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**Forgetting the Ulster Plantation:
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Empire of Great Britain (1611)* and
the Colonial Archive**

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In a document entitled “Generall heads of things in the Office of Papers, July 29, 1618,” Sir Thomas Wilson, the Keeper of Records under James I, catalogued the archival records and diplomatic correspondence he had been organizing at Whitehall since 1612 as the State Paper Office. Among 12 geographically arranged sections, Wilson noted that the largest set of holdings was to be found among the “Hibernia” papers: 120 books of documents that included 30 books of letters from deputies and officials in Ireland dated from 1560 to 1612, 24 papers on trade, 6 packets of private letters and petitions, as well as “some discourses about the government thereof.”¹ Wilson’s efforts to organize the State Papers soon gained the attention of the highest officials at Whitehall, even prompting an official visit to the office by King James himself. In a letter to James I dated 10 March 1619, Wilson reminded his monarch of this earlier visit, recollecting the king’s reaction of wonder at the size and scope of the archival collection, including James’s exclamation of surprise that “we had more to do with Ireland than with all the world beside.”²

James’s sense of wonder at the sight of Wilson’s archive is remarkable for a number of reasons. It may above all help us to resituate our attention to the ways that English colonial practices in Ireland helped to shape colonial interventions elsewhere. Many of the leading figures of plantation efforts in the Americas, including Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, had first served in Ireland, while Thomas Hariot and John White chose to settle in Munster following their experiences in Virginia.³ Forms of internal colonialism in Ireland and other peripheral regions in the British Isles also provided the institutional and representational framework for later colonial encounters.⁴ As one mid-seventeenth-century pamphleteer commented, frustrated by his inability to proselytize the “natives” of Wales: “We

have Indians at home. . . . Indians in Cornwall, Indians in Wales, Indians in Ireland.”⁵ In addition, many more English migrated to Ireland during the period 1603–42 than to the American colonies: a conservative estimate is that Ireland drew at least 100,000 immigrants during these years, including 30,000 Scots arriving in Ulster, while only 21,000 and 8,000 emigrated to Massachusetts and Virginia.⁶ John Winthrop, who later served as governor of Massachusetts, even remarked in a 1623 letter from New England to his son John Jr., studying at Trinity College, Dublin, that “I wish oft God would open a way to settle me in Ireland.”⁷ England quite literally had “more to do” with Ireland than with any other site, and in Ulster, still does.

As James I toured Sir Thomas Wilson’s State Paper Office, the “marvels” of the archive represented a startling and innovative intersection of writing and power. But the power of the archive was predicated on the relative anonymity of its contributors, and ultimately, the invisibility of its workings. Even though Wilson’s archive shared the space of Whitehall Palace with other key administrative offices, the State Papers assumed a necessarily marginal existence. Unlike other record depositories, the holdings of the State Paper Office were considered state secrets and closed to access.⁸ The centrality of its documents, and the necessary practices of secrecy surrounding their accumulation and dissemination, ironically made the office sufficiently inconspicuous that King James could forget its existence, only to be startled upon realizing the labyrinthine size and complexity of the state apparatus operating within his own palace.

The archive, in its incongruous blend of meticulous documentation alongside a necessary disappearance from memory, provided a key technology in the textual production and institutional maintenance of the project that concerns the majority of its records—the expropriation of over three million acres and displacement of a population of six counties that was known, and then forgotten, as the Ulster plantation.⁹ Despite the pervasive and visceral currency of several key events in seventeenth-century Ulster—the Flight of the Earls (1607), the Ulster Rising (1641), the Cromwellian massacres at Drogheda and Wexford (1649), the Siege of Derry (1689)—the Ulster plantation resists mythologization.¹⁰ In part, this resistance to narrative may result from the nature of the state-sponsored construction and administration of the plantation, which, unlike other colonies, consequently seems to lack myths of origin, initial settlement, and survival. J. P. A. Pocock has noted the connection between English state formation and the centralization of archives in London, corollary processes that allow a monopolization of narrative and representational power.¹¹ Unlike the other major plan-

tation effort in early modern Ireland, the Munster plantation, Ulster also lacked a resident poet like Edmund Spenser to both commemorate it and urge its reform.¹² This lack of a canon of “literary” texts associated with the Ulster plantation helps to explain why literary studies of English colonialism—even those dealing with Ireland—have generally omitted any consideration of Ulster.¹³ Yet this omission is appropriate, since early-seventeenth-century commentators on the Ulster project themselves made a concerted effort to emphasize the non-“literary” character of the plantation. Sir Francis Bacon, for example, contrasted the efficiency of a proposed London council on the Ulster plantation with its precedent in the Virginia Company: “an enterprise in my opinion differing as much from this, as Amadis de Gaul differs from Caesar’s Commentaries.”¹⁴

The Ulster plantation instead becomes textually located in a documentary form of writing, an accumulation of records that constitute the majority of documents within the archive. The forms of writing that emerge out of the Ulster plantation pay witness to important transformations in the role of historical memory in the production of knowledge. Sixteenth-century historians, writing in the first wave of English colonialism, had turned to historical narrative to establish a foundation of cultural continuity. William Camden, for example, had declared his intention at the opening of his massive *Britannia* (1586; rev. 1607) to “restore antiquity to Britaine, and Britaine to its antiquity.”¹⁵ Despite the mythologizing tone of this passage, Camden’s antiquarianism is noted for its skepticism, a concerted opposition to myths of cultural origin.¹⁶ Camden’s efforts to “renew ancientie” are instead accomplished through a method that attempts to “cleare doubts, and recall home Veritie by way of recovery,” a recuperative history constituted by an accumulation of artifacts: documents, inscriptions on monuments and graves, coins, alphabets, and etymologies of place-names. Camden, whose empiricism has led to his frequent characterization as the first “modern” historian in England, exemplifies a traditional history that, as Foucault describes in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, “undertook to ‘memorize’ the *monuments* of the past, transform them into *documents*, and lend speech to those traces.”¹⁷

Camden’s “monumental” history is constructed through memory: as a historical method, Camden’s work re-collects the material documents of the past; as a form of cultural memory, his project recollects and memorializes the past in order to establish historical continuity and legitimacy. Even though Camden was a near contemporary of Thomas Wilson and the formation of the State Paper Office, Wilson’s archive and the early colonial era

represents an alternative tradition, an emerging history of documents, record-keeping, and the forms of knowledge and forgetting specific to its institutional operations. The document, in these terms, “is not the fortunate tool of a history that is primarily and fundamentally memory.”¹⁸ Rather than serving as an inert repository of the past, the mass of documentation accumulating in the archive serves the administrative, bureaucratic needs of the present moment; it embodies the constructedness of the writing of history and demonstrates a discontinuous relation to the past. The archive, in its situation as both a site of state authority and a practice of writing, depends upon a necessary erasure: as Michel de Certeau comments in *The Writing of History*, “what is perishable is its data.”¹⁹ The archive does not merely accumulate documents and produce knowledge; it also exercises forms of selection and erasure. While the archive seems predicated on the desire to preserve the past through its material documents, the writing of history, de Certeau argues, reiterates forms of loss and breakage from the past; but it is out of this struggle against loss that it constructs positions of historical distance and historiographical objectivity. The documentary form of writing allows the process of plantation to be transformed into an inert repository of documents, as power relations are effaced and restructured into an ordered “quarry of facts.”²⁰ The Ulster plantation thus produces a system of knowledge based on a disjunctive relation to historical objects, a knowledge based on loss and forgetting that finds its articulation through the technologies of history writing and cartography, and the site of its accumulation and disappearance within the contentious site of the archive and the conflicts waged over its accessibility and control.

This essay examines several indices of the necessary gaps in knowledge and historical memory that converge with the discursive formation and forgetting of the Ulster plantation. Much of my discussion will consider a key text in the documentation and displacement of the Ulster plantation, John Speed’s *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611).²¹

Speed’s *Theatre*, along with its companion volume, *The Historie of Great Britaine* (1611), borrowed much of its historical material from Camden’s *Britannia*.²² Speed’s cartographical atlas was innovative, though, because it presented the first completed set of county maps for regions of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.²³ While the majority of the sixty-seven illustrations in Speed’s *Theatre* consisted of county maps of England and Wales, the inclusion of Scotland and Ireland helped to constitute Speed’s text as the visual representation of James I’s multinational empire of Great Britain. It is

important to remember the very contemporary coinage of the term *Great Britain*, used to designate the Scottish monarch's 1603 accession to joint dominion over England and its sole colonial possession.²⁴ On his general map of the "British Isles," Speed's *Theatre* opens with a banner designating the title of James's consolidated kingdom "of Great Britain and Ireland." This founding act of imperial naming offers an appropriate beginning to the empire's first cartographical atlas, demonstrating the mutually reinforcing discourses of sovereignty and territorial possession.²⁵ In his proclamation declaring his new title as "King of Great Britaine," James had in fact justified his imperial title on the basis of the previous use of the term *Britain* in both maps and diplomatic correspondence. While acknowledging cartography and archival documentation as two primary sites where national identity is constructed and performed, James nonetheless emphasized the antiquity of his new title, "the true and ancient Name, . . . received in Histories, in all Mappes and Cartes, wherein this Isle is described, and in ordinary Letters to Our selfe from divers Forraine Princes, warranted also by Authentick Charters, Exemplifications under Seales, and other Records of great Antiquitie, giving us president [*sic*] for our doing."²⁶

Speed, like James I and other Union supporters, is confronted with a dilemma in representing James's "new" empire: while these texts attempt to celebrate the novel achievements of the Union (Anglo-Scottish unity, the conquest of Ulster, the future promise of empire), they also reflect an inability to conceive of the present moment as profoundly "new," as a disjuncture from the past; therefore, rather than emphasizing the modernity of James's United Kingdom, Speed helps construct myths of its antiquity. In an engraving that forms part of the front matter to Speed's text, Jodocus Hondius's illustration of James I's imperial coat of arms (see fig. 1), the shield of the kings of Ireland is included among the arms "of the Severall kings that have aunciently raigned within his nowe [*new*] Dominions."²⁷ Speed distinguishes between the past ("auncient") reign of the Irish and James's newly constituted and recently consolidated dominion over his territories. Hondius's engraving features a sequential arrangement of crests, depicting a process of state-building that begins with the conquest of Britain by the Romans (whose arms are featured in the upper left-hand corner) and proceeds to the bottom and right with the new territories and cultures which have been assimilated and subsumed within the empire (Saxons, Angles, Danes, Normans). By beginning British history with the Roman conquest, the design institutes a narrative of a civilizing process that culminates with the conquest of Ireland, the final stage in an inevitable consoli-



Figure 1.

Jodocus Hondius, James I's imperial coat of arms. From John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611).

By permission of the American Geographical Society Collection, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

dition of titles and corresponding territories. Speed follows other early modern historiographers in justifying the conquest of Ireland by analogy with the Roman conquest of Britain:²⁸ for William Strachey, “had not this violence, and this Iniury, bene offred vnto vs by the Romanes,” Britons would have remained cannibalistic “overgrowne Satyrs.”²⁹ As William Camden concluded, “a blessed and happy turne had it beene for Ireland, if it had at any time been under [Roman] subjection.”³⁰

Speed, like Strachey and Camden, posits conquest as the precondition of modernity; without the Roman conquest, the British Empire would not have entered its linear historical narrative. And in James’s new dominions, the erasure of Ireland ensures that it too will enter history. James’s new empire necessarily entails a selection, to quote de Certeau, of “what must be *forgotten* in order to obtain the representation of a present intelligibility.”³¹ The imperial crests foreground these past cultures, reminding and calling to memory what must ultimately be forgotten for the present political body to become intelligible.³² Hondius’s depiction of James’s empire demonstrates a version of what Homi Bhabha terms a sense of “double-time” employed in the signification of nationhood: on one hand, an atavistic national past is conjured, predating the nation to a mythic past and tracing its descent from that originary moment.³³ Yet, on the other hand, the narrativization of nation is only comprehensible from the contemporary location of the enunciation of that sign. In Hondius’s illustration, the empire can only be spoken from the present, specifically, the moment when the cherubs pull back the curtain to reveal James’s *new* dominions *now*.

Hondius’s illustration does not merely provide a sequential narrative of conquest and a historical process whereby cultural difference is subsumed into imperial unity. Hondius also grants a temporal and spatial synchronicity to the British Empire. The titular basis of James’s dynastic realm, as opposed to a more culturally homogeneous identity, allows James’s Britain to possess an accumulative potential encompassing not only the cultures previously occupying distinct spaces within his new dominions, but also those cultures (such as the “Heathen West Saxons”) that evade any discernible historical or territorial boundary.³⁴ This emphasis on state-building through an absorption and subsuming of cultures minimizes the role of conquest in the constitution of empire, a strategic choice given the position of Wales and Scotland in Hondius’s design, both of which flank the crest of Ireland. The conquest of Ireland is thus rendered comparable to these earlier territorial acquisitions nominally acquired through peaceful “incorporation” and hereditary succession.³⁵ At one level, the depiction of James’s “aun-

cient” Scottish title foregrounds the antiquity, and therefore legitimacy, of his claim to his new imperial title.³⁶ Yet Hondius’s engraving evokes another sense of “auncient”—that of a defunct, past culture—a definition made explicit through the juxtaposition of Wales, Scotland, and finally, Ireland.³⁷ In order to enable a forgetting of the contentious recent history of Ulster, James’s imperial title must first forget its Scottish origins, rendering its Scottish title among the “auncient” (and thus defunct) kingdoms whose political and cultural disappearance is prerequisite for their entrance into the historical narrative of British identity. But read in this manner, what is the cultural identity of the British Empire? James’s empire becomes, in Jeffrey Knapp’s terms, an empire nowhere, one whose component cultures must fade into the past in order for the empire to acquire coherence.³⁸ The one cultural entity omitted from Hondius’s design, though, is England. This absence lends a form of historical and territorial presence to England that the set of crests denies to the empire’s other constituent cultures. To offset the perception that James’s empire is merely England writ large, Hondius therefore foregrounds the polymorphous nature of James’s Britain, casting the empire’s identity in a manner that resists either historical or territorial location.³⁹

This dislocated representation of James’s “British Empire” results from specific ways that this image attempts but ultimately fails to rewrite historical and geographical divisions. The placement of the Scottish title in the past demonstrates an inability to coordinate James’s English and Scottish titles within a unified “British” identity. The language of a “British Empire” itself was already charged with significance, having first been formulated as a way to express English sovereignty over Scotland in the 1540s.⁴⁰ The Ulster plantation, which attempted to subsume the identities of English and Scottish undertakers within a general classification as British, ironically locates its origin within a history of Anglo-Scottish conflict.⁴¹ The earlier colonialist uses of the term *British* would seem to contradict, if not even empty of significance, the gesture of imperial foundation offered by James I’s new title; but this erasure and reinscription of meaning is an integral part of the constitution of imperial identity. As Ernest Renan points out, “to forget and . . . to get one’s history wrong, are essential factors in the making of a nation.”⁴² In the construction of James’s Great Britain, the Ulster plantation provides the necessary means to efface a history of Anglo-Scottish relations, and reinscribe national affiliations within the joint project of the conquest of Ulster.⁴³ The construction of Britishness thus conforms to Eric Hobsbawm’s notion of national identities as “invented traditions.”⁴⁴ The

Ulster context in which this identity developed also illustrates the violence inherent in its signification, which not only invents cultural traditions, but, as Ernest Gellner adds, “often obliterates pre-existing cultures.”⁴⁵ The effacement of Scottish cultural difference and historical traditions thus creates a precedent for a similar erasure of the contemporary presence of the non-“British” inhabitants of Ulster. The only space allotted for Scotland or Ireland in James’s Britain lies within the rubric of the empire and dynastic realm.

Unlike earlier sets of county maps, Speed’s *Theatre* culminates with the inclusion of a general map of Ireland along with maps of each of the four counties, a literal incorporation of Ireland into the theatrical panorama of James’s new British Empire that serves to commemorate the recent pacification of Ulster in 1603. Yet, in Speed’s map of Ulster (see fig. 2), the historical space allotted for Ireland in Hondius’s engraving, in an imprecise yet past moment of British antiquity, finds a cartographical parallel in Speed’s inability to fix Ulster at any precise spatial or temporal location. The most puzzling aspect of Speed’s map of Ulster lies in the fact that, although engraved in 1610, its details do not reflect any awareness of the Jacobean Ulster plantation. Instead, Speed anachronistically attributes much of Ulster to regional Irish chiefs, demarcating the land along the lines of sixteenth-century divisions that reflect Ulster’s earlier status as a region largely resistant to English colonial infiltration. There were empirical reasons for Speed’s inability to map contemporary Ulster, as there was no authoritative map that he could use as a model.⁴⁶ Two Elizabethan cartographers, Richard Bartlett and John Browne, were in fact killed as they attempted to survey Ulster.⁴⁷ As John Davies rather dryly recorded, the Gaelic Irish of Ulster “would not have their country discovered.”⁴⁸

The landscape of Ulster had changed substantially in the fifteen years previous to Speed’s map, particularly as a result of Ulster’s role as the site of Gaelic Irish resistance to English rule in the Nine Years’ War of 1594–1603, when Irish forces were led by Hugh O’Neill, the earl of Tyrone, and Hugh Roe O’Donnell.⁴⁹ At the war’s end, the Ulster lords had surrendered their lands to the English, and were reinvested in title and tenure under English authority. O’Donnell’s son Rory, for example, was created earl of Tyrconnell by James in September 1603. Speed’s map initially reflects its early Jacobean construction, as it attests to the detente achieved following the reinvestment of Ulster leaders under English titles. This emphasis on Ulster’s stability resembles other early Jacobean panegyrics that praised James’s role as a peacemaker. Even the bardic poet Eochaidh Ó hEodhasa



Figure 2.

*John Speed, "The Province
Ulster described." From
The Theatre of the Empire of
Great Britain. By permission*

*of the American
Geographical Society Collection,
University of Wisconsin-
Milwaukee.*

marvelled at how James's power enabled an erasure of Ulster's recent past: "More remarkable than that is the fact that we, the troubled people of Ireland, . . . [have] forgotten the tribulation of all anxieties."⁵⁰ Ó hEodhasa benefited more directly from his ability to forget the past, receiving 300 acres in County Fermanagh as a "deserving native."⁵¹ Appropriately, Speed's map also emphasizes the accommodation of the old Gaelic order within James's Britain, attributing land not only to former rebels such as Tyrone and Tyrconnell, but also to several Irish lords who had secured their titles by assisting England in the Nine Years' War, including Sir Cahir O'Doherty on the far-northern peninsula of Inishowen and Donal O'Cahan in County Coleraine.

Unlike earlier maps of Ulster, Speed's map also bears marks of the recent Nine Years' War, as an English presence is noted primarily through the identification of fortifications and passes built by Lord Deputy Mount-

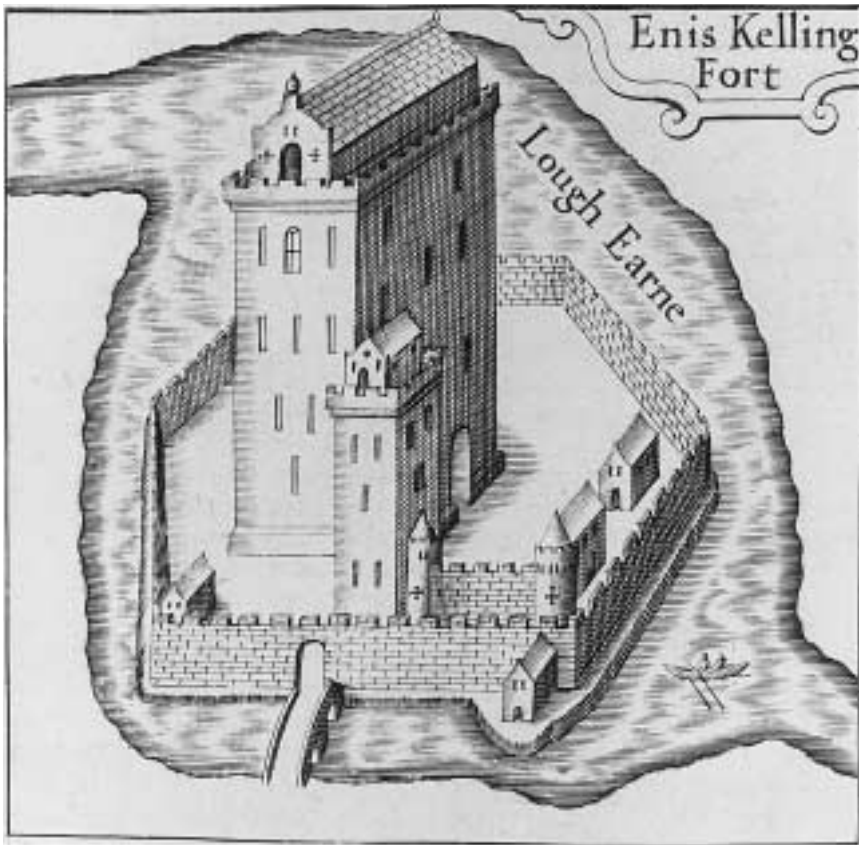


Figure 3.

Enniskilling Fort. *Detail from Speed's map of Ulster, Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain.*

By permission of the American

Geographical Society Collection, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

joy in his pacification of the Ulster chiefs. Large star-shaped marks indicate sixteen of these sites, including Mount Norris in Armagh, Fort Mountjoy in Tyrone, and the fortifications at Derry in the north.⁵² In his maps of the other three Irish provinces, Speed provides detailed cartouches containing panoramic views of major Irish cities such as Dublin, Galway, Limerick, and Cork. The map of Ulster instead features a prominent inset of Enniskilling Fort (see fig. 3), a key stronghold besieged and captured by English forces in 1594. While testifying to a lack of corporate towns in Ulster and the continued dominance of Irish systems of land tenure, the depiction of



Figure 4.

John Thomas, sketch of siege of Enniskillen Fort (1594). London, British Library, MS

Cotton Augustus I.ii.39. By permission of the British Library.

Enniskillen also points to its strategic role in the conquest of Ulster and subsequent English defenses of their gains.

Speed's inset is even more directly related to the siege of Enniskillen, as Speed derived his illustration from a sketch of the 1594 siege made by John Thomas, an English foot-soldier (see fig. 4).⁵³ One of the few contemporary details from Speed's map is thus indebted to the use of sketches and mapping for military intelligence and reporting. Speed's borrowings illustrate the interconnections between the disciplines of geography and military strategy, practices which equally, in Foucault's terms, "come to inscribe themselves both on a material soil and within forms of discourse."⁵⁴ But a comparison of the two illustrations reveals the strategies Speed employs to efface this debt. John Thomas's bird's-eye-view sketch simultaneously depicts major events in the siege, specifying the location of encampments, strategies of land and water-based assault, and forms of English military technology. Thomas's sketch also prominently displays the heads of

rebels placed within the English camp in the lower left-hand corner of the drawing. Speed's illustration limits the frame of the sketch, transposing the central figure of the fort onto an empty landscape. Speed retains the boats that Thomas had depicted laying siege to the fort, but in the form of a single boat being rowed toward the open gates of the now-pacified fortification. Speed's revision of the military sketch provides a way to memorialize the Ulster conquest while effacing the means through which this victory was accomplished, producing a bloodless conquest in which impaled heads are transposed to an empty perspective landscape.

The circulation of Thomas's sketch testifies to the conflict over documentary material among cartographers, antiquarians, and civil servants such as Sir Thomas Wilson. Thomas's sketch is now located in the "Augustus Collection" of the British Library's Cotton Manuscripts. This collection was compiled by the antiquarian Sir Robert Cotton and drawn from materials he had permanently borrowed from the State Paper Office.⁵⁵ As Keeper of Records, Wilson repeatedly had written for assistance in barring the kleptomaniacal Cotton from his office.⁵⁶ Wilson had reason for concern; unlike keepers of other depositories, such as the Chancery or Treasury offices, he was obliged by oath to recover lost records.⁵⁷ Cotton, on the other hand, was one of Speed's chief patrons; a fellow member of the Jacobean Society of Antiquaries, Cotton provided Speed with documents otherwise unavailable to him.⁵⁸

Speed's map of Ulster is thus profoundly ambivalent: it commemorates the unsettled status of the region, marking the necessity of fortifications and military rule in the province, while also emphasizing its pacification, eliding signs of the recent conquest, as in its revision of the Thomas sketch. Despite this emphasis on Ulster's pacification, the inclusion of the cartouche of Enniskillen Fort emphasizes the need for continued vigilance against future attack, a characteristic not found in the other Irish provincial maps. Yet Speed's map nonetheless divides the Ulster landscape primarily along the lines of regional Gaelic Irish lordships, memorializing a social hierarchy that had been effectively displaced from Ulster by 1610. The earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Maguire, to whom is attributed much of western and central Ulster, had fled to the Continent in 1607, opening up much of the region for confiscation and redistribution. They had left Ulster not to escape imminent military conquest, but to avoid the more subtle forms of control that the English colonial government had devised to eliminate remaining sources of Gaelic Irish authority, particularly through manipulation of the parliamentary franchise, the justice system, and land tenure.

Lord Deputy Sir Arthur Chichester and Attorney-General Sir John Davies subsequently found means to entrap, prosecute, and dispose of their former Irish allies in Ulster and gain remaining portions of the six escheated counties through quasilegal maneuvering. Resurveying the Ulster counties depicted by Speed, the attribution of the northern peninsula of Inishowen as the possession of Gaelic Irish leader Sir Cahir O'Doherty is surprisingly incongruous, considering the fact that O'Doherty had been killed in 1608 while defending himself in Derry; because he had died while fighting against English authorities, O'Doherty was posthumously convicted of treason, his lands attainted and seized for the personal use of the Lord Deputy.⁵⁹ In Coleraine, Sir Donal O'Cahan, who was never granted the lands the English had guaranteed him for his aid against Tyrone, was captured as he arrived to claim his land title in Dublin, and sent to the Tower of London for the remaining twenty years of his life. O'Cahan was joined in the Tower by many leading figures of the Ulster aristocracy, including Tyrconnell's cousin, who was also the heir to his title, as well as both the brother and son of the earl of Tyrone.⁶⁰ In 1608, O'Cahan's lands had been granted to the city of London and formed much of the territory of the Londonderry plantation.⁶¹

As Speed prepared his map of Ulster for publication in 1610, the six escheated counties had been surveyed, redistributed, and already settled by Protestant English and Scottish undertakers. Not only had the Irish landowners noted by Speed been killed, banished, imprisoned, or deprived of their estates, but in addition, some of the counties and territorial boundaries no longer even existed in 1610: Tyrconnell had become Donegal; Coleraine (along with portions of Tyrone) the plantation of Londonderry; Inishowen, the personal property of the English Lord Deputy; much of Armagh and Tyrconnell, granted to one of the plantation's largest landowners, Trinity College, Dublin.⁶² When the reorganization of land in Ulster was completed in 1610, the same year that Speed's map was engraved, Irish landowners of all ranks—Gaelic Irish and Catholic Anglo-Irish alike—held only twenty percent of land in Ulster.⁶³

Speed's map of Ulster defies an analysis of early modern cartography that locates mapping as a technology that helps ensure a more efficient political control over a region through an increasingly detailed surveying of the land.⁶⁴ In his omission of the Ulster plantation from visual representation, Speed's map attests to how early modern maps constitute power not only through their technical claims to increasing accuracy and "scientific" objectivity.⁶⁵ Maps also possess power through the forms of knowledge they

produce, and, it should be added, through the knowledges which are not produced as a result of a map's silences and gaps.⁶⁶ Some of these cartographical silences may result from deliberate policy, and reflect how maps and surveys are important components in often-contentious networks of power. But the shocking absence of the Ulster plantation from Speed's map raises a more profound question regarding the limits of a map's knowledge: in other words, how could Speed or any contemporary surveyor have mapped or visually depicted the expropriation of land and displacement of human subjects that constituted the Ulster plantation, a massive confiscation of land that in the previous three years had amounted to 3,798,000 acres?⁶⁷ Speed's representation of the stasis of Gaelic Ulster might then be less a result of the motivated suppression of information than a key example of what Foucault defines as an *episteme*, the "conditions of possibility" that "in a given period, delimits . . . the totality of experience of a field of knowledge."⁶⁸

I want to argue, though, that the epistemic limits expressed by Speed's map of Ulster also point to the important role played by the Ulster plantation in a process of capital formation in early modern "Britain." The withholding of cartographical information regarding the Ulster plantation reveals the important commercial advantages sought by both state officials and private investors. J. B. Harley speculates that the practices of secrecy endemic to the history of cartography bear a parallel with the activities of monopoly capitalism, the ensuring of commercial advantage through exclusive rights to cartographical knowledge.⁶⁹ But the process of capital formation itself is predicated on an absence from representation, whether in the form of an erasure of human subjects as their labor is abstracted, or the disappearance of the money-form as it is converted into capital.⁷⁰ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari extend this comparison: a process of capital formation, such as that witnessed in the Ulster plantation, "that divides the earth as an object and subjects men to the new imperial inscription, to the new full body, to the new *socius*" is best seen as "a movement of deterritorialization."⁷¹ Cartography thus functions as a technology that reflects a primitive logic of capital, a process of accumulation that necessarily effaces and forgets the human toll of its workings. The mapping of Ulster therefore does not operate as a strategy instrumental to forms of centralization, territorialization, and accumulation, but as a technology complicit in forms of displacement, deterritorialization, and dispersement. Speed's map of Ulster testifies to how the "new *socius*" of New English authority in Ulster under Chichester and Davies is, in a sense, unrepresentable, as its power operates

through its absence from representation and ability to efface the effects of the process of its domination.

The technologies that “document” Ulster not only abet the political displacement central to the plantation project, they also help produce the forms of knowledge necessary to ensure the plantation’s maintenance. To offset the deterritorialization on which the Ulster plantation is predicated, the project is instead made analogous with a process that accumulates knowledge and documents. Equally important to the dissemination of meticulous records and “knowledge” of Ulster, though, is control over the access and interpretation of this information. It was Sir Thomas Wilson, in his role as Keeper of Records of the State Paper Office, who was instrumental in preserving the institutional secrecy of the Ulster plantation. When Wilson assumed the position of Keeper of Records in 1612, his oath of office stipulated:

you shall carefully, and faithfully keep secret, and conceal from the knowledge of others either by writing or relation all such things therein contained as shall be fit either for reason of state or otherwise for his majesty’s service to be revealed and kept secret.⁷²

Wilson’s official duties illustrate how cartography and history writing are employed to help ensure monarchical state authority, as these technologies are among the state secrets that must be concealed from all but authorized officials.⁷³ Similar to Richard Rambuss’s analysis of the importance of Spenser’s “secret career” as a colonial official in Ireland, Wilson’s role as secretary entails an authority over institutional secrecy through his bureaucratic identity as the official in control of the circulation and access to “secret” documents.⁷⁴ Appropriately, Wilson was recommended to his post as Keeper of Records after having previously served as chief secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, the earl of Salisbury, James I’s primary architect of the Ulster plantation.⁷⁵ It would have been Wilson, then, who had earlier directed correspondence between Salisbury and his commissioners in Ireland during the crucial years of 1608 to 1610.⁷⁶

The oath of office given to Sir Thomas Wilson indicates how practices of note-taking and documentation are located in a network of contending social forces, the mixed investments of subjects engaged in a battle over the archive’s accessibility and control, including antiquarians, cartographers, civil servants, and colonial investors. The Ulster plantation points out larger social fissures as well; the contradictory policies and objectives of the

monarch, his chief ministers (such as Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury), and colonial administrators (including Davies and Chichester), each of whose fluctuating practices affect differently the various communities located in Ulster.⁷⁷ And it is important to emphasize the mixed investments, shades of conflict, and strange coalitions formed between and within earlier communities in Ulster—including Gaelic Irish, Catholic Anglo-Irish, and Ulster (or Highland) Scots—and the Protestant New English arrivals: lowland Scottish Presbyterians, English tenant farmers, decommissioned English soldiers (or “servitors”), London merchants, and colonial officials. Perhaps another reason for the inability to work the Ulster plantation into narrative and myth results from the complexity of early modern Ulster politics, a social hybridization which counters the Manichaeian community politics often conjured in present-day Northern Ireland.

As Wilson’s oath of office demonstrates, the power of documents—whether histories, maps, or surveys—results not from their accuracy of detail, but from their legally mandated ability to deceive, or more specifically, to control what may enter and disappear from the level of discourse and documentation. The language of his oath reveals this almost arbitrary flexibility—“to be revealed *and* kept secret.” Similarly, Speed’s map of Ulster demonstrates how early modern cartography is concerned less with questions of detail or accuracy than with the forms of knowledge produced, and sometimes elided, from the invention of imperial self-representation. Yet, in his table of contents to *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, Speed protests that his collection depicts the literal “contents” of the British Empire, what it “hath now in actual possession” (sig. A2r). Among the dedicatory poems, Sir John Davies combines his roles as poet and colonial official, commending Speed for his “anatomizing” of Ireland:

In euery Member, Artire [*sic*], Nerue, and Veine,
 Thou by thine Arte dost so Anatomize,
 That all may see each parcell without paine. (sig. ¶2r)

Actually, though, Speed’s maps already had been superseded by official surveys in each of the previous two years. The first, in 1608, was used to measure the extent of James’s new holdings in Ulster; the survey of the escheated counties conducted by Sir Josias Bodley the following year facilitated land redistribution in the region.⁷⁸ As Attorney-General for Ireland, Sir John Davies had a central role in the quasilegal maneuvering that helped ensure the escheating of Ulster, including the surveys of 1608 and 1609.⁷⁹

These surveys formed the basis of John Norden's detailed map of the new property holdings of Protestant undertakers in Ulster, also completed in 1610. But like most plantation-era maps and surveys of Ulster, Norden's was unpublished, its manuscript circulation sharply curtailed.⁸⁰

Why then does Davies praise Speed's obviously inaccurate, if not anachronistic, "anatomizing" of Ireland? The desire to control and even absent the Ulster plantation from visual representation may result from the need to promote investment in the project while limiting the power and autonomy of prospective undertakers and their financial backers. As Davies's poem indicates, Speed's map is intended for the domestic consumption of an elite English audience who will "see each parcell without paine," in other words, survey the lands of Ulster, and perhaps gain interest in colonial investment, but do so without having to endure the risks of personal travel.⁸¹ Speed's map thus conforms to the image of Ulster found in promotional texts such as Thomas Blenerhassett's *A direction for the plantation of Ulster* (1610), wherein Ulster is depicted as a depopulated and unclaimed territory requiring English intervention and investment (sig. A2r). The popularity of Speed's maps with an elite English audience is attested to by the fact that George Carew, president of Munster from 1600 to 1602 and an avid collector of Irish maps and manuscripts, is known to have decorated the walls of his study with Speed's maps of the Irish provinces.⁸² As an indication of their symbolic capital, the display of these objects is used to advertise an Englishman's knowledge of "state secrets," even though these maps reflect little detail of the process of plantation. Other texts emphasized how Speed's maps had political as well as ornamental uses: in a text reporting on the state of the Irish economy, *Advertisements for Ireland* (ca. 1622–23), Richard Hadsor explained that in order to "lay upon your Lordships the present visage and face of the now [*new*] state of Ireland," he would first turn to Speed's maps of Ireland, "the new map of that island that is so well known to your Lordships and most statistes here" [i.e., in England].⁸³ Hadsor does not register any unease concerning whether Speed's "new" map accurately depicts the present territorial divisions of Ireland, emphasizing instead how Speed's maps serve as a common reference point for both a colonial landowner like himself and state officials back in England.

The dissemination and reception of Speed's Irish maps also reveal the political struggle engaged in by those competing for position in the Ulster plantation. In his prefatory poem to Speed's *Theatre*, for example, Davies still recognizes the importance of official control over the dissemination of geographical knowledge. Davies therefore praises Speed even though

he himself had access to the survey maps which helped him to redistribute land as a member of the Ulster plantation committee.⁸⁴ The English colonial government, in fact, used the inaccuracy of earlier surveys—including those conducted under its own authority—as a justification to invalidate, and thereby claim as its own, titles held by Irish landowners. Officials also used this practice, the discovery of “concealed lands,” as a way to periodically adjust the land holdings of Protestant New English undertakers.⁸⁵ The absence of a standard survey of property in Ulster allowed Davies to alter the parliamentary franchise, which, among other results, helped ensure the first Protestant majority in the Irish Parliament of 1613.⁸⁶ In addition, without an official survey of Ulster, the regional English government could adjust taxation at will.⁸⁷ In all of these examples, the mechanisms of colonial authority operate not only through their invisibility and absence from representation, but also from a general lack of referentiality.

This recognition may help us to understand why Davies may then praise Speed’s “anatomizing” of Ireland despite—or perhaps because of—its lack of recognition of the Ulster plantation. This omission had little to do with the recent date of the Ulster plantation in 1610. When Speed subsequently revised his collection in 1627, he retained his Irish maps. Speed’s original Irish maps were also reproduced in posthumous editions of Speed’s *Theatre*, and formed the model for later-seventeenth-century Continental engravers such as Jansson (1636) and Blaeu (1654), among others, who each printed ornate maps of Ulster.⁸⁸ Even as late as 1673, the English map-maker Richard Blome based his Irish maps on Speed’s for the collection *Britannia*, while other publishers retained Speed’s maps throughout the eighteenth century.⁸⁹ I want to emphasize the exceptional incongruity of this trend; it is significant that Blome chose Speed’s maps as his model, for example, rather than the Down Survey conducted by William Petty during the Cromwellian invasion. William Petty’s mapping of Ireland, a five-year effort completed in 1657 which mobilized 1,000 workers, 40 clerks, and numerous surveyors, was not even published until 1685.⁹⁰ For the first 75 years of its institutional lifetime, the Ulster plantation did not cartographically exist.

Among English colonial holdings in the seventeenth century, the Ulster plantation’s status is exceptional as a space whose identity is produced out of its resistance to and absence from cartographical representation and knowledge. In contrast to his map of Ulster, Speed copied and included Richard Norwood’s recent map of the Bermuda colony (“the Somers Islands”) in *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (1627), a collection that constituted the first general world atlas published in England



Figure 5.

John Speed, "A Mapp of the Sommer Islands" (Bermuda). From *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (1627), based on survey and

map by Richard Norwood. By permission of the American Geographical Society Collection, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

(see fig. 5). Norwood's map emphasizes how the success of the Bermuda colony is achieved through a standardized division of the land: the island, "exactlie surveyed," is marked by consistently organized plots of land, visually depicted as a series of uniform and numbered vertical lines marking the landscape and demarcating property.⁹¹ The verticality of Bermuda colonial culture is based on the divisions of land and people into "tribes." Although the equivalent of parishes, these divisions are named after leading figures in the Bermuda Company. To further emphasize the foundational role served by the company's investors, the bottom margin of the map lists the investors in each "tribe" along with the number of shares owned by each person. The map reproduces an institution of land as property through absolute and hierarchical cartographical demarcations of ownership, strategies which separate possession from other forms of affiliation, whether habitation or labor. After all, neither the tribal company leaders nor the listed investors actually

lived in Bermuda or worked the land. The tenant farmers, indentured servants, and recently arrived African slaves who formed colonial society in Bermuda, on the other hand, are absent from representation. The map testifies to a separation of capitalist production from labor and human agency. As J. B. Harley comments, “for map makers, their patrons, and their readers, the underclass did not exist and had no geography.”⁹²

While the Norwood/Speed map of Bermuda commemorates the ascendancy of capital, it differentiates this success from colonial failure in Ireland. The designation of *tribes*—a term often pejoratively applied to regional Irish septs—rewrites Irish social institutions within the language and logic of capital. Ireland appears on the map in other ways as well: the uninhabited island in the far northeastern corner of Bermuda, whose inaccessibility makes it undesirable for plantation, is significantly named “Ireland.” The designation of this region of Bermuda contrasts with how Speed’s map otherwise celebrates the Bermuda Colony’s commercial prestige and strategic geographic location, within both the text of the map’s central cartouche and the images of the shorelines of Virginia, New England, and Hispaniola located within convenient proximity to the colony. The organizational capabilities of the Bermuda Company are also emphasized in a small note that appears to the left of the scale of miles, recording how five people had left Bermuda for Ireland in a small boat in 1616: the event is recorded within the language of the marvelous, as a feat “[th]e like hath scarce bene heard of in any age.” The note serves as a smug testimony to the fortitude and skills of Bermuda’s successful colonists, who have moved on to greater challenges in Ireland. But the note also exposes the forms of dispossession inherent at the intersection of capital formation and colonial practices. After all, the note fails to specify why the colonists opted to leave the prosperity of Bermuda, as well as why they chose such a dangerous form of travel; in addition, while their successful arrival in Ireland is recorded as an unprecedented marvel, their journey also effects a disappearance from both the map and historical memory. And rather than testify to the disruptive potential of capital and colonialism, the note can only register their violence as a form of self-inflicted loss and disappearance, although one displaced on to that embarrassment of English colonialism, Ireland.

Unlike the successful control over space and divisibility of property and populations demonstrated by the Bermuda colony, the Ulster plantation is seen to resist cartographical knowledge and control. This inability to master the Irish landscape produces a textual recognition of the limits of colonial

practices—a proliferation of images of mourning and loss that exposes the effects of dispersal and dispossession on geographic spaces and the human subjects who only marginally inhabit them. In contrast to the successful efforts of accumulation accomplished by his older brother Sir Thomas Bodley, whose book collection at Oxford still bears his name as the Bodleian Library, Sir Josias Bodley's survey of Ulster (1613) testifies to the disruptive material effects of colonialism in Ireland. An engineer by training who held the offices of Superintendent of Castles and Director-General of Fortifications in Chichester and Davies's colonial administration, Bodley had earlier served as the main surveyor in the first full attempt to calculate the size of the confiscated territories of Ulster in 1609.⁹³ Following unfavorable reports about the state of the Ulster plantation, Bodley was commissioned to survey the newly settled plots once more, resulting in a list and description of 195 plots in five of the escheated counties completed between February and April of 1613.⁹⁴ Commissioned to report on the progress of plantation, Bodley instead chronicles its effects; and despite his training as a builder of fortifications, Bodley serves as a witness to the devastating impact of a primitive accumulation of capital on the human and natural landscape of Ulster.

As he proceeds through new holdings in County Cavan, Bodley notes the extent to which land remains in the de facto possession of Irish tenants; repeatedly his survey makes note of "Irish inhabitants continuing yet on [th]e same as in former times" (sig. X1r). Despite their continued habitation, the Irish of Ulster were being converted from itinerant herders and retainers in the households of Ulster lords to tenant farmers and wage-laborers. The Orders and Commissions for the Ulster plantation in fact stipulated that native Irish could inhabit only one quarter of any estate, usually the bogs and waste areas; and except in rare cases to reward past service, such as military aid against O'Neill and his allies, Irish tenants could not own land. These stipulations regarding the separation of English from Gaelic Irish populations were subsequently disregarded by most landowners, largely because Irish tenants would out of necessity pay exorbitantly high rents so as to be allowed to reside and work in their communities.⁹⁵

Despite his ideological commitment to the military rule of Ulster, Bodley repeatedly describes the plantation as unfortified, uninhabited, and impoverished. Bodley attributes the plantation's waste to the profit motives of the colonists, who have not "planted the country as the very name of plantation itselfe enioyneth them, . . . as if nothing els had beene intended by it but to make them gainers."⁹⁶ Bodley also notes the absence of English

and lowland Scottish landowners, such as John Archdale, who “only came ouer, viewed his proportion, tooke possession and returned into England, leauing neither Englishe nor Irishe vpon his land” (sig. H1r). Bodley reports how prospective English tenants have deserted their holdings as well, including those engaged to work Bernard Lindsay’s holdings in Tyrone, “who at [th]e first view of [th]e barrenes thereof, made their instant retrait,” leaving the land “wholy waste” (sig. T1r). Despite its critique of the immediate effects produced by capital formation in Ulster, Bodley’s survey has difficulty attributing causes for the devastation he witnesses in Ulster. On one hand, an absentee landlord like Archdale creates waste spaces, leaving the land barren as he travels to Ireland merely to ensure his land claim with little regard to what is subsequently done with that “investment.” On the other hand, industrious English tenants refuse to settle on the already “barren” escheated holdings, which remain uninhabited as they return to England.

Bodley’s inability to locate a point of origin to the Ulster problem finds a parallel in Marx’s discussion of primitive accumulation in volume 1 of *Capital*. As he revises a history of capitalist production found in Adam Smith and other political economists, Marx rejects a search for a self-originating moment in the history of capital, so as to then be able to chart its “growth,” “development,” and “progress”; rather, he focuses on a process, moments when “great masses” of human subjects are “forcibly torn from their means of subsistence, and hurled as free and ‘unattached’ proletarians on the labour-market.”⁹⁷ Marx’s language emphasizes the violence of expropriation and displacement not as a point of origin for capital, but as its necessary precondition. Primitive accumulation, in this sense, constitutes the limits of intelligibility of economic causes, the process of dispossession that must be forgotten for the imperial economy to gain coherence, and ultimately, to be able to write its history of ascendancy. As for Sir Josias Bodley, in reward for the candor of his survey, he was deprived of his commission.⁹⁸ Unlike many officials, Bodley was also denied the customary gift of property in Ulster to compensate for the otherwise poor conditions inherent to colonial service.⁹⁹ Bodley’s survey ultimately came to rest as a dead letter among Attorney-General Davies’s papers.¹⁰⁰

I conclude with Josias Bodley’s survey precisely because his sentiments of disgust and mourning in reaction to the nexus of capitalism and colonialism in 1613 Ulster demonstrate the boundaries of what can be said within the archive of English colonialism, a recognition of discursive and institutional limits reinforced by his text’s subsequent dispersal and neglect.

While the accumulation of materials in the archive of Wilson's State Paper Office reflects its instrumental role in the functioning of state power, the forgetting of Bodley's survey demonstrates how this process of formation necessarily entails a forced erasure of institutional and cultural memory. The Ulster plantation's disappearance from the map and archival record reveals the violence on which colonial practices and capitalist production originate themselves. But the insistent need to erase Ulster from cartographical location and historical narrative ultimately shows that this violence is not an action located in the past, but a set of forces renewed and reactivated in the present. The subsequent elision of the Ulster plantation from the narrativized memories of communities illustrates how the violence of colonialism has been rearticulated by mutually contradictory mythologies of the besieged community and its others.¹⁰¹

One intention of this essay has been to explain how forms of knowledge production—history writing, documentation, cartography—were instrumental to early modern colonial practices in Ireland. This intersection is demonstrated by the surprising number of archival collections produced out of the Ulster plantation, including the product of Wilson's State Paper Office, the Public Record Office, as well as several collections comprised of the papers of officials involved in the Ulster project: Sir John Davies (the Huntington Library's Hastings Papers and the Carte Collection, Bodleian Library); Sir Arthur Chichester (the Carte Collection, the Philadelphia Papers at the PRO, and the Clarke Collection, Trinity College, Dublin); Sir George Carew (the Carew Papers at Lambeth Palace and the British Library's Harleian Manuscripts); Sir Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury (the Salisbury Manuscripts at Hatfield House); and Sir Robert Cotton (the British Library's Cotton Manuscripts), among others.¹⁰² Yet the *archive*, to use Foucault's sense of the term from *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, consists of more than a repository of documents or the institutions devoted to their preservation. For Foucault, the archive instead constitutes "the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events."¹⁰³ The material archive of documents is thus produced by the epistemic "archive" that defines acceptable methods of enquiry and types of evidence, the rules and criteria necessary to validate historiography's objective processes and totalizing conclusions.

The archive, in Foucault's definition, additionally constitutes the site of this power's limits, the necessary blind spots of historical memory. As Foucault comments, "it is not possible for us to describe our own archive, since it is from within these rules that we speak."¹⁰⁴ Foucault's statement

reveals how the archive may also positively establish the discursive parameters of historical enquiry. Any search for unities and origins is thwarted through the archive's own contradictory tactics of accumulation and disappearance. And it is through this failure that a space is opened up for historical inquiry. The archive, Foucault argues, "deprives us of our continuities; it dissipates that temporal identity in which we are pleased to look at ourselves when we wish to exorcise the discontinuities of history."¹⁰⁵ Through its memorial of the historical discontinuities of the Ulster plantation, the archive provides a shared colonial history of displacement and exploitation for present-day communities, a counter-memory that offsets both a memory of loss and mourning—the Flight of the Earls—and a narrative of violence and ascendancy—the victory of the Orangemen.¹⁰⁶ In this project, as Paul Ricoeur once commented, "this exercise of memory is here an exercise in *telling otherwise*"; the archive, the site of these narratives' construction, can thus provide "a space for the confrontation between opposing testimonies."¹⁰⁷ Remembering how the Ulster plantation was forgotten, ultimately, not only enables a critique of colonial discourse and the production of knowledge in the archive. This critical practice functions as well to intervene in the present ways that communities know of themselves and act politically.



Notes

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- 1 Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reign of James I*, 5 vols. (London, 1872–80), vol. 1, 1603–1606, xx–xxi. Hereafter, this source is cited as *CSP, Ire.* with volume years.
- 2 Ibid., xxi.
- 3 David B. Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 109–15.
- 4 On the concept of internal colonialism, see Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). On the influence of the Irish colonial experience on English colonialism in the Americas and elsewhere, see Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, 106–22; and several works by Nicholas Canny: "The Origins of Empire: An Introduction," *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the*

- Seventeenth Century*, vol. 1 of *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 12; *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560–1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565–1576* (London: Harvester Press, 1976), esp. 117–36; “The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 30 (1973): 575–98; and “The Permissive Frontier: The Problem of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1560–1650,” in Kenneth R. Andrews et al., eds., *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480–1650* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 17–44.
- 5 Qtd. in Christopher Hill, “Puritans and ‘the Dark Corners of the Land,’” *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 20.
 - 6 See Nicholas Canny, “English Migration into and across the Atlantic during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 40–75; and Jane Ohlmeyer, “‘Civilizing of those Rude Partes’: Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s–1640s,” in Canny, ed., *Origins of Empire*, 140.
 - 7 Qtd. in Canny, “Origins of Empire,” 6.
 - 8 The State Paper Office, founded in 1578 as a library for the Privy Council and Secretary of State, was reorganized under James I, who advanced Sir Thomas Wilson to a permanent position as Keeper of Records in order that “he would make it the rarest office of that quality in Christendom” (W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., “Calendar of Documents relating to the History of the State Paper Office to the Year 1800,” *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* [London, 1869], 229). Despite James’s intentions, and perhaps because of its necessary secrecy, Wilson’s frequent petitions attest to the neglect his office received. The State Papers remained in a state of disarray until the formation of the Public Record Office began in 1838. See F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580–1640* (New York: Routledge and Paul, 1962), 77 and 92; and John Kenyon, *The History Men: The Historical Profession in England since the Renaissance* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), 89–92.
 - 9 The most detailed account of the Ulster plantation remains George Hill’s *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century, 1608–1620* (1877; repr. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970). Useful general accounts also include Aidan Clarke, “Pacification, Plantation, and the Catholic Question, 1603–23,” in T. W. Moody et al., eds., *A New History of Ireland, Volume 3: Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 187–232; Philip Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster* (Dublin: St. Martin’s Press, 1984); Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, vol. 1 (1908; repr. London: Holland Press, 1963); Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1992), 115–47; Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth-Century Ireland: The War of Religions* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988), 5–35.
 - 10 On the mythologization of these seventeenth-century events and the formation of community identities, see Tom Nairn, “Northern Ireland: Relic or Portent?” *The*

- Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London: NLB, 1977), 216–55; and Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race, Volume 1: Racial Oppression and Social Control* (London: Verso, 1994), 115–35.
- 11 J. P. A. Pocock, “British History: A Plea for a New Subject,” *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975): 611.
 - 12 On Munster, see Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland, 1583–1641* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). My argument emphasizes the distinctiveness of the Ulster plantation from Munster and other projects due to its initial Jacobean context, and therefore its central place in both early formulations of British imperialism and the construction of Wilson’s state archive. Despite the Jacobean resettlement of Munster following the Nine Years’ War, MacCarthy-Morrogh finds that Munster was relegated to secondary importance in the wake of the Ulster plantation (144).
 - 13 Despite the voluminous scholarship on Spenser and Ireland, only two essays examine Spenser’s influence on English colonialism in the seventeenth century: Nicholas Canny, “Identity Formation in Ireland: the Emergence of the Anglo-Irish,” in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 159–212; and Willy Maley, “How Milton and Some Contemporaries Read Spenser’s *View*,” in Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley, eds., *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 191–208; repr. in Willy Maley, *Salvaging Spenser* (London: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 118–35.
 - 14 Francis Bacon, “Certain Considerations Touching the Plantation in Ireland, Presented to His Majesty, 1606,” in *Works*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, 14 vols. (London, 1857–74), 11:123.
 - 15 This passage is taken from the first English translation of *Britannia*, entitled *Britain, or A Chorographicall Description of the Most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Ilands adioyning, out of the depth of Antiquitie*, trans. Philemon Holland (1610), sig. ¶4r.
 - 16 For positive appraisals of Camden’s pragmatic historical methodology, see Fussner, *Historical Revolution*, 230–52; and Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Queen Elizabeth’s First Historian: William Camden and the Beginnings of English “Civil History”* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971).
 - 17 Michael Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 7.
 - 18 *Ibid.*, 7. My discussion of how emergent forms of knowledge production displace an emphasis on historical memory is influenced by Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), esp. 368–89.
 - 19 Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 5.
 - 20 My discussion is indebted to Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 31; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “The Rani of Sirmur,” in *Europe and Its Others*, vol. 1, Francis Barker et al., eds. (Colchester: University of Essex Press, 1985), 130; Michel-Rolph Trouillot,

- Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 52. On the nineteenth-century archive and knowledge production, see Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993).
- 21 Although I follow conventional usage by giving the date of Speed's texts as 1611, the title pages of Books III and IV of the *Theatre* are dated 1612, when Speed's texts were finally published, while Speed's maps of Ireland were engraved in 1610. See R. A. Skelton, *County Atlases of the British Isles, 1579–1850* (1970; repr. Folkstone, Kent: Dawson, 1978), 31–33.
 - 22 Speed himself frequently acknowledges his debt to Camden. See *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, sig. ¶3r; and *The Historie of Great Britaine Vnder the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* (1611), 897.
 - 23 For a discussion of Speed's contributions to cartography, see J. H. Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland: Maps and Their Makers, 1564–1839* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1997), 89–117. On Speed and Renaissance historiography, see D. R. Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 64–72; and Stan A. E. Mendyk, *Speculum Britanniae: Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 78–81.
 - 24 On James's proposed union of England and Scotland, see Brian P. Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland, and the Union, 1603–1707* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); and Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986).
 - 25 See James R. Akerman, "The Structuring of Political Territory in Early Printed Atlases," *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995): 138–54.
 - 26 "A Proclamation concerning the Kings Majesties Stile, of King of Great Britaine, &c." (20 Oct. 1604), in *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Volume 1: Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603–1625*, ed. James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 97.
 - 27 Speed, *Theatre*, sig. A2v. Speed's maps are reproduced in Alasdair Hawkyard, ed., *The Counties of Britain: A Tudor Atlas by John Speed*, intro. Nigel Nicolson (London: Pavilion, 1988).
 - 28 On the use of Roman precedents to justify English colonialism, see David B. Quinn, "Renaissance Influences on English Colonization," *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500–1625* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 97–117; and Quinn, "Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 89 (1945): 542–60.
 - 29 William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612), ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), 24.
 - 30 Camden, *Britain* (1610), sig. 4F3r.
 - 31 De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 4.
 - 32 For a similar construction of memory and forgetting, see Ernest Renan's "What is a Nation?" (1882), in *The Nationalism Reader*, Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay, eds. (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1995), 145. Benedict Anderson analyzes this passage in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 199–201.

- 33 Homi Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 145.
- 34 My discussion is indebted to Benedict Anderson's analysis of the imagined community of the dynastic realm, in *Imagined Communities*, 19–22.
- 35 On Tudor and Stuart policies toward peripheral regions of Scotland and Wales, see Jane Ohlmeyer, "'Civilizing of those Rude Partes': Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s–1640s," in Canny, ed., *Origins of Empire*, 124–47; David Armitage, "Making the Empire British," *Past and Present* 155 (May 1997): 34–63; Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
- 36 Part of the fashioning of James's "British" title also emphasized the Gaelic roots of his title; for discussions, see Michael J. Enright, "King James and His Island: An Archaic Kingship Belief?" *Scottish Historical Review* 55 (1976): 29–40; and Breandán Ó Buachalla, "James Our True King: The Ideology of Irish Royalism in the Seventeenth Century," in *Political Thought in Ireland since the Seventeenth Century*, ed. D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall, and Vincent Geoghegan (London: Routledge, 1993), 11. Willy Maley analyzes early modern connections between Ulster and Scotland in "The View from Scotland: Combing the Celtic Fringe," in *Salvaging Spenser*, 136–62.
- 37 The *OED* notes the contemporary use of both of these senses of *ancient*: "belonging to time past" (I.1.a) and "of early origin or formation" (II.4.a).
- 38 Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from "Utopia" to "The Tempest"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
- 39 Claire McEachern discusses representations of a multinational British identity in "Putting the 'Poly' Back into *Poly-Olbion*: British Union and the Borders of the English Nation," in *The Poetics of English Nationhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 138–91. David J. Baker analyzes the multiple affiliations of early modern "British" subjects, in *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).
- 40 Roger A. Mason, "The Scottish Reformation and the Origins of Anglo-British Imperialism," in Mason, ed., *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 161–86; David Armitage, "Literature and Empire," in Canny, ed., *Origins of Empire*, 113–14.
- 41 Nicholas Canny discusses the incomplete nature of this assimilation, analyzing how Scottish undertakers segregated themselves within their own enclaves in Ulster ("Fashioning British Worlds in the Seventeenth Century," *Pennsylvania History* 64 [summer 1997]: 26–45; essay revised as "The Origins of Empire: an Introduction," in *Origins of Empire*, 1–32). On Scottish immigrants in Ulster, see M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973); and Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: the Settlement of East Ulster, 1600–1641* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1985).
- 42 Renan, "What is a Nation?" *The Nationalism Reader*, 145.
- 43 David Armitage discusses the role of Ulster in Anglo-Scottish relations in "Making the Empire British," 34–63.
- 44 E. J. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in Hobsbawm and Terence

- Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–14.
- 45 Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 49.
- 46 Earlier published images of Ulster, including those of Gerard Mercator (1564) and Baptista Boazio (1599), provided few details, leaving the province as an empty territory that resembled early depictions of the interior of North America (see Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland*, chaps. 2–3). Speed's main sources were Camden's *Britannia* (1586), a later Mercator map, *Ultoniae orientalis pars* (1595), and most significant, the manuscript maps by Francis Jobson, who was commissioned to survey central Ulster in 1590–91 following O'Neill's surrender at the end of the Desmond Rebellion of 1584–89 (Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland*, 103, 107, 109). For discussions of the Irish maps that preceded Speed's, see Bernhard Klein, "Partial Views: Shakespeare and the Map of Ireland," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4 (Sept. 1998): 5.1–17; and Mercedes Maroto Camino, "'Methinks I see an Evil Lurk Unespied': Visualizing Conquest in Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland*," *Spenser Studies* 12 (1998): 169–94.
- 47 Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland*, 89, 103; Hawkyard, *Counties of Britain*, 269. On Bartlett's maps of Ulster, see G. A. Hayes-McCoy, *Ulster and Other Irish Maps, c. 1600* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1964).
- 48 *CSP, Ire., 1608–1610*, 280.
- 49 On the Nine Years' War in the context of Irish politics, see Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1993); on the war's effect on England, see John McGurk, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: The 1590s Crisis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).
- 50 Qtd. in Ó Buachalla, "James Our True King," 10.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 9.
- 52 As Andrews notes, these forts, many of which were built from 1600–1603, are the most contemporary details recorded by Speed (*Shapes of Ireland*, 107).
- 53 British Library, MS Cotton Augustus I.ii.39; reproduced in two collections by P. D. A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures, and Surveys* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 171; and *Maps in Tudor England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 63.
- 54 Michael Foucault, "Questions on Geography," *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 69.
- 55 Historians of cartography have previously noted Speed's debt to Thomas's sketch, and attributed this influence to Speed's consultation of Cotton's library. See R. A. Skeleton, "Tudor Town Plans in John Speed's *Theatre*," *Archaeological Journal* 108 (1951): 113; and Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland*, 30 n. 116.
- 56 Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586–1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 65, 80, 92; *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper*, 226, 237–38, 240. It has been estimated that Cotton managed to acquire nearly one-third of the documents in Wilson's State Paper Office (*CSP, Ire., 1603–1606*, xxxix).
- 57 Fussner, *The Historical Revolution*, 77; *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper*, 229.

- 58 Speed acknowledges his debt to Cotton in the “Summary Conclusion” to his *Historie of Great Britaine*, 1241; Speed’s letters to Cotton are reproduced in Sir Henry Ellis, ed., *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (London, 1843), 108–13. On the politicized research of The Society of Antiquaries, formed in 1586 and suppressed by James in 1614, see Linda Van Norden, “Sir Henry Spelman on the Chronology of the Elizabethan College of Antiquaries,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 13/14 (1949/50): 135; and Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 1–32. On Cotton’s role in the Society and his patronage of Speed, see Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, 37–39, 54.
- 59 For a contemporary account, see *Later Newes from Ireland. Concerning the late treacherous Action, and rebellion, of Sir Carey Adoughertie* (1608).
- 60 For details, see Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, 60–64.
- 61 On the London companies’ plantation, see T. W. Moody, *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–1641: The City of London and the Plantation in Ulster* (Belfast: Mullan, 1939); and James Stevens Curl, *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–1914* (Chichester, Sussex: Phillimore, 1986); documents related to the plantation are reprinted in T. W. Moody and J. G. Simms, eds., *The Bishopric of Derry and the Irish Society of London*, 2 vols. (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1968); and *Londonderry and the London Companies, 1609–1629: Being a survey and other documents submitted to King Charles I by Sir Thomas Phillips* (Belfast: H.M.S.O., 1928).
- 62 Although not officially part of the Ulster plantation, the remaining three counties of Ulster had already been similarly escheated and settled: the northeastern counties of Down and Antrim became the region of Ulster most extensively settled by English and Scottish undertakers by the early 1620s (Moody, *A New History of Ireland*, 3:223), while Monaghan had been confiscated in 1591 following the execution of Hugh Roe Macmahon, lord of Monaghan, and leased to six members of the Macmahon family (Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, 37 and 51–52).
- 63 Moody, *A New History of Ireland*, 3:202; Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster*, 75–77; for a list of Irish grantees, see Robinson, appendices 3 and 4 (199–201). A total of 280 Irish landowners were granted estates; 26 of these individuals received 1,000 acres or more, estates comparable in size to those granted to English and Scottish undertakers. But these lands were most often not in grantees’ home districts, allowing the English government to resettle O’Donnells and O’Neills far from Tyrconnell and Tyrone. Many of these leases also expired with the death of the grantee, allowing for future legal expropriation of additional territory (Robinson, 75–77). This latter practice demonstrates an early example of what came to be known as the “Ulster custom,” restrictions in Catholic leasing that abetted the geographic segregation of the province (Allen, *Invention of the White Race*, 1:121–24, 129–33).
- 64 See J. H. Andrews, *Plantation Acres: An Historical Study of the Irish Land Surveyor and His Maps* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1985); for discussions of practices of surveying in England, see Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 169–97; and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- 65 For discussions of the construction of “scientific” cartography, see Howard

- Marchitello, *Narrative and Meaning in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 77; and Bernhard Klein, "The Lie of the Land: English Surveyors, Irish Rebels, and *The Faerie Queene*," *Irish University Review* 26.2 (1996): 211.
- 66 See J. B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: the Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57–76.
- 67 Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, ii. As evidence of the difficulties faced in calculating the size of the Ulster land confiscation, other estimates provide extremely conflicting information, including a 1611 document that gives the size of the plantation as 511,465 acres, a figure mistakenly followed by later historians. See J. S. Brewer and William Bullen, eds., *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth* (1873; repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1974), xxxii and 235. Contemporary historians who underestimate the size of the Ulster plantation ironically mimic the practice of early modern English surveyors: the survey of 1609, for example, gave the size of Co. Tyrone (806,650 acres) as 98,187 acres (Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, 75).
- 68 The quoted passage is Harley's helpful paraphrase of a section from Foucault's preface to *The Order of Things* (xxi–ii); see "Silences and Secrecy," 59.
- 69 Harley, "Silences and Secrecy," 61.
- 70 For a discussion of this point, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 225.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 195.
- 72 Qtd. in Fussner, *Historical Revolution*, 77.
- 73 For other discussions of early modern European state apparatuses and control over the dissemination of geographical knowledge, see Harley, "Silences and Secrecy," 57–76; and J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277–312; Chandra Mukerji, "A New World-Picture: Maps as Capital Goods for the Modern World System," in *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 79–130; Peter Barber, "England II: Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps, 1550–1625," in David Buisserret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: the Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 57–98.
- 74 Richard Rambuss, *Spenser's Secret Career* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). As an example of how cartographical information often constituted the secret knowledge bequeathed to a secretary, Robert Beale (1541–1601), a clerk to the Privy Council, noted in his "A Treatise of the Office of a Councillor and Principall Secretarie to her Ma[jes]tie": "A Secretarie must likewise have the booke of Ortelius[^s] Mapps, a booke of the Mappes of England, . . . and a good descripc[i]on of the Realm of Irelande, a note of the Noblemen and surnames English or Irish of their Septs, Enraghes, Galloglasses, Kerns and followers, and if anie other plotts or maps come to his handes, let them be kept safelie" (Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925], 1:428–29). For a discussion of Beale's treatise, see Swen Voekel, "'Upon the Suddaine View':

- State, Civil Society, and Surveillance in Early Modern England,” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4 (Sept. 1998): 2.1–29.
- 75 *CSP, Ire., 1606–1608*, cxxi. Wilson had entered Salisbury’s service (ca. 1605–6) and was later appointed as Keeper of the State Papers shortly after Salisbury’s death in 1612. One of his first duties entailed helping to transfer Salisbury’s papers to the State Paper Office. Perhaps because Salisbury’s papers outnumbered the documents previously held in the Office of Papers, Wilson seems to have regarded his tenure as Salisbury’s secretary and Keeper of Records as a continuous period of service. In a 1615 letter to James I, for example, Wilson complained of having spent “more than 10 painful years” helping to “have reduced them into that due order and form, that your majesty and most of the Lords have seen and approved” (qtd. in Fussner, *Historical Revolution*, 77). On Wilson, see A. F. Pollard’s entry in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 21, *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper*, 212–23; R. B. Wernham, “The Public Records in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in Levi Fox, ed., *English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 21–22.
- 76 Wilson had a more literal investment in the success of the Ulster plantation during this period, having petitioned along with his brother for a grant of 2,000 acres in 1618; this potential income is most likely what prompted Wilson to write a treatise on the military rule of Ireland that same year (*CSP, Ire., 1615–1625*, 202). Wilson had earlier written two important texts dealing with Ireland: “On the state of England A.D. 1600, with a description of this country and of Ireland” (ca. 1601) helped Wilson secure the patronage of the Cecils and James I (F. J. Fisher, ed., *Camden Miscellany* 16 [1936]: v–vii); “Booke on the State of Ireland” (ca. 1599) contains a pastoral dialogue between “Peregryn” and “Silvyn,” figures named after Edmund Spenser’s sons Peregrine and Sylvanus. Although the latter manuscript may possibly have been written by Henry Cuffe, secretary to the earl of Essex, Wilson claims authorship of it within his other treatise. See Wilson, “On the state of England,” 18; and *Calendar of State Papers, relating to Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth*, vol. 8, 1599–1600 (London, 1899), 505 ff. Wilson also intended to write a chronicle history of Ireland from 1584 to 1619, a project he never accomplished. See *Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper*, 217 and 231; and *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547–[1625]*, vol. 11, 1623–1625 (London, 1859), 555.
- 77 For an apologist account of Chichester’s career, see Cyril Falls, *The Birth of Ulster* (1936; repr. London: Constable, 1996). Hans S. Pawlisch analyzes John Davies’s manipulation of legal mechanisms in *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland: A Study in Legal Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- 78 On the 1609 survey, see J. H. Andrews, “Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster, 1609–10,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 74 (1974): 133–70.
- 79 Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, 67–71, 118–21.
- 80 British Library, MS Cotton Augustus I.ii.44. Norden’s map is reproduced in *Analecta Hibernica* 8 (1938): 298. The maps resulting from Sir Josias Bodley’s initial 1609 survey were presented to Salisbury and later deposited in Wilson’s Office of Papers; their dissemination was so tightly controlled that they were not located and identified

- until 1860. Andrews speculates that alongside the set sent to Salisbury and later reproduced by Norden, another version of the 1609 survey was sent back to Ireland to assist in administering the plantation (Andrews, "Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster, 1609–10," 159, 163–64).
- 81 For other examples attesting to the increasing popularity of maps and atlases among elite "armchair travelers," see Victor Morgan, "The Cartographic Image of 'the Country' in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* ser. 5, 29 (1979): 144–47; and Peter Barber, "England II," in Buisserret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps*, 43, 58–84.
 - 82 Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland*, 113. Carew had seen the Ulster plantation firsthand, having been appointed by James to lead a commission to check on the initial settlement in 1610–11 (Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, 447). On Carew's map collection, see William O'Sullivan, "George Carew's Irish Maps," *Long Room* 26–27 (1983): 15–25; on his collecting habits, see Brewer and Bullen, eds., *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, vii–xlix.
 - 83 [Richard Hadsor], *Advertisements for Ireland, being a description of the state of Ireland in the reign of James I, contained in a manuscript in the library of Trinity College Dublin*, ed. George O'Brien (Dublin: Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1923), 3. For background on Hadsor, see Victor Treadwell, "Richard Hadsor and the authorship of 'Advertisements for Ireland,' 1622/3," *Irish Historical Studies* 30, no. 119 (May 1997): 331–36.
 - 84 Moody, *A New History of Ireland*, 3:197.
 - 85 Bardon, *History of Ulster*, 116; William Farmer, "A Chronicle of Lord Chichester's Government of Ireland" (ca. 1615) in Thomas Lodge, ed., *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica: or a select collection of State Papers*, 2 vols. (London, 1772), 1:249, 266–67.
 - 86 In the 1613 parliament, Ulster put forward 38 of the added 84 seats to the lower house; only one of the province's 64 seats was represented by a Catholic. For details, see Moody, *A New History of Ireland*, 3:210–19; Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, 108–38; Falls, *Birth of Ulster*, 203–10. James M. Smith discusses the importance of this parliament in the context of relations between Old and New English communities, in "Effaced History: Facing the Colonial Contexts of Ben Jonson's *Irish Masque at Court*," *ELH* 65 (1998): 297–321. Francis G. James, in *Lords of the Ascendancy: The Irish House of Lords and Its Members, 1600–1800* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), finds a surprising degree of accommodation among Gaelic Irish and Old English elites to the Protestant Ascendancy.
 - 87 See Farmer, "Chronicle of Lord Chichester's Government," 1:266–67.
 - 88 Speed's *Theatre* was republished several times in the seventeenth century: 1616, 1623, 1627, 1632, 1646, 1650 (with four editions 1651–54), 1665, and 1676; beginning in 1627, the *Theatre* was published together with Speed's *Prospect*. In addition, a Latin version of the *Theatre* was published in 1616, 1621, and 1646. As evidence of the increasing popularity of Speed's maps, they were also reengraved in a more accessible and cheaper octavo ("pocketbook") format and published under the title *England, Wales, and Ireland described* in 1627, 1632, 1646, 1662, 1665, 1666, 1668, and 1676; with the exception of 1666, editions from 1646 forward were published together with an octavo version of Speed's *Prospect*. See R. A. Skelton, *County Atlases of the British*

- Isles, 1579–1850*, 30–44 and passim; R. V. Tooley, “John Speed: A Personal View,” *Map Collector* 1 (1977): 1–9; Tooley, *Maps and Map-Makers*, 93; Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland*, 114; Rodney W. Shirley, *Early Printed Maps of the British Isles: A Bibliography, 1477–1650* (London: Holland Press, 1980), 102.
- 89 Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland*, 114; Tooley, *Maps and Map-Makers*, 80, 93. For examples of other late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century atlases based on Speed, see Rodney W. Shirley, *Printed Maps of the British Isles, 1650–1750* (London: Map Collector Publications, 1988).
- 90 Tooley, *Maps and Map-Makers*, 93. Petty’s text, *Hiberniae delineatio* (1685), has been reproduced with an introduction by J. H. Andrews (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969). For a discussion of Petty, see Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland*, 118–52; and Mary Poovey, *History of the Modern Fact* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 120–38.
- 91 Norwood completed his survey of Bermuda in 1617, making his map a contemporary of the Ulster plantation surveys. Norwood’s detailed survey enabled the company to settle every plot of the island with 1,500 inhabitants by 1622 (Edward Lynam, *The Mapmaker’s Art* [London: Batchworth Press, 1953], 118 and fig. 42). As a sign of its importance, Norwood’s map was also reproduced in John Smith’s *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (1624). For Norwood’s biography and his personal account of his time in Bermuda, see Wesley Frank Craven and Walter B. Hayward, eds., *The Journal of Richard Norwood* (New York: Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints, 1945).
- 92 Harley, “Silences and Secrecy,” 68. Richard Helgerson similarly comments on the effacement of labor, especially the labor of surveyors themselves, within mapping projects, in *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 109. Mary Hamer discusses the abstraction of Irish labor accomplished by the Ordnance Survey of 1824–46 in “Putting Ireland on the Map,” *Textual Practice* 3 (1989): 184–201.
- 93 The first survey of Ulster, from the summer of 1608, simply listed territories opened up for confiscation. Bodley’s team surveyed the six escheated Ulster counties from July to October 1609 (Andrews, “Maps of the Escheated Counties,” 139, 142).
- 94 Sir Josias Bodley, “Survey of [Th]e Undertakers and Servitors Planted in Ulster Between the 2 of February 1612 [1613] and the 25 Aprill 1613,” Hastings Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. Bodley’s initial September 1613 survey of the areas of Coleraine that had been recently granted to the London companies is no longer extant (Moody, *Londonderry Plantation*, 159).
- 95 Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, 447–48 n. Bodley also notes the dependence of undertakers on Irish laborers: Bodley comments how an undertaker in Loghtee, County Cavan named John Taylor still waits for tenants; in the meantime, “diuer of [th]e Irishe are yet remaining both on this proportion & others, without whose assistance for a which they pretend impossibly of procuring in theyr undertakings” (sig. C1r).
- 96 This passage is taken from Bodley’s 1614 survey of the Londonderry plantation (qtd. in Moody, *Londonderry Plantation*, 162).
- 97 Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Samuel Moore and

- Edward Aveling (New York: International Publishers, 1967), 716. For an application of Marx's concept of primitive accumulation to early modern texts, see Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).
- 98 After his 1613 surveys, Bodley was commissioned in June 1614 to conduct another survey which he completed in September of that year; only the section on Londonderry is extant. Bodley's report of the poor conditions of the Londonderry plantation in his 1614 survey had prompted King James to threaten to revoke undertakers' leases. The king gave undertakers a deadline of 31 August 1616 to accomplish necessary improvements; Bodley was then commissioned to resurvey holdings in November 1616. His final survey prompted an investigation into the failures of plantation efforts; significantly, Bodley was not a member of that commission. Bodley died in 1618, before he could appeal for restitution (Moody, *Londonderry Plantation*, 159–65, 177–78; Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish Migration*, 161, 163; Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, 449; Curl, *Londonderry Plantation*, 63–64, 70).
- 99 Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, 153 n.
- 100 Davies had grounds either to suppress or neglect Bodley's findings: Bodley, as the king's servant, could potentially undercut the power and autonomy of colonial officials such as Davies. Colonial officials and undertakers in fact accused royal commissioners of giving unfavorable reports of the plantation so as to force the king to revoke undertakers' leases and thereby claim the confiscated holdings for themselves (Moody, *Londonderry Plantation*, 178; Curl, *Londonderry Plantation*, 64). For discussions of the complicated power relations between the English court and colonial officials in Ireland, see Maley, *Salvaging Spenser*, 99–117; and Christopher Highley, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 40–66.
- 101 John Montague's poetic sequence *The Rough Field* (1972) exemplifies a recent attempt to critique these competing mythologizations of Ulster history. Montague, for example, juxtaposes the nostalgic conjurations of Catholic Gaelic Ireland with the (ab)use of history by Protestant writers, even including extracts from Chichester, Davies, and Spenser in his text (5th ed. [Winston-Salem, N.C.: Wake Forest University Press, 1989]).
- 102 For a list of collections, see *CSP, Ire., 1603–1606*, xxxi–cix.
- 103 Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 129.
- 104 *Ibid.*, 130.
- 105 *Ibid.*, 131.
- 106 For a general discussion of the role of cultural memory in contemporary Northern Ireland, see Richard Kirkland, *Literature and Culture in Northern Ireland since 1965: Moments of Danger* (London: Longman, 1996).
- 107 Paul Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting" and "Imagination, Testimony, and Trust: A Dialogue with Paul Ricoeur," in *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy*, ed. Richard Kearney and Mark Dooley (London: Routledge, 1999), 9, 16. Kerwin Lee Klein surveys and critiques the use of *memory* as a term and domain of analysis in "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (2000): 127–50.