CHAPTER 2

Ulster as a Colony in the Atlantic World

> Goe not thither, for though there be plenty of all thinges, thou shalt starve there, Loyterers and lewd persons in this our new worlde, they will not be indured.[1]

These admonitory words were written in 1610 by Thomas Blenerhasset, in a pamphlet aimed at attracting men of substance and ability to the Ulster plantation project, and dissuading those of more slender means from taking part. In seeking to dispel the illusion that life in the escheated counties represented an opportunity for easy gain at little cost in money and labour, Blenerhasset's use of the term 'new worlde' may appear, to modern readers, incongruous in an Irish context. Certainly the phrase enjoyed common currency at the time, as the Virginia Company was establishing what would become England's first enduring colony in America, but it might be thought Ulster was too close to home to be spoken of as a New World, unless it was with tongue firmly in cheek. A relative latecomer to European expansion in the Atlantic, England was beginning, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, to take a renewed interest in the New World as it is more commonly understood, after a lull of several decades since the failed attempts to establish colonies at Roanoke in the 1580s. It was also beginning to take a renewed interest in colonisation efforts in Ulster, after the unmitigated failure of several projects in the east of the province in the 1570s.

As will be seen in Chap. 3, it had taken a major military investment, resulting in catastrophic social upheavals, and the removal of the resistant element of the native ruling class to lay the groundwork

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for the plantation project of 1609 and the opportunities publicised by Blenerhasset. While few historians deny that the society which finally emerged from these efforts could be characterised as 'colonial', it has been claimed by some that it is a mistake to bracket together these outposts of English expansion on either side of the Atlantic, and that such parallels—initiated by historians such as D. B. Quinn and subsequently advocated most prominently by Nicholas Canny—are misleading.[2] Objections to viewing early modern Ireland in the context of extra-European imperialism have centred around various assertions.[3] It has been claimed, for example, that Ireland was subjected to a type of rule which differed in important respects from that practised in places such as Virginia, New England and the Caribbean. Various comparisons are proposed in their stead: the dispossession of Protestants in Bohemia after defeat at the Battle of the White Mountain has been compared to the confiscation of Irish Catholic land[4]; the consolidation of the state's authority over peripheral areas of the island of Britain, not only over ethnically distinct peoples in Scotland or Wales, but over the English border areas which had previously enjoyed a great deal of autonomy, has been cited[5]; and some contemporaries such as John Davies found parallels with the Irish situation far closer to home than America, comparing the transplantation of the natives in Ireland to the Spanish expulsion and dispossession of the Moriscos.[6]

It is important to state from the outset that none of these comparisons are necessarily incompatible with an Atlantic context. A view of Ireland as *purely* colonial in this sense is one rarely, if ever, encountered in the literature on the subject, and is not one that will be made here. Raymond Gillespie's formula of early modern Ireland as 'a mid-Atlantic polity having some features of both the Old World and the New' offers a useful reminder that this is not an either/or question of choosing between two distinct frameworks in which to analyse the phenomenon.[7] The mid-Atlantic, however, offers a disconcertingly broad latitude for speculation, and there is a danger inherent in overemphasising the uniqueness of Ireland's position to the point where it is denuded of all historic context. This uniqueness is usually presented in terms of being uniquely ambiguous or complex; Andrew Murphy has gone so far as to claim that, 'of all of the countries that have experienced colonialism, Ireland's history is the most complex'.[8] Any discrete historical event, however, can be shown to be uniquely complex if dissected at sufficient length, and such a characterisation often tells us more about

the prolixity of that discussion than the inherent complexity of the phenomenon being discussed.

Its entanglement in the wider controversy over revisionism has continually resuscitated this debate over whether Ireland was a kingdom, colony or a hybrid of both. If sought after with sufficient diligence, divergences can of course be found between any two given colonies which in many other ways exhibit similarities. Virginia and New England, for example, have traditionally been viewed as differing profoundly, in that Virginia was a more nakedly commercial venture from the outset compared to the motives driving the Separatists and Puritans in New England.[9] (See Fig. 2.1 for a map of the North American seaboard) In this sense, both these colonies possessed unique features (as well as similarities). Ireland, likewise, had features that were unique to an English colony, such as the fact that it had the constitutional status of a kingdom. To claim that its position was *uniquely* ambiguous, however, is as fallacious as to claim that it was identical with another colony. Exact parallels will always be found lacking when any one colony is examined closely enough. This does not mean that comparisons are by their very nature redundant; the nature of the Ulster colony can be better appreciated by recognising both the differences as well as the similarities with others. Perhaps the best method of clarifying where in the mid-Atlantic the island should be placed conceptually is to address those specific objections that have been made to treating it as a colony in the Atlantic world. This chapter will, therefore, examine these objections in turn.

Whereas most of the published debate has centred on all of Ireland, the following discussion will be concerned with Ulster alone. Justifying this separate treatment of Ulster necessarily involves confronting the first major objection to viewing Ireland as an Atlantic colony, which is that Ireland's proximity to Britain, and the long-standing familiarity between the peoples of the two islands, renders such a comparison unsound. While this particular point may reasonably be made for other parts of Ireland, however, it does not hold for Ulster. The gradual and piecemeal nature of the encroachment of English rule over Ireland meant that the island was subjected to several different kinds of colonialism at the same time. It is thus indiscriminate to discuss all of Ireland without making due distinction between varying patterns of colonial development, geographically speaking. William Smyth, following the lead of D. W. Meinig, has identified three such zones of differing settlement.[10]

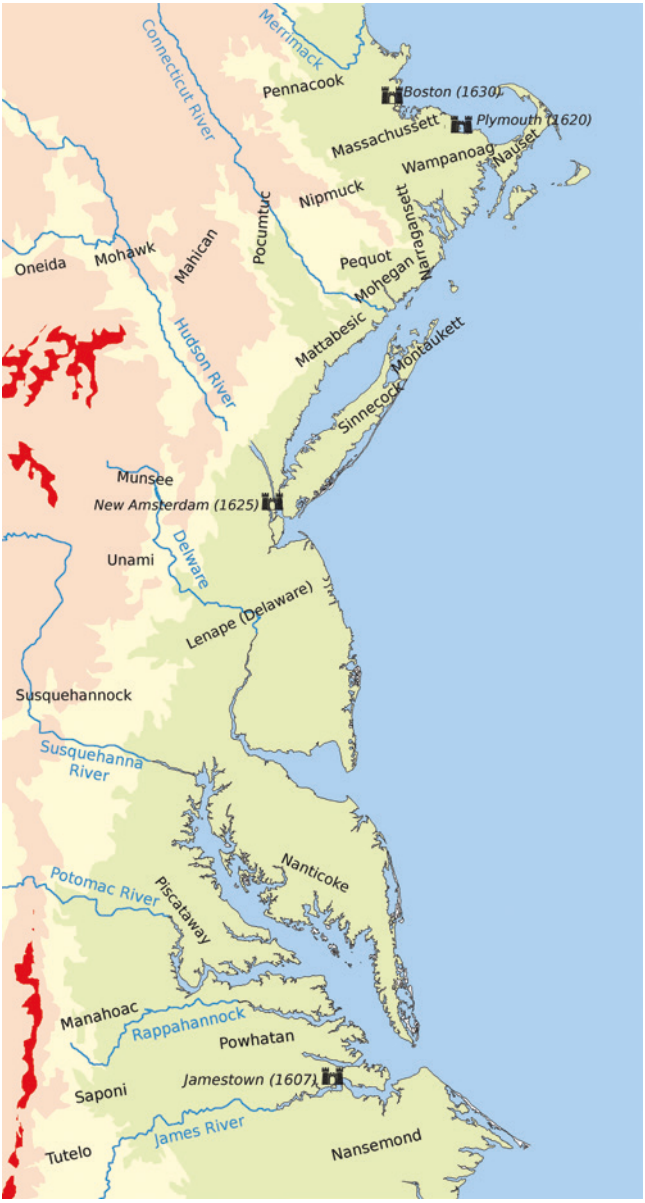


Fig. 2.1 Eastern seaboard of North America in the seventeenth century

First, the west of Ireland, in contrast with other parts of the island, was not intensively settled by English or Scots and retained much of its Gaelic character for longer than other regions. To this day, the vast majority of *Gaeltachtaí* in Ireland are situated in the west.[11] Part of the reason that Ulster was made subject to such an exacting project of plantation is that its Gaelic rulers had proved themselves unwilling to accept cultural and political assimilation on the terms of the English government. While the FitzGeralds of Desmond, in the south-west of Ireland, fell prey to a similar fate, in general the Gaelic or Gaelicised rulers in the west and south were amenable to political assimilation in a way that Ulster was not. The earls of Thomond and Clanricard, for example, were prepared to live under a President in Munster and Connacht, whereas the prospect of the creation of such an office for Ulster prompted O'Neill to write to James I to beseech him 'not to graunt any such government'.[12]

A second zone of colonisation, which may loosely be termed The Pale, encompassed most of Leinster and east Munster, and had existed as an English colony in some shape or form since the invasion of the twelfth century. Here, the Anglo-Norman colonists had put down deep roots and significant acculturation had taken place between them and the Irish. The Reformation drove a further wedge between this Old English community and the New English settlers, deepening the affinity between the older community and their 'mere Irish' neighbours. Regarding these neighbours, Ciaran Brady's observation—made of the Irish in contrast to native Americans—may be said to hold true for this particular zone: 'the English and Irish did not meet across a frontier but mingled closely together in a manner which overcame or diluted such cultural differences as existed between them.'[13] It will be argued throughout this work, however, that the same could not be claimed of relations between the natives and colonists in Ulster.

Ulster and a few other areas, such as the mountain fastnesses of Wicklow, formed a third zone largely impervious to direct English administration until the aftermath of the Nine Years War. It was not so much the difficulty of gaining access with troops as maintaining authority in a territory that offered none of the infrastructure to support it. Lord Deputy Sidney's observation when withdrawing troops from Rathlin Island in 1575, that the island was 'veri easy to be wonne at any tyme but very chardgious and hard to be held', could have been said of the entire province of Ulster.[14] Until the second half of the sixteenth

century, the English were thus content to control the province by reaching an accommodation with the strongest local warlord at any given time, usually one of the O'Neills. They were far less concerned with transforming Ulster than simply managing the status quo. This strategy was eloquently expressed by the Earl of Ormond in 1594, who wrote of making Hugh O'Neill 'an instrument to helpe to suppresse and appease the northrin stirres that otherwise may be chardgable to her ma[jes] tie'.[15] John Davies acknowledged that, from the time of the first conquest by Henry II up to the reign of Elizabeth, Irish rulers beyond The Pale had been merely tribute-paying sovereigns and not subjects.[16] When this territory had finally been opened up to colonisation the same writer remarked that Ulster was 'heretofore as unknown to the English here as the most inland part of Virginia as yet unknown to our English colony there'.[17] When Davies was writing, Ulster was about to become a colony, but a newer kind of colony differing from, though bordering on, an older one, The Pale. Unlike the medieval (but like the American) colonies, Irish native and New English newcomer *did* meet across a frontier in Ulster.

The cultural nature of this frontier will be discussed in more detail in Chap. 4. It is easy to forget, in an age when a trip from London to any part of Ulster can be made in under three hours, that a journey to the interior of the province from the metropolis could take the better part of a month in the early seventeenth century, and that, even after colonisation had begun in earnest, much of that interior remained largely impenetrable to outsiders without a guide.[18] This lack of knowledge is evident from a glance at sixteenth-century century maps of the province.[19] In a 1520s map from Robert Cotton's collection in the British Library (Fig. 2.2), the existence of the province, squeezed into a tiny north-western corner of the island, is almost ignored. By the 1560s, when John Goghe's map was made (Fig. 2.3), the expanding frontiers of knowledge are apparent, as are its limitations. While the more anglicised parts of the island were depicted with reasonable accuracy, Lough Erne was still being represented as a single lake and Donegal is now swollen out of all proportion; that territory's resistance to survey is further symbolised by the figures of three warriors. This resistance would be dramatically demonstrated in reality when the cartographer Richard Bartlett was beheaded in 1603 by locals only too aware of the association between the arrival of surveyors, and the armies and settlers which would follow.[20]



Fig. 2.2 Map of Ireland, 1520s. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Cotton MS Augustus I.ii.21)



Fig. 2.3 Detail of '*Hibernia: Insula non procul ab Anglia vulgare Hirlandia vocata*'. John Goghe, 1567. Courtesy of The National Archives, London (MPF 1/68)

It is crucial to appreciate the isolation and relative foreignness of Ulster in order to understand the impact of colonisation on its native inhabitants. There are indications that Ulster's physical proximity to Britain also misled some colonists into believing that it would resemble home far more than it actually did. Thomas Smith seriously underestimated the difficulties presented by the culture of the indigenous population when planning his colony in the early 1570s. The Ards peninsula proved to be an alien and hostile environment for Smith's colonists, not least his son, who was shot dead by an Irishman in their employ.[21] Many of the problems which befell this scheme stemmed from the mistaken belief that the followers of native rulers would spontaneously come over to the colonists' side once they saw the benefits (self-evident to Smith) of English civility. The language which Smith used to describe the native Irish betrays a belief that parasitic Irish 'lords' oppressed their 'churls' with the 'exactions' of their 'Kerne or Galliglas', and merely needed to be replaced by English landlords in order to unleash the economic potential of the 'very simple and toyleseme' natural follower, who wished only 'that he may not bée eaten out with ceasse, Coyne, nor liverie'.[22]

Smith, who had never been to Ireland, trusted too much to such analogies. Although there were certainly similarities in the relationship between lord and churl on the one hand, and the *tiarna* and his followers on the other, there were crucial differences between Gaelic society and the feudal structures of medieval England. The failure to appreciate these differences meant that the colonists were unprepared for the hostile reaction they faced from local rulers such as Brian McPhelim O'Neill of Clandeboye, whose followers, instead of flocking to the colonists as their saviours, were mobilised to attack the Ards and Carrickfergus. The Gaelic social hierarchy was more nuanced than observers such as Smith were prepared to allow. The complexity inherent in the word *biatach*—which can be defined as one who rendered food dues to his *tiarna*—serves to illustrate this. While it included the *daor-bhiatach*, whose status might be said to approximate that of a serf, the word also encompassed a wider range of intermediary social ranks, up to the *brughaidh*, or hospitaller, who enjoyed a high status.[23]

A variety of functionaries, whose offices were often hereditary, such as the learned orders, as well as the *ceithearnach* and *gallóglach* to which ('Kerne' and 'Galliglas') Smith referred, were likewise attached to the retinue of a *tiarna*. Thus, the fabric of Gaelic social hierarchy was multi-layered and characterised by interconnected relations of

reciprocity; followers would provide tribute in the form of food or services in return for protection and, in the case of the non-food-producing elements of society, military services were provided in return for upkeep in the form of *buannacht*, levied on the *biatach*. Smith, however, appears to have laboured under the illusion that the Gaelic followers were bound to their rulers in a type of vassalage inheritable from father to son under feudal law. No such estate of inheritance existed, either in land or serfs, in Gaelic society, and the relationship between a *tiarna* and the various subordinate classes beneath him was contractual and terminable. Implicit in this was the freedom of these subordinates to leave a *tiarna* who was not fulfilling his end of the social contract.[24] This freedom would no doubt have been severely curtailed by the reality of economic dependence, although the same could be said of the wage labourer in the proto-capitalist economy which would supplant the Gaelic one. Smith's efforts were, therefore, thwarted by his own attempts to impose English categories upon a Gaelic cultural landscape.

While some sought the familiar in the unfamiliar society confronting them in Ulster, it was perhaps the experiences of the Ards colonists that men such as Blenerhasset and Davies had in mind when they stressed to their fellow countrymen the newness of this New World. Some historians claim that these comparisons were nothing more than propaganda to disparage the Irish, and are not to be taken as a serious reflection of how they were viewed by English observers.[25] The English, it is argued, were in fact aware that the Irish were not the nomads they were sometimes alleged to be, but in fact cultivated oats to supplement their dairy produce and practised only seasonal migration between upland and lowland pastures. It should be noted, however, that the Algonquian peoples encountered in southern New England also practised a mixed economy which involved tillage. This did not prevent Europeans (and subsequently Euro-Americans) from denying to them, down to the twentieth century, the status of farmer.[26]

The issue was not that Americans or the Irish were not using the land, but rather that they were not using it in the way Europeans did; that is to say, with the aim of producing a surplus and exploiting its commercial potential to the full. A key concept in the early modern period was 'improvement'. John Winthrop, who had considered life as a colonist in Ireland before settling for New England, met the objection that the Puritans had 'noe warrant to enter upon that Land w[hi]ch hath been soe longe possessed by others', with the answer that the Indians 'inclose

noe Land, neither have any setled habytation, nor any tame Cattle to improve the Land by', thus depriving them of any legal rights to the territory.[27] John Temple made frequent reference to the 'improvements' made by the colonists in Ulster and the jealousy of the Irish which had spurred them to attack.[28] Failure to improve the land, John Locke wrote, was the reason why the Americans, 'whom nature having furnished as liberally as any other people, with the materials of plenty', lived in such poverty that 'a king of a large and fruitful territory there, feeds, lodges, and is clad worse than a day-labourer in England'. It is no coincidence that Locke was one of the most influential theorists of the right to take land not being used in recognisably European, commercial ways.[29]

Colonists were often unable, or unwilling, to perceive the ways in which these peoples mixed their labour with the natural resources of their environment. The peoples of New England, for example, had developed over the centuries a sophisticated polyculture which involved planting their crops symbiotically, using the stalk of the maize as a natural frame on which they grew beans. This combination, along with squash and tobacco, maximised soil nutrients and moisture and gave the appearance, to Europeans, of a densely tangled and unweeded garden—nothing like the rows of uniform crops they had come to associate with the word 'farming'.[30] Few cared to look more closely into the matter; indeed, such practices seemed to violate the injunction of Leviticus 19:19: 'thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed.' Roger Williams, one of the few colonists in New England who attempted to understand the natives' way of life on its own terms, recognised that the Algonquians' burning of the undergrowth at regular intervals, both to clear the ground for planting and to facilitate hunting, constituted an improvement and gave them as much right to their land as the King of England had to his royal forests.[31] In a very real sense, the Indians were cultivating the game, because selective burning of the forests lured the deer into areas in which they had cleared, creating an ideal grazing environment.[32] Thus, land which looked as if it were going to waste was, in fact, not. The semi-pastoral way of life led by many in Ulster proved equally problematic to English observers and the misperception has likewise endured to modern times. The geographer Emyr Estyn-Evans in 1973 wrote that: 'the hills and bogs, providing as they did abundant grazing and fuel, were the preferred environment for the traditional pattern of rural life.'[33] While this would have been true if the Irish had remained all the year round in the bogs or upland grazing areas, this was

not the case. The cultivation of oats and wheat took place in more fertile lowland areas which, Estyn-Evans implies, were surplus to the requirements of the Irish.

That such cultivation took place is evident from Lord Deputy Sidney's report on a military expedition against Shane O'Neill in the vicinity of Clogher in September 1566. Passing through 'divers strange partes, and greate wooddes', the soldiers came upon a 'countrie so well inhabited, as wee think no yrishe Countrie in this Realm lik it' and 'remayned in that campe one whole day purposelie to destroye the corne, wherof wee founde no small aboundance, burninge that daie above 24 myles compas'.[34] The practice of moving to summer pasture between sowing and harvest, as well as the periodic redivision and redistribution of land, gave the appearance of impermanence and waste to those coming from cultures where agriculture was marked by an uncritical commitment to increased productivity and largely limited to sedentary monoculture. Land was utilised in a far less intensive way in both Ireland and North America, and supported a sparser population than was the norm in many European countries. In many ways, however, such mixed economies were more efficient and ecologically sustainable than the commercial agriculture introduced by colonists, because the latter stimulated the kind of unsustainable population growth often cited as the very reason why overseas colonies were necessary in the first place. 'We are a great people, and the lande is too narrow for us,' declared a pamphlet promoting the Virginia settlement in 1609.[35]

There was a sincerity and a certain logic to the comparisons made by English colonists in America between the natives they encountered there and in Ireland.[36] The Irish being compared were those—frequently prefixed by the adjective 'wild'—from beyond The Pale and not the Old English or those 'mere Irish' (in Leinster for example) who had been in contact with that culture long enough to have adopted its trade and agricultural methods. The English of England may have viewed their Old English counterparts as a breed apart; they would never, however, have categorised them as so alien as to compare them to Americans.[37] A sharp distinction was made between them and the 'wild' Irish, as witnessed by a phrasebook for travellers printed in 1555, which remarked that the 'people of the englishe pale be metely well manered, using the english tunge but naturally, they be testy, specially yf they be vexed', whereas those beyond The Pale were said to be 'slouthful, not regarding to sow and tille theyr landes, nor caring for riches […] untaught and

rude, the which rudenes with theyr meloncoli complexion causeth them to be angry and testy without a cause'.[38] The difference was that the behaviour of The Pale Irishman, testy if vexed, was at least explicable; the 'wild' Irishman, on the other hand, was liable to become testy for his own inscrutable reasons. Such inscrutability goes some of the way to explaining the identification with far-flung exotic peoples who had yet to be encompassed within the realm of the familiar and predictable.

It could also be averred that within the category of 'mere Irish' in Ulster there existed a social class sufficiently conversant with, and familiar to, the metropolitan society to avoid comparison with Americans.[39] The issue of class differences within pre-colonial Gaelic society has not been adequately taken account of by historians, who have sometimes treated Gaelic society as an undifferentiated mass.[40] The Brian McPhelim O'Neill who confronted Thomas Smith's colonists was precisely the kind of English-backed ruler which a resource-poor government had long relied on to act as its proxy in Ulster. A year prior to finding his lands had been granted to the prospective Ards colony, he had written to the queen of the 'malicious myndes of your graces disloyall subjects' in the area, and the 'incursions of the Irish Scotts', offering to carry out 'the reducinge of these p[ar]tes to due subiection in a shorte tyme' in return for confirmation of his family's ancestral lands.[41]

The most famous example (or infamous, from the point of view of Elizabethan officialdom) of this strategy was Hugh O'Neill, who spent his youth under the supervision of English patrons and was purposely cultivated as an agent for the extension of the state's authority in Ulster. The success of this policy seemed apparent in the comments of the Earl of Essex, who embarked upon his own colonisation scheme in east Ulster shortly after Thomas Smith, and was assisted by Hugh O'Neill in his campaign against the aforesaid Brian McPhelim. He described Hugh as 'very forward in service, and […] the only man of Ulster that is, in my opinion, meet to be trusted and used'.[42] Even when O'Neill came to disappoint these expectations, he was perceived in the light of a treacherous subject—not unlike the Percy Earls of Northumberland—and unlike his 'wild' followers.

It has been suggested that the existence of a class within the Gaelic world which the English attempted to cultivate as a bridgehead for anglicisation had no parallels in America. No American leader, Raymond Gillespie writes, was treated as favourably in defeat as Hugh O'Neill was at Mellifont.[43] Conversely, Hiram Morgan has suggested that no

American was 'deemed so threatening to England's national interest' as to merit the kind of public execution accorded to Brian O'Rourke in 1591 or Connor Maguire and Hugh McMahon in the 1640s.[44] To address the former point, both Ulster and the American colonies were characterised by a series of *pro tempore* alliances made by colonists with indigenous leaders whom they were not yet ready to confront. It will be argued below (pp. 279–282) that such alliances with the Gaelic Irish—for example, those fashioned under the 'surrender and re-grant' schemes, or promises made to Gaelic rulers who would come over to the government's side in the Nine Years War—may be viewed in the light of similarly expedient arrangements made with American *werowances*, *sachems* and *ogemas* in the infancy of English and French colonisation in North America.

Just as Gaelic rulers were offered earldoms and baronages, attempts were likewise made to draw American rulers away from their traditional political and legal systems and into 'the ambit of English law'.[45] The Powhatan *werowance* Wahunsenacawh replied, when requested by the Jamestown colonists to come and receive gifts and a crown sent by King James, that he would not come to receive them but that they should come to him. His awareness of the protocol and symbolism in such ceremonies is clear, and suggests that the reasons for his reluctance to 'kneele to receave his crowne' were also due to an unwillingness to accept subordination to James as overlord.[46] The Pequots, Narragansett and Wampanoag peoples of New England were allied with, and in turn discarded when such alliances had outlived their usefulness; no conception of the Americans as savages stood in the way of making accommodations with them in the interests of the colony.

After the massacre of a third of Virginia's settler population in 1622, the English response was initially unrestrained; indeed the Company's pamphleteer Edward Waterhouse suggested that they should emulate the genocide committed by the Spanish on Hispaniola.[47] By 1625, however, the colonists had realised that the annihilation of the natives was impossible and that, moreover, they had come to depend on the Americans' corn harvest in order to devote themselves to growing tobacco as a lucrative export crop.[48] In consequence, a peace was negotiated with the *werowance* Opechancanough, who was responsible for the massacre. This peace lasted until 1644 when the elderly leader once again led an attack on the colonists. By this stage, the English were far stronger, both numerically and militarily, and once the Powhatans

had been defeated and their *werowance* captured, there was no need to placate them anymore. Opechancanough was placed on exhibition in Jamestown and then shot by one of his guards in revenge for 'the Calamities the Colony had suffer'd by this Prince's Means'.[49]

William Berkeley, however, the governor responsible for capturing Opechancanough, had intended to keep him alive in order to send him to England to be presented as a captive to the king.[50] This would seem to confute Hiram Morgan's suggestion that Americans were never deemed dangerous enough to merit this kind of treatment. The Narragansett *sachem* Miantonomo was likewise accorded a legal process of sorts when captured by allies of the English in 1643. A meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies was convened; this advised that the Mohegan leader Uncas 'take away the life of Myantenomo […] according to justice and prudence'. In order to make sure that the deed was carried out (they themselves were anxious to make it appear that Uncas alone was responsible for the killing), they sent along 'some discreet and faythfull persons' to 'see the execution for our more full satisfaccion'.[51] Such actions are reminiscent of the kind of quasi-legal machinations which were practised in Tudor and Stuart Ireland, which for long periods of time was under martial law, and where legal process was often subordinated to political ends.[52]

Even accepting that a more intensive effort was made in Ireland than America to either incorporate or eliminate indigenous enemies of the state, the reasons for this have more to do with pragmatism than differing perceptions of the natives on opposite sides of the Atlantic. In America, where a western frontier existed until its 'closure' in the 1890s, Europeans always had vast 'empty' territories to their west, into which the retreating Indians could be displaced. Only when this ceased to be the case did the government address the 'Indian problem' as anything other than a security threat. The frontier in Ireland, however, closed in the early decades of the seventeenth century. In this case, an effort needed to be made to legally incorporate the indigenous population; this was nowhere near as pressing a necessity in America at that time. The proximity of Ireland, and the possibility of it being used as a staging post by England's European enemies, also meant that the threat posed by sovereign Gaelic rulers was always going to be a matter of more serious concern. Notwithstanding plans to have Opechancanough transported across the Atlantic, the distances involved made such a procedure generally impractical. The key, therefore, to understanding military and

diplomatic strategies in both Ulster and America is expediency rather than any ideological impulse. A group of native rulers in Ulster were flattered with land and titles when they were powerful enough to represent a threat to stability; once this danger had passed, the state no longer felt compelled to court them. Hugh O'Neill discovered this in the years after Mellifont, when he found to his indignation that he could no longer command respect from the king's officials.[53]

Perceptions of the Gaelic population as savage were rooted less in any specific English antipathy towards the Irish than a perception, general in metropolitan Europe, of what constituted civilised society. This was informed by Renaissance conceptions which transcended religion and nationality. English Catholics such as William Good, visiting Ireland in the 1560s, clearly did not regard the Irish as co-religionists, claiming that they were in the habit of propitiating the new moon and contracted spiritual relationships with wolves.[54] The narrative of Francisco de Cuellar, a survivor of the Armada, makes frequent references to the 'savage' natives and expressly mentions details of unchristian-like mores such as not burying corpses.[55] Michel de Montaigne wrote of the Irish as being at the same stage of development as the ancient Gauls, expressing the belief that they wore hardly any clothes.[56] There was nothing puzzling to early-modern Europeans in finding such 'wild men' on the periphery of their own continent. As late as 1693, the Swedish authorities in Lapland were burning Saami shamans at the stake amidst a vigorous Christianisation campaign, at the same time as missionaries from the same country were, in America, publishing the Lutheran catechism in the language of the native Lenape Delaware.

The difficulty which some historians have had in accepting a colonial reading of Irish history stems largely from a *modern* perception of colonisation as something that happened outside Europe. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans experienced no such difficulty. The primary model from which they took their conception of colonisation was the Roman one; indeed, the word 'colony' has its root in the Latin *colonus*, meaning a settlement of Roman citizens in a hostile, conquered territory. Self-consciously following Roman models, Thomas Smith referred to himself and his deputies as '*coloniae ductores*, the distributors of land to english men in a forein contrey'.[57] The historical misconception is compounded by a modern use of the words 'plantation' and 'colony', which differs from the way these terms were understood at the time. While the word 'colony' is frequently flagged as problematic in relation to Ireland,

'plantation' enjoys more or less universal acceptance. Implicit in this is a feeling that the former term is to be reserved for settlement in America and other far-flung locations, while the latter is more appropriate for Ireland. The two words, however, were used interchangeably in the early modern period. Their synonymity is suggested by the fact that the verb related to *colonus* is *colere*, which means to cultivate or plant. As Raymond Gillespie has noted, the word 'plantation' was not used in print until 1586, when Walter Raleigh was (somewhat prematurely) praised for making 'a plantation of the people of your own English nation in *Virginia*'.[58] William Bradford's famous account of the Plymouth colony's early years was entitled *Of Plymouth Plantation*. Proposals made concerning Ulster at the start of the seventeenth century, on the other hand, referred as often to the establishment of colonies as they did to plantations.[59]

This anachronistic distinction has had the unfortunate effect of perpetuating and strengthening a perception of difference between these outposts of empire which did not exist at the time. From an English perspective, once the two areas had been opened up to settlement and investment, they were both nodes in the network of empire, spoken of in the same breath. 'Our plantations go on, the one doubtfully, the other desperately,' wrote Samuel Calvert in 1612, comparing the situations in Ulster and Virginia respectively.[60] The interconnectedness is apparent in the way Arthur Chichester spoke of the colonial ventures in America detracting resources from Ulster.[61] Francis Bacon's dismissal of plans for a Virginia colony as 'an enterprise […] differing as much from this [Ulster] as *Amadis de Gaul* differs from Caesar's *Commentaries*' could at first sight be construed as indicating that Bacon placed the two projects in entirely different categories; however, the fact that the two are bracketed together in the first place is significant and, read in context, he would seem to be expressing the conviction that the plans for Virginia were unrealistic compared to the sound financial proposition that Ulster represented. A more sober comparison is made earlier in the letter, when *Bacon*, reflecting on the motives that normally drive colonists (pleasure, profit and honour), reflects on the absence of a pleasure motive in Ulster, where there are 'no warm winters, nor orange-trees, nor strange beasts, or birds, or other points of curiosity or pleasure, as there are in Indies and the like' to attract potential adventurers, who would have to make do with profit and honour.[62]

Objections to viewing Ireland as a colony were really only taken up later by those such as William Molyneux, who argued that Ireland was

a 'Compleat Kingdom within it self' and in no way comparable to that of Rome with one of its colonies.[63] When looking at this constitutional argument for regarding Ireland as a kingdom rather than a colony, the focus must, of necessity, shift away from Ulster, as the debate concerns the entire island as a legal entity. Rather than being a defence of the dignity and sovereignty of Ireland, such arguments were usually made in assertion of the rights of the Protestant ascendancy which had benefited from that conquest. Given the anxiety to reap the rewards of England's growing maritime dominance in the Atlantic and participate fully in trade with the empire as a part of the hub rather than a colonial outpost, the constitutional status of Ireland as a kingdom offered a means by which it could be distinguished from other territories conquered and settled by the English.

Such arguments were necessary because the tendency persisted—notwithstanding the country's status on paper—to treat Ireland as a colony. The 1699 Act to restrict the exportation of wool from Ireland to England provides the context for Molyneux's tract. Legislation already existed banning the export of live cattle to England, and the Navigation Acts which came to restrict trade between Ireland and the rest of the empire would suggest that, far from being an equal kingdom, the country was being governed with the economic interests of England (and later Great Britain) in mind. This was nothing new. As D. B. Quinn has noted, the aim of colonial projects mooted at the beginning of the seventeenth century was 'to encourage the exploitation of Ireland in the economic interest of England'.[64] The only difference later on was the existence of a class—eloquent, enfranchised and Protestant—to articulate objections to this. Such objections would in time lead to a 'patriot' movement in Ireland, and in America to revolution and independence.

The argument that Ireland differed from the American colonies by virtue of its constitutional status is belied by the political realities of the time. The Irish Parliament was, as T. W. Moody has put it, 'the instrument of the English colony in Ireland'.[65] Lord lieutenants and deputies were invariably English. Above all, however, the country was economically 'condemned to an instrumental role by the metropolis', which, Michael Hechter argues, is the 'pattern of development characterising the colonial situation'.[66] This often takes the form of the 'development of underdevelopment' in the interests of the colonising power and is normally associated with extra-European, Third World countries. If, as Steven Ellis has suggested, the ruling elite in Ireland 'promoted the

development of the local economy', the fact that they were unable to do so effectively, on account of the Irish parliament's impotence, is testament to Ireland's colonial status.

It is interesting in this respect to examine the other grounds on which Ellis has based his assertion that 'a typically European society (as opposed to a colony) was successfully established in Ireland'.[67] Two of these points may be taken together: that Ireland's 'governing elite was generally resident there' and that the country 'enjoyed a very wide degree of self-government'. While it is true that those who sat in the Irish parliament generally did reside in the country, both these statements pose difficulties for the reasons given above, namely that the restrictions imposed by Poyning's Law essentially gave London a veto on legislation from Dublin. This makes the use of the term 'self-government' problematic in this case, as well as the contention that this elite 'governed' in the full sense of the word. Another problem is that the country whose interests this elite represented, insofar as they did govern, was confined to the small minority entitled to participate in the political life of the country. Molyneux's claim that there remained a 'meer handful of the Antient *Irish* at this day; I may say, not one in a thousand' was simply untrue.[68] Between 82% of the population in 1659 and 70% in 1732 were disenfranchised Catholics, excluded from any role in public life; this is not to mention the considerable numbers of Protestant Dissenters who were likewise subject to such impediments.[69] Such legislation also refutes Ellis' contention that the ruling elite 'identified with the country', assuming that 'the country' being referred to consisted of the entire population rather than just the ruling caste. It will be thus seen that the society created in Ireland was far from typically European; it was, in fact, rather unusual in Europe for an ethnic/religious minority to rule over the majority in this way.

Ancillary to the constitutional argument against Ireland's colonial status is the claim that the Irish were incorporated as full subjects of the crown, whereas this was rarely, if ever, envisaged for Americans.[70] Just as the legal status of Ireland as a kingdom presents merely a formal difference between the way that territory was administered compared to Virginia or New England, the same is true regarding the legal positions of the Irish and Americans. It has been noted by Michael Neill that the semantic sleight of hand by which the 1541 Act reclassified 'the king's Irish enemies' as 'the king's Irish subjects', is 'reminiscent of the papal apportionment of New World natives to Spain and Portugal half a

century before'.[71] By this act, the Irish became technically free at law; little or no attempt was made by the English to legally integrate North America's native population with that of the colonists in the same way.[72] Just as the legal designation of 'kingdom' masks a reality that is more complex than appearances would suggest, so does the term 'full subject'. This requires some clarification about what exactly was meant in practice.

It may be inferred from the status of free subject that the Irish became entitled to avail themselves of the common law like any other subject in the three kingdoms. Once more confining our focus to Ulster, it was declared—even before the Flight of the Earls—that the people of the province were 'all his highnesse naturall subiects, so will his Maiestie have an equall respect towards them all'.[73] The benefits of being the king's Irish subjects were proclaimed as a primary justification for the plantation project by John Davies, who argued that the failure to admit the Irish to such benefits in the past had been responsible for most of the colony's troubles. Some of the practical consequences of this failure, Davies reflected, meant that the 'mere Irish' were 'not only disabled to bring any actions, but they were so far out of the protection of the law, as it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in the time of peace'. Davies was among the first justices of assize to sit in Tyrone and Donegal after the Nine Years War, and describes the respective reactions of the Gaelic rulers and their followers:

> Though it was somewhat distasteful to the Irish lords, [it] was sweet and most welcome to the common people, who, albeit they were rude and barbarous, yet did quickly apprehend the difference between the tyranny and oppression under which they lived before, and the just government and protection which we promised unto them for the time to come.[74]

It is certain that Hugh O'Neill resented the intrusion of another legal authority into the region, the dictates of which could impinge on privileges he had enjoyed by customary right. In order to discover what the status of free subject meant in practice, and, therefore, to what extent it represents a significant factor differentiating the colonised populations in Ireland and America, it is necessary to examine more closely the picture which Davies paints of the natives' position under the common law.

As O'Neill was to recount in a list of grievances submitted to the king after his flight, the reality of the common law in Ulster in these years was very different from that suggested by the promise to 'governe them all

by one indifferent Law, without respect of persons'.[75] The picture which emerges after the introduction of sheriffs and assizes is one of a society in which the earl could no longer protect his people from the depredations of government officials, who were, in theory, supposed to be upholding the law. It was alleged, for example, that Lord Deputy Chichester had incited O'Neill's inveterate enemies, the sons of Shane O'Neill (d. 1567), to commit robberies and murders among his tenants, sheltering them in Chichester's own lands in Clandeboye, only prosecuting them when they killed one of his own tenants by mistake, then proceeding to use the law to prosecute those tenants who had been robbed of food by the McShanes for 'having relieved the said rebels with meat'.[76] Such arbitrary use of the law to terrorise the population continued throughout the colonial period, and will be illustrated in more detail below (pp. 187–191).

The potential political benefits of being accounted full subjects were likewise tempered by the reality. If the natives' availing of these alleged benefits proved inconvenient to the authorities, this could be bypassed by the selective application or disregarding of the law. While those 'mere Irish' who fulfilled the property qualification were allowed, for example, to participate in elections, in practice they could be thwarted by other means; Turlough McHenry O'Neill in Armagh was simply prevented by a sentry from taking part in the elections to the 1613 parliament.[77] Out of 64 MPs, Ulster returned only one Catholic. The manipulation by which the government ensured a Protestant majority (largely by the creation of boroughs in newly colonised Ulster) was regarded—even in an era when representative democracy by modern standards was an alien concept—as unacceptable.[78]

On the ground in Ulster, therefore, the status of full subject would have meant far less than the rhetoric would suggest; rather than a new dispensation in which an impartial body of law had replaced the arbitrary rule of Gaelic *tiarnaí*, the society which emerged in colonial Ulster was characterised by an arbitrary form of rule by the state's representatives. The common law proved little more than a veneer, thinly disguising the rule of force over a conquered people, and from which the colonists themselves were largely immune.[79] In light of these facts, the claim by Fynes Moryson that 'the English alwayes governed Ireland, not as a conquered people by the sword and the Conquerers lawe, but as a Province united uppon mariage or like peaceable transactions' may be seen strictly

as self-serving rhetoric designed to ascribe noble motives to the conquest.[80]

The scenario outlined above could, on the other hand, be presented as the teething troubles inherent in the establishment of authority in a new territory. It has been claimed that, despite corruption and inefficiency, the legal system in time came to enjoy a significant level of confidence among the native population.[81] The practice of gauging acceptance of the new order in Ulster by the use which the Irish made of the institutions of English law has led Raymond Gillespie to claim that such acceptance became 'quite widespread'.[82] There is a danger in gauging acceptance of the new dispensation by this method, however, because the Irish no longer had recourse to any means of legal redress other than English law. A legal system enjoys cogency only to the extent that resources exist to implement it. With the attenuation of a native ruling class capable of enforcing its precepts, Gaelic law had become obsolete; in the absence of any alternative, the fact that the Irish sought redress by the only means which existed tells us very little about acceptance of the new order or otherwise. As Anthony Carty has pointed out, 'a complete destruction of the cultural-political structures of a society must not be allowed, of itself, to constitute evidence of an acquiescence in their destruction'.[83] It is, of course, perfectly possible that some administrators were sincere in the belief that the extension of common law would enfranchise the Irish and give them a stake in the new status quo, while others saw a convenient instrument for the extension of the state's power and the exploitation of Ireland's resources.

Even accepting for the purposes of argument that the reform/anglicisation of early-modern Ireland was a means of addressing England's economic and social problems—and was thus, by Hechter's criteria, colonial in nature—the very existence of such a strategy of reform has been taken to differentiate it from the American colonies. The argument is that, even if the Irish were not yet within The Pale, metaphorically speaking, those shaping policy were working actively to bring them in; this process of anglicisation, however, was never something envisaged for the Americans.[84] To claim that the Americans were never seen by the English colonists (or their Euro-American ancestors) as anything more than a security threat to be displaced ever further westwards elides a period in the first century of colonial America's history when significant efforts at the cultural reformation of the natives were in fact made by some among the settlers.

There was ever a tension—analogous to that between advocates of reform and colonisation in Ireland—between those who sought to instil these values, usually laying heavy emphasis on the Christianisation element of such reformation, and those who saw them as inimical to the health of the colony. In Virginia, for example, the 1614–1622 period between the first and second Anglo-Powhatan wars was marked by a change in emphasis, from an earlier aggressive stance to one of attempting to conciliate the Americans and win them over to Christianity.[85] These efforts were embodied in the figure of George Thorpe, whose attempts to win converts through persuasion attracted criticism from his fellow colonists for what were perceived as his indulgence towards the natives.[86] Thorpe's death in the massacre of 1622 was seen as evidence of the irredeemably savage nature of the people he had believed reformable. In a sense, this development was welcomed by the Virginia Company who, anxious to 'obtaine their best commodities', were only too willing to conclude that 'the sinnes of these wicked Infidels, have made them unworthy of […] the eternall good' of salvation.[87]

1622 marks the end of a period when the anglicisation of the native in Virginia was deemed possible.[88] It is remarkable, given the later taboo surrounding intermarriage with the natives, that the marriage between John Rolfe and Pocahontas was not only socially permissible in 1614, but seen as a cause for celebration and publicised in England in the hope of repairing the colony's damaged reputation. In New England, *Thorpe* had his counterpart in figures such as John Eliot and Roger Williams. Their efforts at proselytisation were likewise greeted with a mixed reaction from the colonial population at large, and were conditioned by the stipulation that such efforts led to as little intercultural contact as possible. Separate villages were set up to keep the 'praying Indians' away from both their 'savage' kin and the colonists, and were the object of intense hostility—especially after Metacom's War in the 1670s—from those who foresaw no role for the Americans in the colony's future.[89]

It is misleading to view the question in binary terms, either in Ireland or America, as a conflict between those who sought to reform and ultimately incorporate the natives as equals, on the one hand, and those who sought to expel or exterminate them on the other. Colonies rarely have a settled policy towards the natives that is uniformly subscribed to by all its members. In Ulster, neither wholesale removal/extermination, on the one hand, nor the elevation of the natives to equal status, on the other, emerged as a practical policy. Chapter 7 outlines a third

alternative, which became the distinguishing policy of the Ulster colony towards its natives in practice. Ultimately, expulsion did not prevail as the settled policy in Ulster, if for no other reason than that it was not feasible. This is not to say that expulsion was not attempted; the plantation project, after all, did aim at the ethnic cleansing of natives from the lands of English and Scottish undertakers in Ulster. The extent of this territory can be seen in Fig. 2.4. The 1650s again saw a wave of confiscation and transplantation which removed practically all Catholic landowners in that province. In America, expulsion largely prevailed over the incorporation and anglicisation of the natives until the late nineteenth century. It is crucial to remember, however, that in the seventeenth century these ultimate outcomes were by no means inevitable. Ulster began, at this time, a process of transformation from being the part of Ireland least integrated into the British polity to being the most integrated. Such an

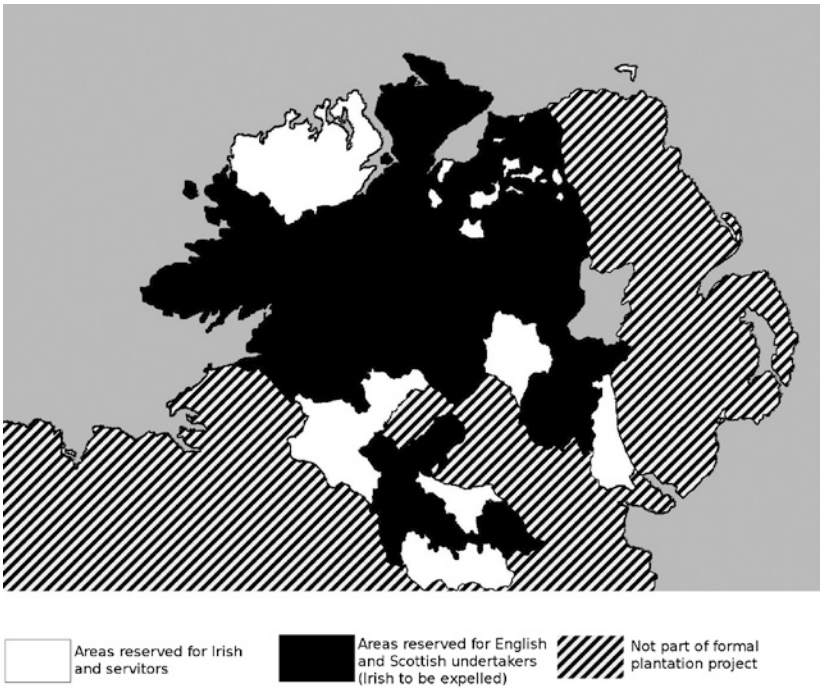


Fig. 2.4 Ulster plantation project: Areas of projected native and colonial settlement

outcome has made that region appear, with hindsight, conceptually close to Britain, and the transformative impact of colonisation a phenomenon in need of little explanation.

The comprehensive anglicisation of Ireland has been cited by Steven Ellis as evidence of its position being 'fundamentally different from that of an extra-European colony'. Cited as examples are African colonies which were colonised for a much shorter length of time, and where the native culture maintained its integrity to a far greater extent than in Ireland.[90] Such a comparison, however, already assumes a dichotomy between Ireland and colonies outside Europe that does not stand up to scrutiny in this particular case. Jared Diamond has shown that settlement in the tropical zone, in which diseases such as malaria were endemic, was a bridge too far for Europeans and, equally importantly, their domesticated animals. Most African colonies were thus home to far fewer settlers than colonies such as Ireland and America.[91] If the North American colonies had been taken as evidence instead, it would be seen that in those cases where indigenous people were swallowed up by the expanding European colony, they generally underwent a process of acculturation at least as thoroughgoing as the Gaelic Irish. In terms of the distinction which Ellis makes between 'colonies of permanent settlement' and 'colonies of exploitation', therefore, it is Ireland and North America which belong together in the former category, and those in the tropics that belong in the latter. On the other hand, the scarcity of native epidemic diseases in America, coupled with the natives' lack of immunity to European microbes, constitutes the single biggest factor differentiating colonisation in America, not only from Ireland, but from all Old World colonies, in that the newcomers started out with an enormous genetic advantage over the natives. In seventeenth-century Ireland, on the other hand, it was the newcomers who were more likely to succumb to unfamiliar bacteria, such as the Irish 'flux' which decimated English armies in the 1640s and 1650s.[92]

Understandably, given the recent troubled history of the province, the Ulster plantation has often been studied in terms of its ultimate consequences. If it is to be understood in the context of its own time, however, comparisons and contrasts with other projects in the early-modern period are necessary. The context of English expansion throughout the Atlantic world is particularly useful because—our subject being the *native* experience of colonisation—that story will, to a great extent, be one of adaption to dramatically transformative pressures and changes

imposed from outside. The nature of this change in Ulster, from the natives' point of view, bore more similarity with radical changes in the native way of life in America than it did with those undergone by peoples in, for example, peripheral areas of England, where national development took place along the lines of an evolutionary 'diffusion' of the dominant cultural and political values resulting from long-term interaction between core and periphery.[93] A history of the Ulster colony concerned primarily with a segment of the settler population on the other hand—such as Perceval-Maxwell's work on the Scottish colonists—may well find the Atlantic context rather less useful, given the prominence of cross-channel contacts in that story. After all, in the colony's first years, settlers could travel back across the North Channel for religious service on Sundays.[94] Such trips were hardly possible for those settling in America.

Issues of identity, whether ethnic, cultural, religious or otherwise, played a role in Ulster; this was not the case in those territories where the metropolitan culture diffused over a longer timespan. The 'wild' Irish were constructed in the late sixteenth century as counterparts to the 'wild' American, perhaps because they shared with the American a certain exoticness, though with one crucial difference: the English had long possessed an image of the 'mere Irish' which could be used as a 'standard of savage or outlandish reference', not only in reference to 'savages' across the Atlantic, but closer to home. Archbishop Parker, for example, attempted in 1560 to expedite the appointment of resident clergy in the north of England, lest the people there 'should be too much Irish and savage'.[95]

When American colonisation began, this image could easily be transferred across the ocean to the new peoples being encountered there; hence Roger Williams' warning to John Winthrop in 1637 that the Pequots who had surrendered not be enslaved for fear they should 'turn wild Irish'.[96] The Irish experience persisted as a convenient point of reference in America into the old age of those, such as Samuel Gorton in New England, whose childhood had spanned the period when Ulster was being conquered. Gorton used the Nine Years *War* as a salutary warning of the dangers of stirring up native resentment. He clearly had no doubt about the parallels between that struggle and the one facing the colonists in 1675 against a native alliance led by the Wampanoag *sachem,* Metacom or, as he was known to the English, King Philip:

> I remember the time of the warres in Ireland (when I was young, in Queene Elizabeths days of famous memory), where much English blood was spilt by a people like unto these […] And after these Irish were subdued by force, what treacherous and bloody massacres have they attempted is well knowne.[97]

By the time Gorton was writing, such comparisons were becoming rarer. As S. J. Connolly has noted, when the wars in Ireland had receded sufficiently in memory, 'the wild Irishman rampaging at the frontiers of English settlement gave way in English folklore to the comic provincial'.[98] Swings of public feeling in response to military fortunes are crucial to understanding English attitudes. After the Nine Years War, hostility towards the Irish was gradually replaced by a condescending paternalism; this is evident, for example, in Ben Jonson's representation of the defeated Irish in the *Masque* (1613), where the Irish are no longer dangerous rebels, but clownish figures squabbling with one another in competition for the king's favour.[99] A sharp swing back towards a view of the Irish as treacherous and bloodthirsty can be seen in the aftermath of the 1641 rising, the writings of John Temple being only the best known example of an antipathy widespread at the time. Although it took far longer, perceptions of the Native American ultimately underwent a similar process of romanticisation and stereotyping, once the frontier had closed upon the indigenous population and they were no longer seen as a threat.

It might be said that a similar closing of the frontier took place in Ireland with the conquest and colonisation of Ulster. What this actually involved, as indicated in Chap. 1, is often presented solely in terms of the plantation project and the events immediately leading up to it. In fact, the process of preparing Ulster for settlement stretched back to at least the 1570s, during which period a series of strategies were tried (and found to be wanting) to integrate the province into a centralising English (soon-to-be Anglo-Scottish) state. From attempts at private colonisation in east Ulster, to the effort at controlling the province through (it was hoped) a tractable local ally, or from the creation of native freeholders in Monaghan, to a half- and then whole-hearted commitment to military conquest, these efforts have not often been presented by historians as integral to laying the groundwork upon which the plantation took place. The following chapter will seek to demonstrate unequivocally the causal link between the two.

Notes

1. Thomas Blenerhasset, *A direction for the plantation in Ulster* (London, 1610), sig. C4v.
2. For Quinn's pioneering work on this, see, for example: 'Ireland and sixteenth-century European expansion' in *Historical Studies: papers read before the Irish Conference of Historians*, no. 1, ed. Thomas Desmond Williams (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1958) and *Ireland and America: their early associations, 1500–1640* (Liverpool University Press, 1991). Nicholas Canny has discussed the issue most thoroughly in: Nicholas Canny, 'The ideology of English colonization from Ireland to America,' *The William and Mary Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1973): 575–598, *Kingdom and colony: Ireland in the Atlantic world, 1560–1800* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988) and a festschrift for Quinn (edited with K. R. Andrews and P. E. H. Hair) entitled *The westward enterprise: English activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480–1650* (Liverpool University Press, 1978).
3. The most articulate and sustained objections to viewing early modern Ireland in this Atlantic context—and those from which most of the arguments addressed here will be taken—have come from Steven Ellis, 'Writing Irish history: revisionism, colonialism, and the British Isles,' *The Irish Review* 19 (1996) and Hiram Morgan, 'Mid-Atlantic blues,' *The Irish Review* 11 (1991). Stephen Howe has also written a survey of this historiographical debate which is essentially an extended attack on the colonial model: *Ireland and empire: colonial legacies in Irish history and culture* (Oxford University Press, 2000). Two works by Andrew Murphy, 'Ireland and ante/anti-colonial theory,' *Irish Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (1999) and a monograph, *But the Irish sea betwixt us: Ireland, colonialism, and Renaissance literature*, are both valuable contributions to the debate, although they are strictly speaking works of literary criticism. Most recently, Audrey Horning's *Ireland in the Virginian sea* has set itself the task of a comparative analysis of the Ulster and American colonies, but ultimately proves ambiguous about asserting parallels, for reasons which will be examined in a later chapter.
4. Morgan, 'Mid-Atlantic blues,' 57.
5. Raymond Gillespie, 'Explorers, exploiters and entrepreneurs: early modern Ireland and its context, 1500–1700,' in *An historical geography of Ireland*, eds. B. J. Graham and L. J. Proudfoot (London: Academic Press, 1993), 152. Counter to the view of Ireland as an external colony, Steven Ellis has stressed the 'location of early modern Ireland within an expanding British periphery'. 'Writing Irish history,' 14.

6. John Davies, A letter from Sir John Davies to Robert Earl of Salisbury concerning the state of Ireland, 1610, in *Historical tracts*, 289.
7. Gillespie, 'Explorers, exploiters and entrepreneurs,' 152.
8. Murphy, 'Ireland and ante/anti-colonial theory,' 160.
9. E. E. Rich, 'The European nations and the Atlantic,' in *The new Cambridge modern history, Volume 4, The decline of Spain and the Thirty Years War, 1609–48/59*, ed. J. P. Cooper (Cambridge University Press, 1971), 681.
10. William J. Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory: a geography of colonial and early modern Ireland, c. 1530–1750* (Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 2006), 435.
11. *Gaeltacht* (plural: *Gaeltachtaí*), in a modern sense meaning a primarily Irish-speaking region, will be used in this work to refer to those areas in the early-modern period remaining under Gaelic rule or 'outside The Pale' in the parlance of the time. The corresponding Scottish Gaelic term *Gàidhealtachd* will be used to signify those areas in the west and highlands of Scotland retaining their *Gàidhlig* character.
12. Hugh O'Neill to King James I, 17 June 1606, SP 63-218 no. 71, f. 221r.
13. Ciaran Brady, 'The road to the view: on the decline of reform thought in Tudor Ireland,' in *Spenser and Ireland: an interdisciplinary perspective*, ed. Patricia Coughlan (Cork University Press, 1989), 35.
14. Henry Sidney to Queen Elizabeth, 1575, cited in George Hill, *An historical account of the Macdonnells of Antrim* (Belfast: Archer, 1873), 156.
15. Ormond to Burghley, 19 August 1594, SP 63-175 no. 65, ff. 266r–266v.
16. Davies, 'A discovery,' in *Historical Tracts*, 83.
17. Sir John Davys to the Earl of Salisbury, 24 August 1609, in *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. 21: 1609–1612, ed. Geraint Dyfnallt Owen (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), 121.
18. T. W. Moody estimated that 'the journey from London to Londonderry appears to have taken about a month', and Thomas Phillips, one of the most intrepid servitors, who knew Ulster as well as any settler, needed to employ a guide when traveling through the heavily forested areas of Loughlinsholin. Moody, *Londonderry Plantation,* 345, 352. As late as 1635 the route between Newry and Dromore was 'a most difficult way for a stranger to find out', according to William Brereton, 'Sir William Brereton's travels in Ireland, 1635,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 372.
19. Smyth, *Map-making*, 21–53.
20. John Davies to Salisbury, 28 August 1609, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, eds. C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (London: Longman & Co., 1874), 280. In the light of this, the admission of another map-maker, Francis Jobson, that he had of necessity left the counties of Donegal and

Fermanagh 'un[per]fected' as he was reluctant to venture into those areas in the 1590s, is understandable, as is his contention that he was 'every hower in daunger to loose my head'. Francis Jobson, Ulster's unitie, SP 63-202-4 no. 83, f. 263v.

21. Hiram Morgan, 'The Colonial Venture of Sir Thomas Smith in Ulster, 1571–1575,' *The Historical Journal* 28, no. 2 (1985): 261–278; David Beers Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 89, no. 4 (1945): 543–560.
22. Thomas Smith, *A Letter sent by I. B. Gentleman unto his very frende Maystet R. C. Esquire* (London, 1572), sig. D3r-D3v.
23. Simms, *From kings to warlords*, 171.
24. Hayes-McCoy, 'Gaelic society in Ireland,' 55. Quinn, *Elizabethans*, 38.
25. Morgan, 'Mid-Atlantic blues,' 53–54.
26. In the 1930s, for example, A. L. Kroeber described the Algonquians of New England as 'agricultural hunters, not […] farmers'. 'Native American population,' *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 36, no. 1 (1934): 12.
27. John Winthrop, Reasons to be considered for justifieinge the undertakeres of the intended Plantation in New England, and for incouraginge such whose hartes God shall move to ioyne with them in it, in *Life and letters of John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts-Bay Company at their emigration to New England, 1630*, ed. Robert C. Winthrop (Boston: Little, Brown, 1869), 311–312.
28. John Temple, *The Irish rebellion: or, an history of the attempts of the Irish Papists to extirpate the protestants in the kingdom of Ireland* (London: White, Cochrane and co., 1812), 21, 23, 74, 105.
29. John Locke, *Two treatises of government* (London: Whitmore and Fenn, 1821), 222. On p. 209 he wrote: 'Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property.'
30. William Cronon, *Changes in the land: Indians, colonists, and the ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), 43–44.
31. Master John Cotton's answer to Master Roger Williams, in Roger Williams, *The complete writings of Roger Williams*, vol. 2 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 48. This argument is known only from Cotton's refutation, as Williams destroyed his tract on the subject of Indian land rights.
32. Cronon, *Changes in the land*, 51.
33. E. Estyn Evans, *The personality of Ireland: habitat, heritage and history* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 78.

34. Lord Deputy Sidney, Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, Sir Nicholas Bagenal and Francis Agard to Queen Elizabeth, 12 November 1566, SP 63-19 no. 43, f. 86v. There is also evidence that the cultivation of wheat and barley was more common in the early Middle Ages. Katharine Simms, 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland,' *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108 (1978): 79.
35. Robert Gray, *A good speed to Virginia* (London, 1609), f. B2v.
36. Several examples of these comparisons are listed in Quinn, *Elizabethans*, 23–26.
37. It was written in 1598 that 'the descente of the Inglishe (to their great greefe) are here [in England] called and counted Irishe, though there (of the mere Irish) reputed and called Inglish'. Anonymous, That planting of collonies, and that to bee begonne onely by the Dutch, will geve best entrance to the reformation of Ulster, SP 63–202–4 no. 75, f.235v.
38. Andrew Boorde, *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge The whych dothe teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages, and to knowe the usage and fashion of al maner of countreys* (London, 1562), sig. C3r–C3v.
39. As Hiram Morgan has pointed out, the Gaelic nobility participated in the 'meat and drink' of English politics, 'warfare, marriage alliances, faction fighting, litigation and prosecution, the bribery of officials, the selection of JPs and sheriffs, the billeting of troops, the holding of parliament and the constant manoeuvring at Court. There is nothing colonial about any of these activities. They are all recognisably European.' 'Mid–Atlantic Blues,' 52.
40. This will be discussed in more detail in Chap. 5.
41. Brian McPhelim O'Neill to Queen Elizabeth, 6 July 1571, SP 63–33, no. 3, f. 5r.
42. Essex to Burghley, 20 October 1573, in *Lives and letters of the Devereux Earls of Essex in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I, 1540–1642*, 2 vols, ed. Walter Bourchier Devereux (London: John Murray, 1853), vol. 1, 42.
43. Gillespie, 'Explorers, Exploiters and Entrepreneurs,' 152.
44. Morgan, 'Mid-Atlantic blues,' 52.
45. This was Seán Ó Faoláin's description of the strategy in an Irish context. Seán Ó Faoláin, *The great O'Neill: a biography of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, 1550–1616* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1970), 13.
46. John Smith, Proceedings of the English Colonie, in *Complete works of Captain John Smith, 1580–1631*, 3 vols, eds. Thad W. Tate, Philip L. Barbour (University of North Carolina Press, 1986), vol. 1, 236–237.
47. Edward Waterhouse, *A declaration of the state of the colony and affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622), 30.

48. Frederick Fausz, 'Openchancanough: Indian Resistance Leader,' in *The American Indian: Past and Present*, ed. Roger L. Nichols (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992): 30.
49. Robert Beverley, *The history and present state of Virginia, in four parts* (London: printed for R. Parker, 1705), 52–53.
50. Beverley, *The history and present state of Virginia*, 52.
51. Jennings, *The invasion of America*, 266–268.
52. See for example, Peadar Mac Duinnshleibhe, 'The legal murder of Aodh Rua McMahon, 1590,' *Clogher Record* 1, no. 3 (1955): 39–52 and Liam Price, 'The case of Phelim MacFeagh O'Byrne and the lands of Ranelagh,' *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Seventh Series, 13, no. 2 (1943): 50–59.
53. O'Neill complained of being subjected to 'verie hard and dishonorable speche' at the council table. Articles exibited by the earle of Tirone to the king's most exelent ma[jes]tie, declaringe certaine causes of discontent offered him, by which he toke occasione to dep[ar]t his countrey, 1607, SP 63–222 no. 201, f. 319r.
54. William Good, 'The Maners of the Irishry, both of old of later times,' in William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1637), part 2, 145–146.
55. Francisco de Cuellar, 'An introduction and complete translation of Captain Cuellar's narrative of the Spanish Armada,' trans. Robert Crawford, in Hugh Allingham, *Captain Cuellar's adventures in Connacht & Ulster, A.D. 1588* (London: Elliot Stock, 1897), 41–51 and *passim*.
56. Michel de Montaigne, 'Apology for Raymond Sebond,' trans. M. A. Screech, in *The Complete Essays* (London: Penguin Press, 2003), 510.
57. Thomas Smith to Lord Deputy William FitzWilliam, 31 July 1574, cited in Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith and the beginnings of English colonial theory,' 547.
58. Raymond Gillespie, 'The problems of plantations: material culture and social change in early modern Ireland,' in *Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture, c.1550–c.1700*, eds. James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 44–45; original in John Hooker, To the Right Worthie and honorable gentleman Sir Walter Raleigh knight, in Raphael Holinshed, *The second volume of chronicles* (London, 1586), f.A3v.
59. For example: Anonymous, 1598, That planting of collonies, and that to bee begonne onely by the Dutch, will geve best entrance to the reformation of Ulster, SP 63-202-4 no. 75, ff. 232r–236v. Anonymous, Certyn notes and observations touching the deducing and planting of colonies, addressed to the Earl of Northampton, Lord Privy Seal, no date,

[BL Cotton Titus BX, ff.402–409], printed in *Plantation Ireland*, eds. Lyttleton and Rynne, 34.

60. Samuel Calvert to William Trumbull, 3 August 1612, in *Report on the manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, 4 vols, ed. A. B. Hinds (London: HMSO, 1938), vol. 3, 344.
61. Arthur Chichester to Salisbury, 2 October 1605, SP 63-217, f. 165v.
62. Francis Bacon, Certain considerations touching the plantation in Ireland, presented to his majesty, 1609, in *The letters and the life of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols, ed. James Spedding (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868), vol. 4, 121, 123.
63. William Molyneux, *The case of Ireland's being bound by acts of Parliament in England stated* (Dublin: 1698), 148–149.
64. David Beers Quinn, 'A "Discourse of Ireland" (circa 1599): a sidelight on English colonial policy,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C*, 47 (1942): 152.
65. T. W. Moody, 'The Irish Parliament under Elizabeth and James I: A General Survey,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, 45 (1940): 43.
66. Michael Hechter, *Internal colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development, 1536–1966* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 30.
67. Ellis, 'Writing Irish History,' 9.
68. Molyneux, *The case of Ireland's being bound by acts of Parliament in England stated*, 20.
69. These figures are extrapolated from Youssef Courbage, 'The demographic factor in Ireland's movement towards partition (1607–1921),' *Population: an English selection* 9 (1997): 190.
70. Morgan, 'Mid-Atlantic blues,' 52–53; Murphy, 'Ireland and ante/anti-colonial theory,' 155.
71. Michael Neill, 'Broken English and broken Irish: Nation, language, and the optic of power in Shakespeare's histories,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (1994): 5.
72. This would continue to be the case after American independence; the 'Indians' were not granted full citizenship until 1924 in the United States and 1947 in Canada.
73. Proclamation of March 1605, SP 63-217 no. 17, f. 43.
74. Davies, 'A discovery,' in *Historical tracts*, 82–88, 210.
75. Proclamation of March 1605, SP 63-217 no. 17, f. 43.
76. Articles exibited by the earle of Tirone, 1607, SP 63-222 no. 201, f. 318r.
77. John McCavitt, 'Rebels, planters and conspirators: Armagh 1594–1640,' in *Armagh history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, eds. A. J. Hughes and William Nolan (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2001), 256.

78. A Letter directed to His Majesty, from six Catholic Lords of the Pale, 25 November 1612, in *Desiderata curiosa Hibernica: or a select collection of state papers,* 2 vols (Dublin: printed by David Hay, 1772), vol. 1, 158–162.
79. The rolls of gaol delivery between 1613 and 1618, for example, show that 91% of those tried for crimes in this period by the justices of assize bore unambiguously Irish names. Figures compiled from an analysis of 'Ulster roll of gaol delivery, 1613–1618,' ed. James F. Ferguson, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, 1 (1853): 260–270.
80. Moryson, 'Itinerary,' in *Shakespeare's Europe*, 223.
81. Jane Ohlmeyer, 'A laboratory for empire?: early modern Ireland and English imperialism,' in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kevin Kenny (Oxford University Press, 2004), 36.
82. Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: the settlement of East Ulster 1600–1641* (Cork: Cork University Press for the Irish Committee of Historical Sciences, 1985), 111.
83. Anthony Carty, *Was Ireland conquered? international law and the Irish Question* (London: Pluto Press, 1996), 41.
84. Morgan, 'Mid-Atlantic blues,' 52–53.
85. John Parker has contended that the years 1609–1610 constituted a 'brief, enthusiastic hour in English and American history, when religion spoke more loudly for empire than either the state or the merchant community', in 'Religion and the Virginia Colony, 1609–1610,' in *The westward enterprise*, 270.
86. Wesley Frank Craven, 'Indian Policy in Early Virginia,' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 1, no. 1 (1944): 72–73.
87. Waterhouse, *A declaration*, 14–16.
88. Aspirations to incorporate the Americans into colonial society were abandoned in favour of expulsion from the Virginia peninsula, across which a palisade was constructed, in order to enclose a pale. By 1631, the colonial legislature was passing laws forbidding colonists from even talking to the natives: 'No person or persons shall dare to speake or parlie with any Indians either in the woods or in any plantation, yf he can possibly avoyd it by any meanes.' *The statutes at large: Being a collection of all the laws of Virginia, from the first session of the Legislature, in the year 1619,* vol. 1, ed. William Waller Hening (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior, printer to the Commonwealth, 1809), 167.
89. Neal Salisbury, 'Red Puritans: The "Praying Indians" of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot,' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 31, no. 1 (1974): 41, 53–54.
90. Ellis, 'Writing Irish history,' 9–10.

91. Jared Diamond, *Guns, germs and steel: the fates of human societies* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1997), 214.
92. Micheál Ó Siochrú, *God's executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the conquest of Ireland* (London: Faber, 2008), 10, 32.
93. For Michael Hechter's opposition of this 'diffusion model' with 'internal colonialism' see below pp. 112–113.
94. Aidan Clarke, 'The Plantations of Ulster,' in *Milestones in Irish history*, ed. Liam De Paor (Cork: Mercier Press, in collaboration with Radio Telefís Éireann, 1986), 68.
95. Quinn, *Elizabethans*, 26.
96. Roger Williams to John Winthrop, June 1637, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 6, 4th series (1863): 195.
97. Samuel Gorton to John Winthrop Jr, 11 September 1675, *The Winthrop Papers* 7, 4th series (1865): 629–630.
98. Seán Connolly, *Religion, law and power: The making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford University Press, 1995), 113.
99. Ben Jonson, 'The Irish Masque at Court,' in *The works of Ben Jonson* (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1859), 583–584.

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