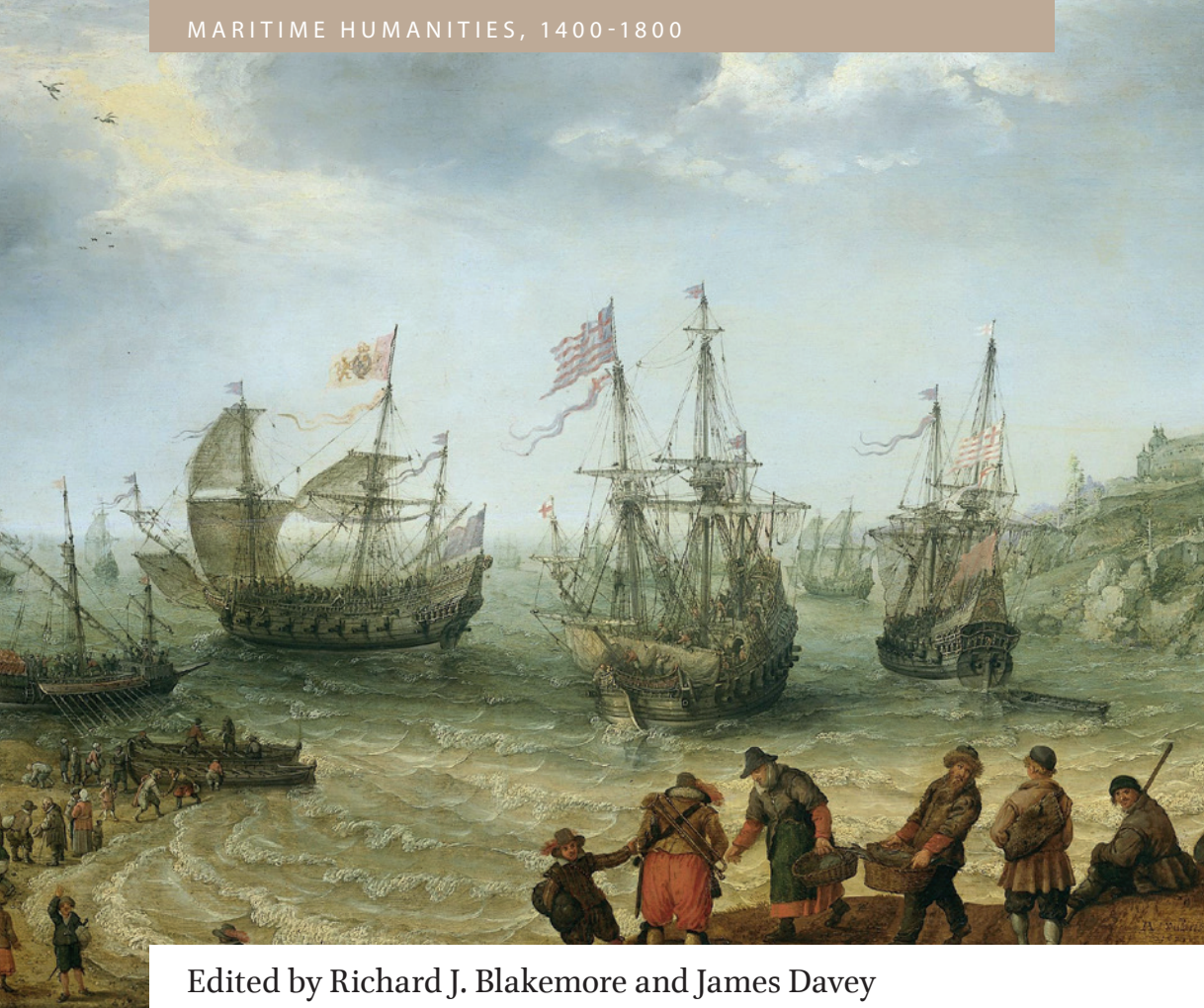


MARITIME HUMANITIES, 1400-1800



Edited by Richard J. Blakemore and James Davey

# The Maritime World of Early Modern Britain

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of Early Modern Britain



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# Maritime Humanities, 1400-1800: Cultures of the Sea

Early modern oceans not only provided temperate climates, resources, and opportunities for commercial exchange, they also played a central role in cultural life. Increased exploration, travel, and trade, marked this period of history, and early modern seascapes were cultural spaces and contact zones, where connections and circulations occurred outside established centres of control and the dictates of individual national histories. Likewise, coastlines, rivers, and ports were all key sites for commercial and cultural exchange. Interdisciplinary in its approach, *Maritime Humanities, 1400–1800: Cultures of the Sea* publishes books that conceptually engage with issues of globalization, post-colonialism, eco-criticism, environmentalism, and the histories of science and technology. The series puts maritime humanities at the centre of a transnational historiographical scholarship that seeks to transform traditional land-based histories of states and nations by focusing on the cultural meanings of the early modern ocean.

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# The Maritime World of Early Modern Britain

*Edited by  
Richard J. Blakemore  
and James Davey*

Amsterdam University Press



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# Note on Conventions and Terminology

This volume concerns the maritime world of early modern Britain. Many of the words in our title are contested and have their own complex histories, and there are a number of other phrases and conventions that warrant explanation and justification. Our job here is not to provide definitive conclusions to these debates, but to offer a few short sentences to explain our decisions.

Perhaps most obvious is the notion of 'Britain' itself. As a political entity, 'Britain' did not exist until the Act of Union in 1707, but we use the term here for two reasons. Firstly, the idea of 'Britain' had existed for many centuries, and there were repeated efforts to utilise it throughout the early modern era. In 1603, for instance, James VI and I used the name 'Great Britain' in an active attempt to persuade his subjects to shift regional loyalties towards a new composite monarchy.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, attempts to inculcate a sense of 'Britishness' before 1707 frequently utilised maritime symbols, such as Britannia. These points are discussed further in our introduction. Secondly, we wanted to take a 'four nations' approach to the subject. We suggest that the histories of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, while distinctive and individual, were fundamentally intertwined, not least by maritime connections; indeed, many of the chapters that follow make just this point.<sup>2</sup> During the early modern era, Ireland was never part of Britain in a strict political, legal, or geographical sense, and our volume gives more attention to what might be considered 'mainland' Britain, or the British Isles, in modern terms. However, Ireland was subject to the English and then British crown throughout this period, and was undoubtedly part of the British empire and of the maritime world we seek to understand here. In short, then, we use 'Britain' to describe a geographical and cultural space, rather than the political construct that would later form.

The term 'early modern' has similarly confounded scholars. How one defines and delineates a historical period depends very much on one's approach and geographical focus, and historical periodisation is by its very nature a generalisation or simplification of the past.<sup>3</sup> Given that our focus

1 See David Armitage, 'The Empire of Great Britain: England, Scotland and Ireland, c. 1540-1660', in *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 24-60.

2 For further discussion see Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill, eds. *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996).

3 Laura Sangha, 'On periodisation: or, what's the best way to chop history into bits?', The many-headed monster blog <https://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com/2016/04/21/>

is on Britain and its wider engagement with the maritime world, this book uses 'early modern' to signify the period from the first European global voyages of exploration in the 1490s, through to the establishment of a global 'British' empire in the early 1700s. This has the added advantage of aligning with the reigns of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties (1485-1714).

We hope the last key term, 'maritime', is rather more straightforward, focusing as it does on humankind's relationship with the sea. Maritime history does have a reputation for overly-technical language (though this reputation is not entirely deserved), and we have gone to great lengths to steer clear of nautical terminology. However, there are a few areas where editorial decisions needed to be taken. Historians disagree on when one can begin to talk of a permanent 'Royal Navy' (as opposed to the more episodic mobilizations of the medieval period), but we use this term throughout to signify warships owned by the English and then British state; Scottish monarchs before 1603 also possessed naval ships, but the English navy provided the institutional nucleus for what became the Royal Navy. Indeed, the volume refers to a large number of ships, and ships' names are italicised throughout. The reader will find no mention of 'HMS' (His/Her Majesty's Ship), which was not in common use until the early nineteenth century. Lastly, we also use the word 'it', rather than 'she', to describe sea-going vessels. While the latter may be traditional, we feel it is outdated and problematic, and that the former is more appropriate for a twenty-first century audience.

on-periodisation-or-whats-the-best-way-to-chop-history-into-bits/ (last accessed 24 November 2019). Nor is this a new concern: see Dietrich Gerhard, 'Periodization in European History', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (July 1965), pp. 900-13.



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# Introduction

*Richard J. Blakemore and James Davey*

The idea of Britain as an island nation with an intrinsically maritime character and history is well-established. It is generally accepted that Britain has, and always has had, a close relationship with the sea, and that its people have always been predisposed towards travelling across the waves, drawing wealth and sustenance from them, and ruling over them. This idea also has a long heritage. One of the most famous expressions of it is in the words that William Shakespeare gave to John of Gaunt in *Richard II*, probably written in the 1590s:

This royall Throne of Kings, this sceptred isle,  
...  
This Fortresse built by Nature for her selfe  
Against infection, and the hand of warre,  
This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or as a Moate defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier Lands,  
This blessed plot, this earth, this Realme, this England<sup>1</sup>

Like most popular ideas, however, this one begins to break down under a closer examination. Strictly speaking Britain is not an island, but an archipelago; and nor is it one nation but several, united relatively late in their existence. Shakespeare here writes exclusively of England because at that time there was no Britain in a political sense. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that the real John of Gaunt would have placed such faith in the sea as a 'Moate defensive', setting England apart in splendid isolation from 'less happier Lands'. He operated in an essentially European political world and pursued serious designs on the Castilian throne, while a French

<sup>1</sup> William Shakespeare, *Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*, ed. by John Heminge and Henry Condell (London, 1623), 'Histories', p. 28: *The Life and Death of King Richard the Second*, act 2, scene 1, lines 40, 43-50.

invasion was a very real possibility throughout his rule of England during the infancy of his royal nephew.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, Shakespeare depicted the sea as a threat just as much as an asset, due both to its own hazardous and stormy nature and to the access it granted to invaders in those periods when travel by sea was generally easier and quicker than travel by land. Some hint of this can be found, perhaps, in a later passage of the same speech: 'England, bound in with the triumphant sea, / Whose rocky shore beates backe the envious sledge / Of watery Neptune'.<sup>3</sup> Contradicting the tone of the earlier lines, the sea is no longer England's defender but one of its assailants and ('bound in') even its jailor. This theme of violence and peril appears elsewhere in his canon, too. *Twelfth Night* begins with a shipwreck, in which the siblings Viola and Sebastien are separated – with comical consequences – while arguably Shakespeare's most well-known maritime scene in *The Tempest* has the sorcerer Prospero conjure up a storm to isolate and divide his rivals, and carry out his long-nurtured plans for revenge.<sup>4</sup>

In this latter case, Shakespeare's fascination with the sea was most likely prompted by the shipwreck of the *Sea Venture* off the coast of Bermuda in 1609, an event which captured a significant amount of popular attention as the news arrived in England.<sup>5</sup> It is thus no coincidence that Shakespeare chose to articulate the premise of a *naturally* maritime nation, as problematic as that premise is in terms of historical realism. Despite the dangers it posed, the maritime world became vitally important for Britain to a much greater extent than ever before from the sixteenth century onwards. The shipping and commerce of these islands, previously confined to northern Europe, now expanded to encompass transoceanic and eventually global networks. Alongside this, a 'Royal Navy' was founded, the first permanent naval force in the world, which secured ever-greater support from the state. Whether

2 Christopher John Phillpotts, 'John of Gaunt and English Policy Towards France 1389-1395', *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), pp. 363-86; Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1992), Chapters 6-7, 9.

3 Shakespeare, *Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*, 'Histories', p. 28: *Richard II*, act 2, scene 1, lines 61-3.

4 On Shakespeare, early modern literature, and maritime themes, see Bernhard Klein, ed., *Fictions of the Sea: Critical Perspectives on the Ocean in British Literature and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2002); Steve Mentz, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean* (London: Continuum, 2009); Dan Brayton, *Shakespeare's Ocean: An Ecocritical Exploration* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2018).

5 Alden T. Vaughan, 'William Strachey's "True Reportory" and Shakespeare: A Closer Look at the Evidence', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (2008), pp. 245-73; Kenneth Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Routledge, 2005).

through public or private investment, and whether positive or negative, the influence of the sea and seaborne activity on British politics, economics, society, and culture increased markedly. This growth of Britain's maritime world aligned with a period of conscious nation-building. Shakespeare's lifetime witnessed the first joining of Scotland and England under a single monarch in 1603, with Wales and Ireland also ruled by the English crown, followed later by more extensive political and legal unions in 1707 and 1801.<sup>6</sup> Though the peoples of these islands inhabited neither a united kingdom nor a predominantly maritime one at the start of this period, by its end they were well on the way to living in both. The story of Britain becoming maritime is therefore deeply intertwined with the story of Britain becoming Britain.

An important part of this transition came with the re-imagining of Britain as a maritime nation and, as the elegant phrases of *Richard II* and Shakespeare's lasting impact demonstrates, this self-image entailed the reinterpretation of Britain's entire past. An equally famous paean to Britain's maritime potency, the ode 'Rule, Britannia!', was written in 1740 to commemorate the accession of George II. Though the original title and lyrics contain an exhortation towards maritime dominance, not a celebration of it, they nevertheless, like Shakespeare, assume that a natural and divine 'charter' existed between Britain and the sea, protecting the country from both 'haughty tyrants' and envious other 'nations, not so blest as thee'. Just as significant, though often forgotten, is the poem's original context: it was first performed as part of a masque which lauded the supposed seaborne successes of Alfred the Great during the ninth century.<sup>7</sup> Britain becoming

6 Brian P. Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and the Union, 1603-1707* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); John Robertson, ed., *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); John Morrill, 'The British Problem c. 1534-1707', in *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, ed. by Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), pp. 1-38; Alexander Murdoch, *British History 1660-1832: National Identity and Local Culture* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998); David L. Smith, *A History of the Modern British Isles, 1603-1714: The Double Crown* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); David Armitage, 'The Empire of Great Britain: England, Scotland and Ireland, c. 1540-1660', in David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 24-60; Jim Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800: State, Religion and Identity in Britain and Ireland* (Harlow: Longman, 2001); Kevin Kenny, ed., *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Allan I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2007); Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

7 James Thomson and David Mallet, *Alfred: A Masque. Represented before their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, at Cliffden, on the First of August, 1740* (London, 1740), pp. 42-3; See also David Armitage, 'Empire and Ideology in the Walpolean Era', in Armitage, *Ideological*





maritime, therefore, also rather paradoxically resulted in the belief that it always had been.

If these ideas presided over contemporary understandings of the maritime world, then historians have frequently shown themselves to be just as captivated. Indeed, that belief cast a long shadow over British maritime history, which initially embraced deterministic and nationalistic narratives seeking an explanation for Britain's later naval and commercial dominance.<sup>8</sup> These historians – whether consciously or not – embraced ideas of exceptionalism and a (usually anglocentric) national identity and destiny similar to that found in *Richard II* and 'Rule, Britannia!', often neglecting both the diversity and conflict that existed within Britain and the importance of relationships with other European nations and other peoples from around the globe. These assumptions obscured important questions about Britain and the sea. How much, and in what manner, did communities in these islands really engage with the maritime world in the early modern era? Was Britain's transformation the result of a coherent maritime strategy, or a series of hesitant and halting steps? Most importantly, if we talk about a maritime nation in this period, just what 'nation' are we talking about?

Over the last two decades or so, scholars have begun to unpick the layers of myth and jingoism that previously subsumed this subject, and to question the received wisdom that surrounds it; there is now a remarkable profusion of new research that seeks to challenge those accepted notions about Britain's maritime past. These new approaches are part of a wider trend to rethink the history of the sea. Researchers from a variety of disciplines have begun to identify oceans, voyages, and navies as fertile grounds for analysis, and as a result there are a number of approaches that now have a stake in defining the discipline of maritime history.<sup>9</sup> The traditional focus on strategy,

*Origins*, pp. 170–98 (pp. 170–4); and, on another aspect of early modern maritime myth-building, N. A. M. Rodger, 'Queen Elizabeth and the Myth of Sea-Power in English History', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004), pp. 153–74.

8 Examples of this approach covering the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries include M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy*, vol. I, MDIX-MDCLX (London: John Lane, 1896); Thomas W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea* (London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1911); C. D. Penn, *The Navy under the Early Stuarts and its Influence on English History* (Leighton Buzzard: Faith Press, 1913); Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean: A Study of the Rise and Influence of British Power within the Straits, 1603–1713* (London: Longmans, Green & co, 1917); Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3 vols, 1934–8).

9 For theoretical discussions from different disciplinary backgrounds, see Jerry H. Bentley, 'Sea and Ocean Basins as Frameworks of Historical Analysis', *Geographical Review*, 89 (1999), pp. 215–25; Philip E. Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge



operations, and technology is being supplemented with ground-breaking research. Recent scholarship has examined the relationship between the sea and constructions of identities (both national and gendered) as well as its impact on art, music, and popular culture.<sup>10</sup> It has explored the social and cultural realities of life on board ship, the burgeoning communities that supported and depended upon seafaring, and the complex connections that existed between ship and shore.<sup>11</sup> The history of ‘discovery’ has been replaced with one of ‘encounter’, focusing on moments of cultural exchange and the numerous incidents of violence and exploitation that came to define European imperialism.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps most importantly, maritime history

University Press, 2001); Klein, ed., *Fictions of the Sea*; Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2004); Kären Wigen, ‘Oceans of History’, *American Historical Review*, 111 (2006), pp. 717–21; David Lambert, Luciana Martins, and Miles Ogborn, ‘Currents, Visions and Voyages: Historical Geographies of the Sea’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 32 (2006), pp. 479–93; Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen, eds., *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu, Hawai‘i: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007); David Cannadine, ed., *Empire, the Sea and Global History: Britain’s Maritime World, c. 1763–c. 1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); Glen O’Hara, ‘“The Sea is Swinging into View”: Modern British Maritime History in a Globalised World’, *English Historical Review*, 124 (2009), pp. 1109–34; John Mack, *The Sea: A Cultural History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011).

10 Alain Cabantous, *Les Citoyens du Large: Les Identités Maritimes en France (XVIIe–XIXe Siècle)* (Paris: Éditions Aubier, 1995); Duncan Redford, ed., *Maritime History and Identity: the Sea and Culture in the Modern World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014); Charlotte Mathieson, ed., *Sea Narratives: Cultural Responses to the Sea, 1650–Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Renaud Morieux, *The Channel. England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). For works relating specifically to gender, see n. 24 below.

11 Works of maritime social history focusing on Britain are discussed below (see n. 22). For scholarship on seafaring communities more widely, see Paul C. van Royen, Jaap R. Bruijn, and Jan Lucassen, eds., *Those Emblems of Hell?: European Sailors and the Maritime Labour Market, 1570–1870* (St John’s, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1997); Jaap R. Bruijn, ‘Seafarers in Early Modern and Modern Times: Change and Continuity’, *International Journal of Maritime History*, 17 (2005), pp. 1–16; G. V. Scammell, *Seafaring, Sailors and Trade, 1450–1750: Studies in British and European Maritime and Imperial History* (Aldershot: Variorum, 2003), 1–22; Maria Fusaro, Bernard Allaire, Richard J. Blakemore, and Tjil Vanneste, eds., *Law, Labour, and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c. 1500–1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015).

12 This topic has received considerable attention, but for some general studies see Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800*, translated by Ritchie Robinson (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989); Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting & Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans & Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Peter C. Mancall, ‘Native Americans and Europeans in English America, 1500–1700’ in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol. I: Origins of Empire: British Overseas*

has become firmly entwined with world and global history, most notably with the Atlantic and Indian Ocean ‘worlds’ that now have established historiographies of their own.<sup>13</sup>

In this book we seek to build upon this scholarship by exploring how Britain’s relationship with the sea changed across the early modern period; by investigating how the peoples of the British Isles came to be, and came to see themselves as, a maritime nation; and by considering what impact this had both on Britain and its connections to the wider world. We start with the opposite premise to Shakespeare and ‘Rule, Britannia!’. Britain’s transformation in these centuries was not a stately progress towards a preordained zenith, or the realisation of some innate national potential, but a messy, complicated, and disputed process, often driven by external influences. The essays published here do not pretend to offer a comprehensive discussion of this process, but instead represent new research into specific aspects of it, in order both to illuminate that bigger picture and to indicate the directions in which the maritime history of early modern Britain is now moving. In this introduction, we will briefly survey three core themes which unite the individual contributions of our authors, three ways in which Britain’s maritime world changed profoundly between the sixteenth and the

*Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 328–50; Melanie Perrault, *Early English Encounters in Russia, West Africa and the Americas, 1530–1614* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004); Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014); Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000–1927* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

13 The literature on these approaches is vast. For ‘state of the field’ pieces see Bernard Bailyn, ‘The Idea of Atlantic History’, *Itinerario*, 20 (1996), pp. 19–41; Daniel Finamore, ed., *Maritime History As World History: New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2004); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contour* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005); M. N. Pearson, *The World of the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005); Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006); Alison Games, ‘Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities’, *American Historical Review*, 111 (2006), pp. 741–57; Cannadine, ed., *Empire, the Sea and Global History*; Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, eds., *Maritime History as Global History* (St John’s, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2010); H. V. Bowen, Elizabeth Mancke, and John G. Reid, eds., *Britain’s Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, c. 1550–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Richard J. Blakemore, ‘The Changing Fortunes of Atlantic History’, *English Historical Review*, 131 (2016), pp. 851–68; Christer Petley and John McAleer, *The Royal Navy and the British Atlantic World, c. 1750–1820* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); David Armitage, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram, eds., *Oceanic Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Philippe Beaujard, *The Worlds of the Indian Ocean: A Global History*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).



eighteenth centuries: the scope and scale of British seaborne activity; the efforts of the British government to control this activity; and the development of the idea of Britain as a maritime nation.

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Perhaps the most obvious change to Britain's maritime world was its expansion, in terms of the quantity, frequency, and range of voyages which set out from Britain. Before the sixteenth century England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales traded primarily with nearby Europe, especially in wool and cloth to the markets of Flanders and northern France. Commodities from further afield reached these islands, but usually not in British ships.<sup>14</sup> This situation transformed completely in the early modern period. Estimates of tonnage are quite imprecise, due to the available evidence, but there is no doubt that the number and size of British mercantile, fishing, and military vessels all increased during this period. Gary Baker and Craig Lambert provide a snapshot of the early stages of this growth in their chapter, providing a considerably higher level of precision than has previously been possible.

As their chapter shows, it was not just the volume of shipping but the variety and the distance of destinations which changed. The proportion of British commercial shipping engaged in long-distance trade doubled, while British fishermen expanded into the North Atlantic and the North Sea.<sup>15</sup> In the course of the sixteenth century, English expeditions set out for

14 Dorothy Burwash, *English Merchant Shipping, 1460-1540* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1969); Timothy O'Neill, *Merchants and Mariners in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1987); Donald Woodward, 'Irish Sea Traders and Shipping from the Later Middle Ages to c.1660', in *The Irish Sea – Aspects of Maritime History*, ed. by Michael McCaughan and John C. Appleby (Belfast: Queen's University Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1989), pp. 34-44; Vanessa Harding, 'Cross-Channel Trade and Cultural Contacts: London and the Low Countries in the Late Fourteenth Century', in *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Nigel Saul (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 153-68; David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1215-1545, Vol. I: Religion, Commerce and Culture, c.1215-1545* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001); Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 256-70; Martin Rorke, 'English and Scottish Overseas Trade, 1300-1600', *Economic History Review*, 59 (2006), pp. 265-88; Susan Rose, *The Medieval Sea* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007); Richard Gorski, ed., *Roles of the Sea in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012); Joe Donnelly, 'An Open Economy: The Berwick Shipping Trade, 1311-1373', *Scottish Historical Review*, 96 (2017), pp. 1-31.

15 Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Newton Abbott: MacMillan, 1962), Chapters 1-4; Ralph Davis, *English Overseas Trade 1500-1700* (London: MacMillan, 1973); Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, Money and Politics: Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991),

Africa, the Americas, the Mediterranean, and Russia. The first voyages to the Indian Ocean followed at the turn of the seventeenth century with the foundation of the East India Company, a response to the Dutch *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Dutch East India Company).<sup>16</sup> There were later Scottish initiatives to trade in Africa and settle in the Americas, although these met with variable success: the consequences of the most infamous disaster, the Company of Scotland's short-lived colony of Caledonia on the Gulf of Darién, contributed towards the 1707 Act of Union.<sup>17</sup> However, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh sailors, merchants, soldiers, and colonists were to be found in 'English' ships, colonies, and trading posts in both the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans.<sup>18</sup> These commercial and military voyages were the

Chapter 1; Jan Lucassen and Richard W. Unger, 'Labour Productivity in Ocean Shipping, 1450-1875', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 12 (2000), pp. 127-41; David J. Starkey, Chris Reid, and Neil Ashcroft, eds., *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London: Chatham Publishing, 2000); Martin Rorke, 'The Scottish Herring Trade', *Scottish Historical Review*, 84 (2005), pp. 149-65; Jan Lucassen and Richard W. Unger, 'Shipping, Productivity and Economic Growth', in *Shipping and Economic Growth 1350-1850*, ed. by Richard W. Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 3-44 (pp. 8-17).

16 K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company 1600-1640* (London: Frank Cass & co, 1965); Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Jaap R. Bruijn and Femme Gaastra, eds., *Ships, Sailors and Spices. East India Companies and their Shipping in the 16th, 17th and 18th Century* (Amsterdam: Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief, 1993); Philip Lawson, *The East India Company: A History* (London: Routledge, 1993); Femme S. Gaastra, 'War, Competition, and Collaboration: Relations between the English and Dutch East India Companies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *The Worlds of the East India Company*, ed. by H. V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2002), 49-68; Perrault, *Early English Encounters*; Edmond Smith, 'The Global Interests of London's Commercial Community, 1599-1625: Investment in the East India Company', *Economic History Review*, 71 (2018), pp. 1118-46.

17 Robin Law, 'The First Scottish Guinea Company, 1634-9', *Scottish Historical Review*, 76 (1997), pp. 185-202; Dennis R. Hidalgo, '"To Get Rich for Our Homeland": The Company of Scotland and the Colonization of the Isthmus of Darien', *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, 10 (2001), pp. 311-50; Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of the Nations* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2006); Ignacio Gallup-Díaz, *The Door of the Seas and Key to the Universe: Indian Politics and Imperial Rivalry in the Darién, 1640-1750* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), Chapters 4-5; Mark Horton, '"To Transmit to Posterity the Virtue, Lustre and Glory of their Ancestors": Scottish Pioneers in Darien, Panama', in *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products, and Practices on the Move*, ed. by Caroline Williams (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 131-50; Douglas Hamilton, 'Dreams of Empire: Scotland, Caledonia and the Emporium of the Indies', in *L'Écosse et ses Doubles: Ancien Monde, Nouveau Monde*, ed. by Morag J. Munro-Landi (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010), pp. 69-88; Sophie Jorrand, 'From "The Doors of the Seas" to a Watery Debacle: The Sea, Scottish Colonization, and the Darien Scheme, 1696-1700', *Études Écossaises*, 19 (2017), pp. 1-14.

18 L. M. Cullen, 'Merchant Communities Overseas, the Navigation Acts, and Irish and Scottish Responses', in *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Social History, 1600-1900*, ed. by L. M.



essential basis for the development of British colonial and trading activities around the world.<sup>19</sup> The Company of Scotland was not the only failure, and many travellers did not return, but the presence of British ships and seafarers nevertheless became steadily more established in many areas of the world, and by the eighteenth century what had once been exploratory trips had become regular trade routes.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, while the primary purpose of the substantially increased Royal Navy's fleet may have been the defence of the British Isles and Ireland, naval squadrons had become a permanent presence in Mediterranean, American, and Indian waters by the end of our period.<sup>21</sup>

More voyages required more voyagers, and the seafaring population of the British Isles also grew rapidly in this period, as did the number of people participating in overseas trade.<sup>22</sup> Some of these men (and a few women)

Cullen and T. C. Smout (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1977), pp. 165-76; Gerald James Bryant, 'Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, 64 (1985), pp. 22-41; Thomas M. Truxes, *Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Eric Richards, 'Scotland and the Uses of the Atlantic Empire', in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. by Bailyn and Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 67-114; Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001); T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Penguin, 2004); Kevin Kenny, 'The Irish in the Empire', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Kenny, pp. 90-122; Andrew MacKillop, 'Accessing Empire: Scotland, Europe, Britain, and the Asia Trade, 1695-c. 1750', *Itinerario*, 29 (2005), pp. 7-30; Alexander Murdoch, *Scotland and America* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009); David T. Gleeson, ed., *The Irish in the Atlantic World* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2010); John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine, eds., *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

19 For overviews of British imperial expansion, see Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement*; David Loades, *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce, and Policy, 1490-1690* (London: Longman, 2000); Canny, ed., *Origins of Empire*; Bowen, Mancke, and Reid, eds., *Britain's Oceanic Empire*.

20 Mortality rates in many of the early long-distance voyages were especially high: see P. E. H. Hair and J. D. Alsop, *English Seamen and Traders in Guinea, 1553-1565: The New Evidence of Their Wills* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992); J. D. Alsop, 'Tudor Merchant Seafarers in the Early Guinea Trade', in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), ed. by Cheryl A. Fury, pp. 75-115; Cheryl A. Fury, 'The First English East India Company Voyage, 1601-1603: The Human Dimension', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 24 (2012), pp. 69-96; Cheryl A. Fury, 'Health and Health Care at Sea', in *Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, ed. by Fury, pp. 193-227 (pp. 208-19).

21 The best overviews of naval activity in this period are N. A. M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain, 660-1649* (London: Penguin, 2004, originally published 1997); N. A. M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815* (London: W. W. Norton & co, 2004).

22 G. V. Scammell, 'Manning the English Merchant Service in the Sixteenth Century', *Mariner's Mirror*, 56 (1970), 131-54; Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Andrews, *Ships, Money, and Politics*, Chapter 3; Hair and Alsop, *English*



took to the sea for a short time, while others spent their working lives as sailors, but in either case the expansion in British shipping brought them face to face with new experiences, challenges, and opportunities which their predecessors had not encountered. Cheryl Fury and Claire McLoughlin explore some of these in their contributions: respectively, the problems of discipline in East India Company ships, and the political and practical intricacies of Scottish trade with Spain during a period of Anglo-Spanish warfare. The ways in which seafarers, traders, and other travellers grappled with such challenges, and seized such opportunities, did much to shape Britain's maritime world – though, as we have noted and as these chapters also show, not all were fortunate, few of these endeavours were entirely harmonious, and there were many who suffered among those who strove either to achieve or resist Britain's imperial ambitions.<sup>23</sup>

This seafaring affected society in Britain on a wide scale. In her chapter, Elaine Murphy discusses how the British civil wars at sea impacted upon women, both the relatively small number who went to sea and the many more who stayed ashore but were engaged, in some form, in maritime activity. Murphy's work reflects a growth in interest among maritime historians in both gender and the connection between seafaring and communities ashore, and seaborne activities certainly changed the lives of men and women across Britain and the world.<sup>24</sup> Within Britain, several coastal or

*Seamen and Traders*; Peter Earle, 'English Sailors, 1570-1775', in *Those Emblems of Hell?*, ed. by van Royen, Bruijn, and Lucassen, pp. 73-92; Gordon Jackson, 'Scottish Sailors', in *Those Emblems of Hell?*, ed. by van Royen, Bruijn, and Lucassen, pp. 119-57; Peter Earle, *Sailors: English Merchant Seamen 1650-1775* (London: Methuen, 1998); Cheryl A. Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men: The Social History of Elizabethan Seamen, 1580-1603* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002); Scammell, *Seafaring, Sailors and Trade*; Isaac Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009); Fury, ed., *Social History of English Seamen*; Eleanor Hubbard, 'Sailors and the Early Modern British Empire: Labor, Nation, and Identity at Sea', *History Compass*, 14 (2016), pp. 348-58; Cheryl A. Fury, ed., *The Social History of English Seamen, 1650-1815* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017).

<sup>23</sup> An emphasis on class conflict, suffering, and resistance has been particularly strong in Marcus Rediker's work: see Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*; Marcus Rediker, 'The Common Seaman in the Histories of Capitalism and the Working Class', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 1 (1989), pp. 337-57; Marcus Rediker, 'Towards a People's History of the Sea', in *Maritime Empires: British Imperial Maritime Trade in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by David Killingray, Margarette Lincoln and Nigel Rigby (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), pp. 195-206; see also Niklas Frykman, Clare Anderson, Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcus Rediker, 'Mutiny and Maritime Radicalism in the Age of Revolution: An Introduction', *International Review of Social History*, 58 (2013), pp. 1-14.

<sup>24</sup> Elliott J. Gorn, 'Seafaring Engendered: A Comment on Gender and Seafaring', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 4 (1992), pp. 219-25; Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling, eds., *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920* (Baltimore,



riverine communities depended on their existence as ports, and developed distinct maritime districts. The largest and most famous was east London, a sprawl of wharfs, dockyards, warehouses, and seafarers' homes. Stepney, the extensive parish stretching along the north bank of the Thames east of the Tower which encompassed much of this area, was as heavily populated as any town or city in Britain except for London itself, reflecting the importance of the maritime industry there.<sup>25</sup> While London dominated British shipping, other major ports – Bristol, Cardiff, Dublin, Glasgow, Hull, Leith, Liverpool, Portsmouth, Swansea, and many more – had a considerable social and economic impact on their hinterlands and more widely as nodal points which linked the regions of Britain to each other and to the world. Indeed, regardless of where they stepped aboard ship, seafarers came from all across Britain, and they played a key role in disseminating the results of their labours at sea to their families and acquaintances ashore.

These results were multifarious, and both direct and indirect. Sailors' incomes, from wages and from trade, were important to their families and the port districts where these incomes were spent, as part of familial and communal 'makeshift economies'.<sup>26</sup> The cargoes that sailors brought

Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1996); Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, pp. 205-34; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, 'Insights into Plebeian Marriage: Soldiers, Sailors, and their Wives in the Old Bailey Proceedings', *London Journal*, 30 (2005), pp. 22-38; Martin Rorke, 'Women Overseas Traders in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 25 (2005), pp. 81-96; Margarette Lincoln, *Naval Wives and Mistresses, 1750-1815* (London: National Maritime Museum Publishing, 2007); Cheryl A. Fury, 'Seamen's Wives and Widows', in *Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, ed. by Fury, pp. 253-75; John C. Appleby, *Women and English Piracy, 1540-1720: Partners and Victims of Crime* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013); Margaret R. Hunt, 'The Sailor's Wife, War Finance, and Coverture in Late Seventeenth-Century London', in *Married Women and the Law: Coverture in England and the Common Law World*, ed. by Timothy Stretton and Krista J. Kesselring (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), pp. 139-162; Derek Morris and Ken Cozens, 'Mariners Ashore in the Eighteenth Century: The Role of Boarding-house Keepers and Victuallers', *Mariner's Mirror*, 103 (2017), pp. 431-49; see also Annette de Wit, *Leven, Werken en Geloven in Zeevarende Gemeenschappen: Schiedam, Maassluis en Ter Heijde in de Zeventiende Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2008), Chapters 6-7.

25 A. H. French, Marybel Moore, Jocelyn Oatley, M. J. Power, D. Summers, and S. C. Tongue, 'The Population of Stepney in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Local Population Studies*, 3 (1969), pp. 39-52; Michael J. Power, 'The East London Working Community in the Seventeenth Century', in *Work in Towns 850-1850*, ed. by Penelope J. Corfield and Derek Keene (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), pp. 103-20.

26 Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, 210-18; Pamela Sharpe, 'Gender at Sea: Women and the East India Company in Seventeenth-Century London', in *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600-1850*, ed. by Neil Raven, Penelope Lane, and K. D. M. Snell (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), pp. 47-67; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, 'The Fiction of Female Dependence and the Makeshift Economy of Soldiers, Sailors, and their Wives in Eighteenth-Century London', *Labor History*, 49





to Britain, as Beverly Lemire has shown, impacted on all levels of society, as expensive commodities satisfied the desires of the elite while cheaper goods circulated among the seafarers' own plebeian networks. Tobacco from North America brought not only a new and intoxicating substance for consumption, but also new social behaviours and cultural expectations, as well as a whole new industry of pipe-making. Textiles from India and elsewhere changed the clothes worn by workers and the wealthy alike.<sup>27</sup> In her contribution here, Meredith Greiling discusses how other kinds of social practice were also transmitted by sea: the cultural and religious links between Scotland and northern Europe ran deep and remained profound throughout this period.

The expansion of British seaborne activity, then, brought change to Britain, and to the many places where British seafarers travelled, sometimes to trade, sometimes to invade. This change should therefore not simply be seen, as it often has been, as a move outwards, an exporting of British endeavours. On the contrary, it was a fundamentally two-way phenomenon, and a dynamic one, as the initially disparate strands of seafaring became increasingly coordinated. This activity therefore brought not only social, economic, and material changes to Britain, but political change as well.

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Trade had been important to the monarchs of England and Scotland for centuries before the early modern period, due to both its impact on the economic wellbeing of their realm and the more direct implications for their own finances. Customs on imports and exports were a key part of royal income, and as trade expanded and as governance became a more expensive undertaking, so the importance of customs revenue increased. The rulers of early modern Britain therefore took a direct interest in the commerce of their subjects, and issued a range of regulations governing

(2008), pp. 481-501; Fury, 'Seamen's Wives and Widows', pp. 254-7, 260-6; Richard J. Blakemore, 'Pieces of Eight, Pieces of Eight: Seamen's Earnings and the Venture Economy of Early Modern Seafaring', *Economic History Review*, 70 (2017), pp. 1153-84.

27 Beverly Lemire, 'Men of the World': British Mariners, Consumer Practice, and Material Culture in an Era of Global Trade, c. 1660-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, 54 (2015), pp. 288-319; Beverly Lemire, 'A Question of Trousers: Seafarers, Masculinity and Empire in the Shaping of British Male Dress', *Cultural and Social History*, 31 (2016), pp. 1-23; Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures. The Material World Remade, c. 1500-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).



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what they could trade, with whom, and how much tax to pay on it.<sup>28</sup> In other ways, too, the sea mattered to these monarchs, principally for its military significance. For medieval English kings, the ‘narrow seas’ linked their possessions in Europe with their realm in the British Isles, while for both Scottish and English monarchs the ability to move forces by sea, and to defend their own shores, were critically important, and this too intensified in the early modern period.<sup>29</sup> From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, England and Scotland fought repeated wars with their European neighbours and – until 1603 – with each other, and most of these conflicts took place at sea, or involved travel by ship.<sup>30</sup>

In this same period occurred what some scholars have called a ‘military revolution’, an expansion of military force requiring more expenditure and more bureaucracy, thus driving the formation of more powerful states. Although naval developments were initially overlooked, several historians have since argued that the institutional, technical, and financial requirements of early modern navies were just as important to this phenomenon as was warfare ashore, if not more so.<sup>31</sup> In a sense, then, early modern

28 Davis, *English Shipping Industry*, Chapter 14; Michael J. Braddick, *The Nerves of State: Taxation and the Financing of the English State, 1558-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), Chapter 3; James Scott Wheeler, *The Making of a World Power: War and the Military Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 94-8, 120-7; Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, pp. 341-4; Patrick K. O’Brien, ‘Fiscal and Financial Preconditions for the Rise of British Naval Hegemony 1485-1815’, *London School of Economics, Economic History Department Working Papers*, 91/05 (2005), pp. 15-19.

29 Susan Rose, *Medieval Naval Warfare, 1000-1500* (London: Routledge, 2002); Susan Rose, *England’s Medieval Navy, 1066-1509: Ships, Men & Warfare* (Barnsley: Seaforth, 2013).

30 For narrative accounts of naval conflict in the early modern period involving England and Scotland, see Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*; Rodger, *Command of the Ocean*; Steve Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas? Scottish Maritime Warfare 1513-1713* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

31 Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Chapter 3; Jaap R. Bruijn, ‘States and their Navies from the Late Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Centuries’, in *War and Competition between States*, ed. by Philippe Contamine (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 69-98; Jan Glete, *Warfare at Sea, 1500-1650: Maritime Conflicts and the Transformation of Europe* (London: Routledge, 2000); Jeremy Black, *Naval Power: A History of Warfare and the Sea from 1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009); Louis Sicking, ‘Naval Warfare in Europe, c. 1330-c. 1680’, in *European Warfare, 1350-1750*, ed. by Frank Tallet and D. J. B. Trim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 236-63; Gijs Rommelse, ‘Introduction: The Military Revolution at Sea’, *Journal for Maritime Research*, 13 (2011), pp. 117-8; John F. Guilmartin, ‘The Military Revolution in Warfare at Sea during the Early Modern Era: Technological Origins, Operational Outcomes and Strategic Consequences’, *Journal for Maritime Research*, 13 (2011), pp. 129-137; Gijs Rommelse, ‘An Early Modern Naval Revolution? The Relationship between “Economic Reason of State” and Maritime Warfare’, *Journal for Maritime Research*, 13 (2011), pp. 138-50; Jürgen G. Backhaus, ed., *Navies and State Formation* (Berlin: Lit, 2012); Richard Harding, *Modern Naval History: Debates and*

Britain became a 'fiscal-naval state', as Patrick O'Brien and N. A. M. Rodger have argued.<sup>32</sup> The navy was often the largest single item of government expenditure, entailing both rising taxation and the apparatus to collect and disburse those funds and to organise naval activity. A permanent naval administration was founded towards the end of Henry VIII's reign, and the admiralty grew in size and influence to become a major department of state by the early eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

The impact of the navy and the maritime world on British politics has rarely received the attention it deserves outside of specialists in the field. In both England and Scotland, the state-orchestrated Protestant reformations relied upon naval forces to protect the realm from Catholic and other foes, not only in the famous Armada campaign of 1588 but throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>34</sup> A few decades later, Charles I's failed foreign policy during the 1620s, including humiliating naval defeats, contributed to the crisis of his reign.<sup>35</sup> Parliament's control of the navy during the civil wars that erupted from this crisis was key to their eventual victory over the king, and to the success of the subsequent Commonwealth governments in defending themselves from internal and external threats, and in subjugating Scotland and Ireland.<sup>36</sup> The role played by the navy was pivotal at several moments in 1659-60, leading to

*Prospects* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016); David Plouviez, 'Marines Européennes, Développements Administratif, Économique et Financier', in *The Sea in History: The Early Modern World*, ed. by Christian Buchet and Gérard le Bouëdec (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), pp. 773-84.

32 O'Brien, 'Fiscal and Financial Preconditions', p. 37; N. A. M. Rodger, 'From the "Military Revolution" to the "Fiscal-Naval State"', *Journal for Maritime Research*, 13 (2011), pp. 119-28; Patrick O'Brien, 'State Formation and Economic Growth: The Case of Britain, 1688-1846', in *Navies and State Formation*, ed. by Backhaus, pp. 217-72. See also Richard J. Blakemore and Pepijn Brandon, 'The Dutch and English Fiscal-Naval States: A Comparative Overview', in *Anglo-Dutch Conflict in the Seventeenth Century, 1652-1689*, ed. by David Ormrod and Gijs Rommelse (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2020), pp. 117-36.

33 For a general overview, see Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*; Rodger, *Command of the Ocean*.

34 David Loades, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1992); David Loades, *The Making of the Elizabethan Navy, 1540-1590: From the Solent to the Armada* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009); Murdoch, *Terror of the Seas?*, Chapters 1-3; C. S. Knighton and David Loades, eds., *Elizabethan Naval Administration* (London: Navy Records Society, 2013).

35 Andrews, *Ships, Money, and Politics*; Nabil Matar, 'The Barbary Corsairs, King Charles I and the Civil War', *The Seventeenth Century*, 16 (2001), pp. 239-58; Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2005), Chapter 2; Richard J. Blakemore, 'Thinking Outside the Gundeck: Maritime History, the Royal Navy and the Outbreak of British Civil War, 1625-42', *Historical Research*, 87 (2014), pp. 251-74; Richard J. Blakemore and Elaine Murphy, *The British Civil Wars at Sea, 1638-1653* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), Chapter 2.

36 Bernard Capp, *Cromwell's Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution 1648-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Blakemore and Murphy, *British Civil Wars*.



the restoration of Charles II, and again in 1688-89, when his brother James VII and II was overthrown in favour of James's daughter Mary and her husband William III; it also played a key defensive role throughout the reigns of Charles, William and Mary, Mary's sister Anne, and their Hanoverian successors.<sup>37</sup> To a considerable degree, both through its routine activity and its revolutionary actions, the navy shaped the British state that emerged during this period. Moreover, while the state became more powerful within Britain, with the navy both requiring this power and reinforcing it, the expansion of Britain's colonial and commercial interests created a wider imperial network in which the state was embedded. The growth of the British state and the first phases of the British empire were coeval and concomitant.

Throughout this period, but especially in the earlier stages, both naval mobilisation in Britain and Europe and the imperial activity beyond it involved partnerships between the crown and its subjects. Naval administrators depended heavily on private finance, private suppliers, and privateers – and often the men running the navy were also investors in these enterprises. While this led to accusations of corruption, by contemporaries and historians, it was the only way any early modern state could effectively harness the available resources.<sup>38</sup> In the same way, the crown was initially

37 On the navy's role in these moments of political crisis, see Capp, *Cromwell's Navy*, Chapter 10; Gill Blanchard, *Lawson Lies Still in the Thames: The Extraordinary Life of Vice-Admiral Sir John Lawson* (Stroud: Amberley, 2017), Chapters 4-5; J. D. Davies, *Kings of the Sea: Charles II, James II & the Royal Navy* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2017), Chapter 11. On the navy's activities during this period more generally, see N. A. M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London: HarperCollins, 1986); J. D. Davies, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins: The Officers and Men of the Restoration Navy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); J. D. Davies, *Pepys's Navy: Ships, Men & Warfare, 1649-1689* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2008); Sarah Kinkel, *Disciplining the Empire: Politics, Governance, and the Rise of the British Navy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018).

38 Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); David J. Starkey, *British Privateering Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990); Capp, *Cromwell's Navy*, pp. 230-42; Andrews, *Ships, Money and Politics*, pp. 189-202; Loades, *Tudor Navy*, pp. 5, 77, 130-5, 184-5; Douglas Hamilton, 'Private Enterprise and Public Service: Naval Contracting in the Caribbean, 1720-50', *Journal for Maritime Research*, 6 (2004), pp. 37-64; Davies, *Pepys's Navy*, Chapters 20 and 40; Loades, *Elizabethan Navy*, pp. 52-3; Roger Knight and Martin Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet, 1793-1815: War, the British Navy and the Contractor State* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010); Murdoch, *Terror of the Seas?*, Chapters 2 and 4; David J. Starkey, 'Voluntaries and Sea Robbers: A Review of the Academic Literature on Privateering, Corsairing, Buccaneering and Piracy', *Mariner's Mirror*, 97 (2011), pp. 127-47; H. V. Bowen, 'The Contractor State, c. 1650-1815', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 25 (2013), 239-74; Christian Buchet, *The British Navy, Economy and Society in the Seven Years War*, trans. by Anita Higgie and Michael Duffy, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013); David J. Starkey and Matthew McCarthy, 'A Persistent

a co-investor in early voyages across the Atlantic or to the Indian Ocean, without any close control over them; in Elizabeth I's case, at least, this was to preserve plausible deniability in the face of protests from Spain and Portugal, who claimed an exclusive sovereignty over those oceans.<sup>39</sup> Bernhard Klein's chapter in this volume examines one example of these hybrid endeavours, the sixteenth-century voyages to West Africa, while Fury's, already mentioned, deals with another in discussing the East India Company. Monopolistic corporations like the East India Company, as well as the various colonial administrations, allowed the crown to delegate certain powers to groups of merchants, investors, and colonists: not only the authority to pursue trade or to colonise, and to exclude competitors, but also to establish and implement law, and to wage wars. These companies and colonies allied and fought with African, American, and Indian rulers; they employed thousands of workers and migrants from Britain, Europe, and elsewhere in the world; and they were instrumental in Britain's expanding role in the transatlantic slave trade.<sup>40</sup> Like the navy, they also had an impact on domestic politics.<sup>41</sup> The state within Britain and the early British empire,

Phenomenon: Private Prize-Taking in the British Atlantic World, c. 1540-1856', in *Persistent Piracy: Maritime Violence and State Formation in Global Historical Perspective*, ed. by Stefan Amirell and Leos Müller (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), pp. 131-51; Blakemore and Murphy, *British Civil Wars*, Chapters 4-5; Blakemore and Brandon, 'Dutch and English Fiscal-Naval States'.  
 39 Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement*; John C. Appleby, 'War, Politics, and Colonization, 1558-1625', in *Origins of Empire*, ed. by Canny, pp. 55-78; Loades, *Elizabethan Navy*, pp. 112-13, 137-42, 148-54.

40 On trading companies, see K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1957); Janice E. Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 10, 31-33, 35, 38-40, 59-68; Gaastra, 'War, Competition, and Collaboration'; Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundation of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Philip J. Stern, "'Bundles of Hyphens'?: Corporations As Legal Communities in the Early Modern British Empire', in *Legal Pluralism and Empires, 1500-1850*, ed. by Lauren Benton and Richard J. Ross (New York: New York University Press, 2013), pp. 21-47. On colonial authorities and imperial governance, see Canny, ed., *Origins of Empire*, especially Chapters 6-10, 13, and 16-17; Bowen, Mancke, and Reid, ed., *Britain's Oceanic Empire*, especially Part 2.

41 Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); John R. Young, 'The Scottish Parliament and the Politics of Empire: Parliament and the Darien Project, 1695-1707', *Parliaments, Estates & Representation*, 27 (2007), pp. 175-90; Andrew MacKillop, 'A Union for Empire? Scotland, the English East India Company and the British Union', *Scottish Historical Review*, 87 (2008), pp. 116-34; George K. McGilvary, *East India Patronage and the British State: The Scottish Elite and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tauris Academic, 2008); Douglas Watt, 'The Company of Scotland and Scottish Politics, 1696-1701', in *Scotland in the Age*



therefore, are best conceptualised together as an essentially composite organisation, comprising many agendas and interests.

Yet, over the early modern period, this organisation became increasingly coordinated. As Alan James argues in his chapter on the writings of Walter Raleigh, and as noted briefly above, this has often been retrospectively interpreted as the first stirrings of a later age of imperial power, and it is important for us to avoid such anachronism, to eschew the Whig narratives which originated in the nineteenth century and assumed parliamentary and naval supremacy were Britain's birth-right. Early modern attempts to express a naval ideology, like Raleigh's, were contingent on current political circumstances and also on the authors' personal career, rather than expressing any maritime national 'spirit'. Nevertheless, Britain's rulers did seek to exert more control over their seafaring subjects and were increasingly successful in this design. Whereas Tudor and early Stuart monarchs had possessed some ambitions along these lines, only with the turmoil of the mid-seventeenth century did there emerge a government with both the will and the capability to pursue a more aggressive policy. The Navigation Act of 1651, reissued by Charles II in 1660 and again later, was a specific measure intended to challenge Dutch trading success, but it also encapsulated a vision of a joined-up maritime empire under the direction of the central government: initially an English one which sought to exclude everyone else, but becoming more British over time.<sup>42</sup> A similar vision is apparent in the measures taken later in the seventeenth century, and early in the eighteenth, to force Britain's American colonies to accept new and more restrictive definitions of privateering, and to suppress piracy.<sup>43</sup> In both cases

*of Two Revolutions*, ed. by Sharon Adams and Julian Goodare (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 211-30.

42 Davis, *English Shipping Industry*, Chapter 14; J. E. Farnell, 'The Navigation Act of 1651, the First Dutch War, and the London Merchant Community', *Economic History Review*, 16 (1963), pp. 439-54; Michael J. Braddick, 'The English Government, War, Trade, and Settlement, 1625-1688', in *Origins of Empire*, ed. by Canny, 286-308 (pp. 294-6); Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 157-9, 171-6.

43 Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), Chapter 3; Lauren Benton, 'Towards a New Legal History of Piracy: Maritime Legalities and the Myth of Universal Jurisdiction', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23 (2011), pp. 225-40; Douglas R. Burgess, *The Politics of Piracy: Crime and Civil Disobedience in Colonial America* (Lebanon, New Haven: University Press of New England, 2014); Margarette Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society, 1680-1730* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Matthew Norton, 'Classification and Coercion: The Destruction of Piracy in the English Maritime System', *American Journal of Sociology*, 119 (2014), pp. 1537-75; Matthew Norton, 'Temporality, Isolation, and Violence in the Early Modern English Maritime World', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 48



these measures provoked resistance, evasion, and conflict, but even with their limitations they represent some realisation of the British government's ambitions. Those ambitions rested on a new perspective on Britain: the idea that it was a maritime nation.

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We argued at the beginning of this introduction that Britain did not begin the early modern period as a quintessentially maritime nation, or with a widespread perception that it was one. Only with the economic, social, and political developments outlined above did this 'maritime-ness' appear, and it brought with it not just a growing belief that Britain was inherently maritime, but that this was a preordained and natural state of affairs. This shift occurred on several interconnected levels. The political agenda and legitimacy of Britain's rulers was underpinned by claims that they were sovereigns over the 'British seas', a maritime region of indeterminate but implicitly capacious extent. Initially these represented separate, and sometimes competing, English and Scottish claims, but with the Stuart dynasty these were fused, and infused with the more direct Scottish approach.<sup>44</sup> As Rebecca Bailey discusses in her chapter, Charles I took particular interest in enforcing this sovereignty, both in practical naval strength through the 'Ship Money' fleets, and in the popular representation of this activity in printed and material culture. In the same way as Shakespeare had, and 'Rule Britannia!' later would, Charles and his supporters appealed to history for precedents, such as King Edgar, supposedly master of a grand Saxon navy. Edgar appeared alongside many other historical examples in legal texts and poems which asserted the king's claims, and more prominently as the figurehead of the king's grandly decorated new flagship, the *Sovereign of the Seas*. The interregnum governments, after they had overthrown Charles I, upheld the same principles of sovereignty, and they were embraced again by Charles II after his restoration to the throne.<sup>45</sup> In the later seventeenth century, as Philippa

(2014), pp. 37-66; Mark Hanna, *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570-1740* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Rebecca A. Simon, 'The Problem and Potential of Piracy: Legal Changes and Emerging Ideas of Colonial Autonomy in the Early Modern British Atlantic, 1670-1730', *Journal for Maritime Research*, 18 (2016), pp. 123-37.

44 Fulton, *Sovereignty of the Sea*, Chapters 1-5; David Armitage, 'The Empire of the Seas, 1576-1689', in Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, pp.100-24 (pp. 105-8).

45 Important legal texts originally written in Charles I's reign were printed during the 1650s: John Borough, *The Sovereignty of the British Seas* (London, 1651); John Selden, *Of the Dominion, Or, Ownership of the Sea*, trans. by Marchmont Nedham (London, 1652). There were also several



Hellawell shows in her contribution to this volume, these ideas of sovereignty also featured in the burgeoning scientific discussions coalescing around the Royal Society. Understanding of the natural world was positioned as a vital resource for enhancing the king's sovereignty over the sea.

Beyond the person and power of the monarch, the idea of Britain as a maritime nation developed a distinct personality, though never far detached from the ruling dynasty. Where Shakespeare had referred to England alone, and pictured it as a 'fortress' and a 'precious stone', other contemporary writers adopted the Latin name 'Britannia', with increasingly maritime connotations.<sup>46</sup> John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation*, published in 1577, portrays on its frontispiece two female figures beseeching Elizabeth for her naval protection.<sup>47</sup> For Dee, this concept remained closely associated with the queen: he was among the first to write of a 'British empire', by which he meant a universal Tudor monarchy across Britain and Ireland, and he also penned treatises supporting the queen's claims to maritime sovereignty.<sup>48</sup> In reality a British monarchy came not with the Tudors but their Scottish Stuart successors, and Britannia remained a recurring icon. Anthony Munday described how the pageants welcoming James VI and I to London in 1603 began first with 'The Shippe called the *Royall Exchange*', and then featured 'a fayre and beautifull Nymph, *Britania* hirselle', standing upon 'a Mount triangular, as the Island of *Britayne* it selfe is described to bee'.<sup>49</sup> Bailey, in her chapter, discusses the masque *Britannia Triumphans* in which Charles I himself played the leading role of 'Britanocles' when it was performed at court in 1638. The reign of his son, in

later writers on the same subject, who again often emphasised historical precedents, such as Robert Codrington, *His Majesties Propriety, and Dominion on the Brittish Seas Asserted* (London, 1665), and John Evelyn, *Navigation and Commerce, Their Original and Progress* (London, 1674). See also Capp, *Cromwell's Navy*, pp. 75-6, 83-5; Davies, *Kings of the Sea*, Chapter 8.

46 For example, William Camden, *Britanniae sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ et Insularum Adiacentum* (London, 1586). On Camden's work and its influence on later writers, see Robert J. Mayhew, 'William Camden (1551-1623)', in *Geographers: Biobibliographical Studies, Volume 27*, ed. by Hayden Lorimer and Charles W. J. Withers (London: Continuum, 2008), pp. 28-42.

47 John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Nauigation* (London, 1577).

48 William H. Sherman, "'This British Discovery and Recovery Enterprise': Dee and England's Maritime Empire", in William H. Sherman, *The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), pp. 148-200; Armitage, 'Empire of the Seas, 1576-1689', 105-8; Lesley B. Cormac, 'Britannia Rules the Waves?: Images of Empire in Elizabethan England', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 4 (1998), pp. 10-20; Ken MacMillan, 'John Dee's "Brytanici Imperii Limites"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 64 (2001), pp. 151-9.

49 Anthony Munday, *The Triumphes of Re-Vnited Britania* (London, 1605), sig. A4v-B1v.





1672, saw Britannia first appear on English coins, on the low denomination of farthing, therefore circulating to all levels of society. The same figure appeared on coinage throughout most subsequent reigns and, by the end of the eighteenth century, had acquired a trident (as well as songs about ruling the waves), thus intensifying the maritime association.<sup>50</sup>

Yet it was not just Britain, whether through its monarch or by itself, that was inherently maritime: it was increasingly believed that British people were natural seafarers too. This is particularly clear in the way that seafaring characters became commonplace in British culture. Claire Jowitt, in her chapter, explores the important role that the figure of the sea captain played in Elizabethan drama, just as she has previously examined how pirates were used both dramatically and politically in literature during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>51</sup> Colloquial stereotypes and terms for sailors like ‘tarpaulin’ and ‘Jack Tar’ appeared for the first time in the later seventeenth century, and acquired considerable importance thereafter.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, innumerable ballads about sailors and sea-travel circulated across the seventeenth century, celebrating the connections between seafarers, the navy, and the nation, a triumvirate which became ever more popular in the eighteenth century.<sup>53</sup> The experience of naval or imperial service and

50 For an example of the 1672 farthing see British Museum object number 1926,0817.164; on the development of this imagery more generally, see Katharine Eustace, *Britannia: Icon on the Coin* (London: Royal Mint Museum, 2016).

51 For her previous work on pirates, see Claire Jowitt, ‘Piracy and Politics in Heywood and Rowley’s *Fortune by Land and Sea* (1607-9)’, *Renaissance Studies*, 16 (2002), pp. 217-33; Claire Jowitt, ‘Scaffold Performances: The Politics of Pirate Execution’, in *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, ed. by Claire Jowitt (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp. 151-68; Claire Jowitt, ‘Rogue Traders: National Identity, Empire and Piracy, 1580-1640’, in *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge (Aldershot: Routledge, 2007), pp. 53-70; Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580-1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

52 Valerie Burton, ‘The Myth of Bachelor Jack: Masculinity, Patriarchy and Seafaring Labour’, in *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*, ed. by Colin Howell and Richard Twomey (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1991), pp. 179-98, at pp. 179-80; Margarette Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy: British Sea Power, 1750-1815* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 29-32; Land, *War, Nationalism and the British Sailor*; Joanne Begiato, ‘Tears and the Manly Sailor in England, c. 1760-1860’, *Journal for Maritime Research*, 17 (2015), pp. 117-133.

53 C. H. Firth, ed., *Naval Songs and Ballads* (London: Navy Record Society, 1908); Patricia Fumerton, ‘The Ballad’s Seaman: A Constant Parting’, in Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 131-52; James Davey, ‘Singing for the Nation: Balladry, Naval Recruitment and the Language of Patriotism in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Mariner’s Mirror*, 103 (2017), pp. 43-66. Many ballads concerning sailors and the maritime world can be found in the English Broadside Ballad Archive at <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>; see the introductory essay by Laura Miller, ‘Sea: Transporting England’, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/sea> (accessed 1 May 2019). See also

travel, by bringing together ever greater numbers of people from all over the British archipelago, also played an important role in developing a sense of ‘Britishness’ at multiple social levels, even while this did not subsume or obliterate local, regional, or distinct national identities.<sup>54</sup> Just as British people increasingly travelled by sea, or encountered objects that had done so, they were ever more likely to perceive the sea, seafaring, the navy, and the empire as central parts of British national life.

Even with this burgeoning nationalist culture, the idea of Britain, its rulers, and its people as inherently and distinctively maritime was profoundly shaped by international interaction. British discussions of seapower, as Alan James demonstrates in his chapter, were developed in response to European ideas: even claims to British maritime sovereignty were most often a riposte to Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Spanish writers – countries with whom Britain was both a trading partner and an imperial rival.<sup>55</sup> The fact that British writers moderated such claims from 1689 onwards out of deference to their new Dutch king shows just how much ideas about Britain’s maritime world were influenced by both the domestic and the international context.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, as Bailey discusses in her chapter, Charles I’s critics also adopted maritime topics and tropes, revealing the deep fissures that existed within the British political system.

Despite the best efforts of the government to prevent it, many British subjects served other empires, even in wars against Britain, while foreign sailors worked on British ships, naval and commercial, so that the cultural trope of British ‘tars’ must be set beside the much more complex reality of

Angela McShane, ‘Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15 (2011), pp. 105–37.

54 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (Yale University Press, 1992); Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 2011); John M. MacKenzie, ‘Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 9 (1998), pp. 215–31; Andrew MacKillop, ‘Europeans, Britons, and Scots: Scottish Sojourning Networks and Identities in Asia, c. 1700–1815’, in *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities Since the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Angela McCarthy (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006), pp. 19–47; John M. MacKenzie, ‘Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire’, *History Compass*, 6 (2008), pp. 1244–63; J. D. Davies, *Britannia’s Dragon: A Naval History of Wales* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013), Chapters 2–3; Kirsten Sandrock, ‘The Legacy of Scotland’s Colonial Schemes: From the 1620s until Now’, *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 41 (2016), pp. 231–46; Sara Caputo, ‘Scotland, Scottishness, British Integration and the Royal Navy, 1793–1815’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 97 (2018), pp. 85–118.

55 For introductions to the international debate on maritime ‘sovereignty’, see Fulton, *Sovereignty of the Sea*; Richard J. Blakemore, ‘Law and the Sea’, in *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds*, ed. Steve Mentz, Claire Jowitt and Craig L. Lambert (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), pp. 388–425.

56 For example Philip Meadows, *Observations Concerning the Dominion and Sovereignty of the Seas* (London, 1689).



an international labour market.<sup>57</sup> Several historians have emphasised that British identity was defined through interaction with certain imagined or encountered 'others', whether national, racial, or religious, and often from a position of vulnerability and fear rather than imperial dominance.<sup>58</sup> Other scholars, meanwhile, have highlighted the coexistence of (and sometimes conflict between) multiple layers of localised, cultural, and ethnic identities that could cut across imperial boundaries.<sup>59</sup> Britain's rulers and peoples may

57 Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic c. 1600-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Steve Murdoch, 'The Good, the Bad and the Anonymous: A Preliminary Survey of Scots in the Dutch East Indies 1612-1707', *Northern Scotland*, 22 (2002), 63-76; Andrew R. Little, 'British Seamen in the United Provinces during the Seventeenth Century Anglo-Dutch Wars – A Preliminary Survey', in *Trade, Diplomacy, and Exchange: Continuity and Change in the North Sea Area and the Baltic, c. 1350-1750*, ed. by Hanno Brand (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), pp. 75-92; Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Esther Mijers, 'A Natural Partnership? Scotland and Zeeland in the Early Seventeenth Century', in *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603-1714: The Atlantic Connection*, ed. by Allan I. Macinnes and Arthur H. Williamson (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 233-60; Jelle van Lottum, Jan Lucassen, and Lex Heerma van Voss, 'Sailors, National and International Labour Markets and National Identity, 1600-1850', in *Shipping and Economic Growth*, ed. by Unger, pp. 309-51; Esther Mijers, 'Between Empires and Cultures: Scots in New Netherland and New York', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 33 (2013), pp. 165-95; Esther Mijers, 'Scotland, the Dutch Republic and the Union: Commerce and Cosmopolitanism', in *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680-1820*, ed. by Allan I. Macinnes and Douglas J. Hamilton (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), pp. 93-108; Sara Caputo, 'Alien Seamen in the British Navy, British Law, and the British State, c. 1793-c. 1815', *Historical Journal*, Early View, available at <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X18000298> (accessed 1 May 2019).

58 Anthony Gerard Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race: The Representation of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (London: Louisiana State University Press, 1987); W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Harvard University Press, 1997); Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth Century British Culture* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World 1600-1850* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002); Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins, eds., *Black Experience and the Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Matar, *Britain and Barbary*; Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Morieux, *The Channel*.

59 Claudia Schnurmann, 'Atlantic Trade and Regional Identities: The Creation of Supranational Atlantic Systems in the 17th Century', in *Atlantic History: History of the Atlantic System, 1580-1830*, ed. by Horst Pietschmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), pp. 179-97; April Lee Hatfield, 'Dutch and New Netherlands Merchants in the Seventeenth-Century English Chesapeake', in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, ed. by Peter A. Coclanis (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), pp. 205-28; Eliga H. Gould, 'Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery', *American Historical Review*, 112 (2007),

have begun to appear and to think of themselves as British and as naturally and uniquely maritime, but only through continuous and contentious dialogues with each other and with the rest of the world.

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It is an exciting time to be a scholar of maritime history. Not only is there a vibrant research culture which extends beyond the confines of any particular field or discipline, there is a growing recognition that this subject has the potential to escape the narrow parameters which have previously dogged it, and with which it is still often caricatured. The story of human society's relationship with the sea has much to tell us about the global past, and the global present.<sup>60</sup> This is true of the maritime world of early modern Britain, just as it is of other maritime histories. The changes we have summarised briefly in this introduction, and which are explored in more detail in the following pages, transformed Britain and its place in the world. They changed the connections between Britain and other places and regions, through trade and empire, with both productive and destructive results. They changed the political structure in Britain and its empire, shifting the balance of power towards certain institutions (the crown and parliament) while also increasing the importance of some interest groups (primarily overseas merchants). They changed the very idea of what Britain is, and of what it is to be British.

They have also left us with a paradox. The well-established idea of maritime Britain with which we began, and which still persists today, emphasizes isolation, exceptionalism, and domination. The reality of Britain's maritime world, as it emerged across the early modern period, reveals a picture of connection, exchange, and interdependence. We hope that our book will contribute further to unearthing – or, in a more suitable metaphor, dredging up – this historical reality.

pp. 764-86; Colin Gordon Calloway, *White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Marsha L. Hamilton, 'The Irish and the Formation of British Communities in Early Massachusetts', in *The Irish in the Atlantic World*, ed. by David T. Gleeson (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), pp. 229-50.

60 For some ambitious and critical reflections on this point, see Maria Fusaro, 'Maritime History as Global History: The Methodological Challenges and Future Research Agenda', in Fusaro and Polónia, eds, *Maritime History as Global History*, pp. 267-82; Lincoln Paine, *The Sea and Civilization: A Maritime History of the World* (London: Atlantic Books, 2013), pp. 3-10; Sujit Sivasundaram, Alison Bashford, and David Armitage, 'Introduction: Writing World Oceanic Histories', in *Oceanic Histories*, ed., by Armitage, Bashford, and Sivasundaram, pp. 1-28.

