

*Writing Britain from the Margins:  
Scottish, Irish, and Welsh Projects for  
American Colonization*

MARK NETZLOFF

*The 1620s witnessed the publication of a number of prose treatises promoting the settlement of Newfoundland and New Scotland (Nova Scotia) by Scottish, Irish, and Welsh colonists. Through a discussion of figures such as William Alexander, Robert Gordon, Henry Cary, George Calvert, and William Vaughan, this study explores the colonial contexts of early modern formulations of "British" identity. I examine how these texts constructed national and imperial identities from positions of marginality – not only in terms of their advocacy of settlement in the increasingly marginalized region of the Atlantic provinces, but also in relation to their efforts to offset London's centralized control over colonial investment and extend the possibilities offered by colonization to the economic aspirations of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.*

And then you shall live freely there, without sergeants, or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers; only a few industrious Scots, perhaps, who indeed are dispersed over the face of the whole earth. But as for them, there are no greater friends to Englishmen and England, when they are out on't, in the world, than they are. And for my part, I would a hundred thousand of 'em were there; for we are all one countrymen now, ye know; and we should find ten times more comfort of them there than we do here.<sup>1</sup>

The above passage from Jonson, Chapman, and Marston's *Eastward Ho!* (1605) has in the past received critical attention due to the role it played in bringing about the imprisonment of the play's authors on the command of James I, who was angered by the passage's comic reference to Scots.<sup>2</sup> Yet the specific reasons have remained unclear as to why James and other officials had found this passage sufficiently offensive to demand the punishment of the playwrights. And even though the petitionary letters that

Jonson and Chapman wrote to several figures in the Jacobean court may have helped to secure their release, these documents similarly fail to clarify why the play was interpreted as a satirical attack on the Scots.<sup>3</sup> I wish to argue that this passage, traditionally viewed merely as a derogatory jibe at the Scottish nation, presents a much more complicated and ironic view of the Scots than has previously been thought. The passage decidedly lacks the vitriol of the anti-Scottish rhetoric found in other Jacobean-era statements and texts, such as Sir Christopher Piggot's characterization of Scots as inveterate regicides, or the likening of Scots to the vagrant poor, an analogy found in ballad literature as well as in later texts by Francis Osborne and Sir Anthony Weldon.<sup>4</sup> James' initial response to the play may testify to the sensitivity of the recently crowned James I to any reflection on his Scottishness in 1605. Nonetheless, after this passage was excised from the play in its three printed quarto editions of 1605, the reference to Scots did not appear in a published version of the play until 1780, evidence of a topicality that extended well beyond James' reign.<sup>5</sup> With this controversial passage expunged from its text, *Eastward Ho!* was able to gain official favor less than a decade after the play's initial controversy, when it was revived for performance in 1613 and even performed at court in January 1614.<sup>6</sup>

I open this study with a discussion of *Eastward Ho!* in order to draw attention to an important context that underlies the passage's ambivalent humor and subsequent controversy: the correlation of Scots with travel and colonial migration. In the play, as the sea captain Seagull attempts to inspire the potential adventurers Spendall and Scapethrift with a description of the riches and freedom to be found in Virginia, Seagull populates his colonial landscape not only with utopian commonplaces such as streets lined with gold and pliable natives, but also with the incongruous appearance of a group of "industrious Scots." Unlike the anti-Scots stereotypes found in ballads, Osborne, or Weldon, which depict a mass of destitute Scots streaming into England on the heels of King James and his court, *Eastward Ho!* casts Scots not as a problematic domestic population, but instead as an integral component of English colonial expansion. In a colonial context, the conventional vagrancy and poverty associated with Scots are transformed into a characteristic industriousness, thereby positioning Scots as the instruments who will enable an extension of English authority into new colonial spaces. The intercultural relations of the colonial environment serve to dissipate Anglo-Scottish tensions and rivalries, securely rendering Scots as industrious, friendly, and decidedly subordinate partners in cooperative "British" colonial ventures. As the passage obliquely reveals, the Scots indeed "are no greater friends to Englishmen and England," but only "when they are out on't," displaced from England into the safe

confines of a colonial diaspora. Given this situation, the passage insinuates with a satirical backhanded compliment, one may have in mind the best interests of the English nation and the Anglo-Scottish Union by wishing that "a hundred thousand of 'em were there." Ironically, the link established in *Eastward Ho!* between the problematic domestic status of the Scots and a potential colonial solution reflects the position that was increasingly adopted by the Jacobean state, as James I endorsed both the voluntary colonial migration and the forced transportation of Scots and other cultural groups to England's expanding colonies. In this sense, the controversial aspect of this passage relates not to any general insult directed toward the Scots, but rather results from its insight into the Jacobean state's manipulation of Union rhetoric and use of colonial migration as strategies to consolidate social control over the margins of James' British dominions.

In his landmark essay, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject," J.G.A. Pocock notes the role of colonial settlement in the formation of a British identity, an awareness of the ways that expressions of "Britishness" are often constructed from the distance of diasporic migration and colonial settlement.<sup>7</sup> England's history of colonial expansion was thus integral to the reconstitution of the English nation as the British Empire. Colonial migration created avenues of mobility for the Scots, Irish, and Welsh that were denied them within the domestic framework of hegemonic English state power. In addition, as attested to by the passage from *Eastward Ho!*, English state interests were also served through the migration of these cultural groups to the colonies, which enabled the containment of Scottish (or Irish or Welsh) autonomy within the project of British imperialism.<sup>8</sup> In the Jacobean period, the prospect of colonial settlement provided the opportunity to erase internal divisions, or in the words of Shakespeare's Henry IV, to "busy giddy minds / With foreign quarrels" (2 H4, 4.5.213-14).<sup>9</sup> The Ulster plantation, for instance, classified English and Scottish settlers inclusively as "British," offering comparable terms and conditions for settlement.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, this Anglo-Scottish Union was sealed only through mutual action against the Gaelic Irish periphery.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, of particular importance to my argument in this article, control of the capital invested in Ulster remained firmly in English hands, as land grants to Scots could only be conferred in London through the Great Seal, and not in Scotland by the Scottish Privy Council, thereby ensuring the status of Scots as junior partners in the plantation effort.<sup>12</sup> As David Armitage has demonstrated, the possibility of separate or equal Scottish colonies was permanently foreclosed by the end of the seventeenth century, when the English state deemed these settlements detrimental to the expansion of England's own colonial and commercial interests.<sup>13</sup>

Whereas the prospect of “industrious Scots” populating England’s American colonies served as a theatrical joke and object of official displeasure with *Eastward Ho!* in 1605, the possibility of Scottish colonies, as well as Irish and Welsh settlements, became a topic of serious debate later in James’ reign, when the colonies of Newfoundland and New Scotland (Nova Scotia) began to be cast as potential sites for “British” projects of trade and colonial settlement. This study will provide a survey of the textual production relating to these anomalously British colonies, discussing texts such as John Mason’s *A Briefe Discovrse of the New-found-land* (Edinburgh, 1620), William Alexander’s *An Encouragement to Colonies* (1624), Robert Gordon’s *Encouragements, For ... New Galloway* (Edinburgh, 1625) and *The Scottish Souldier* (Edinburgh, 1629), Thomas Cary’s *A Short Discovse of the New-found-land* (Dublin, 1623), Robert Hayman’s *Qvodlibets, Lately Come Over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoynd-land* (1628), and William Vaughan’s *The Golden Fleece ... Transported from ... the Newfoyndland by Orpheus Iunior* (1626). These texts provide the few instances of colonial efforts organized outside the framework of London-based companies and the English state, including the only colonial promotional texts published in Edinburgh and Dublin. Hayman’s and Vaughan’s texts also notably offer the earliest examples of “literary” texts stemming directly from English colonial projects, while Hayman’s collection of poetry constitutes the first literary text written by an English settler in the Americas.

In the Jacobean period, as Newfoundland became increasingly marginal to the colonial projects of the English state and London-based joint-stock companies, the region was cast as the site for British projects of trade and colonial settlement, efforts that linked Newfoundland and the neighboring colony of New Scotland more directly with Scotland, Ireland, the West Country, and Wales, as well as with nascent formations of a British identity, rather than with metropolitan English networks of commercial investment, state power, and national identification. Although contemporary Newfoundland occupies a peripheral position *vis-à-vis* Canada and the United States, Newfoundland has the distinction of the longest history of European-based settlement in North America, one that spans nearly a millennium and encompasses a variety of cultures: Viking, Basque, Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh. Due to its unique status as the region of North America located closest to Ireland and the British Isles, Newfoundland also played a significant role in relation to the literature and history of early modern English colonialism in the Americas. The earliest colonial promotional texts of the 1570s and 1580s – by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham, Robert Hitchcock, and others – treated the exploration and potential settlement of Newfoundland,

hoping to link England’s fledgling and belated colonial aspirations to Newfoundland’s long-established fishing resources.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, perhaps due to the area’s inhospitable climate, the region continued to be viewed primarily as the summer home of a transatlantic fishing industry, with only a few individuals, such as Anthony Parkhurst (1578) and Edward Hayes (1602), envisaging permanent colonial settlements in Newfoundland.<sup>15</sup>

In this early period, Newfoundland served as a model for later colonial projects and, in a sense, stood in for the whole of the Americas, as reflected in the title of Thomas Harriot’s *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588). Yet the increasing viability of settlement in New England, Virginia, and the Caribbean – and the profitability of emerging trades in tobacco, sugar, and slaves – rendered Newfoundland and its stock commodity of fish progressively irrelevant to English colonial expansion.<sup>16</sup> Appropriately, the most complete contemporary account of early English colonial projects, Captain John Smith’s *Generall Historie* (1624), which chronicled the development of colonial settlements in Virginia, Bermuda, and New England, omitted Newfoundland from its official history.<sup>17</sup> Commenting on the transatlantic fishing trade in his *Description of New England* (1616), Smith praises the seemingly “contemptible trade of fish” long associated with Newfoundland, but situates this profitable industry solely in relation to the New England colony, evidence of the thorough displacement of Newfoundland settlement from the promotional literature of English colonialism.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, most colonial projects for Newfoundland had failed by the 1630s, just at the time when migration to England’s American colonies finally gained momentum. The failure of Newfoundland settlement is surprising in light of the formation of a Newfoundland Company in 1610, managed jointly by Bristol and London merchants, as well as the involvement of many leading figures of the English court and officials of the administration of Scotland and Ireland, including Sir William Alexander (one of James’ most powerful Scottish courtiers), Sir Henry Cary (the Lord Deputy of Ireland), and Sir George Calvert (a former English Secretary of State). Thus, the texts of Alexander, Vaughan, and others from the 1620s provide rare and anomalous examples of colonial promotional texts written from the “margins” – not only in terms of their advocacy of settlement in the increasingly marginalized region of the Atlantic provinces, but also in relation to their efforts to offset London’s centralized control over colonial investment and extend the possibilities offered by colonization to the economic aspirations of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

The earliest text written to encourage colonial efforts by the Scots, Irish, or Welsh was *A Briefe Discovrse of the New-found-land* (1620), written,

ironically, by an Englishman, Captain John Mason. Mason served as governor of the Bristol- and London-based Newfoundland Company's settlement from 1615 to 1621, and was later granted, along with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, large tracts of land in New England, territories roughly comprising the states of Maine and New Hampshire.<sup>19</sup> Despite his English background, Mason had a long association with Scotland, one that began with his commission to help suppress the Gaelic cultures of the Hebrides in 1610.<sup>20</sup> Mason's later interest in Newfoundland colonization testifies to the interconnections between internal and overseas colonialism. Mason's expenses from the privatized venture against the Scottish islanders were not remunerated until nearly 20 years later, a fact that may reveal Mason's own economic motives in attempting to recruit capital investment from the Scots.<sup>21</sup> In addition, Mason's monetary losses demonstrate how investors and state officials repeated the mistakes of earlier internal colonialist ventures in the organization of projects for overseas colonization, particularly by bestowing grants of land and charters to individual proprietors, a model that subsequently failed to finance permanent settlements in Newfoundland and New Scotland.

Despite his English background and military experience against regions of Scotland, Mason attempted to promote a Scottish settlement in Newfoundland, a fact reflected in his decisions to publish his tract in Edinburgh and dedicate his text to a Scottish gentleman, Sir John Scott, Director of Chancery of Scotland and an associate of Sir William Alexander. Mason's text, intended for a Scottish audience, demonstrates a simultaneous blurring and differentiation of English and Scottish national identities; in addition, he also elides distinctions between identities constituted as either "British" or "colonial." In his prefatory dedication to Scott, for instance, Mason explains his reasons for publication:

I haue sent you a discourse of *our* Countrie penned at the request of friends, for the better satisfaction of our Nobilitie, vnpolished and rude, bearing the countries badge where it was hatched, onely clothed with plainnesse and truth ... if you thinke it may doe good by encouraging any of *your* Countrie to the interprise, I am willing you publish it [145].

I have italicized Mason's use of pronouns so as to emphasize how his language reveals a slippage of national identification. As David J. Baker notes in his study *Between Nations*, in the early modern period "Britain was a zone where nations were written between the lines and across them," a context in which "British" identities were constituted precisely through a traversal of cultural boundaries.<sup>22</sup> In his reference to his text as a discourse of "*our* Countrie," Mason attributes his text's "vnpolished and rude" style

to the colonial site of its production. By positioning himself as a colonial migrant, Mason is able to erase distinctions between his English and Scottish audiences, and describe his text as addressing the unified body of "*our* Nobilitie." Mason thereby incorporates Scotland as his own country, employing a conventional use of the language of "Britishness" in the Jacobean era, an emphasis on the subsuming of English and Scottish identities within the Stuart dynastic Union. Yet, in this context, it is strangely incongruous that Mason concludes by asking Sir John Scott to encourage "any of *your* Countrie" to settle in Newfoundland. Despite his reliance on the commonplace language of national unification within the rubric of Jacobean Britain, national differences still matter, especially once the question of capital investment is raised. Thus, even in British projects for colonization, invested capital and accrued profits remained firmly within the centralized control of the English state and London-based companies. Mason's abrupt shift in pronouns reflects the distance of Scotland from these networks of investment, foregrounding the novel implications of Mason's "Scottish" colonial promotional text.

To offset the increasing dominance of English metropolitan culture over commercial and colonial networks of trade and settlement, Sir William Alexander, in *An Encouragement to Colonies* (1624), provides a history of European traffic in the Americas that emphasizes England's own belated and peripheral position in a century of contact with the Americas, a marginalization of the claims of colonial primacy made by England (and other European powers) that attempts to open up a space for Scottish investment and settlement. Alexander, for example, describes late fifteenth-century Spain as a depopulated and mountainous country "most vnfit for planting" large tracts of the Americas, a characterization that likens Spain implicitly to Scotland, thus positing how even peripheral or underdeveloped regions can become colonial powers (162). Alexander's overview of Spanish and French colonial projects frequently emphasizes conflicts between European nations, an awareness of how colonial expansion often comes at the expense of European rivals. For example, Alexander acknowledges how Scottish settlement in the Atlantic provinces will displace the commercial and colonial interests of other Europeans; his own text, in fact, often cites and makes use of information from earlier French explorers in the region, even as his proposed settlement of New Scotland intends to expel the French from the Gulf of St. Lawrence (177). Alexander attempts to counter various examples of monopoly, whether that of the French or that of London-based companies, with an advocacy of an expanded market that allows for the entry of new participants, including Scotland, so that, in Alexander's words, "as there was a *New France*, a *New Spaine*, and a *New England*, that they might likewise haue a *New Scotland*"

(196).<sup>23</sup> Alexander proposes a Scottish colonial settlement that, like its home nation as well, might still maintain an integrity not fully subsumed within a British/English hegemony, so that the Scots may possess colonial territories “of their owne Crowne, and where they might bee gouerned by their owne Lawes” (196). Significantly, while the domestic construction of James’ British Empire entails a loss of Scotland’s Stuart dynasty, and the potential loss of Scottish legal autonomy within the Union of the Realms, the colony of New Scotland provides the opportunity to reclaim Scottish political and legal sovereignty, forms of nationhood that may be regained solely through the means of colonial migration and settlement.

Michael Nerlich has argued that English colonial texts progressively replaced an older chivalric model of adventure with a more commercially-minded framework of economic “ventures.”<sup>24</sup> This process, which Carole Shammas has termed “the commercializing of colonization,” is demonstrated by the dominance of London-based companies in plantation efforts in Ulster, Virginia, and the Caribbean by the 1620s.<sup>25</sup> By contrast, the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh projects for American colonization placed ultimate power firmly in the hands of the peerage and rural gentry. Whereas colonial projects in Virginia and Ulster attempted to distance themselves from the chivalric model of colonial “adventure,” emphasizing the efficient organization of their proto-capitalist “ventures,” the Newfoundland colony represented itself as consciously backward-looking, a quasi-feudal mode of social organization.<sup>26</sup> For example, Alexander’s New Scotland colony served as an extension of the Baronet scheme for Ulster, with the colony financed through the granting of land and title in the colony to the “Baronets of New Scotland.” In contrast to the plantation of Ulster – where aristocratic influence was mitigated through the power of colonial officials, the London companies, and servitors (decommissioned soldiers) – the settlement of Newfoundland and New Scotland offered the prospect of an unmediated extension of a residual power base: the rural gentry of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

In a key example of the neo-feudal ethos of Scottish colonial projects, Robert Gordon, fourth son of the Earl of Sutherland and “premier baronet” of Nova Scotia, composed his treatise *Encouragements, For ... New Galloway* (1625) in order to target fellow younger sons of the Scottish aristocracy and attract them to settle “New Galloway” (Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia). Whereas English commentators viewed James I’s creation of Baronets with alarm, Gordon depicts these titles as the opportunity for younger sons like himself “to get them preferment as of old” (E2r). Overlooking the role of the London companies in the Londonderry plantation, Gordon cites Ulster as a precedent wherein “resolute Gentlemen ... haue raised their fortunes worthie of honour; and by his Majesties favour,

their vertues rewarded with the titles of Earles, Vice-Countes[,] Lords, Barronets, and Knights” (C3r). English opposition to James I’s inflation of honors was motivated in part by the apprehension that the creation of new titles could potentially devalue the peerage as a whole.<sup>27</sup> Gordon and other Scottish commentators, by contrast, viewed the creation of Baronets in Ulster and Nova Scotia as a means to offset the increasing irrelevance of their class within the framework of James’ British Empire. Perhaps as an implicit acknowledgment of how British identity often served to mask English hegemony, Gordon never refers to his potential colonists as British, instead addressing his readers as his “countrymen,” a gesture of primary allegiance to Scotland reinforced by his decisions to publish his text in Edinburgh and dedicate it to Sir William Alexander, whom Gordon describes in reference to Alexander’s Scottish positions as the Master of Requests of Scotland and Lieutenant General of New Scotland rather than by his connection to the English court. Removing any association with England or Britain, Gordon represents Ulster and Nova Scotia as extensions of Scottish political and economic sovereignty.

Although Gordon advocates colonialism as a means for the Scottish gentry to reclaim their primacy “as of old,” the reconstitution of Scotland as a colonizing nation results from an awareness of the nation’s political marginality and economic insufficiency within Jacobean Britain. Because Scotland is unable to provide employment – let alone honor – for its young nobles, these younger sons must seek adventure abroad. Depicting Scots as aliens within their own nation, Gordon describes how young aristocrats, driven into debt, “live heere at home as Runnagates” (E2v). He notes how Scots are consequently forced to turn to service in foreign armies, a process that drains the nation of its potential leaders, who are “cutted away by the sword, and then never more againe remembred” (E3r). This erasure of Scotland’s possible future reflects a more general effacement of national memory; as these displaced Scots similarly forget their own national past, “so farre dejected from our ancient Predecessoures” (C2r), their foreign service even leads them to turn against their own nation, and become literal renegades by entering into the service of the Ottoman Empire (C1v).

Even though English dominance within the organization and promotion of colonial projects would seem to render the prospect of colonization radically novel if not alien to the consciousness of Scots in the Jacobean period, early modern Scots were actually quite accustomed to travel and migration, diasporic patterns that often resulted from economic necessity. As alluded to by Gordon, Scots constituted a sizable number of the mercenaries among continental armies, a body often forcibly added to by Ulster Scots and Gaelic Irish expelled from Ireland throughout the early modern period.<sup>28</sup> Migration and forced transportation from the Celtic fringe

connected Scotland and Ireland to the European continent as well as the American colonies. Yet whereas only several hundred Scots migrated to the Americas before 1640, Scots served as mercenaries and merchants in extraordinarily large numbers on the continent, with perhaps 25,000 Scots in Scandinavia and 30–40,000 Scots in Poland during this period.<sup>29</sup> It is therefore extremely appropriate that the character of Seagull in Jonson, Chapman, and Marston's *Eastward Ho!* describes the "industrious Scots" as a population "who indeed are dispersed over the face of the whole earth" (3.3.39–40).

Gordon addresses the long history of Scottish military links with Europe in his poem *The Scottish Souldier* (1629), composed to encourage Scottish recruits for the Protestant armies of Germany then at war on the continent. Gordon casts militarism as the foundation of Scottish national identity, tracing Scotland's resistance to foreign conquest against the Romans and Saxons (A2r), a characterization that implicitly extends to past English interventions in Scotland as well. Gordon places primary emphasis on Scotland's long history of military ties to the European continent, from the Auld Alliance with France (A3r) and Scotland's role in the Crusades (A2v–A3r) to the nation's current contributions to Europe's Protestant armies (B1v). As he rallies support for military intervention on the continent, Gordon, unlike in his colonial promotional text, evokes support for an Anglo-Scottish Union. Yet, in his formulation, Great Britain is constituted primarily through a military alliance in which Scotland plays the dominant role ("When *England* is our owne with vs to goe, / What may wee not? whom can wee not orethrow?" [B2r]). By representing the Scottish-led alliance as the force that will reclaim Princess Elizabeth's lands in Bohemia (B1v), Gordon repatriates the Stuarts as a Scottish dynasty. Part of this defense is set against the contaminating influence of the English court, which in Gordon's language is associated with the effeminating influences of spectacle and luxury: "pompous showes," "womanish conceates," and "Mignons masks" (A4r). The debilitating effects of the Stuart masque stand in for the loss of Scottish power resulting from the southward migration of Scotland's dynasty. Gordon reverses the gendered power dynamics of colonialist discourse: rather than casting Scotland as the lesser partner in an Anglo-Scottish Union, or as the victim of a process of internal colonialism, Gordon depicts England as the enervating site of a loss of Scottish national prestige, contrasting masculine Scottish militarism with English effeminacy and decadent privilege.<sup>30</sup>

Gordon's texts demonstrate the numerous interconnections between the economic and political contexts of early modern Scotland and Ireland: both countries were brought together in networks of administration and patterns of migration that linked each culture to continental Europe as well as the

American colonies. Two other major Newfoundland plantation efforts of the 1620s similarly emerged out of this context: the settlement of Avalon organized by George Calvert, later Baron Baltimore, and the tracts of land held by Henry Cary, Lord Falkland and Lord Deputy of Ireland. The careers of Calvert and Falkland demonstrate the possibilities made available to Englishmen within the framework of James I's Britain. Calvert, the son of a Yorkshire yeoman landowner, entered state service in the colonial administration of Ireland, a career path that led him eventually to the English Parliament and tenure as Secretary of State. Calvert's wealth was gained through the Irish estates he acquired in Counties Wexford and Longford, from whence he later derived his title as Baron Baltimore. Henry Cary similarly gained a non-English title, as Viscount Falkland in the Scottish peerage, bestowed in 1620. Although Falkland was involved earlier with the Virginia Company and the North West Passage Company, his own career culminated with his appointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1622. Calvert and Falkland each became interested in using Newfoundland as a site for the resettlement of Irish Catholics: for Calvert, the American colonies could potentially serve as a refuge for Catholics to escape religious persecution; for Falkland, whose anti-Catholicism extended to his wife, Elizabeth Cary, Newfoundland offered an outlet for Catholic Old English landowners, the group who offered the most direct challenge to his authority in Ireland.<sup>31</sup>

In an undated document offering instructions to settlers, Falkland reveals the ways that English colonialism in Ireland provided the framework for his Newfoundland colony. Falkland's document insists on the need to maintain cultural uniformity within the settlement, stipulating that only those who spoke English be recruited as settlers, that colonists observe a single religion, and that the colony maintain a distance from indigenous cultures, a decision based on the conclusion that mixed plantations result in "a drowneinge of our men" (245). Falkland's apprehension over the possibility of settlers assimilating within indigenous cultures seems ludicrous given the fact that the Avalon peninsula of Newfoundland was nearly unpopulated, with the indigenous Beothuks long before having migrated inland. Yet his fears are intelligible within an early modern Irish context and the anxiety concerning Englishmen who had become assimilated within Irish culture expressed in Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (circa 1596) and other texts.<sup>32</sup> Like Spenser, Falkland associates the threatening possibility of cultural "degeneration" with Irish women, prompting him to stipulate that all female immigrants be English, a specification not extended to male colonists ("then it is noe great matter of wha[t] nation the men bee soe the women bee Englishe" [245]).<sup>33</sup> Despite these mandates for cultural uniformity, including religion, Falkland

does not specify which single faith should be practiced in his colony, perhaps attempting to recruit Catholics without openly representing his settlement as a potential refuge for them. His receptiveness to the immigration of Irish men, including Catholics, even while he strictly enforces the religious and national origin of female migrants, might attempt to conceal an effort for forced conversion, a possible hope that male Irish Catholic migrants will by default marry the only (Protestant) women in the colony, and thereby become Protestant as well. Falkland thus intends to place Protestant English women in the same position of authority over generation and acculturation that Spenser and others had found so threatening when assumed by Irish wives and nurses.

The only published document to derive from Falkland's Newfoundland settlement was *A Short Discourse of the New-found-land* (1623), a text most likely composed by a kinsman, Thomas Cary, who served under Falkland in Ireland during the 1620s.<sup>34</sup> Cary's pamphlet is significant because it offers the sole example of a colonial promotional text published in Dublin in the early modern period. Yet, far from presenting an alternative Irish proposal for colonization, Cary's text views the settlement of Newfoundland merely as a means to further consolidate the power of the English colonial administration in Ireland. Despite the Irish location of the text's production, it ultimately supports English interests, a transition made clear in the prefatory dedication to Falkland, which notes how "in this Kingdome, ... the name of a *Plantation* ... hath beene the originall cause from whence very many have derived their happinesse" (228). Thus, even though the text argues that Irish settlement in Newfoundland will produce a degree of economic self-sufficiency for Ireland by encouraging Irish manufacture and creating an outlet for Irish goods in the Americas, the ultimate beneficiary of Irish prosperity will be England, which will supply Ireland with the artisans and other migrants needed to maintain a prosperous Irish trade with the Americas. In this vision of an emergent triangular economy linking Newfoundland, Ireland, and England, the latter nonetheless retains control over the capital, labor, raw materials, and profits accruing from this transatlantic trade.

George Calvert's settlement of Avalon further links Ireland, the site of Calvert's lands and title, with Newfoundland. Although Calvert recruited colonists largely from England and Wales, the Avalon colony continued the precedent set by Sir George Peckham in the 1580s in envisaging Newfoundland as a refuge for Catholics.<sup>35</sup> The decline in Calvert's political career in England, which culminated with his resignation of his post as Secretary of State in 1625, was accompanied by an admission of his conversion to Catholicism, an action that sealed his political exile from England. Granted a compensatory title in the Irish peerage as Baron

Baltimore, Calvert retreated to his Irish estates. Although his Newfoundland land grant of 1620 (and a later charter of 1623) preceded his fall from power, Calvert, like Falkland, became actively involved in Newfoundland colonization only after his own power was based solely in Ireland. Recognizing the risks to Calvert even from his position of exile, the Avalon colony's appeal to Catholics remained an open secret, witnessed by the fact that Calvert would later deny accurate reports of the presence of Catholic priests in his colony.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless, the initial charter granted to Calvert in 1623, issued before the public admission of his conversion, makes no stipulation regarding religious uniformity in the colony, intimating the attraction of Avalon as a potential Catholic refuge even at an earlier period.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps as a result of the settlement's potentially volatile association with Catholic exiles, the only textual production to result from Calvert's colony took the form of disingenuously positive letters written by the Welsh governor of Avalon, Sir Edward Winne, first published in 1621 and later included, along with the testimony of other colonists, in the subsequent 1622 and 1623 editions of Richard Whitbourne's *A Discourse and Discovery of New-found-land* (1620).<sup>38</sup> Calvert's colony of Avalon was exceptional among American projects not only because it published letters from its settlers, but also due to the fact that Calvert himself actually resided for a time in the colony. Yet Calvert's experiences in Newfoundland from 1627 to 1629 led to his final decision to relocate his family to the warmer climate of Virginia (and, eventually, Maryland, granted to the Calvert family in a Royal Charter of 1634), a move that prompted one commentator to remark snidely that "the Ayre of Newfoundland agrees perfectly well with all Gods Creatures except Iesuits and Scismaticks."<sup>39</sup>

Whitbourne's *A Discourse and Discovery of New-found-land* (1620) experienced the greatest success among the published tracts relating to Newfoundland, a popularity attested to by its expansion in two later editions. The dissemination of Whitbourne's text additionally benefited from an unprecedented degree of official support. Whitbourne's lengthy treatise was published, as its title page indicates, "by Authority," and the text is prefaced by commendatory letters from the Bishop of Norwich (on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury), members of the Privy Council, and even King James, which extol Whitbourne and the various Newfoundland settlements he promoted, including George Calvert's.<sup>40</sup> Yet, even though Whitbourne was given license to publish his book for 21 years, its absence from print after the third edition of 1623 reflects not only the particular scandal associated increasingly with the Catholic settlement at Avalon, but also the more general failure of Newfoundland colonial projects.<sup>41</sup>

In his influential study *An Empire Nowhere*, Jeffrey Knapp argues that the failures that marked early English colonial efforts helped produce an

ideology of nationhood that stressed England's insularity and the integrity of English cultural identity.<sup>42</sup> Knapp's thesis is certainly relevant given the numerous losses and unfulfilled expectations that characterized Newfoundland settlement throughout the early modern period. Yet, in Knapp's argument, the colonial experience is viewed primarily through its impact on metropolitan English culture. By contrast, I wish in this final section to analyze how the failures of colonialism were registered differently from the marginal positions of colonial exile and internal displacement. The final two texts that I will discuss represent the most self-consciously "literary" texts relating to the early modern settlement of Newfoundland: Robert Hayman's *Qvodlibets, Lately Come Over from New Britaniola, Old New-foynd-land* (1628) and William Vaughan's *The Golden Fleece ... Transported from ... the Newfoyndland by Orpheus Iunior* (1626).

Hayman's text represents the first published set of poems written by an English colonist and has been characterized as the earliest example of "Canadian literature."<sup>43</sup> Nonetheless, there may be reasons for Hayman's general omission from national literary traditions, as his compilation of short, almost improvisational (or, less euphemistically, doggerel) poems, along with translations of John Owen and Rabelais, can hardly be viewed as a major literary achievement.<sup>44</sup> Alongside epigrams written to John Donne, Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, and George Wither, Hayman dedicates many of his poems to figures involved in Newfoundland colonization, including Calvert, Vaughan, Mason, Whitbourne, Falkland, Alexander, and others. The numerous epigrams addressed to these figures testify to the extensive interpersonal networks linking proponents of Newfoundland colonization, and reveal how these social and political ties often traversed national and cultural boundaries between the English, Scots, Irish, and Welsh, thereby creating a multinational, "British" environment in the colonies of Newfoundland and New Scotland.

Hayman wrote his collection of poems after having served as governor of the settlement of "Bristol's Hope" at Harbour Grace, established in 1618 by Bristol-based members of the Merchant Venturers' Company.<sup>45</sup> Although the title of Hayman's poems – *Qvodlibets, lately come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoyndland ... All of them Composed and done at Harbour-Grace in Britaniola, anciently called Newfoynd-land* – promises a literary product resulting from an extended stay in the colonies, Hayman situates the location of his own writing in England. For example, Hayman composes one short poem, "To a worthy Friend, who often objects the coldnesse of the Winter in Newfoynd-Land, and may serue for all those that haue the like conceit," in order to help recruit colonists who would migrate to Newfoundland if not for the region's reputation for long and harsh winters. Hayman defends the viability of Newfoundland settlement by

emphasizing the area's hospitable climate, which he contrasts to England's own severe winters:

They loue it [Newfoundland] best, that haue once winterd there.  
Winter is there, short, wholesome, constant, cleare,  
Not thicke, vnwholesome, shuffling, as 'tis here [E4r].

In this poem, "here" marks Hayman's location in England, a concession of his own inability to reside permanently in Newfoundland, which, ironically, he had left after spending his first winter in the region.<sup>46</sup> Just as Gordon and Alexander had constructed a nationalist conception of Scotland written from the positions of colonial migration or continental diaspora, Hayman's bond with Newfoundland (and its winters) is similarly produced out of his distance from the region as a failed colonist and returned traveler. Hayman's status as a repatriated migrant enables him to mythologize Newfoundland, so that in one poem Hayman even rhapsodizes concerning the "Poore John," the fish that served as the colony's primary export. Hayman's bathetic praise of Newfoundland fish demonstrates the difficulties inherent in efforts to buttress the prosaic, commercial project of Newfoundland colonization with a heroic dimension of exotic adventure, and testifies to the progressive marginalization of England's oldest and most reliable commercial link with the Americas within the framework of English colonialism.

William Vaughan's *The Golden Fleece*, which surely constitutes one of the oddest texts in the corpus of colonial promotional literature, engages in a similar effort to mythologize the project of Newfoundland colonization. Vaughan, a Welsh lawyer, scholar, and aspiring mystic, had no previous connection to any joint-stock or trading company, but was motivated to organize a settlement based on what he interpreted as a series of divine instructions.<sup>47</sup> Vaughan took advantage of a split between the London and Bristol merchants of the Newfoundland Company and purchased land on the southern tip of the Avalon peninsula in 1616, later sending groups of colonists to Newfoundland under the direction of Richard Whitbourne in each of the following two years. Yet by the time he published *The Golden Fleece* in 1626, his settlement had already failed, and Vaughan had assigned his lands to Sir Henry Cary and Sir George Calvert.<sup>48</sup> The literary qualities of Vaughan's *The Golden Fleece* illustrate how his Welsh project, like the Scottish and Irish colonial projects discussed earlier, exemplifies a particular embodiment of "an Empire nowhere," not only in terms of England's general failure to occupy colonial territories, following Knapp's argument, but also in relation to the internal displacement of Scottish, Irish, and Welsh national identities within the framework of domestic capital formation and overseas commercial and colonial expansion. Vaughan's

literary treatment of history demonstrates an effort to mythologize a project that is considerably marginal to English discourse on colonialism: not only does Vaughan's text treat Newfoundland, perhaps the most derogated area of colonial settlement, it also attempts to render this project as an extension of a Welsh nation that no longer maintained a territorial integrity of its own. As a result, Vaughan's history does not represent a national historiography, but instead offers a pastiche of contemporary debates concerning religion, mercantilism, theater, and colonial settlement.

Like More's *Utopia*, a text to which Vaughan frequently alludes, *The Golden Fleece* opens with a dialogue in a political and diplomatic setting, a fictional conversation at court between Vaughan, Sir William Alexander, and the courtier William Elveston, begun while the trio take part in negotiations relating to Newfoundland colonization and fishing rights. Recognizing the small audience for projects of colonization, particularly in the economic depression of the 1620s, Vaughan is advised to couch his promotional material within a literary frame, with "some trifling fragments and historical figments enterlaced among waightie and serious matters" (C1v), a method of sugar-coating the medicine whose precedents are cited as ranging from the Bible to *Don Quixote* (C2r). Yet despite this endorsement of a fictional content, Vaughan emphasizes that his text is neither utopian nor *Utopia*; as he asserts in his dedicatory poem to King James, "This no *Eutopia* is, nor Common-wealth / Which *Plato* faign'd. Wee bring Your *Kingdomes* health / By true *Receits*" (a2v).<sup>49</sup> Vaughan structures his text around the device of the court of Apollo, a convention borrowed from Trajano Boccalini, and presents three books dealing respectively with "the Errours of *Religion*," "the *Vices* and *Decayes* of the *Kingdome*," and "the *wayes to get wealth*, and to *restore* Trading" (a1r). Vaughan's first book features a series of pseudo-historical vignettes of religious controversy presented to the court of Apollo, as Protestant reformers and proto-Protestant figures such as Wycliffe, Chaucer, and Luther convince Apollo to abolish a variety of Catholic abuses (monastical orders, clerical celibacy, pardons, Purgatory, papal infallibility). Vaughan extends this device in relation to English commercial and colonial projects in his second book, which in one section reproduces the economic arguments of Gerard de Malynes and Edward Misselden, participants in a famous pamphlet war of the 1620s. In his third book, Vaughan has several figures involved in Newfoundland colonization appear before Apollo's court, including John Guy, founder of the Newfoundland Company, Captain John Mason, and Ferdinando Gorges, and even resurrects several long-deceased English officials, such as Cromwell, Burleigh, Walsingham, and Sir Thomas Smith, who offer their recommendations for ways to restore England's economy.

Despite the doubly marginal position of a Welsh project for Newfoundland colonization, Vaughan's defense emphasizes the practical and obtainable gains of the transatlantic fishing industry, which Vaughan transforms into England's "golden fleece," the most reliable means to reinvigorate English trade in the commercial depression of the 1620s. In laying claim to a trope previously used to represent England's cloth trade with the continent as well as the prospect of American gold, Vaughan attempts to recuperate the status of the Newfoundland trade in a period of economic crisis and construct a potential commercial network able to unite Wales with the riches of transatlantic fishing.<sup>50</sup> Vaughan therefore names his own holdings on Newfoundland's Avalon peninsula "Cambriol Colchos," the *Welsh* site of the golden fleece. Vaughan deems it necessary to mythologize his colony given the peripheral economic status of early modern Wales, one of the main subjects of the second book of *The Golden Fleece*. Like Alexander, Vaughan compares his own nation to late fifteenth-century Spain, describing Wales as an underpopulated nation lacking natural resources, although one that can nonetheless make use of its long coastline to become a maritime power (Dd4r), a situation, Vaughan recognizes, that had already taken place in neighboring Devonshire (Dd3v). Vaughan compares the adjoining ports of Wales and Devon in order to register the visible and material effects of internal colonialism, unequal patterns of development that have resulted in Devon's resources, including its shipping fleet, surpassing those of Wales by 15 times.

In his efforts to redraw commercial networks, and thereby relocate Wales from its marginal position, Vaughan accurately diagnoses the effects of national borders, particularly between England and Wales, which Vaughan renders as the symbol of Wales' subordinate position under English authority. Vaughan thus cites a Staffordshire gentleman, who claims that he would not accept 1,000 marks to relocate his house three miles to the Welsh side of the border (Ee2v). Despite his rabid anti-Catholicism, Vaughan acknowledges how the dissolution of the monastic houses had succeeded in destroying Wales' educational system and eliminating one of its main sources of revenue (Dd4v). For Vaughan, the chief mechanism of internal colonialism in Wales has been its legal system, the Council of the Marches, which not only gave jurisdiction to a permanent military tribunal, emphasizing Wales' position as an unstable colonial holding, but also caused a proliferation of lawyers and lawsuits, as the Welsh are subject to the Court of Westminster as well as the Council of Marches (Ee1r). In its status as part of a British kingdom as well as an English colony, Wales suffers the legal disadvantages of both positions.

As a region whose position is erased within the foundation of Britain as an Anglo-Scottish Union of the Realms, the political realities of early

modern Wales were further abstracted through a rhetoric of British history in which Wales served merely as a point of origin for British identity.<sup>51</sup> Welsh nationhood – and, by extension, the possibility of Welsh colonies – was ultimately reduced to a joke, a fanciful utopian no-place proposed from a marginal geopolitical nowhere. Perhaps appropriately, the map of Newfoundland by Captain John Mason that is included in Vaughan's *The Golden Fleece* fails to identify the precise location of Vaughan's "New Cambriol." The eccentric character of Vaughan's text serves to mark its status as ex-centric, as removed from the networks of patronage and capital that the early modern economic pamphleteer Edward Misselden described as "the circle of commerce."<sup>52</sup> Anticipating ridicule in response to his proposal of a Welsh colony, Vaughan's prefatory letter "To the vncharitable Readers or Deriders of our Golden Fleece" cites the comments of the English comic actor Richard Tarlton when confronted with a hostile audience: "I liu'd not in that Golden Age, / When *Iason* wonne the *Fleece*: / But now I am on *Gotams* Stage, / Where *Fooles* doe hisse like *Geese*" (b2v). Similarly, Vaughan concludes his text not with a plea for the success of his colony, but rather with the condemnation of its detractors: Athena (and her solicitor, Edmund Spenser) punish the clowns Scoggin and Skelton for interrupting the commendatory sonnet delivered to King Charles by Wales' patron saint, St. David (Mmm3r). This conclusion, reminiscent of Fluellen's humiliation of Pistol for insulting Welsh traditions in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, offers a comparable "Welsh correction" (5.1.77), a defense that nonetheless leaves undisturbed the underlying power dynamics of early modern Britain.

In this final section, I wish to return to J.G.A. Pocock's plea for a new subject of "British History" in order to gauge the ways that these Scottish, Irish, and Welsh projects for the colonization of the Atlantic provinces of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia constituted a part of that British History. Following Pocock's precedent, recent work in the New British History has emphasized the degree of cultural hybridity found among the constituent cultures of what Pocock termed "the Atlantic archipelago," even in an early modern period marked by increasing English dominance, and has recognized, as Pocock himself did, that "the fact of a hegemony does not alter the fact of a plurality."<sup>53</sup> Part of Pocock's proposal for a British History entails a reformulation of historical methodology, the creation of a mode of inquiry that not only attempts to offset the implicit tendency of English history to generalize itself as British, but even to formulate a new methodology that "is also highly antinationalist" (621). In adapting

Pocock's model of a New British History to early modern literary studies, a necessary part of this project entails a redefinition of the types of texts that critics analyze. As David Baker notes in his introduction to *Between Nations*, any study of the interactions of cultures in early modern "Britain" that fails to analyze, or even acknowledge, the literary texts and archival documents relating to non-English cultures is still writing a version of English history.<sup>54</sup> Literary studies of early modern "British Literature," therefore, must take into account such disparate materials as texts by Welsh authors, Scottish state papers, bardic poetry, or the Latin writings of Irish Catholic authors.<sup>55</sup> As Pocock notes, English hegemony over its archipelagic neighbors was abetted through a monopolization of literary and archival writing (611). As critics draw from this archive, it is necessary to adopt a more self-reflexive critical methodology, one that is able to question the conditions under which the national archive and literary canon were formed, and thereby offset the partial vision of English texts' representation of British intercultural relations.<sup>56</sup>

In a potentially controversial phrasing in the passage cited earlier, Pocock declares the methodology of British History as "antinationalist." Pocock judiciously cautions against a form of nationalist historiography intent on creating myths of origin and cultural purity; on the contrary, Pocock traces how Scottish, Irish, and Welsh cultures (with their inherent diversity), "having been anglicized, ... [were motivated] to control the results of their own anglicization" (627). Even though Pocock intends to counter the nationalist uses (and abuses) of historical narrative, his statement nonetheless reveals the pertinence of national sentiment and identification for non-English subjects of the early modern Atlantic world. I have similarly attempted to address the forms of nationhood expressed by figures such as Alexander, Gordon, and Vaughan, acknowledging that early modern England did not possess a monopoly on national sentiment. However, confirming Pocock's statement, these figures' affective bonds to their home countries were mediated by their own inevitably anglicized cultural positions. These writers, in their anglicized expressions of nationalism, demonstrate how a British position was characterized by its hybridity, a cultural location that mediated between national and anglicized influences, as well as between other archipelagic cultures, regardless of whether these writers positioned themselves explicitly in relation to official Jacobean British ideology.

The tradition of British scholarship inaugurated by Pocock has addressed the New British History primarily in reference to such issues as competing ideologies of nationhood, hybrid cultures and subjectivities, and increasingly centralized state authority.<sup>57</sup> The Scottish, Irish, and Welsh projects for American colonization that I have discussed also illustrate the

extent to which national or British identification was the product of material circumstances, particularly the uneven patterns of development resulting from internal colonialism. Colonial expansion ultimately served to reinforce inequalities between core and peripheral regions, as expanding resources of capital became increasingly centralized in London, a process that marginalized not only Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, but also important commercial centers in the West Country such as Bristol.<sup>58</sup> Yet even within this context, as the work of Bernard Bailyn and Philip Morgan has shown, the transatlantic colonial economy also served to expand opportunities for emigration, thereby creating multinational British colonies later in the early modern period.<sup>59</sup> Supporting Bailyn and Morgan's argument, Newfoundland offers the earliest example of a colonial culture inhabited by a diversity of migrant groups, a situation that became more the rule than the exception by the eighteenth century. While internal colonialism within the Atlantic archipelago attempted to erase cultural differences and autonomy within the rubric of British imperialism, the colonial cultures of the Americas served to preserve and even reinforce these cultural differences. However, these British societies came into being only once their own marginality in the colonial economy was assured; the production, control, and investment of capital, on the other hand, remained if not increasingly became the monopolistic prerogative of metropolitan English culture.

The Scottish, Irish, and Welsh projects for American colonization from the 1620s demonstrate how the "British question" concerned not only an expansive English metropolitan core culture and its relations with the increasingly marginalized cultures of the Celtic periphery. On the contrary, these British intercultural relations were also mediated by affiliations and networks that linked Britain to early modern Europe as well as the American colonies. And even while colonialism provided the opportunity for the formation of diasporic British identities, the material circumstances of colonial expansion ensured that these colonies remained within the economic control of the English state and London-based companies. As a result, British colonies like Alexander's New Scotland or Vaughan's New Cambriol were relegated to the status of historical footnotes, alternative histories whose unfulfilled possibility was transformed instead – following the precedent set by Jonson, Chapman, and Marston's satiric depiction of "industrious Scots" – merely to a joke.

## NOTES

1. C.G. Petter (ed.), *Eastward Ho!* (New York: Norton, 1973), 3.3.36–45.
2. For discussion of this episode, see C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson (eds.), *Ben Jonson*, 11 Vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926–52), 1:140, 190–200; 4:498–9; and 11:578.

3. In a supplicatory letter to King James, Chapman denied that he and Jonson had authored the anti-Scots passage, implicitly laying blame on Marston (who had escaped imprisonment); in a letter to the Lord Chamberlain, Chapman attributed the playwrights' imprisonment to the play's unlicensed performance, not its anti-Scots reference (Petter, *Eastward Ho!*, 126–7). In a letter thought addressed to the Countess of Bedford, Jonson emphasized that the play had been "misconstrued" (Herford and Simpson, *Jonson*, 1:197) and protested in a letter to the Earl of Salisbury that his satirical writings never targeted particular individuals or nations (1:195).
4. Piggot, who had made a speech in Parliament describing the Scots as "rogues" who "have not suffered above two kings to die in their beds these 200 years" was expelled from the House of Commons and his seat declared vacant following his remarks (*The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* [Edinburgh: HM Stationery Office, 1885], 7:xxxviii–ix). On Jacobean-era anti-Scottish ballads, see C.H. Firth, "The Ballad History of the Reign of James I," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd ser., 5 (1911), 21–61, and "Ballads Illustrating the Relations of England and Scotland During the Seventeenth Century," *Scottish Historical Review* 6 (1908–09), 113–28. Osborne's and Weldon's texts were not published until the Commonwealth period: see Francis Osborne, *Traditional Memoyres on the Raigne of King James the First* (1658) and Sir Anthony Weldon, "A Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland" (1659), in *Secret History of the Court of James I*, ed. Walter Scott, Vol.1 (Edinburgh and London: James Ballantyne and Co., 1811), 1:143, 254.
5. Herford and Simpson, *Jonson*, 4:504.
6. Petter, *Eastward Ho!*, xxxvii.
7. J.G.A. Pocock, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject," *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975), 601–28. Pocock reiterates this point in several later essays, including "The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject," *The American Historical Review* 87 (1982), 318–19 and "Conclusion: Contingency, Identity, Sovereignty," in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, ed. Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 294, 297.
8. For a related discussion of the subsuming of regional and national identities within the British imperial project in the eighteenth century, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).
9. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (eds.), *The Riverside Shakespeare* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1997). All further references to Shakespeare's plays are from this edition.
10. A number of promotional texts of American colonization similarly attempted to redefine colonists inclusively as "British." See, for example, Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia, Offering Most Excellent Fruites by Planting in Virginia* (1609) and William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612).
11. For a similar point, see Mark Netzloff, "Forgetting the Ulster Plantation: John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611) and the Colonial Archive," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001), 313–48.
12. Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 197, 236.
13. David Armitage, "Making the Empire British: Scotland in the Atlantic World 1542–1707," *Past and Present* 155 (May 1997), 34–63.
14. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, *A Discovrse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia* (1576), in *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 2 Vols., ed. D.B. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940), 1:129–64; Sir George Peckham, *A True Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession Taken in the Right of Englande, of the New-found Landes* (1583), in Quinn, *Voyages of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 2:435–82; Robert Hitchcock, *A Politique Platt for the Honour of the Prince, the Great Profite of the Publique State, Relief of the Poore ...* (1580).
15. For Parkhurst's proposal, see Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 3 Vols. (1598–1600), rpt. 12 Vols. (New York: Dent, 1927), 8:9–16; Hayes' comments are included in John Brereton's *A Brief and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia* (1602).
16. For further discussion of this transition, see David B. Quinn, "Newfoundland in the Consciousness of Europe in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," in *Explorers*

- and Colonies: *America, 1500–1625* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1990), 301–20; and Mary C. Fuller, “Images of English Origins in Newfoundland and Roanoke,” in Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny (eds.), *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500–1700* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 141–58. On the economic foundations of early Newfoundland projects, see Shannon Miller, *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 86–113.
17. In his *Generall Historie*, Smith mentions Newfoundland only when noting the failed efforts and death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, thus implying the end of settlement in the region by 1583 (Philip L. Barbour [ed.]), *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, 3 Vols. [Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986], 2:62).
  18. Barbour, *Complete Works of Smith*, 1:331.
  19. Charles Welsey Tuttle (ed. and intro.), *Captain John Mason, The Founder of New Hampshire* (1887; New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), 15–19. For further discussion of early projects for the settlement of New Scotland, see John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).
  20. For discussion, see Jane Ohlmeyer, “‘Civilizing of those Rude Partes’: Colonization Within Britain and Ireland, 1580s–1640s,” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. I: The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 124–47; and my own discussion in Mark Netzloff, *England’s Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
  21. Tuttle, *Mason*, 10.
  22. David J. Baker, *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 9.
  23. Alexander’s opposition to overseas commercial monopolies thus links Scottish interests with the arguments of West Country merchants, who throughout the 1620s lobbied Parliament to create a free market for the transatlantic fishing industry (Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland 1577–1660* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969], 99).
  24. Michael Nerlich, *Ideology of Adventure: Studies in Modern Consciousness, 1100–1750*, Vol. 1, trans. Ruth Crowley (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 1:164.
  25. Carole Shammas, “English Commercial Development and American Colonization, 1560–1620,” in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, The Atlantic, and America, 1480–1650*, ed. K.R. Andrews et al. (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 151–74.
  26. On a similar note, Sir Francis Bacon contrasted the efficiency of a proposed London council on the Ulster plantation with the outmoded model of the Virginia Company: “an enterprise in my opinion differing as much from this, as Amadis de Gaul differs from Caesar’s Commentaries” (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).
  27. See Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558–1641*, abridged edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), esp. 43–8.
  28. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 230. To cite just one example, 1,300 Ulster Irish were sent to Sweden in 1609 (206).
  29. These numbers match and slightly exceed Scottish migration to Ireland, estimated at 25,000 before 1640 (Armitage, “Making the Empire British,” 46).
  30. For a related discussion, see Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The “Manly Englishman” and the “Effeminate Bengali” in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
  31. For discussion of Cary and Calvert, see Gillian T. Cell (ed. and intro.), *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610–1630* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1982), 36–57; and Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland*, 88–96.
  32. See Spenser’s often-cited comments associating acculturation with the milk of Irish wet nurses (Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (eds.), *A View of the Present State of Ireland* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1997], 71), as well as Spenser’s conclusion that “commonly the childe

- taking most of his nature of the mother ... Therefore are these evill customes of fostering and marrying with the Irish, most carefully to be restrayned” (71).
33. Falkland, “To the Well Affected Planters in New Fownde Lande,” in Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 244–5.
  34. Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 39.
  35. See Quinn, *Voyages of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 1:56–62, 71–5.
  36. See his 18 Aug. 1629 letter to Sir Francis Cottington (Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 293). For a discussion of Calvert’s settlement in the context of Catholic missionary activities, see Luca Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore’s Colony in Newfoundland, 1621–1649* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988).
  37. Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 49; the charter is printed in Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 258–69.
  38. *A leter [sic] written by Captaine Edward Winne, to the Right Honorable, Sir George Caluert ... from Ferryland in Newfoundland* (1621); this text, which included two letters from Winne to Calvert, is printed in Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 253–8. Whitbourne printed two of Winne’s letters from the following year, along with letters from the settlers Daniel Powell and Nicholas Hoskins, in the 1622 and 1623 editions of his *Discourse* (see Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 195–206).
  39. Quoted in Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 55. The writer of this passage, David Kirke, led a group who claimed possession of Calvert’s Newfoundland holdings in the 1630s, and therefore had motives to derogate the colony’s earlier Catholic settlers.
  40. A collated edition of Whitbourne’s text is included in Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 101–206.
  41. Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 104.
  42. Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992).
  43. See David Galloway, “Robert Hayman (1575–1629): Some Materials for the Life of a Colonial Governor and First ‘Canadian’ Author,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 24 (1967), 75–87; also see Allan Pritchard, “From these Uncouth Shores: Seventeenth-Century Literature of Newfoundland,” *Canadian Literature* 14 (1962), 5–20. G.C. Moore Smith reprints Hayman’s petitions to Charles I and the Duke of Buckingham in “Robert Hayman and the Plantation of Newfoundland,” *English Historical Review* 33 (1918), 21–36.
  44. As Anne Lake Prescott notes, the texts that Hayman attributes to Rabelais were actually written by François Habert: see “Rabelaisian Apocrypha and Satire in Early Canada: the Case of Robert Hayman,” in *Éditer et traduire Rabelais à travers les âges*, ed. Paul J. Smith (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), 101–16.
  45. After Hayman left the Newfoundland colony, he joined an expedition in Guiana, where he died in 1629, evidence of the links in personnel between Newfoundland and other American colonies (Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland*, 88).
  46. Hayman subsequently resided in Newfoundland for several summers, but never spent another winter in the region after his 15-month stay in 1618–19. The colony seems to have flourished despite – or perhaps because of – the absence of its part-time poet-governor (Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland*, 87).
  47. In a later text, *Newlanders Cure* (1630), Vaughan relates how his rescue from potential drowning, as well as other instances of divine intervention, had revealed to him his mission to serve “the Publicke Good” (A6r–A6v). For discussion of Vaughan’s other writings, see Anne Lake Prescott, “Relocating Terra Firma: William Vaughan’s Newfoundland,” in Warkentin and Podruchny, *Decentring the Renaissance*, 125–40.
  48. For background on Vaughan, see Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 19–26, and Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland*, 83–6.
  49. A similar comment is made by Stephen Berrier in his prefatory poem: “But Orpheus now forsaking the Easterne Greecee, / From Westerne Colchos brings the Golden Fleece; / Which no *Eutopia* is, nor Fairy-land, / Yet Colchos in *Elisian* Fields doth stand” (b3r). Vaughan later contrasts the “Chymerizing notions” of More and Plato to his own survey of “reall and actual vices” (V2v–V3r). In a more favorable reference, Vaughan cites More’s description

- of the underlying economic causes for the number of thieves in England, from Book 1 of *Utopia*, in order to justify colonization as a course whereby the nation "like a proud Mother, ought rather to provide them relief" (Eeely).
50. For examples of previous uses of the "golden fleece" trope, and the relation of this image to English colonialism, see Mark Netzloff, "The Lead Casket: Capital, Mercantilism, and *The Merchant of Venice*," in *Money and the Age of Shakespeare: Essay in New Economic Criticism*, ed. Linda Woodbridge (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 159–76.
  51. For a related discussion, see Peter Roberts, "Tudor Wales, National Identity and the British Inheritance," in *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 8–42.
  52. See Edward Misselden, *The Circle of Commerce* (1623). For discussion of Misselden's pamphlet war with Gerard de Malynes, see Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 66–91 and Barry Supple, *Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600–1642: A Study in the Instability of a Mercantile Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 185–8, 211–21.
  53. Pocock, "British History," 605. Among recent discussions of transcultural relations in early modern "Britain," see Baker, *Between Nations*, 31–44; Christopher Highley, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 71–6; Willy Maley, "The View from Scotland: Combing the Celtic Fringe," in *Salvaging Spenser* (New York: St. Martin's, 1997), 136–62; Mark Netzloff, "'Counterfeit Egyptians' and Imagined Borders: Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*," *ELH* 68 (2001), 763–93; and David J. Baker and Willy Maley (eds.), *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
  54. Baker, *Between Nations*, 1–16.
  55. Among recent studies making use of non-English sources, see the essays in Jane H. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ireland: Kingdom or Colony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); 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 and New York: Routledge, 1993), 1–16; and Richard A. McCabe, *Spenser's Monstrous Regiment: Elizabethan Ireland and the Poetics of Difference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
  56. For discussion of the formation of the colonial archive, see Netzloff, "Forgetting the Ulster Plantation." In *Between Nations*, Baker analyzes the process by which Scottish, Irish, and Welsh contexts were elided, or "unwritten," within an English-British historiography (14).
  57. David Cannadine surveys historians' approaches to the New British History in "British History as a 'New Subject': Politics, Perspectives and Prospects," in Grant and Stringer, *Uniting the Kingdom?*, 12–28.
  58. For discussion of Bristol, see David Harris Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450–1700* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991).
  59. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (eds. and intro.), *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 1–31.

## *A Pretty Trifle: Art and Identity in Boswell's London Journal*

DONALD J. NEWMAN

*This study speculates on what effects narcissistic injuries inflicted during James Boswell's childhood might have had on the artistry in the London Journal. Drawing heavily on the theories of Erik Erikson, narcissism, and Jay Martin's theory of the fictive personality, it suggests that Boswell's literary talent was stimulated by the need to relieve the psychic distress of a painful identity crisis. When in London, he attempted to relieve this psychic pain by composing an entertaining journal narrative that would evoke mirror images of a talented writer in an audience of one.*

James Boswell kept a personal journal nearly all his adult life, yet only the *London Journal*, the chronicle of a nine-month stay in London written when he was 22, is admired for its literary quality. Of all Boswell's journals, Frederick Pottle writes, the *London Journal* is "the most carefully and elaborately written. In his later journals he sometimes has more interesting matter, and as he grew older he became himself a more interesting man, but it is doubtful whether he ever displayed a greater literary skill than he does here." Chance gave the book what his other journals lack, a beginning and an end, Pottle notes, but he gave it "a very artful middle."<sup>1</sup> Since then that "artful middle" has received considerable critical attention.

What Paul Fussell, Jr. calls Boswell's "sheer literariness" is at the center of nearly all discussions of the journal's artistry. Fussell focuses on the journal's links to drama. "At once playwright, stage-manager, actor, and dramatic critic," writes Fussell, "he sees his career as an accumulation of scenes from tragedy, sentimental comedy, and farce." Seeing himself as an actor enables him to see himself at once as "an imperishable literary character" and mortal human being. Many readers have noticed, as does Patricia Meyer Spacks, that the journal's narrative is "essentially novelistic." She reads the *London Journal* as the story of a young man on a voyage of self-discovery. Boswell's "imagination focuses his journal's drama" as he struggles "to reconcile inner and outer reality." Richard J.