The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400–1800

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Introduction

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Introduction

Oceans in global history and culture 1400–1800: expanding horizons

Claire Jowitt, Craig Lambert, and Steve Mentz

A fourteenth-century Augustinian monk, John Mirk, thought the sea attracted evil, considering it a chaotic and violent place where devils did their work. He wrote of these marine devils, ‘They rearith wars: they makyth tempests in the sea, and drownyth ships and men’.¹ John’s ideas about the sea were not peripheral. Across the period of history the essays in this collection discuss, writers and commentators, as well as those traversing oceans, or whose livelihoods were based on extracting resources from the seas, frequently portrayed oceans and seas as dangerous spaces.² Ocean depth and seas’ sheer vastness have throughout history, challenged human abilities to safely navigate and exploit them, and even to conceptualize their extent and abundance.³ With 75 per cent of the globe covered by oceans, and while potentially hazardous, between the years 1400–1800 the seas provided seemingly limitless food and resources, and formed sea-lines for diplomatic contacts, trade, communication, and cross-cultural engagements. During the early modern period, the desire to exploit the resources of the sea – often expressed in overconfident and gendered terminology – was believed by many European rulers and polities to be crucial to their survival and enrichment. The very phrase ‘master the oceans’, often used by writers from this period of history, as well as about the ambitions of the age by later commentators, lays bare these imperial, colonial, and patriarchal assumptions. The period 1400–1800 is particularly pivotal in the development and articulation of European aspirations to exploit and understand oceans and seas, as well as control and own them, their flora and fauna, and the lands and peoples they connect.⁴ At the same time, non-European maritime nations and peoples, particularly from China and the Arab world had long-standing traditions of seafaring and distinctive maritime experience. Taken together, the essays in The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400–1800 seek to provide authoritative, fresh assessments of these traditions, as well as new understandings of the interconnections between them, in order to explore marine and maritime worlds in global contexts.⁵
For Europeans, the years 1400–1800 literally marked a *sea change* in the tenor and extent of marine and maritime engagements. Through advances in navigation, ship technology, and commercial organization, Europe’s burgeoning real-and-imagined ocean dominance permitted its polities and emerging nation states to expand their global reach. Nation building went hand-in-hand. Indeed, long before the development of modern digital technologies and systems, Europeans’ ambitions to explore and exploit the oceans were crucial to the development of the conception of a globalized, hence modern, world. Visions of the global have been essential to human thinking since antiquity as the Greeks sought to expand their *oikouméne*, but tangible globalization had to wait until the sixteenth century. Maritime expansion resulted in changes to the ways sovereignty through law was established, demands for better welfare for men (sic) at sea, and original ways of culturally representing the changing horizons and vistas that were opened. However, control over the sea never was and never could be secure, and violence and exploitation are the keystones of Europe’s maritime expansion. At any moment, mariners could find themselves fighting for survival either against forces of nature or against harmful human action. The aim to use oceanic presence to project cultural power was also part of colonial and imperial ideologies that enabled one culture or society to dictate over others. Dominance of the seas permitted European states and monarchs to project their power to faraway places with often devastating results.

This volume of 24 essays addresses aspects of human contact with and experience of the oceans across the globe in this transformative phase in seaborne activity by asking a number of inter-related research questions. How does access to oceans and waterways shape and impact cultures? How did seafarers and other members of maritime societies live and work? What advancements in shipbuilding occurred over this period? How did navigational instruments develop, and how did mariners use them on board ships? How did notions of the sea affect the material, visual, and textual cultures of the societies that had most contact with oceans? What can maps reveal about European expansion and ambitions? How did governments and rulers use the sea and ships to project power and convey splendour? What impact did the development of sea power have on a state’s fiscal and social structures? How did governments react to more complex trading relationships and interstate conflict that often produced diplomatic and legal problems? What role did privateering and piracy play in maritime economies and state rivalries, and how did this impact on the development of legal frameworks? As European powers expanded their global reach, what systems did merchants develop to handle longer and more expensive trading voyages, and what effects did this have on indigenous societies? These important questions are explored by a group of world-leading scholars at all career stages, with cross-cutting research specialisms in economic, social, political, legal, naval, and cultural aspects of marine and maritime studies.

Maritime trade created commercial networks, but as so often cultural exchange was the bedfellow of economic contact. The commercial links between the English port of Bristol and Seville, for example, led to a large English émigré community of merchants. Links between Bristol traders and the Casa de Contratación also led to the spread of knowledge of maps. English merchants such as Robert Thorne the Elder
and Robert Thorne the Younger pored over the maps and accounts of navigational achievements of Spanish sailors in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In collaboration with Dr John Dee and Sebastian Cabot, they started to formulate ideas as to how England might extend its reach to new lands by exploiting the seas to the north, lands outside the purview of the Treaty of Tordesillas, whereby the Pope had reserved for the Iberian nations the wealth and ownership of the New World. Bristol merchants had previously invested in so-called ‘voyages of exploration’, and John Cabot, Sebastian’s father, had sailed to North America in the 1490s. Trade brought the younger Thorne to Seville, but inhabiting such places developed his intellectual curiosity, which ultimately provided the impetus of the English voyages to Russia and the far north.

The experiences and intellectual curiosities of people like the Thorne merchants were one point on a journey that, for Western Europeans, began centuries earlier. Earlier merchants had also been attracted eastward in a search for new markets and riches. The rapid expansion of the Mongols in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries encouraged Western Europeans to meet them in order to create alliances against expanding Muslim powers. Rumours circulated around Europe of Prester John, a mythical and wealthy Christian ruler in Africa who might aid Western Europe in its struggle against Muslim states. In 1246, a Franciscan friar Giovanni di Plano Carpini journeyed to the Mongol court, under instruction by Pope Innocent IV, in order to create an alliance, and after his return he wrote his *Historia Mongalorum*. A further Franciscan friar, William of Rubruck, soon followed Carpini, and he too wrote an account of his travels. In combination, these works provided detailed descriptions of the character of the Mongols, their beliefs and ways of life, and other cultural practices. Marco Polo, perhaps the most famous late medieval traveller, also operated within the commercial world of the Mediterranean. His father and uncle were traders in Constantinople and before Marco’s famous journey to Cathay (China), they had attempted to venture east to find what lay at the end of the Silk Road. Polo’s travel narrative was not only widely disseminated but was important to late medieval Europeans because he describes in great detail Chinese cities and their trades, and compares them with European cities so readers could conceptualize the scale and richness of China.

The potentially violent nature of the sea, however, was never far away from the minds of mariners or the communities that faced or interacted with the sea. In medieval England, for example, churches often featured images of ships as a votive device. Some of these images depicted Noah and the flood, but many reflected the importance of the sea to local communities. Ian Friel, for example, has pointed out that Haddan Hall in Derbyshire, located 50 miles away from the nearest important estuary, features a wall painted in the 1420s to show St Nicholas calming the sea and rescuing shipwrecked mariners. Most likely, such images were produced to reassure people who might have either already travelled by sea for the purposes of pilgrimage or were considering such a journey. Medieval ship-naming practices generally favoured the use of saints’ names, no doubt intended to ease the minds of seafarers who looked to divine protection as they voyaged.

The sea was also important as a marker of national identity. Andrew Lambert argues that only a few places developed into what he calls ‘Seapower States’, and that
Athens, Carthage, Venice, the United Provinces, and Britain constructed sea power as part of their national identities, not just because of their naval strategy. Sometimes external threats impelled ‘Seapower States’ to create powerful navies that underpinned the creation of seaborne empires, which then provided the capital to sustain and further develop maritime infrastructure. National culture became infused with images, words, and artefacts borrowed from maritime activities. ‘Seapower States’, Lambert argues, constantly redefined themselves, usually against other powers; those sea powers that failed to adapt lost their ‘sea identity’. Their formation and expansion in early modern Europe represents an important shared narrative in many of the chapters in this book.

The collection is structured as four interlocking parts, ‘Historiography and the Premodern Sea’, ‘Material Seas’, ‘Social and Political Seas’, and ‘Cultural Seas’. Some chapters provide an authoritative overview of key topics, providing readers with an understanding of critical debates and terms, and the major shifts in historiography, while others offer new research through in-depth examinations of important topics designed to set agendas for future study. They unite, however, in being written by world-leading experts in their respective fields, including informative bibliographies relating to the topic or theme under discussion, and in communicating their insights in concise but comprehensible language.

Part I: Historiography and the premodern sea

Part I of The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400–1800 begins with a number of essays that provide broad overviews of the late medieval and early modern sea, and how seas were understood and experienced. In the collection’s opening essay, Susan Rose shows that, in the late medieval period, the sea was vital to English ambitions during a time of dynastic struggles with France. As Rose points out, in 1430, the writer of the Libelle of Englyshe Polycye advised English rulers to dominate the sea to ensure the wealth and safety of their subjects, and 40 years later John Fortescue argued that English monarchs ought to keep a powerful navy to guarantee the defence of the realm. Yet, in considering the familiar image of the dangerous and deadly sea, we must be careful not to overlook human intimacy with, and dependence on, the great waters. As Rose emphasizes, in Europe the average distance from the sea of any location is 212 miles, whereas in Asia it is 469 miles and in Africa 419 miles. For many Europeans, encountering the sea and sea travel were regular events. Moreover, although frequently described as a hazardous space where ship-to-ship violence was commonplace, there is evidence to suggest that seafarers of different nations shared cultural traits and language, and possibly a sense of community. Robbery at sea certainly happened, but piracy did not always entail acts of severe violence. Indeed, work undertaken by Craig Lambert has identified over 500 English ports, or coastal and riverine settlements, in this period, which ensured that hundreds of communities remained connected to the sea in a variety of ways. Maritime communities have been the focus of a number of important studies. Kenneth Andrews and Geoffrey Scammell have written extensively on mariners and in doing so have done much to reconstruct seafarers’ working lives. Other scholars, such as...
Cheryl Fury and David Loades, have examined the social and economic institutions that developed to support mariners, while also showing that seafarers were embedded within their communities rather than itinerant absentee members of society. Military and ideological struggles led to exploration and conquest in parts of the world that Western Europeans only partially and imperfectly understood from the writings of travellers such as Polo, Carpini, and Rubruck.

The struggle against Islamic powers was one of the reasons why Portuguese seafarers started voyaging down the West African coast. In the late Middle Ages, ancient texts preserved by Muslim translators circulated once more in Western Europe. In 1410, Ptolemy’s Geography was reproduced in Latin. Christopher Columbus drew heavily on Ptolemy’s ideas, and because the latter underestimated the size of the earth, it led to a mistaken belief that the distance from Western Europe to China was much shorter than the reality. Lincoln Paine’s contribution to this volume contextualizes the European age of expansion and ‘discovery’ by pointing out that much of what Europeans learned about indigenous societies came from European pens, often written in triumphalist terms. Yet, looking at this from local perspectives Paine argues that, for many Africans and Asians, Europeans were just another sort of outsider that came to their land to trade. Indeed, we should remember that as Columbus set out on his voyage in 1492, sophisticated maritime cultures had been developing and operating around the world for centuries, while others were in the process of formation. By the fifteenth century, other societies, including the Islamic world, were significantly more advanced than Christendom in their knowledge of Asia. In the fourteenth century, Muslim travellers, such as Ibn Battuta, had journeyed over Africa, and Arab traders were active in the Indian Ocean long before the Portuguese arrived.

Nonetheless, European contacts with peoples from Asia and the Americas had disastrous consequences. European diseases spread through indigenous societies at alarming rates, and Portuguese voyages along the West Africa coastline helped lay the foundations for the Atlantic slave trade and plantation system. In the Americas, the Spanish conquistadors established the encomienda system, which placed indigenous villages under the control of Spanish settlers who could exact tribute in the form of indentured labour. Many Native Americans had to work in mines or to undertake agricultural labour under appalling conditions. The Spanish Crown made some effort to limit or ban the abuses that the encomienda system produced, but the chronic shortage of labour in the wake of massive loss of life to diseases and to exploitation meant the system continued in some form for many years. There were also cultural exchanges as Europeans traversed the globe. Portuguese and Indian artists blended creative styles and traditions; Portuguese seafarers both brought back pieces of decorative furniture from India to Europe and transplanted European material culture to Asia. Indian words enriched European languages, and the colonial and imperial reach of the Portuguese into territories on both sides of the Atlantic enabled them to introduce African styles of music to Brazil.

The technical challenges of navigating the world’s oceans loomed large as early modern Europeans encountered alien seas, straits, and ports. Scholarship on the history of navigation and ships’ instruments is vigorous, from the pioneering work of E. G. R. Taylor and David Waters to the more recent contributions of Margaret E.
Schotte, including her chapter in this volume. As Alistair S. Maeer’s contribution makes clear, however, the rise of national schools of marine cartography influenced the maritime expansion of European powers during this period. The rise of cartographic institutions in Lisbon, Seville, and Amsterdam was followed in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by what Maeer terms the ‘Thames School’, based in London. This English tradition drew particularly on the example of the Dutch, especially the influential work of Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer, whose *De Spieghel der Zeevaerdt* (1584) Anthony Ashley translated into English as *The Mariner’s Mirrour* (1588). *The Mariner’s Mirrour*, whose title still graces the Society for Nautical Research’s quarterly academic journal, would become a central text in English cartographic history. The Thames School that emerged in the 1590s brought together expertise from private merchant companies, unlike the nationalized academies of Spain and Portugal. Designed for practical and mercantile purposes, English charts demonstrated the consequences of a significantly private development of cartographic expertise.

While oceans were often portrayed as dangerous and mysterious places, being able to exploit the sea was fundamental for most states that faced them. Seas provided food, they enabled communities to connect, they permitted states to project power, and access to oceans facilitated trade. Moving goods by water in this period was far cheaper than transporting commodities by land, and overland journeys could be just as dangerous as sea travel. Overland trade also played an important role in the economic life of most states, as many port towns were connected to large hinterlands by networks of traders. Yet even ports like Southampton, which had a large overland trade system, shipped most of their goods by volume by sea. Most research on England’s maritime trade between 1400–1800 focuses on overseas commerce. Before 1565, this focus is to be expected, because only after port books were introduced in 1565 did the Crown start to systematically document coastal trade. Even so, coastal and inland trade are often ignored aspects of commercial activity, even though of central importance to most ports. Where we have evidence of coastal trade, such as the information found in the port books and other English archival records, it is clear that by total voyage numbers it dwarfed overseas trade, although in value it might not have been as important. Gary Paul Baker’s contribution to this volume focuses on a detailed assessment of coastal trade in King’s Lynn and Plymouth. His examination of King’s Lynn reveals how coastal trade was an important dimension to English maritime activity, and his case study of Plymouth shows that English maritime trade had a regional character. King’s Lynn was well situated to link with the important trade in commodities, such as Newcastle coal, which formed an essential part of the coasting networks centred on London. On the other hand, Plymouth shippers, along with other West Country merchants, were beginning to exploit the ‘Atlantic World’ by focusing on overseas trade. Their close proximity to the salt and wine producing areas of France meant that Plymouth shippers focused on those markets.

Coastal trading patterns evident in England were mirrored in the activities of shipping of many other nations. French ports, for example, had complex interconnecting trade systems. When the Portuguese entered the Indian Ocean, they not only found an advanced and intricate system of oceanic maritime commerce, but also a sophisticated coastal trade network that linked cities such as Cochin with Calicut.
Mukherjee’s chapter documents this history. Polities that existed inland or upstream connected to wider worlds through large waterways. Even places such as landlocked Yunnan used the shells of sea snails as currency. As Mukherjee argues, the complexity of local and global links that formed around waterways, seas, and oceans has led historians to investigate distinct areas as individual units of trade or cultural exchange. The increasing interest in Atlantic History or Pacific History as sub-disciplines within maritime history demonstrates how historians have started to analyse the connections that existed within defined geographical boundaries shaped by the oceans that particular regions faced. 40 Mukherjee’s chapter builds on these theories in order to contextualize global maritime history over distinct periods. Voyages of exploration integrated maritime commercial connections and made them more global in outlook. Mukherjee is careful to remind us, however, that even when global trade systems started to develop, smaller economic connections remained important. Thus, Ottoman trade links in the Indian Ocean coexisted with the Portuguese commercial networks that were also developing in the sixteenth century.

Mukherjee’s discussion of the Ottoman trade is important, and it is vital to remember that they were also a Mediterranean maritime power. Ottoman expansion through the Mediterranean enabled the extension of their seaborne trade links. The Ottoman conquest of Egypt in the early sixteenth century, for example, improved their access to the Red Sea and from there to the rich trades of East Africa and India. Prior to the defeat of the Mamluks, the Ottomans had absorbed the Byzantine Empire which ensured they dominated the Black Sea and provided a key element in the trade networks that linked (by sea and land) the Far East with the West. The Portuguese were well aware of the position of the Ottomans in this trade, and their voyages to the Indian Ocean allowed them to cut out Ottoman intermediaries and increase profits. Ottoman expansion was also a concern for Western European states, especially those like Spain that had interests in the Mediterranean. The Battle of Lepanto (1571) reduced the threat from Ottoman maritime expansion but they still posed a naval threat to their rivals. 41 Some Western European states saw advantages in maintaining cordial relationships with the Ottomans. England and France both secured trading rights with the Ottomans, and in 1592 Elizabeth I granted a charter to the Levant Company which gave it rights of trade, and allowed the queen to maintain diplomatic contacts with the sultan; here trade went hand in glove with diplomacy. The Ottoman Empire attracted men such as William Strachey (Secretary of the Virginia Colony in 1609) and George Sandys (Colonial Treasurer of the Virginia Company) which provided them with knowledge of Eastern cultures, which in some ways prepared them for the encounters they would have with indigenous peoples from the New World. 42

Rhoads Murphey’s contribution to this volume examines Ottoman naval organization, a subject often ignored in Eurocentric historiography. 43 Rather than an all-powerful centralized empire, Murphey argues that the size and complexity of Ottoman lands meant that controlling them was largely aspirational. Nonetheless, as Murphey demonstrates, the Ottomans had officers that ensured they maintained a strong presence at sea, and that trade networks between various states across Europe continued to function and be subject to regulation. Murphey also analyses first-hand
accounts of Ottomans who sailed the seas to show the experiences of early modern seafarers who sailed the Mediterranean and linked the East with the West.

Part II: Material seas

Part II of The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400–1800 focuses on material histories of the sea and seafaring. Isaac Land’s chapter aims to examine how ports, as opposed to ships, provided opportunities to display splendour and how they housed inhabitants capable of taking on multiple socio-economic roles. As the first points of entry for merchants or government representatives, ports were often places in which newcomers learned about the customs and protocols of the host nation, and where the latter could display power and pomp. Rulers were often concerned about the disruptive tendencies of port inhabitants and, as Land argues, they became places for social experiments. Ports were also spaces where divergent cultural and religious practices coexisted. Many Asian coastal towns housed mosques next to churches and temples. Yet we should not see port towns as isolated because, as Land demonstrates, there were many similarities of cultural practices between coastal and inland towns, which often existed in symbiotic relationships. Overland trade flowed out of port towns to provide hinterlands with foodstuffs and other goods, and members of maritime communities often invested in property and contributed money to local educational and charitable organizations. Land argues that we ought to apply the concept of the ‘paramaritime’ much more widely than its original focus on Brittany. In other words, maritime societies are pluralistic and multifaceted, with their inhabitants taking on different roles. Indeed, as Daniel Vickers has shown, most fisher folk also practised farming. Likewise, Leanna Brinkley’s research on the shipmasters and merchants of Hull, Southampton, and Bristol provides examples of shipmasters working as innkeepers, while many other maritime workers found additional employment as ‘tipplers’, a role that involved working in alehouses. In 1593, Robert Lymbery, a mariner from Poole, Dorset, bequeathed a shop to his daughter, Thomasine Rackey, showing that he had developed a wide business portfolio.

Fishing remained of paramount importance across the whole period of 1400 to 1800, and it is likely that the late medieval fishing industry was the largest employer of maritime labour. Women were central to the functioning of maritime and fishing communities, often outnumbering men and playing an important role in the fishing industry. Shelia Sweetinburh’s chapter in this volume shows that, in pre-Reformation England, fishing formed an important part of the economic and cultural fabric of coastal communities. Moreover, her case study of the Bedyll family gives an important insight into how those involved in fishing made detailed and careful arrangements to pass on their wealth and equipment down the family to their heirs.

Thorne the Younger’s connection to Spain reminds us that, in terms of oceanic exploration and exploitation, Iberian powers dominated European rivals. This period also marks an intellectual expansion across Europe. Starting with the Crusades, Northern Europeans learned about the cultures of the Mediterranean and the Levant. They brought home technological ‘discoveries’ in the form of improvements
in ship design. There is ample valuable scholarship on the development of shipping technology, but much of it focuses on single geographical areas, cultural approaches to shipbuilding such as those of the Vikings, a single type of ship, or vessels used in specific branches of maritime activity.\textsuperscript{52} Richard W. Unger’s contribution to this volume builds on this extensive literature in order to place changes in ship construction in global contexts. In so doing, he demonstrates how European ship design melded different shipbuilding practices into full-rigged ships. As Europeans sailed to the Indian Ocean and New World, they adopted the building practices of those regions, including types of ships perfectly evolved for sailing the monsoon seas. As the Portuguese ventured into the Indian Ocean, the vast scale of existing commerce, combined with a need to project power and keep cargoes safe, led to the creation of ever-larger vessels. Ultimately, the need to combine cargo holding with naval power and speed, led to the creation of the galleon, a vessel that became the mainstay of the Spanish and Portuguese seaborne empires. Subsequent newcomers to the Indian Ocean would build on the experiences of the Portuguese to develop even larger and more impressive infrastructure to support the building and repair of shipping. By 1660, for example, the Dutch had largely supplanted the Portuguese in South East Asia by developing substantial shipping networks underpinned by a large and rapid increase in shipping tonnage.\textsuperscript{53}

Defence of the nation through using naval power was always something rulers of maritime states had to take seriously. It is no surprise, therefore, to find a wealth of research on naval operations, especially those conducted by England against her European competitors.\textsuperscript{54} As John B. Hattendorf argues in his chapter, in the late Middle Ages Northern European states did not really develop navies. English monarchs, for example, relied on the requisition of merchant ships to achieve their naval aims. Nevertheless, medieval England could put to sea fleets of over 700 ships, which would transport armies of over 14,000 troops and tens of thousands of horses.\textsuperscript{55} Late medieval Northern European states were proficient in naval operations too. France developed the Clos des Galées, a shipyard that could house, supply, and support the use of galley operations in the Channel, while England created a system of armatas (heavily armed fleets comprising oared and sailing vessels) to sweep the Channel and undertake coastal raiding.\textsuperscript{56} As Hattendorf suggests, however, command of the sea was beyond the capabilities of most late medieval states, although as Rose notes in her chapter, late medieval Venice certainly possessed a sophisticated naval infrastructure that enabled it to establish some form of control over the Eastern Mediterranean. Hattendorf argues that the idea of true naval power links to one key political development between 1480 and the end of the seventeenth century: the development of the fiscal-bureaucratic state that permitted Northern European polities to create naval infrastructure and invest in new gunpowder weapons. These states oversaw a massive increase in naval tonnage from 200,000 in 1570, to 800,000 by 1700.

Simply possessing a suitable vessel did not allow seafarers to exploit and explore the oceans, mariners also needed to be able to find their way at sea. Most coastal shippers would rely on pilotage by using geographical features as markers, and drawing upon their memory of tides and currents.\textsuperscript{57} Combined with the use of line and lead to test the depth and check changes in the sea bottom, this technique was sufficient
to get a shipmaster from King’s Lynn to Newcastle. Once seafarers began to make longer voyages, however, they needed to use navigation, the art of taking ships from one place to another out of sight of land. The early voyages made by Portuguese mariners down the coast of West Africa, for example, kept close to the shore, but on these expeditions, shipmasters and pilots used instruments to help guide their ships. In the 1450s the Venetian explorer Alvise Cadamosto, working under the patronage of the Portuguese, used instruments. In 1488, when Bartholomew Dias swept out into the Atlantic in an attempt to round the Cape of Good Hope, he needed to be able to chart his position without the aid of visible landmarks. To sail further distances, mariners such as Cadamosto and Dias would have used dead reckoning by taking a record of the speed and direction of their ships at regular intervals, but they would also have used instruments such as the compass, astrolabe, and cross staff which allowed them to measure latitude. Each degree of latitude is approximately 69 miles, and a pilot would use a fixed object to calculate how many degrees latitude they were north or south. Using instruments required a rudimentary knowledge of mathematics. The types of instruments, and how technology was used on ships are key topics, and Schotte’s contribution to this volume advances debates on the types of instruments that were available to early modern seafarers. Her focus on the dissemination of publications that taught mariners how to use instruments, and how these books improved the skills and training of seafarers, adds important new dimensions. Schotte demonstrates that as seafarers’ literacy rates improved, navigational books were written and published in greater numbers. Mariners used such texts to share existing or new knowledge, and to pass on skills to apprentices. Just as importantly, scholars could now write about different types of instruments from scientific and philosophical viewpoints, ensuring an even wider circulation of their work.

As nation states and polities developed larger navies, underpinned and maintained by bigger and more complex bureaucratic and fiscal systems, rulers used ships to display power and status, as well as projecting splendour and opulence. Historians have taken great interest in the decorative carvings on ships. The best-surviving examples are probably the carvings that adorn the Vasa (or Wasa) in Sweden. Andy Peters has recently combined his experiences as a skilled artisan with that of an historical researcher to analyse the decorative nature of European ships over the period 1680–1780. Benjamin W. D. Redding’s work in this volume builds on this to demonstrate how warships became symbols of power and prestige. Redding contextualizes his arguments within a broad timeframe and geographical scale. He begins by discussing the heraldic paintings that adorned Henry V’s ships in the early fifteenth century, before examining European ship decorations from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. He also provides enriched biographies of vessels to illustrate the use of ship decoration as proxies for power and prestige. State warships were indeed projectors of power and authority and they were valuable assets. When the Dutch captured the Royal Charles in 1667 in the raid on the Medway and sailed the ship home to the United Provinces in triumph, they turned the ship into a tourist attraction and often showed it to foreign dignitaries; England’s symbol of pride became a source of embarrassment. Now housed at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, in 2012 the stern piece from the Royal Charles was temporarily brought back to Greenwich
after more than 300 years for an exhibition at the National Maritime Museum ‘Royal River: Power, Pageantry, and the Thames’.

Part III: Social and political seas

Part III explores social and political dimensions of life at sea. The chapter by Craig Lambert shows that shipmasters played important roles in their localities. Possessing a socio-economic status that placed them firmly in what we would now call the entrepreneurial middle class, shipmasters would often own their vessels, which meant they provided a source of employment for fellow residents, and contributed to the socio-cultural life of the communities in which they lived.63 The shipmaster John Condy founded a chantry in St Mary’s Church in Sandwich in 1345, and acts of piety were a practice that many shippers likely followed.64 Lambert’s case studies of the Swetman and Swanley families show how these entrepreneurial shippers made sure that their ships and wealth were passed down through the generations. Maritime communities were also multifaceted places, with some shippers predominantly focused on coastal trade, while others sailed to overseas markets in search of greater wealth.

Traditional accounts of sea history and seamanship emphasize men at work, both as labouring sailors and as expert practitioners in areas such as navigation, cartography, ship design, or naval warfare. The historical record, however, provides substantial evidence of women in these apparently all-male spheres. As Lisa Norling has demonstrated about a slightly later period in her study Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720–1870, the global maritime economy integrated women.65 Women were on board early modern ships both legitimately and openly, as the wives of officers or as passengers, and in more clandestine or cross-dressed roles. Famous eighteenth-century female pirates such as Anne Bonney and Mary Read might have been exceptional, but other cases of women who cross-dressed and sailed the high seas appear in English records, as Margarettte Lincoln’s chapter in this volume demonstrates. Female sailors were not the norm, but they were also far from unknown. In seaport towns, when large numbers of men were often away from shore, women were deeply involved in economic and public affairs. As Lincoln details, women often emerged into prominence and even public power when men were absent or lost at sea. The legal system adjusted to the increased power of women, who were often accorded power of attorney to handle family business when men were away.

An area that medieval and early modern law was especially interested in was piracy and privateering, and distinguishing between them. One complicating factor in legal cases was that parties were often from different states, and English common law courts were frequently at odds with the admiralty courts. National laws were commonly unsuitable. Law merchant, a set of customary not codified practices, might be applied, as opposed to law maritime. In many cases, the main legal response to piracy was reprisal. In practice, the authorities often permitted the plaintiff to launch a private action against natives of the community that had attacked or injured them. States also used privateering as a way of waging war by damaging an enemy’s commercial activities. Ships would be licensed to attack vessels from perceived enemy nations and
allowed to keep the spoils. A complicating factor in privateering was that shipmasters would take letters of marque from foreign powers, which their home governments might not recognize. As Elaine Murphy’s chapter in this volume demonstrates, discriminating between piracies and privateering was not easy. For example, while some English rulers were keen to rid coastal waters of pirates, they were happy to invest in voyages that plundered the ports and shipping of other nations. Privateering had always played a role in the economics of port towns, and governments used it to wage proxy wars, or sent large numbers of ships to the sea to claim prizes from opposing nations in times of war. At other times, colonial ambitions connected to piracy and privateering. Humphrey Gilbert’s and Walter Raleigh’s attempts to found a colony in North America, under patent granted by Elizabeth I, were party influenced by the fact that this location could provide ideal bases for raids against Spanish overseas territories. Piracy and privateering played important roles in the expansion of English, and more generally European, overseas ambitions. That expansion led to profound changes in both legal practices and cultural representations. In the Indian Ocean, for example, the Portuguese introduced a system of cartaz, requiring all ships to carry official passes or they could be seized. Such practices were a new phenomenon in the Indian Ocean. As Claire Jowitt has shown, the figure of the pirate was also increasingly used in English culture to announce the nation’s arrival on the global stage, to mark shifting political and commercial alliances, and as a frame through which writers offered veiled critiques of state policy.

Control of the sea, whether imagined or real, combined with the expansion and increasing complexity of maritime trade, encouraged governments to introduce legislation to regulate business conducted at sea. The development of law merchant and law maritime has interested scholars for decades. In the early twentieth century, Reginald Marsden produced a collection of documents chosen to illustrate the legal issues relating to piracy, restitution, and to show how the existing common laws of England were not sufficient to deal with maritime cases. In the 1970s, scholars such as Timothy Runyan began to examine the Northern European law codes known as the Rolls of Olérion by examining how these rules influenced the developing admiralty court. Robin Ward’s research focuses on the legal responsibilities of shipmasters through an examination of English Chancery court cases, while also charting the rise of the admiral’s court in the fourteenth century. Other scholars have taken a multi-national approach better to understand how law merchant and law maritime developed, usually in response to interstate conflict either in war or through trade. In his chapter in this volume, Richard J. Blakemore expands the analysis to cover a longer period and wider geographical scope to assess the development of law merchant and law maritime. He argues that there were two traditions in Europe: one centred on the Mediterranean, and a different one in Northern Europe. These consisted of written law codes that sought to regulate trade at sea by providing a set of rules for traders to follow but, as Blakemore shows, courts often failed to keep to these procedures. He argues that as European powers started to expand in the sixteenth century, political tensions and rivalries helped to shape the development of national maritime law.

As Europeans undertook longer and more distant voyages, they encountered problems of scurvy and other health related matters. Initially Europeans dealt with these
problems in an ad hoc way. Crews on the early voyages by Vasco da Gama to the Indian Ocean would usually replenish supplies through fishing, engaging with indigenous peoples, or hunting. However, voyages could end through shipboard disease due to lack of either crew or threatened mutiny. The work by P.E.H. Hair and J. D. Alsop on voyages to Guinea shows that death was frequent among the crewmembers of those voyages, and while their work focused on shipboard cultures, a shared experience among seamen must have been the constant threat from disease. Fury has previously analysed developments in maritime health care and, in this volume, she focuses on how voyages to the Indian Ocean introduced new problems that demanded new solutions. Fury points out that a voyage from England to the East Indies took some two to three years, and the mortality rates on these early voyages from disease and accidents could be as high as 60 per cent. As Fury argues, the need to protect crews gradually encouraged the East India Company to introduce a health care program by carrying surgeons on voyages and improving diets. Other practices, such as refreshing points, which da Gama had used much earlier, were formally planned in a voyage itinerary. Such practices led to lower mortality rates and ensured that the East India Company found ready volunteers for these arduous voyages.

The early modern expansion of the Iberian states encouraged other nations to follow in their wake. The English voyages to Russia heralded English ambitions to develop deep-sea commerce and find a route to the East. An increasingly outward-looking merchant class funded these voyages. English merchant companies had existed in the late Middle Ages, especially in important ports such as London and Bristol, but over the sixteenth century these companies became larger and more sophisticated. Merchants such as Sir Thomas Gresham of London borrowed methods of banking from Antwerp, which he used to improve investment and borrowing practices. With the creation of the Muscovy Company, and later the East India Company, English merchants developed the practice of joint-stock companies. Investors funded voyages, and each would receive a proportion of the profits made from the voyage, linked to the initial sum invested. Merchants companies such as those forming in large cities such as London soon became central to expansion, and developed complex networks of intermarriage and patronage, which allowed members to control and limit access to them in order to control their monopoly in some overseas trades. Edmond J. Smith’s chapter in this volume examines the experiences of English trading companies during an important phase of their development. Focusing on their trading privileges as a way to understand how the merchant members of these companies developed a deep understanding of international markets and how knowledge of trade networks enabled companies to build and supply fleets of ships, companies then used their vessels to project power through control of maritime spaces.

Scholars of the relationship between the Americas and Europe in the early modern period often focus on the impact of New World goods such as tobacco on European markets. Edward McLean Test, in his contribution to this volume, places his attention on the more humble but at the time equally exotic potato. Noting that the potato was associated with sexuality and, in particular, with European ideas about eroticized Native American women, Test explores the cultural symbolism of the potato in historical accounts from the early sixteenth century and from John
Fletcher’s seventeenth-century play *The Sea Voyage*. Extending the work of his recent monograph, *Sacred Seeds*, which explores the cultural meanings of tobacco, amaranth, guaiacum, and the prickly pear cactus – all American plants that powerfully influenced early modern European culture – Test’s essay evokes a time during which the familiar potato was itself exotic, erotic, and symbolically charged.79

**Part IV: Cultural seas**

The final section of *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400–1800* shifts focus from material history to the cultural work of late medieval and early modern oceans and seas. In addition to the material changes produced by transoceanic expansion, the early modern period also saw a transformation in imaginative engagements with marine and maritime environments. Sea travel, and even the underwater world, have been staples of imaginative literature since antiquity, and Greek second-century CE classical texts such as Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Sea Gods* and Oppian’s *Halieutica* (‘Of Fishing’) were both popular and influential during the Renaissance. Early modern epics such as Luís Vaz de Camões’ *Os Lusíadas* adapted classical forms to early modern subjects, in this case the first voyage of da Gama’s fleet from Lisbon to India at the end of the sixteenth century. For poets as well as sailors, transoceanic travel stimulated rapid changes. Europeans’ exploration of the Americas, and the pioneering of much faster sea routes between Europe, Africa, and Asia, transformed how Europeans understood their place in the watery globe. The mutual entanglement of new geographic knowledge and the dynamic expansion of literary forms generated a diverse array of texts, interpretations, and ways of understanding the relationship between humans and oceans.

The collection’s essays on the imaginative and cultural sides of human experience of the watery globe explore long-term developments in human acculturation to the maritime element. While travel to the Americas and increased economic engagements with Africa and Asia drove radical changes in early modern sea literature, those developments built on a rich foundation of medieval ideas about the sea and maritime travel. Looking more directly at the literary culture of early modern maritime Europe, meaningful changes appear in cultural understandings of heroism and of human agency, and the sorts of characteristics and behaviours required for successful voyaging. The rise in England of the public stage as an important site of secular literary culture shows itself in the changing place of the sea in dramatic culture. Music also served as an important element of maritime culture, both in historical practice and literary reception. Finally, narratives of both historical and fictional shipwreck and maritime disaster provide a micro-generic laboratory in which the changing meanings of the sea and human culture appear writ large. These essays are united in their attention on the radical changes that early modern maritime expansionism generated, as they explore key long-term trends in human responses to, encounters with, and understandings of the sea.

In terms of environmental history, the re-integration of the ecosystems of the Americas and Afro-Eurasia after the voyages of Columbus and many others has a claim to being the most transformative – and arguably the most catastrophic – event
in modern human history. The arrival in the Americas of Afro-Eurasian diseases, bacteria, plants, and animals changed formerly isolated ecological systems. The classic work of environmental history explaining this period of rapid ecological change is Alfred Crosby’s *The Columbian Exchange*, and one of the most ambitious recent extensions of this thesis appears in Simon Lewis and Mark Maslin’s *The Human Planet*. Both the pioneering environmental historian and the twenty-first-century earth systems scientists build their analyses of the modern global world system atop the rapid expansion of trade and travel in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The maritime globalization that followed the early voyages of Columbus, da Gama, and circumnavigators from Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastián Elcano, to Sir Francis Drake, remade the economies and ecologies of the early modern world.

Beyond the historical realities of life in port towns and at sea, the early modern imagination teemed with examples of oceanic thinking. The past decade in the early modern literary humanities has seen a surge in ‘blue’ or oceanic criticism that attempts to write a history of the human cultural and physical engagement with oceanic spaces. Two influential collections edited by Bernhard Klein, *Sea-Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (2003) and *Fictions of the Sea: Critical Perspectives on the Ocean in British Literature and Culture* (2002), and two monographs focused on William Shakespeare, Steve Mentz’s *At the Bottom of Shakespeare’s Ocean* (2009) and Dan Brayton’s *Shakespeare’s Ocean* (2012), brought oceanic perspectives to early modern English literary studies. The work of Josiah Blackmore in Portuguese studies, especially *Manifest Perdition: Shipwreck Narrative and the Disruption of Empire* (2002), has also been a major influence on this emerging body of scholarship. More recent studies include Mentz’s *Shipwreck Modernity* (2015), Christopher Pye’s *The Storm at Sea* (2015), Lowell Duckert’s *For All Waters* (2017), and a growing body of work in and beyond premodern literary studies. The surge of interest in oceanic literature and culture promises more scholarship in the offering, including connections with maritime scholarship in Victorian, modernist, and especially post-colonial periods.

While much of the scholarly interest in maritime culture has followed the transoceanic expansion of European cultures during the early modern era, earlier historical periods have attracted interest as well. In many ways, the modern articulation of sea history emerged from Mediterranean studies, in particular the magisterial work of the French annaliste historian Fernand Braudel. The combination of micro- and environmental history in *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II* (1949) created a template for later historians and literary analysts. Braudel’s model also influenced scholarship exploring medieval Europe’s relationship with the sea, in particular Sebastian Sobecki’s *The Sea and Medieval English Literature* (2007). Mathew Boyd Goldie, who has also collaborated with Sobecki on a special issue of the journal *Postmedieval* entitled ‘Our Sea of Islands’ (2016), contributes to this volume by exploring how literary writers understood the emotional impact of proximity to the sea. Treating medieval versions of the ‘oceanic feeling’ in works by Geoffrey Chaucer, Isidore of Seville, and anonymous works including the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, Goldie demonstrates that the sea represented dread, fear, and melancholy to many English writers. In the symbolic case of tempests and storms, the ocean also conjures images of disorder and chaos. These negative emotions, however,
also share space with visions of the sea as a site of bliss or the unification of contraries. Goldie’s analysis of the multiple meanings of the premodern sea provides a suggestive base from which to consider how these significances did and did not change in later historical periods.

Turning more directly to the early modern period that is this book’s primary focus, Dan Brayton’s essay on drama and the sea extends his own work on Shakespeare into a larger consideration of ‘Jack Tar’, the ‘blue water mariner’ in early modern literature.85 Contrasting English, Portuguese, and Dutch literary figurations of *homo pelagicus*, or oceanic man, Brayton identifies the ocean-going sailor as a key figure in European literature during this period. From Thomas More’s ‘vagrant philosopher Raphael Hythlodaeus to Camões’ epic portrait of da Gama, literary figures during the sixteenth century arrived in oceanic context. Brayton focuses in particular on the collective image of labouring sailors in Dutch poet Joost Van den Vondel’s ‘Het Lof der Zeevaardt’ or ‘The Praise of Seafaring’. This international and transnational figure enables Brayton to provide richer context for the (relatively few) sailors found in Shakespeare’s works, and it allows him to suggest connections with the rise of sea-fiction in later periods.

The threatening and mobile nature of the marine environment and the technical aspects of maritime work developed into a literary fascination with oceanic exploits. While the full extent of the British Navy’s imperial and cultural power was only wholly realized in the eighteenth century, the early modern period saw the elevation of maritime figures such as Drake into national heroes. Building on previous work, *The Culture of Piracy 1580–1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (2010) and *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589–1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (2003), Jowitt here considers the relationship between figures like the English circumnavigators Drake and Thomas Cavendish and cultural and literary expressions of ‘heroic’ conduct, from Christopher Marlowe’s Tamburlaine to Shakespeare’s Macbeth. She also extends her reading of the interplay between historical and literary heroism at sea in a new reading of the sailing ship itself as a national hero, using examples from a variety of art forms including pageant, pictures, and jewellery in her essay in this collection. In parallel with Brayton’s notion of Jack Tar as global citizen, Jowitt identifies European, especially English, strains of, and on, the maritime heroic tradition.

As Jowitt’s essay suggests, *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400–1800* explores creative practices and forms beyond the page and stage with which artists responded to sea exploits. As James Seth outlines in his contribution to this volume, music and maritime labour and practices were intimately intertwined. In addition to ballads and musical theatre with oceanic settings and maritime themes, shipboard music was a tool to focus and intensify human labour. Whistles and songs punctuated shipboard tasks, and the unity of a crew was to an extent made possible by shared music. While the precise origins of ‘shantying’ culture is unknown, and much of the better evidence of it survives for the post-1800 period, Seth’s account demonstrates that sea-music was an essential element of shipboard life much earlier. Combining explorations of catches, ballads, work songs, and the evidence of professional musicians and performers on early modern ships, Seth’s essay traces the evolution and re-invention of music on board ships during this period.
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Travelling by sea is a risky business, and the rapid increase in transoceanic travel during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries generated catastrophic losses. Shipwreck has been a core element in literary narratives since Homer, and when early modern writers and sailors considered their risks and disasters, they often used classical models to understand their situations. Building on his 2015 book *Shipwreck Modernity: Ecologies of Globalization 1550–1719*, Mentz’s contribution to the collection surveys recent trends in shipwreck studies through comparative readings of three historical wrecks – the *Sea-Venture* on Bermuda in 1609; the Portuguese great galleon *S. João* off southeast Africa in 1552, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s *Squirrel* in the North Atlantic in 1583. These wrecks appear in dialogue with three literary treatments: the shipwreck that opens Virgil’s *Aeneid*, Odysseus’ wreck in *The Odyssey* Book VI, and the *Book of Jonah*. Taken together, these six versions of shipwreck display its multiple valences, as disaster, opportunity, revelation, and caution. Mentz’s treatment of these multiple historical and literary shipwrecks provides models for critical engagement with a wider variety of materials about disaster at sea.

Oceanic conclusions and future currents of study

The variety and reach of materials and methods contained among these two dozen chapters defy easy summary. Ranging from cartography to poetry and decorative design to naval warfare, across vast temporal spaces and several hundred years of history, the essays provide overlapping frameworks into the current state of research in, and approaches to, maritime history and culture. Essays themselves frequently offer or suggest areas for further research. However, we summarize here some tentative conclusions about the emergent shape of the field. First, once-traditional and often Euro-chauvinistic depictions of the ‘conquest’ or ‘mastery’ of the ocean during the early modern period no longer remain critical orthodoxies, as maritime scholarship seeks to challenge these underlying assumptions. No one disputes the massive consequences and accomplishments of European navigators in the era of Columbus, da Gama, and Magellan, but greater awareness of the sophistication, wealth, and maritime expertise in Asia, the Arab world, and the Americas has lessened the once-familiar air of triumphalism. In fact, environmental histories of early modern oceanic expansion tend to replace triumph with tragedy, in that the so-called ‘Columbian Exchange’ that reintegrated Afro-Eurasia with the Americas led to massive depopulation and death on a global scale. Some earth systems scientists even point to the early modern period as the dawn of the modern Anthropocene, in which humanity first begins to alter the global biosphere in ways with lasting repercussions.

A second major challenge that an ocean-centric perspective provides to traditional historiographical and cultural studies emerges from the ways that sea travel cuts across national and imperial borders. As Atlantic History emerged in dialogue with the increasing importance of the North Atlantic alliance after the Second World War, so global maritime perspectives speak to today’s emerging transnational, and perhaps in some ways post-national, perspectives of global capitalism and commerce. Environmental changes, too, suggest urgent needs for a global rather than narrowly nationalistic perspective. Turning to sea history and the cultures of the sea speaks to
these larger intellectual and social projects, and to emergent transnational and inter-
sectional cultures of activism.

As maritime studies continue to grow in the twenty-first century, efforts to speak
beyond national borders and against older views of ‘mastery’ and imperial domina-
tion will continue to shape academic discourses. More work is required, and seems
very likely to emerge, in Native American, Asian, African, and Polynesian maritime
cultures and practices, and in gender and queer studies. As it becomes clearer that the
supposedly eternal ocean has changed over planetary and even historical time, histo-
ries of the sea are coming into view.88 These histories tend to be less Eurocentric and
often less anthropocentric as well. The long entanglement of human labours and ideas
with the alien environment of saltwater has many new stories to impart, and many
changes to make to our existing ways of thinking about our histories, our cultures,
and our planet.

Notes

1 Quote from I. Friel, ‘How Much Did the Sea Matter in Medieval England (c.1200–c.1500)?’
p. 181.

2 See, for instance, P. Edwards, Sea-Mark: the Metaphorical Voyage, Spencer to Milton, Liverpool:
Liverpool University Press, 1997; B. Klein, ed., Fictions of the Sea: Critical Perspectives on the
Ocean in British Literature and Culture, London: Routledge, 2002; S. Mentz, At the Bottom of
Shakespeare’s Ocean, London: Continuum, 2009; D. Brayton, Shakespeare’s Ocean: An Ecocritical

3 For an assessment of different cultures’ engagements with the sea, see J. Mack, The Sea: A

4 See L. Benton, A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400–1900,

5 See A. Strathern, ‘Global Early Modernity and the Problem of What Came Before’, Past &
Present, 238/suppl_13, 2018, pp. 317–44.

6 See for instance M. Fusaro, ‘Maritime History as Global History: The Methodological
Challenges and Future Research Agenda’, in M. Fusaro and A. Polónia (eds), Maritime
History as Global History, St John’s, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic
and S. Sivusandaram (eds), Oceanic Histories, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017,
pp. 1–28.

7 As Charlotte Runcie has argued, until the twentieth century, female sailors were rare, and
the history of women and the sea was often a history of women of the shore. See C. Runcie,
Salt on Your Tongue: Women and the Sea, Edinburgh: Canongate, 2019. However, historians
are challenging these assumptions. Some of the most notable works exploring the role
of women in maritime enterprises include: M. S. Creighton and L. Norling, Iron Men, Wooden
Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins
Appleby, Women and English Piracy, 1540–1720: Partners and Victims of Crime, Woodbridge:

8 R. C. D. Baldwin, ‘Thorne, Robert, the Elder and Younger (c.1460–1519 & 1492–1532)’,
in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online version. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/27347,
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9 As editors, we are aware of the critical debate concerning this term and its implication in colonial history, and the ongoing work to decolonize global history. For a useful recent summary, see C. Holmes and N. Standen, eds, ‘Global Middle Ages’, *Past & Present*, 238/ suppl_13, 2018.


18 www.medievalandtudorships.org.


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43 See, for example, J. B. Hattendorf and R. W. Unger, eds, *War at Sea in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003, which has no chapter on Ottoman naval power.


48 TNA PROB 11/82 fol. 33v.


58 Parry, The Age of Reconnaissance, p. 91.

59 L. G. Carr Laughton, Old Ship Figure-Heads and Sterns, London: Milton, Balch and Company, 1925.


64 Clarke et al., Sandwish, pp. 62–3, 81.


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85 Brayton, Shakespeare’s Ocean.
86 Crosby, The Columbian Exchange.
87 Lewis and Maslin, The Human Planet.

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Mann, C. C. (2011b) 1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created, London: Granta.


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