "was to voyage within the body in order to force it to reveal its secrets. Once uncovered, the body-landscape could be harnessed to the service of its owner. In thus establishing the body as 'useful' ... we are able to perceive the language of colonialism and the language of science meshing with one another" (24, 25). See also Klein 1996:221.

45. Blenerhasset is listed as the recipient of 1500 acres in "Edernagh." In 1624, according to the *DNB*, "Blenerhasset was stated to own the barony of Lurge and two proportions of Edernagh and Tullenageane in Fermanagh" (2:673).

46. This is the second time that Blenerhasset uses the phrase "depopulated Vlster" in his relatively short pamphlet (see also sig. A2).

47. Blenerhasset's representation of Ulster is certainly informed by the convergence of classical and early modern imperial ideology. On the one hand, he describes Ulster as "our new worlde" (sig. C4v); he then goes on to add, "they the successors of high renowned *Lud*, will there reedifie a new Troy" (sig. D3).

48. For an intelligent discussion of the intersection of the discourses of anatomy

and discovery, see Parker's chapter in *Women, "Race," and Writing*.

49. "The colonizing policy of the new reign," Gottfried writes, "probably motivates a long insertion describing the fertility of the country" (124).

50. All quotations from Camden's *Britannia* are from Edmund Gibson's English translation (1695) of the 1607 edition.

51. In his description of Ulster, Speed writes: "The chiefe Fort in this tract is *Enis Kelling*, defended by the Rebels in the yeare 1593 and won by *Dowdall*, a most valiant Captaine" (145). Throughout Jacobean plantation literature the image of Ulster as a yielding feminized land awaiting the arrival of planters is contradicted by an urgent reminder of the need to secure a means of defence. Blenerhasset notes that "with an excellent Plantation it would be Peopled plentifully, yea fortified and replenished with such and so many goodly strong Corporations, as it would be a wonder to beholde: Without which it is not possible ... so sufficiently to secure that wilde Countrie any long time" (sig. A2v). In that Speed's other Irish provincial maps are accompanied by insets of chief towns (Dublin, Cork, Galway), Ulster is figured as the last Irish frontier in need of "reform."

52. According to Edwards and O'Dowd, "Speed secured copies of the drawings of the wild and gentle Irish men and women which had first appeared in the sixteenth-century" (127). They provide no evidence, however, to support this claim.

53. Mid seventeenth-century Dutch maps of the British Isles regularly place *Agricola Hiberniae* at the bottom of the vertically arranged decorative borders. See, for example, the maps by Jodocus Hondius (Junior) and Claes Janszoon Visscher reprinted in

Shirley (132, 138).

54. For a fuller discussion of this masque in all its topicality, see David Lindley's "Embarrassing Ben: The Masques of Frances Howard." In many ways, the complex political circumstances surrounding the marriage of the English Howard and Scottish Somerset symbolized James's failed attempts at uniting, or marrying, England and Scotland. Hailing the groom and bride in a language reminiscent of James's and Bacon's pro-union rhetoric, Donne's Somerset epithalamium asks "Should chance or envies Art / Divide these two, whom nature scarce did part?" (124-25). Shortly after their marriage, Howard and Somerset were convicted for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

55. Anxious references to the Irish mantle reoccur throughout early modern discourse on Ireland. Spenser's *Irenius*, for instance, speaks of the mantle as "a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief." "And surely for a bad housewife," continues *Irenius*, "it is no less convenient. For some of them that be these wandering women ... it is half a wardrobe, for in summer ye shall find her arrayed commonly but in her smock and mantle to be more ready for her light services; in winter, and in her travel it is her cloak and safeguard and also a coverlet for her lewd exercise, and when she can hide both her burden and her blame; yea, and when her bastard is born it serves instead of all her swaddling clothes, her mantles, her cradles with which others are vainly cumbered" (*View* 51, 52-3). For Davies, dismantling Ireland was crucial to the "reformation" of the land: "these civil assemblies at assizes and sessions have reclaimed the Irish from their wildness; caused them to cut off their glibs and long hair, to convert their mantles into cloaks, to conform themselves to the manner of England in all their

behaviour and outward form” (*Discovery* 217). Unlike the other mantle-clad figures, the “Gentleman” on Speed’s map of England sports a cloak.

56. “In the sixteenth century when fur-lined mantles became indispensable items of dress in Europe, woollen weather-proof mantles evolved in Ireland. These were worn by everyone: Irish, English-Irish and English” (Dunlevy 39).

57. Dunlevy 62.

58. “In the early seventeenth century,” Kiernan estimates, “nearly half of the population of Scotland may still have been Gaelic-speaking” (7).

CODA

Although Milton's name has surfaced only a few times in this dissertation, two of the thematic strands that I have been tracing—the entangled emergence of a repressive proto-racial colonial discourse and a proto-bourgeois nationalism often at odds with the crown—coalesce in his writings, especially those prose pamphlets produced during the volatile years from 1641–49, years that witnessed the outbreak of war(s) within and between King Charles I's three kingdoms. In the first chapter, I very briefly looked ahead to Milton's contribution to a long, albeit ideologically diverse, line of English discourse on Ireland: as Stanyhurst and Hooker borrowed from Gerald of Wales' twelfth-century anti-Irish writings, as Spenser turned to "Holinshed's" Irish *Chronicles*, so Milton's representations of the "Celtic fringe" drew on Spenser's *View*, which, it is important to remember, made its print debut in Caroline England. In the second chapter, a Milton with whom literary historians are more familiar was invoked: I suggested that the dissident traces of nascent republican thought in Spenser's poetry and prose find a full and compelling voice in Milton's anti-monarchical writings. In other words, Milton inherits and articulates not only the dissenting proto-liberal and proto-republican voices of his Elizabethan and Jacobean precursors, but also their anxious and xenophobic cultural nationalism. The presence of this latter legacy in Milton's revolutionary social, political,

and religious thought, however, is often overlooked.

In fact, Milton's republicanism is often studied—and therefore subsequently praised—in isolation from his colonial and nationalist pronouncements. One of the most remarkable recent reexaminations of Milton appears in David Quint's *Epic and Empire*. Quint's rereading of *Paradise Regained*, in particular, does a fine job of uncovering the powerful political allusions in a text that is often viewed as a retreat from the realm of politics. Milton's complex cultural politics, though, are relatively unexplored. As Quint fleshes out the Lucanian anti-imperialist strain in the poem, he concludes by opposing (indeed applauding) Milton's resistance to a repressive, centralized state to men, such as Sir William Petty, who were and continued well into the Restoration to be "servants" of the state. But Milton and Petty have more in common than Quint's work would lead one to believe. Petty was the intellectual force behind the "Down Survey" (1655-56), which, in the wake of the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland, involved surveying, measuring, and mapping the confiscated and fortified estates of anyone not of "constant good affection" to the government's forces during the upheavals of the 1640s.¹ What goes unacknowledged in Quint's valorization of Milton's "passive individualism" (339) is precisely Milton's active role in the dissemination of Cromwellian ideology. Unlike Petty—"the servant of Cromwell and the Commonwealth" (Quint 337)—Milton never served Cromwell and the Commonwealth in Ireland, but he did serve the Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland and his Council of State on Ireland.

On March 15, 1649, the first year of the nascent Republic, Milton was appointed Secretary for the Foreign Tongues by the Council of State. On March 28, his first

assignment as a government publicist was to respond to the volatile situation in Ireland.

James Butler, the earl of Ormond, appointed by Charles as lieutenant in Ireland, had recently attempted to create an alliance between the Royalists, Irish Catholics, and the Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster against the Commonwealth. In response to the publication of Ormond's *Articles of Peace*, the Council of State advised Milton "to make some observations on the complication of interest which is now amongst the several designers against the peace of the commonwealth, and they to be made ready to be printed with the papers out of Ireland, which the House has ordered to be printed" (qtd. in Corns 124). The result, his *Observations upon the Articles of Peace*, a scathing attack on the native Irish, the Old English, and the Scottish Presbyterians, reminds us that Milton played a formative role in the discursive production of Cromwellian colonial ideology.² In the Irish, Milton sees a

disposition not onely sottish but indocible and averse from all Civility and amendment ... who rejecting the ingenuity of all other Nations to improve and waxe more civill by a civilizing Conquest, though all these many yeares better shown and taught, preferre their own absurd and savage Customes before the most convincing evidence of reason and demonstration: a testimony of their true Barbarisme and obdurate wilfulnesse.... (304)

For the recently planted Scots in Ulster, Milton's words are no kinder: "wee rather have cause to wonder if the Earth can beare this unsufferable insolency of upstarts; who from a ground which is not thir own dare send such defiance to the sovran Magistracy of *England*, by whose autoritie and in whose right they inhabit there. By thir actions we

might rather judge then to be a generation of High-land theevs and Red-shanks" (333). In an accompanying footnote, Merrit Hughes notes that Milton's use of the word "Red-shanks" to describe the Ulster Scots is most likely borrowed from Spenser's *View*.³ The example of how Milton read Spenser invites literary historians to reassess both Spenser's and Milton's politics within a wider British cultural and political context. These passages also reveal that the conveniently ignored *Observations* seriously complicates Quint's representation of Milton's heroic republicanism. Perhaps most importantly, *Observations* serves to remind us that a history of the emergence of the English nation-state cannot be dissociated from the integral process of multi-national British state formation in the early modern period.

"During the seventeenth century," Benedict Anderson writes, "the automatic legitimacy of sacral monarchy began its slow decline in Western Europe. In 1649, Charles Stuart was beheaded in the first of the modern world's revolutions, and during the 1650s one of the more important European states was ruled by a plebeian Protector rather than a king" (21). Modernity has tended to couch this "slow decline" of the dynastic realm in a triumphant, teleological narrative of universal progression, emancipation, and liberation. Indeed, Anderson reinscribes such a narrative in his uncritical privileging of the cultural products of nationalism: "nations inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love" (141). If I have devoted ample space to the ways in which those that imagined the early modern English nation inspired fear, anxiety, and loathing, it was not simply to expose the "dark side" of the Renaissance. In attending to inscriptions of national and cultural identity in early modern Britain and Ireland, I have sought to shed light on a crucial period

in the on-going process of writing and rewriting selves and nations as well as the bodies and borders that bring them into being. Individual and collective identities rarely remain static, and the politics of identity formation are frequently fraught with conflict and contradiction. The republicanism so eloquently articulated by Milton may have been smothered during the Restoration, but it was never abandoned in the British Isles. Ironically, it would play a decisive role in enabling the formation of the independent Republic of Ireland. And although no simple continuity links early modernity and modernity, the ideological legacy of Milton's complex cultural politics lingers in the north-eastern British corner of Ireland.

NOTES

1. See the *DNB* entry for Petty; see also Patricia Coughlan's "'Cheap and common animals': The English Anatomy of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century."

2. In their introduction to *Politics, Poetics and Hermeneutics in Milton's Prose*, David Lowenstein and James Turner describe *Observations* as Milton's "least studied and most disturbing polemics" (3). "Hardly anyone," notes Thomas Corns in his contribution to this volume, "has looked critically at Milton's *Observations upon the Articles of Peace*"; as Corns points out, "Milton's pamphlet embarrasses his supporters" (123). Notable exceptions are Willy Maley's "How Milton and Some Contemporaries Read Spenser's *View*" in his *Salvaging Spenser* and his "Rebels and Redshanks: Milton and the British Problem"; and Paul Stevens' "'Leviticus Thinking' and the Rhetoric of Early Modern Colonialism" and his "Spenser and Milton on Ireland: Civility, Exclusion, and the Politics of Wisdom." For John Morrill, Milton's *Observations* needs to be read alongside other texts, such as Sir John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* (1646) and Henry Parker's *The Irish Massacre* (1649), texts that similarly called for the wholesale expropriation of the native Irish (1995:36).

3. Anxious of a pan-Celtic alliance, Irenius states "the O'Neales are nearly allied unto the MacNeals of Scotland, and to the Earl of Argyll, from whom they use to have all their succours of those Scots and redshanks" (114). In Ware's 1633 edition, the editor adds the following gloss: "The cause of these feares have been amputated, since the happy

union of England and Scotland, established by his late Majesty" (110). By the time Milton was writing *Observations* "the cause of these feares" had grown back.

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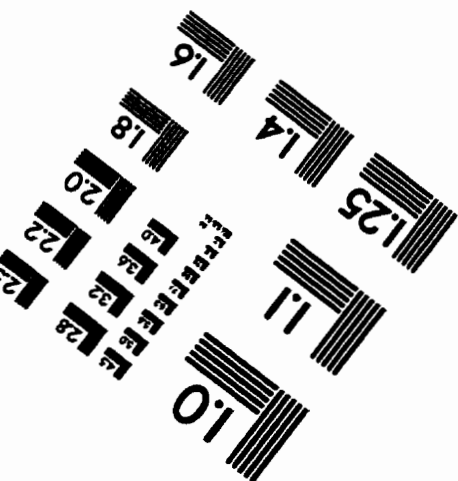
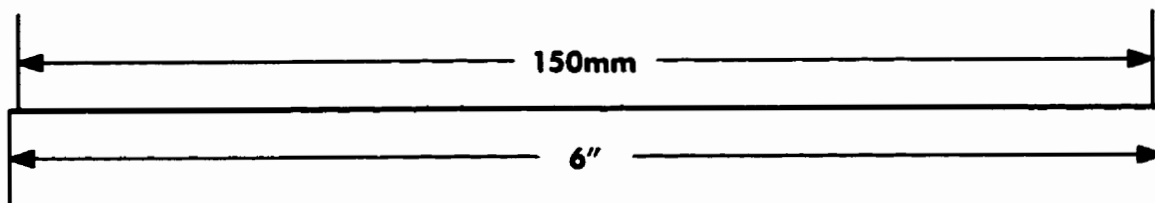
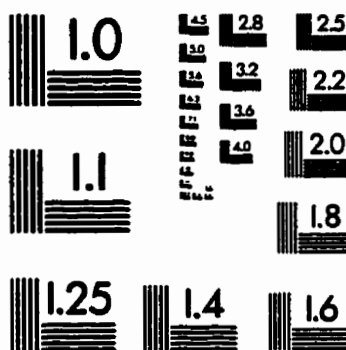
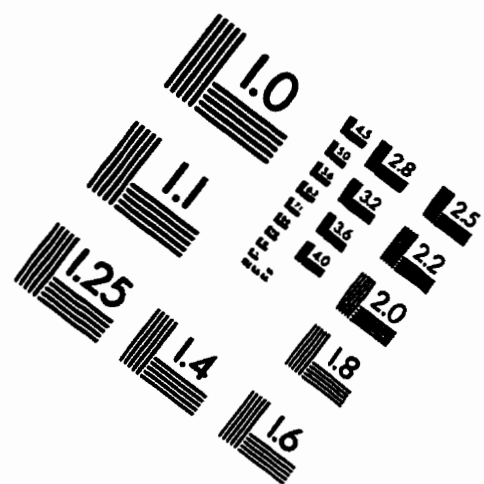
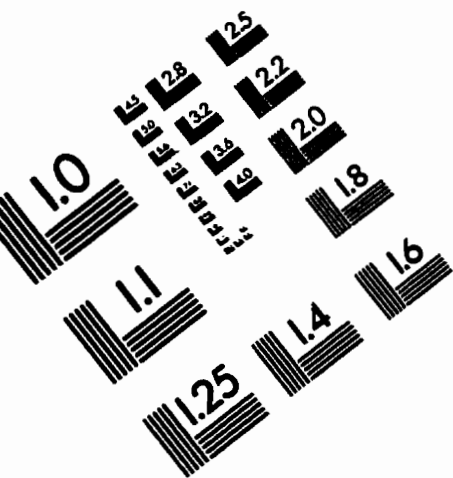
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