

**The Shaping of ‘West Barbary’:
The Re/construction of Identity and West Country Barbary Captivity
Volume 1 of 2**

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Abstract

Divided into three parts, this thesis maps a cultural history of Barbary captivity; concentrating on the early 17th century leading up to the Civil Wars; an aspect of British-Muslim contact within which the West Country is overrepresented in the archives. However, this wealth of material contrasts sharply with the paucity of popular and public-facing representations. Situating these accounts within wider contexts, this thesis investigates this contrast, exploring the social, cultural, emotional and economic impact of Barbary captivity upon understandings of place and identity. The first part examines representations of being taken captive, the terror and distress of West Country inhabitants, and the responses and concerns of the authorities. The on-going failure to protect the region and its seafarers exacerbated this distress, producing marginalised geographies of fear and anxiety. The second part explores the themes of memory and identity, arguing that how captives were remembered and forgotten had implications for localised and national identities. For those held in Barbary, families and communities petitioned and undertook ransom collections to redeem the captives, providing reminders to the authorities and appealing for wider remembrance as part of the processes of Christian compassion. Nevertheless, the majority of captives were ‘forgotten’, neither ransomed nor leaving their individual mark within the historical record. This part concludes with a discussion of the role of memory in managing and articulating the ‘trauma’ of captivity. The final part examines mobile and fluid identities, concentrating on returning captives and Islamic converts. Early modern theories of identity situated the humoral body of the captive as susceptible to ‘turning Turk’, contributing to wider negotiations of national, ethnic and religious identities. Cultural anxieties were preoccupied with the ill-defined borders of the geographically displaced material body, generating mutable, hidden and shameful identities. In conclusion, sites of cultural trauma are produced, indicated by the subsequent silence regarding this aspect of localised history.

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Introduction

‘The greate danger threatened by those mercieless Turkes to this State, especially to these westernne partes thereof’

Localising Early Modern Barbary Captivity¹

Localising Barbary captivity involves engaging with both the broader context of early modern Christian-Muslim relations, and the regional specificity of the West Country, within which Cornwall had a particular place-based distinctiveness. This introduction will situate the thesis within existing scholarship, and give an overview of the geographic, historical, ecological and representational contexts within which both the practices and representation of the ‘greate danger’ and its repercussions to the ‘western partes’ occurred.

Situating Scholarship

Christian-Muslim cross-cultural contact

Several academic studies have highlighted the cross-cultural interaction between Christian Britons and Muslims during the early modern period. This scholarship includes Matar’s *Islam in Britain 1558 – 1685* (1998), *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (1999), *Britain and Barbary, 1589 – 1689* (2005), *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (2003), *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578 – 1727* (2009); MacLean’s *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (2004) and his edited collection, *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the*

¹ Letter from John Hakewill, mayor of Exeter, to the mayor of Plymouth, 14 February 1632. Plymouth and West Devon Record Office 1/360/33.

East (2005); MacLean and Matar's *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558 – 1713* (2011); Goffman's *Britons in the Ottoman Empire 1642 – 1660* (1998) and *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (2002) and Birchwood and Dimmock's edited collection, *Cultural Encounters Between East and West, 1453 – 1699* (2005). These works have identified and explored the many facets of contact between Christian Britons, the Islamic North African peoples of Morocco and the so-called 'Barbary States', as well as Muslims from the wider Ottoman Empire. Such scholarship has therefore considered the subsequent influence of Islam on 16th and 17th century England. Muslim 'Turks' and 'Moors' not only visited as ambassadors and emissaries, but also traded and worked alongside Britons in ports and harbours, as many European Christians were engaged in diplomacy and trade in North Africa. Christians also travelled throughout the vast Ottoman Empire to seek employment and other opportunities, exploring Muslim worlds, and recording their perspectives and experiences.

However, this contact was not always welcomed. Both Christians and Muslims were taken captive by pirates and privateers operating from places such as Spain, France and England as well as North Africa. Despite the multi-faceted nature of these activities – indeed some of the most feared pirates were Christian - the term 'Barbary captive' has come to refer to those Christian Europeans, Catholic and Protestant – and, after their formation in 1648, Quakers - who were captured and held primarily in North Africa.² Christian captives were held for ransom, exchanged for Muslim captives, sold on or kept as slaves, often dying in captivity. Some captives converted to Islam; 'turned Turk'; becoming 'renegades' – joining the infamous Barbary corsairs who had initially captured them. Occasionally captives did return home, after being ransomed or managing to escape. Although there have been attempts to assess the

² Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford and Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010) 2 – 3. For Quaker captives, see: Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Quaker Slaves in Algiers, 1679–1688,' *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 54 (7) (1982): 301– 312, and his 'Quaker Captives in Morocco, 1685 – 1701,' *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 55 (1983): 67 – 79. With thanks to Dr. Justin Meggitt.

amount of captives taken, this is not possible. Accounts inevitably vary: nevertheless, all concur that a substantial number of captives were taken from throughout Europe.³ Nor are numbers useful in the context of this thesis: what is of relevance here is that the threat of captivity was significant.

Surviving material culture reveals traces of those who were captured: state papers and official documents, personal letters, captivity narratives, ballads, poems, appeals for ransoms, charitable aid and church collections, illustrations, memorials, popular pamphlets, as well as a few dramatic representations. Many reveal an ambivalent relationship with Islam, demonstrated through scholarship examining popular culture depicting ‘Turks’ and ‘Moors’, particularly dramatic representations: notably Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570 – 1630* (2003) and his introduction to *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (2000); Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans In Early Modern England* (2005); Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579 – 1624* (2005); Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London’s Theatre of the East, 1576 – 1626* (2003); Hutner, *Colonial Women: Race and Culture in Stuart Drama* (2001); McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (2006) and Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (2002). However, although the figure of the renegade features prominently within dramatic accounts there are relatively few representations of captivity itself, contrasting with the frequency of references within the historical record. Scholarship has tended to focus on the renegade, with articles such as MacLean, ‘On Turning Turk, or Trying to: National Identity in Robert Daborne’s *A Christian Turn’d Turke*’ (2003); Matar, ‘The Renegade in English 17th Century Imagination’ (1993) and his ‘Turning Turk: Conversion to Islam in English Renaissance Thought,’ (1994); Vitkus,

³ See, for example, Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500 – 1800* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), and his ‘Counting European Slaves on the Barbary Coast,’ *Past and Present*, 172 (2001): 87 – 124.

‘Turning Turk in *Othello*: The Conversion and Damnation of the Moor’ (1997) and Fuchs, ‘Faithless Empires: Pirates, Renegades and the English Nation’ (2000). Probably due to the scarcity of dramatic representations of captivity, little cultural or literary analysis has been applied specifically to Barbary captivity.

Barbary captivity has been studied historically; such as Clissold’s *The Barbary Slaves* (1977); Davis in *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500 – 1800* (2003); and Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (1983) and ‘Merchant Friars in North Africa: The Trade in Christian Captives’ (1987); although with a European perspective. Similarly, Barbary captivity is incorporated into Colley’s *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600-1830* (2002): however her focus is post-17th century, with reference to Barbary captivity tending to be late 17th century.

Captivity has inevitably been included in literature on the early modern contact between Britain and Islam, such as Matar (1998, 1999, 2005) and MacLean and Matar (2011), and within scholarship on Barbary piracy, including Lane-Poole, *The Barbary Corsairs* (1890); Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests and Captivity in the 17th Century* (2010); Lamborn Wilson, *Pirate Utopias: Moorish Corsairs and European Renegades* (2003); Fisher, *Barbary Legend: War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa, 1415 – 1820* (1957), in addition to historical studies of piracy such as Senior, *A Nation of Pirates: English Piracy in its Heyday* (1976); Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government 1616 – 1642* (1994) and Jowitt’s *The Culture of Piracy, 1580 – 1630, English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (2010), and her edited volume, *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder 1550 – 1650* (2006). However, as with the histories of the Ottoman Empire and the Barbary Coast, for example, Wolf, *The Barbary Coast: Algiers under the Turks, 1500 – 1830* (1979); Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: 1300 – 1600* (1973) and Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300 – 1650: The Structure of Power* (2002, 2008), Barbary

captivity has more of a supporting role within the dominant narrative. With regards to specific localised attention, the 1631 raid on Baltimore in Ireland has been examined; in Barnaby's article 'The sack of Baltimore' (1969) and Ekin's vivid 'non-fictional' account, *The Stolen Village: Baltimore and the Barbary Pirates* (2006); as have those on Iceland in 1627, known as 'The Turkish Abductions', or *Tyrkjaránið*.⁴ Ólafur Egilsson, an Icelandic priest who returned in 1628, wrote an account of his abduction, published in Iceland and, later, in 1641, in Denmark.⁵ *Tyrkjaránið*, unlike Baltimore, has been marked with remembrance within Icelandic culture.⁶ Both the Baltimore and Iceland raids were undertaken by the same Dutch renegade captain: Jan Janszoon van Haarlem, or Murat Reis the Younger, an ex-captive who converted to Islam soon after capture in 1618.⁷ At the time of van Haarlem's capture, the cities of Salé and Rabat, on opposite sides of the Bou Regreg River where it meets the Atlantic, were functioning as linked piratical bases, semi-autonomous from Morocco. Salé broke away in 1619, declaring itself independent, with van Haarlem becoming the First President and Grand Admiral of the independent corsair Republic of Salé for the duration of its existence - 1619 to 1627. Recognised by some states, and benefiting from being a walled city with a gated harbour, the Republic managed to repel attempts to reclaim sovereignty by the Sultan of Morocco, Zidan Abu Maali. He gave Janszoon the title of acting Governor of the area in 1624, but the Republic continued, paying the Sultan in exchange for his non-involvement. After the

⁴ Angus Konstam, *Piracy: The Complete History* (Oxford and New York: Osprey Publishing, 2008) 91.

⁵ Ólafur Egilsson, *Ferðasaga síra Ólafs Egilssonar* or *Reisubók síra Egilssonar* [Story of Rev. Ólafur Egilsson or The Travel Book of the Rev. Olafur Egilsson] (Iceland: after 1627); Ólafur Egilsson, *En Kort Beretning om de Tyrkiske Søe-Røveres onde Medfart og Omgang, da de kom til Island I Aaret 1627 og der borttogte over 300 Mennesker* [A Brief Report of the Turkish Sea-Rovers who with wicked speed took over 300 people when they came to Iceland in the year 1627, my translation] (Copenhagen: 1641).

⁶ Andrew Evans, *Iceland* (Bucks: Bradt Travel Guides, 2008) 215; Gunnar Karlsson, *Iceland's 1100 Years: The History of a Marginal Society* (London: C. Hurst & Co: 2000) 143 – 148; Sigurdur Gylfi Magnusson, *Wasteland With Words: A Social History of Iceland* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010) 160 – 161; *Atlantic Jihad*, dir. Þorsteinn Helgason, 2003, National Film Network, 25 Nov. 2011, <www.nationalfilmnetwork.com>. With special thanks to Dr. Sarah Moss.

⁷ Peter Lamborn Wilson, *Pirate Utopias: Moorish Corsairs and European Renegades* (New York: Autonomedia, 2003) 93 - 141; Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 12.

Sultan's death in 1627 until 1666 Salé rejoined Rabat as the Republic of Bou Regreg, or the Republic of the Two Banks. As the archival sources demonstrate, there was a related increase in the depredations of the corsairs from this area during the 1630s.⁸

Critical attention has been given to English language Barbary captivity narratives, American and British, identified as conforming to certain generic conventions highlighted later in this thesis. Narratives have been edited and reproduced, such as Milton's *White Gold: The Extraordinary Story of Thomas Pellow and North Africa's One Million European Slaves* (2004); with critical introductions, in Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives* (1999); and Vitkus, *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (2001). Further discussions are made by Matar in 'English Accounts of Captivity in North Africa and the Middle East 1577-1625' (2001) and Colley, 'Going Native, Telling Tales: Captivity, Collaborations and Empire' (2000). Notably, Snader provides useful analysis of several late 16th and 17th century narratives in *Caught Between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* (2000), approaching them as literary texts, whilst Benhayoun, in *Narration, navigation, and colonialism: a critical account of seventeenth- and eighteenth- century English narratives of adventure and captivity* (2006), situates narratives constituted through seafaring within literal and conceptual spaces of displacement, navigation and transition. However, a critical approach to the variety of representations of Barbary captivity via the methodologies and concerns of cultural history, with which this thesis engages, has not been undertaken.

⁸ Saïd Mouline, 'Rabat-Salé, Holy Cities of The Two Banks,' *The City in the Islamic World Vol. 1*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond (Leiden, NL: Koninklijke Brill, 2008) 652; Konstam, *Piracy* 90 – 91; Wilson, *Pirate Utopias* 71 – 92; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics: Seafaring and naval enterprise in the reign of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 160 – 183.

Mapping Barbary Captivity

The geographies of Barbary captivity are inevitably located within the Islamic territories of North Africa: the kingdom of Morocco and the Ottoman Regencies of Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli. However, approached as a cultural history, Barbary captivity needs to be situated and interpreted within the imagined and experienced locations extending beyond these geographies, via the unstable borders and expanding territories of the Ottoman Empire, or the routes and destinations of the sea lanes and trade networks of a burgeoning mercantile age. Engaging with the circulation of goods, bodies, texts and ideas, symbiotic with ‘discovery’ and travel, this study therefore intersects with, and aims to contribute to, the rich scholarship concerning the practices and representations of early modern travel and interactions overseas, mobility, exploration, trade and seafaring. Examples are numerous, including in the edited collections of Kamps and Singh’s *Travel Knowledge: European “Discoveries” in the Early Modern Period* (2001) and Sebek and Deng’s *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 – 1700* (2008); Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World 1550 – 1800* (2008); Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (2000); Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (1997); Parker, *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age, 1400 – 1800* (2010); Pope, *Fish Into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (2004); Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (2008); Jowitt, *Voyage drama and gender politics 1589 – 1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (2003); Fuller, *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage: English Narratives in the Age of European Expansion* (2008) and Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (2008). This varied body of scholarship contributes to the understanding proposed within this thesis that the imagined and lived sites of Barbary captivity are multiple, fluid and flexible: neither firmly bounded nor clearly demarcated, spaces of liminality and

mutability, whether textual or geographical. Such plurality, which incorporates transcontextual, conceptual and spatial aspects of representation and meaning-making, enables an unpicking of the identities and places which both inform, and are informed by, the discursive representation of Barbary captivity. This thesis, which focuses upon regional domestic identities and locales, will incorporate such cultural-geographical ideas regarding meaning, place and identity.

Localising Barbary Captivity

Whilst the impact of Barbary captivity reverberated throughout the British Isles, the historical record demonstrates the incidents and associated anxieties had a particular geographic resonance. Beyond the capital, the vulnerable geography and economic reliance upon sea-faring occupations of ‘the western partes’ during a period of increased overseas contact and maritime traffic, ensured that domestic sites of Barbary captivity were clustered around the ‘West Country’.

Despite the *bagnios* of North Africa and the galleys of the Ottoman Empire being populated with many captive Britons who were taken from, or originated within, the West Country; and the frequent reports of the ‘Turks’ menacing the coast of the ‘western parts’ and the ‘western men’ of the Newfoundland fishing fleet, there is a lack of scholarship localising early modern Barbary captivity. Notable exceptions are Gray’s 1990 article in the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* ‘Turks, Moors and the Cornish Fishermen: Piracy in the Early Seventeenth Century’, and Bhanji’s 1996 booklet *Barbary Pirates off the Devon Coast*. Fox’s *Pirates of the West Country* (2007) includes a chapter discussing Barbary pirates: more generally, local histories of the West Country make reference to Barbary pirates, and

occasionally their captives, but tend not to go beyond a few sentences.⁹ Similarly, reading captivity within *popular* representations of the West Country – from the early modern period to the present day - frequently involves engaging with a ‘textual haunting’: an unsettling presence which is marginal, off the page, or under erasure.¹⁰ It is at these points where this thesis intervenes and intersects with the existing scholarship. Furthermore, in identifying the disparity between the abundance of archival material and the dearth of other representations concerning Barbary captivity and the West Country, a gap is opened within which this thesis is situated. It is therefore necessary to engage with a wider body of texts, accounts and scholarship in order to interpret and give meaning to the localised impact of Barbary captivity.

Whilst the ‘West Country’ is a term used throughout this thesis, understandings of what constitutes the ‘West Country’ – or the ‘South West’ – differ, due to historically variable spatial definitions and administrative boundaries. For example, Michael Drayton (1622) writes of ‘sixe our most Western Countries, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hamp, Wilt, *and* Summerset’, whilst under Oliver Cromwell’s Rule of the Major-Generals, 1655 – 1657, the South West was one of the regions of military administration; the first to be assigned; and consisted of Gloucestershire, Dorset and Wiltshire, as well as Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, perhaps closer to the modern ‘South West of England’.¹¹ Such definitions are deemed to be ‘artificial’

⁹ E. T. Fox, *Pirates of the West Country* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2007) 49 – 57. See for example, John Keast, *The Book of Fowey* (Bucks: Barracuda Books, 1987) 33; P. A. S. Pool, *The History of the Town and Borough of Penzance* (Penzance: Corporation of Penzance, 1974) 43 – 44; June Palmer, *The Letter Book of Thomas Hill, 1660 – 1661, Westcountry mercantile affairs and the wider world* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S. Vol. 51, 2008)164.

¹⁰ See: Mark Wigley, *The Architecture of Deconstruction: Derrida’s Haunt* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

¹¹ Christopher Durston, *Cromwell’s major-generals: godly government during the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) 21 – 31; Michael Drayton, ‘To My Friends, The Cambro-Britans,’ *Poly-Olbion: A Chorographical Description of All the Tracts, Rivers, Mountains, Forests, and other Parts of this Renowned Isle of Great Britain* (London: 1622); *The Complete Works of Michael Drayton, introductions and notes by the Rev. Richard Hooper* (London: John Russell Smith, 1876) xxxvi.

in the absence of solid cultural historical unity or identity.¹² Although it can be useful to consider the ‘informal’ understanding of the ‘West Country’, consisting of Devon and Cornwall and based on the kingdom of Dumnonia created after the Roman occupation, ‘the western partes’; frequently used in the contemporary documents; appears to be a flexible term referring to either Cornwall or ‘Devonshire’ or both – or extend further, incorporating Somerset, Bristol and Dorset.¹³ Whilst this thesis will primarily concentrate on Cornwall and Devon as the ‘West Country’, it will incorporate this more flexible understanding of the ‘western partes’.

However, in terms of this thesis, it is important to note these locations are not clearly bounded or demarcated. Sea-faring forms the contextual arena for Barbary captivity, and such coastal locations are literally ‘fluid’ and ambiguous: part of maritime trading networks producing both conceptual and experienced trajectories to other places. Designated port towns were subject to specific regulations by local, regional and centralised authorities, forming part of a network of social, economic and culturally interconnected and interdependent ports. Harbours – and their ‘hinterlands’ - are points of transaction and exchange, ‘global gateways’ as well as ‘windows’ to the ‘outside’ world.¹⁴ They are sites of both ‘departure’ and ‘arrival’ with multiple significations attached, such as opportunity and risk, existing as simultaneous fortified safe havens and points vulnerable to invasion. They form border zones, or ‘borderlands’, which Zartman (2010) describes as ‘the boundary in depth’, not so much places

¹² Martin Jones and Gordon MacLeod, ‘Regional Spaces, Spaces of Regionalism: Territory, Insurgent Politics and the English Question,’ *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, N.S. 4 (2004): 433 – 452.

¹³ See: Alan M. Kent, *The Theatre of Cornwall: Space, Place, Performance* (Bristol: Redcliffe/Westcliffe Books, 2010) 68; Susan M. Pearce, *The Kingdom of Dumnonia: Studies in History and Tradition in South-Western Britain A. D. 350 – 1150* (Padstow: Lodenek Press, 1978); Philip Payton, *Cornwall – A History* (Fowey: Cornwall Editions, 2004), particularly chapter four, ‘From Dumnonia to Cornubia’ 49 – 69.

¹⁴ Cátia Antunes, ‘Early Modern Ports, 1500 – 1750,’ *European History Online* (EGO) Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz, 25 Nov. 2011, <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/courts-and-cities/catia-antunes-early-modern-ports-1500-1750>>.

or events, but social processes.¹⁵ These are points where land and sea, the ‘domestic’ and the ‘foreign’, legality and illegality, meet, mingle and can become confused.

In addition, such sites may be associated with the ‘West Country early modern Barbary captive’, but considering this figure involves recognition that, inevitably, this identity is not solely constituted through the West Country and/or Barbary. A further complication and contradiction to ideas of geographical fixity when exploring concepts of identity is that ‘communities’ are not necessarily bounded geographically: instead forming their own, alternative networks. Therefore, whilst this thesis is localised and informed by regional specificity, it is also important to consider ‘alternative’ mappings which overspill from physical geographic borders. Useful scholarship in this area includes Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (2006); the essays in Halvorson and Spierling’s edited collection *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe* (2008) and those in Tracy’s *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-distance Trade in the Early Modern World 1350 – 1750* (1990); Yungblut’s *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (1996); Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550 – 1640* (2006); Palmer, *The Letter Book of Thomas Hill, 1660 – 1661, Westcountry mercantile affairs and the wider world* (2008); Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (2004); and Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama* (2009). These texts consider the complexities of defining, bounding and breaching community; the role of memory, social relations, trade, patronage, language and custom in constructing and binding communities; diasporic or mobile, disrupted and unsettled communities: sea-farers, ‘strangers’, the working poor, ‘masterless men’. This scholarship highlights tensions between a

¹⁵ I. William Zartman, ‘Introduction: Identity, Movement and Response,’ *Understanding Life in the Borderlands: Boundaries in Depth and in Motion*, ed. Zartman (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2010) 2.

bounded geographically-located community and the multiple networks of relations it produces, themes relevant to this thesis.

Discerning Regional Specificity

Alongside concepts of unbounded geographies and communities, however, regional specificity is important when mapping localised representations of Barbary captivity and considering their interwoven relationship with identity and place. Whilst regions have been constituted through geographical, administrative and legal borders, regional and localised *identities* are complex, related to selfhood and a *distinctive* sense of place – and should not be considered ‘peripheral’ and ‘residual’.¹⁶ As Green and Pollard (2007) state:

Regions are slippery, their definition varying with perspective and subject, and this kaleidoscopic quality makes them difficult to grasp historically. Yet regions seem to be a necessary part of people’s conception of the world around them. Regions provide a means to differentiate geographical areas and social associations at a level between the immediate locality and the nation. They are a necessary feature of scholarly efforts to organise knowledge of society past and present.¹⁷

Regional and localised perspectives taken by, for example, Adrian in *Local Negotiations of English Nationhood, 1570 – 1680* (2011); Jones and MacLeod, ‘Regional Spaces, Spaces of Regionalism: Territory, Insurgent Politics and the English Question’ (2004); Stoye, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (2002); and the edited collections in Royle’s *Issues of Regional Identity: in honour of John Marshall* (1998), are productive for several reasons. Historical and geographical cultural studies based on distinct localities provide a framework for comparative studies and microhistories, allowing for consideration of regional diversity or distinctiveness, and the exploration of relationships with

¹⁶ Adrian Green and A. J. Pollard, ‘Introduction: Identifying Regions,’ *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300 – 2000*, ed. Green and Pollard (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007) 8.

¹⁷ Green and Pollard 4.

other regions and/or the nation state.¹⁸ They enable place and space to be situated and particularized within the region, and the region within wider spatial, geo-political and social contexts, whilst giving the physical landscape ‘a role in social action’.¹⁹ For example, much of the historiography of the mid-century Civil Wars has examined ‘county communities’: useful to emphasise that ‘[d]ifferent regions and counties clearly experienced very different types of war’, thus revealing divisions, factions, and the distinct role of counties and regions within the conflict.²⁰ Cornwall, for instance, was noted for consistent Royalist loyalties, although allegiances were not necessarily unified or fixed, illustrated by the disquiet regarding Barbary captivity in the period prior to the Interregnum.²¹ This disquiet contributed to the Grand Remonstrance, thus complicating the notion of unified loyalties.

An important theme within this thesis is how localised representations of captivity can be situated within the wider contexts of emerging nationalism. Helgerson, in *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (1992), Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c. 1550 – 1700* (2000) and the essays in Grabes edited collection, *Writing the Early Modern English Nation: The Transformation of National Identity in 16th and 17th Century England* (2001), have all identified this period as a transitional time for the nation-

¹⁸ Sigurdur Gylfi Magnusson, ‘What is Microhistory,’ *History News Network* 2008, 10 Jan. 2012, <<http://hnn.us/articles/23720.html>>; Manchester Centre for Regional History, Manchester Metropolitan University, 10 Jan. 2012, <<http://www.hssr.mmu.ac.uk/mcrh/>>.

¹⁹ Green and Pollard 4.

²⁰ Peter Gaunt, *The English Civil Wars, 1642 – 1651* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003) 48. Also see: J. G. A. Pocock, ‘The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary,’ *The American Historical Review*, 104 (2) (April 1999): 496.

²¹ Mark Stoye, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State*, ed. Stoye (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002) 50 – 65, also published as ‘England No England, but Babel’: English ‘Nationalism’, Welsh and Cornish Particularism and the English Civil War,’ *The Historical Journal*, 43 (4) (2000): 1113 – 1128. Also see Mark Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994); Mary Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642 – 1660: a Social and Political Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933); Eugene A. Andriette, *Devon and Exeter in the Civil War* (Newton Abbott: David and Charles, 1971); John Barratt, *The Civil War in South-West England* (South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2005); Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry Before the Civil War* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996).

state, intertwined with linguistic, social, political and religious change. In addition to being given meaning by, and shaping, existing localised narratives of place, representations of captivity are embedded within and the discursive concept of ‘nation’. Founding myths and ‘ethnic’ identities; formalised remembrance and historiography; religious practices and texts; travel, trade and settlement; the relationship between nation and monarch; and the discursive construction of the ‘foreign’, are all areas within which discourses of Barbary captivity and Anglo-Protestant nationalism intersect, themes which feature throughout the three Parts of this thesis.

Suggestive of a centralised desire for unity to build a coherent Anglo-Protestant nation is the preoccupation with internal divisions, pervading early modern discourses, practices and cultural output, and giving meaning to the localised anxieties regarding Barbary captivity, due to both the peripheral and the ‘outward-facing’ aspect of the West Country, and the early modern re-imagining of the ‘region’. Blank explores in *Broken English: dialects and the politics of language in Renaissance writing* (1996) how British languages and territories – including the South Western dialect, particularly Cornish - were being re-organised within centre-periphery relations, whilst various studies, including Duffin (1996), Cooper (2003) and Stoye (1994) for the West Country, demonstrate how regional identities, localised politics and subsequent loyalties also came under scrutiny.²² As Blank observes, regions were not necessarily divisive. The subdividing of shires into tithings or hundreds operated as an ‘internal surveillance system’, binding inhabitants together for the good of the realm and ‘commonwealth’, helping to discern ‘alien’ or ‘foreign’ elements, monitoring and containing

²² Paula Blank, *Broken English: dialects and the politics of language in Renaissance writing* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) esp. 89 – 92.

the enemy within, and confining potential conflict generated by internal regional differences.²³ In ‘Of the Partition of England into Shires and Counties,’ William Harrison (1577) locates this historically, suggesting that King Alfred - ‘to root out the noisome subject’ - ‘divided the whole realm into sections, which (of the Saxon word *schyran*, signifying “to cut”) he termed shires’, primarily in response to the lawlessness caused by the influence of ‘barbarous Danes’. Many ‘feigned themselves to be Danish pirates’: ‘the better to cloak their mischief withal’.²⁴ Echoes of this can perhaps be discerned within the negotiation of anxieties surrounding the ‘barbarous’ Turks explored throughout this thesis. These anxieties occurred at a time of renewed interest in geo-political, national-religious and loyalties and linguistic conformity, interpreted through a framework of fragmentation and unity.

As a regionally focused study, this thesis maps itself onto such contemporary concerns. Impulses of centralised ‘surveillance’ and unification can be identified within the early modern engagement with landscapes, cartographies and geographies.²⁵ Indeed, Bakhtin (1984) comments that an ‘awareness of space, whether of a specific land or of the entire world, is characteristic of that period’, an observation which can be applied to the proliferation of early modern regional chorographies, county surveys, histories and topographical studies.²⁶ Imaginative writings also drew on chorography: an emergence of a regionally bound literature

²³ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 141; Blank 72 – 73; Richard F. Hardin, *Michael Drayton and the Passing of Elizabethan England* (Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas University Press, 1973) 64.

²⁴ William Harrison, *Description of England* (London: 1577) quoted Blank 72.

²⁵ Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: A Sense of Place* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002) 15.

²⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World* transl. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984) 469, quoted Blank 70. Also see: Stan Mendyk, ‘Early British Chorography,’ *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 17 (4) (1986): 459 – 481, and his ‘*Speculum Britanniae*’: *Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1989); Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

can be identified in the poetic celebration of localities.²⁷ A hybrid genre, chorography combines historical and genealogical narratives; antiquarian commentary; observations linked to social, cultural and physical landscapes, and musings on etymology, nomenclature and dialect to create a ‘sense of place’ linked to a consciousness of the past.²⁸ Chorography built on the topographical writing which emerged from medieval monastic chronicling, related to the production of ‘Histories’, although distinctly and primarily spatial rather than chronological, rooted within classical geographies and cosmographies.²⁹

Chorographical works construct and reinforce the relationship between localised identities and place, contributing to discourses of regional specificity and national identity.³⁰ Camden states his first task for *Britannia* was to ‘search after the Etymologie of Britaine and the first inhabitants’, giving genealogy and etymology primacy and legitimacy as historical methods.³¹ Such methods were becoming politicised: the tracing of origins through etymologies to the ‘original inhabitants’ providing direction for the emerging discourses of national identity.³² Chorography enabled the exploration and articulation of the relationship between centrality and regionality, portraying an ‘internal empire of shires subordinate to the crown’: for

²⁷ See, for example, Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (London: 1612/22) and Thomas Nashe, *Nashes Lenten Stuff* (London: 1599). F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino California: Huntington Library, 1967) 124 – 166; Blank 71; Sanford 15.

²⁸ Vine 5, 11, 20, 51.

²⁹ Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, transl. and ed. Edward Luther Stevenson (New York: Dover, 1991 [1460]) 25; Alexandra Walsham, ‘Richard Carew and English Topography,’ *The Survey of Cornwall – Richard Carew*, ed. John Chynoweth, Nicholas Orme and Walsham (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, NS Vol. 47, 2004) 29 – 31; Sanford 15, f.n. 22, 147 – 148; Howard Marchitello, ‘Political Maps: The Production of Cartography and Chorography in Early Modern England,’ *Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: The Page, The Image and The Body*, ed. Margaret J. M. Ezell and Katherine O’Brien O’Keefe (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994) 30.

³⁰ For example, William Camden, *Britannia* (London: 1607 [1586]); John Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars: A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* (London: 1728 [1610]); John Speed, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London: 1611); Tristram Risdon, *Survey of Devon* (London: c. 1630), Thomas Westcote, *A View of Devonshire* (London: 1630); William Pole, *Collections towards a description of the country of Devon* (London: c. 1630) and Richard Carew, *Survey of Cornwall* (London: 1602).

³¹ Camden, ‘Preface,’ *Britannia*.

³² Vine 63 – 72.

example, John Leland presented his *Itinerary* to Henry VIII as ‘this your worlde and impery of Englande’.³³

Regional representations and structures can therefore be viewed within a framework of ‘imperial desire’ or, to use MacLean’s (2001) term, ‘imperial envy’, entwined with a profound interest in the Roman, Ottoman and Spanish empires: discourses which contribute to discussions regarding Barbary captivity.³⁴ However, chorographies not only *supported* the concept of a ‘proto-imperialism’, or a unified and nationalised identity, but, as Helgerson (1992) has highlighted, challenged royal centrism by identifying distinct regional identities and transposing the premise of national identity from the monarch to the landscape.³⁵ Furthermore, as Schwyzer (2004) has explored, so-called ‘Englishness’ is a ‘relational identity, a matter of complex and often bitter negotiation among the nations of the Atlantic archipelago’ which relocates the national consciousness to Britishness, rather than Englishness.³⁶ Scholarship has addressed this issue of ‘Britishness’, for example, Kidd in *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600 – 1800* (1999); the edited collections of Schwyzer and Meador, *Archipelagic Identities: Literature and Identity in the Atlantic Archipelago, 1550 – 1800* (2004) and Maley and Baker, *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature* (2002); and Kerrigan’s *Archipelagic English: Literature, History and Politics 1603 – 1702* (2008), which ‘devolves’ Anglophone writing, demonstrating the

³³ Blank 72; Walsham, ‘Richard Carew’ 29 – 31; Sanford 15, f.n. 22, 147; John Leland, *The Itinerary, or John Leland in or about the years 1535 – 1543 Parts I to III*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (Carbondale Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 1964 [1907, 1535/43]).

³⁴ Gerald MacLean, ‘Ottomanism before Orientalism? Bishop King Praises Henry Blount, Passenger in the Levant,’ *Travel Knowledge: European “Discoveries” in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001) 85 – 96. Also see: Lesley B. Cormack, ‘Britannia Rules the Waves?: Images of Empire in Elizabethan England,’ *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2/3 (September 1998): 1 – 20, 16 Sept. 2011, <<http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/04-2/cormbrit.htm>>; Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature, 1580 – 1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Willy Maley, *Nation, State and Empire in English Renaissance Literature: Shakespeare to Milton* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

³⁵ Helgerson 131 – 139; Blank 71.

³⁶ Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 3.

fascination of the ‘centre’ to the ‘periphery’. In tracing a cultural history of Barbary captivity associated with regional location, particularly Cornwall, it is important to acknowledge ‘Britishness’, and its role in negotiating and constructing ‘Englishness’.

Contexts

Regional Specificity

Cornwall and Cornish ‘Difference’

For any regional study involving Cornwall it is important to emphasise that Cornwall had - and still has – an identity ‘different’ and ‘separate’ from England. This difference is based on historically constituted cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and geographical factors shaping historiographic and contemporary narratives of identity and place.³⁷ Cornwall’s separate identity was casually noted by observers: for example, the influential Italian historian Polydore Vergil wrote in his introduction to *Anglica Historia* (1535):

The whole countrie of Britaine [...] is divided into iiij. partes; wherof the one is inhabited of Englishmen, the other of Scottes, the third of Wallshemen, [and] the fowerthe of Cornishe people. Which all differ emonge them selves, either in tongue, either in manners, or ells in laws and ordinaunces.³⁸

Stoyle (2011) cites several examples of similar commentary, including Lodovico Falier, the Venetian diplomat at the court of Henry VIII, who observed in 1531 that English, Welsh and Cornish were so different there was no linguistic understanding between them, noting Welshmen were poor, sturdy, sociable and ‘adapted to war’; Englishmen ‘mercantile, rich,

³⁷ Alexandra Walsham has recently explored issues of early modern Cornish identity in her excellent paper ‘Antiquitates Cornu-Brittanick: Language, Memory, and Landscape in Early Modern Cornwall’, given at the Centre for Early Modern Studies, University of Exeter on 9th May 2012, to be published in an edited collection concerning Celtic Christianity. With thanks to Professor Walsham for sending me this paper, and discussion regarding early modern Cornish identity.

³⁸ Polydore Vergil, *Vrbantis Anglicae Historiae* (Basel: 1557) 3; Henry Ellis, ed., *Polydore Vergil’s English History: From an Early Translation Preserved Among the MSS. Of the Old Royal Library in the British Museum* Vol. I. (London: The Camden Society by John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1846) 1.

affable and generous’, and Cornishmen ‘poor, rough and boorish’. The Venetian ambassador at the time of Elizabeth’s death in 1603, Giovanni Scaramelli, recorded that she had ruled over five different peoples: the English, Welsh, Cornish, Scottish and Irish.³⁹ Gaspard de Coligny Châtillon, the 16th century French Admiral, ambassador and Huguenot leader, wrote of the lack of ‘English’ unity, as Wales and Cornwall spoke a different language and were ‘natural enemies’ of England. The diplomat Arthur Hopton (1616) viewed ‘England’ as being divided into three countries, or provinces, with their own languages: English, Welsh and Cornish.⁴⁰

Cornwall retains a dualistic and paradoxical status. Occupying an imagined and lived space oscillating between county and country, Cornwall is marginalised, yet powerfully evocative: conflicted between the identities of ‘English’ region and ‘Celtic’ nation: historically ‘a tricky peripheral Celtic community for the centre to manage’ with a continued contested geo-political status.⁴¹ Furthermore, within various disciplines, including Celtic Studies and the ‘New British History’ - the history of the ‘Atlantic Archipelago’ of which Celtic history ‘both is and is not a part’ - Cornish material has been consistently and significantly marginalised, with studies focusing on the nation-states: predominantly Irish, Welsh and Scottish material.⁴² The 19th century Celtic Revival contributed to this marginalisation; the primary figures being from Ireland, Wales and Scotland; a focus which academic scholarship has retained, influenced by these larger territories and their institutions.⁴³ Stoye highlights that the impetus behind his

³⁹ Mark Stoye, ‘The Cornish: A Neglected Nation?’ BBC History 2011, 15 March 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/empire_seapower/cornish_nation_01.shtml>. Also see: Ekaterina G. Domnina, ‘“The riches of England are greater than those of any other country in Europe”: A Venetian Image of Early Modern England,’ *Mighty Europe 1400 – 1700: Writing an Early Modern Continent*, ed. Andrew Hiscock (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers, 2007) 117 – 132, esp. 123.

⁴⁰ Cited Stoye, ‘Neglected Nation?’

⁴¹ Kent, *Theatre* 55.

⁴² Quote: Pocock 490. Also see: Kent, *Theatre* 30 – 2; f.n. 38 - 39, 47.

⁴³ Kent, *Theatre* 30 – 2; f.n. 38, 47. The marginalised status of Cornish territory and scholarship is one which has been identified and addressed by the contemporary work of the Institute for Cornish Studies: University of Exeter, Cornwall Campus.

own scholarship on early modern Cornwall was identifying the Cornish ‘difference’ of the period, and the lack of scholarship exploring this difference. He notes the neglect of Cornish ethnicity by many historians, with much of the ‘New British’ historiography paying little or no attention to Cornwall, including within debates regarding ‘Britishness’.⁴⁴

In re-orientating the academic focus of Barbary captivity to the West Country, this thesis necessarily engages with this ‘marginalised’ status of both the scholarship and the geo-political territory of Cornwall. Furthermore, the centralised neglect of the fear expressed in Cornwall regarding Barbary captivity was contemporaneous with the process of marginalisation and erasure of Cornish culture and identity. Part I demonstrates the extensive amount of ‘private-facing’ archival material concerned with the impact of Barbary captivity within the West Country, particularly Cornwall. Exploring issues of memory in Part II reveals how this impact was forgotten, whilst that which is remembered contributed to an emerging *English* Protestant national identity. Part III highlights the anxieties regarding the geographical and cultural mobility of the Barbary captive, a mobility producing unstable, shameful and hidden identities which were also necessarily subject to disavowal and marginalisation. Although Cornish ‘difference’ has been debated and contested amongst scholars, aspects of identity attributed to place-based ‘difference’ is where narratives, accounts and representations of captivity are contextually situated. These include geographical location and features of the landscape; genealogical narratives and those of ‘ethnicity’; language; political and religious history and affiliation – all of which informed distinctive, place-based cultural-historical associations with rebellion, lawlessness, seafaring and piracy, considerations which provide nuanced and deeper readings of West Country Barbary captivity.

⁴⁴ See: Stoye, *West Britons* 3 – 4; W. G. V. Balchin, *The Making of the English Landscape: The Cornish Landscape* (London/Sydney/Auckland/Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983) 21 - 24.

Situated at the narrow, rocky end of the West Country peninsula, surrounded by sea on three sides, the Tamar River running virtually sea to sea on the fourth, Cornwall has a geographically individual and ‘un-English’ interior littered with reminders and remnants of a distinctive cultural past.⁴⁵ This landscape has helped to establish a complex, paradoxical sense of separation and connectivity, shaping aspects of its unique history.⁴⁶ Norden described Cornwall as:

the farthest part of *Britaine* towards the Weste, extending it selfe in a promontorie *Piramidis formae*, whose *Base* is founded upon the River *Tamar*, which divideth the *Duchie* from *Devon* for the moste parte [...] on three sides bounded with the mayn *Ocean*, namely, on the south with the *Britishe*, on the weste with the Sea which the Countrie people and their Sea-men call *Lethowsow* [...] On the north with the *Virgiuie* or *Irish* Sea.⁴⁷

This situation enabled Brythonic language, and later, Cornish, to survive into the early modern era, yet also meant Cornwall intersected with, and was entrance to, some of the busiest medieval and early modern shipping lanes and sea-trading routes.⁴⁸ ‘[N]ature’, observed Carew (1602) ‘hath shouldred out *Cornwall* into the farthest part of the Realme, and so besieged it with the Ocean, that, it forms a demie Iland in an Iland, the Inhabitants find but one way of issue by land’. However:

yet hath shee in some good measure, countervailed such disadvantage, through placing it, both neere unto, and in the trade way betweene *Wales*, *Ireland*, *Spaine*, *France*, & *Netherland*. The neerenesse helpeth them, with a shorter cut, lesse peril, and meaner charge, to vent forth and make returne of those commodities, which their owne, or either of those Countries doe afford: the lying in the way, bringeth forraine shipping to claime succour at their harbours.⁴⁹

Such an ‘outward facing’ geography enabled Cornwall to be one of the earliest complex industrial societies in Western Europe, despite inhabitants historically dismissed as insular,

⁴⁵ Balchin 21 - 24.

⁴⁶ Mark Stoye, ‘Cornish Rebellions, 1497 – 1648,’ *History Today* (May 1997): 23; Balchin 21 - 24.

⁴⁷ Norden 1.

⁴⁸ Richard Pearse, *The Ports and Harbours of Cornwall: An Introduction to the Study of Eight Hundred Years of Maritime Affairs* (St Austell, Cornwall: H. E. Warne, 1963) 7.

⁴⁹ Carew, *Survey* 3 – 4.

primitive and barbaric.⁵⁰ It also made the region vulnerable to invasion and attack: the sea-facing borders of the West Country were also those of the realm. The paradoxical combinations of isolation with multiple networks of connection, and separateness with proximity (to English Devon), have shaped culture and identity, simultaneously defining and illustrating ‘difference’.⁵¹ Nevertheless, despite the Tamar boundary contributing to an understanding of West Country identity during the period under study; historically demarcating a sense of difference; the mobility of cultural and ethnic attributes blurs this boundary between Cornwall and Devon, rather than providing a clear Cornish/English demarcation.⁵² For example, Cornish was spoken in the South Hams area of Devon – around Dartmouth and Salcombe – until at least the 13th century, and Devon and Cornwall shared a diocese from the 10th to the 19th century.⁵³ The Cornish preacher Charles Fitz-Geffry, arguing for compassion towards Barbary captives at Plymouth in 1636, refers to the Baltimore settlers from Devon and Cornwall taken by Turks as not only countrymen, but ‘near kinsmen’.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Kent, *Theatre* 37 – 38. Also see: Roger Penhallurick, *Tin in Antiquity* (London: Institute of Metals, 1986); Balchin 21 – 24.

⁵¹ Stoye, ‘Neglected Nation?’; Bernard Deacon, *Cornwall: A Concise History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007); Hildegard L. C. Tristram, ed., *The Celtic Englishes* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1997); Hildegard L. C. Tristram, ed., *The Celtic Englishes IV: The Interface between English and the Celtic Languages* (Potsdam: Potsdam University Press, 2006).

⁵² William Stubbs, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum, 2 vols, Rolls Series* (London: HMSO, 1887-1889), translated in H. P. R. Finberg, ‘Sherborne, Glastonbury, and the Expansion of Wessex,’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, Vol. III, (1953): 117; Edward Royle, ‘Introduction: regions and identities,’ *Issues of Regional Identity: in honour of John Marshall*, ed. Royle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998) 3; Matthew Spriggs, ‘Where Cornish was Spoken and When: A Provisional Synthesis,’ *Cornish Studies: Eleven*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2003) 230; Lisa McClain, *Lest We Be Damned, Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559 – 1642* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004) 171; Stoye, ‘Cornish Rebellions’ 22; Charles Thomas, ‘Settlement History in Early Cornwall: I, The Hundreds,’ *Cornish Archaeology*, 3 (1964): 73 – 74; Kent, *Theatre* 33, 58; Paul Russell, *An Introduction to the Celtic Languages* (Harlow: Longman, 1995) 111 – 114; Stoye, *West Britons* 2.

⁵³ Spriggs, ‘Where Cornish was Spoken’ 230.

⁵⁴ Charles Fitz-Geffry, *Compassion Towards Captives chiefly towards our Brethren and Country-men who are in miserable bondage in Barbarie. Urged and pressed in three sermons on Heb. 13.3. Preached in Plymouth, in October 1636* (Oxford: 1637) 46. Also see: Anne Duffin, ‘Fitzgeffry, Charles (c. 1575 – 1638),’ *Oxford DNB*, 12 March 2009.

Certainly, Dumnonia was recognised historically during this period.⁵⁵ In this sense, the Tamar border is rendered culturally as well as physically fluid, supporting Zartman (2010) when he observes ‘[b]orders run across land but through people’.⁵⁶

Similarly, the ‘Ancient Britons’, who were understood to be the ancestors of the Cornish during the period under study, spoke what is now termed the Insular Celtic language known as Brythonic, from which Cornish is descended: a language related to that of the Bretons.⁵⁷ Prior to the series of 16th century religious reformations, frequent mutual travel between Cornwall and Brittany took place: Brittany was one day by sea from Cornwall, London a six day ride. Many Bretons settling in medieval Cornwall, particularly fishermen and other seafarers, reinforcing shared ethnicity through a common cultural-linguistic community.⁵⁸

However, acknowledging the cultural overlaps in lived experience and historiographical understanding did not necessarily entail a denial of Cornish ‘difference’: indeed, these very blurrings may have contributed to a need to assert and reinforce difference.⁵⁹ The Cornish retained and asserted a lived and imagined ethnic distinctiveness during the medieval and early modern period, through genealogy, history, tradition, language, rebellion and resistance.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ See, for example, Camden, *Britannia* (1626 [1607, 1586]) 183.

⁵⁶ Zartman 1.

⁵⁷ See Carew, *Survey* 1 – 2; Norden 26; F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, *The Register of John De Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327 – 1369) Vol. 1* (London: George Bell & Sons and Exeter: Henry S. Eland, 1894) 98, also see *Vol. III* (1899) xix – xx; David C. Fowler, *The Lives and Times of John Trevisa, Medieval Scholar* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1995) 20 – 21.

⁵⁸ Philip Payton, ‘Cornish,’ *Languages in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Glanville Price (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000) 112; Ken George, ‘Cornish,’ *The Celtic Languages* ed. Martin John Ball and James Fife (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) 410, 413; Nicholas Orme, ‘Monasteries in Medieval Cornwall: Mediocrity or Merit?’ *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the later Middle Ages*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008) 226; Julian Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry 1549* (London: Routledge, 1977) 42; Peter Berresford Ellis, *The Story of the Cornish Language* (Truro: Tor Mark Press, 1968) 15.

⁵⁹ Stoye, *West Britons* 2; John Whitaker, *The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall Historically Surveyed*, Vol. 1 (London: John Stockdale, 1804) 19; Fortescue Hitchins and Samuel Drew, *The History of Cornwall, From the Earliest Records and Traditions to the Present Time*, Vol. 1 (Helston: William Penaluna, 1824) 405 – 409.

⁶⁰ Stoye, ‘Cornish Rebellions’ 23; Stoye, ‘Neglected Nation?’.

Such desire manifested through the mythic figure of King Arthur and his messianic return, a culturally embedded narrative of return and redemption: motifs within discourses of Barbary captivity.⁶¹ Such sentiments were noted from the 12th century onwards, forming part of the Romance literary genre developed during the medieval Crusades, a period which shaped – and continues to shape – discourses of Muslim-Christian interaction, including Barbary captivity.⁶²

Nevertheless, during the period under study Cornish difference was under erasure, particularly its main signifier, language. Several reasons have been identified for contributing to this demise, including Anglicization of the gentry, and an increase in English schooling.⁶³ The final decline has been located within the period of religious Reformations, harried by the English replacement of the Latin Prayer book and the simultaneous failure to translate the Bible into Cornish, provoking rebellion and uprising amongst the population. Inevitably, however, the rates and dates of decline have differed, dependent on the methods and definitions used: the disappearance of Cornish as a living language has been dated as varying

⁶¹ See: The National Library of Wales, 'Beunans Ke (*The Life of St Ke*),' 25 Nov. 2010, <<http://www.llgc.org.uk/index.php?id=beunanskenlwms23849d>>; Juliette Wood, 'The Arthurian Legend in Scotland and Cornwall,' *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. Helen Fulton (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009) 102 – 116; Philip Schwyzer, 'British history and 'The British history': the same old story?' *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. David J. Baker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 20 – 21; O. J. Padel, 'The Nature of Arthur,' *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 27 (1994): 10; Simon Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 63 – 99; John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia, Volumes 1 – 5* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2006) 126; Stoyle, 'Cornish Rebellions' 22; Constance Bullock-Davies, 'Expectare Arthurum, Arthur and the Messianic Hope,' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 29 (1980 – 82): 432 – 440; R. S. Loomis, 'The Legend of Arthur's Survival,' *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Loomis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959) 64 – 65.

⁶² Helen Nicholson, *The Crusades* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004) xxxix, xli – xlii; John Tolan, 'Time to forget the Crusades,' *Aljazeera English*, 4 Feb. 2010, <<http://www.aljazeera.com/focus/arabunity/2008/01/200852518345065887.html>>; Dorothee Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977); Benedict Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature: The Politics of Romance from Spenser to Milton* (Hants: Palgrave, 2007); Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York and Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2003); Kevin Sean Whetter, *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance* (Hants: Ashgate, 2008).

⁶³ Spriggs, 'Where Cornish was Spoken' 228 – 231; Payton, 'Cornish' 109 – 119; Glanville Price, 'Cumbric,' *Languages in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Price (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000) 120 – 126; J. Hines, 'Britain after Rome: Between Multiculturalism and Monoculturalism,' *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities*, ed. P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble (London: Routledge, 1996) 265; J. Hines, 'Welsh and English: Mutual Origins in Post-Roman Britain?' *Studia Celtica* 34 (2000): 98 – 102; Ellis, *Story* 12.

from 1700 to 1800.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the scholarship concurs with an east-west decline, the last traces of Cornish located within the coastal regions of the far west, between the Lizard and Land's End: districts heavily reliant on seafaring, where the majority of Breton inhabitants were settled, and where fears of foreign invasion and attack by the Spanish, French and Turks were focused. Norden noted in the latter part of the 16th century that 'of late the Cornishe men have muche conformed themselves to the use of the Englishe tounge [...] espetically in the easterne partes', although '[i]n the weste parte of the COUNTRYE [...] the Cornishe tounge is moste in use amongst the inhabitantes' – indeed, some of the population were unable to understand English.⁶⁵ He concludes that 'it seemeth that in few yeares the Cornishe Language wilbe by litle and litle abandoned'.⁶⁶ The gentry-down Anglicization resulted in Cornish being associated with the lower classes, including mariners: Cornish continued as ship-board vocabulary amongst fishermen into the late 18th century, emphasising the association of the language with seafaring, and the cultural fluidity of the coastal regions.⁶⁷ However, there was an antiquarian interest in the language during this period, primarily by those located in the far west, responding to the decline in a defining marker of Cornish 'difference'. This indicated the

⁶⁴ K. George, 'How many people spoke Cornish traditionally?' *Cornish Studies, first series, no. 14* (Redruth: Institute of Cornish Studies, 1986) 67 – 70; Payton, 'Cornish' 112; Ellis, *Story* 15; Spriggs, 'Where Cornish was Spoken' 231 – 232; Stoye, *West Britons* 3; Michael J. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975) 64; Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationalhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 45, 66 – 67; Price 98 – 100; N. J. A. Williams, *Cornish Today: An Examination of a Revived Language* (Sutton Coldfield: Kernewek dre Lyther, 1995) 169; William Scawen, 'Antiquities Cornu-Britannick,' *The Parochial History of Cornwall, Founded on the Manuscript Histories of Mr. Hals and Mr. Tonkin* 4 vols., Davies Gilbert (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1838 [c. 1678 – 1689]) 4: 205; Brian Murdoch, *Cornish Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993) 41 – 44; Peter Berresford Ellis, *The Cornish Language and Its Literature* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974) 35 – 49; Charles Henderson, *Essays in Cornish History*, ed. A. L. Rowse and M. I. Henderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935) 144, f.n. 1; O. J. Padel, 'Place-names,' *Historical Atlas of South-West England*, ed. R. Kain and W. Ravenhill (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999) 88 – 94; Henry Jenner, 'Cornish place names,' *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, XVIII (1910): 140 – 149; J. E. B. Gover, 'Cornish Names,' *Antiquity*, 11 (1928): 319 – 327.

⁶⁵ Norden 26 – 27; Payton, 'Cornish' 112.

⁶⁶ Norden 26 – 27.

⁶⁷ Stoye, 'Neglected Nation?'; Ellis, *Story* 12 – 13; Scawen 4: 214 – 215; Spriggs, 'Where Cornish was Spoken' 231 – 232; Norden 26 – 7.

language was considered profoundly threatened: an antiquarian artefact but not completely erased, although this impulse to maintain it as a living language and preserve it within the historical record complicates evidence for the continuation of Cornish.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, whilst under erasure during the early modern period, the language was very much part of the lived experience of Cornwall, contributing to wider perceptions of the South West.

The representation of the Cornish language during the late 16th and 17th centuries also contributed to its erasure: it shifted from being the ancient language of an indigenous population to being silenced in the increasingly important print culture of the time. It was derided as a marginalised dialect, associated with a rebellious and barbarous population, a primitive, base ‘English’ amongst the problematic and competing ‘Englishes’ of the period.⁶⁹ The decline in Cornish and the subjugation of Cornwall more generally can be seen as related to the subsequent phase of the religious reformations - that of building a unified and bounded Anglo-Protestant nation – contexts in which representations of Barbary captivity are firmly embedded. Representation was ‘a crucial tool of government’, used to construct national identity.⁷⁰ Striving to build an Anglo-Protestant nation with centralised power was a complex and often contradictory process, negotiated within and against the competing discourses of Catholicism and *British* national consciousness with its sense of internal ‘imperialism’ and centre/periphery relations. Blank explores how the construction of ‘English’, as well as ‘England’ during this period responded to a heightened awareness of linguistic multiplicity and regional dialect – the concept of being ‘broken’ by internal difference. Attempts to unite

⁶⁸ Matthew Spriggs, ‘Who was the Duchess of Cornwall in Nicolas Boson’s (c. 1660 – 70) ‘The Duchesse of Cornwall’s Progresse to see the Land’s End...?’’ *Cornish Studies: Fourteen*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2006) 57, 63. Also see: Edward Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica* (Oxford: 1707); Stoye, *West Britons* 134 – 156; Rev. J. J. Daniell, *A Compendium of the History of Cornwall* (Truro: Netherton & Worth, 1880) 120 – 121.

⁶⁹ Blank 82 – 83.

⁷⁰ Colin Burrow, ‘The sixteenth century,’ *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500 – 1600*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 13.

‘England’ accentuated such differences: thus ‘English’ was produced not solely by the triumph over Latin, but through competing ‘Englishes’.⁷¹ A rise in print culture had produced a language open to being ‘authorised’, with centralised power operating through the patronage system for authors, poets and playwrights. This is made apparent through the first vernacular grammars and dictionaries appearing during this period, with language reformers trying to eliminate certain words, standardize spellings and working towards commonality. The very idea of a common national culture depended upon an engagement with internal ‘difference’.⁷²

Inevitably there was an increasing struggle regarding the differentiation between Cornish and English during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Carew notes Cornish animosity towards the English expressed linguistically: criticising the insubordination of the ‘worst sort’ using Cornish to defy their ‘Saxon’ neighbours.⁷³ Similarly, Norden observes the Cornish had retained ‘a kinde of conceyled envye agaynste the Englishe, whome they yet affecte with a desire of revenge for their fathers sakes’.⁷⁴ Increasingly, Cornish was represented as a ‘dialect’ by authors culturally associated with more elite forms of language. Although giving a voice to those who, in many ways, had been silenced – a thread that runs through representations of Barbary captivity - this dialect was often derided.⁷⁵ As Hechter (1975) observes, cultural intolerance towards the peripheral regions was part of the process of internal imperial expansion by the English state during this period.⁷⁶ Peripheral dialects – including Irish and Anglo-Irish – were deemed inferior to the centralised, supposedly unified ‘King’s English’: the West Country dialect was frequently used as a foil, contrasting with, and highlighting the

⁷¹ Blank 1.

⁷² Blank 31, 70; Bakhtin 469.

⁷³ Carew, *Survey* 56;

⁷⁴ Norden 28.

⁷⁵ Stoye, ‘Cornish Rebellions’ 26; Stoye, *West Britons* 182 – 183; Blank 3, 82; Ellis, *Story* 16.

⁷⁶ Hechter 64.

superior qualities of ‘better’ English. It was associated with the unlettered and uneducated, rural stupidity, lower social class and the mobility of seafarers, beggars and rogues: a marginalised vernacular associated with a marginalised population.⁷⁷ Cornish was also a dialect considered representative of popular rebellion: dubious allegiances, mobile identities and dual affiliations – attributes also attributed to the Islamic convert.⁷⁸ As this thesis will highlight, during the same period in which the Cornish language was fatally declining, West Country voices and concerns were also under erasure: apparently unheard by centralised authority.

The processes involved in this cultural-linguistic suppression of a region and a language with cultural-historical associations of barbarousness, resistance and rebellion, provided localised contexts to representations of, and responses to, Barbary captivity. It is therefore important to give an overview of these existing narratives of rebellion, place and identity within the region.

Rebellion

The civil rioting, rebellion and popular politics of the West Country from the end of the 15th century up to and including the ‘Great Rebellion’ of the mid-17th, can be linked to an assertion of provincial autonomy.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Cornwall’s history of major rebellion and uprising against the English were related to issues of ethnic as well as regional autonomy, and can be mapped via specific markers of Cornish ‘difference’, including language, religion and the

⁷⁷ Blank 82 – 83.

⁷⁸ Blank 80 – 81, 89 – 92; Kent, *Theatre* 347; Henry Jenner, ‘Some Miscellaneous Scraps of Cornish,’ *Annual Reports of the Royal Cornish Polytechnic Society*, New Series 6 (1927 – 30): 249 – 250.

⁷⁹ See: Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2008 [1968]); Barrett L. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot: Popular Disorder in England during the Reign of Edward VI* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2005 [1982]), Andy Wood, *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) and his *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603 – 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987 [1985]).

privileges attached to the Cornish Stannaries, even if not the only route to chart them. There were many significant incidents: Stoyle (1997, 2002) identifies six major rebellions in Cornwall during the Tudor and early Stuart period, partially fuelled by the perceived attack on cultural identity, with many more minor incidents of subversion, insubordination and refusal.⁸⁰ Examining shifts in English attitudes towards the Cornish between c. 1497 and 1642, Stoyle demonstrates how the Cornish came to be seen as inherently rebellious, which paradoxically accelerated and intensified this very attack.⁸¹

The geographical origins of the first significant uprisings in 1497 were in the coastal parish of St. Keverne on the Lizard Peninsula, where Cornish culture, language – and resentment against the English – remained strong.⁸² This rebellion, defeated at Blackheath, was the first of several over the following 150 years, with rebel Cornish armies marching into England on four separate occasions.⁸³ Edward Hall's 1542 commentary situates the Cornish as prone to resistance and rebellion, related to the poverty and hardness of the inhabitants and their landscape:

the Cornish men inhabityng the least parte of the realme and thesame sterile and without all fecunditee, compleyned and grudged greatly affirming that they were not hable to paye suche a greate somme as was of them demaunded [...] ye Cornishmen, which thei affirmed to bee but poore men, and being in a sterile & unfruitfull cuntrye gate their lyvyng hardly by mining and digging tynee and metal oute of the

⁸⁰ J. P. D. Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the Westcountry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 2; Stoyle, *West Britons* 29 – 49; Stoyle, 'Cornish Rebellions' 22 – 28; John Stevenson, 'The 'Moral Economy' of the English Crowd: Myth and Reality,' *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 233.

⁸¹ Stoyle, *West Britons* 29 – 49, his 'Cornish Rebellions' 23 – 25, and 'The Dissidence of Despair: rebellion and identity in early-modern Cornwall,' *The Journal of British Studies* 38 (4) (October 1999): 423, 435.

⁸² Fletcher and MacCulloch 22 – 23; Stoyle, 'Cornish Rebellions' 25; J. P. D. Cooper, 'Joseph, Michael (*d.* 1497),' *Oxford DNB*, 25 Nov. 2010.

⁸³ Stoyle, 'Cornish Rebellions' 22; Thomas Taylor, *St Michael's Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932) 140 – 141; Spriggs, 'Who was the Duchess' 56 – 69; Kent, *Theatre* 342 – 346; Ian Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy 1491 – 1499*, (Port Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1994) 183.

grounde bothe day and night labouryng and turmoylyng. And therefore they had rather dye and suffre extreme punyshment, then lyve in suche calamitee and wretchedness.⁸⁴

The defeat of this initial rebellion did not prevent further unrest during the summer of 1497.

Hall notes the king and his nobles were ‘sore troubled with the commocion of the Cornyshemen’, and, despite initial plans to display the remains of executed rebels throughout Cornwall, there was a reluctance to enter the region in order to do so. Contributing to cultural associations of an inherently rebellious region, Hall retrospectively predicts that despite the ‘chiefe capiteynes & firste authors of that mischiefe’ being shown neither mercy nor leniency:

their countrey men beyng at home in Cornewale were by this skourge litle mollified or quieted, & were ready to move againe and begynne newe commocions and conspiracies, yf any ungracious or evell mynded person would either move or pricke theim forward.⁸⁵

By September, the Yorkist pretender Perkin Warbeck landed at Whitesand Bay, near Land’s End, posing as Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, brother to the murdered Prince Edward, Prince of Wales who would have become Edward V.⁸⁶ Edward became Duke of Cornwall in 1471: as the surviving brother Warbeck could claim the dual titles of Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, with obvious appeal to the Cornish.⁸⁷ Unrest again began in the far west, with thousands supporting Warbeck – although his attempt was doomed.⁸⁸ Whilst Henry VII was relatively restrained in punishing the rebels, as Stoye argues, his reign

⁸⁴ Henry Ellis, ed., *Hall’s Chronicle* (London: J. Johnson etc., 1809) 477, for the full account see 476 – 480. Also see: Richard Grafton [Edward Hall], *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre & Yorke* (London: 1542, 1548, 1550), and ‘The wilfull fall of Blacke Smyth, and the foolishe ende of the lord Awdeley,’ *A myrrour for magistrates*, William Baldwin (London: 1563) clxx – clxxix, esp. clxxvi.

⁸⁵ Ellis, *Hall’s Chronicle* 480.

⁸⁶ Spriggs, ‘Who was the Duchess’ 63; Arthurson 123, 181 – 92; S. J. Gunn, ‘Warbeck, Perkin [Pierrechon de Werbecque; *alias* Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York] (c. 1474 – 1499),’ *Oxford DNB*, 25 Nov. 2010.

⁸⁷ Spriggs, ‘Who was the Duchess’ 63; Arthurson 123, 181 – 92.

⁸⁸ Stoye, ‘Cornish Rebellions’ 25. Also see: Spriggs, ‘Who was the Duchess’ 63; Arthurson 123, 181 – 92; Philip Payton, “‘a...concealed envy against the English’”: A Note on the Aftermath of the 1497 Rebellions in Cornwall,’ *Cornish Studies: One*, ed. Payton (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1993) 4 – 13; Philip Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall: Historical Experience and the Persistence of ‘Difference’* Redruth, (Cornwall: Dyllansow Truran, 1992) esp. chpt. 3; D. Hay, ed., *Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil AD 1485 – 1587. Camden Series Vol. LXXIV* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950) 108 – 109.

appeared to attack Cornish culture and autonomy, creating deep divisions in Cornish society, and resulting in decreasing authority over the population.⁸⁹

These events contributed to the representation of the Cornish during the period under study: Thomas Gainsford wrote *The true and wonderfull history of Perkin Warbeck* (1618), and John Ford dramatized the story in *The Chronicle History of Perkin Warbeck: A Strange Truth* (performed 1630, published 1634), which, Kent argues, situates Cornwall as a site of rebellion and unruliness.⁹⁰ Ford's play, appeared during a period when the Cornish coastline was notorious for the depredations of the Turks, with anxiety focused upon the mobile, hybrid and false figure of the renegade, challenging authority: Ford's representation of Warbeck's 'true' identity: 'You are known/ For Osbeck's son of Tournay, a loose runagate [renegade], /A landloper. Your father was a Jew, / Turn'd Christian merely to repair his miseries' (5.3.23 – 26), and as a 'mongrel' attempting to 'pluck the true stag down' (5.3.19 – 20), possibly had wider resonance.⁹¹

The period of Protestant reformations intensified Cornish resentment towards English dominance and authority. The traditional religious practices under attack were, for the Cornish, based on older, regionally distinctive Christian practices as well as Catholicism: to condemn them was to condemn fundamental aspects of localised identity.⁹² This deeply entrenched loyalty to traditional religion within the Cornish parishes was emphasised through the subsequent rebellions and opposition to any type of religious reform, demonstrated by the slow development of Protestantism in the region, only beginning to become clearly

⁸⁹ Stoye, 'Cornish Rebellions' 24 - 25; Fletcher and MacCulloch 21; Kent, *Theatre* 232 – 264; Duchy of Cornwall, 25 Nov. 2010, <www.duchyofcornwall.org>; Cooper, *Propaganda* 10, 78 – 79.

⁹⁰ Kent, *Theatre* 346.

⁹¹ John Ford, *Perkin Warbeck*, ed. Donald K. Anderson, Jr. (London: Edward Arnold, 1966 [1965, 1634]).

⁹² See: Wendy Davies, 'The Myth of the Celtic Church,' *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, ed. Nancy Edwards and Alan Lane (Oxford: Oxbow, 1992) 12 – 21; Kathleen Hughes, 'The Celtic Church: is this a valid concept?' *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 1 (1981): 1 – 20; Koch 431 – 435; McClain 171 – 202.

established late in Elizabeth's reign.⁹³ Further factors compounded these threats to Cornish identity. Brittany became connected to France in 1532, severely reducing important cultural, linguistic and religious ties: certainly, it was the Cornish-speaking districts and coastal regions with these traditional relations which were central to popular protest and rebellion.⁹⁴ Significantly, unrest leading up to the so-called Prayer Book Rebellion of 1549 again broke out in St. Keverne; instigated by 'one Carpyssacke', a fisherman; and Penryn: both to become problematic sites of Barbary captivity during the next century.⁹⁵

The 1549 Rebellion, ostensibly erupting against the Protestant policies of Edward VI's regime, became one of most significant popular disturbances of the period, uniting rebels in Cornwall and Devon and forging an association between the 'western partes' and rebellion.⁹⁶ The Cornish rebellion was exacerbated by the English language Prayer Book replacing the traditional four books of Latin liturgy - enforced in June 1549 by the Act of Uniformity.⁹⁷ Thousands gathered at Bodmin before marching into Devon.⁹⁸ The rebellion quickly escalated, driven by economic grievances, spreading throughout the diocese, before being violently

⁹³ McClain 172 – 173; Cooper, *Propaganda* 2.

⁹⁴ Stoye, 'Cornish Rebellions' 26; Stoye, 'Neglected Nation?'; George, 'Cornish' 410, 413.

⁹⁵ Stoye, 'Cornish Rebellions' 25 - 26; George, 'Cornish' 410, 413; James Gairdner and B. H. Brodie, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, Vol. 12 Part 2* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1902) 450; The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) SP 1/118, f 248; Wood, *1549 Rebellions* 40 – 41; Beer 45 – 48; Fletcher and MacCulloch 54.

⁹⁶ Stoye, 'Cornish Rebellions' 26; Joyce Youings, 'The South-Western Rebellion of 1549,' *Southern History*, 1 (1979): 121; Wood, *1549 Rebellions* 21 – 79; Beer 38 – 81. Also see: Philip Caraman, *The Western Rising 1549: The Prayer Book Rebellion* (Tiverton: Westcountry Books, 1994).

⁹⁷ James Anthony Froude, *History of England from The Fall of Wolsey to The Death of Elizabeth Vol. V* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1860) 146 – 147; 'The First Edwardine Act of Uniformity, A.D. 1549,' *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, ed. Henry Gee and William John Hardy (London: Macmillan and Co, 1921 [1896]) 358 – 366.

⁹⁸ Wood, *1549 Rebellions* 44 – 45; Beer 51 – 54; Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556*, ed. John Edmund Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846) 163, 172, 176. Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2003 [2001]) 132 - 133.

suppressed.⁹⁹ The processes of Reformation intensified in the aftermath: the traditional religious practices the rebels had sought to protect were officially erased, and the decline of the Cornish language accelerated.¹⁰⁰ English was first introduced into Cornish religious services this same year.¹⁰¹

Nevertheless, many of the distinctive religious traditions which had developed in Cornwall prior to reform continued into the late 16th and 17th centuries. As Walsham (2011) demonstrates, the Protestant and Catholic reformations had created a ‘re-formation’ of the sacred landscape, shaped and re-shaped by the destruction, preservation and reinvention of architecture, practices, rituals and customs.¹⁰² The history of Cornish rebellion and official suppression was transformed into a more nuanced resistance, involving a re-negotiation and re-appropriation of religious sites and practices. This particular cultural trajectory provides a specific and distinctive geo-religious context, giving further meaning to contemporary understandings of contact with Islam through Barbary captivity, and the anxieties and suspicions it provoked.

Cornwall’s pre-Reformation religious history informed that of the post-Reformation period, facilitated by a geographical peripheral status and marked by a lack of attachment to the Roman Church.¹⁰³ McClain (2004) observes this religious identity was primarily influenced by ‘Irish-inspired peripatetic priests’ and traditions of the Eastern Orthodox Church, identified

⁹⁹ Beer xiv – xvi, 48, 63; Wood, *1549 Rebellions* 44 – 46; Stoye, ‘Cornish Rebellions’ 26; Francis Rose-Troup, *The Western Rebellion of 1549: An Account of the Insurrections in Devonshire and Cornwall against the Religious Innovations in the Reign of Edward VI* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1913) 403 – 405; Fletcher and MacCulloch 63; Cranmer 163 – 187; Duffy, *Voices of Morebath* 133.

¹⁰⁰ Stoye, ‘Cornish Rebellions’ 26 and ‘Neglected Nation?’ Also see: Stoye, *West Britons*; McClain 171 – 202.

¹⁰¹ George, ‘Cornish’ 410, 413; Stoye, ‘Cornish Rebellions’ 26.

¹⁰² Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) esp. 13 - 14.

¹⁰³ McClain 172; Nicholas Orme, ‘Popular Religion and the Reformation in England: A View from Cornwall,’ *Religion and the Early Modern State: Views from China, Russia and the West*, ed. James D. Tracy and Marguerite Ragnow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 351 – 376.

and interpreted as a distinct ‘British Christianity’ during the medieval period.¹⁰⁴ Building on early suggestions that Joseph of Arimathea visited Britain, this Biblical figure became associated with the founding of Christianity in Britain prior to Rome, and with the legend of the Holy Grail.¹⁰⁵ This had a mythical connection with the West Country and Wales, forged as it became entwined with Arthurian medieval romance, and the claim that Joseph founded the church at Glastonbury.¹⁰⁶ The concept of a British Christianity continued into the early modern period, intersecting with wider negotiations of ‘British’ and ‘English’ identities, and becoming a site of skirmishes over claims to religious ancestry during the post-Reformation period. The rise in Catholic historiography allowed Catholics a renewed sense of historical identity which laid claim to an ancient church, situating Protestantism as a heresy with no historical authority.¹⁰⁷ Protestants countered with claims of lineage to a Christianity untainted by papal false doctrine.¹⁰⁸ This particular strand of early modern Christian discourse - concerned with contestation over lineage and authority, accusations of heresy and denouncing the historical

¹⁰⁴ McClain 172; Koch 431 - 435; Davies, ‘The Myth of the Celtic Church’ 12 – 21; Hughes, ‘The Celtic Church’ 1 – 20; Gillian Rosemary Evans, *A Brief History of Heresy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003) 71 – 72; Alban Butler, *Butler’s Lives of the Saints, Volume 5*, ed. David Hugh Farmer (Kent: Burns and Oates, 1996 [1756 – 9; 1926 – 38]) 41, 52, 100 – 102.

¹⁰⁵ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics 1603 – 1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 121. Also: David Mycoff, transl. and ed., *The Life of St. Mary Magdalene and Her Sister Martha: A Medieval Biography* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1989).

¹⁰⁶ See: Glastonbury Abbey, 25 Nov. 2010, <www.glastonburyabbey.com>; Koch 434; James P. Carley and David Townsend, transl., *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey: An Edition, Translation and Study of John of Glastonbury’s Cronica sive Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001 [1978, 1985]) esp. xlvi – lx; Felicity Riddy, ‘Glastonbury, Joseph of Arimathea and the Grail in John Hardyng’s Chronicle,’ *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey: Essays in Honour of the Ninetieth Birthday of C. A. Ralegh Radford*, ed. Lesley Abrams and James P. Carley (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1991) 317 – 332.

¹⁰⁷ Alan Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early-Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) esp. 122; Robert S. Miola, ‘Histories,’ *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources*, ed. Miola (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 388; Kerrigan 124 – 125.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, James Ussher, *Discourse on the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and the British* (London: 1622, 1623, 1631); Ford, *James Ussher*; Koch 434; Miola 388; Kerrigan 124 – 125.

foundations of ‘opposing’ religious systems - incorporated both Catholic and Protestant sentiments towards Islam.¹⁰⁹

Characteristics of these older Christian beliefs included loyalty to a community of saints usually not approved by Rome: many of those venerated in Cornwall were named as confessors or martyrs by the Cornish rather than Rome. Many Cornish churches - if not the majority - had their own unique, localised saints.¹¹⁰ This connection between saint and locale was linked to a particularly strong belief in traditional religious immanence: a conviction that the sacred is found in nature, physical individuals, objects or locations.¹¹¹ Whilst many Catholics were encouraged to create ‘alternative’ space of worship during the post-Reformation period, using the landscape as a pious mnemonic by dedicating spaces to particular saints, the Cornish did not need to adopt these English Catholic ideas, having experienced relatively little iconoclasm, including of holy sites within the natural landscape, which did not merely function as reminders, but were intrinsically holy.¹¹² Furthermore, whilst the Reformation spatially re-orientated belief and practice to the parish church, Cornwall had an unusually high amount of parochial chapels. Sited at a distance from the churches they outnumbered, these were not merely chapels-of-ease: as with Cornish holy wells, many had saint dedications in their own right, often located at significant points in the landscape.¹¹³ Within this schema, the material

¹⁰⁹ Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) esp. 54 – 79; Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2008) 41 – 57, 166 – 168.

¹¹⁰ McClain 172, 180; Orme, ‘Popular Religion’ 351 – 376; Koch 430 – 431. Also see: Nicholas Orme, *English Church Dedications, with a Survey of Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996), and his *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); G. H. Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall: 6 Parts* (Somerset: Llanerch Press, 1960 – 1970).

¹¹¹ McClain 172, 180; Sarah Ferber, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern France* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004) 9.

¹¹² McClain 188.

¹¹³ Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape* 115; Koch 430 – 431; Orme, ‘Popular Religion’ 352 – 354; Nicholas Orme, ‘The Later Middle Ages and the Reformation,’ 59, 61 – 67, and Christopher Holdsworth, ‘From 1050 to 1307,’ 51, both in *Unity and Variety: A History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall*, ed. Nicholas Orme

religious landscape of Cornwall can be mapped as particularly sacred, supporting a belief in immanence and veneration of localised saints into the post-Reformation period: a geography which therefore sustained a high number of recusants.¹¹⁴

As Walsham demonstrates, within the spatial context of the Reformation sacred geographies were related to community memories and collective identities.¹¹⁵ This was applicable to sites considered officially destroyed: post-Reformation architectural ruins provided strata of meaning contributing to localised identities. For example, Norden's mapping of Cornwall in the 1590s included the remains of coastal chapels and priories which can be read as an authoritative statement: a visual reminder of Reformation success in purging papal corruption and shaping Protestant identity. However, these can also be charted as sites of resistance and alternative localised identities: being inherently holy they could retain this function, offering a link to the past for a religiously defiant population - or provide useful navigation markers for a seafaring one.¹¹⁶

Certainly, religious defiance in Cornwall was reported by post-Reformation writers, such as Norden, Carew, and Nicholas Roscarrock, whose hagiography recorded the continuation of distinctive pre-Reformation practices.¹¹⁷ The Cornish were often found to be in possession of sacramental items by the authorities; feasts, rituals and pilgrimages continued; roodscreens,

(Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1991). Also see: Nicola Whyte, *Inhabiting the Landscape: Place, Custom and Memory 1500 – 1800* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2009) 53 – 55; Joanna Mattingly, 'Pre-Reformation Holy Wells in Cornwall: Sites, Structure and Functions,' *The Poly: The Magazine of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society*, (1997): 8 – 11; Nicholas Orme, 'Church and Chapel in Medieval England,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (6) 1996: 75 – 102.

¹¹⁴ Orme, *Saints of Cornwall* 1 – 2, 38 – 45; Orme 'Popular Religion' 351 – 376; McClain 171 – 202.

¹¹⁵ Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape* 3 – 7, 80 – 81.

¹¹⁶ Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape* 3 – 7, 80 – 81; Orme, 'Popular Religion' 366; McClain 55 - 80, 185 – 186, 188.

¹¹⁷ Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2008) 157; also 156 – 158. McClain 178, 180; Orme, 'Popular Religion' 369 – 370. Also see: Nicholas Orme, ed., *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1992).

stone crosses, benches with Catholic iconography and stained glass windows depicting saints survived, particularly within the coastal and far western parishes.¹¹⁸ This defiance could be violent: an official ecclesiastical report from the first decade of the 17th century stated Protestant preaching clergy were afraid to venture out in the far west of Cornwall, often being physically assaulted.¹¹⁹ The association of the West Country, particularly Cornwall, with Catholicism was also partially fuelled by the popularity amongst the gentry of Oxford's Exeter College; known as the West Country College and an institution renowned for tolerating Catholic practices.¹²⁰ However, this association was complex: whilst part of a wider Catholic community with networks and links throughout England and beyond, Cornish Catholics privileged localised concerns over those affecting exiled and English Catholics.¹²¹ Furthermore, there was a notable tolerance by the Protestant authorities towards the numerous Cornish Catholic recusants, who were not harshly persecuted. In many respects, Protestant and Catholic practices seemed to co-exist within the region, merging traditional and reformed rituals, demonstrating elements of unity and resistance against 'external' religious dictates.¹²²

This localised terrain, therefore, shaped by religious rebellion, resistance and a lingering association with Catholicism, provided a very specific contextual backdrop. Mapped thematically, the patterns of rebellion throughout the West Country coordinate with an overlaid cartography of Barbary captivity – events which re-orientated this terrain.

¹¹⁸ Orme, 'Popular Religion 365 - 366, 372 - 373; Koch 430 - 431; McClain 193.

¹¹⁹ 'The lamentable estate of the mynistry of Cornewall' Westminster Abbey Muniments, Muniment Book 15, fo. 84, cited Patrick Collinson, 'John Stow and nostalgic antiquarianism,' *Imagining Early Modern London. Perceptions & Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype 1598 - 1720*, ed. J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 51.

¹²⁰ McClain 177, 181, 195; Duffin, *Faction and Faith* 26; Viv Acton, *A History of Truro Vol. I: From Coinage Town to Cathedral City* (Truro: Landfall, 1997) 71.

¹²¹ McClain 172.

¹²² McClain 177, 181, 195.

Piracy

Whilst charting religious and cultural rebellion reveals a density of resistance within the coastal parishes of west Cornwall, the lawlessness and sinfulness associated more generally with coastal communities, primarily through their connection with piracy, including the widespread practice of ‘land-piracy’, multiplies these sites of potential and actual rebellion along the length of the extensive coastline of the ‘western partes’.¹²³ Additionally, piracy creates multiple cultural trajectories of social disorder: networks extending inland from both uninhabited and inhabited points on the coastline, and outwards to the open sea and beyond. Zartman’s pluralistic ‘boundary in depth’ - liminal geographies acquiring meaning through social processes – becomes the shared terrain where the cultural imaginings and embodied practices of piracy and Barbary captivity are located.¹²⁴

As the philosopher Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) explores in his influential *The Production of Space*, ‘places’ are formed through ‘the intertwinement of social spaces’, themselves the product of social and political activities.¹²⁵ Considered in isolation, spaces are mere abstractions, only gaining meaning and ‘real’ existence as social spaces through the networks, linkages and interpenetrative relationship they have with each other.¹²⁶ As such, they are both the outcome of social action, and similarly shape social action. Whilst Lefebvre is positing a complex Marxist ‘science of space’, aspects of his thinking are useful to conceptualise the ways in which a sense of ‘place’ is formed through historically contextual spatial

¹²³ C. M. Senior, *A Nation of Pirates: English Pirates in its Heyday* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1976) 124 – 144.

¹²⁴ Zartman 2. Also see: John C. Appleby, ‘The problem of piracy in Ireland, 1570 – 1630,’ *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder 1550 – 1650*, ed. Claire Jowitt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 51.

¹²⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Donald Nicholson-Smith transl. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991 [1984, 1974]) 84, 86.

¹²⁶ Lefebvre 86 – 88.

understandings, practices and representations.¹²⁷ Localising Barbary captivity means engaging with spaces which can appear disparate – the experienced, imagined, represented and representational, occurring within the realms of the legal, economic, social and cultural – yet they are deeply interpenetrative in their producing a sense of ‘place’. This discourse is useful to conceptualise how the multiplicity of practices, experiences and representations of piracy occur *spatially*, informing and shaping an understanding of the West Country, and the locales within it associated with Barbary captivity.¹²⁸ The narratives and practices of piracy and rebellion – part of Lefebvre’s social and political activities – can be read as constituting a sense of place and identity, intersecting with the narratives and practices of Barbary captivity.

Although piracy is common to all historical maritime communities, the concern here is with localised practices. Whilst the complex and overlapping networks of relations between the western ports make clear county demarcations of involvement in piracy difficult, Cornwall in particular became notorious for pirates and privateers operating in and around the region. The distance of the peninsula from London, and its relative inaccessibility by land, ensured removal from centralised interference, whilst the stretches of unfortified coastline situated at the ‘gateway’ to the Atlantic - occasionally punctuated with a scattering of inadequately or corruptly staffed forts - provided ‘havens’ for predatory vessels and an area vulnerable to invasion, being ‘farthest from succour’.¹²⁹ Furthermore, the unpredictability of seafaring

¹²⁷ Lefebvre 38 – 39.

¹²⁸ See, for example, Julie Sanders, in *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 53 – 63; the essays in Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, ed., *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2004); Philip Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 68 – 110; Lauren Benton, ‘Oceans of Law: The Legal Geography of the Seventeenth-Century Seas,’ *Proceedings of the Seascapes, Littoral Cultures, and Trans-Oceanic Exchanges Conference*, 12 – 15 February 2003, Library of Congress, Washington DC, 12 June 2012, <http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/ebook/p/2005/history_cooperative/www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/seascapes/benton.html> and her *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400 – 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) esp. 104 – 161.

¹²⁹ The Earl of Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, Nov. 12 1597, R. A. Roberts, ed., *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Herfordshire Vol. 7 1597* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1899) 480.

employment which much of Devon, and especially Cornwall, depended, meant many oscillated between commercial ventures, licensed privateering and illicit piracy.¹³⁰ Illicit activities were exacerbated by a fluctuating and mobile population, particularly in the larger ports, which could equal the number of settled inhabitants.¹³¹

The historical view of sailors as especially sinful shaped cultural understandings of these communities. The 14th century confessional manual, *Memoriale presbiterorum*, originating within Bishop Grandisson's Exeter diocese, included a section 'Concerning sailors', warning 'that the pen scarcely suffices to write the sins in which they are involved. For so great is their malice that it exceeds the sins of all other men. You ought to know, therefore, that sailors sin'. Their sins were extensive, being 'ill believers and of weak faith'; once ashore, they either neglected confession or did not 'perform the penance enjoined on them', blaspheming 'Christ and his saints, swearing habitually by each and every limb of Christ and committing perjury and denying God'. Sailors do not behave 'reverently' towards church or clergy, assaulting and even killing priests, clerks and laymen 'in cases not permitted them by law', both at land and sea. Furthermore:

they practise the depravity of piracy, plundering the goods of others and especially of merchants crossing the sea and cruelly do they slay them. In which case, all sailors and also others, whoever they be, despoiling any other Christians of their goods on the sea or, also those suffering shipwreck, are today automatically excommunicate, nor could such a despoiler be in any respect absolved from such sentence unless he were first to restore all the goods taken or occupied to those who suffered the spoliation.¹³²

¹³⁰ John C. Appleby, 'Pirates and Communities: Scenes from Elizabethan England and Wales,' *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crime, Government and Society c. 1066 – c. 1600*, ed. Paul Dalton and Appleby (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009) 149 – 151; Fox, *Pirates* 8; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering, English Privateering During the Spanish War, 1585 – 1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964) 32, 254 – 258; Benton, *Sovereignty* 113.

¹³¹ Pearse 38.

¹³² Michael Haren, 'The Interrogatories for Officials, Lawyers and Secular Estates of the *Memoriale presbiterorum*,' *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998) 151 – 153. Also see: Haren, 'Confession, Social Ethics and Social Discipline in the *Memoriale presbiterorum*,' in the same volume, 109 – 110.

Sailors were proud, fraudulent, gluttonous, usurers and adulterers: ‘they either contract marriages de facto with several women’ or ‘fornicate generally and promiscuously with harlots’. Despising all men, they were cruel and merciless, violently robbing passengers they carried at sea, ‘especially poor pilgrims’, whilst on land ‘the whole time in which they ought to be doing good they waste on feasting, drunken orgies, lecheries, brawls, contentions and quarrels’.¹³³

These representations, disseminated throughout the parishes of the Exeter diocese at the very least, situates sailors and pirates as historically inseparable figures, a conflation of identities with an enduring resonance. Ambiguity and contradiction are synonymous with piracy: practices which constituted piratical activity were legitimate if licensed. To locate the identity of the early modern ‘pirate’, particularly prior to the latter part of the 17th century, is to explore the troublesome and unstable conceptual territory located between ‘maritime criminal’ and ‘national hero’.¹³⁴ Early modern piracy, as Jowitt (2010) demonstrates, was not always disruptive, even if represented as such.¹³⁵ Early modern pirates were:

frequently unruly, discontented figures, sniping away from the sidelines of literary texts and historical records [but they] can be conservative figures nostalgically championing old-fashioned, outmoded patterns of behaviour rather than the embodiment of a radical social and political agenda.¹³⁶

In addition, ‘when properly managed, they are highly serviceable tools in the formation of an English maritime and colonial empire’.¹³⁷

¹³³ Haren, ‘Interrogatories’ 151 – 153.

¹³⁴ See: Christopher Harding, ‘“*Hostis Humani Generis*” – The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea,’ *Pirates?* ed. Jowitt, 26.

¹³⁵ Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580 – 1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010) 1.

¹³⁶ Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 1 – 2.

¹³⁷ Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 1 - 2.

‘Pirates haunt the cultural imaginary’ observes Sanders (2011), as they ‘haunted’ the coasts: certainly piracy had both central and marginal roles in a variety of early modern popular representations, many of which reference Devon and Cornwall.¹³⁸ The relationship between the harbours, ports and coastal settlements of the West Country and piratical activity meant these locations were also marked – and represented - as sites of drunkenness, immorality, illicit activity and generalised lawlessness. For example, Thomas Heywood’s plays, *The Fair Maid of the West Parts I and II* (1631), set in Plymouth, Fowey, and Morocco, feature piracy alongside violence, drunkenness and bawdy behaviour in quayside and tavern scenes. Alehouses and inns were commonly viewed as sites for recruiting into piracy, as well as onshore centres for associated illicit and immoral behaviours.¹³⁹ Piracy thus featured within moral narratives: the anonymous pamphlet *Newes from Perin [Penryn] in Cornwall* (1618), set in the historically rebellious town, recounts a ‘most Bloody and un-exampled Murther’, whereupon an ex-captive is murdered by his father after returning as a wealthy stranger. The pamphlet opens with the behaviour of this ‘wilde and misgovern’d’ youngest son of a pious family: he inevitably takes to sea, a site of unbridled lawlessness, which deepens his moral corruption.¹⁴⁰ *Dux omnium malorum* is Latin for the leader, or seat, of all evil:

[he] consorted with a crew of his owne condition, having made what spoyle they could a shore, they determin’d a voyage to Sea and made what havocke they could there also. Whit tooke effect: Being once at Sea (*Dux omnium malorum* as we terme it) they spare neither Spanish, French, Dutch, Scotch or English.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Sanders, *Cultural Geography* 62. Also see: Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics, 1589 – 1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), and *Culture of Piracy*.

¹³⁹ Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 54; Sanders, *Cultural Geography* 61; Thomas Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West; or, A Girl Worth Gold Parts I and II* (London: 1631). Also see: Alexander Leggatt, *Jacobean Public Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1992) 129 – 143; Jowitt, *Voyage Drama* 39 – 54; Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economies: drama, mercantilism and disease in Shakespeare’s England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) 136 – 162; Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan 2003) 128 – 136, 141 – 143; Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579 – 1624* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2003) 39 – 54.

¹⁴⁰ Anon., *Newes From Perin in Cornwall of A most Bloody and un-exampled Murther* (London: 1618) A3^f.

¹⁴¹ *Newes From Perin* A3^r – A3^v.

Similarly, the unnamed, offstage Cornish coastal settlement in Richard Brome's *The Northern Lasse A Comoedie* (1632); first performed in 1629; is associated with piracy, corruption and moral ruin, highlighting the involvement of all sections of the community.¹⁴² Camitha (later, Constance) Holdup, has been forced to relocate to the capital and become a prostitute, due to her father's illicit activities despite being a Commissioner for the Peace. 'Misfortune wrought his estate out of his hands' is Camitha's explanation of her father's downfall: he is remembered by the JP, Sir Paul Squelch:

Holdup! I have heard of him, and know what twas that sunke him. Hee liv'd by the Sea-side; twas trading with the Pirats. Buying their goods, and selling them victuals.¹⁴³

Despite being a minor reference in the play, as Sanders highlights, Brome's representation 'conjures up for audience imaginations the black-market economy and nefarious practices of coastal villages in the early seventeenth century'.¹⁴⁴ An understanding of place-related identity is one informed by the narratives contained within historiographical and literary texts, imagined and physical landscapes, embodied customs and cultural memories: the thematic cartographies of 'nefarious practices' within the coastal locations of Devon and Cornwall contribute further to a sense of place-based identity. In doing so, they give shape and meaning to a localised cultural history of West Country Barbary captivity.

This cultural-spatial relationship between piracy and place was historically constituted to the period under study. Whilst many coastal locations inevitably have a cultural history of piracy dating back to the 11th century and earlier, the reputation for localised piracy within the

¹⁴² See: Sanders, *Cultural Geography* 53, 61 – 62; Julie Sanders, 'The Northern Lass: Introduction', Richard Brome Online, 3 March 2012, <www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome>; Kent, *Theatre* 356 – 359.

¹⁴³ Richard Brome, *The Northern Lasse A Comoedie* (London: 1632) 4.I; H4^r.

¹⁴⁴ Sanders, *Cultural Geography* 53.

West Country was forged during the late 14th and 15th centuries.¹⁴⁵ This reputation was abetted by continuing conflict with France, and the turbulence of the Wars of the Roses, which diverted funds and the attention of a depleted navy, weakening local and centralised administration and authority.¹⁴⁶ These factors created the ideal conditions for piracy, particularly in the remote areas where the inhabitants were more easily able to support and benefit from these often highly organised operations.¹⁴⁷

Fowey was especially notorious: the town, once a thriving port and a site of pilgrim departures, was in decline during the 15th century, as the tin trade became located further west, Truro becoming more commercially viable.¹⁴⁸ Inevitably, piracy increased, with locals forming consortia to fund share-held pirate ships, working in collusion with local officials and others from nearby ports.¹⁴⁹ There were numerous cases recorded during this period.¹⁵⁰ All ships were potential targets, and despite the close relationship between Brittany and Cornwall, Breton ships were still considered prey.¹⁵¹ By 1474 the depredations of the Fowey pirates on Breton and Spanish trade in particular was so damaging the king ordered all masters, mariners, pirates

¹⁴⁵ Angelo Forte, Richard D. Oram and Frederik Pedersen, *Viking Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 66, 186.

¹⁴⁶ See: John A. Wagner, *Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Roses* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2001) 70 – 71, 169; Michael Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses 1455 – 1485* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003) 14.

¹⁴⁷ Appleby, 'Pirates and Communities' 150, 153; Helen Doe, *A Maritime History of Fowey Harbour: 'A Fair and Commodious Haven'* (St Agnes, Cornwall: Truran, 2010) 10; Pearse 39.

¹⁴⁸ Doe, *Fowey* 8 – 10; Fox, *Pirates* 16; Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval England,' *Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of John H. A. Munro*, ed. Lawrin Armstrong, Ivana Elbl and Martin M. Elbl (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2007) 245.

¹⁴⁹ Fox, *Pirates* 16.

¹⁵⁰ Pearse 39 – 41; Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England* (London: Frank Cass & Co, 1962) 78 – 106, 183; H. C. Maxwell Lyte, ed., *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry IV, 1401 – 1413* (Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1971) 2: 133, 276; The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) Early Chancery Proceedings C1/20/19; Dorothy M. Gardiner, ed., *A Calendar of Early Chancery Proceedings relating to West Country Shipping, 1388 - 1493* (Torquay: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1976) 36 – 27, 55 – 56, 71; Fox, *Pirates* 16; Doe, *Fowey* 11 - 12; N. A. M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain, 660 – 1649, Vol. 1* (London: Penguin 2004 [1997]) 145 – 158; Helen Doe, *The Maritime History of Cornwall: an introduction* (Redruth: Tor Mark, 2006) 16 -17.

¹⁵¹ Kingsford 85; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Henry IV*, 3: 301, 350, 357.

and owners of ships in Fowey and its estuary to be arrested, along with the burgesses from Fowey, Bodinnick and Lostwithiel: all their ships, gear, goods and merchandise were seized. The ships were taken to London, and the blockhouse harbour chain was ordered to be removed to Dartmouth, measures which appeared to be successful, for a while.¹⁵² However, the association of Fowey with piracy continued: topographical accounts themselves were ‘haunted’ by Fowey’s piratical past. Leland described ‘[t]he glorie of Fawey’ as historically emerging:

partely by feates of warre, partely by pyracie, and so waxing riche felle al to marchaundice: so that the town was hauid with shippes of diverse nations, and their shippes went to al nations.¹⁵³

Carew ironically emphasised this reputation through his attempts to rehabilitate it. He referred to the port as ‘a fair and commodious haven’, and those engaging in piracy over a century earlier as ‘our Foy Gallants’, or ‘the Gallants of Foy’, bestowing their exploits with bravery - although specifically for their action against the English, namely, the Cinque Ports of south-east England, rather than continental shipping.¹⁵⁴ Carew insists that the people of the town had made amends, after

their goods were confiscated, one *Harrington* executed, the chaine of their haven removed to Dartmouth, & their wonted jolity transformed into a sudden misery: from which they strived a long time, in vaine, to releve themselves: but now of late yeres doe more and more aspire to a great amendment of their former defects.¹⁵⁵

The involvement of Dartmouth men in removing the ships, goods and harbour chain from Fowey for participation and collusion in acts of piracy was perhaps slightly incongruous. Dartmouth also had a history of piracy and privateering at the extreme edge of legality, often working with the Fowey men. The notoriety of Dartmouth emerged during the late 14th

¹⁵² Leland 204; Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974) 367, 410 – 411; Doe, *Cornwall* 18; Fox, *Pirates* 16.

¹⁵³ Leland 203.

¹⁵⁴ Carew, *Survey* 133 - 136. Also see: Doe, *Cornwall* 17 and *Fowey* 8, 17.

¹⁵⁵ Carew, *Survey* 136.

century, with the exploits of Sir John Hawley, thought to be the inspiration for the dark skinned, piratical character of the Shipman in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (c. 1385 – 1400).¹⁵⁶ The Shipman had a reputation for thieving, drinking, and ruthlessness at sea: however, as with Carew, the cultural ambiguity of piracy is apparent, as these characteristics include hardiness and outstanding seamanship.¹⁵⁷

Most of these activities went unpunished by the authorities, resulting in reprisal and punitive attacks on the West Country – demonstrating both the piratical reputation and the vulnerability of the region. For example, a French expedition unsuccessfully attempted to take Dartmouth in 1404, having already threatened Plymouth. Almost the entire French contingent of around 2000 were either killed or captured, with the town's efforts being acknowledged by Henry IV.¹⁵⁸ The following year a joint Spanish-French expedition was launched against the West Country: a revenge mission for attacks undertaken during official peace-time between these kingdoms. Upon reaching Cornwall, they captured nineteen fishing boats, interrogating and then drowning the crews. At Shouta, or Chita [East Looe], they burnt and pillaged the town, killing many inhabitants, despite their 'brave resistance': locals retaliated with stones, probably fired from catapults or trebuchets, firing arrows from both sides of the channel as the enemy retreated. Taking two merchant ships, although nearly wrecked by the force of the tide, they proceeded to Falmouth haven where they were repelled by a large body of armed men. They unsuccessfully attacked Saltash, assailed from the town fortifications; and the Isle of

¹⁵⁶ The General Prologue, ll. 388 – 410. Also see: Sigrid King, 'A Shipman Ther Was, Wonyng Fer By Weste,' *Chaucer's Pilgrims: An Historical Guide to the Pilgrims in the Canterbury Tales*, ed. Laura C. Lambdin and Robert T. Lambdin (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999 [1996]) 210, 215; Kowaleski, 'Warfare' 251; Fox, *Pirates* 13 - 14; Margaret Hallissy, *A Companion to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1995) 40; Geoffrey Chaucer, Malcolm Andrew, ed., *The General Prologue, Volume I, Part I* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993) 348, nn. 388 – 389; Dorothy A. Gardiner, 'John Hawley of Dartmouth,' *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 98 (1966): 173 – 205; Kingsford 82 – 87.

¹⁵⁷ The General Prologue, ll. 396 – 410.

¹⁵⁸ Fox, *Pirates* 13 – 14; Kingsford 82 – 85; Joseph Allen, *Battles of the British Navy Vol. I*. (London: Henry C. Bohn, 1852) 18. Also see: A. R. Myers, *English Historical Documents 1327 – 1485, Vol. 4* (Oxford: Routledge, 1996 [1969]) 196.

Portland, where Pero Niño, the Spanish commander, reportedly refused to burn the houses as he was unwilling to make war on the poor.¹⁵⁹ Truro suffered two French raids in 1377 and 1404, during which ships were taken or sunk, storehouses plundered, and the town was set on fire.¹⁶⁰ Fowey was also attacked by the French – possibly Bretons – in retaliation for their piratical excursions.¹⁶¹ Famously, in 1457, Elizabeth Treffry defended Place House – subsequently fortified with a tower by her husband. Thomas Treffry, himself involved in piracy, also contributed to the financing of the blockhouses: ‘a litle beneth the toun, one on eche side of the haven, and a chayne to be drawn over’.¹⁶² Such incidences and narratives of localised resistance to foreign attack produce cultural sites of ambiguity, in which later narratives can be situated. Occurring within zones vulnerable to invasion, the ‘sinful’, rebellious and illicit practices ascribed to the inhabitants of the coastal regions of the West Country can be reframed as ‘brave resistance’, to protect the coastline from foreign attack.

Appropriation of narratives of piracy contributed to 16th and 17th century nation building conducted through text and practice, evident within Hakluyt’s huge collection of *The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589), which inevitably included accounts of Christian interaction with Islam, including narratives of Barbary captivity.¹⁶³ As Jowitt (2010) observes:

¹⁵⁹ Benerson Little, *Pirate Hunting: The Fight Against Pirates, Privateers, and Sea Raiders from Antiquity to the Present* (Virginia: Potomac Books, 2010) 101; Allen, *Battles* 18 - 19; James Hamilton Wylie, *History of England Under Henry the Fourth* 2 Vols. (London: Longmans, Green: 1894) 2: 321 – 327; Gutierre Díaz de Gámez, *The Unconquered Knight: A Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna*, transl. Joan Evans (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004 [1782]) 107 – 130.

¹⁶⁰ Pearse 63.

¹⁶¹ Leland 204; Doe, *Cornwall* 18.

¹⁶² Leland 202 – 203, 204.

¹⁶³ First published in 1589, and re-published in expanded three volume form in 1598, 1599 and 1600, as *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Jack Beeching, ‘Introduction,’ *Voyages and Discoveries*, Richard Hakluyt (London: Penguin Books 1985 [1972]) 9, 11. Also see: Peter C. Mancell, *Hakluyt’s Promise: an Elizabethan’s obsession for an English America* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

Hakluyt's compendia sought to comprehend and advertise a sense of national identity by collecting a complete record of contact and interaction with others and, equally importantly, to inspire global traffic.¹⁶⁴

The understanding that the dubious practices of the West Country maritime communities could advance the economic and political standing of English sovereignty is evident within a 1436 poetic tract, the *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*. A celebration of maritime power, it specifically cites the prowess of the 'gode see-menne' [good sea men] of the 'Englysshe townes iij., that is to seye/ Derthmouth, Plymmouthe, the third it is Ffoweye'. The anonymous author highlights the importance of providing these men with 'helpe and notable puissance [power]' for them to continue their war and governance of 'Pety Bretayn' [Brittany].¹⁶⁵

The tract highlights the strategic importance of maritime control of the sea, an increasingly significant territorial issue of sovereignty and trade, including jurisdiction of coastal territory. The latter was initially concerned with restricting foreign fishing off the British coastline, impacting on the understanding of conceptual and experienced geographies associated with coastal communities and their seaward trajectories. However, controversy over a lack of territorialised sea also emerged from concerns generated by European trading companies over the lawfulness and morality regarding acts of mutual piracy and privateering, activities hindering free trade and commerce: not solely through the deeds themselves, but by disrupting trading relationships between countries, provoking war-like responses.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 7.

¹⁶⁵ 'The Libel of English Policy,' *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History, composed during the period From the Accession of EDW. III to that of RIC. III, Vol. II*, ed. Thomas Wright (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861) 166; George Warner, ed., *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: A Poem on the Use of Seapower, 1436* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926) 12, cited Kowaleski 'Warfare' 250 – 251.

¹⁶⁶ Ram Prakash Anand, *Origin and Development of the Law of the Sea* (The Netherlands: Kluwer, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1982) 77 – 78; Hugo Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas, or, The Right to Take Part in the East Indian Trade*, transl. Ralph van Deman Magoffin, ed. James Brown Scott (New Jersey: The Lawbook Exchange, 2001 [1916, 1633, 1609]); Bradin Cormack, 'Marginal Waters: *Pericles* and the Idea of Jurisdiction,' *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) esp. 162 – 174; T. W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea* (London: Blackwood, 1911) 338 – 358.

Following an act of piracy by a Dutch East India Company merchantman on a Portuguese galleon in 1603, the Company employed Hugo Grotius to examine the moral and legal position of prize-taking, to justify the galleon's capture.¹⁶⁷ He produced the influential *Mare Liberum* [The Free Sea, The Freedom of the Sea]; published anonymously in Latin during 1609; which was divided into three sections: sovereignty, freedom of navigation and international trade.¹⁶⁸ Grotius drew on principles of 'natural law', ancient precedents of pre-Christian world trade networks where maritime trade was unrestricted. Although states had claimed sovereignty over their own ships, ports, seaborne trade and seamen – usually during correspondence over the suppression of piracy - there had never been a claim of ownership of the sea under law, nor had there been preventative measures taken to forbid navigation of the sea, or inter-state maritime trade.¹⁶⁹ The ancient view was an earth divided, but the sea - as with the air - was common to all.¹⁷⁰ Indeed, cartography constructed the sea as blank, undifferentiated space, empty and vast - allowing for various imagined terrors to be superimposed there. It was also considered a lawless space.¹⁷¹ The concept of a common sea was deeply entrenched: Camden's *Annales* (1580) records Elizabeth responding to the Spanish Ambassador Bernadino Mendoza:

all are at liberty to navigate the vast ocean, since the use of the sea and the air are common to all. No nation or private person can have a right to the ocean, for neither the course of nature nor public usage permits any occupation of it.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ David Sandler Berkowitz, *John Selden's Formative Years: Politics and Society in Early Seventeenth-Century England* (New Jersey, Ontario and London: Associated University Presses, 1988) 52.

¹⁶⁸ Anand 81; Berkowitz 52. Also see: Hans W. Blom, ed., *Property, Piracy and Punishment: Hugo Grotius on War and Booty in De Iure Praedae – Concepts and Contexts* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

¹⁶⁹ Anand 83.

¹⁷⁰ Anand 83; Benton, *Sovereignty* 104 – 161.

¹⁷¹ Benton, *Sovereignty* 105.

¹⁷² William Camden, *Annales* (London: 1605 [1580]) 309, quoted Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 4. Also: David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 107; Berkowitz 52.

Grotius supported this view, albeit to enable the Dutch to challenge seaborne trade monopolies to their advantage. Just as the air was ‘not susceptible of occupation’ and ‘its common use is destined for all men’, so was the sea.¹⁷³

These principles had traditionally granted an element of freedom to those engaging in piracy, with, as Jowitt (2010) observes, the potential to be an ‘alternate political community’ at sea – if not territorial sovereignty itself, as the sea became reimagined.¹⁷⁴ She highlights the ballad *The famous sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rain-bow* (published 1650, probably circulated from the 1620s) as demonstrating popular understandings of this alterity. Loathed by James, John Ward, who became a corsair, is represented as revelling in this oppositional status:¹⁷⁵

Go tell the King of England
Go tell him thus from me,
If he Raign King on all the Land
I will raign king at Sea.¹⁷⁶

The notorious Peter Easton, a Somerset privateer who had been appointed in 1602 to oversee a squadron of three ships sent to Newfoundland to protect and police the fishing fleet, turned to piracy when James made peace with Spain.¹⁷⁷ He too saw himself as having sovereign status: refusing to accept a pardon from the King he responded ‘I am, in a way, a king myself’.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ Grotius, van Deman Magoffin and Scott 26.

¹⁷⁴ Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 5.

¹⁷⁵ Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 2. Also see: Senior 87 – 109; Wilson, *Pirate Utopias* 51 – 69; Adrian Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests and Captivity in the 17th-Century Mediterranean* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2010) 14 - 51; Greg Bak, *Barbary Pirate: The Life and Crimes of John Ward, the Most Infamous Privateer of his Time* (Stroud: The History Press, 2006).

¹⁷⁶ Anon, *The famous sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rain-bow. To the tune of Captain Ward* (London: 1650).

¹⁷⁷ Fox, *Pirates* 61 – 65.

¹⁷⁸ Quoted Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 158. Also see: Horatio F. Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy, Vol. 12: 1610 – 1613* (London: HMSO, 1905); Christopher Lloyd, *English Corsairs on the Barbary Coast* (London: Collins, 1981) 66; Mary

Therefore, the notion of piracy having the freedom of the sea was deeply problematic. Indeed, opposition to the concept emerged from the merchant associations formed for mutual protection from piratical depredations, with competing claims to sovereignty and dominions.¹⁷⁹ James was infamously intolerant of piracy – he made an impassioned proclamation against piracy in January 1609, a month before the publication of *Mare Liberum* - and, as his reign progressed, debates regarding the sovereignty of the sea became more intense.¹⁸⁰ To his consternation, in March 1609, the Dutch entered into the Treaty of Antwerp, allowing them rights of unhindered navigation and trade in the East Indies, undoubtedly influenced by *Mare Liberum*.¹⁸¹ James instructed his ambassador to register objections to the Treaty. The following month he proclaimed ‘reserved waters’ around the British coastline, prohibiting ‘foreigners’ to fish without licence, primarily aimed at the Dutch who had gained great wealth and power from the herring fishery along the British coast.¹⁸² This can be read as responding to *Mare Liberum*: Grotius had pointedly raised objections to interference with fishing undertaken in coastal waters by foreign vessels.¹⁸³

John Selden’s retort to Grotius, *Mare clausum* [Closed Sea]; written in 1618, although not published until 1635; argued the sea was capable of being appropriated as territory.¹⁸⁴

Anne Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I, 1611 – 1618* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858) 55; Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus; or Purchas his Pilgrims: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others in 1626*, Vol. 19 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907) 110 – 116; D. B. Quinn, *Newfoundland from Fishery to Colony: Northwest Passages Searches* (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, 1979) 150 – 151; Sean Thomas Cadigan, *Newfoundland & Labrador: A History* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2009) 46.

¹⁷⁹ Anand 84.

¹⁸⁰ *By the King, A Proclamation against Pirats* (London: 1608 [1609]); ‘A Proclamation against Pirates, 8 January 1609,’ *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England: Selimus, A Christian Turned Turk, The Renegado*, ed. Daniel Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) 353 – 356.

¹⁸¹ Berkowitz 52 – 53.

¹⁸² William Welwood, *Abridgement of all Sea-Lawes* (London: 1613) 7.

¹⁸³ Anand 85; Berkowitz 52 – 53; Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 4.

¹⁸⁴ Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 4 – 5. Also see: Berkowitz 32 – 50.

However, by 1618 Grotius had moved away from the principles of *Mare Liberum*. In an event described by Berkowitz (1988) as ‘one of the truly ironic moments in European legal and diplomatic history’, Grotius was part of the 1613 delegation visiting England to propose a trade monopoly for the Dutch East India Company. He expressed surprise when his own (anonymous) book was used to challenge the delegation’s arguments.¹⁸⁵

Although these negotiations concerned global trade, they also impacted locally. Emerging from these debates was a shift in the geo-political understanding of the coastline. The belief that the shore derived its identity from the sea, rather than the land, meant the ‘shore’ had traditionally been that which could be measured from the lowest tide, from the sea inland, not from the land outwards.¹⁸⁶ However, the shoreline became reconceptualised within the policy of ‘reserved waters’: territory extended outwards, seawards from the land.¹⁸⁷ The ‘haunting’ of the coastline by the Turks occurred within contested waters, represented a multiple breach of sovereignty. Furthermore, as discussed in Part III, spatial imaginings and understandings of the sea and coastlines shaped the identities of those associated with such geographies.

In addition to oceanic and coastal geographies, islands could also be problematic. For example, Lundy was a location which became a dedicated site of alternative sovereignties and contested territories: associated with piracy from its earliest inhabitations, the island can be mapped through a history of rebellion, lawlessness, treachery and disputed ownership.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Berkowitz 53; Anand 288. Also see: Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 6.

¹⁸⁶ Anand 84.

¹⁸⁷ Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 4 – 5.

¹⁸⁸ See, for example, Appleby, ‘Pirates and Communities’ 169 – 171; William Page, ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Cornwall* Vol. I (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1906) 489 – 490; Basil Fuller and Ronald Leslie-Melville, *Pirate Harbours and their Secrets* (London: Stanley Paul and Co., 1935) 135 - 138; Eric St. John Brooks, ‘The Family of Marisco,’ *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 7th Series, 1 (1) (1931): 22 – 38; Fox, *Pirates* 11 - 12; A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *A history of Medieval Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1980 [1968]) 97; Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the ‘Chronica Majora’* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1987) 234 – 236; Martin Harverty, *The History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern. Derived from our Native Annals* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1860) 256; Brendan Smith, ‘Irish Politics, 1220 – 1245,’

Strategically located within the mouth of the Bristol Channel, approximately 20 miles from mainland north Devon, it lay in the path of an abundance of merchant shipping and pilgrim traffic using the thriving ports of Bristol, Cardiff, Chepstow, Bridgwater, Bideford and Barnstaple.¹⁸⁹ Lundy provided a haven for pirates, provoking anxieties for local and central authority, nearby coastal inhabitants, and seafarers. Barnstaple in particular seems to have suffered from the piratical depredations out of Lundy.¹⁹⁰ In 1564, Elizabeth instructed Sir Peter Carew in 1564 to take action, agreeing to only provide victuals but authorising him to take payment from the spoil:

forasmuch as that coast of Devonshire and Cornwall is by report much haunted by pirates and rovers, to cause one or two apt vessels to be made ready with all speed in some ports thereabout.¹⁹¹

Three years later it appeared Barnstaple took action themselves: the Municipal Records recorded the ‘setting forth of divers men from this town to apprehend divers rovers and pirates at Lundy’.¹⁹² These excursions seemed to have had some success: the 1567 accounts show payment to ‘six watchmen for watching the prisoners that were taken and put in the quay hall of this town’, and the costs of candlelight, meat and drink ‘for the same prisoners’.¹⁹³

Contemporary to the *Mare liberum* negotiations, Lundy was held by Thomas Salkeld, a notorious figure who had been an Elizabethan privateer. In 1609 his name appeared on a list of

Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1999: Thirteenth Century England VIII, ed. Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell and Robin Frame (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001) 15 – 19; F. M. Powicke, *Ways of Medieval Life and Thought* (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1949) 38 - 68.

¹⁸⁹ Fuller and Leslie-Melville 135.

¹⁹⁰ Fuller and Leslie-Melville 138.

¹⁹¹ Elizabeth to Sir Peter Carew, Sept. 29, 1564: Domestic MSS. Elizabeth, vol. xxxiv, quoted James Anthony Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, Vol. VIII. Elizabeth* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870) 46 – 47; Fuller and Leslie-Melville 138 – 139.

¹⁹² Quoted Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, *Report and Transactions, Vol. 18* (Cornwall: Devonshire Press, 1886) 188; Fuller and Leslie-Melville 139.

¹⁹³ Devonshire Association 188; Fuller and Leslie-Melville 139.

pirates with whom the Lord Admiral was accused of consorting with: the following March, Salkeld and a crew of sixteen landed prisoners on the island. In a highly provocative gesture, he wished James's heart on the point of his sword, proclaiming himself 'King of Lundy Island', erecting gallows for those who did not acknowledge his sovereignty.¹⁹⁴ The same month, a commission under the Great Seal was directed to the Mayor and Alderman instructing them to send ships to take the pirates. However, a captive instigated the revolt: George Eskott, or Escott, of Bridgwater, who had been bound for France when he and his men were taken.¹⁹⁵ Escott was later rewarded with a pension, the Exchequer record for July 2nd 1610 stating:

in consideration of the good service done unto us of late by our trusty and well-beloved George Escott, about the removing of one Salkelde, a notorious pirate, from the island of Lundy, as also in regard of the said Escott's losses sustained in the performance of the service, we have given and granted, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant, unto him an annuity or pension of 1s 6d. of lawful money of England by the day¹⁹⁶

Admiral William Monson was dispatched to deal with Salkeld's treasonous and piratical activities, although by the time he arrived at Ilfracombe, Salkeld and the remains of his crew had fled.¹⁹⁷ Salkeld appears to have been killed by Easton, who reportedly threw him overboard to drown, probably off the coast of Ireland.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I, 1603 – 1610* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1857) 601; Fox, *Pirates* 60 – 61; Fuller and Leslie-Melville 139 – 140; Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine* 166, (October 1839) 355.

¹⁹⁵ *CSPD 1603 – 1610* 601.

¹⁹⁶ Frederick Devon, ed., *Issues of The Exchequer being Payments Made Out of His Majesty's Revenue during the Reign of King James I* (London: John Rodwell, 1836) 309 – 310.

¹⁹⁷ M. Oppenheim, ed., *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts* Vol. III (London: Navy Records Society, 1913) 349 – 351; Devonshire Association 184; Fox, *Pirates* 60 – 61; Fuller and Leslie-Melville 139 – 140.

¹⁹⁸ Oppenheim, *Monson's Naval Tracts* Vol. III 351. Also see: Fox, *Pirates* 61; Fuller and Leslie-Melville 140.

Culturally, therefore, Lundy was an ambiguous location: a site which inevitably became incorporated into narratives of Barbary captivity, included in Part I.¹⁹⁹ As with the 16th century exploits of the powerful Killigrew family of Arwenack (later, Falmouth); who held the captaincy of Pendennis castle; such narratives contribute to constructing a sense of place for the West Country, providing a particular contextual landscape for localised narratives, practices and representations of Barbary captivity.²⁰⁰ Certainly, these deeply embedded associations of piracy and lawlessness were overwritten within a few years after the first sighting of the Turks off the coast in 1623: new narratives would re-orientate these same coastlines, transforming them into landscapes of fear.

Ecologies of Early Modern Identity

This thesis situates representations of Barbary captivity within early modern understandings of place and identity: the multifaceted discourse of ‘regionally framed humoralism’, a combination of classical climate theory and humoralism which Floyd-Wilson (2003) has termed ‘geohumoralism’.²⁰¹ This ‘ethnic’ discourse originated within classical texts attributed to authors such as Aristotle, Herodotus, Ptolemy, Pliny, Hippocrates, Diodorus Siculus, and the

¹⁹⁹ Lisa Hopkins, *Shakespeare on the Edge: Border-crossing in the Tragedies and the Henriad* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) 87 – 114, esp. 91 – 92.

²⁰⁰ See, for example: R. Thomas, *History and Descriptions of the Town and Harbour of Falmouth* (Falmouth: Published at the Museum, by J. Trathan, 1827); Susan E. Gay, *Old Falmouth. The Story of the Town from the Days of the Killigrews to the Earliest Part of the 19th Century* (London: Headley Brothers, 1903); David Mathew, ‘The Cornish and Welsh Pirates in the Reign of Elizabeth,’ *The English Historical Review*, 39 (155) (July 1924): 337 – 348; a. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall* (Truro, Cornwall: Cornwall Classics, Truran Books, 2005 [1941]); Alfred Harbage, *Thomas Killigrew* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967 [1930]); Philip Gosse, *The History of Piracy* (New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1932).

²⁰¹ Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Also see: Jacques Bos, ‘The rise and decline of character: humoral psychology in ancient and early modern medical theory,’ *History of the Human Sciences* 22 (3) (2009): 29 - 50, esp. 31; J. W. Johnson, ‘Of Differing Ages and Climes,’ *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 21 (1960): 465 – 480; Marian J. Tooley, ‘Bodin and the Mediaeval Theory of Climate,’ *Speculum*, 28 (1953): 64 – 83; Z. S. Fink, ‘Milton and the Theory of Climatic Influence,’ *Modern Language Quarterly*, 2 (1941): 467 – 480.

medical practitioner and philosopher, Galen.²⁰² Early modern material bodies were Galenic humoral bodies, whose reciprocal interactions with the environment were intrinsically bound to their subjectivity and social identity.²⁰³ This was a body; a *self*; not clearly demarcated from its surroundings: as Paster (2004) observes, the passions were literally ‘liquid forces of nature’, with ‘the stuff’ of the world and the body being ‘composed of the same elementary materials’.²⁰⁴ Within this schema, ethnic and cultural distinctions, temperament and health – and their transformations, including those instigated through travel and different climes – were simultaneously constructed and explained.²⁰⁵

Although these inherited knowledges were increasingly explored and negotiated during the period: nevertheless, geohumoralist principles formed a fundamental, thus usually invisible, backdrop to understanding identity and behaviour.²⁰⁶ This thesis situates the embodied emotional responses to Barbary captivity, such as anxiety and fear, within this additional framework of cultural meaning. Furthermore, the bodily and geographical aspects of geohumoralism prove particularly significant in discerning contextual meaning regarding the physically and culturally mobile bodies of the Barbary captive, with their associated sites and geographies.

²⁰² Ian Johnston, *Galen On Diseases and Symptoms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 7 - 8. Also: Anthony David Smith, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (Oxford and Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1988 [1986]) 2, 21 - 27.

²⁰³ Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., ‘Introduction: Inhabiting the Body, Inhabiting the World,’ 3, and Gail Kern Paster, ‘Becoming the Landscape: The Ecology of the Passions in the Legend of Temperance,’ 137 – 152, esp. 142, both *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan, Jr. (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004) 4 – 5; Ruth Padel, *In and out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992) 88.

²⁰⁴ Paster, *Humoring* 4. Also: Robert Lawrence Martensen, *The Brain Takes Shape: an early history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 12.

²⁰⁵ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 2 – 3.

²⁰⁶ For example Pliny, the Elder, *The Historie of the World* (London: 1601); Pliny, the Elder, *A summarie of the antiquities, and wonders of the worlde, abstracted out of the sixtene first books of the excellent historiographer Plinie* (London: 1566); Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (London: 1576, 1633); Herodotus, *The famous hystory of Herodotus Conteyning the discourse of dyuers countreys* (London: 1584); Jean Bodin, *The six books of a common-weale* (London: 1606).

Humoral Bodies

The workings of the early modern material body were understood primarily through the medical philosophy of Galen, whose tenacious presence was still evident in the 19th century.²⁰⁷ ‘Pure’ Galenism is non-existent: Galen synthesized, edited and interpreted earlier writings from the Hippocratic corpus, incorporating the systems of Plato and Aristotle, and deliberately situating himself within their philosophical tradition. Furthermore, Galen’s eclectic work was filtered through other cultures and philosophies.²⁰⁸ His works were highly influential: despite early modern challenges to traditional Galenic thinking, the overthrow of humoralism was gradual, proving commonplace in theory and practice during the 17th century.²⁰⁹ Challenges came primarily through Paracelsus’s chemical-based medical theory, and William Harvey’s mechanistic model of the heart. Paracelsus had attacked humoral doctrine, initiating a rift in medical philosophy, as his work gained a professional following among physicians and apothecaries dissatisfied with Galenism. Harvey published his model of the heart in 1628, emphasizing its muscular power as a pump rather than as a mere vessel for active fluids.

²⁰⁷ See, for example, Mary Wilson Carpenter, *Health, Medicine and Society in Victorian England* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2010); Robert A. Erickson, *The Language of the Heart, 1600 – 1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

²⁰⁸ Paul Carrick, *Medical Ethics in the Ancient World* (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001) 41 – 45; R. James Hankinson, ‘Galen’s Philosophical Eclecticism,’ *ANRW* 36.5 (1992): 3505 – 3522.

²⁰⁹ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 3. Also see: Bos 29 - 50; Z. S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans: An Essay in the Recovery of a Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth-Century England* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1945); John W. Draper, *The Humors and Shakespeare’s Characters* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1945); Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare’s Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1952); F. David Hoeniger, *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992); Noga Arikha, *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humors* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007); Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964); Paster, *Humoring*, and her *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1993); Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson, ed., *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

However, there was a substantial delay in widespread acceptance and popular adoption of these views, largely due to their unavoidable rejection of the canonical humoral system.²¹⁰

Following Hippocrates, humoralism was organized by principles of balance and control, with the body composed of a number of elementary fluids, or humors, which were assigned origins, sites and functions.²¹¹ Within the western system, the four humors were blood, phlegm, black bile, (melancholy), and yellow bile, (choler); constituted in terms of the basic qualities of hot, cold, wet and dry, and aligned with the elements of air, earth, fire and water; the four seasons; four cardinal points in heaven; directions, and so on. Individuals also possessed their own *complexion*, or unique combination of humors and environmental factors, including their astrological sign and geographical location of birth. The humors interacted with this ‘natural’ temperament, and each other, determining the physical state of the material body.

Paster (2004) observes:

At every moment in the course of a day, a month, a season, or a lifetime, these humors and the qualities residing in them were thought to calibrate the body’s internal heat and moisture [...] its temper or complexion.²¹²

Paster highlights that conceptual or discursive spaces for the immateriality of the psychological were not available at this time - the realms of the emotional and the physiological were coextensive and coterminous.²¹³ As Selden (1614) casually observed, ‘the Mind’s inclination follows the Bodies Temperature’, indicating the embodied nature of the emotions, or passions

²¹⁰ See: Martensen 16; Arikha 213 - 305. Also see: Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications 2002 [1977]) and his *The English Paracelsians* (London: Oldbourne, 1965); Andrew Gregory, *Harvey’s Heart: The Discovery of Blood Circulation* (Cambridge: Icon Books, 2001); Gweneth Whitteridge, *William Harvey and the Circulation of the Blood* (London: Macdonald, 1971); Hugh Crone, *Paracelsus the man who defied medicine* (Melbourne, Australia: Albarello Press, 2004).

²¹¹ Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: an introduction to knowledge and practice* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990)105; Paster, *Body Embarrassed* 7 – 13.

²¹² Gail Kern Paster, ‘The Humor of It: Bodies, Fluids, and Social Discipline in Shakespearean Comedy,’ *A Companion to Shakespeare’s Works, Volume III: The Comedies*, ed. Richard Dutton and Jean Elizabeth Howard (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003) 47. Also see: Bos 29 – 50; Vivian Nutton, ‘Humoralism,’ *Companion Encyclopaedia of Medicine*, ed. W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) 2: 286 – 287.

²¹³ Paster, *Humoring* 12, 27.

– ‘one of the features of early modern thinking about the self that is least obvious and accessible to modern readers’.²¹⁴ For example, too much ‘choler’ did not *cause* anger - choler *was* anger.²¹⁵

Health was notoriously precarious within this system, perpetually striving to achieve the correct relationship between the humors. The body was imagined as a series of humoral containers: fluid-based, variable, and profoundly affected by both the immediate environment and its originary geographic location.²¹⁶ Indeed, these bodily processes were given meaning through an environmental, or ‘ecological’, framework: the passions acted within the microcosm of the body, as the wind and waves did in the macrocosm.²¹⁷ If the body is not kept in a condition of humoral balance, it will be:

throwne into sundry diseases and innumerable affections, and (like a Ship full fraught with wares in tempestuous and boisterous weather) carryed and dashed upon the rockes of perturbation.²¹⁸

Illness and disease (although not injury) were thus attributed to humoral imbalance, or the corruption of the humors through contagion, disturbing organ function and altering the ability to act and think. The physician’s role was to address this material condition of alteration and imbalance, primarily through the canonical categories of Galen’s ‘six non-naturals’: air; diet; sleep and waking; movement and rest; retention and evacuation; the emotions, or passions of

²¹⁴ John Seldon, *Titles of Honor* (London, 1614) B4^r, quoted Paster, ‘The Humor of It’ 48; Timothy Hampton, ‘Strange Alteration: Physiology and Psychology from Galen to Rabelais,’ *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, ed. Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson 273 – 274.

²¹⁵ Paster, *Humoring* 12 – 16.

²¹⁶ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 12 – 13; Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* 101; Thomas F. Glick, Steven John Livesey and Faith Wallis, *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopaedia* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005) 179 - 180.

²¹⁷ Paster, *Humoring* 6; Paster, ‘Becoming the Landscape’ 139.

²¹⁸ Lemnius A3^r.

the soul.²¹⁹ These were termed ‘non-natural’ as they were considered ‘the necessary aspects of life over which choices can be made’, and gave rise to a substantial amount of health tracts advice and regimens.²²⁰

The primary humoral containers were the heart and brain, understood and experienced within a schema derived from classical deliberations and philosophical, medical and theological debates, regarding the site of the soul within the body – the condition of which was a consistent source of anxiety within representations of captivity.²²¹ Whilst the health of the early modern Christian soul was directly linked to faith, within inherited classical contexts the soul was not theological. Rather, it was the principle of life that inspired a person, plant or animal, directing the operations of the chief organs, ensuring the temperate and harmonious functioning of the body.²²² Plato proposed a tripartite model, locating the reasoning ‘immortal’ soul in the head, whilst the mortal soul was divided into two distinct parts: the higher part, containing more refined qualities, situated in the ‘breast’ or ‘chest’; and the lower part located in the ‘trunk’, consisting of baser qualities. Alternatively, Aristotle proposed one soul, with different aspects – sensitive, rational, motile and vegetative, also differing from Plato by

²¹⁹ Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550 – 1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 156 – 157; Glick, Livesey, and Wallis 179 - 180; Stephen Pender, ‘Subventing Disease: Anger, Passions, and the Non-Naturals,’ *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer C. Vaught (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010) 193 – 218.

²²⁰ Wear 156 – 157; Paul Slack, ‘Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: the Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England,’ *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 237 – 273. For example, Thomas Moulton, *This is the myrour or glasse of helthe* (London: 1580 [1530], 17th ed.); Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London: 1621); Andrew Boorde, *A Compendyous Regyment or a Dyetary of Helth* (London: 1542) and his *Brevarie of Helth* (London 1547); William Bullein, *A Newe Booke entituled the Government of Health* (London: 1558); Thomas Phayre, *The Regiment of Life* (London: 1596 [1545], 9th rep.); Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London: 1584, 1612); William Vaughan, *Approved Directions for Health* (London: 1600); Tobias Venner, *Via Recta and Vitam Longam [...] the Preservation of Health* (London: 1620, 1628); Sir Thomas Elyot, *Castel of Helthe* (London: 1595 [c. 1536], 16th rep.).

²²¹ See, for example: R. N. Sharma, *Plato: an inter-disciplinary perspective* (New Delhi: Atlantic, 1991); Herbert Granger, *Aristotle’s Idea of the Soul* (AH Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer, 1996).

²²² Erica Nicole Daigle, ‘Reconciling Matter and Spirit: The Galenic Brain in Early Modern Literature,’ PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2009, 192, f.n.1; Paster, *Humoring* 136 – 137.

insisting that all living things had a soul, including plants and animals.²²³ The nature, workings, and materiality of the soul were subject to on-going, often contradictory, debate. Galen's discussions were ambiguous, particularly regarding the source of the soul's power. He suggested it was reliant on physical balance along with the rest of the body – a view that proved contentious amongst medieval Christians. However, Galen's ambiguity would allow them to retain his principles by adapting his theories to suit religious discourse, asserting the immaterial nature of the soul in the absence of Galen concluding whether it was material or not.²²⁴

Thus the soul was interpreted as an immaterial aspect of the body, distributed in the form of 'spirits'. The interactions between the soul and the body produced behaviour: sensations gathered by the material body were passed to the nonmaterial soul for analysis. The soul was then distributed around the body by the 'animal spirits', a refined version of the 'vital spirits', producing behavioural responses by activating the nerves and muscles. The material nature of the spirits was unclear, although they carried heat and moisture, and needed to be clean and pure to function correctly.²²⁵ The unpredictability of human behaviour, which went beyond mere material responses and interactions, could therefore be explained by the presence of the soul and the sensitivity of the humors.²²⁶ Similarly, disease or illness could indicate damage to

²²³ Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance: The Resurrection of the Anatomical Projects of the Ancients* (Aldershot, Hants: Scholar Press, 1997) 10 – 36; Paster, *Humoring* 136 – 137; Katharine Park, 'The organic soul,' *The Cambridge history of Renaissance philosophy*, ed., Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 464 – 484.

²²⁴ Hoeniger esp. chpt. 5 and 9; Owsei Temkin, *Galenism: rise and decline of a medical philosophy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973) esp. chpt. 2; John D. Spillane, *The Doctrine of the Nerves: chapters in the history of neurology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) esp. chpt. 1; Daigle 194 – 195, f.n. 19; Cunningham 10 – 36.

²²⁵ Bruce R. Smith, *Shakespeare and Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 26; Paul W. Glimcher, *Decisions, Uncertainty, and the Brain: The Science of Neuroeconomics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003) 13 – 15; Edwin Clarke, Kenneth Dewhurst, and Michael Jeffrey Aminoff, *An Illustrated History of Brain Function. Imaging the Brain from Antiquity to the Present* (San Francisco, CA: Norman Publishing, 1996) 3 – 6; Paster, 'The Humor of It' 48, and her *Humoring* 1 – 9, 19 – 20, 61 – 63; Lemnius A7^r – B^r.

²²⁶ Glimcher 13 – 15.

either the material processes of the body, or the nonmaterial process of the soul, meaning that disease – and behaviour - had a moral as well as a physiological dimension.²²⁷ However, with regards the heart and brain, the fundamental question was where the soul interacted with the material body to receive sensation and produce movement: which organ was the primary seat of the soul providing the critical link between the material and nonmaterial properties of human beings.²²⁸

For Aristotle, the heart was the seat of all aspects of the soul, the brain merely functioning to cool the blood.²²⁹ For Plato, however, the primary organ was the brain. This was the position Galen developed, incorporating Hippocratic arguments situating the brain - and spinal cord - as linking the material and immaterial aspects of the body.²³⁰ Galen divided the brain into two functional areas, one linked to motor nerves, the other to sensory nerves, identifying ‘ventricles’, similar to chambers in the heart. These fluid-filled humoral spaces were where the mental functions took place: the location of the ‘mind’ and the site of ‘common sense’, where the input of the senses converged. Distinct processes, such as memory or fantasy, were located in specific material sites within the brain.²³¹ The humors played a role in registering sensations and initiating movements to and from the brain ventricles via the nerves, which were believed to be hollow.²³² The ‘vitall doth procreate the Animall’, states Lemnius, following Galenic tradition, ‘for it being laboured, prepared in the contexted net, cells, and cornery ventricles of the braine’. Derived from here is ‘all the power and faculty which the soule hath, and from it doe all actions

²²⁷ Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 24.

²²⁸ Cunningham 10 – 36.

²²⁹ Clarke, Dewhurst, and Aminoff 82; Mark F. Bear, Barry W. Connors, and Michael A. Paradiso, *Neuroscience: Exploring the Brain* (Baltimore and Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2007) 5.

²³⁰ Bear, Connors, and Paradiso 6; Glimcher 13 – 15; Clarke, Dewhurst, and Aminoff 3 – 6; Daigle 197, f.n. 7.

²³¹ Clarke, Dewhurst, and Aminoff 8 – 53, 54; Glimcher 16.

²³² Glimcher 13 – 15; Clarke, Dewhurst, and Aminoff 3 – 6; Bear, Connors, and Paradiso 6.

issues and proceed'.²³³ The 'contexted', or 'marvellous' net – the *rete mirabile* - was believed to be where the animal spirits were prepared from the vital spirits. Galen proposed the vital spirits were produced in the heart, described in *The Touchstone* as 'the welspring or fountain from whom the spirits are derived': following Hippocrates and Aristotle this was located in the left ventricle.²³⁴ When they reached the cranial cavity, they encountered the 'marvellous net': a rich network of fine vessels at the base of the brain: a concept accepted and depicted from the 3rd – 17th century – despite it only being a feature of the brains of pigs and oxen.²³⁵

The Galenic brain model remained dominant, although whether the soul was located within the heart or brain was controversial: reading meaning into the Barbary captive involves giving attention to the processes and function of both these organs. Whilst sensation was thought to register in the heart, Helkiah Crooke wrote in 1615 that the brain had more nobility than the heart – later, however, in the same text he gave them a sense of equality:

But we say as the heart is of the greatest and most instant necessity for life, so the place of dignity belongeth to the Braine.²³⁶

The question remained unanswered - as reflected in this couplet from *The Merchant of Venice*:
'Tell me where is fancie bred, /Or in the heart, or in the head'.²³⁷

²³³ Lemnius B6^r.

²³⁴ Lemnius B^f.

²³⁵ Clarke, Dewhurst, and Aminoff 4 – 6.

²³⁶ Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia* (London: 1618 [1615]), quoted Martensen 16.

²³⁷ William Shakespeare, *The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice* (London: 1600), quoted Clarke, Dewhurst, and Aminoff 3 - 4. Also see Scott Manning Stevens, 'Sacred Heart and Secular Brain,' *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David A. Hillman and Carla Mazzio (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 263, 265; Simo Knuuttila, 'Aristotle's Theory of Perception and Medieval Aristotelianism,' *Theories of Perception in Medieval and Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Simo Knuuttila and Pekka Kärkkäinen (Helsinki, Finland: Springer, 2008) 13.

Geographical Humoralism

An understanding of humoral identity and the relationship of the material body with the landscape – geohumoralism - enables a more nuanced contextual interpretation of localised responses to Barbary captivity. Classical geohumoralism operated within a tripartite system, constructing ancient Greece and Rome as the civilized, moderate centre – a temperate zone producing humoral temperance – surrounded by barbaric northern and southern extremes. The geographies of the New World were merely incorporated into the existing system.²³⁸ Whilst classical geohumoral discourse aimed to provide understanding of these geographical zones, it also functioned to marginalize. A Mediterranean-centered schema classified bordering lands as inverted extremes occupied by ‘barbaric’ Scythians and Ethiopians, outsiders in relation to the *polis* or *oikumene* - the civilized central zone.²³⁹ This logic of inversion positioned northern ‘whiteness’ and southern ‘blackness’ within an interdependent, non-hierarchical relationship: as the southerner (initially, the Ethiopian) is hot and dry, then the northerner (initially, the Scythian) must be cold and moist.²⁴⁰ This inversion covered all aspects of temperament: for example, as the southerner is physically weak, but alert and imaginative, the northerner must be strong, but dull and witless; the southerner is sensual and lustful, therefore the northerner is impotent or sexually apathetic.²⁴¹ Furthermore, the flexibility of geohumoral discourse rendered ethnic identity within these zones fluid and malleable, although fixed in an interdependent relationship.

²³⁸ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity 2*; John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 159 – 182.

²³⁹ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity 2*.

²⁴⁰ Gillies 9; Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity 23* – 47. Herodotus thought the Scythians an inversion of the Egyptians, François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* transl. Janet Lloyd (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1988) 3.

²⁴¹ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity 2* – 3, 31, her ‘English Epicures and Scottish Witches,’ *Shakespeare Quarterly* 57(2) (2006): 131 - 161, and her ‘English Mettle,’ *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, ed. Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson 134 – 138; Paster, ‘The Humor of It’ 48.

The classical emergence of geohumoralism was rooted in creation myths. Humans were *indigenes*, created from the earth, dust or soil: such beliefs in autochthonous life and spontaneous generation persisted into the 17th century.²⁴² Although there were variants, early modern geohumoralism retained the classical tripartite structure of a temperate central zone with extreme inverted boundaries, mapping the attributes of the Ethiopians and Scythians onto the early modern Africans and northern Europeans.²⁴³ However, geohumoralist discourse was notoriously flexible and contradictory, and could be adapted to different agendas and perspectives.

This was certainly the case during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Historically, the people of the British Isles traced a noble genealogy to the central zone through a narrative of Trojan origins. Despite being transplanted into a northern territory, Britons retained and maintained these innate and ancient virtues, and thus ‘circumvented the embarrassments of a northern descent’.²⁴⁴ However, this founding myth was becoming increasingly untenable, exacerbated by the theological break with Rome.²⁴⁵ Britons were no longer able to distance themselves from classical northern attributes and therefore became displaced as the inferior, barbaric outsider to the civilized and superior centre, fixed into an interdependent relationship with the southerner, a location authorised by privileged ancient texts.²⁴⁶ The body of the

²⁴² See: Alix Cooper, *Inventing the Indigenous: Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Matthew R. Goodrum, ‘Atomism, Atheism and the Spontaneous Generation of Human Beings: The Debate over a Natural Origin of the First Humans in Seventeenth-Century Britain,’ *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63 (20) (2002): 207 – 224; Hodgen.

²⁴³ A. H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 170 – 228; Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 95.

²⁴⁴ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 15.

²⁴⁵ See: Hugh A. MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons* (Canada: Harvest House, 1982); Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 11, 14 – 19, 48 – 66. Also: John E. Curran, *Roman Invasions: The British History, Protestant Anti-Romanism, and the Historical Imagination in England, 1530 – 1660* (Cranbury, NJ and London: Associated University Presses, 2002).

²⁴⁶ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 28 – 30, 48 - 66; T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950) 4 – 6, 89 – 98.

northerner was phlegmatic, ‘by reason of grosse blood and thicke spyrites’, compensating for the cold climate by generating excessive heat and producing hot, viscous blood.²⁴⁷ This created an intemperate disposition and a tendency to be violent and cruel, ‘bolde and full of venturous courage, rude, unmanerlye, terrible, cruell’, as well as fierce, strong and unruly, ‘wythe very threatening countenance and manacing wordes’ which made ‘others stande in feare of them’.²⁴⁸ They were inclined to be fickle in matters of religion, possessing brains ‘stuffed’ with ‘phlegmaticke matter, the blood too hote and too thicke’ meaning they were ‘of all men endowed with the least portion of witt and pollicie’.²⁴⁹ ‘Intemperance’ within geohumoral discourse was equivalent to ‘barbarism’, and significantly for this thesis, the genealogical and geographic origins of the Turks were also Scythian.²⁵⁰ Turks, Scythians and Britons were therefore primordially northern, products of the same environment and therefore sharing the same intemperate mutability, appropriated culture, desire for movement, hardiness, and an inherited disposition towards cruelty, infidelity, barbarism and heresy.²⁵¹ Early modern Britons were thus engaged in an ‘intimate though fraught affiliation with the Scythians’.²⁵² Furthermore, the humoral makeup of the ‘English’, reinforced by their island status, meant their bodies were moist and porous, vulnerable to absorbing foreign customs, practices and ideas.²⁵³

²⁴⁷ Lemnius B4^r.

²⁴⁸ Lemnius B4^r; Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 29, 53.

²⁴⁹ Thomas Walkington, *The Opticke Glasse of Humors* (London: c. 1605) 24 – 25, also see 29 - 31, quoted Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 28 - 29, 53; Highley 54 – 79.

²⁵⁰ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 31; Highley 54 – 79.

²⁵¹ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 15, 89 – 110; Mark Thornton Burnett, ‘Tamburlaine: An Elizabethan Vagabond,’ *Studies in Philology* 84 (1987): 320; John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981) 45; William Johnson, ‘The Scythian: His Rise and Fall,’ *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20 (1959): 250 – 257; Highley 54 – 79.

²⁵² Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 89. Also see: Suranyi 69 – 82.

²⁵³ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 14, 29, 54, 66 - 67.

Highley (2008) demonstrates how this alignment of northerners, Scythians and Turks was exploited by Catholic exiles, who lamented the condition of their now Protestant homeland, claiming the ‘Englishness’ of Anglo-Protestants had degenerated: they were becoming barbarous and cruel infidels – becoming Turks without Islamic religious tolerance. Severing the links between England and Rome had enabled Protestant heresy to flourish within the land and bodies of the English, allowing the innate unruliness, hardness and religious infidelity to manifest: Protestantism represented an inevitable conversion to Islam.²⁵⁴

The internal conception of Britain as ethnically northern impacted on all aspects of culture, from fashion to medicine, politics to religion – and the emerging national consciousness. The Reformation, for example, had instigated a search for alternative origins of the English Church: ‘Britain’, or ‘England’, had to construct a rehabilitated identity that incorporated, but reframed, this marginalised northern status.²⁵⁵ The fluidity of geohumoralism and the flexibility of genealogy became increasingly apparent – and useful. Jean Bodin, French natural philosopher and political theorist, suggested the classical northerners were actually Swedes and Finns, with the English and French belonging to the temperate zones, concluding that Scythian hardness occurs through continual movement, warfare and manual labour: if settled and idle they become softened.²⁵⁶ Camden stated that innate northern barbarism had been tamed by the Romans: ‘[t]his Roman yoke, though heavy, was nevertheless healthful’.²⁵⁷ However, this highlighted a susceptibility to conquest and subjugation, a predisposition to assimilating foreign cultures, and the potential to lapse into barbarism – unsettling attributes in the context of Barbary captivity, a theme explored in Part III. Often, the negative northern qualities of

²⁵⁴ Highley 54 – 79.

²⁵⁵ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 14.

²⁵⁶ Jean Bodin, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, transl. Beatrice Reynolds (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945 [1566]) 97; Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 102 – 103.

²⁵⁷ Camden, *Britannia*, quoted Curran 15.

primitive barbarity and cruelty were projected onto those ‘original’ British inhabitants who had remained uncivilized despite temperate Mediterranean influences: primarily the Irish, although with implications for the Cornish and others considered ethnically British rather than English.²⁵⁸ Tracts were circulated advising on remedying and reforming this innate northern temperament through the Galenic six non-naturals, just as many offered advice, reassurance and gave warnings regarding travel and foreign influence.²⁵⁹

This understanding of a decentred and marginalised British Isles is important in discerning meaning within narratives and representations of ethnic, religious, geographical and national divisions relevant to early modern Barbary captivity.

Early Modern Turks and Moors

Suggestive of the cultural-spatial shift during the early modern period which brought Muslims closer than ever before to the British Isles, Thomas Newton observed in his *A Notable Historie of the Saracens* (1575) how:

²⁵⁸ See: Suranyi 59 – 69, 74 – 82; Andrew Hadfield, ‘The naked and the dead’: Elizabethan perceptions of Ireland,’ *Travel and drama in Shakespeare’s time*, ed. Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 32 – 54; Debora Shuger, ‘Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians,’ *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997): 494 – 525; Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley, ed., *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict 1534 – 1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 16, 45 – 46, 58 – 60; Jean Feerick, ‘Spenser, Race, and Ire-Land,’ *English Literary Renaissance* 32 (2002): 85 – 117; Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland: English Renaissance Literature and Elizabethan Imperial Expansion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 103 – 106; Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Hants: Palgrave, 2001) 171 – 187; Bruce Avery, ‘Mapping the Irish Other: Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland*,’ *English Literary History* 57 (2) (1990): 263 – 279; Andrew Hadfield, ‘Briton and Scythian: Tudor Representations of Irish Origins,’ *Irish Historical Studies* 28 (1993): 390 – 408; Sir John Davies, *A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued* (London: 1612).

²⁵⁹ For example, Thomas Neale, *A Treatise of Direction* (London: 1643); Bishop Joseph Hall, *Quo Vadis* (London: 1617); Baptist Goodall, *The Tryall of Travell* (London, 1630); William Rankins, *The English Ape* (London: 1588).

They were [...] at the first very far from our Clyme & Region, and therefore the lesse to be feared, but now they are even at our doors and ready to come into our Houses.²⁶⁰

This shift, occurring in the realms of imagination, representation and lived experience, magnified the historically constituted perception of the ‘Islamic threat’ to Christendom projected onto the conflicted territories of the ‘Holy Land’.²⁶¹

Earlier representations of non-Christians – often referred to as ‘pagans’ during the medieval period – were underpinned by a dualistic principle of right and wrong, with ‘Saracens’, Jews, and ‘Tartars’ cast as the enemies of a righteous Christendom. Saracens were the illicit occupiers of the Holy Land, *terra sancta*: a space mapped as the centre of the medieval world of Christendom, yet existing in a geographically distant locale; a site of pilgrimage and Crusade, imagined as Christian space requiring redemption.²⁶² Saracens and Tartars were inserted alongside Jews into medieval Christian eschatologies, conflated with other Christian enemies in a demonic alliance: the Devil, Jews, Saracens, Mongols, Ethiopians, the Antichrist and any other ‘monstrous races’.²⁶³ Within post-Reformation Protestant polemic, the Pope was included in this alliance, the ‘Turk’ increasingly replacing the medieval ‘Saracen’ to signify Muslims, although those terms, along with ‘Moroccans,’ ‘Mohammedans’, ‘Ottomans’, and ‘Moors’ were used interchangeably - erasing any geographical, ethnic, religious or cultural

²⁶⁰ Thomas Newton, *A Notable Historie of the Saracens* (London: 1575). This is a translation of Augustine Curio’s *Sarracenicæ Historiæ*.

²⁶¹ Palmira Brummett, ‘Imagining the early modern Ottoman space, from world history to Piri Reis,’ *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 27.

²⁶² Brummett, ‘Imagining’ 27. Also see: P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (London: The British Library, 1991); Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: The British Library, 1999); Rehav Rubin, ‘Sacred space and mythic time in the early printed maps of Jerusalem,’ *Jerusalem: Idea and Reality*, ed. Tamar Mayer and Suleiman A. Mourad (Oxford: Routledge, 2008) 123 – 149.

²⁶³ Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003) 158, 211 – 212, 238. Also see: Geraldine Heng, ‘Jews, Saracens, ‘Black Men,’ Tartars: England in a World of Racial Difference,’ *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture c. 1350 – c. 1500*, ed. Peter Brown (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007) 247 – 269; Friedman, *Monstrous Races*; Avner Falk, *Franks and Saracens: Reality and Fantasy in the Crusades* (London: Karnac Books, 2010) 67 – 68.

multiplicity.²⁶⁴ Inclusion in eschatology simultaneously explained the existence and role of Christian enemies in the world, justifying hostilities towards them. In particular, the eschatological role of Muslims pre-empted questions regarding the success and endurance of Islam.²⁶⁵ Such beliefs informed medieval Crusade - an influential template of Christian-Muslim interactions which shaped the understandings and representations of Barbary captivity. However, whilst Crusade situated the Islamic threat 'very far from our Clyme and Region', it was Barbary captivity which, particularly for the coastal dwellers of the West Country, placed the Turk 'at our doors and ready to come into our Houses'.

This shift in proximity emerged during the Elizabethan period, continuing into the early Caroline era. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire, combined with an increase in trade, travel and diplomacy, meant, as Matar (1999) points out, no other non-Christians had as widespread interaction with Britons as Muslims, especially those of the North African 'Barbary States': the relatively autonomous regencies of Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, and the independent kingdom of Morocco.²⁶⁶ Britons had increased access to Islamic literature, culture and language, with cross-cultural contact and exchange occurring within both Muslim and non-Muslim territories: on British soil and the more indeterminate spaces of ports, harbours, ships and the sea itself, particularly within the Mediterranean regions. Trading companies were established and diplomatic visits undertaken: letters, bribes, goods and gifts were exchanged and circulated - spatial practices connecting centralised sites of power in both London and the Islamic

²⁶⁴ Gerald MacLean, 'Milton among the Muslims,' *The Religions of the Book, Christian Perceptions, 1400 – 1660*, ed. Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 182; Highley 54 - 80; Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 71; Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640 – 1685* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007) 14.

²⁶⁵ Strickland esp. 157 – 238.

²⁶⁶ Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York and Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 1999) 3.

worlds.²⁶⁷ Muslims were ‘real’ and they were represented: on the stage, in histories and travel accounts, news pamphlets and published captivity narratives, as well as more private official reports, petitions, correspondence and depositions. This proximity simultaneously augmented, undermined and complicated the older medieval paradigm of Christian-Muslim relations, exacerbated by post-Reformation schisms within Christianity, and shaped by the imagined geographies of the Mediterranean. Vitkus (2003) highlights how this region was ‘wildly overdetermined’ during the period, with multiple meanings and contexts drawn from the classical and cultural histories of ancient Greece and Rome, including Hellenistic romance, Biblical histories, and geohumoral discourse, shaped by Catholic, Muslim and Jewish inhabitants, and the lived experiences of trade and travel.²⁶⁸ For early modern Britons, the Mediterranean was mapped incongruously through these conflicting socio-cultural, historical and economic schemas. The Islamic ‘threat’ was rendered proximate through increased contact between Britons and Muslims from the latter part of the 16th century, founded upon the circulation and exchange of knowledge and goods, and constituted through multiple histories. Increased contact did not only increase anxiety: it also brought a plurality of new economic and social opportunities, perspectives and understandings.

However, it was the taking of Barbary captives which brought the ‘threat’ of Islam closer than before. Barbary captives were reported to be taken by Turks in coastal raids and at sea: from boats close to Devon and Cornwall and other parts of the British coastline, whilst working the Newfoundland fisheries and on trading trips within the Mediterranean, or travelling on other international routes, as pilgrims, diplomats, merchants, soldiers and settlers. Vessels were reported found empty, drifting out at sea, and sightings of Turkish warships close

²⁶⁷ Thomas S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959) 263.

²⁶⁸ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 32 - 33.

to the West Country were frequent. Within the wider context of Christian-Muslim relations, but also as localised lived experiences, the perceived proximity of the Turks to the coastline of the ‘western parts’ produced multiple anxious narratives and geographies, with trajectories of emotional and economic impact between North Africa and the coastal regions of the West Country.

Localised fears are vividly illustrated in a letter written to Charles I by a group of Cornish JPs sitting at Bodmin in 1636, sixty-one years after the publication of Newton’s text. The letter demonstrates the construction of anxious geographies through a combination of economic and bodily anxieties occurring in lived, represented and imagined space. Drawing on historically constituted narratives, the Turks are understood as ‘cruel infidels’: spreading ‘terror’, causing personal and financial loss, economic paralysis, dearth and creating dependents upon the parish. Spatially, the focus is localised: the impact of the Turks is mapped from the coastline inwards shaping the economic and emotional realms within the community, reaching to the domestic space of ‘their houses’. Paradoxically, Barbary and the other spaces of Islam – including the galleys, as the Turks in this instance are undifferentiated from their vessels - exist as anxious, off-page locations, haunting and disrupting domestic geographies, sites of absence and loss. Captives are ‘carried away’ or ‘taken’ to ‘that misery’ or into ‘miserable captivity’, with the Turks themselves embodying the threat of Islam and the terrors of Barbary. Identity and place converge, constituted through fear, loss and disruption: the justices beg the king to take notice of the ‘complaints lately received from the sea coast of Cornwall’, merging the inhabitants’ voices with the landscape. Two months earlier, three barks from East and West Looe:

on a fishing voyage upon the coasts, were taken by the Turks, and 27 persons carried away into miserable slavery, which loss falls the more heavy upon the said towns, by reason of their former losses in two preceding years, wherein they lost four barks and 42 person, whereby the said towns are not only impoverished, but by means of the wives and children of these poor captives (being above 100 persons) are so surcharged, as they are likely to fall into great decay, and through the terror of that

misery whereunto these persons are carried by these cruel infidels, the owners and seamen rather give over their trade than put their estates and persons into so great peril, there being now 60 vessels and about 200 seamen without employment.

The Justices report:

the Turks have taken other vessels, and chased others so that they have run on the rocks, choosing rather to lose their boats than their liberty. These Turks daily show themselves at St Keverne, Mount's Bay, and other places, that the poor fishermen are fearful not only to go to the seas, but likewise lest these Turks should come on shore and take them out of their houses.²⁶⁹

‘Such being the condition of these parts’, they conclude: fear becoming constitutive of place.

However, within the broader relationship with the Ottoman Empire, Morocco and the Barbary regencies, the spaces of representation, knowledge and practice reveal a deep ambiguity. The first section of this part will give an overview of the wider historical and contemporary understandings of Islam and Muslims within which the anxious narratives of the West Country need to be contextually situated: particularly, the ambiguity which characterizes the spaces of representation, knowledge and interaction available to early modern Britons in their encounters with Muslims. These include the textual spaces of histories, letters, narratives and accounts; the theatrical space of the London stage and published plays; the indeterminate spaces of the Mediterranean, trading ports, and the coastal regions of the West Country; and the shifting territories of the Ottoman Empire. All of these sites were underpinned by the understanding of the ‘Turk’ through the flexibility of geohumoral discourse and complicated by medieval polemic.

²⁶⁹ July 14, 1636, Justices of the Peace for Cornwall, John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1636 – 1637* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867) 60 – 61.

Early Modern Christian-Muslim Relations

The subtitle of Richard Knolles's influential *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), which refers to '[t]he glorious empire of the Turks, the present terrour of the World', illustrates the characteristic ambivalence with which Muslims were represented and understood by Britons during the period under study.²⁷⁰ Accounts such as Knolles's appear to reproduce the medieval understanding of Islam through the simplistic binary, 'savage Turk and civilized Christian', although neither 'Christian' nor 'Turk' are oppositional or clearly demarcated religious or geopolitical identities. Rather, Christian-Muslim interactions were informed by ambivalent ideologies, fluid identities and heterogeneous spaces.²⁷¹ Islamic beliefs and practices, the piracy of the Barbary States, the cruelty and majesty associated with the Ottoman sultans, were all loci of simultaneous fear and fascination. Furthermore, Ottoman wealth, military prowess and the territorial expansion of Empire – itself emerging mythically from a dream – fundamentally contributed to the discourse of imperial imaginings, envy, fantasy and desire.²⁷² From the first recorded visit of a Briton to the Ottoman Empire – Anthony Jenkinson in 1553 – Britons had been present in various roles and occupations, reporting their fascination – and their marginal and unimportant place within the Muslim worlds.²⁷³ 'The Turkes', wrote

²⁷⁰ Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London: 1603).

²⁷¹ Virginia Mason Vaughan, 'Supersubtle Venetians: Richard Knolles and the Geopolitics of Shakespeare's *Othello*,' *Visions of Venice in Shakespeare*, ed. Laura Tosi and Shaul Bassi (Surrey: Ashgate, 2001) 23; Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Hants: Ashgate, 2005) 201; Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories About the Ottoman Turks* (New York: Palgrave, 2006) 140.

²⁷² MacLean, 'Ottomanism' 85 – 96; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 3; Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589 – 1689* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2005) 1 - 5. Also see Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

²⁷³ Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558 – 1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 3 - 4; Daniel Vitkus, 'Introduction: Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England,' *Three Turk Plays* 33.

the pilgrim-traveller Henry Timberlake in 1603, ‘knowe not what you meane by the worde Englishman’.²⁷⁴

Such observations challenge Said’s binary model underpinning his influential thesis of ‘Orientalism’, which came to define historical West/East relations, a framework rendered anachronistic within the context of the late 16th and 17th centuries, particularly with reference to Britain.²⁷⁵ Said (1978) explores the relationship between power, knowledge and representation employed within Europe to construct an Eastern ‘Orient’ in binary opposition to a Western ‘Occident’: a discursive ‘Othering’ of the Orient. He defines Orientalism as ‘a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient’; a method by which ‘European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self’.²⁷⁶ ‘Orientalism’ is premised on hierarchy and seeks fixity: a discourse in which the ‘civilised Christian’ defined against the ‘savage Turk’ can be located. Although ethnic identity within geohumoral discourse operates within an oppositional framework of north/south bordering the central temperate zone of the Mediterranean, this is neither hierarchical nor fixed: ‘Turk’ and ‘Christian’ were not understood as binaries. Whilst Said acknowledges that prior to the early modern period territorial and political dominance did not reside with Europe, he still locates this within an Islamic/Christian oppositional relationship reversed during the 16th century. He suggests this occurred at a particular historic moment:

²⁷⁴ H. Timberlake, *A true and strange discourse of the travailes of two English Pilgrimes* (London: 1603) 8, quoted Matar, *Islam* 4. Also see: Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558 – 1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 43.

²⁷⁵ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin, 1995 [1978]). Also see: Kenneth Parker, ‘Introduction,’ *Early Modern Tales of the Orient: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Parker (London: Routledge, 1999) 3 – 6; Matar, *Islam* 11 – 13, his ‘The Question of Occidentalism in Early Modern Morocco,’ *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern*, ed. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) 153 – 170, and *Turks* 9 – 10; MacLean, ‘Ottomanism’ 85 – 96; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 1 – 24; Daniel Goffman, ‘Introduction: Ottomancentrism and the West,’ *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 1 – 20; Burton, *Traffic and Turning* 11 – 52.

²⁷⁶ Said, *Orientalism* 3.

From the end of the seventh century until the battle of Lepanto in 1571, Islam in either its Arab, Ottoman, or North African and Spanish form dominated or effectively threatened European Christianity.²⁷⁷

Contemporary representations, including James I's heroic poem, 'The Lepanto' (published 1591, written c.1585) celebrated the Christian victory over the Ottomans at Lepanto as an event which fundamentally undermined the Ottoman Empire.²⁷⁸ However, to situate Lepanto as the turning point in Ottoman power is not only historically misleading, but negates the 'threat' the Empire still signified during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, and the complexities of the religious and political schisms and allegiances between Catholics, Protestants and Muslims – particularly between Britain and Islam. Furthermore, to view the history in this way marginalises the impact of Barbary captivity: still rife during the period leading up to the Civil War.

Celebration of the battle can therefore be seen as primarily symbolic. A consideration of the wider source material, including Ottoman archives and records of Christian agents, factors and ambassadors within Islamic territories, situates the 'victory' at Lepanto as ambiguous and incomplete.²⁷⁹ Although the battle was a victory over the Ottoman military, this was *not* a glorious victory of a united Christendom over a homogenous Empire. The Ottoman state itself remained largely unaffected, whilst Barbary piracy continued uninterrupted, as the North African galleys were not involved with the battle. Lepanto did not signify a turning point in

²⁷⁷ Said, *Orientalism* 74.

²⁷⁸ Robert Appelbaum, 'War and Peace in *The Lepanto* of James VI and I,' *Modern Philology* 97 (3) (2000): 333 – 363; Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Turks: An Introductory History to 1923* (Harlow, Essex: Pearson, 1997) 149; Angus Konstam, *Lepanto 1571: The greatest naval battle of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003) 13; *His Maiesties Lepanto, or heroicall song being part of his poeticall exercises at vacant houres* (London: 1603).

²⁷⁹ Andrew C. Hess, 'The Battle of Lepanto and Its Place in Mediterranean History,' *Past & Present* 57 (1972): 53 – 73; Appelbaum 333 – 363; Vaughan, 'Supersubtle Venetians' 19 – 46; Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire* (London: John Murray Publishers, 2005) 158 – 162; Molly Greene, 'The Ottomans in the Mediterranean,' *The Early Modern Ottomans*, ed. Aksan and Goffman 104 – 116.

self-confidence or power, and the fleet was rapidly rebuilt.²⁸⁰ As Hess (1972) has demonstrated, post-battle sources appear to support the Grand Vizier Mehmet Sokollu's comments of 1572 concerning Lepanto losses:

The Ottoman state is so powerful, if an order was issued to cast anchors from silver, to make rigging from silk, and to cut the sails from satin, it could be carried out for the entire fleet.²⁸¹

Rather than diminishing the Turkish 'threat', as suggested by Said, Lepanto marked a period of Ottoman resurgence, underlining imperial power and demonstrating how swiftly it could recover from perhaps the strongest attack Christendom could muster. Furthermore, the casualties of Christendom, rather than the 'defeated' Turks, were felt more keenly. During the winter following Lepanto, the Venetian envoy, Barbaro, attempted negotiations at Constantinople: the Republic's maritime trade had suffered terribly due to both Lepanto and Cyprus.²⁸² Referring to the losses of the Turkish fleet and the taking of Cyprus, the Vizier responded:

There is a great difference between our loss and yours. You have shaved our chin; but our beard is growing again. We have lopped off your arm; and you can never replace it.²⁸³

Forming part of a series of territorial and diplomatic shifts during the latter part of the 16th century, the post-Lepanto period involved a sharp rise in piracy and captive taking in the region, dramatically increasing during the Jacobean period.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ R. Murphey, 'Ottoman Resurgence in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean,' *Mediterranean Historical Review* 8 (1993): 186 – 200.

²⁸¹ Ibrahim Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, [Peçevi's History] Vol. I (Istanbul: 1866) 498 – 500, quoted Hess 54.

²⁸² Neville Williams, *The Sea Dogs: Privateers, Plunder and Piracy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975) 242; Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964[1935]) 3.

²⁸³ Quoted E. S. Creasy, *History of The Ottoman Turks: From the Beginning of Their Empire to The Present Time, In Two Volumes, Vol. I* (London: Richard Bentley, 1854) f.n. 355 - 356.

²⁸⁴ Todd Gray, 'Turks, Moors and the Cornish Fishermen: Piracy in the Early Seventeenth Century,' *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, N.S. X (4) (1990): 459.

A series of *Islamic* victories during the 1570s were perhaps more influential upon Christian-Muslim relations than Lepanto, asserting an Islamic presence along the coastal regions of the Mediterranean, and prompting Spanish diplomatic efforts to end hostilities.²⁸⁵ Brummett (1994) demonstrates how the Ottoman Empire was not based merely on military aggression and territorial expansion: diplomatic relations and commercial cooperation were crucial.²⁸⁶ Indeed, throughout the period of Catholic-Muslim hostilities in the region, Protestant England had been forging diplomatic and commercial relations with both the Ottoman Turks and Morocco.²⁸⁷

Direct and unregulated trade with Muslims from Morocco to the Levant had occurred prior to Elizabeth's reign: one of the earliest recorded being a merchant from Bristol in 1446.²⁸⁸ However, Elizabeth was the first monarch to openly cooperate with the Muslim worlds, encouraging trade, diplomacy and interaction with both the Ottoman Turks and the 'Moors' of Morocco.²⁸⁹ Post-Reformation schisms, compounded by Elizabeth's excommunication by Pope Pius V in 1570 – designed to isolate the Protestant British Isles from Catholic Europe, but conveniently removing the papal levies for trading with Muslims - created new spaces and opportunities for commerce beyond familiar territorial and religious boundaries.²⁹⁰ The

²⁸⁵ Hess 62 - 73; Finkel 158 – 162; Matar, *Islam* 5; Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. transl. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row 1973 [1949]) Vol. II 865; C. F. Beckingham, 'North and North-East Africa and the Near and Middle East,' *The Purchas Handbook*, Vol. 1, Series II: 185 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1997) 219.

²⁸⁶ Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1994).

²⁸⁷ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 20.

²⁸⁸ Stuart Jenks, *Robert Sturmy's Commercial Expedition to the Mediterranean (1457/8): With Editions of the Trial of the Genoese before King and Council, and of other sources* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2006); Wood, *Levant Company* 1 – 3.

²⁸⁹ Matar, *Turks* 9, 19; Lisa Jardine, 'Gloriana rules the waves: or, the advantage of being excommunicated (and a woman),' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society: Sixth Series*, ed. Aled Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 210.

²⁹⁰ Jardine 209 – 211.

Protestant Queen, therefore, could strategically ally herself with either European Christendom against Muslims, or Islam in opposition to Catholicism – or both. Indeed, the same year the Spanish Company was formally established (1577), Edmund Hogan was dispatched to undertake trade negotiations in Morocco.²⁹¹

Elizabeth engaged in personal correspondence with Islamic rulers from the 1570s until her death in 1603, such as Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur of Morocco, and the Ottoman Sultans, Murad III, and his successor, Mehmed III, including exchanges of letters and gifts with Mehmed's mother, the sultana, Walide, or Valide, Safiye.²⁹² Although the impact of the textual 'presence' of the English monarch within Morocco and Constantinople itself is negligible, the attendant spatial practices of exchange and diplomacy were embedded within a complex set of negotiated power relations contributing to a particular sense of domestic place and identity.²⁹³ An individual diplomat or ambassador was imbued with the authority of their monarch: the power of the monarch was re-presented through practices, behaviours and the material presence of the ambassador. However, ambassadorial relations of power and authority did not function through a binary framework, but via a process of negotiation and consent.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ 'Edmund Hogan to Queen Elizabeth, announcing his Arrival and first Negotiations at Morocco,' *Original Letters, Illustrative of English History: Including Numerous Royal Letters from Autographs in The British Museum, The State Paper Office, and One or Two Other Collections*, 3rd series, Vol. IV, ed. Henry Ellis (London: Richard Bentley, 1846) 21 – 23; Pauline Croft ed., *The Spanish Company* (London: London Record Society, 1973) esp. 29 – 51.

²⁹² J. F. P. Hopkins, transl., *Letters From Barbary 1576 – 1774: Arabic Documents in The Public Record Office* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1982) 1 – 9; D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed., *Islamic Art and Visual Culture: An Anthology of Sources* (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell, 2011) 20 – 21; Alexander W. Hidden, *The Ottoman Dynasty: A History of the Sultans of Turkey from the Earliest Authentic Record to the Present Time, with notes on the manners and customs of the people* (New York: N. W. Hidden, 1912) 172; Jardine 209 – 222.

²⁹³ See: TNA: PRO SP 102, f 1; Hopkins *Letters* 1 – 9; MacLean and Matar 42 – 61; Susan A. Skilliter, 'Three Letters from the Ottoman "Sultana" Safiye to Queen Elizabeth I,' *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965) 119 – 157; Jardine 209 – 222.

²⁹⁴ See, for example, Matthew Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450 – 1919* (New York: Longman, 1993); Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston, MA: Russell and Russell, 1955) and Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2009).

Within the context of Catholic hostility and opposition to Elizabeth's relationship with Islam, the Protestant Queen's correspondence with Islamic rulers can be seen to assert post-Reformation religious autonomy and difference, as well as attempting to establish economic opportunities and a commercial national identity for England. This is demonstrated by Hakluyt's publication of a selection of this correspondence, incorporating them within the wider narrative of Anglo-Protestant nation-building through textual space.²⁹⁵

The unexpected commercial advantages produced by excommunication exacerbated tensions within Catholic Christendom, particularly Spain and Portugal, who had controlled trade between Europe and Morocco up until this point. Furthermore, although the commodities which Britons and Muslims traded were diverse and varied - including leather, sugar and gold - West Country tin and arms were trafficked to Morocco, resulting in Spain and Portugal bringing unsuccessful diplomatic pressure upon Elizabeth in 1574 to forbid trade in the area, occurring merely a year after Portuguese port closures had been lifted, which had been in place for five years.²⁹⁶ However, unregulated English trade continued regardless of Catholic opposition, and proposals for a monopoly with Morocco were made in both 1567 and 1574, albeit fruitlessly.²⁹⁷ Meanwhile, trade to the Iberian Peninsula had continued during the port closures, conducted via France or Barbary itself, with ships often disguised as neutral Irish or Scottish vessels, demonstrating the fluid allegiances and mobile identities associated with travel and trade.²⁹⁸

In 1578, the year after Portugal's defeat in north Morocco at the Battle of Alcácer Quibir ['Alcassar', 'Alcazar'], formal capitulations – the rights and freedoms granted to trading

²⁹⁵ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations: Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1910 [1589]) 3: 52 – 72, 87 – 88; 4: 18 – 20.

²⁹⁶ Highley 65 – 66; Williams, *Sea Dogs* 241 – 242; MacLean and Matar 43 – 44; Croft esp. 7 – 29.

²⁹⁷ Willan 163.

²⁹⁸ Croft esp. 29 – 51.

companies by the host country - were established between Elizabeth and Murad III. Sir Edward Osborne, a sheriff of London, and Richard Staper, merchant, petitioned the Queen the following year to establish a trade monopoly in the region.²⁹⁹ William Harborne – who had been involved with forming the 1577 Spanish Company – was despatched to Aleppo, travelling to Constantinople by land, to secure the agreement.³⁰⁰ The Levant Company, or Turkey Company, was established by Royal Charter in 1581, with the Queen herself investing in the initial ventures. Osborne became the first governor, with Harborne the resident agent in Aleppo and Constantinople, also serving as ambassador there for eight years, strengthening diplomatic links and keeping the Company's monopoly intact.³⁰¹ Culturally, Harborne's role was complex, as he was operating within another site of centralised power, rather than a periphery. Whilst Elizabeth granted Harborne extensive powers - he chose the ports and harbours where trade would be conducted, nominated consuls and enforced laws covering English subjects trading in the Levant - he was also subject to the power and whims of Ottoman officials. The Levant Company were 'little factories' within a much larger system, on the receiving end of demands for unreasonable duties and customs, confiscations, false accusations and imprisonment, with their grants and privileges often ignored.³⁰² Power within the networks of trade and commerce was mutable and unpredictable, reinforcing the continual process of negotiation and re-negotiation.³⁰³ Furthermore, as Goffman (1998) wryly observes,

²⁹⁹ Goffman, *Ottoman Empire* 183; Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560 – 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 84.

³⁰⁰ 'John Fox, "The Worthy Enterprise of John Fox," *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. Daniel J. Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) 56.

³⁰¹ See: Wood, *Levant Company*; S. A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578 – 1582: a documentary study of the first Anglo-Ottoman relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

³⁰² Wood, *Levant Company* 16; Skilliter, *William Harborne* 4.

³⁰³ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 30 – 31.

Harborne represented the interests of the Levant Company far more than those of his monarch.³⁰⁴

1581 was the year attempts to establish the Barbary, or Morocco, Company were instigated. In that year the Queen responded to a request from John Symcot, a 'marchaunte trading into Barbary' to 'bringe from thence into this our realme a good quantetie of saltpetre', mined in Morocco and used for gunpowder. A licence was duly granted, with the Queen expressing the necessity 'to have store of saltpetre for the increase and mayntenaunce of our municion'. However, the Moroccan sultan, Ahmad al-Mansur, would only allow saltpetre to be exported if it was not undertaken 'for money or any comoditie but only in exchange for timbre'.³⁰⁵ For the Spanish this Anglo-Moroccan alliance had sinister undertones: intelligence from Bernardino de Mendoza reported with alarm that the West Country ports were 'to take [al-Mansur] timber from here ready cut to build his galleys [...] they have had to send to Holland for some of the wood, as all of it could not be furnished here'.³⁰⁶ The formalised relations of the 1580s signified the onset of complex, intermittent Anglo-Spanish hostilities, lasting until James made peace with Spain in 1604, developing into military conflict in 1585, the year the Barbary Company was granted a Royal Charter and trading monopoly. Henry Roberts was appointed as Moroccan agent and ambassador.³⁰⁷

The Anglo-Moroccan and Anglo-Ottoman alliances brought Muslims closer, conceptually and textually, through the exchange of material goods and via Britons who visited, travelled,

³⁰⁴ Fox in Vitkus 56. Williams, *Sea Dogs* 243 – 244; Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire 1642 – 1660* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998) 72.

³⁰⁵ Elizabeth to Burghley, 20 June 1581, quoted Willan 163 – 164.

³⁰⁶ Bernardino de Mendoza to the King of Spain, 20 October 1581, Martin A. S. Hume, ed., *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas. Vol. III. Elizabeth 1580 – 1586* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896) 199. Also see: Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568 – 1614* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006) 83.

³⁰⁷ Willan 185; Virginia Mason Vaughan, 'Representing the King of Morocco,' *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550 – 1700*, ed. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Hants: Ashgate, 2009) 81.

and traded in the region. They also strengthened Elizabeth's position against Catholic Europe.³⁰⁸ Frequent discussions within the mutual correspondence concerned not only trade and piracy, but joint ventures against the Spanish, becoming increasingly elaborate. In the last year of both their lives, 1603, al-Mansur suggested to Elizabeth that an Anglo-Moroccan military force could attack the Spanish colonies in the West Indies and they could jointly possess and rule the land. Although al-Mansur observes that the lands could be inhabited by either army, his would be more geohumorally disposed 'without yours, in respect of the great heat of the clymat, where those of your cuntrye doe not fynde themselves fitt to endure the extremitie of heat there and of the cold of your partes'.³⁰⁹ This alliance, therefore, had begun to spatially unite Moroccan Muslims and Christian Britons beyond the shared sites of trade, located within an imagined future against a common enemy, transforming contested territory through their joint occupation.

Mutual trade and shared enemies also brought embassies of Moroccans and Turks to London – and the West Country.³¹⁰ Four years after the Barbary Company was established, Roberts landed at St Ives, accompanied by an emissary from al-Mansur:

After much foul weather at sea, we landed on new-years day 1589, at St Ives in Cornwall, whence we proceeded together by land to London.³¹¹

Once there, they were greeted by 'the chiefest marchants of the Barbary Company well mounted all on horsebacke, to the number of 40 or 50 horse', and escorted into the capital by

³⁰⁸ Matar, *Turks* 9.

³⁰⁹ Quoted Matar, *Turks* 9.

³¹⁰ W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Persia, 1625 – 1629* (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964 [1884]) 144; John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1625, 1626* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858) 247, 345; Todd Gray, 'Fishing and the Commercial World of Early Dartmouth,' *Tudor and Stuart Devon: The Common Estate and Government*, ed. Gray, Margery Rowe, and Audrey Erskine (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992) 176.

³¹¹ Robert Kerr, *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. VII* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, John Ballantyne and Co., 1812) 330.

torchlight.³¹² Matar highlights how ambassadorial visits – of which there were several between the years 1551 – 1600 – enabled Muslims to display their religion and culture – wealth, rituals, dress and diet.³¹³ However, the visit by ambassador Ahmed ben Adel, or al-Caid Ahmed ben Adel, arriving in London with ‘twenty five or thirtye persones’, and two other ‘caids’, or ‘alcaydes’ was not straightforward. ‘Caids’ were corsair captains: these visitors were Barbary pirates.³¹⁴ Given Britain’s historically constituted reputation for piracy, reinforced during Elizabeth’s reign, this visit certainly raised suspicion within Europe of a piratical Anglo-Moroccan alliance to form an ‘English Armada’.³¹⁵

Barbary captivity can be situated within these turbulent contexts. Despite the relations with Islamic rulers, Britons were still highly vulnerable to being captured and enslaved within the Mediterranean region.³¹⁶ Indeed, the suspension of major territorial skirmishes in the Mediterranean revived Barbary piracy and increased captive taking, a continuation of older Christian/Muslim hostilities.³¹⁷ These activities were profitable commercial enterprises, and the increase in maritime traffic provided a supply for this ‘trade’ in which the material body became the primary commodity. Osborne and Staper’s proposals to found the Levant

³¹² Quoted Matar, *Turks* 33. Also see: Kerr, *A General History* 329 – 330; Willan 233; Vaughan, ‘Representing the King of Morocco’ 81 – 83.

³¹³ Matar, *Turks* 32 – 34. Also see: Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, Vol. 6 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904) 137; Martin A. S. Hume, ed., *Calendar of Letters and State Papers, relating to English Affairs preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas, Elizabeth 1568 – 1579, Vol. II*. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1894) 699; Bernard Harris, ‘A Portrait of a Moor,’ *Shakespeare and Race*, ed. Catherine M. S. Alexander and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 23 – 36; Nabil Matar and Rudolph Stoeckel, ‘Europe’s Mediterranean Frontier: The Moor,’ *Shakespeare and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Hadfield and Paul Hammond (London: Thomason, 2005) 230.

³¹⁴ Matar, *Turks* 33; Vaughan, ‘Representing the King of Morocco’ 81.

³¹⁵ 17 February 1595, Victor von Klarwill ed., *The Fugger News-Letters, Second Series*, transl. L. S. R. Byrne (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd., 1926) 263, cited Matar, *Turks*, 33.

³¹⁶ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 20.

³¹⁷ See: the collection of essays in Kevin Ingram, ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond. Volume One: Departures and Change* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2009); Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2010).

Company c. 1580, reveal the impact of Barbary captivity. Citing the preservation of Elizabeth's subjects from 'future captivity in [The Grand Signior's] dominions' as a consideration for the licence, they estimate redeeming captives over the previous twenty years had cost the realm £4000, 'yet divers to this day remain there unrescated [unrescued] of which some (the more be pitied) have turned Turks for avoiding the great extremities of most miserable barbarous cruelty'. The merchants suggest the Queen 'increase the navy of the realm', so the Company vessels 'be followed with great and tall ships', enabling trade 'within the straits at all times more freely than heretofore they have done, deprived of former fear of captivity'.³¹⁸ The Company ships were built for speed, tending to travel in convoy.³¹⁹ However, the desire for a future where Britons had no need to fear 'the great extremities of most miserable barbarous cruelty' was not realised. Barbary captivity - and accounts of Islamic conversion - increased dramatically over the following decades, intensifying fears and producing multiple sites of anxiety.

The accession of James to the throne in 1603 and his treaty with Spain in 1604 altered the terrain of Mediterranean politics and Muslim-Christian relationships. Although he corresponded with Muslim rulers, received Islamic ambassadors, and renewed the Levant Company's charter in 1606, he did not pursue the Anglo-Muslim alliances which Elizabeth had made.³²⁰ Rather, his attempts to unite Christendom resulted in the figure of the 'Mahometan' being situated as the enemy, in place of the Catholic.³²¹ Nevertheless, trade and traffic within the region - including with Muslim territories - continued to rise during this period, placing ships increasingly at risk of capture, particularly within the Mediterranean basin. For example,

³¹⁸ M. Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1908) 241 – 242.

³¹⁹ Williams, *Sea Dogs* 243.

³²⁰ Matthew Dimmock, ed., *William Percy's Mahomet and His Heaven A Critical Edition* (Hants: Ashgate, 2006) 5 – 6; Matar and Stoeckel 239; Matar, *Turks* 34.

³²¹ Matar and Stoeckel 239.

between 1609 and 1616 466 British ships were reported captured with their crews in captivity: in 1611 alone three Fowey ships, the *Gift*, the *Jonas*, and the *Grace*, were taken by Turks in the region and transported to Algiers.³²² Significantly, a weakened navy from the onset of James's reign brought Islamic pirates – and those of rival factions within Christendom - to the coastline of the 'western partes' during the first decades of the 17th century.³²³

Attempts to control Barbary piracy had been undertaken via the formalised practices of diplomacy throughout Elizabeth's reign and the early years of James's – unsuccessfully.³²⁴ In November 1608, the Levant merchants had petitioned 'for ships to suppress the pirates of Algiers', a request met with a proclamation prohibiting merchants to trade with ports engaged in these activities, creating highly problematic and detrimental geographies of exclusion.³²⁵ James subsequently despatched a letter to the Sultan, in keeping with the spatial practices of diplomacy, protesting over the action of the pirates, and warning of their negative impact upon legitimate trade.³²⁶ However, the number of incidents continued to rise, and the seascape marked by the threat of Barbary piracy expanded alarmingly towards the British Isles, extending beyond the Mediterranean into the Atlantic.³²⁷ In 1617 the overseas trading companies, apparently led by the Levant Company, joined together to petition for action against the corsairs.³²⁸ Initially, on January 9th, James despatched an urgent - and expensive -

³²² The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) High Court of the Admiralty (HCA) 1/47, f 261; Gray, 'Turks' 457 – 475; Michael J. Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador: The Life of Sir Thomas Roe* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970) 138; Matar, *Islam* 6.

³²³ Gray, 'Turks' 457 – 475; Brown, *Itinerant Ambassador* 138; Matar, *Islam* 6; Fox in Vitkus 56.

³²⁴ See: TNA: PRO SP 105/147, ff 71v, 76; TNA: PRO SP 105/110, f 87v; TNA: PRO SP 105/143, f 19; TNA: PRO SP 105/147, f 76; David Delison Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government 1616 – 1642* (Hants: Scholar Press, 2002) 16.

³²⁵ TNA: PRO SP 14/37, f 91; Hebb, *Piracy* 16 - 17.

³²⁶ TNA: PRO SP 105/143, f 19; Hebb, *Piracy* 16 - 17.

³²⁷ Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983) 17; Hebb, *Piracy* f.n. 1, 20.

³²⁸ TNA: PRO SP 105/147, f 45, 88; Hebb, *Piracy* 17 – 21.

diplomatic letter to the Sultan: however, two months later, on March 20th, he sent correspondence to the Privy Council recommending they initiate an aggressive naval expedition to suppress the corsairs, demonstrating a significant shift in action and approach.³²⁹

Orchestrating such an expedition was time consuming – and costly. A Commission was formed, with Sir Fernando Gorges, Abraham Colmer, and Mr. Sherwin as the West Country representatives.³³⁰ The port towns were financially assessed over the following two years for a cash contribution towards the action. The levy imposed on the West Country was substantial, second only to that of the London trading companies.³³¹ The coastal regions of the West Country were perceived as suffering the most from the activities of the corsairs, even prior to the threat reaching their coastline: becoming shaped through the experienced, represented, and imagined spaces of captivity. The levy process was contentious, subject to frequent dispute, complaint, and delays in payment, requiring direct intervention by the Council.³³² In 1619, Sir Henry Marten, Judge of the High Court of the Admiralty, warned Buckingham on his becoming Lord High Admiral that authority in the western parts had greatly ‘diminished’.³³³

Perhaps with Lepanto in mind, James imagined a joint Christian venture against Islam: however, further delays were caused through lengthy and difficult diplomatic negotiations concerning the involvement of the Spanish and the Dutch. Seemingly, the Dutch opportunistically were attempting to create an anti-Spanish coalition. Conversely, this

³²⁹ TNA: PRO SP 105/147, ff 85v-86, 87, 91, 93. For the king’s message to the Privy Council see: TNA: PRO SP 14/90, f 136; Hebb, *Piracy* 7, 20.

³³⁰ TNA: PRO SP 14/91, f 52; J. V. Lyle, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council, 1616 – 1617* (London: HMSO, 1927) 181 – 182; Hebb, *Piracy* 22 – 23.

³³¹ London’s contribution was divided amongst the trading companies, elsewhere, port towns were assessed. Hebb, *Piracy* 30 – 31.

³³² Hebb, *Piracy* 29 – 42.

³³³ TNA: PRO SP 14/111, f 38; Gray, ‘Fishing and the Commercial World’ 177 – 178.

contributed to a close Anglo-Spanish alliance, causing consternation and suspicion amongst many.³³⁴

Finally, on October 12th 1620, Sir Robert Mansel[I]; supported by Sir Francis Hawkins and Sir Thomas Button; was despatched to Algiers, sailing from Plymouth – a month after the *Mayflower* had left with settlers for the New World.³³⁵ Whilst Mansell was not an individual free of controversy, his neutrality with regards Spain, and close connections amongst merchants and shipowners, went in his favour.³³⁶ However, the mission – heavily funded by Devon and Cornwall – was spectacularly unsuccessful. The main achievement, on December 6th, was via negotiation rather than military effort: securing the freedom of ‘some 40. poore captives, which [the Turks] pretended was all they had in the towne, this was all wee could draw from them’. This success was ‘after long debating, finding the Turks perfidious and fickle’: initially they detained a messenger, so Mansell ‘sent a common man well cloathed by the name of a Consull’, successfully received.³³⁷ A renewed attempt to attack Algiers the following year failed miserably: the fireboats Mansell attempted to send into the harbour to burn the corsair fleet were merely driven off.³³⁸ Mansell withdrew, recalled to England shortly afterwards on May 24th 1621.³³⁹ This was a source of both irritation and embarrassment to

³³⁴ Hebb, *Piracy* 43 – 74.

³³⁵ Hebb, *Piracy* 8 – 135. Also see: J[ohn] B[utton], *Algiers voyage in a iournall or briefe reportary* (London: 1621).

³³⁶ Hebb, *Piracy* 77 – 135; M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy* (London: John Lane, 1896) 184 – 195; A. P. McGowan, *The Jacobean Commissions of Inquiry, 1608 and 1618* (London: Navy Records Society, 1971); J. S. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean: A study of the Rise and Influence of British Power within the Straits, 1603 – 1713* Vol. I (London: Longmans, 1904) 80 – 115

³³⁷ Button C3^r.

³³⁸ ‘John Rawlins, *The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol, Called the Exchange, from the Turkish Pirates of Argier* (1622),’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 102; Button E2^r – E5^r.

³³⁹ Hebb, *Piracy* 92 – 94.

James, amongst others.³⁴⁰ Monson – who had been denied command of the expedition - produced a tract entitled ‘The ill-managed Enterprise upon Algiers in the Reign of King James, and the Errors committed in it’, blaming Mansell for a mission which ‘proved little better than a public scorn for all nations to laugh at considering the reputation this realm had gained in their former expeditions by sea’.³⁴¹

Ironically, the expedition reportedly antagonised the corsairs leading to an increase in piracy. John Chamberlain made such an observation to Dudley Carleton on October 20th 1621, reporting 57 vessels recently taken; whilst Sir Thomas Roe – ambassador at Constantinople from 1621 – reported Mediterranean piracy was on the increase.³⁴² Within two years of the failed mission, Turks were sighted off the coast of the West Country.³⁴³

Mansell’s mission inevitably informed the second fleet sent to Barbary. The Algiers levy marked a transitional stage in the history of naval finance.³⁴⁴ Initially imposed within the medieval system, placing the primary responsibility for naval finance on the port towns, during collection there were important shifts away from this system: it was extended further inland, and cash contributions imposed rather than requests for shipping.³⁴⁵ Organising and administering finance for the mission had exposed weaknesses in the decentralised medieval system, which allowed power to be disseminated locally.³⁴⁶ This led to the development of a

³⁴⁰ Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 157; Vitkus, ‘Introduction,’ *Three Turk Plays* 4 – 5.

³⁴¹ Oppenheim, *Monson’s Naval Tracts* Vol. III 94 – 98, quote, 95, cited Hebb, *Piracy* 106 – 107.

³⁴² BL, Add. MS. 36,455, f. 283; Hebb, *Piracy* 106.

³⁴³ TNA: PRO SP 14/107, f 40; P. V. McGrath, ‘The Merchant Venturers and Bristol in the Early Seventeenth Century,’ *The Mariner’s Mirror*, XXXVI (1950): 69; Hebb, *Piracy* f.n. 5, 16.

³⁴⁴ Hebb, *Piracy* 21 – 42.

³⁴⁵ Hebb, *Piracy* 41.

³⁴⁶ Hebb, *Piracy* 41 – 42.

regular and nationalised system of taxation to fund the navy, which had significant implications for the second campaign against the corsairs, under Charles I.³⁴⁷

This second campaign, the Salé expedition, followed sustained petitioning, letters and reports, mostly from West Country ship owners and merchants, again appealing for protection from the Barbary pirates.³⁴⁸ The independence of the port of Salé, or ‘Sallee’, from centralised Moroccan authority during this period, also having a large population of resentful Morisco inhabitants, led to an increase in piratical activity from the region, including along the coast of Devon and Cornwall.³⁴⁹

During the later 1620s ten or so naval vessels, known as ‘Whelps’, were built to regularly patrol the West Country coastal waters, although they had little impact on the corsairs.³⁵⁰ By 1633 Trinity House were looking into the costs of another expedition: it was also apparent the navy needed expanding, being inadequate to defend sovereign interests. The result was the controversial imposition of Ship Money, intended to fund fleets to protect the domestic coastline from foreign threat and invasion, and combat piracy.³⁵¹ Charles issued writs for the levy on October 20th 1634, to be implemented within the coastal settlements, ports and harbours. Whilst in theory the maritime regions were expected to provide substantial warships, furnished, manned, armed and victualed for six months, the Crown’s recognition that the outports were unable to provide the ships meant the King generously ‘lent’ the ports his own vessels for them to prepare. As Andrews (1991) observes:

³⁴⁷ Hebb, *Piracy* 42. Also see: Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 140 – 143.

³⁴⁸ D[evon] R[ecord] O[ffice] 1579-0/16/45.

³⁴⁹ Hebb, *Piracy* 198 – 265; Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 128 - 183

³⁵⁰ Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 165.

³⁵¹ Hebb, *Piracy* 219 – 236.

Thus by a convenient fiction the maritime parts of the realm, instead of contributing private shipping to supplement and work alongside the king's, as they had done in the past, now directly supplied the funds for setting forth a royal fleet.³⁵²

One of the primary authors of the Ship Money policy was Attorney General William Noy, the outspoken and rebellious lawyer from Pendrea, St Buryan in the far west of Cornwall. Noy had been MP for St. Ives and Helston, although nominated for Fowey.³⁵³ Noy suggested in 1634 that the initial levying of Ship Money was to 'go on willingly and cheerfully' to thus extend the process to the entire realm.³⁵⁴ The 1634 writ states the reason for the levy:

[T]hat certain thieves, pirates, and robbers of the sea, as well Turks, enemies of the Christian name, as others, being gathered together, wickedly taking by force and spoiling the ships, and goods, and merchandises, not only of our subjects, but also the subjects of our friends in the sea [...] have carried them away, delivering the men in the same into miserable captivity.³⁵⁵

However, according to Andrews, the citing of Barbary piracy was misleading, probably deliberately, as the 'Turkish threat' was not viewed by centralised authority as a priority in 1634: certainly not as great as in the mid-1620s, nor as it would become in 1635 – 6. Furthermore, the ships were wholly inappropriate to deal with piracy – which many contemporary naval experts observed.³⁵⁶ It would seem the Ship Money was promoted as addressing piracy, particularly the Turkish threat, to ensure this extra taxation be given 'willingly and cheerfully': influenced, perhaps, by Noy's knowledge and links with the West Country.

³⁵² Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 128.

³⁵³ Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 128 – 129; Duffin, *Faction and Faith* 26, 98 – 100, 133, 167, e.n. 6, 229; John Harris Stone, *England's Riviera: a topographical and archaeological description of Land's End, Cornwall and adjacent spots of beauty and interest* (London: Kegan Paul Trench, Trubner & Co., 1912) 112, 120; James S. Hart Jr., 'Noy, William (1577-1634),' *Oxford DNB*, 12 March 2009.

³⁵⁴ Noy to Sir John Coke, 21 June 1634, BL, Add. MS. 32093, f. 55, cited Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 129.

³⁵⁵ 'Specimen of the First Writ of Ship-Money,' *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625 – 1660*, ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936 [1889, 1899, 1906]) 105; Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 130 – 131.

³⁵⁶ Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 131 – 132.

The first Ship Money fleet sailed in 1635 – minus instructions regarding pirates - and by 1636 three or four ships were commissioned to patrol the seas around Land’s End, whilst preparations were made for an expedition to Salé, under the command of William Rainsborough.³⁵⁷ The subsequent voyage was presented as successful, with 300 captives redeemed, possibly to justify the imposition of the Ship Money.³⁵⁸ However, the piracy continued, and the Ship Money was considered an illegal tax, forming part of the narrative leading up to Civil War. It was incorporated within the Grand Remonstrance - the list of grievances presented to Charles by Parliament on December 1st 1641. This ‘new unheard-of tax of ship-money’ was authored under the ‘pretence’ of safeguarding the seas:

and yet the merchants have been left so naked to the violence of the Turkish pirates, that many great ships of value and thousands of His Majesty’s subjects have been taken by them, and do still remain in miserable slavery.³⁵⁹

Therefore, despite Said’s assertion that 1571 was a point when the Islamic threat and dominance towards European Christianity declined, for the British Isles - and the West Country in particular – this was clearly not so. Throughout the early modern period the ‘East’ can be located, as Netzloff (2003) observes, not as:

an imaginary landscape spatially removed from the metropolitan site of Orientalist textual production [...] not in terms of distance and absence but as an encroaching and threatening presence.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁷ Vitkus, ‘Introduction,’ *Three Turk Plays* 5; Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 131.

³⁵⁸ Kenneth Parker, ‘Reading ‘Barbary’ in Early Modern England, 1550 – 1685,’ *Cultural Encounters Between East and West, 1453 – 1699*, ed. Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005) 85, also published in *Seventeenth Century*, 19 (1) (2004): 87 – 115; Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 160.

³⁵⁹ ‘The Grand Remonstrance, with the Petition accompanying it,’ *Constitutional Documents 1625 – 1660*, ed. Gardiner 211.

³⁶⁰ Mark Netzloff, *England’s Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism* (Hants: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) 78.

Early Modern Representations of Islam and the Muslim Worlds

‘Real’ encounters with Muslims occurring across the plural terrains of trade, travel and conflict – including captivity - were interconnected with an Islam imagined through the overlapping domestic spatialities of the text, the stage and the visual image. These spatialities can be unfolded to reveal more nuanced sites of representation: for example, the material culture of the stage or goods from the Muslim worlds; locations of performance and pageant beyond the theatre; educational establishments; the points of textual production and circulation. Other relevant sites are those associated with oral dissemination and the aural reception of knowledge and representation, whether of lines spoken in a dramatic production, the singing of a ballad, or the preaching of a sermon.³⁶¹ Indeed, sound during this period was also understood to have a profound effect on the humoral body, altering behaviour and identity.³⁶²

Textual space is a primary site of representation for Barbary captivity. However, as this thesis will demonstrate, such texts do not occur within a cultural vacuum, acquiring meaning through their historical relationships and material connections with other texts and practices. Several scholars have examined the diversity and complexity of early modern textual representations of Muslims, Islam and Islamic territories, and their relationship with wider cultural and political contexts. These texts include published plays and sermons; travel literature; medical, religious and scientific texts; histories; Romance and chivalric literature;

³⁶¹ For example, see: John Craig, ‘Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547 – 1642,’ *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 104 – 123; Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590 – 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500 – 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Kate Armstrong, ‘Sermons in Performance,’ *The Oxford Handbook of The Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 120 – 136.

³⁶² See, for example, Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, The Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006).

printed ballads, popular pamphlets – and captivity narratives. These interacted with other forms of textual representation with a more restricted circulation and readership, albeit a more overt engagement with contemporary socio-political contexts; letters, state papers, official reports and travel passes; all highly ambiguous - shaping, and shaped by, the intricacies and contradictions of Anglo-Muslim relations. As Benhayoun (2006) neatly observes, ‘it is not only contexts that give rise to texts; texts also create contexts’.³⁶³ For example, both ‘The Lepanto’, and *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* - dedicated to James and published at a point of profound change in foreign policy - incorporate ambiguity in order to allow for mutable and shifting allegiances and attitudes. As widely circulated texts, yet closely related to the locus of power, they contained inherent ‘authority’. Thus these particular texts were highly influential within the realms of both lived experience and representation. To contextualise understandings and representations of Barbary captivity, therefore, it is necessary to engage with aspects of the wider body of material within which they are embedded.

‘He should be soon another voyage take, /As be obliged another book to make’: Travel Narratives³⁶⁴

This quote, from the paratextual poem prefacing William Okeley’s captivity narrative, demonstrates the links between travel, narrative and print culture. Indeed, tales of travel were some of the first published works in English: with the rise of travel, descriptions of Islam and the Ottoman Empire emerged as popular commodities within an increasing print market.³⁶⁵

³⁶³ Jamal Eddine Benhayoun, *Narration, navigation, and colonialism: a critical account of seventeenth- and eighteenth- century English narratives of adventure and captivity* (Brussels, Belgium: Peter Lang, 2006) 27.

³⁶⁴ ‘William Okeley, *Ebenezer; or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley (1675)*,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 127. Also see: Okeley, *Eben-ezer: Or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley*, John Anthony, William Adams, John Jeph, John – Carpenter, *From the Miserable Slavery of Algiers with the wonderful Means of their Escape in a Boat of Canvas* (London: 1675).

³⁶⁵ *The Voiage and traouayle, of syr. Iohn Maundeville knight* (1496 [1499, 1500, 1503, 1568,1582]); Anon., *Informacion for pylgrymes vnto the holy londe* (c. 1500); William H. Sherman, ‘Stirrings and searchings (1500 –

Often displaying imperial desire rather than colonial intent, accounts frequently expressed their admiration for the Ottoman Empire.³⁶⁶ They also functioned as advice manuals for pilgrims, travellers and merchants, as well as entertainment, and a form of intelligence gathering varying from military and cultural information, to localised knowledges relevant to visiting merchants.³⁶⁷ A range of material was deemed useful, and travellers were reminded to record their movements and observations.³⁶⁸ As already highlighted, and to be explored further in Part III, guidance was also offered to those travelling within Islamic territories drawing on geohumoral discourse, warning of the effects of diet, air and climate on behaviour and health.³⁶⁹ The mobile body of the traveller was potentially disruptive, prone to physical, religious and moral corruption, particularly when within territories understood as alien through classical geohumoral logic. The post-Reformation geographical ‘locatedness’ of religious affiliation which became part of this system meant there were inherent risks for an Anglo-Protestant travelling through Islamic or Catholic lands.³⁷⁰

The Ottoman Empire was multiethnic, multireligious, and multilingual - the Ottoman language itself being a mix of Arabic, Persian and Turkish – and writers often noted the mix of

1720),’ *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 19 – 20; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 78 – 79; Dimmock, *New Turkes* 1; Okeley in Vitkus 127.

³⁶⁶ Sir Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant: A brief Relation of a Journey lately performed by Mr. Henry Blunt Gentleman, from England by the way of Venice* (London: 1650 [1634, 1636, 1638]) 2 – 6; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 20; MacLean, ‘Ottomanism’ 85 – 96.

³⁶⁷ Margaret Healy, ‘Highways, Hospitals and Boundary Hazards,’ *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Betteridge (Hants: Ashgate, 2007) 31 – 32.

³⁶⁸ Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Travailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London: 1606) 52 – 53; Sherman, ‘Stirrings and searchings’ 17; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 21 – 22; Suranyi 15 – 18.

³⁶⁹ For example, see: Goodall, *Tryall of Travell*; Richard Verstegan, *The Poste for Divers Parties of the World* (London: 1576); William Biddulph, *Travels into Africa, Asia and to the Blacke Sea* (London: 1609).

³⁷⁰ See Suranyi; Andrew Hadfield, ‘The Benefits of a Warm Study: The Resistance to Travel before Empire,’ *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion*, ed. Jyotsna G. Singh (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009) 101 – 113; Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

cultures and identities within these territories.³⁷¹ In doing so, they demonstrate the many ambiguities which typify representation of Islam during this period. As Vitkus (2003) observes, the description of the court of the ‘Great Turk’ in George Sandys’ 1610 account, embodies familiar contradictions: Turks are masculine, yet feminised; disciplined, yet immoderate; virile and highly sexualised, yet impotent; civilised, yet barbaric.³⁷² These oppositional categories characterise *both* the southerner/northerner, demonstrating geohumoral fluidity as a theory of identity.³⁷³ Such duality is suggestive of the increasingly problematic nature of this classical framework when confronted with the reality of cross-cultural interaction.

Conflicting views were also expressed by the Scottish traveller, William Lithgow (1632). Arriving in Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, 1612, Lithgow is bewildered and amazed by the mix of different peoples, cultures and identities: a sight he finds disorderly and heretical, akin to Babel. However, upon reaching Ottoman Cairo, a trading centre, his descriptions shift: the diversity of the ‘infinite populositie’ becomes celebratory.³⁷⁴ With the contested religious site of Jerusalem being replaced by a commercial marketplace, diversity becomes vital for successful trading, opening up financial spaces in which the relatively homogenous British people could fully participate.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹ Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll, ‘The Future of the Ottoman Past,’ *A Historical Archaeological of The Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground*, ed. Baram and Carroll (New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers, 2000) 8.

³⁷² George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610 Containing a description of the Turkish Empire* (London: 1615); Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 118 – 119. Also see: James Ellison, *George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism and Tolerance in the 17th Century* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002).

³⁷³ Highley 75.

³⁷⁴ William Lithgow, *Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteen Yeares Travayles* (London: 1632) 271.

³⁷⁵ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 15 – 16.

However, few accounts covered North Africa. Prior to Elizabeth's reign, very little was known about 'Barbary'.³⁷⁶ The physician Andrew[e] B[o]orde gave an early overview during the 1550s:

Barbary is a great cou[n]try and plentiful of frute wine & corne. The I[n]habitours be called [th]e Mores, they be white mores and black moors they be Infydels & unchristened.³⁷⁷

Even as Barbary became a destination through trade or captivity, it tended to feature as a marginal location within travel accounts, which tended to comment on its piracy, lawlessness and captive taking. Nicholas de Nicolay (1585) provides a typical account of Barbary:

The most part of the Turkes of Alger, whether they be of the king's household or the Gallies, are Christian reined, or Mahumetised, of all Nations, but most of them [...] of the Ilands and Coasts of the Sea Mediterane, given all to whoredom, sodometrie, theft, and all other most detestable vices, lyving only of rovings, spoyles & pilling [...] and with their practick art brying dayly too Alger a number of pore Christians, which they sell onto the Moores, and other merchauntes of Barbarie.³⁷⁸

Knowledge of the region was primarily located within captivity narratives.

'[F]or what is *Mahumetisme* but a *miscellany* of divers religions?': Imagined Islam³⁷⁹

Islam, as imagined by medieval and early modern Christians, originated in a Christian heresy.³⁸⁰ A lapsed monk turned away from the 'true faith', and, alongside Jewish and Christian renegades who opposed the divinity of Christ, lures the pagan 'Mahomet' into masquerading as a divinely appointed Prophet, peddling a 'recycled chaos of different belief

³⁷⁶ Vaughan, 'Representing the King of Morocco' 77; Nabil Matar, 'Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577 – 1704,' *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 3; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in the Ottoman Lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609 – 21* (Hants: Ashgate, 2006) 111.

³⁷⁷ Andrew Boorde, *The first Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (London: c. 1554 [1542]) sig. M3^v, quoted in Vaughan, 'Representing the King of Morocco' 77.

³⁷⁸ Nicholas de Nicolay, *Navigations, peregrinations and voyages made into Turkie* (London: 1585), English translation, quoted Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 36.

³⁷⁹ Fitz-Geffry 10.

³⁸⁰ See: James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); Minou Reeves, *Muhammad in Europe: A Thousand Years of Western Myth-Making* (New York University Press, 2003); John Victor Tolan, ed., *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (New York and London: Routledge, 2000); John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

systems' consisting of all previous heresies.³⁸¹ This mosaic religion, imagined as a composite patchwork of discredited doctrines stitched together by a heretical monk, was tailored to the desires of Arabs, to whom 'it was a friend to their theevery and lechery'.³⁸² '[F]or what is *Mahumetisme* but a *miscellany* of divers religions?' the Fowey clergyman Charles Fitz-Geffry put to his West Country congregation in 1636, 'and what is the *compounding of religions*, but the *confounding of true religion*?'³⁸³ Similarly Edward Kellet, in his sermon at the readmission of a returned captive at Minehead in 1627 refers to the Qur'an as 'their *Chymera*', whilst Thomas Heywood mocked Islam as an amalgamation of 'braine-sicke superstitions'.³⁸⁴

Early modern European Christendom viewed diversity and multiplicity as political and theological heresies, compared to the unity and oneness of God: enjoining Protestants and Catholics in the 'triple bonds' of '*Un Dieu, Un Roy, Un Ley* – One God, One King, One Law'.³⁸⁵ The *united* imperial force of a *diverse* Ottoman Empire was a paradox which emphasised the weakness and divisions within Christendom, proving confusing and contradictory, and a focus for writers. The origins of Islam were located with 'Mahomet' himself, and writers emphasised his inherent plurality. Biddulph (1609) gives a familiar overview:

³⁸¹ Matthew Dimmock, 'A Human Head to the Neck of a Horse': Hybridity, Monstrosity and Early Christian Conceptions of Muhammad and Islam,' *The Religions of the Book*, ed. Dimmock and Hadfield 73; Highley 63.

³⁸² Alexander Ross, 'A needful Caveat, or Admonition, for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the Alcoran', Preface, *The Alcoran of Mahomet, translated out of Arabick into French [...] newly Englished, for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities* (London: 1649). Also see: Dimmock, 'A Human Head' 68; William Bedwell, 'The Preface,' *Mohammedis Imposturae: That is, A Discovery of the Manifold Forgeries, Falshoods, and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed* (London: 1615).

³⁸³ Fitz-Geffry 10.

³⁸⁴ Edward Kellet and Henry Byam, *A Return from Argier, A Sermon Preached at Minhead the County of Somerset the 16, Of March, 1627, at the admission of a relapsed Christian into our Church* (London: 1628) 21; Thomas Heywood, *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (London: 1635) 285, quoted Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield, 'Introduction: The Devil Citing Scripture: Christian Perceptions of the Religions of the Book,' *The Religions of the Book* 11.

³⁸⁵ Okeley in Vitkus 143; Kevin Sharpe, 'The King's Writ: Royal Authors and Royal Authority in Early Modern England,' *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Sharpe and Peter Lake (California: Stanford University Press, 1993) 127.

Mahomet born in *Arabia*, in a base village called *Itraripia*. His parents were of divers nations, and different in religion: his father *Abdallas* was an *Arabian*: his mother *Cadige* a *Jew*.³⁸⁶

After ‘consorting himself with one *Serguis*, a fugitive monk, a notable heretick of the Arian sect’ and, ‘much consulting and debating of the matter, the best course which they conceived to effect their purpose, was to coin a new kind of doctrine and religion’: the result of this was ‘a monstrous and most devilish religion’, concocted by:

two hell-hounds, one of them being an arch enemy unto *Christ* and the truth of his religion, and the other a mere Atheist or prophane person, neither perfect *Jew*, nor perfect *Christian*, patched up a particular doctrine unto themselves out of the Old and New Testament, depraving the sense of both of them, and framing their opinions according to their own corrupt and wicked affections.³⁸⁷

Biddulph situates Islam as counterfeit and destructive through the language of coining. The corrupt practices of clipping, ‘sweating’ and ‘mingling’ to make new money undermined the economic wealth and spiritual health of the nation.³⁸⁸ His representation of Islam as a false, dangerous and ‘devilish religion’, a mingling of multiple heresies contesting the divinity of Christ, is evident throughout other texts. Fitz-Geffry, referring to ‘the mocke God *Mahomet*’, condemned Turks as ‘*irreligious; covetous; cruell; base and contemptible*’, whilst Muslims were the enemy of Christendom: ‘[t]hey seeme to regard the name of *Christ*, but *Christians* they cannot endure’.³⁸⁹ The captive John Rawlins – who escaped to Plymouth on a Bristol ship, conflated the ‘superstitious’ practices of the Muslim ‘Moors’ with witchcraft. Guided by ‘their Hoshea’ or soothsayer:

who with us signifieth a witch and is of great account and reputation amongst them, as not going in any great vessel to sea without one, and observing whatsoever he concludeth out of his divination. The ceremonies he useth are many, and when they

³⁸⁶ William Biddulph and Peter Biddulph, *The Travels of certaine Englishmen Vol. I* (London: 1745 [1609]) 789.

³⁸⁷ Biddulph and Biddulph, *Travels* 789. Also see: *Saint John of Damascus Writings*, transl. Frederic H. Chase (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1958) 153.

³⁸⁸ Ceri Sullivan, *The Rhetoric of Credit: Merchants in Early Modern Writing* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2002) 80 – 81; Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 123 – 199.

³⁸⁹ Fitz-Geffry 10, 18.

come into the ocean, every second or third night he maketh his conjuration. He beginneth and endeth with prayer, using many characters [magical symbols or emblems] and calling upon God by divers names.³⁹⁰

This figure is used to manage the fluidity and uncertainty of identity, heightened within the mutable landscape of the sea. Prizes occupied by illicit crews, and the practice of flying false colours, meant relying on appearances alone could be dangerous. Sighting two unidentifiable ships, and themselves occupying a stolen vessel, Rawlins is ordered to alternatively take in the sails and then hoist them out, depending on what ‘the witch findeth by his book and presages’.

Among the ‘[m]any other foolish rites they have’:

They also observe lunatics and changelings, and the conjurer writeth down their sayings in a book, grovelling on the ground, as if he whispered to the Devil to tell him the truth, and so expoundeth the letter, as it were, by inspiration.³⁹¹

Muslims were difficult to categorise; Islam, too, was diverse and complex. Christians and Muslims were rivals: in religion and territory, yet they were respected trading partners and fascinating sources of scholarly knowledge. From the medieval period onwards the Muslim worlds had highly developed systems of knowledge based on classical learning inaccessible to the West until the 12th and 13th centuries – and an established and thriving trade based economy.³⁹² Building on medieval scholarship, there was a growth in the study of Arabic in Britain from the late 16th century, with Cambridge as the primary site for study, motivated by the acquisition of scientific knowledge and the reinforcing of Christian apologetics; with works translated from Arabic to Latin.³⁹³ Scientific texts – contextually, those concerned with mathematics, medicine, astronomy, geography, philosophy, astrology, geomancy and alchemy – had often been translated from Greek to Arabic. In addition to documents *originally* in Arabic, these texts were fundamental to the development of science, medicine and philosophy

³⁹⁰ Hoshea was an ancient Hebrew prophet. Rawlins in Vitkus 107 - 108.

³⁹¹ Rawlins in Vitkus 108.

³⁹² Tolan, ‘Introduction’ xi – xii.

³⁹³ G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 7 – 8.

throughout Europe.³⁹⁴ However, unlike Greek and Hebrew scholarship, scholarship initially involved mainly private study: there were scant resources, an absence of native speakers, published dictionaries and printed Arabic texts were virtually non-existent, whilst manuscripts, apart from the odd copy of the Qur'an, were extremely rare.³⁹⁵ Arabic documents were thus valued and collected, such as copies of letters and documents of safe conduct, obtained, it would seem, from Levant Company merchants: ephemera transformed through space and use into rare and preserved scholarly documents.³⁹⁶ Furthermore, during the period under study, scholars were increasingly required to provide translation and interpretation services for centralised authority.³⁹⁷

These factors, combined with historically embedded understandings of Islam and the challenges of contemporary contact with Muslims, produced highly ambiguous and contradictory textual forms of representation. Many Arabic scholars also published Christian polemic, aiming to map the presence of deceit within Mohammad and Islam, and its absence in Christ and Christianity.³⁹⁸ As Meserve (2008) observes, in order to emphasise the barbarity and ferocity of *early modern* 'Turks', many of these scholarly authors reworked traditional medieval histories of 'Saracen' Arabs, placing their historical impact under erasure – situating them as relatively harmless.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁴ Toomer 8.

³⁹⁵ Toomer 53 – 54.

³⁹⁶ Toomer 58.

³⁹⁷ Toomer 55 - 57; Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell, the Arabist, 1563 – 1632* (Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1985) 15 – 18, 112

³⁹⁸ See: Humphrey Prideaux, *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet* (London: 1698 [1697]) iii, 204 – 209; Bedwell; Simon Ockley, *An Account of South-West Barbary [...] Written by a Person who had been a Slave there a considerable Time; and Published from his Authentick Manuscript* (London: 1713) xxiv; Toomer 61, 292.

³⁹⁹ Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008) 3, 6.

Such texts demonstrate a fascination with all aspects of the Islamic worlds, and were produced, consumed and disseminated within a plurality of spaces throughout the period under study and beyond. Ambiguous flows of information and misinformation, emerging from the mutable spaces, patterns and practices of Christian-Muslim relations, produced mixed emotional responses of fear, fascination and desire. Inevitably, these factors were influential on the theatrical productions and published plays of the period: those featuring the settings, characters and signifiers of Islam have come to be known collectively within modern scholarship as ‘Turk plays’.⁴⁰⁰

‘Let them view in me/ The perfect picture of right tyranny’: Turk Plays⁴⁰¹

The inherent complexities of ‘Islam’ was, as Birchwood (2007) observes, useful to writers due to its indeterminacy.⁴⁰² The marginalisation of North Africa within travel narratives, enabled the stage to become a space where ‘Barbary’ could be represented, explored and experienced, evolving out of what Pratt (1992) terms a ‘contact zone’; ‘a social space where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination’.⁴⁰³ ‘Barbary’ was a representative space and signifier of plurality and contention, conflating complex, multiple geographies and identities, allowing broad and often contradictory interpretations.⁴⁰⁴

Perhaps the most renowned representation within the genre of ‘Turk plays’ is the character of Othello.⁴⁰⁵ The play, and character, can be – and have been – interpreted variously and

⁴⁰⁰ Vitkus, ‘Introduction,’ *Three Turk Plays* 2; Burton, *Traffic and Turning* 257 - 258

⁴⁰¹ Robert Greene, ‘Selimus, Emperor of the Turks,’ (2.53 – 54), *Three Turk Plays*, ed. Vitkus 70.

⁴⁰² Birchwood 4, also see: 5, 14.

⁴⁰³ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992) 4.

⁴⁰⁴ Parker, ‘Reading ‘Barbary,’’ *Cultural Encounters* 77; Vaughan, ‘Representing the King of Morocco’ 77.

⁴⁰⁵ William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Othello, The Moore of Venice* (London: 1622).

ambiguously. However, whilst *Othello* has traditionally taken centre stage itself within discussions of Turks and Moors in early modern drama, more recent scholarship has substantially broadened this scope.⁴⁰⁶ Furthermore, as the relationship between Britain and Barbary deteriorated after Elizabeth's reign, the presence of Moors onstage decreased, and themes more pertinent to the Ottoman Empire emerged: the emphasis shifted to 'Turks'.⁴⁰⁷

Plays often drew on the same sources, and scholarship exploring these plays has demonstrated their network of textual and contextual relations.⁴⁰⁸ Common themes can be discerned. The plays reference Islamic and Ottoman wealth, luxury and opulence, incorporating the sensual and exotic spectacle of the Sultans and their courts. They also feature spaces, settings and characters associated with commerce and seafaring: ports, ships and marketplaces; pirates, renegades and merchants; with the common motifs of gold, coins, exotic and luxurious goods. They often draw on histories and past narratives of the Islamic worlds, and dramatic sultans were usually based on real figures, often portrayed as treacherous, greedy and despotic, with an emphasis on their ruthless cruelty and barbarism: 'the terrible Turk' disparate from the Christian characters.⁴⁰⁹ Indeed, whilst on occasion theatrical Sultans do demonstrate civility, toleration and kindness, they are inconstant, unpredictable and volatile:

⁴⁰⁶ For example, Vitkus, ed., *Three Turk Plays and Turning Turk*; Matar, *Islam*; Jowitt, *Voyage Drama*; Burton, *Traffic and Turning*; Birchwood.

⁴⁰⁷ Matar, *Britain* 8. Also see: Anthony Gerard Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race: The Representation of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1987); Emily C. Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From Alcazar to Othello* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

⁴⁰⁸ For example, Newton (1575), Biddulph (1609), Knolles (1603), Sandys (1615) as well as Spanish sources such as Miguel de Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel* [The Prisons of Algiers] (Madrid: 1615). Vitkus, 'Introduction,' *Three Turk Plays* 18, 40 – 41.

⁴⁰⁹ Parker 'Introduction,' *Early Modern Tales of Orient* 27 – 28; Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: 1937) 469 – 540; Vitkus, 'Introduction,' *Three Turk Plays* 16 – 19; Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and their Sources* (London: Routledge, 1994) 74 – 75, 90 – 96. Lukas Erne, *Beyond The Spanish Tragedy: A Study of the Works of Thomas Kyd* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) 158 – 160; Joan Rees, *Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1554 – 1628: A Critical Biography* (London; Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971) 139 – 181.

contrasting with one of the idealised features of Christianity, constancy.⁴¹⁰ A further theme is that of a Sultan falling in love with a female Christian captive, narratives which are re-workings of medieval Romance.⁴¹¹

Medieval understandings of Islam were evident on the early modern stage, such as the worship of a pagan idol, 'Mahomet'.⁴¹² For example, the Admiral's Company inventory of March 10th 1598 lists an 'owld Mahometes head': such a prop was used in Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (c. 1609, published 1612), with stage directions for the central conversion scene involve swearing on 'the Mahomet's head'. Conversion and piracy were often interrelated themes: in this instance, *A Christian Turned Turk* was based on two pamphlets concerning the infamous John Ward, who worked out of Tunis as Yusuf Reis.⁴¹³ The pamphlets, Andrew Barker's *True and Certain Report* and the anonymous *News from Sea*, were published in 1609: the year James issued his 'Proclamation against Pirates'.⁴¹⁴ Barker had been captured by Ward, and was thus aware of both his actions and his wealth: both pamphlets present complex portrayals, oscillating between condemnation and admiration.⁴¹⁵ Ward was an audacious anti-hero, a fascinating rogue and villain with impressive qualities, and it is within

⁴¹⁰ Paster, *Humoring* 1 – 6.

⁴¹¹ Chew 483; Leonard R. N. Ashley, *George Peele* (New York: Twayne, 1970 [1950]) 187 – 188; Hidden 172. Erne 157 – 202. Also see: Metlitzki; Robinson, *Islam*.

⁴¹² Robert Daborne, 'A Christian Turned Turk,' *Three Turk Plays*, ed. Vitkus 198, e.n. 236, 237; also Philip Massinger, 'The Renegado,' *Three Turk Plays* 249; Ashley 188; Dimmock, *Mahomet* 183; Carol Chillington Rutter, ed., *Documents of the Rose Playhouse* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999 [1984]) 133, 134, 136.

⁴¹³ Parker, 'Reading 'Barbary,'' *Cultural Encounters* 80 - 82; Vitkus, 'Introduction,' *Three Turk Plays* 23.

⁴¹⁴ Andrew Barker, *True and Certain Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Overthrows, and now present Estate of Captain Ward and Dansiker, the two late famous Pirates* (London: 1609); Anon., *News from Sea, Of Two Notorious Pirates, Ward...and Dansiker* (London: 1609); 'A Proclamation against Pirates, 8 January 1609,' *Three Turk Plays* 353 – 356.

⁴¹⁵ Parker, 'Reading 'Barbary,'' *Cultural Encounters* 80 – 82.

such representations that the inbetween and uncertain status of both pirate and renegade can be located.⁴¹⁶

Plays tended to represent Islam as a heretical religion, constituted through the spatial practices of paganised rituals, violence and *jihad*, images combined with allusions to the sensual rewards of an Islamic paradise, influenced by John Mandeville's 1496 account of the 'place of delights'.⁴¹⁷ Islam was sexualised, with Islamic characters and spaces portrayed as sites of lust, promiscuity, and sexual excess, albeit disguised by civility and fabulous costume, posing as virtue and chastity, hidden within harems and behind veils.⁴¹⁸ The plays were therefore able to 'reveal' these sites: uncovering and displaying spaces, practices and desires simultaneously constructed as forbidden, sinful, secret or unknown. However, the tantalising 'glimpse behind the veil' in *The Renegado* (1624) merely exposes an envy of Christian women, with the sultan's daughter Donusa providing this perspective:

I have heard
That Christian ladies live with much more freedom
Than such as are born here. Our jealous Turks
Never permit their fair wives to be seen
But at the public bagnios or the mosques,
And even then, veiled and guarded (1.2.17 – 21).⁴¹⁹

Revealing Islam served to warn as well as entertain: rather than being an accurate portrayal, with conversion scenes seemingly designed to deter potential converts who may be seduced by the multiple temptations which the east seemed to offer.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁶ Vitkus, 'Introduction,' *Three Turk Plays* 24 – 26; Senior 87 – 109; Wilson, *Pirate Utopias* 51 – 69; Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy* 2; Tinniswood, *Pirates* 14 – 51.

⁴¹⁷ C. W. R. D. Moseley, ed., *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London: Penguin, 1983) 104. Also see: Prideaux 27 – 28.

⁴¹⁸ Vitkus, 'Introduction,' *Three Turk Plays* 14 – 15, 38.

⁴¹⁹ Massinger, *Three Turk Plays* 255.

However, it was not only lived experiences within the Islamic worlds that could be seductive: dramatic representations could also pose dangers, through the dissemination of emotions. As understood through the environmentally sensitive humoral system, the sounds, spectacle and atmosphere of stage performances affected the passions of the audience, literally ‘moving’ them and altering the body. The passions responded to sense perceptions: what was expressed and enacted on the stage was contagious, an emotional exchange between actors and audience which could be either instructive or destabilizing.⁴²¹

Of course, in many ways, as Archer (2009) points out, Islam was not represented at all – it was misrepresented to the point of absence.⁴²² The first play extant which ‘flaunts its Qu’ranic source’ and personified the Prophet on stage, was William Percy’s *Mahomet and His Heaven* (1601).⁴²³ However, despite the Prologue promising ‘a Text out of the Alcoran wee bring you’ (ll.3), as Dimmock (2006) highlights, very little of the Muslim holy book is evident.⁴²⁴ Regardless, the play would have been shocking: the opening representation of Mahomet in heaven conflicts with centuries of Christian polemic strongly disputing his divinity, although Mahomet is identified with the antichrist by the end.⁴²⁵ Percy’s play draws heavily on the tradition of medieval miracle plays, which had been suppressed and associated with

⁴²⁰ Vitkus, ‘Introduction,’ 5, 236 and Massinger 251, both *Three Turk Plays*; Lois Potter, ‘Pirates and ‘turning Turk’ in Renaissance drama,’ *Travel and drama in Shakespeare’s time*, ed. Maquerlot and Willems 124 – 140.

⁴²¹ Katherine Rowe, ‘Humoral Knowledge and Liberal Cognition in Davenant’s *Macbeth*,’ *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, ed. Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson 169 – 191. Also see: Paster, *Humouring*; Matthew Steggle, *Laughing and Weeping in Early Modern Theatres* (Hants: Ashgate, 2007); Winkler.

⁴²² John Michael Archer, ‘Islam and Tamburlaine’s World-picture,’ *A Companion to the Global Renaissance*, ed. Singh 72.

⁴²³ Dimmock, *Mahomet* 1.

⁴²⁴ Dimmock, *Mahomet* 17.

⁴²⁵ Dimmock, *Mahomet* 32.

Catholicism: a ‘provocative intermingling of the medieval with the contemporary, and the exotic with the familiar’.⁴²⁶

Away from the London-based stage, West Country inhabitants would be familiar with the Turks of these earlier miracle plays - not officially suppressed in Cornwall until the later years of Elizabeth’s reign.⁴²⁷ The two-day Cornish language *Beunans Meriasek*, ‘The Life of St Meriasek’ (c. 1504) entwines characters from different eras with themes of conversion and miraculous healing, relating a narrative of St Meriasek’s Christ-like mission to Cornwall, and his conflict with the tyrannical king Teudar.⁴²⁸ The ‘pagan’ Teudar tries to convert Meriasek: however, as a medieval construction of paganism, this was conflated with Islam:

Teudar I am called
That Mahound be honoured
Is my charge without fail,
Near and far.
Whosoever worship another god,
They shall have keen pains,
And likewise a cruel death.⁴²⁹

He swears to Meriasek he desires nothing ‘But to worship Mahound always’ – indeed, Mahound is evoked several times, whilst Muhammad is represented as a pagan god, or demon.⁴³⁰ Saracen idolatry within these plays is a foil for Christian piety, with devils and Jews

⁴²⁶ Dimmock, *Mahomet* 46.

⁴²⁷ Spriggs, ‘Where Cornish was Spoken’ 231.

⁴²⁸ Brian Murdoch, *Adam’s Grace: Fall and Redemption in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000) 116; Koch 203 – 205; Stoye ‘Cornish Rebellions’ 25; Kent, *Theatre* 232 – 264.

⁴²⁹ Whitley Stokes, ed. and transl., *Beunans Meriasek, The Life of Saint Meriasek, Bishop and Confessor, A Cornish Drama* (London: Trübner and Co., 1872) 44 – 45. Also see: Murdoch, *Cornish Literature* 111.

⁴³⁰ Stokes 50 – 51.

worshipping Mahound, actions leading to the Crucifixion - an imagined Islam with resonance within early modern Cornwall and Devon.⁴³¹

Pageants and courtly revels also featured ‘Turks’ and Turkish motifs. On Shrove Tuesday, 1510, Henry VIII and the Earl of Essex appeared clad ‘after Turkey fassion’ in rich embroidered robes and crimson velvet hats, ‘girded with two swordes called *Cimeteries*’.⁴³² In 1552/3, the Christmas revels presented musicians ‘apparelled like turkes’; and a masque of ‘Turkish magistrates’ was shown in 1555.⁴³³ However, with the increasing proximity of Muslims in the realms of imagination, representation and lived experience, Turks came to portray more of a threat within these pageants, rather than exotic spectacle. McJannet (2008) notes the revels for 1571/2 – contemporaneous to Lepanto – incorporated weapons, as well as the turban: a ‘Turky Bowe and iii arrowes’ and ‘Bumbast to stuf Rowles for the Turkes heades’.⁴³⁴ In the West Country, a figure of ‘the Turk’ appeared during the 1580 Plymouth May Day: 16d was paid ‘to Robert Sprye for the picture of the Turke on Maye Daie’, and 2s for ‘payntinge the Turke’, whilst Vinsent Scoble was paid 21d for ‘the frame of the Turke’ and ‘the frame of the Bell rope for the guildhald’.⁴³⁵ Wasson (1986) notes references to Gogmagog vanished from the Plymouth records five years previously. Gogmagog formed an integral part of the May games, apparently involving an annual carving: monies were paid for the ‘cuttyng’, ‘dyggyng’ and ‘paryng’ of Gogmagog ‘apon the howe’ [Plymouth Hoe] – this was also

⁴³¹ Tolan, *Saracens* 130.

⁴³² McJannet, ‘Pirates, Merchants, and Kings: Oriental Motifs in English Court and Civic Entertainments, 1510 – 1659,’ *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*, ed. Helen Ostovich, Mary V. Silcox and Graham Roebuck (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2008) 251.

⁴³³ McJannet, ‘Pirates, Merchants, and Kings’ 251.

⁴³⁴ Quoted McJannet, ‘Pirates, Merchants, and Kings’ 251.

⁴³⁵ West Devon Record Office, W 132, Receivers’ Accounts 1580 – 1, f 49; John M. Wasson, *Records of Early English Drama: Devon* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1986) 248, 450; Todd Gray, *Early-Stuart Mariners and Shipping: The Maritime Surveys of Devon and Cornwall 1619 – 35* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990) xvii – xix; Gray, ‘Turks’ 460.

described as a 'pycture'.⁴³⁶ Wasson suggests a 'Turk' was a less contentious symbol of paganism to the 'increasingly puritanical' authorities at Plymouth.⁴³⁷

The influence of Barbary piracy in pageants was evident in 1610, with Anthony Munday's *London's Love to Prince Henry*: the third day featured 'a Turkish pirate prowling on the seas, to maintain a Turkish castle', with 'armes and streamers', which, as McJannet suggests, were probably curved scimitars and flags or banners with the Turkish crescent.⁴³⁸ After enacting a battle, the 'merchants and men of warre [...] prooved too strong for the pirate' and 'spoylde' him, blowing up the castle with a spectacular show of 'verie rare and admirable fire-workes'.⁴³⁹ Similar shows followed. In 1613 a sea battle was enacted at Bristol in front of Queen Anne: reportedly she 'laughingly' observed the captives 'were not only like Turks by their apparel but by their countenances'.⁴⁴⁰ However, in the early 17th century Lord Mayor's Shows – sponsored by the trading companies - Turks were represented as peaceful: traders and representatives, symbols of commerce rather than conflict.⁴⁴¹

Representations of an imagined Islam within these various overlapping spatialities are constituted through ambiguity. However, contact – whether with 'real' or represented Muslims, imagined or scholarly Islam – was undoubtedly fraught with anxiety. As Vitkus (2000) observes:

⁴³⁶ For example, West Devon Record Office W 130, Receivers' Accounts 1494 – 5, f. 26; 1515 – 16, ff. 125v, 129v; 1516 – 17, f. 133v. Wasson lxi, 212, 218 – 219, 450.

⁴³⁷ Wasson 450.

⁴³⁸ Quoted McJannet, 'Pirates, Merchants, and Kings' 251.

⁴³⁹ Quoted McJannet, 'Pirates, Merchants, and Kings' 252.

⁴⁴⁰ Quoted McJannet, 'Pirates, Merchants, and Kings' 252.

⁴⁴¹ Quoted McJannet, 'Pirates, Merchants, and Kings' 253. For example, John Webster's *Monuments of Honour* (London: 1624); Thomas Dekker, *London's Tempe* (London: 1629) Thomas Middleton, *Triumphs of Honour and Industry* (London: 1617).

From the Saracen knights of medieval romance to the Barbary pirates and Turkish pashas of early modern report, Western tales have depicted an Islamic predilection for the taking, imprisoning, and enslaving of captives.⁴⁴²

An early textual representation of captivity appeared in George Gascoigne's 'A devise of a Maske' (c. 1571 – 1577): a poetic account of an English boy accompanying his father to fight the Turks at Cyprus in 1570. Taken captive after his father's death, he is released after Lepanto the following year, although the poem does not focus on captivity.⁴⁴³ Miguel de Cervantes, who fought for Spain as part of the Holy League at Lepanto, was held in Algiers from 1575 for five years before being ransomed, an event which provided material for his 'Captive's Tale' episode in *Don Quixote* (1605, 1615), and two plays *El Trato de Argel* [The Treatment of Algiers] (1582) and *Los Baños de Argel* [The Prisons of Algiers] (1615).⁴⁴⁴ However, although generalised imprisonment and slavery feature in the English Turk plays, Barbary captivity itself is consigned to the margins. For example, the character of Collonna – his name implying he originates from the Italian Peninsula – is an ex-captive who appears briefly within the collaborative play *The Knight of Malta* (c.1617), set during the 1565 Siege.⁴⁴⁵ Here, the frequent poverty and unemployment of ex-captives is highlighted. Collonna managed to escape the Turkish prize he was enslaved upon, swimming to land, but finds himself '[r]edeem'd from one affliction to another' (2.2.40): poor, hungry, cold and forgotten. Collonna begs Miranda, a young Knight, for his pity: he becomes Collonna's master.⁴⁴⁶ Barbary captivity also appears in

⁴⁴² Vitkus, 'Introduction,' *Three Turk Plays* 12 – 13.

⁴⁴³ Nabil Matar, 'English Accounts of Captivity in North Africa and the Middle East: 1577 – 1625,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54, (2) (Summer 2001): 554.

⁴⁴⁴ Jean Canavaggio, 'Miguel de Cervantes (1547 – 1616): Life and Portrait', The Cervantes Project [online]; María Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002).

⁴⁴⁵ John Fletcher, Massinger and Nathan Field, *The Knight of Malta* (London: c.1617); Virginia Mason Vaughan, 'The Maltese Factor: The Poetics of Place in *The Jew of Malta* and *The Knight of Malta*,' *A Companion to the Global Renaissance*, ed. Singh 340 – 354; Lawrence Barnett Phillips, *The Dictionary of Biographical Reference* (London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston, 1871) 273.

⁴⁴⁶ George Walton Williams, ed., 'The Knight of Malta,' *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed., Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) Vol. VIII, 386. Also see: Matar, *Turks* 74.

Massinger's play *An Unnatural Combat*, dated to late 1624 or 1625. The port of Marseilles is under siege from a fleet of Turkish pirates, led by the renegade son of the Admiral of Marseilles. Reference is made to the rescuing of 'The French Merchants/ when they were boarded, and stowed under hatches/ by the Pirats of Argiers, when everie minute/ they did expect to be chain'd to the oare'.⁴⁴⁷ The play, emerging during the mid-1620s, during the first wave of the Turks preying on the West Country coast, is, as Jowitt demonstrates, also related to the wider contexts of contradictory state attitudes towards piracy and the inability to maintain order at sea, and the intervention of Buckingham in support of Catholic France against fellow Protestants during the the Huguenot rebellion of 1624/5.⁴⁴⁸ Nevertheless, there are few allusions to British captives on the early modern stage, and no enactment of a 'captivity narrative', dramatizing capture, enslavement and return.⁴⁴⁹

'[A]n unpolished work of a poor sailor': Barbary Captivity Narratives⁴⁵⁰

Given the contemporary perception of the extent of Barbary captivity, this lack of representation is surprising. Whilst many ex-captives no doubt told and re-told their stories in various official and social spaces – perhaps discovering a potential readership for their narratives - even the 'factual' accounts published as broadsides, pamphlets and books were relatively few. These were the primary site of popular representation and public dissemination of tales of Barbary captivity, yet between 1577 and 1704 there were approximately 22 narrative accounts written by Britons detailing their captivity by Muslims: only 10 between

⁴⁴⁷ Philip Massinger, *The Unnatural Combat, A Tragedie* (London: 1639) C^v – C2^r.

⁴⁴⁸ I am grateful to Professor Jowitt for drawing my attention to this reference. See: *Culture of Piracy* 192 – 198, esp. 194, 196 – 197, and her 'Piracy and Court Scandals in Massinger's *The Unnatural Combat*,' *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 67 (2005): 33 – 42.

⁴⁴⁹ Matar, *Turks* 73 – 74.

⁴⁵⁰ Rawlins in Vitkus 98.

1577 and 1625. Political sensitivity regarding the plight of the captives, and reliance on the patronage system, were probable factors contributing to this scarcity.⁴⁵¹

Captivity narratives were popular, however, particularly as so few travel accounts and histories regarding North Africa were available, unlike those of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵² Captives augmented passing observations of North Africa, and their narratives served an ideological purpose: vilifying Islam, and reinforcing the fearful cartographies of Barbary, indistinguishable from its piratical activities.⁴⁵³ A hybrid genre, captivity narratives incorporated elements of travel literature, theology and histories. As Vitkus (2001) observes, they constituted new sites of knowledge, whilst Benhayoun (2006) situates them materially and conceptually within floating and fluid spaces.⁴⁵⁴ Products of cultural and geographical displacement, captivity narratives emerge from imagined and experienced spaces which were neither fixed nor bounded. Furthermore, the motivations and functions of telling and publishing such narratives are multiple.⁴⁵⁵ Narratives could allay suspicion as to whether the captive had converted, or be a space of transformation where meaning could be made from their experiences, and new identities constructed. The ‘journey’ structure of many narratives gives a framework of order and security to distressing events.⁴⁵⁶ Captivity narratives – as with all textuality – were ‘spatial acts’ located within the world: that which Said (1983) refers to ‘a

⁴⁵¹ Matar, *Turks* 43 – 82, 71; Matar, ‘English Accounts of Captivity’ 553; Matar, ‘Introduction,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 2 - 3, 41; Paul Baepler, ‘Introduction,’ *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*, ed. Baepler (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 3.

⁴⁵² Matar, ‘Introduction,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 3.

⁴⁵³ For example, see: Ernie Bradford, *Mediterranean: Portrait of a Sea* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1971); Henry Arderne Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World: An Essay in Mediterranean History* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997 [1924]).

⁴⁵⁴ Vitkus, ‘Trafficking with the Turk: English Travelers in the Ottoman Empire during the early Seventeenth Century,’ *Travel Knowledge*, ed. Kamps and Singh 35 – 52; Benhayoun.

⁴⁵⁵ Matar, *Turks* 72 - 74.

⁴⁵⁶ Sterling Lecater Bland Jr., *Voices of the Fugitives: Runaway Slave Stories and their Fictions of Self-Creation* (Westport, Connecticut/London: Praeger, 2000) 35.

dynamic field, rather than a static block, of words'.⁴⁵⁷ As such, they are products embedded within an economic system. For the few ex-captives who did have their narratives published, this could be a way of generating an income, if not through the selling of their story itself, by authorising them to claim alms and other relief, and legitimising their mobility. The published narratives participate in a network of social power leading to centralised authority, embedded within a system of patronage and political affiliation, although becoming increasingly inseparable from the power of the merchant companies.⁴⁵⁸ Micro-narratives of Barbary captivity also feature on and within other spaces: depositions, monuments, letters, and the body of the returned captive themselves.

Captivity narratives also formed yet another textual space through which 'Englishness' could be imagined, an ideology of nationhood could be articulated, and Anglo-Protestant identity could be constructed.⁴⁵⁹ 'Home' – English soil and air - was (understandably) celebrated: either through the narrative expressing longings for home whilst in Barbary, or when describing their homecomings, which every narrative signified.

Published captivity narratives, therefore, mapped Barbary as a site of danger and cruelty, with 'home' imagined as a place of refuge, safety, belonging and bodily *crisis*, or humoral temperance.⁴⁶⁰ However, for the inhabitants of the coastal settlements of the West Country -

⁴⁵⁷ Edward Said, *The World the Text and the Critic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983) 157.

⁴⁵⁸ See, for example, dedications in Rawlins in Vitkus 96; Richard Hasleton, *Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton* (London: 1595); Thomas Phelps, *A True Account of the Captivity of Thomas Phelps at Machaness in Barbary* (London: 1685).

⁴⁵⁹ Susanne Scholz, *Body Narratives: Writing the Nation and Fashioning the Subject in Early Modern England* (Hants: MacMillan, 2000) 7.

⁴⁶⁰ Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* 101; Peter Brain, *Galen on Bloodletting: A Study of the Origins, Development and Validity of His Opinions, With a Translation of the Three Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 6 – 7; Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 12, 28, 39.

particularly from the 1620s to the 1640s - these stable, domestic geographies became transformed into mutable landscapes of fear.

Part I: Taken

‘These parts suffer from the Moors and Turks’

Anxious Geographies and Unsettled Bodies¹

To understand how Barbary captivity impacted upon the West Country, it is important to map the accounts and responses to the Turkish ‘threat’, and explore ways in which meaning is generated, the focus of Part I of this thesis. Localised accounts are primarily represented through a wealth of official documentation, a plenitude contrasting sharply with the scarcity of published narratives with West Country locations. The two captivity narratives written by West Country captives were published in the 18th century: those of Pitts (Exeter 1704) and Thomas Pellow (Penryn 1740), taken captive in 1678 and 1716 respectively. Okeley (1675) was held from 1639 - 1644 – his fellow escapee was from Paignton - whilst Rawlins’s *Recovery of a Ship of Bristol* (1622) references Penzance, and includes renegades from Fowey and his hometown of Plymouth. *Newes from Sally* (1642) has ships taken from Barnstaple, ‘Apsum’ [Topsham], and Dartmouth.²

¹ Sir James Bagg, Plymouth, July 10, 1625, John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1625, 1626* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858) 58.

² John Rawlins, *The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol* (London: 1622); William Okeley, *Eben-ezer: Or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley, John Anthony, William Adams, John Jeph, John – Carpenter, From the Miserable Slavery of Algiers with the wonderful Means of their Escape in a Boat of Canvas* (London: 1675); Joseph Pitts, *A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans* (Exeter: 1704); Thomas Pellow, *The Adventures of Thomas Pellow of Penryn, Mariner, Three and Twenty Years in Captivity Among the Moors* (London: 1740); *Newes from Sally; of a strange delivery of four English captives from the slavery of the Turks* (London: 1642).

From the late 16th century West Country captives were taken from the distant seascapes of the Mediterranean basin and the high seas. Most at risk were those using trading routes to Spain, Portugal and Biscay: virtually all the ships and crews lost to the ‘Turks’ at sea were small, lightly armed merchant vessels, from either London or West Country ports.³ For example, it was reported on March 19th 1619 that ‘400 sail of the Western ports’ had been taken since 1615: between 1610 and 1620 Bristol alone had lost 45 ships to piracy – between 27 and 30 of which were to Barbary corsairs.⁴

Parish records demonstrate an awareness of Barbary captivity from the second half of the 16th century. In response to Council directives, ransom collections were undertaken throughout the country for ‘captives taken in Turkey’, spreading the impact and disseminating knowledge of Barbary captivity from the coastal regions inland.⁵ However, the localised threat to the West Country became heightened from the 1620s, with the presence of the Turks within the coastal waters of Devon and Cornwall. Domestic turmoil and unemployment had led to a rise in the number of Dutch corsairs during the 1620s: making links with those of the Barbary coast, they shared knowledge and skills enabling the North African galleys to venture into the Atlantic.⁶ Furthermore, the first decades of the 17th century were troubled for the Ottoman Empire: a period of war with Persia, internal unrest, uprisings

³ Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry Before the Civil War* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996) 134; David Delison Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government 1616 – 1642* (Hants: Scholar Press, 1994) 10 – 15; Ralph Davis, ‘England and the Mediterranean 1570 – 1670,’ *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England in honour of R. H. Tawney*, ed. F. J. Fisher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961) 127 – 130.

⁴ 27 were lost to Barbary pirates, with a further three to pirates of unspecified nationality. The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) SP 14/107, f 40; P. V. McGrath, ‘The Merchant Venturers and Bristol in the Early Seventeenth Century,’ *The Mariner’s Mirror*, XXXVI (1950): 69; Hebb *Piracy* f.n. 5, 16.

⁵ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report of Manuscripts in Various Collections Vol. I* (London: HMSO, 1901) 68; Nabil Matar, ‘Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577 - 1704,’ *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. Daniel J. Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) 24.

⁶ Robert Elgood, *Firearms of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 1995) 74 – 75.

and an unstable sultanate. Changes in power were notoriously disruptive: the unpopular and mentally deficient Sultan Mustafa held power for a mere three months in 1617 before being deposed, confined in the palace, and replaced by his nephew, who became Osman II. A military insurrection followed in 1622, resulting in Osman being strangled and Mustafa reinstated. However, after sixteen months he was again deposed and confined: Murad IV took the throne in 1623, ruling until his death in 1640. The early years of his reign were marked with turmoil and power struggles: the influence of Istanbul was in decline, and thus the Barbary provinces were becoming increasingly independent. It was not until 1632 Murad managed to establish his personal authority and attempt to re-establish the power of the sultanate.⁷

The first recorded Turkish vessel on the West Country coast was sighted in 1623, the year Murad took power and two years after the failed Algiers mission. This was also during the problematic period of the transference of power from James I to Charles I, difficulties which emerged prior to, and were carried over into, Charles's reign. Centred on the question of a suitable marriage for Charles, Anglo-Spanish, and Protestant-Catholic, relations were under scrutiny – as was the relationship between the monarch and Parliament.⁸ The crew of this vessel purchased fish from a local boat and 'viewed' the coast, provoking anxiety concerning possible relations with local inhabitants, in addition to their surveillance and proximity to the shoreline.⁹ However, this visit was not indicative of what was to come. A month after the death of James - and accession of Charles – Turks were again reported to be upon the coast of

⁷ Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300 – 1923* (London: John Murray, 2005) 196 – 222.

⁸ Clive Holmes, *Why Was Charles I Executed?* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006) esp. p. 1; Richard Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007) 31 – 62. Also see: Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

⁹ TNA: PRO SP 14/90, f 24; Todd Gray, 'Turks, Moors and the Cornish Fishermen: Piracy in the Early Seventeenth Century,' *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, N.S. X (4) (1990): 460.

the ‘western parts’, but this time their visit was hostile. In correspondence dated 18th April 1625, Sir James Bagg, the ambitious and corrupt Vice-Admiral of South Cornwall who resided in Devon, reported to Buckingham from Plymouth that a Dartmouth Ship and three Cornish fishing boats had been taken within the waters of Plymouth harbour by a ‘Sally’ ship.¹⁰ Although there was abundant shipping travelling the busy sealanes from the Channel into the Severn, and voyaging to Ireland, North America and the Mediterranean, these vessels were coastal: lightly armed coasters, short sea-ships, and fishing boats.¹¹

The Mayor of Plymouth, merchant Thomas Ceely, confirmed Bagg’s report that day, in an urgent dispatch marked ‘[h]aste, haste, posthaste’. ‘Turks, Moors and Dutchmen of Sallee in Barbary lie on our coasts’, he wrote, ‘spoiling divers such as they are able to master’. He enclosed the short examination of William Draper, of Plymouth, and a more detailed one from William Knight, of ‘St. Butockes’ – nearby St. Budeaux.¹² These texts illustrate the varied cartographies of information, knowledge and networked processes involved in reporting to the Privy Council. Material texts, oral testimonies, informal rumour and conversation were generated, circulated and transmitted within and across diverse geographies and locations, before converging on the site of localised authority and (re)presented centrally.

Draper ‘verily believeth’ the French bark he recently observed at Flushing; ‘with nine Turks and divers other Dutch and one black Moor in her’ and ‘bound for Sally’ according to

¹⁰ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 11. Also see: Daniel Lysons and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia; Being A Concise Topographical Account of The Several Counties of Great Britain, Volume the Third, Containing Cornwall* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1814) 412; Andrew Thrush, ‘Bagg, Sir James (*bap.* 1592, *d.* 1638),’ *Oxford DNB*, 23 June 2010.

¹¹ Davis, ‘England and the Mediterranean,’ *Essays*, ed. Fisher f.n.2, 129; Gray, ‘Turks’ 463.

¹² TNA: PRO SP 16/1, ff 68, 69.

locals, was the vessel which ‘robbed the ship of Salcombe and the fisherboats of Looe’.¹³

Knight reported he was sailing his barge loaded with sand out of the ‘river of Yalme’ – the Yealm estuary near Plymouth – and had met a local fishing boat, whose crew told him they had recently encountered a Salcombe vessel bound for the Newfoundland fisheries. This boat was:

taken on the twelfth of this instant April by a ship of Sally of thirty tons or thereabouts, wherein were nine Dutchmen, six Turks, and three Moors, and one of them a black Moor.¹⁴

Knight was told a small sailing boat, a pink, was ‘in consort with’ the Salé ship, and they were headed towards Looe. One of the fishermen - whom Knight had landed at Crymmell [Cremyll] Passage that day – had informed him that whilst fishing with another boat in sight of Plymouth harbour on April 11th, all 12 men were captured by ‘the said ship of Sally’. The unnamed fisherman (‘whose name he remembereth not’) escaped after ‘a black Moor of the said bark of Sally unloosed his bands’: he ‘crept out through a porthole of the said ship of Salcombe, lying near the said bark of Sally’. For Ceely, the authenticity of this report resides within the detail received by Knight from the anonymous fisherman, who described how the Salé crew had ‘cut off the tackle of the said boats and after left them fleeing on the stream’. ‘I am induced the rather to believe’ he informs the Council, underlining this particularly poignant and eerie image, ‘because two fisherboats mentioned in his examination were very lately found floating on the seas, having neither man nor any tackle in them’.¹⁵ Ceely had further news, direct from Salé:

I am credibly informed that one Pethericke Honicombe, an English captive in Sally, hath lately written a letter, dated the fifth of March last, to his wife dwelling in Stonehouse near Plymouth, wherein, among other things, he advises her that there

¹³ Flushing in the Netherlands, not to be confused with Flushing near Penryn, which was probably still known as Nankersey at this time.

¹⁴ ‘Appendix 3,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 356.

¹⁵ TNA: PRO SP 16/1, ff 68, 69; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 10; ‘Appendix 3’ in Vitkus 354 – 358.

were thirty sail of ships at Sally now preparing to come for the coasts of England in the beginning of the summer.¹⁶

The primary site of imagined Barbary captivity at this time was Salé, in Morocco, which had declared itself an independent piratical Republic from 1619 to 1627, under the jurisdiction of the notorious Dutch renegade, Murat Reis the Younger.¹⁷ The threat was multiple and the image predatory, with Turks, Moors and Dutch renegades haunting the coast to take local shipping.

The huge amount of complaints concerning the arrival of the Turks sent to centralised authority throughout the spring and summer of 1625 demonstrates the impact upon West Country coastal communities in that year alone. Communications arrived from Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Barnstaple, St Ives and Penzance, and were also filed by Bagg, as Vice-Admiral, and the Cornish JPs. All appear to have been ignored.¹⁸ Bagg had requested Buckingham, as Lord Admiral, send ships to repel the corsairs and reassure local inhabitants, whilst Ceely warned ‘if there were not speedy course taken to prevent it, they would do much mischief’.¹⁹ Bagg, recently appointed prestmaster ‘dispatched the press’ to raise 250 men in Devon, whilst ‘the Cornish number of 200 more’. However, Sir John Eliot, Devon’s equally controversial and unpopular Vice-Admiral, resented Bagg’s intrusion into his jurisdiction, reportedly being ‘displeased that he

¹⁶ ‘Appendix 3’ in Vitkus 355.

¹⁷ Peter Lamborn Wilson, *Pirate Utopias: Moorish Corsairs and European Renegades* (New York: Autonomedia, 2003) 71 - 141; Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 12; Saïd Mouline, ‘Rabat-Salé, Holy Cities of The Two Banks,’ *The City in the Islamic World Vol. 1*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond (Leiden, NL: Koninklijke Brill, 2008) 652; Angus Konstam, *Piracy: The Complete History* (Oxford and New York: Osprey Publishing, 2008) 90 – 91.

¹⁸ Gray, ‘Turks’ 461. For example, TNA: PRO SP 16/1, ff 68, 94; 16/2, ff 36, 75; 16/3, f 76; 16/4, f 35; 16/5, ff 6, 8, 24, 32, 36, 55, 81, 90.

¹⁹ TNA: PRO SP 16/1, f 69; Duffin, *Faction* 134; ‘Appendix 3’ in Vitkus 355.

was not solely employed'.²⁰ Eliot and Bagg clearly detested each other, harbouring an intense rivalry which was not conducive to working in the best interests of the maritime communities of Devon and Cornwall.²¹ Indeed, no action was taken, with the focus of centralised authority being on Anglo-Spanish hostilities, and the pending expedition to Cadiz, which proved to be both expensive and disastrous.²² The activities of the Turks continued, and localised fears of being taken into captivity from domestic territory increased.

Within the historical record, attention shifted to the far west of Cornwall. On April 30th 1625 John Godolphin wrote from the Scillies to the Governor of the Isles, his brother Francis, informing him that '[t]wo ships of Sallee, one carrying 32 guns' had been identified on the Biscay coast, and that 'these and 20 others are coming to rove about the West parts of England'. Ominously, a Turkish 'man-of-war' had pursued a Plymouth bark into St. Mary's Road, the sealane through the Isles: John warned that the pirates intended to return to Barbary with prisoners, not just pillage local shipping.²³ On the 7th May John Trewinnard, the deputy searcher of St Ives wrote to Secretary Edward Conway - who had sat as MP for Penryn during James's reign - begging for assistance.²⁴ 'The Turks are upon our coasts' he reports, '[t]hey take ships only to take the men to make slaves of them', ascertaining 18 men taken from one vessel, 16 from another, adding there were '30 sail of them abroad, out of Sallee, a

²⁰ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 11. Also see: John Forster, *Sir John Eliot: A Biography 1590 – 1632* Vol. I (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1864).

²¹ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 435, 456, 462; Thrush, 'Bagg'; History of Parliament Online, 'Bagg, James II (c. 1592 – 1638), of Plymouth, Devon; later of Saltram, nr. Plympton Erle, Devon and Queen Street, St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Mdx.,' *The History of Parliament: British Political, Social and Local History*, 28 July 2013, <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org>>.

²² Richard W. Stewart, 'Arms and expeditions: the Ordnance Office and the assaults on Cadiz (1625) and the Isle of Rhé (1627),' *War and government in Britain, 1598 – 1650*, ed. Mark Charles Fissel (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991) 111 – 132.

²³ TNA: PRO SP 16/1, f 94; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 14.

²⁴ Sean Kelsey, 'Conway, Edward, first Viscount Conway and first Viscount Killultagh (c.1564 – 1631),' *Oxford DNB*, 23 June 2010.

new rendezvous'.²⁵ It would seem some of these reports reached the wider community. On June 1st, Thomas Locke, who produced newsletters, informed his frequent correspondent, the ambassador at The Hague Sir Dudley Carleton, that he had heard '[a]bove 30 sail of pirates are lying off the Scilly Isles thought to be Turks', and there was an 'order for two of the King's ships to go thither'.²⁶

Dispatched the same day as Trewinnard's report, although received May 23rd, Ceely sent the Council the examination of William Court, a Plymouth shipwright, 'from which it will be perceived what spoil the Turks and Moors of Sallee daily do on the English coasts'.²⁷ Court's account, confirming aspects of Knight's, was given credibility as he was an ex-captive of Salé, taken the previous year with four others, six days after leaving Plymouth for Portugal.²⁸ During March 1624/5 Court was on one of six 'Turkish ships of Sally' which 'did bend their course for the coast of England', pillaging and sinking vessels they encountered and taking crews captive. These included 'six French barks, a little off from Scilly, and six score men', all of whom 'the said pirates took into their ships and chained them and left the barks fleeting on the stream'.²⁹ Court's vessel was captained by 'one Cooper', with a crew consisting of 9 other Islamic converts; 4 English and 5 Flemish; and 30 'Turks and Moors'.³⁰ Near to the Isles of Scilly the ship took a Plymouth vessel 'bound for Newfoundland on a fishing voyage, wherein one William Legg was master': after taking 18 'of her choicest men' in chains, the corsairs cast off the Plymouth ship with Court and 'six of her worst men', who landed at St Ives after five days. Court finishes his deposition with the daunting report that the Muslim

²⁵ TNA: PRO SP 16/2, f 33; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 20; Gray, 'Turks' 463.

²⁶ *CSPD 1625, 1626* ix, 34.

²⁷ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 20.

²⁸ TNA: PRO SP 16/2, f 36 (1); 'Appendix 3' in Vitkus 357.

²⁹ 'Appendix 3' 358; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 20.

³⁰ TNA: PRO SP 16/2, f 36 (1); 'Appendix 3' 358; Gray, 'Turks' 461.

pirates often boasted they ‘would fetch the Christians from the shore’ - furthermore, it was ‘Englishe and Flemishe runnegadoes’ expressing this intention.³¹ A month later the Plymouth authorities again complained to the Council that many merchants and fishermen had been taken from the region.³² By the end of June, Buckingham instructed Sir Francis Stewart to go with as many ready ships as possible to ‘clear the coast’, although not to pursue the Turks, but rather to rendezvous at Plymouth, although sickness prevented them from proceeding further.³³

The 1625 Oxford session of Parliament opened on August 1st; displaced from London by plague. The culmination of complaints over the summer which MPs brought from their constituencies probably contributed to Buckingham’s decision to act.³⁴ Differentiating between Ottoman corsairs and those of independent Salé, perhaps to emphasise the enormity of the threat, Bagg wrote privately to Buckingham the following day, alerting him to the increasing discontent of the West Country inhabitants, emphasising this was a terrifying and financially debilitating experience they lived with daily. He advised Buckingham to swiftly take measures against the pirates, and make it appear pre-planned before Parliament opened:

Divers towns have written to their burgesses of the daily oppression of the Sallee and Turkish pirates. There are 20 sail on the coast, and within six days they have taken two ships' worth 5,000l. Hopes some ships will be provided, that it may appear to the House a remedy was ordered ere the complaint was presented.³⁵

The complaints are recorded over the following days. On August 3rd that of Ceely ‘and his brethren’ appears, stating they were forced to ‘supplicate to the Council for speedy redress’ due to the ‘lamentable complaints received’ from 800 captives in Salé ‘under the barbarous

³¹ *CSPD 1625, 1626 20*; ‘Appendix 3’ 358.

³² TNA: PRO SP 16/4, f 149; Duffin, *Faction* 134.

³³ *CSPD 1625, 1626 49*.

³⁴ Duffin, *Faction* 135.

³⁵ TNA: PRO SP 16/4, f 149; *CSPD 1625, 1626 20*; Duffin, *Faction* 135.

cruelty of the Moors', emphasising the dangers posed to shipping from Newfoundland and New England.³⁶ On August 6th a petition on behalf of the inhabitants of Devon from the local Grand Jury is recorded, expressing similar anxieties. Initially this was addressed to Sir Richard Hutton, Justice of the Common Pleas, and was subsequently forwarded to Lord Keeper Williams. The Grand Jury urged Hutton 'to make it known to the King or the Council what great inconveniences are likely to befall if speedy course be not taken to suppress the piratical infidels who infest those parts'.³⁷ The Mayor of Poole addressed his complaint directly to the Council: the *Anne* of Poole had been taken near Plymouth and he reiterated concerns for the Newfoundland fleet. He enclosed the examinations of Nicholas Nurrey, Robert Rapson and Thomas Marryner who witnessed the *Anne* being captured, and testified to the strength of the 'fleet of the Turks'.³⁸ Cornwall's complaint was received on August 10th, with the Justices writing from East Looe to the Lord Lieutenant, to '[e]ntreat that speedy course may be taken to free the coasts of Turkish pirates'.³⁹

A five-strong naval squadron was dispatched under Stewart's command, although there were those, including Mansell, who openly opposed the mission, speaking out against both Stewart and Buckingham.⁴⁰ This opposition, formed part of clashes with the King regarding his finances, primarily the 'tonnage and poundage' duties levied on all imports and exports, the King's main source of revenue. This was Charles's first Parliament, and he had an expectation these duties would be granted to him for life, as had been traditional. However, Parliament refused to do this, replacing them with a yearly contract and disallowing him to

³⁶ *CSPD 1625, 1626 79.*

³⁷ *CSPD 1625, 1626 81.*

³⁸ *CSPD 1625, 1626 81.*

³⁹ *CSPD 1625, 1626 82.*

⁴⁰ *CSPD 1625, 1626 82, 85.*

collect them all, particularly in light of his failure to protect the coast against pirates – although he would continue to collect them without Parliamentary consent.⁴¹

Certainly, the squadron failed to transform the imaginings of the West Country coastal seascape, from an anxious space where people could simply vanish; absorbed into ever-expanding and predatory Islamic territories; into a controlled domestic ‘jurisdiction’. By August 12th – the date Parliament closed in disarray due to the disagreements with Charles – Ceely had reported 26 or 27 Turk vessels off the coast, and, whilst the squadron had apparently attempted to chase them towards Falmouth, they ‘could not come near them, the sayd Pyrats being farre better saylers then our English shippes’.⁴² Stewart abandoned the mission, retreating into Falmouth Haven – ironically, perhaps, given that several years previously the harbour was a haven for the infamous and piratical Killigrew and his men. The traditional Cornish challenge to centralised authority from the ports, harbours and coastal settlements had shifted, now residing with Islamic and other foreign pirates, located within the mutable cartographies of the sea. Ceely emphasised to the Council the human cost of the depredations: within one year 1000 sailors were taken from the region, with 27 ships and 200 people taken in the last ten days alone – 80 from Looe, which was to be heavily affected by Barbary piracy a decade later:

one poore Maritime Towe in Cornwall call[ed] Loo hath within ten dayes last past lost 80 Marryners and Saylers which were bound in fishing voyages for the deepes, and there have ben taken by the turks within the sayd tyme 27 Shipps and barkes at least, and in them there could not be lesse that 200 persons.⁴³

Whilst it is impossible to calculate the number of captives taken, regionally or otherwise, localised reports indicate West Country losses were considerable. Eliot wrote in his *Neqotium*

⁴¹ ‘The Remonstrance Against Tonnage and Poundage,’ *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625 – 1660*, ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936 [1889, 1899, 1906]) 70 – 73.

⁴² TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 36; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 83; Duffin, *Faction* 135.

⁴³ TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 36; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 83; Duffin, *Faction* 135.

Posterorum, an account of Parliament in 1625, that at least 1200 captives were taken that year alone. As Gray (1990) demonstrates, according to contemporary surveys, Cornwall's mariners at this time numbered less than 1600: it would not take a large proportion of Eliot's figure to have been from Cornwall for the impact to be devastating.⁴⁴

On August 18th Stewart responded tersely to criticism from 'the Western gentlemen of his negligence in securing the coast'. Demonstrating the heightened tensions and underfunding of his fleet, he acknowledges the ultimate futility of the mission. Informing Buckingham he had 'run up' the Channel, meeting with several ships who had indicated the 'coast was clear', he returned to Plymouth to victual the fleet. He claims upon the first rumour of a Turk presence he dispatched several ships in pursuit, although they were forced to abandon the chase due to adverse weather conditions. Stewart enclosed a report from one of the fleet Captains, Mervin Burley of the *Mary Constance*, to confirm his claims. Clearly frustrated, he informs Buckingham he has ships ready for sea when conditions are favourable, adding, rather acidly, that rather than these complaints to Parliament it would have been better to have 'petitioned for an act to have a fair wind'.⁴⁵

Stewart also complained to Buckingham about the poor condition of the fleet, and the lack of provisions for the crew, resulting in them falling sick. The *Lion* – Stewart's ship – was continually leaking, there was no vinegar 'to wash between decks', nor adequate clothing for the crew. The Secretary of State, Sir John Coke – MP for the rotten Cornish borough of St. Germans until the recently dissolved Parliament - informed Buckingham a couple of weeks later it was not the intention to 'clothe the mariners in harbour to make them handsome to run

⁴⁴ Gray, 'Turks' 463; Todd Gray, *Early-Stuart Mariners and Shipping: The Maritime Surveys of Devon and Cornwall 1619 – 35* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990) esp. 53 – 102.

⁴⁵ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 85.

away', although he did send carpenters to repair the ships, and another vessel was added to the fleet.⁴⁶ Stewart predicted the futility of the mission:

As long as the Turks are supplied with necessaries by the Flemish freebooters, and the Newfoundland fleet will not arm themselves for their defence, these picaroons will lie hankering upon the coast, unless it be resolved to sack Sallee, which some report easy to be performed.⁴⁷

On August 27th delays in preparing the fleet prompted the Mayor of Bristol to seek confirmation from Buckingham of the presence of naval ships around Land's End 'to defend those parts against the vengeance of the Turk', requesting the Corporation of Bristol be granted a commission to arm their own ships to defend the River Severn.⁴⁸ Stewart was also criticised by Isaac Pennington for his 'abuses' in pressing so many men from merchant ships, leaving the crews short.⁴⁹ The fleet was at sea by the beginning of September, although inactive and requesting orders. They did manage to apprehend two small ships suspected of being 'Turkish pirates', although apparently 'Hollanders': furthermore, Stewart's ship was again unseaworthy, taking on water.⁵⁰

Stewart's unsuccessful mission mapped the coastal waters of the West Country as a site of weakness and failure, signifying the inability or unwillingness of the King or his government to protect the increasingly vulnerable inhabitants. Stewart's misfortune was inevitably Buckingham's, as Lord High Admiral responsible for protecting the Narrow Seas. Eliot was his main accuser in Parliament – perhaps still smarting from his own humiliation three years earlier, whereupon he was jailed in Marshalsea prison for almost four months due to his

⁴⁶ *CSPD 1625, 1626 85, 89.*

⁴⁷ *CSPD 1625, 1626 85.*

⁴⁸ *CSPD 1625, 1626 91.*

⁴⁹ *CSPD 1625, 1626 281.*

⁵⁰ *CSPD 1625, 1626 98, 120, 124; TNA: PRO SP 16/6, f 19; Gray, 'Turks' 461.*

consorting with the Torbay pirate John Nutt.⁵¹ The failure of Buckingham to fulfil these duties of protection was one of the primary charges brought against him in his articles of impeachment.⁵²

The incidents continued, with Turks preying on shipping in West Country coastal waters, alongside other predatory ships. In November 1628 John Tresahar, recently appointed Lieutenant Governor for Pendennis, reported ‘Dunkirkers and Frenchmen lie thick on th[e]se parts, and daily take such ships as pass along the coast’.⁵³ Two years previously, in May 1626, John Bonython, the Deputy Governor, reported 6 Turks and 6 Dunkirkers lying off the coast between the Lizard and the Isles of Scilly, suggesting the latter to be their target, drawing attention to the duality of islands: vulnerable to invasion, yet a stronghold and fortified base for those who ‘take’ them.⁵⁴ In August 1626, Bonython reported that he, along with many local inhabitants, had witnessed a ship heading towards the shore in full sail: 4 or 5 small boats with 45 men were sent out and found no one aboard. The cargo of French salt, estimated worth £300, had been plundered: 2 Turk ships seen in the area the previous evening were presumed responsible.⁵⁵ The previous month James Duppa had advised Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the Lord High Admiral, to provide protection for Falmouth harbour, reporting ‘the Turks men of warre [are] on both sides of the mount [St Michael’s Mount] dayly visiting their ports’: advice apparently ignored.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Forster 41 – 87; M. Jansson and W. B. Bidwell, ed., *Proceedings in Parliament in 1625* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) 527.

⁵² Duffin, *Faction* 136 – 137; ‘Documents Relating to the Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham,’ *Constitutional Documents*, ed. Gardiner 3 – 44; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 345.

⁵³ John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1628 – 1629* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1859) 397 – 398. Also see: Duffin, *Faction* 137.

⁵⁴ TNA: PRO SP 16/27, f 73; Duffin, *Faction* 136.

⁵⁵ TNA: PRO SP 16/33, f 117; BL, Add. 64889 ff. 99, 103; Gray, ‘Turks’ 463.

⁵⁶ TNA: PRO SP 16/31, f 351; Duffin, *Faction* 136.

Space and place are continually under construction. This narrative transforms the seascape stretching outwards from the mouth of the Fal, and inwards along the Carrick roads, including the harbours and their hinterlands: Zartman's 'boundaries in depth'.⁵⁷ As Massey (2007 [2005]) suggests, a sense of place can be imagined as 'a simultaneity of stories-so-far', a heterogeneous product of 'relations-between'.⁵⁸ The multiple rebellious and illicit activities of the historical inhabitants had created unruly and menacing geographies for foreign shipping and centralised authority: however, the presence of Turks and other foreign pirates, shifts the understanding of this location. Rather than the semi-autonomous piratical stronghold of the Killigrews, predicated on unlawful financial gain and posing a threat to outsiders, the area becomes a site of dependent vulnerability, loss, and fear: the previously unwelcome intrusion of centralised authority re-imagined as a sought-after protective force, albeit proving to be wholly inadequate. As Gray (1990) observes, only the previous summer local men bringing in a derelict ship, as reported by Bonython, would have been under suspicion for wrecking or piracy, particularly as the ship was brought into notorious Helford, 'that lawless port'.⁵⁹ This shift is applicable to a bark brought into Padstow in 1628, reportedly found empty off Spain. Francis Bassett, the Vice-Admiral of North Cornwall, reported his assumption that the crew had been taken by Turks, rather than victims of domestic piracy.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ I. William Zartman, 'Introduction: Identity, Movement and Response,' *Understanding Life in the Borderlands: Boundaries in Depth and in Motion*, ed. Zartman (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2010) 2.

⁵⁸ Doreen Massey, *for space* (London: Sage, 2007 [2005]) 9.

⁵⁹ Gray, 'Turks' 463.

⁶⁰ TNA: PRO SP 16/93, ff 15, 58; Gray, 'Turks' 463. Also see: John C. Appleby, 'Pirates and Communities: Scenes from Elizabethan England and Wales,' *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crime, Government and Society c. 1066 – c. 1600*, ed. Paul Dalton and Appleby (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009) 169 – 171; William Page, ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Cornwall* Vol. I, (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1906) 489 – 490. Also see: Richard Pearse, *The Ports and Harbours of Cornwall: An Introduction to the Study of Eight Hundred Years of Maritime Affairs* (St Austell, Cornwall: H. E. Warne, 1963) 130 – 133.

In October 1631, Harrison of the Barbary Company wrote to the King from Morocco, warning the Turks and Moors ‘in short tyme will be maisters of the seas, yea, they are so in these parts already [Sal[l]ee], and next summer threaten the Channell even our English Channell’.⁶¹ Indeed, reports of empty ships drifting off the West Country coastline, the crews presumed taken by corsairs, continued during the 1630s.⁶² In March 1634/5, Antoine Mauvoison, a merchant of Abbeville, petitioned the Admiralty for recompense from Francis Godolphin: the previous June his ship was ‘intercepted by Turkish corsairs, who took out the men and left the rest to the mercy of the waves’. The vessel was driven towards the Isles of Scilly, and brought in to the harbour, whereupon Godolphin promptly confiscated her, selling the cargo for £2,300. Despite having offered to deduct salvage costs ‘and all other lawful charges’, Godolphin only offered him £1,150, with no return of the ship.⁶³

It was reported from Plymouth on June 20th 1636 that ‘four sail of Turks’ were on the coast, whilst the crews of 18 fishing boats returning to Looe from working the deeps between England and Ireland reported seeing 5 of the Looe fleet ‘floating upon the sea with never a person in them, nor sail to their yards’. 30 fishermen had been taken, with fears for a further 3 vessels, with 6 or 7 crew in each, as they had not returned to Looe - ‘which give the more cause of fear that they are likewise taken’.⁶⁴ Confirmation was provided by the enclosed examination of the Looe fisherman Phillip Harris, who had heard four Turk ships had recently taken a Bristol bark with 30 passengers bound for Ireland, and the crews of 2 Kinsale

⁶¹ Quoted Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 10.

⁶² Gray, ‘Turks’ 463.

⁶³ John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1634 – 1635* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864) 566; Gray, ‘Turks’ 463 – 464.

⁶⁴ John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1636 – 1637* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867) 4 – 5.

boats: the Turks having ‘carried every person of them away’.⁶⁵ 7 more boats with their crews had been taken at St Keverne the previous Thursday. Richard Plummer, master of a Plymouth barge, the *Margery*, arrived with three other vessels on June 15th, and were confronted with the emotional aftermath of the boats and crews having been taken. 3 of the vessels were from St Keverne, 3 from Helford, and one from ‘Mollan’ [Mullion], a coastal settlement nearby, with all taken whilst fishing between Falmouth and the Lizard, near Black Head – a nearby headland barely three leagues from shore.⁶⁶ 50 fishermen and their boats had disappeared: according to his deposition Plummer spent a few days in St Keverne, during which time there was no news of the men or the boats, ‘so that it goes for an absolute truth thereabouts, that they were all surprised by the Turks and carried away’.⁶⁷ A further deposition, taken at Plymouth on July 10th, refers to this incident. John Daniel of Salcombe described how his own ship, along with 2 others of Salcombe and one of Barnstaple, were all laden with coal when they encountered a Turkish man-of-war near Mount’s Bay, towards Land’s End. He states that 2 of the vessels were forced to run ashore, whilst the other 2 managed to anchor and escape in smaller boats – except for one crew member who was taken captive. The Turks rifled the anchored barks before sinking them. Daniel includes in his report how he had been informed ‘at Falmouth that on Wednesday last was three weeks seven boats and two and forty fishermen in them were taken off the Manacles near the Lizard by the Turks’.⁶⁸ In August, Captain Giles Penn wrote to Nicholas, apparently confirming these reports,

⁶⁵ CSPD 1636 – 1637 4 – 5.

⁶⁶ CSPD 1636 – 1637 4 – 5.

⁶⁷ CSPD 1636 – 1637 4 – 5.

⁶⁸ CSPD 1636 – 1637 58.

describing ‘the heathen moors of Sallee’ having taken 1000 men, women and children, besides ships and goods, within the past six months.⁶⁹

Between 1631 and 1640 at least 14 Cornish vessels were recorded taken into Algiers alone, and from May 18th 1639 to January 15th the following year, 7 fishermen were taken from Mount’s Bay.⁷⁰ 60 fishermen from at least 5 Penzance boats and a further 3 from between Land’s End and Mousehole Point were taken in June 1640: Robert Grubbes, Mayor of Plymouth, wrote to the Council on June 19th, supported by an Exeter report on the 22nd, stating this was ‘credible intelligence from several places in these western parts’.⁷¹ A sea battle had occurred the following day, after the Turks met with three Bristol ships: although the Turks escaped, three fully armed Turk ships, possibly the same vessels, chased the *Elizabeth* of Plymouth, Virginia between Mount’s Bay and the Lizard later that day. The Turks boarded her three times: the crew fought back, escaping after eight hours, although losing the master, 2 mates and a quarter master, with many injured and the ship damaged. The surviving crew reported to Grubbes many small, empty vessels floating at sea about two leagues from shore, with neither sails nor crew.⁷² A full 17 years after the first sighting of a Turkish ship off the West Country coast, two military campaigns, and coastal naval patrols, the same anxious and unsettling plea was made: ‘There are many Turks lying upon these coasts to the great danger of us all, both by sea and land, if they be not prevented’.⁷³

⁶⁹ CSPD 1636 – 1637 86.

⁷⁰ Gray, ‘Turks’ 462, 469 – 470. Also see: Henry Robinson, *Libertas, or Reliefe to the English captives in Argier* (London: 1642).

⁷¹ TNA: PRO SP 71/1, f 157; William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1640* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1880) 321, 328, 438, 450; Gray, ‘Turks’ 462, 469 – 470. This incident becomes transformed in Michael Arthur Lewis, *The History of the British Navy* (London: Penguin Books, 1959) 66: Lewis states that there was a report in June 1640 of Turks roaming the streets of Penzance abducting women and children.

⁷² TNA: PRO SP 71/1, f 157; CSPD 1640 328; Gray, ‘Turks’ 462, 469 – 70.

⁷³ CSPD 1640 328.

There was a shift in policy moving into the 1640s. On March 5th 1641 the Commons ordered as many ships as necessary should be furnished and speedily dispatched against the Turks via the Western Coasts, commanded by ‘good, experienced, and knowing Seamen’, with all his Majesty’s subjects - without letters of marque or reprisal – permitted to ‘take any *Turkish, Moorish* or other Pirates, their Ships, Goods, and Prizes’, ‘without any Account to his Majesty, or the Lord Admiral, or any other’ – provided they only took pirates, and gave information to the Admiralty within two months of their return.⁷⁴ However, a few months later other concerns took precedent, with the outbreak of the first Civil War, in the summer of 1642.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ March 5th 1640, *Journal of the House of Commons Volume 2: 1640 – 1643* (London: Printed by Order of the House of Commons, 1802) 96 – 97.

⁷⁵ Barbara Donagan, *War in England 1642 – 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 5

‘[T]hose western ports still breed such Turks and pirates as none but themselves can see’⁷⁶

Unsettled Truths

Despite the many reports of the localised activities of the Turks from mariners, officials and other inhabitants of the ‘western parts’, there were those involved in protecting the coastal waters who questioned the validity of these accounts, occasionally mocking the fears of local inhabitants. It would seem naval captains avoided sending their ships to the ‘western parts’, citing ‘imaginary’ Turks as the reason – although, inevitably, not being in the area ensured they did not encounter any real Turks. For example, Captain Richard Plumleigh wrote to the Admiralty in May 1632, stating the coast was clear of pirates and Turks ‘of whom the whole country was fearful, but without apparent occasion’ – although he was writing from the Downs, off the east Kent coast.⁷⁷ Indeed he had been criticised by Captain John Pennington, of sailing too swiftly to the Downs, hours in front of the fleet in ‘a very unorderly and unaccustomed manner’.

Similarly, in January 1637 Sir Henry Mervin informed the Admiralty from Dover that he had received the commands to send ships westward. However, he disparaged the inhabitants of the West Country, stating they imagined all ships were Turk ships, even naval vessels. He had:

not heard of any Turks or others that molest the freedom of trade in those parts, but it is usual with the inhabitants to fancy the crescent in all colours, as they did last

⁷⁶ Sir Henry Mervin to Sir Edward Nicholas, February 10th 1637, *CSPD 1636 – 1637* 434.

⁷⁷ TNA: PRO SP 16/1, f 69; John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1631 – 1633* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1862) 335.

year by the King's ships which were employed for their safety, and fled from them, filling the country with acclamations of the Turks that chase them.⁷⁸

Mervin reluctantly agreed to send the *Garland* when she arrived in Dover – a ship subject to constant complaints about its unseaworthy condition – although he was unsure of her current location.⁷⁹ The *Garland* arrived at Dover ten days later, in desperate need of repair before she could be sent westwards. Furthermore, the repairs and voyage would require fair weather, which did not appear to be forthcoming. In the meantime Mervin wrote ‘to the Officers for some needful supplies’ – requesting six weeks of victuals from Nicholas. Whilst he ‘purposes with all speed to send her westwards, according to their commands’, he comments to the Lords that the *Garland* had passed 100 vessels coming from the south, none of which had seen any ship ‘whom they had cause to suspect or fear’.⁸⁰ To Nicholas he wonders how ‘those western ports still breed such Turks and pirates as none but themselves can see’.⁸¹ Five days later, on February 15th, Mervin reported the *Garland* is so rotten that if she sailed in bad weather it would risk both ship and company, asking whether he is still required to proceed westwards, suggesting other ships would be more suitable. ‘If there be Turks there’, he observes, ‘they are of no force, but such as skulk in small coves and creeks about the Land’s End’.⁸²

However, some earlier reports had proved untrue. At the height of the fears, the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol informed the Council on August 18th 1625 that several letters from Minehead had reported Lundy surprised by 3 Turk ships, with the inhabitants taken captive, alongside ‘divers people about Padstow and the places thereabouts and withal doe threaten to

⁷⁸ CSPD 1636 – 1637 407.

⁷⁹ CSPD 1636 – 1637 407.

⁸⁰ CSPD 1636 – 1637 434.

⁸¹ CSPD 1636 – 1637 434.

⁸² CSPD 1636 – 1637 445.

burn Ilford Combe [Ilfracombe]’.⁸³ They reminded the Council that the Newfoundland fleet was expected any day, and this news had threatened trade with Ireland: they requested naval ships for Lundy, the Isles of Scilly and Land’s End.⁸⁴ However, this report was retracted a week later: on August 25th Charles Harris wrote to Nicholas from the naval vessel, the *Phoenix*, in the Bristol King Road, reporting that ‘[t]he surprise of Lundy by the Turks [is] most untrue’. Harris states that there was merely a single Flemish vessel anchored nearby, which had done no harm whilst it was there.⁸⁵

On the same date, Sir James Perott wrote from Harold Stone [Haroldstone], in Pembrokeshire to William Herbert, the 3rd Earl of Pembroke.⁸⁶ His correspondence reveals how both the real and imagined presence of the Turks within the coastal regions of Devon and Cornwall had trajectories of impact into Wales, across shared fluid geographies:

As his Deputy Vice-Admiral sends examinations touching the depredations of the Turkish pirates on the South-west coast, with entreaty that he would move the King that there may be some course taken for fortifying Milford Haven, as was intended when the Earl’s father was President of Wales.⁸⁷

He encloses papers regarding the ‘[s]tate of Milford Haven with relation to the propriety of its being fortified’, with further details of the importance of fortification.⁸⁸

The perceived threat to Milford Haven, West Wales is notable. A natural estuary harbour, one of the deepest in the world, Milford was a site of historical significance, including the base for several military campaigns: Henry II’s invasion of Ireland in 1171; the landing of the

⁸³ TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 55; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 86.

⁸⁴ TNA: PRO SP16/5, ff 55, 90; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 86, 91.

⁸⁵ TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 78; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 89.

⁸⁶ Thrush, ‘Perrot, Sir James (1571/2 – 1637), politician,’ *Oxford DNB*; Victor Stater, ‘Herbert, William, third earl of Pembroke (1580 – 1630), courtier and patron of the arts,’ *Oxford DNB*, 3 March 2012.

⁸⁷ TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 81; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 89.

⁸⁸ TNA: PRO SP 16/5, ff.81 (1), 82; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 89; Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998) 127 – 158.

French in 1405 in support of Owen Glyndŵr's uprising; and where Henry Tudor arrived in August 1485 prior to the Battle of Bosworth: 'the sacred spot of Tudor nationalism'.⁸⁹

Shakespeare referred to Milford in *Cymbeline* (1611): 'how far it is/ To this same blessed Milford. And by th' way/ Tell me how Wales was made so happy as/ T' inherit such a haven' (3.2.59 – 62), and in many ways the area was imagined as a haven during the early modern period: according to Camden 'there is not another in all Europe more nobler or safer'.⁹⁰

However, as Sullivan (1998) explores, this was a haven which - like Lundy - had a duality: offering 'sanctuary as easily to invaders as it does to natives'.⁹¹ Milford became transformed during the 16th and 17th centuries from the location of Henry's arrival and a 'safe haven' to a point of vulnerability to foreign invaders.⁹² As with the coastal regions of the West Country, imaginings and happenings – or imaginings as happenings – informed the lived experience of space and place. The Welsh cartographer and antiquarian George Owen was commissioned in 1595 by the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Wales to produce a detailed map with a view to fortification. Owen, who also served as Deputy Lieutenant of Wales and High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire, emphasised the potential consequences of the vulnerability of Milford, constructing a specific sense of place:

it is a sufficient harborowe for an infinite number of shippes, which havon being once gotten by the Enymye may drawe on such fortification at Penbroke towne and castle [...] as infinite numbers of men, and greate expence of treasure will hardly in a long tyme remove the Enymye, during w[hi]ch tyme her Ma[jes]tie shall loose a fertyle Countrey.⁹³

⁸⁹ Quote: *Cymbeline*, ed. Martin Butler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 44. Also see: A. R. Myers, *English Historical Documents 1327 – 1485, Vol. 4* (Oxford: Routledge, 1996 [1969]) 34, 196.

⁹⁰ Quoted Sullivan Jr., *Drama* 135.

⁹¹ Sullivan Jr., *Drama* 136.

⁹² Sullivan Jr. 136.

⁹³ George Owen, *The Description of Pembrokeshire* (1603), quoted Sullivan Jr. 137. Also see: Dillwyn Miles, 'Owen, George (1552 – 1613), antiquary,' *Oxford DNB*, 3 March 2012.

Owen's imaginings travelled further: having 'gotten' Milford, the enemy could proceed along the Severn 'in both sydes even to Bristowe':

if he (w[hi]ch god forbid) should enjoy Britayne withal, our English Marchantes can have noe trade, which will decrease her highenes Customes, and decaye the Navye.⁹⁴

Perott had also enclosed a deposition, taken in front of the Vice-Admiral at St Davids on August 23rd, from Irish mariner Nicholas Cullen, master of the *Michaell* of Wexford.⁹⁵ Cullen testified that the Turks were on the coast: on Sunday August 14th they had taken out of the church at 'munnigeasa' ['munnigeesa', 'munnigesca'] in mount's baye about three score men, women and children and carried them awaie captives', adding they 'continued at Lundy a fortnight' and that he 'saw a Turkish ship lying in the road of Lundy'. He states they are 'neare Milford havon'.⁹⁶ None of the localised records for the Mount's Bay region supports this account - and there is no place of this name. However, Cullen's deposition opens with: 'he went into Barnstaple in Devonshire, and there he understood of the turkish piratts' who were 'spoylinge the people both by sea and land'. It would appear that Cullen was merely repeating what he had heard there.

This account – and the supposed occupation of Lundy - constructed a contemporary sense of place through the circulation of fear and rumour amongst the ports and harbours of the West Country, becoming entrenched within the mythic landscape of locations already associated with piracy and lawlessness - factors which made these stories more believable. Furthermore, regardless of the truth or origins of the account, at no point is the existence of 'Munnigesca' questioned by the localised or centralised authorities recording and dispatching

⁹⁴ Owen quoted Sullivan Jr. 137.

⁹⁵ TNA: PRO SP 16/5, ff 81 (2); *CSPD 1625, 1626 89*.

⁹⁶ TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 81 (2), 82; *CSPD 1625, 1626 89*.

this information many miles away from Mount's Bay.⁹⁷ The isolation, marginalisation, and imaginings of the far west of Cornwall are thus brought into focus.

Reports of Turks not only coming ashore, but taking captives from the sacred space of their church would have caused unimaginable levels of terror amongst those who may have heard this narrative. Represented and imagined Turks were capable of producing widespread fear as well as fascination: Fitz-Geffry's sermon a little over a decade later conflates real and imagined fears, the supernatural and the 'unnatural', in his emotive and dramatic account of the Turk raid on Baltimore, Ireland:

The poore child cries, *O Mother keepe me, O Father keepe me*, when *Father* and *Mother* are kept fast enough themselves from keeping and helping theirs. Oft had the poore litle ones when they were pettish being terrified with, *The bug-beare comes to carry thee away*: Now not *bug-beares* but *Barbary beares* are come to carry away *Child, Mother, Father* and all they can finde in the family.⁹⁸

Both 'bug bears' and these 'Barbary bears' would have resonance in the realms of lived experience, as well as that of the imagination, at a time when supernatural belief was still embedded within people's lives.

The untrustworthy testimony and reports involved with these accounts re-constitute Lundy and the coastal regions of far west Cornwall as sites of unreliability and untruths: contextually dishonourable and unruly. This can be mapped onto the localised activities of rebellion and piracy with which these regions were historically associated, also constituted through falseness, secrecy and misrepresentation. As Shapin (1994) explores, 'truth' has a history. Similar to today '[t]here is a massive mismatch between dominant characterizations of the

⁹⁷ Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558 – 1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 7, cites the raid although placing 'Munnigesca' in inverted commas, and William Dalrymple in *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: HarperCollins, 2003) 18, quotes Matar's citation.

⁹⁸ Charles Fitz-Geffry, *Compassion Towards Captives chiefly towards our Brethren and Country-men who are in miserable bondage in Barbarie. Urged and pressed in three sermons on Heb. 13.3. Preached in Plymouth, in October 1636* (Oxford: 1637) 46 – 47.

sources of our factual knowledge and the ways in which we actually secure that knowledge'.⁹⁹ For example, direct experience is perhaps considered the most secure for obtaining factual knowledge, whilst testimony taken from others is insecure.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the confirmation of a narrative was of the utmost importance, and this primarily needed to come from someone of social standing: part of the motivation for patronage and dedications within captivity narratives, giving validation to both narrative and narrator. In a scholarly context, authority was given a further dimension. For example, the Topsham-born Arabic scholar, Simon Ockley, subtitled *An Account of South-West Barbary* (1713) as the manuscript account of a *Person who had been a Slave there a considerable time*: whilst the source of the narrative is obscure, Ockley's scholarly authority enables him to present it as an 'Authentick Account':

I am entirely ignorant of the Name, Quality, and Circumstances of the Author: His Manuscript fell into my Hands accidentally some Years ago. Upon a due Consideration of the Whole, and recollecting what I had met with in other Authors who had treated upon the same Subject, together with the Manners of the People, and several other Circumstances, I had all the Reason in the World to believe it an Authentick Account.¹⁰¹

Those considered 'gentlemen' through birth and material circumstances, were guarantors of truth, supposedly having no motivation to misrepresent, or, as Shapin describes, assumed to have 'no forces working on him that would shift his utterances out of correspondence with reality'.¹⁰² Furthermore, there were certain cultural practices by which a gentleman would be recognised as a truth-teller: Shapin argues this was bound within a culture of honour, social order and distinctions of rank, constituted within a framework of Christianity and humanism.

⁹⁹ Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994) xxv.

¹⁰⁰ Shapin xxv.

¹⁰¹ Simon Ockley, 'The Preface of the Editor,' *An Account of South-West Barbary Containing What is most Remarkable in the Territories of the King of Fez and Morocco, Written by a Person who had been a Slave there a considerable Time; and Published from his Authentick Manuscript* (London: 1713) xii. Also see: P. M. Holt, 'Ockley, Simon (bap. 1679, d. 1720) orientalist,' *Oxford DNB*, 12 March 2009.

¹⁰² Shapin xxvii

Lying was incompatible with being a member of civil society, and to lie was to reveal oneself as ‘base, ignoble, and unfree’.¹⁰³

Whilst ‘truth’ is, in many ways, invisible, in this context it is made ‘material’ and ‘spatial’: through the text; practices involved in information gathering; and the carefully mapped procedures and trajectories through which information is shared. As such, ‘truth’ can contribute to a sense of ‘place’. Information gathered within and from maritime communities had an inherent duality and ambiguity: depositions were often taken at harbour-side, and considered vital sources of intelligence, yet the geographical mobility and fluid identity of the mariner, which enabled an uncontrolled dissemination of ‘rumour’, cast these spaces and the information they produced as unreliable and unstable. Therefore, whilst certain spaces and locations can become sites of ‘honour’ and ‘truth’ through various social, political, religious and cultural activities, others can be constructed as corrupt, dishonourable, untrustworthy and dangerous. This was largely dependent upon the contemporary practices of evaluating ‘truth’ during its passage to centralised authority.¹⁰⁴

Despite the ‘untrue’ nature of particular reports, it is clear that the geographies of the coastal regions of the West Country were mapped by the inhabitants through the fear of the Turkish threat. These unfounded reports are situated alongside those deemed to be accurate, both of which share space within the historical record with on-going complaints regarding the condition of land-based defences, and requests for improvement. It was perhaps felt that accounts of the Turks on land – such as at Lundy and Mount’s Bay – and entering into the sanctity of a church, would motivate the authorities to provide defences within these vulnerable coastal borderzones. Such reports may also demonstrate just how inadequately

¹⁰³ Shapin xxvii.

¹⁰⁴ Also see: Jonathan P. A. Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560 – 1613* (Hants: Ashgate, 2006) 32 – 37, 75.

protected these communities felt. Just as Perott calls for the fortification of Milford as part of these reports, Roger Polkinghorne, an Alderman of Penzance, petitioned the Council of War on behalf of the local inhabitants, complaining ‘the town lies open and unfortified’, and how fearful they were of the Turks: ‘it is therefore prayed that some competent means may be taken by fortification or otherwise for its defence’.¹⁰⁵ The request was for eight pieces of ordnance and a grant of £600. Polkinghorne was supported by the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of Cornwall, testifying that the ‘reasons for the fortification of Penzance set forth in the petition of the inhabitants are true’, and thus deserved consideration.¹⁰⁶ It was not acted upon.

There were further fleeting references to raids by the Turks on Cornwall in the following decades, which do not appear to have any further corroboration, but demonstrate the continuing fears of the region. For example, in 1636, Edmond Perceval wrote to Sir Phillip Perceval, advising him not to send cattle to Ireland:

whilst the Turks are so busy, lest both your cattle and your gentlemen should suffer, there having been a multitude of passengers taken this summer. Sir Francis Godolphin and his lady and his servants, with his brother Captain Godolphin and his wife, going to the Isles of Scilly, some three or four leagues off the shore, were taken by the Turks, and one of the Turks attempting to abuse the captain’s wife, he presently ran him through, whereupon they cut him in a hundred pieces, and they carried Sir Francis and the rest away captives. God of His mercy send us some relief.¹⁰⁷

Godolphin’s will was proved on May 2nd 1640: however there is no mention of time in captivity, nor of this incident.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ *CSPD 1625, 1626 207.*

¹⁰⁶ *CSPD 1625, 1626 207.*

¹⁰⁷ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, Vol. 1 (London: HMC, 1905) 90, quoted ‘Lanje’, *Western Morning News*, January 27th 1931, Plymouth Central Library. Also see: T. C. Skeat, ‘The Egmont Papers,’ *The British Museum Quarterly*, 16 (3) (October 1951): 62 – 65; British Library [Historical Manuscripts Commission] *Egmont Papers*; Patrick Little, ‘Perceval, Sir Philip (1605 – 1647), politician,’ *Oxford DNB*, 16 June 2010.

¹⁰⁸ See: Graham Haslam, ‘The Elizabethan Duchy of Cornwall, an estate in stasis,’ *The Estates of the English Crown, 1558 – 1640*, ed. R. W. Hoyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 88 - 111

Another report appears in the Venetian State Papers, in 1645, and within the record of Nehemiah Wallington, the Puritan wood turner and chronicler. A September enclosure dated August 24th within the Venetian ‘Advices from London’ states that:

[s]even Barbary ships have put men on shore in Cornwall at night, directed, it is supposed, by some renegade of the country, and have sacked some places there, carrying off goods and prisoners, including about 200 women, some of them ladies of rank and fortune.¹⁰⁹

The Venetian Ambassador at the Congress of Munster, Alvise Contarini, concludes these activities indicated the Turks were gathering strength:

[t]his morning I have seen a news sheet sent by the Palatine from London in which he speaks of a raid by the Turks in Cornwall. I fancy they call them Turks when they are really corsairs of Algiers. That they should be making slaves in parts so far distant certainly points to there being a reinforcement of the galleys for the coming year.¹¹⁰

Wallington’s brief account elaborates further on the ‘ladies of rank and fortune’, and situates the attack as occurring at Fowey, in his entry dated August 14th 1645:

Letters from Plymouth certify that the Turkish pirates, men of war, landed in Cornwall, about Foy, and that they have taken away two hundred and forty (of English Christians) of the Cornish men, women, and children, amongst which Mr. John Carew his daughter, that was cousin to Sir Alexander Carew that was beheaded, and some gentlewoman, and others of note, and have carried them away; a very sad thing.¹¹¹

Carew, of Antony in Cornwall, grandson of the antiquary, was beheaded for attempting to betray the Parliamentary cause – surrendering Plymouth in exchange for a pardon. John Carew, Alexander’s brother, was later to be one of the regicides, and a prominent Fifth Monarchist, hung, drawn and quartered upon the Restoration.¹¹² His daughter would have been Alexander’s niece: although the early modern use of the word ‘cousin’ was flexible,

¹⁰⁹ Allen B. Hinds, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Vol. 27: 1643 – 1647* (London, Mackie and Co., 1926) 209.

¹¹⁰ *CSP Venice, Vol. 27: 1643 – 1647* 209.

¹¹¹ Nehemiah Wallington, *Historical Notices of Events Occurring Chiefly in The Reign of Charles I. In Two Volumes: Vol. II* (London: Richard Bentley, 1869) 266.

¹¹² J. T. Peacey, ‘Carew, John (1622 – 1660), politician and regicide’; Stephen Wright, ‘Carew, Sir Alexander, second baronet (1608 – 1644), politician and army officer’; S. Mendyk, ‘Carew, Richard (1555 – 1620), antiquary and poet’; L. A. Holford-Strevens, ‘Carew, Sir Richard, first baronet (1579/80 – 1643?), medical experimenter and educationalist,’ all *Oxford DNB*, 22 Feb. 2012.

meaning any relation however distant.¹¹³ However, there appears to be no further verification of such an attack, which, if it took place, would have no doubt resulted in more than these small traces within the historical record.

¹¹³ R. O. Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England, 1485 – 1714: A Narrative History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004) 173.

‘The town lies open and unfortified; it was burnt by the enemy in the time of Elizabeth and has of late been fearfully terrified by the Turks’¹¹⁴

Invasion Anxiety

The anxious geographies of the West Country provoked by the threat of Barbary captivity can also be mapped through the fear of invasion, as the presence of Turks within coastal waters inevitably provoked terror of their presence on land. This fear was shaped by eschatological writings and prophecies, a belief in the consuming geographies of Islam, geohumoral discourse, the imaginings and narrative memories of foreign aggressors breaching coastal boundaries, and anti-Catholic sentiment. In 1641, the residents of Tavistock petitioned the Devon JPs complaining of the decay of trade due to ‘the dread of the Turks at sea, and of popish plots at home’, a statement juxtaposing – and thus separating – land/sea and Islam/Catholicism.¹¹⁵ However, these sites and identities converge within contemporary anxieties of land raids or invasion.

Numerous medieval prophecies involving Turks and ‘Turkish Doom’ were reworked and recirculated during the period: narratives culminated in the fall of Rome and Turkish ruin, with Ottoman lands recovered and mass conversions of Jews and Muslims to (Protestant) Christianity, heralding an age of reformation and peace.¹¹⁶ The period leading up to these events (variously given as 1656, 1666, or 1699) was predicted as a time of social and political upheaval throughout Europe: kings would be destroyed, the Turks would gain vast territories

¹¹⁴ TNA: PRO SP 16/14, f 53; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 207.

¹¹⁵ Forwarded by the Mayor of Plymouth to the Council. Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/113, annexed to Main Papers.

¹¹⁶ See: B. S. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500 – 1800* (London: Faber, 1979) esp. 170 – 177, 220; Kenneth M. Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992).

– including Italy - and Christendom purged before being purified. Such predictions had inevitable significance and resonance during the civil war period, during which there was an increase in publication and circulation of this type of literature.¹¹⁷ Many prophecies were probably responses to Islamic gains during the crusading period, often articulated and circulated in the name of Merlin.¹¹⁸ Indeed, Capp (1979) highlights a prediction, published in *The Mystery of Ambras Merlin* (1683), of a Turkish invasion of Cornwall.¹¹⁹

Protestant prophecies represented alliances between the pope, the ‘Grand Turk’ (Ottoman Sultan), and the anti-Christ, or Satan, linking Protestant fears of a Catholic invasion with Christian fears of Islam, placing them within a demonological framework. Such a conflation of these figures is evident in Coke’s 1624 statement to Parliament, which also included the Spanish King in this unholy alliance:

we never thrive so well as when at war with Spain; that if the Navy were ready, Ireland secured and the Low Countries aided, we need fear neither Turk, Pope, devil nor the King of Spain.¹²⁰

Luther’s Bible notoriously linked the pope and Great Turk in a woodcut illustration, discussed by Foxe in his *Actes and Monuments* (1570): ‘The Turkes Storye’ situates the Turk and the papacy as persecutors of the Godly.¹²¹ Popular and learned texts represented ‘Turk, Pope, devil’ attempting to ‘convert’ Protestant souls with sexual and sensual temptations, and

¹¹⁷ Capp, *Astrology* 170 – 172; Daniel Vitkus, ‘Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe,’ *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Michael Frassetto and David R. Blanks (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999) 214.

¹¹⁸ Setton 7. Also see: John of Cornwall, *Prophetia Merlini* [*The Prophecy of Merlin*] Cod. Ottobonianus Lat. 1474, Vatican, cited Alan M. Kent, *The Theatre of Cornwall: Space, Place, Performance* (Bristol: Redcliffe/Westcliffe Books, 2010) 76 – 77.

¹¹⁹ *The Mystery of Ambras Merlins, Standardbearer Wolf, and last Boar of Cornwall* (London: 1683) 4, cited Capp, *Astrology* 176.

¹²⁰ Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James I, 1623 – 1625, with Addenda* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1859) 185.

¹²¹ The second edition of Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*. Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 56.

opportunities for power.¹²² This alliance is demonstrated by the Chorus during Ward's conversion in *A Christian Turn'd Turk*, who conflate damnation, Catholicism and Islam within the phrase: 'The accursed priests of Mahomet'.¹²³ Protestant suspicion of ritual, associated with Catholicism and Islam alike, appears in a description of the Moroccan delegation's 1600 visit: '[t]hey kild all their owne meate within their house, as sheepe, lambes, poultrie, and such like, and they turne their faces eastward when they kill any thing; they use Beades, and pray to Saints'.¹²⁴ The association of Muslims with ritual and supernatural belief also occurs in a report from Stewart to Buckingham on September 5th 1625: two ships off the Cornish coast, presumed to be Turk vessels, contained 'various flags, powder and firearms, butter and cheese for 18 months, with spells to conjure all the devils in air, earth and water'.¹²⁵ It is unclear whether the authorities understood this as a credible threat of attack or invasion, or merely a device to demonise Turks, although this discovery of terrifying 'spells' does not appear to have been communicated to local inhabitants. The captured ships were ordered into Plymouth, under Captain Vaughan.¹²⁶

Islamic and Ottoman imperial expansion informed invasion fears.¹²⁷ The transformation of Christian geographies into those of Islam, or Protestant into Catholic, involved small gains as

¹²² Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan 2003) 77.

¹²³ Robert Daborne, 'A Christian Turned Turk,' *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England: Selimus, A Christian Turned Turk, The Renegado*, ed. Daniel Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) 199.

¹²⁴ John Stow, *Annales, Or Generall Chronicle of England* (London, 1615) 790. Also see: Virginia Mason Vaughan, 'Representing the King of Morocco,' *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550 – 1700*, ed. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Hants: Ashgate, 2009) 83 - 84.

¹²⁵ TNA: PRO SP 16/6, f 19; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 98.

¹²⁶ TNA: PRO SP 16/6, f 19; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 98.

¹²⁷ Raymond Barbour, *Before Orientalism. London's Theatre of the East, 1576 – 1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 13; Palmira Brummett, 'Imagining the early modern Ottoman space, from world history to Piri Reis,' *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 15 – 58; John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) xiv.

much as vast territories and formal governance: taken bodies and souls, plundered wealth, occupying small pockets of land. The etymologies of ‘taken’ (to grasp but also to be affected by), and ‘captive’ (to take prisoner but also to entice) indicate the dual anxieties generated by the consuming geographies of Islam and Catholicism. Souls were ‘taken possession of’, whether by invasion and force, or temptation and consensus.¹²⁸ The possession of souls was crucial. As Brummett (2007) states, imperial divisions of space were not necessarily precise territorial demarcations: concern was not merely with political or sovereign territory, but imagined in terms of heaven and hell. Territories were ‘counted in souls and in the human terrain over which preachers can exert spiritual and fiscal authority. Such ‘maps’ of fidelity and infidelity envision no clear line between the ‘Ottoman Empire’ and Europe’.¹²⁹

Similarly, Benton (2005) observes ‘Empires did not cover territory evenly but composed a fabric that was full of holes, stitched together out of pieces, a tangle of strings’: although empires *did* make claims to vast territories, ‘the nature of these claims was tempered by control that was exercised mainly over narrow bands, or corridors of territory and over enclaves of various sizes and situations’.¹³⁰ Within this framework, the cultural and religious tolerance of the Ottomans became threatening, ensuring cultures were absorbed in conquest - creating the plurality, fusion and multiplicity characteristic of the Ottoman Empire – but also diluting resistance and encouraging conversion.¹³¹ This framework is evident in Edward Brerewood’s ‘Enquiries of the Religions professed in the World’ (1614), in which he acknowledges that ‘in his Dominion of the Turks in Europe’ Christians were permitted

¹²⁸ *OED*. Also see: Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonders of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Matar, *Islam 2*.

¹²⁹ Brummett, ‘Imagining’ 27 – 28.

¹³⁰ Benton, ‘Legal Spaces of Empire: Piracy and the Origins of Ocean Regionalism,’ *Comparative Studies of Society and History*, 47 (2005): 700 – 724, quoted Molly Greene, ‘The Ottomans in the Mediterranean,’ *The Early Modern Ottomans*, ed. Aksan and Goffman 115.

¹³¹ Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 5, 8, 19 – 20; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 43.

‘liberty of their religion’ as long as they paid a yearly tribute, ‘and speake nothing against the Religion and Sect of Mahumet’.¹³² However, drawing on a language of territorial possession, infestation, poisoning and invasion, he observes how these lands become ‘thicke mingled with Mahumetans’: they have ‘over-spread all the maine Land of Afrike’, and in Asia:

Mahumatisme is further spred, being imbraced and maintained chiefly, by foure mightie Nations, namely, the Arabians, Persians, Turkes, and Tartars. Arabia was indeed the Nest, that bred and fostered that uncleane Bird, and had it beene the Cage also, for ever to enclose it [...] But from Arabia that poison hath in such sort dispersed it selfe through the veines of Asia, that neere the one halfe, is at this day corrupted by it.¹³³

Protestant imaginings of the infestation of space by Catholics and Muslims included the sea and the coastline: their being ‘infested’ with foreign pirates was common imagery within official reports, a phrase used by James when he initiated the Algiers expedition. Barbary pirates were ‘doubly damned’ in the King’s view, as heretical Muslims and pirates.¹³⁴ On March 20th 1617 he wrote to the Council whilst journeying to Scotland of ‘a matter of a high nature’:

to draw our sword against the enemies of God, and man, that is the pirates, which at this time infest the seas, to the detriment of intercourse, and commerce of all trade.¹³⁵

Besides ‘Turks infesting the coast’, Catholic ‘Dunkirkers’ and ‘Biscayners’ were the main foreign presence in West Country coastal waters.¹³⁶ In June 1630 Richard Plumleigh reported

¹³² ‘Master Brerewoods Enquires of the Religions professed in the World: Of Christians, Mahumetans, Jewes and Idolaters: with other Philosophicall speculations, and divers Annotations added,’ *Hakluytus Posthumus; or Purchas his Pilgrims: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others in 1626* Vol. 19, Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907) 305.

¹³³ ‘Master Brerewoods Enquires’ 312, 316 – 317.

¹³⁴ Hebb, *Piracy* 10.

¹³⁵ TNA: PRO SP 14/90, f 136, quoted Hebb, *Piracy* 7.

¹³⁶ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 319. Also see: Duffin, *Faction* 134; Basil Fuller and Ronald Leslie-Melville, *Pirate Harbours and their Secrets* (London: Stanley Paul and Co., 1935) 141.

from Plymouth ‘[t]he West Country is plagued by Dunkirkers’, whilst ‘Egypt was never more infested with caterpillars than the Land’s End with Biscayners’, adding some had attempted to take Lundy, ‘but were repulsed by the inhabitants’.¹³⁷

The motifs of caterpillars and plagues operate on multiple levels, whether as the disease bringing death, or the Biblical pestilence bringing dearth.¹³⁸ Plumleigh homogenises and dehumanises, aligning pirates with rogues, beggars, thieves and parasites: mobile, destructive predators and vermin threatening to decay the social and economic basis of domestic society. Through a false etymology, ‘caterpillar’, or ‘*caterpillar*’, was associated with plunder, despoiling: ‘pillaging’, through *piller* or ‘pillager’ – also signifying sodomy, usurers and prostitution.¹³⁹ Greene (1592) associates caterpillars with ‘doxies’ and con-women: ‘[t]hey cleave like caterpillars to the tree, and consume the fruit where they fall, they be Vultures that prairie on men alive’.¹⁴⁰ Caterpillars suggested waste and destruction, subsequently mapped onto cony-catchers (con-artists) and beggars: the figure of the ‘loyterer’ being ‘nothing but a sucker of honie, a spoiler of corne, a destroyer of fruit’ in addition to ‘a waster of mony, spoyler of victual, a sucker of blood, a breaker of good orders, a seeker of brawls, a queller of life’.¹⁴¹

Gil Harris (2004) explores how commercial and economic concerns, and the accompanying flow of people and finance across various borders, were framed within a

¹³⁷ *CSPD 1629 – 1631* 277, 296.

¹³⁸ See for example, Jeremiah 51:14, 27; Psalms 105: 34, 78: 46; Isaiah 33:4; Exodus 10:5, 14. Also see: Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economies: drama, mercantilism and disease in Shakespeare’s England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) 83 – 107.

¹³⁹ See, for example, *King Richard II*, ed. Peter Ure (London and New York: Routledge, 1994 [1956]) 2.3.165, 2.1.246, f.n. 165, 87, f.n. 246, 64, pp. li – lvii; *King Richard II*, ed. Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) f.n. 165, 111. Also see: Frankie Rubinstein, *A Dictionary of Shakespeare’s Sexual Puns and Their Significance* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995) 46; Robert Brustein, *The Tainted Muse: Prejudice and Presumption in Shakespeare’s Works and Times* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009) 71.

¹⁴⁰ Robert Greene, *A Disputation Between a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher* (London: 1592) 71.

¹⁴¹ S[amuel] R[id or Rowlands], *Martin Mark-All, Beadle of Bridewell* (London: 1608) B3^v, quoted Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers, Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580 – 1640* (London: The Athlone Press, 1983) 227.

schema of health and disease.¹⁴² Pirates threatened the unobstructed flow of trade and commerce crucial to the ‘health’ of the nation. Mercantilist literature drew on pathological metaphors, representing trade and traffic as curative and restorative, keeping the body of the ‘Commonwealth’ healthy: the decay of trade being understood as a disease.¹⁴³ The emergent pathological and economic discourses of the early 17th century were largely mutually constitutive, with commodities, individuals and diseases ‘increasingly perceived as possessing invasive powers to transmigrate across national borders’.¹⁴⁴ ‘Plague’ became re-imagined, shifting from ‘a state of humoral imbalance, a miasmatic irruption, or an act of God’ to being understood spatially within an ontological framework: a ‘discrete entity that migrates across the borders of bodies natural and politic’, transferring from body to body, nation to nation.¹⁴⁵ Economic discourse re-situated disease as a foreign commodity which could be imported, contaminating through ports, harbours and vulnerable coastlines.¹⁴⁶ Catholic privateers and the ‘infestations’ of Turks become imagined as an invasive disease, whose infection could spread, weakening the imagined body of the nation, enabling the expansion and strengthening of Catholic and Ottoman wealth and territory.

Aggressive attempts on the West Country by foreign fleets were not unheard of. The 16th century had witnessed French and Spanish attacks on Marazion and Falmouth, and the Armada was first sighted from Cornwall sailing past the Lizard.¹⁴⁷ However, it was the Spanish raid on Mousehole, Newlyn and Penzance in the summer of 1595, led by Don Carlos

¹⁴² Gil Harris 108.

¹⁴³ Gil Harris 127.

¹⁴⁴ Gil Harris 110.

¹⁴⁵ Gil Harris 108 – 135.

¹⁴⁶ Gil Harris 108 – 109, 129 – 135.

¹⁴⁷ Robert Lemon, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, 1581 – 1590* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865) 507 – 520.

de Amezola (subsequently revealed to have been instigated and directed by a British Catholic, the naval captain Richard Burley) which was still embedded within localised living memory during the first half of the 17th century.¹⁴⁸ Carew (1602) includes an account of events, and Polkinghorne's 1625 appeal to the Council of War from Penzance evoked this incident: '[t]he town lies open and unfortified; it was burnt by the enemy in the time of Elizabeth and has of late been fearfully terrified by the Turks'.¹⁴⁹ Analysis of this incident reveals the complex anxieties emerging from the fluidity of religious, political and ethnic allegiances, and the possibility of covert, as well as overt, invasion.

On the morning of Wednesday 23rd July 1595 4 Spanish galleys landed south of Mousehole, attacking the town and the surrounding parish by land and sea for five hours. At 1pm, Francis Godolphin, Deputy Lieutenant of Cornwall, and Thomas Chiverton, of Kerris, Paul parish, sent an urgent report to Francis Drake and John Hawkins at Plymouth: a local force of about 200 had assembled, but had retreated from the Green, between Penzance and Newlyn, towards Marazion. After plundering Mousehole, the Spanish re-boarded their ships, anchoring at the neighbouring settlement of Newlyn. Before leaving, they burnt Newlyn and Penzance, destroying 3 vessels in the harbour – the cargo included three newly re-cast bells of Paul Church. Additional reports suggested between 40 and 60 sail of Spanish ships 'seen to seaward'.¹⁵⁰

The attack generated anxiety beyond the localised destruction. 'I think you [Drake and Hawkins] are informed of the Spaniards' landing this day in the western parts' wrote Hanibal Vyvyan from St Mawes, 'they have burned Penzance, Newlyn, Mousehole, Poole [Paul]

¹⁴⁸ Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall* (London: 1602) 156 – 158; Robert Dickinson, 'The Spanish Raid on Mount's Bay in 1595,' *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, X (1) (1986 – 1987): 178 – 186.

¹⁴⁹ TNA: PRO SP 16/14, f 53; *CSPD 1625, 1626 207*.

¹⁵⁰ TNA: PRO E190/1019/33; Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, 1595 – 1597* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1869) 77 - 81; Dickinson 178 – 186; Joanna Mattingly, *Cornwall and the Coast: Mousehole and Newlyn* (West Sussex: Phillimore & Co. for Victoria County History and the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2009) 36 – 38.

Church, and Church Town, and other villages adjoining, *without resistance; I speak it to the disgrace of those people*’ [emphasis mine]. Furthermore, ‘the Spaniards’ conquest without resistance may give them greater encouragement to land along the coast, as well to the east as north’.¹⁵¹ Vyvyan criticises the lack of localised leadership, begging Drake and Hawkins that ‘if your ships are not fit to fight, to send into these parts some of their leaders who have commanded in war, as they are greatly needed now, and will be more so if the Spaniards should land’.¹⁵² From the view of localised and centralised authority, the subsequent news of Burley’s involvement – himself from the West Country - exacerbated these concerns.

Spanish and English accounts – whilst differing in some detail – concur regarding damage to the coastal settlements, including the burning of Paul Church. The Spanish description of the church is significant:

Here was burned a mosque, in which there was a horse carved in wood and greatly embellished, serving as an idol worshipped by the people. We also set fire to and burned a good, solid tower in the mosque, where a lot of people had taken shelter.¹⁵³

The indeterminacy of Islam to Christendom enabled it to be used as a repository for meaning by both Catholics and Protestants.¹⁵⁴ The use of the term ‘mosque’, literal translation of the Spanish *mesquite*, is indicative of the belief in an anti-Catholic alliance between Muslims and Anglo-Protestants, and their alleged doctrinal similarities, such as the non-use of images. Indeed, there were some Protestants who supported an alliance with Islam against Catholicism on the basis of their shared abhorrence of idolatry.¹⁵⁵ In this instance, there is

¹⁵¹ *CSPD 1595 – 1597 77*.

¹⁵² *CSPD 1595 – 1597 77*.

¹⁵³ Translation from the Spanish in Dickinson 181.

¹⁵⁴ Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640 – 1685* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007) 5.

¹⁵⁵ Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield, ‘Introduction,’ *The Religions of the Book, Christian Perceptions, 1400 – 1660*, ed. Dimmock and Hadfield (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 10; Highley 62.

also the suggestion of primitive, non-Christian worship: Dickinson (1986) proposes the horse was a festival Hobby Horse.¹⁵⁶

Catholic writers berated the ‘Turkish’ ruthlessness of Anglo-Protestants – indeed, Islam was religiously tolerant, therefore, Protestants were worse.¹⁵⁷ The understanding of Islam as capable of both tolerance and cruelty towards Christians was shared by Protestants and Catholics, enabling a polemic exchange as both conflated their opposite with the Turk.¹⁵⁸ The Catholic attempt to conflate Protestant heretic and infidel Turk drew on Elizabeth’s Anglo-Muslim relations and profiteering from hostilities between Catholic forces and Islam.¹⁵⁹ Parsons (1593) saw Elizabeth’s cooperation as moving towards replacing Christianity in England with Islam: ‘for no one thing more’ was the English state hated abroad than for ‘dealing with the Turke the publike enemye of al Christian profession, inviting and styrring him to turne his forces uppon Christendome therby to hurt the king of Spayne’.¹⁶⁰ Anglo-Catholics accused Elizabeth of providing Muslims with munitions to fight Spain: Verstegan (1592) observed whilst the English would not ‘openly send forces of men’ to the Moors against the Spanish, they would send ‘succors of powder, shot, artillery, & other munition of warr’, being ‘leagued with infidels, heretike, and rebells’.¹⁶¹ Indeed, trading did include raw materials such as iron and lead, often old church furnishings and sacred Catholic objects

¹⁵⁶ Translation from the Spanish in Dickinson 186.

¹⁵⁷ Highley 67 - 68; Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Hants: Ashgate, 2005) 198 – 199.

¹⁵⁸ Highley 60 – 61, 69; Dimmock, *New Turkes* 184; Gerald MacLean, ‘Milton among the Muslims,’ *Religions of the Book*, ed. Dimmock and Hadfield 180 – 194. See, for example, William Rainolds, *Calvino-Turcismus* (Coloniae Agrippinae [Cologne]: Antonium Hierat: 1597, 1603) and Matthew Sutcliffe, *De Turcopapismo* (London: 1599, 1604).

¹⁵⁹ Highley 62 – 64; Dimmock and Hadfield, ‘Introduction,’ *Religions of the Book* 10 – 11; A. L. Horniker, ‘William Harborne and the Beginning of Anglo-Turkish Diplomatic and Commercial Relations,’ *Journal of Modern History* 18 (1946): 289 – 305.

¹⁶⁰ Robert Parsons, *Newes from Spayne and Holland* (Antwerp: 1593) 15 - 16.

¹⁶¹ Richard Verstegan, *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles, presupposed to be intended against the realme of England* (London: 1592) 21, 48.

deemed idolatrous by reformers.¹⁶² It would appear this was not the only use: in 1625 military officials in Tetuan, northern Morocco, approached the English regarding an attack on Spain, requesting powder and help recasting their cannons. Harrison quoted their correspondence: ‘With God’s favour, Moors and Englishmen will take Spain, and we will cook our food with their crosses and saints’.¹⁶³

This conflation between Protestantism, Islam and heresy appears in the Spanish account of their raid: ‘England’ is still associated with the Old Religion, Catholicism; whilst Protestantism and Islam are as one. Entering a deserted Penzance after the residents had fled to Marazion, they burnt houses, and a small coastal fort: however ‘[t]he mosque, where they gather for their conventicles, was not burned’, because Burley had stated:

this mosque had first been English and that mass had been celebrated in it previously. Friar Domingo Martinez, principal chaplain of the galleys, wrote two verses in English, in which he declared the reasons for not burning it, and his trust in God that mass would be celebrated in it again within two years.¹⁶⁴

Highley (2008) demonstrates how the 12th century writings of Peter the Venerable, which asserted ‘the lawe of Mahomet’ was founded on the heretical beliefs of a lapsed monk, and labelled Islam as the ‘sink of all heresies’, enabled Catholics to align the heresies of Islam and Protestantism – also based on the teachings of a lapsed monk, Luther.¹⁶⁵ The Muslim infidel as a product of a Christian heretic ensured easy slippage between the two.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, it was almost inevitable the Christian heretic would become the Muslim infidel: ‘The divell

¹⁶² Highley 65 – 66; Jonathan Burton, ‘Anglo-Ottoman Relations and the Image of the Turk in *Tamburlaine*,’ *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 30 (1) 2000: 131 – 132.

¹⁶³ Quoted L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 – 1614* (London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005) 362.

¹⁶⁴ Translation from the Spanish in Dickinson 182.

¹⁶⁵ Peter the Venerable, *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* [*The Summary of the Entire Heresy of the Saracens*] and *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum* [*The Refutation of the Sect of the Saracens*], cited Highley 62 - 63.

¹⁶⁶ Highley 63. Also see: James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).

therefore hath so directed allwaies and trayned all cotentions and variaunces in religion, that all heresies ende in the Alcoran Mahomets lawe'.¹⁶⁷ Additionally, Catholic exiles exploited the geohumoral association of northern Britons, Scythians and Turks, claiming the 'Englishness' of Anglo-Protestants had degenerated into barbarous and cruel infidels – becoming Turks. The severance from Rome had enabled Protestant heresy to flourish within the land and bodies of the English, allowing the innate unruliness, hardiness (heresy was believed to harden hearts) and religious infidelity to manifest. Protestantism inevitably led to Islam.¹⁶⁸

The far west of Cornwall, however, was associated with Catholicism: de Amezola's account concludes with the gloating observation that many who witnessed the attack were precisely that, perhaps confirming Vyvyan's suggestion of localised collusion – or, at the very least, sympathies. According to Burley:

it was those who were most Catholic who went away most contented at having seen what the galleys had done, and longing to relate it to the many Catholics in that kingdom, who, they were sure, would be very glad to hear it.¹⁶⁹

Furthermore, the Spanish had sailed from a Breton port, Port Blavet, with whom the Cornish had longstanding relations. Submitting examinations of those caught, Godolphin enclosed an additional note, stating the prisoners had informed him of friendly relations between the Spanish and another ethnic group traditionally associated with the Cornish and Catholicism, the Irish. This encounter at sea was with ordinary Irish mariners, constructing an alternative, ambiguous network of spatial relations forged within this shared space, but which could be, worryingly, brought to domestic shores and inland:

¹⁶⁷ *The apologie of Fridericus Staphylus* (Antwerp, 1565) 13^v, quoted Highley 63.

¹⁶⁸ Highley 54 – 80.

¹⁶⁹ Translation from the Spanish in Dickinson 184.

that these galleys stopped an Irish bark, but only took one butt of wine from her, which they paid for, and used the men very favourably, so that it appears there is a mutual affection between them and the Irish.¹⁷⁰

An increased susceptibility to conquest and invasion – or a predisposition to invade and conquer – were understood geohumorally.¹⁷¹ The general humoral temperament of the northern Briton was phlegmatic: cowardly and dull-witted; cold, porous and moist. Exacerbated by their island status, their bodily boundaries were fluid: ‘undetermined and subject to flux’.¹⁷² They were thus susceptible to foreign influence and invasion: the Spanish, by contrast, were considered southern; dry and hot; thus wise, controlled and wary – although prone to melancholy and heat-induced mental frenzies.¹⁷³

However, geohumoral identity had a localised element, shaped by interactions between more nuanced factors within the immediate environment.¹⁷⁴ The cold climate of the northerner could seal in bodily humors, altering their intemperance, intemperance being equivalent to barbarism.¹⁷⁵ Northerners could become hot as well as moist, full of ‘thick, gross matter’ making them cruel and barbaric, with fiery bold hearts, a northern identity usually mapped onto the Turk.¹⁷⁶ This type of northerner was prone to invade – indeed, the transmigration of the Scythians made them ‘turn Turk’.¹⁷⁷ The ‘barbaric’ aspects of this identity were attributed to the Irish by the English: ethnic distinctions useful to the English in

¹⁷⁰ *CSPD 1595 – 1597* 80.

¹⁷¹ Although of course the innate flexibility of this framework enabled it to be ‘easily subject to ideological manipulation and discursive rearrangement’. Mary Floyd-Wilson, ‘English Mettle,’ *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, ed. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) 134.

¹⁷² Floyd-Wilson, ‘English Mettle’ 135.

¹⁷³ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 33, 72 – 73; Floyd-Wilson, ‘English Mettle’ 133, 136.

¹⁷⁴ See, for example, David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603 – 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987 [1985]), 73 – 105.

¹⁷⁵ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 31.

¹⁷⁶ Floyd-Wilson, ‘English Mettle’ 136 – 137.

¹⁷⁷ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 52.

re-orienting and re-habilitating their own northern identity.¹⁷⁸ Being prone to invasion and conquest could demonstrate that the Britons had been rendered temperate and civilized by the Romans, who had ‘chased away all savage barbarisme from the Britains minds’, reducing ‘the naturall inhabitants of the Iland unto the society of civill life’.¹⁷⁹ This was an argument evoked by Spenser in *A View of the State of Ireland* (1633 [c. 1596]), to argue for the Irish submitting to the civilising influence of the English.¹⁸⁰

Localised distinctions had implications for the Cornish. As northerners, they were moist, fickle and impressionable: their mobility through seafaring and proximity to the sea reinforced this aspect. However, they were also ‘Britons’, understood to have retained relative autonomy and independence during the Roman occupation and Saxon invasion, and, in many ways, continuing to resist English assimilation. Still speaking Cornish, the inhabitants had close historical cultural and ethnic ties with Ireland and Brittany, rather than England. They were also considered geographically close to Spain: comically highlighted in Brome’s play *The Northern Lasse* (1632). Squelch, disguised as a Spaniard, is spoken to in Cornish by Salomon Nonsense, implying the geographical proximity to Spain – and distance from England – meant a shared linguistic understanding.¹⁸¹ The south-western aspect meant the Cornish were more hot and moist, than cold and moist: according to Camden, the Cornish are ‘valiant, hardie, wel pitcht in stature, brawny & strong limmed’, a ‘firme and wel compact constitution of the Cornish-men which proceedeth from the temperature of heat and moisture’, although whether this is ‘unto the breeding-west wind and the Westerne situation thereof’, as

¹⁷⁸ Debora Shuger, ‘Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians,’ *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997): 494 – 525.

¹⁷⁹ William Camden, *Britannia* (London: 1607, [1586]) 63, cited Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 51.

¹⁸⁰ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 50 – 51; Shuger, ‘Irishmen’ 494 – 525; Edmund Spenser, Edmund Campion, *A View of the State of Ireland* (Dublin: 1633 [1596]); Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

¹⁸¹ Richard Brome, *The Northern Lass* (London: 1629) 5. ix. Also see: Julie Sanders, ‘*The Northern Lass*: Introduction,’ Richard Brome Online, 3 March 2012, <www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome>; Kent, *Theatre* 357 – 358.

those ‘farthest Westward are the ablest and most valiant’ within France and Germany, or due to ‘some peculiar and speciall reason of aire and soile’ he states ‘is not my purpose to search curiously’. However, the understanding of their ancient trading links to the central zone could endow the Cornish with civility:

And yet is Cornwall nothing happier in regard of the soile, than it is for the people; who as they were endued and adorned with all civilitie, even in those antient times; (For by reason of their acquaintaunce with merchants sailing thither for tin, as Diodorus Siculus reports, they were more courteous toward strangers).¹⁸²

The Scythian was primarily suited to physical labour: the untamed ‘mettle’ of the northern Briton required English leadership to temper it, highlighted within Vyvyan’s urgent request for leaders from outside of Cornwall to be sent, in his correspondence regarding the Spanish attack.¹⁸³ Cornish ‘hardiness’ was combined with a disposition to complain, rebel and hold grudges. When The Boy, John Trygust, in Ben Jonson’s play *The Magnetic Lady, or Humors Reconciled* (1641 [1632]), reveals he is ‘a Cornish youth’, Damplay responds this was as ‘I thought, you were so bold’. ‘[W]e doe call a Spade a *Spade* in *Cornewall*’, Trygust continues, ‘If you dare damne our *Play*, i’ the wrong place, we shall take heart to tell you so’ (I.7.67 – 64).¹⁸⁴ In *Hall’s Chronicle* this disposition is associated with Cornwall’s barren landscape; ‘inhabityng the least parte of the realme’; and with ‘digging tynee and metal oute of the grounde’.¹⁸⁵

These observations were repeated by Francis Bacon (1622): ‘The Cornish being a race of men stout of stomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardly in a barren country, and

¹⁸² William Camden, *Britain* (London: 1610) 186 – 187.

¹⁸³ Floyd-Wilson, ‘English Mettle’ 138; *CSPD 1595 – 1597* 77.

¹⁸⁴ Ben Jonson, *The Magnetic Lady or Humors Reconciled*, ed. Harvey Whitefield Peck (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1914) 32; Ben Jonson, *The Magnetic Lady, or Humors Reconciled* (London, 1641). Also see: Ben Jonson, *The Magnetic Lady*, ed. Peter Happé (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), f.n. 62, 100 and ‘Appendix III: Trygust, Richard Brome and Cornwall,’ 220 – 222.

¹⁸⁵ Henry Ellis, ed., *Hall’s Chronicle; Containing The History of England during The Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in which are particularly described the manners and customs of those periods. Carefully collated with the Editions of 1548 and 1550* (London: J. Johnson etc., 1809) 477.

many of them could for a need live under-ground, that were tanners'.¹⁸⁶ The association with tin gave a distinctive identity differing from the English: it gave them 'mettle'. Floyd-Wilson (2004) discusses 'mettle' in relation to *Henry V* (c. 1599): expecting phlegmatic opponents, effeminate and cowardly, the French express surprise that the English have 'mettle', that is, are fiery, valiant and choleric. However, as Floyd-Wilson argues, Scythian 'mettle' is enabled by the 'Britishness' of the characters: MacMorris (Irish), Fluellen (Welsh) and Jamy (Scottish) embodying 'the intractably wild and untamed temperament of England's past', functioning as 'the repositories, and even regenerative sources, of England's ancient valorous heat'.¹⁸⁷ Whilst there is no Cornish character in the play, Pistol does ask Henry if he is Cornish: 'Le Roy! a Cornish name: art thou of Cornish crew?' – Henry replies he is a Welshman (4.1.51 – 52). Ford's *Perkin Warbeck* (1634) certainly makes explicit Cornish 'mettle': 'The Cornish blades are men of mettall' (4.5.33).¹⁸⁸ Ford probably drew on Bacon for his source material:

the Cornishmen were become like metal often fired and quenched, churlish, and that would sooner break than bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him till the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt.¹⁸⁹

Passions were elemental, and the passions of those with mettle were not easily 'kindled' or 'extinguished' – as with metals themselves. However, once ignited, they remained in an impassioned state for some time. The responses of the Cornish to the Spanish attack, therefore, can be attributed not to cowardice, but to not being 'ignited' by the events. For the English authorities, this would serve to reinforce suggestions of Catholic sympathies.

¹⁸⁶ Francis Bacon, *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, ed. Jerry Weinberger (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996 [1622]) 147. Also see: Francis Bacon, *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998 [1622]) 135.

¹⁸⁷ Floyd-Wilson, 'English Mettle' 138.

¹⁸⁸ John Ford, *Perkin Warbeck*, ed. Donald K. Anderson, Jr. (London: Edward Arnold, 1966 [1965, 1634]) 83.

¹⁸⁹ Bacon, *History*, ed. Weinberger 162; Ford, ed. Anderson, Jr. f.n., 83.

The association of the Cornish with Catholicism, their geohumoral identity, vulnerability to invasion, ‘closeness’ to Spain and her allies, historical allegiances and anti-English feeling, gives further meaning to the Spanish attack. The examinations of those captured heightened ambiguity. Barnaby Loe, an Ipswich mariner, claimed to have been taken by a Spaniard, Peter Seviore, near Brittany, three weeks previously, and offered intelligence.¹⁹⁰ Loe describes Burley - from Weymouth - as one ‘whom they esteem; he sits next the Captain’. Burley reportedly stated:

if Her Majesty was not at extraordinary charge in keeping good forces, the King of Spain, who by his treasure is so strong, would land such a power as should overcome the land; that those four galleys, with two others, would be yearly sent *to spoil the weak places of this realm, and the isles adjoining, and that might return this summer* [emphasis mine].¹⁹¹

Loe states that ‘they would have stayed longer to do more spoil to this country, had they not stood in fear of Sir Francis Drake’s fleet’, also revealing details of the mass held on ‘the Western Hill [...] where they vowed to build a priory when they had conquered England’ – a blatant, outdoor ritual making a claim on a wider territory than just the sacred space of the Church. This ceremony would have been considered dangerous as well as audacious to the authorities, having the power to influence the humoral bodies of those who may have witnessed or heard it.¹⁹² Robert Kettell, a bark master of Liverpool, claimed he was compelled to serve in the Spanish galleys – as a pilot – for 14 weeks, and instructed to bring them into Scilly. He informs his examiners, Godolphin and Thomas Saint Aubin [St Aubyn] that the Spanish had ‘four or five pinnaces at Bluett [Blavet], which they often send forth with Englishmen in them, to get intelligence from England, and by this means have continual

¹⁹⁰ CSPD 1595 – 1597 78 – 79.

¹⁹¹ CSPD 1595 – 1597 79.

¹⁹² CSPD 1595 – 1597 79.

advice'.¹⁹³ They also had intentions on going to St Ives and Padstow: Kettell '[t]hinks they will return shortly, and next year with a stronger fleet, but they first intend to take Scilly'.¹⁹⁴

Whilst this Catholic 'invasion' was short-lived, reports underline the slippages, anxieties and vulnerabilities of geohumoral ethno-religious identities, increasingly associated with the fearful responses to Barbary captivity in the ensuing decades. Although an Islamic land-based invasion did not take place, Muslims were, however, present within the West Country during this period. Indeed, a ceremony which took place within the roofless ruins of Paul Church months after the Spanish attack involved the baptism – and conversion – of Alexander the Moor, aged 20, described as Chiverton's servant.¹⁹⁵ It is possible Alexander was brought over with the Spanish during the attack: his baptism was also contemporaneous with Elizabeth issuing her notorious 'open warrant' in London regarding 'blackmoores': 'there are of late divers blackmoores brought into this realme, of which kinde of people there are already here to manie'.¹⁹⁶ Muslims were also brought to the West Country as prisoners: however, the concerns provoked by this presence, of the authorities at least, were primarily economic rather than invasive.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ *CSPD 1595 – 1597 79*.

¹⁹⁴ *CSPD 1595 – 1597 79*.

¹⁹⁵ Cornwall Record Office (CRO) P 172/1/1; Mattingly, *Cornwall and the Coast* 38.

¹⁹⁶ John Roche Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council 1596 – 7 New Series, Vol. 26* (London: Mackie & Co., 1902) 16 – 17. Also see: Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, ed., *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969) 221; 'Licensing Caspar van Senden to Deport Negroes [draft] (1601),' *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion*, ed. Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 158 – 159; Emily C. Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From Alcazar to Othello* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) 100 – 117; Peter D. Fraser, 'Slaves or free people? The status of Africans in England, 1550 – 1750,' 254 – 260, and Nabil Matar, 'The first Turks and Moors in England,' 261 – 267, both in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550 – 1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London and Brighton: The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland and Sussex Academic Press, 2001); Meredith Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke: A Sermon preached at the Hospitall of Saint Katherin, adioyning unto her Maiesties Towne the 2. October 1586. at the Baptizing of Chinano a Turke, borne at Nigropontus* (London: 1586).

¹⁹⁷ Research in this area was presented in my paper, "Some of your Majesties Subjects did take some Moores, and Turkes": Captive Muslims in Early Modern Cornwall", Cornish Studies Conference 2012, Institute of Cornish Studies, University of Exeter, 14th September 2012.

‘[H]eer will be noe fishing, if noe fishing, then much misery & poverty in these west parts’¹⁹⁸

Ruptured Economics

Inevitably, economic concerns emerge strongly within the localised anxieties prompted by the Muslim presence at sea. Economic disruption contributed to the anxious narrative of ‘taken bodies’, as economies were affected in multiple ways: vessels were damaged, pillaged, sunk or taken; communities lost workers and family members, leaving dependents upon the parish; ransoms, and relief for returned captives added extra financial burdens; whilst fishermen and other mariners were afraid to leave port. Vessels involved in the important Newfoundland fisheries, trade and settlement ventures, were affected. The impact of levies towards suppressing the pirates and protecting the coasts was also substantial, demonstrated by the culmination of protests against them. For Cornwall in particular, the initial refusal to pay for the funding of the Algiers mission mapped further narratives of resistance onto sites historically associated with rebellion, lawlessness and difference.

London’s contribution was divided between trading companies, but outside of London port towns were assessed.¹⁹⁹ Gorges was employed by the Council in 1619 ‘in regard to his good experiences and interest in the west parts, where many have suffered so much in this kind’, and invited mayors of the western ports to a consultation at Exeter.²⁰⁰ The expected West Country contribution was substantial, due to their over-representation in the losses: Bristol was assessed for £2500, Exeter, Plymouth and Dartmouth, £1000 each, Barnstaple

¹⁹⁸ James Duppa to Nicholas, July 1626, TNA: PRO SP 16/31, f.35.

¹⁹⁹ Hebb, *Piracy* 30 – 31; Devon Record Office (DRO) 0/16/39.

²⁰⁰ Hebb 21 – 22, 30 – 21.

£500, Weymouth with Melcombe Regis, £450. This is comparative with Cardiff and Milford Haven – who were not expected to contribute – and Poole, Chester and King’s Lynn, each levied £100. Further north, Hull was assessed for £500.²⁰¹ The collection process, especially in Cornwall, was protracted and problematic. The Mayor of Plymouth requested the Cornish ports contributed to Plymouth’s levy, resulting in lengthy and vehement objections from Cornwall.²⁰² Truro alone was assessed for £300, the same as Newcastle and Southampton: their refusal to cooperate produced extensive correspondence between the Mayors of Truro and Plymouth during 1619 and 1620.²⁰³ Truro managed to avoid paying for a year before the Council intervened: the inventories demonstrate the local authorities lied about the extent they were benefitting from sea-trade.²⁰⁴

Resistance led to several requests for centralised assistance: on April 25th 1620 the Council responded: ‘Wee perceive, by your letters, the difficulties that occurre in raising of the summe assessed upon that port and members towards suppressing of pyrates’. They ordered the Mayor ‘to signifie unto those severall townes of Truro and Penrin and others that refuse to contribute towards the summe required of the portes of Plymmouth and Foy and other the portes within the county of Cornewall’ that the Council had included them in the levy:

intended for the security of common and free trade, wherein they are specially interested, in regard the same may be interrupted as well in such partes neere hand where they usually trafficke as further off[f], unlesse some course be taken against the

²⁰¹ Hebb 30 – 31.

²⁰² M. Oppenheim, *The Maritime History of Devon* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1968) 53 – 54; R. N. Worth, ‘A Controversy touching Ship-money in the reign of James I,’ *Devonshire Association Transactions*, 20 (1888): 328 – 329; Hebb, *Piracy* 38 – 39.

²⁰³ CRO BT 294; June Palmer, *Truro in the Seventeenth Century, A Pattern of Place and People* (Truro: June Palmer/Truro Buildings Research Group, 1989) 31 – 32.

²⁰⁴ Palmer, *Truro in the Seventeenth Century* 31 – 32. Also see: Duncan Taylor, ‘Somerset: Minehead and Bridgwater,’ in ‘The Maritime Trade of the Smaller Bristol Channel Ports in the Sixteenth Century,’ PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 2009, 13 April 2012, <www.jamesbarton.co.uk/current_research.htm>.

sea rovers that are of late much increased and growne to extraordinarie strength and insolencie.

Although emphasising they expected ‘the performance of this service without further excuse or delay’, urging that ‘the one moitye [half] of the summe be readie according to our former directions’, the Council re-centralised authority:

soe for your better assistance in the leavie thereof wee doe hereby authorise and require you to call upon those severall townes and persons aforesaid in our names to joyne with you in this service according to the proportion of their trades; and if any persons fit to be charged therein shall refuse to conforme themselves as is meete, that then you take bondes of refusers to make them immediate repaire unto us, where they shail further understand our pleasure.²⁰⁵

However, the further levies during the 1630s proved more contentious. Whilst the voices of the peripheral West Country maritime communities were themselves largely marginalised, this time they were combined with condemnations from Trinity House, politicians, and those with powerful fishing, naval and mercantile interests at stake – leading to the impeachment of Buckingham for failing to safeguard the sea.²⁰⁶

Certainly, during this period, the West Country ports were involved in prosperous trade networks, importing and exporting goods within the British Isles, Europe and the trading centres of the Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire. Despite the prominence of London merchants over commerce up to the late 16th century, overseas trade increased significantly into the 17th, with new markets opening up across the Atlantic. Ports gained or lost depending on their geographies, ensuring West Country dominance within much of the trans-Atlantic trade - including supplying New England settlements, journeys combined with fishing voyages.²⁰⁷ Mapping the economic shape and texture of these coastal communities, and the

²⁰⁵ J. V. Lyle, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council, 1619 – 1621* (London: HMSO, 1930) 182.

²⁰⁶ Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics: Seafaring and naval enterprise in the reign of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 168.

²⁰⁷ Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (Lebanon, N. H.: University Press of New England, 2005) 28; Alison Grant, ‘Breaking the Mould: North Devon Maritime Enterprise 1560 – 1640,’ *Tudor and Stuart Devon: The Common Estate and Government*, ed. Todd Gray, Margery Rowe, and Audrey Erskine (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992) 138.

impact of piracy upon them, necessitates an overview of the vast spatial trajectories, networks and linkages involved in these flows of trade, and the diversity and movement of bodies and goods alike.

The huge growth of Bristol ensured the expansion of smaller regional ports, as foreign goods were redistributed via coastal trade.²⁰⁸ Bristol's foreign imports were considerable, from Spain, France, Italy, Madeira and other Atlantic islands, as well as the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. This latter, highly profitable, trade with Barbary increased sharply during the early 17th century. Goods included oranges, lemons, sugar, raw silk, saltpetre, ostrich feathers and even gold, with exports in return including cloth, lead, tin, timber, manufactured goods, and the re-export of European goods.²⁰⁹

Another chief port was Exeter, located ten miles from open sea, but benefitting from a new sea channel completed around 1544. Exeter traded with Spain, France, and the Low Countries, exporting cloth, lead, and tin; importing wine, iron, salt, shoe buckles, combs and paper, along with goods from the London coastal trade. Topsham – functioning as Exeter's main port prior to the canal – exported cloth around the known world – including the Mediterranean. Wool cloth manufacture underpinned the economy, with Devon being the traditional centre of this industry, ideally situated for production and export.²¹⁰ The export of cloth to the Mediterranean, and later, to overseas settlements, meant these vessels were particularly vulnerable to attack. Okeley, himself taken from a vessel 'chiefly laden with linen and woollen cloth', describes how he was put to work in Algiers at 'the looms with two

²⁰⁸ Helen Doe, *The Maritime History of Cornwall: an introduction* (Redruth: Tor Mark, 2006) 23.

²⁰⁹ David Harris Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450 – 1700* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993) 46 - 47.

²¹⁰ Maryanne Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) f.n. 68, 25. Also see: Taylor, 'Maritime Trade' <www.jamesbarton.co.uk/current_research.htm>.

other Englishmen that were slaves and linen cloth weavers’: however, he ‘was a very bungler and understood nothing of the craft and mystery of weaving’, spoiling ‘all that I laid my hands on’. His master ‘rated me for a loggerhead and bade me fill quills for the other two. Being now degraded from a bungling weaver to an excellent filler of quills, I continued about a month’.²¹¹ The expansion and dominance of the wool cloth trade, between 1550 and 1650, also contributed to wider discussions negotiating the ‘commonwealth’ and emerging national identity. Hentschell (2008) explores this relationship between nationalist discourse and the culture of cloth, demonstrating both ‘[t]exts and textiles are inextricably tied in their power to materially articulate national identity’.²¹² Thus, threats to this trade had wider impact beyond the social and economic realms of lived experience. As Gil Harris explores, articulated through a discourse of health and disease the mercantilist writings seeking to ‘explain and manage the vicissitudes of international commerce’ offer ‘the first systematic articulation of an object that now serves as one of the master tropes and characters of the drama of early modern nationhood – the national economy’.²¹³

During the 1580s, prize sugar from reprisal attacks proved highly lucrative to Exeter, and calfskins were also exported under licence to Guinea.²¹⁴ In 1588 a patent had been granted to ‘certaine Merchants of Exeter, and other of the West parts, and of London, for a trade to the river of Senega and Gambia in Guinea’, including the Mayor of Barnstaple, Richard Dodd[e]ridge. Barnstaple, under Exeter administration, was a traditional ‘staple port’, originally licenced to export wool – later, during the 1620s and 30s, it was importing tobacco

²¹¹ Filling quills is to wrap the yarn around a bobbin or spool. ‘William Okeley, *Ebenezer; or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley (1675)*,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 148, 166.

²¹² Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity* (Hants: Ashgate 2008) 9.

²¹³ Gil Harris 2, also see 3 – 13.

²¹⁴ Thomas S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959) 80.

from Virginia, and goods from Barbados.²¹⁵ Evidence of Doddridge's Guinea trade is apparent through the presence of those of black African descent within the town from the late 1590s - individuals identified as 'nygers' rather than 'blackamoors', indicating West African origin, rather than North African or Moriscos from Spain.²¹⁶ Barnstaple also traded salt-fish and their esteemed woollen fabrics - the chief industry within the town - with the Western Islands, France and the Mediterranean, importing wine, oil, dried fruits, salt and vinegar, as well as iron, pitch and a small amount of wool. Dartmouth exported cloth and tin to France, importing French and Spanish wine, iron from San Sebastian, canvas from St Malo, salt from La Rochelle and Oléron, and woad from the latter. Again, prize sugar proved significant during the latter part of the 16th century, along with train oil - a by-product of the Newfoundland fishery rendered from cod livers, used as lubricant on heavy mechanisms, or 'trains'.²¹⁷

Plymouth, the final head-port on the south coast, traded with France, Portugal, Leghorn and Spain, exporting cloth, pilchards, hake and Newfoundland cod; importing salt, canvas and wine, some of the latter through the London coastal trade with hops, gunpowder, soap, tar and haberdashery, as well as the important prize sugar – imported into Plymouth in huge quantities during the 1590s.²¹⁸ As Willan (1959) observes, for Plymouth – and its member ports in Cornwall – 'the prize goods were more valuable than the ordinary trade of the port'.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Arthur Birnie, *An Economic History of the British Isles* (Oxford: Routledge, 2006 [1935]) 93 – 94.

²¹⁶ T. Wainwright, transcr. *Barnstaple Parish Register 1538 AD – 1812 AD* (Exeter: James G. Commin, 1903); Grant, 'Breaking the Mould' 126 – 127.

²¹⁷ Peter E. Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004) 28 – 29; Grant, 'Breaking the Mould' 122; Willan 81.

²¹⁸ Willan 81 – 82.

²¹⁹ Willan 82.

Cornish trade was primarily with Ireland, France and Spain, and occasionally Portugal, exporting tin and pilchards; importing salt, wine and vinegar from France, iron ore and timber from Spain, and Irish tallow and timber. Penzance exported hides, pilchard oil, cured fish and cloth to Italy, Spain and the Mediterranean; importing from Portugal, Spain, France, the Baltic and Wales, primarily timber, coal, iron and salt. Penzance's chief export was pilchards, mainly salted and exported in hogsheads to the Mediterranean – accounting for the chief imports of salt and timber. Not being a Coinage Town, Penzance had no tin exports: all the metal raised locally was coined at Helston and exported from Gweek at the head of the Helford estuary, sharing space with the piracy associated with these areas. Truro was profitable, assaying and coining a third of all tin mined and smelted within Cornwall during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, participating in foreign and coastal trade as well as 'invisible exports' - merchants hiring ships on charter. Although remaining a centre for tin trading, ships got larger requiring deeper water, which Falmouth offered: only smaller vessels could reach Truro. Falmouth and Penryn also provided victualing.

During the first half of the 17th century, Looe and Fowey were the busiest Cornish ports, although Penzance, Penryn, Truro and Falmouth expanded during this time. Fowey traded with Spain, the Mediterranean and London, taking dried cod, pilchards and wheat. Trade between Truro and Ireland was mainly imported timber – which Cornwall lacked – exporting slate, cloth and corn. Padstow also exported slate in large amounts. St Ives was involved with coastal trade from Bristol, importing lead shot, pewter, tobacco, drinking glasses, candles and brandy; salt, linen, cheese and earthenware mugs from Liverpool; and charcoal for tin smelting from Milford Haven, along with oak bark, used to preserve fishing nets. St Ives had strong Irish and Welsh trading links, also being a commonplace departure point for those travelling to Ireland. The port was protective of localised interests: from 1580 the harbour forbade 'forestemmen' [strangers] from landing many perishable goods on their quay within six

days of their arrival. Likewise, in 1617 Penzance imposed charges for ‘[e]very stranger or denizen being no inhabitant’ for ‘rolling upon the pier or landing in or about the pier’.²²⁰

Whilst port records are often incomplete, and do not give a full account of port activity, they can reveal patterns of increase or decrease. During the latter 1630s Penzance’s coast-to-coast imports, for customs purposes extending from the Lizard to Cape Cornwall, suffered a significant drop, although exports for both coastal and overseas traffic were low but consistent, as were overseas imports. Figures are inevitably open to interpretation: low coastal imports rather than exports could indicate a difference between the imaginings of threat mapped onto the area, and the information available to local inhabitants and seafarers, or suggest ships on that route had been taken at sea. Similarly, shipping from Newfoundland into Dartmouth increased during the first part of the 1630s, possibly due to reinvestment in the fisheries after the drop during the 1620s. War with both Spain and France from 1625 to 1630 had impacted on the fleet through trade embargos with those countries - although not always obeyed - and the crews being subjected to impressment.²²¹ However, this could be attributed to the Turk threat, with ships avoiding sailing straight to the continent with their cargoes.²²²

²²⁰ Quoted P. A. S. Pool, *The History of the Town and Borough of Penzance* (Penzance: Corporation of Penzance, 1974) 45.

²²¹ Grant, ‘Breaking the Mould’ 123; Duffin, *Faction* 126 – 133.

²²² For all the information and discussion on West Country trade here, and further reference see: TNA: PRO Port Books, Series E190, *Plymouth with Looe, Fowey, Penryn, Truro, Mount’s Bay, St. Ives, Padstow*; John Keast, *The Story of Fowey* (Cornwall: Dyllansow Truran, 1987); Viv Acton, *A History of Truro Vol. I: From Coinage Town to Cathedral City* (Truro: Landfall, 1997); Richard W. Cotton, *Barnstaple and the Northern Part of Devonshire during the Great Civil War, 1642 – 1646* (London: Printed for the author, 1889); Mary Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642 – 1660: a Social and Political Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933); Todd Gray, ‘Fishing and the Commercial World of Early Dartmouth,’ *Tudor and Stuart Devon: The Common Estate and Government*, ed. Gray, Margery Rowe, and Audrey Erskine (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992) 173 – 199, and his ‘Fisheries, Exploration, Shipping and Mariners in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,’ *Historical Atlas of South-West England*, ed. R. Kain and W. Ravenhill (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999) 377 – 387; June Palmer, *The Letter Book of Thomas Hill, 1660 – 1661, Westcountry mercantile affairs and the wider world* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, N.S. Vol. 51, 2008), and her *Truro in the Seventeenth Century*; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire 1480 – 1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Fishing was of vital economic and social importance to Devon and Cornwall. In 1622, Henry Hawley of Dartmouth – undoubtedly a descendent of the notorious John Hawley - wrote a treatise whilst at sea dedicated to James, concerning trade. He re-orientated Britain to a centralised zone, in between the ‘frozen north’ and the ‘scorching south’, ideally situated for trade. However, his focus is on fishing:

I esteem [it] of more validity than all other trades whatsoever, not so much as it is the sea’s free gift but in respect of the increase of men and shipping both enlarging other trades and accommodating the Commonwealth with coin more than all commodities else set them altogether.²²³

Fishing was an occupation undertaken from the larger, recognised seaports to the smaller ‘porths’ of Cornwall - the multitude of hamlets, coves and beaches primarily situated on open coastline, rather than within estuaries and deep bays.²²⁴ Many West Country ports - and their neighbouring settlements – grew in size and prosperity during this period due to the expansion of fishing.²²⁵ Whilst the wool and cloth trades were flourishing, it was the fisheries which supported a high number of auxiliary activities, from sail-makers to barber-surgeons, and the profitable domestic trade in train oil. Furthermore, not only were traders and ship-owners investing in the fisheries, but were also victuallers.²²⁶ Dartmouth corporation noted in 1613 that 400 vessels crewed by 12,000 sailors sailed yearly to ‘Newfoundland, the deeps, Ireland, and other places’, additionally maintaining 20,000 local people.²²⁷ Richard Whitbourne, an Exmouth seaman and fish merchant, emphasized in his *Discourse and*

Press, 1984); James Whetter, *Cornwall in the 17th Century: An Economic History of Kernow* (Padstow, Cornwall: Lodenek Press, 1974), and his ‘Cornish Trade in the 17th Century: An analysis of the Port Books,’ *JRIC*, 4 (1964): 388 – 394; Doe, *Cornwall*; Kowaleski, *Local Markets*; Pool, *History of Penzance*; Carew, *Survey* 62 – 63; Pearse; Willan; and the collection of essays in M. Duffy, ed., *The New Maritime History of Devon (Vol. 1): From Early Times to the late Eighteenth Century* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1992).

²²³ D[evon] R[ecord] O[ffice] DD 62059, quoted Gray, ‘Fishing,’ *Tudor and Stuart Devon*, ed. Gray, Rowe and Erskine 173 – 274.

²²⁴ Pearse 85, 106.

²²⁵ Gray, ‘Fishing,’ *Tudor and Stuart Devon*, ed. Gray, Rowe and Erskine 174.

²²⁶ Gray, ‘Fishing’ 176, 192.

²²⁷ Gray, ‘Fishing’ 183.

Discovery of the New-found-land (1620) that goods used by the fisheries provided employment for ‘Bakers, Brewers, Coopers, Ship-Carpenters, Smiths, Net-makers, Rope-makers, Line-makers, Hooke-makers, Pully-makers, and many other trades’.²²⁸ Expanding the fisheries would increase the need for these workers. There were many alehouses in port towns, excessive for the local population, but responding to the needs of a transitory one.²²⁹ Dartmouth was a major base for the Newfoundland fisheries, with two-thirds of the incoming voyages between 1620 and 1623 directly from Newfoundland, yet, as Gray (1992) demonstrates, only a small proportion of the thousands of fishermen involved resided within the town.²³⁰ Most were from neighbouring parishes, many further afield: on September 1st 1623 the Mayor reported ‘although there be a great number of mariners that usually sail out of this port to the Newfoundland, yet there are not the tenth part of them dwelling in this town’.²³¹ This multifaceted reliance on the fisheries ensured localised economic anxiety provoked by the Turks was largely focused on the fishing industry. Fishing – whether inshore, offshore, or migratory – ‘carried the entire West Country with it’.²³²

West Country fishermen had a long historical presence at Newfoundland, since at least the time of John Cabot’s voyage in 1497 when a recorded fishery was established, developing substantially during the period under study.²³³ As many as 300 ships a year sailed to

²²⁸ Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of the New-found-land [...] Together with the laying open of certain Enormities and abuses committed by some that trade to that County of Deuon* (London: 1622 [1620, 1623]). The 1622 edition is a collation of the 1620 and 1623 texts, and is reproduced in Gillian T. Cell, ed., *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation 1610 – 1630* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1982) 101 – 206, quote 125.

²²⁹ Gray, ‘Fishing’ 176, 192.

²³⁰ Gray, ‘Fishing’ 183.

²³¹ DRO, DD 62093, Gray, ‘Fishing’ 190.

²³² Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics* 168.

²³³ See: D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records* (Holland: Meridian Publishing Co., 1971 [1895]) 11, 17 – 18; Pope 11 – 13; Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland 1577 – 1660* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1969) 1; D. B. Quinn, ‘The Argument for the English Discovery of America between 1480 and 1494,’ *Geographical Journal*, 113 (1961): 277 – 285; J. A.

Newfoundland, with single ports sending up to 80 vessels: between 1615 and 1640 at least 70% were from the West Country, reinforced by longstanding trading links with the Iberian Peninsula and Mediterranean, the principal markets for dried Newfoundland cod.²³⁴ The trade was controlled primarily by merchant-venturers; the so-called ‘Western Adventurers’; a name conflating romantic quest and commercial venture.²³⁵ Their familial ties, shared interests, markets, religious affiliation and political allegiances caused both powerful alliances and bitter divisions.²³⁶

The British fishery was seasonal and migratory: fleets left in February and March, using Newfoundland as a base for several months, building ‘settlements’. Fishing usually finished by the beginning of August, with the men leaving in the autumn. The British worked out of small boats, drying the catch gradually onshore through a combination of salt, sun and wind, differing from the French, Basques, Portuguese and Spaniards who also fished the Banks. Having a plentiful domestic supply of salt they transported the fish straight back: operating a ‘green’, rather than ‘dry’, fishery.²³⁷ British ships would reach the European markets in late September or October, returning home by late November or December with imported goods. Many ships returned straight from Newfoundland – if the conditions were favourable the journey could take three weeks - carrying the crews, other migratory fishermen as passengers, train oil, and sometimes firewood and fish.²³⁸

Williamson, ed., *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery Under Henry VII* (London: Hakluyt Society 1962); Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 10 Jan 2011, <<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/home.html>>.

²³⁴ Cell, ‘Introduction,’ *Newfoundland Discovered* 1; Hornsby 28; Gray, ‘Fishing’ 185.

²³⁵ Gil Harris 9.

²³⁶ See: Cell, *English Enterprise*; Pope; Prowse; Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, <<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/home.html>>.

²³⁷ Cell, ‘Introduction,’ *Newfoundland Discovered* 1.

²³⁸ Pope 29.

As with the wool and cloth trade, the expansion of the fisheries contributed to early Jacobean discourses of territorial expansion, nation-building, overseas investment and settlement.²³⁹ Settlement was promoted as a way to protect the fisheries; likewise, the fisheries would aid plantation. Permanent settlement of Newfoundland was attempted during the early 17th century. Formed in 1610, the London and Bristol Company established from the outset a relationship between fishery and settlement, mapping the land from the coast inwards, constructing this inward facing Newfoundland as *terra nova*: ‘new land’ in Latin - a blank space.²⁴⁰ The Company’s Royal Charter reinforces the fishing rights of the:

coast and harbours whereof the subjects of this our Realme of England have for the space of fiftie yeares and upwards yearlie used to resorte in noe small numbers to fishe, intending by such plantacon and inhabitinge both to *secure and make safe the trade of fishing to our subjectes for ever* [emphasis mine].²⁴¹

The land, ‘adjoining to the aforesaid coastes’:

remaineth so destitute and *so desolate of inhabitaunte that scarce any one salvage [savage] person hath in many yeares beene seene in the moste p[ar]tes thereof*. And well knowing that the same lyeing and *being soo vacant* is [...] very commodious for us and our dominions and that by the lawe of nature and nations we maie of our royall authoritie possesse ourselves [...] without doeing wronge, to anie other prince or state, considering they cannot justely pretend anie soueraignitie or righte thereunto in respect *that the same remaineth soo vacant and not actuallie possessed and inhabited by any Christian or any other* [emphasis mine].²⁴²

Whilst London merchants were involved in this endeavour, the main impetus was from Bristol, gathering pace after John Guy; a Bristol merchant, Alderman, and, in 1618, Mayor;

²³⁹ See, for example, Prowse 87 – 88; Douglas Bradburn, ‘The Eschatological Origins of the English Empire,’ *Early Modern Virginia: Reconsidering the Old Dominion*, ed. Bradburn and John C. Coombs (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2011) 15 – 56; Richard Middleton, *Colonial America: A History, 1565 – 1776* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); Richard Middleton and Anne Lombard, *Colonial America: A History to 1763* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2011 [1992, 2001, 2002]); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Mary K. Geiter and W. A. Speck, *Colonial America* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (London: Penguin, 2001 [2000]).

²⁴⁰ See: Laurier Turgeon, ‘Codfish, Consumption, and Colonization: The Creation of the French Atlantic World During the Sixteenth Century,’ *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products, and Practices on the Move*, ed. Caroline A. Williams (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009) 47 – 49.

²⁴¹ London and Bristol Company Charter, 2nd May, 1610. Harl. 589, fol. 8, in Prowse 122 – 125.

²⁴² London and Bristol Company Charter, in Prowse 122 – 125.

visited Newfoundland in 1608, publishing *A Treatise to animate the English to plant there* (1609).²⁴³ Guy was made Governor in 1610: the colony he was instructed to found was duly named ‘Sea Forest Plantation’.²⁴⁴

Fishing and settlement were interlinked with the desire for empire, mapped onto a space still considered *terra nova*. Whitbourne promoted the idea that establishing a colony would not only expand and protect the fisheries, but create new spaces of nationhood, through the ‘increase of Shipping and Mariners [...] who may fitly bee stiled, The nation of the Sea’.²⁴⁵ However, the relationship between the West Country migratory fishermen and early settlers was highly problematic: imagined spaces interacted with those of a ‘lived’ Newfoundland, creating contested and volatile territories.²⁴⁶ The fishermen were vehemently opposed to settlement, petitioning the Council with frequent complaints regarding the settlers, animosity which continued into the next decade.²⁴⁷ Similarly, the settlers complained about the fishermen, recorded March 18th 1619/20:

Whereas wee have ben given to understand of many disorders and abuses comitted of late and specially the last yeare betweene such as reside in the plantacion in Newfoundland and those that frequent the fishing upon that coast, to the great prejudice, losse and discouragement of both parties.²⁴⁸

Guy’s settlement was also disrupted by the Somerset pirate Easton, leading to it finally being abandoned: Guy reported in 1612 that ‘[t]he said Easton was lately at Saint John's, and is

²⁴³ Cell, ‘Introduction,’ *Newfoundland Discovered* 3 – 4.

²⁴⁴ See: ‘Instructions to John Guy from the Associates of his Company, 1610,’ BL, [B.M.] MS. Otto E., VIII. 5, quoted Prowse 94 – 96. Also see: Ingeborg Marshall, *A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk* (Québec: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996) 28 – 32.

²⁴⁵ Whitbourne, ‘A Discourse and Discovery of New-found-land,’ *Newfoundland Discovered*, ed. Cell 109.

²⁴⁶ See: W. Noël Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860) 260, 306, 315, 328, 354 - 355, 366, 373, 395 – 396, 400 – 403.

²⁴⁷ Prowse 98; Cell, ‘Introduction,’ *Newfoundland Discovered* 3, 22. Also see: *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 20 – 26.

²⁴⁸ *APC 1619 – 1621* 158.

now, as far as I can learn, at Ferryland, where he taketh his pleasure'.²⁴⁹ In 1617, Whitbourne was appointed by William Vaughan, of Carmarthenshire, who had acquired land in Newfoundland, to establish another colony.²⁵⁰ As a mariner, Whitbourne was unusual amongst his peers in his promotion and support of the settlement.²⁵¹ Whitbourne requested permission to publish and distribute his *Discourse* in February 1619/20, and letters to the Bishops were dispatched in the summer of 1620, the Council observing disseminating the text throughout the parishes would be conducive to 'the furtherance and advancement of the said plantation and to give encouragement to such as shalbe willing to adventure therein'.²⁵² Collections were also recommended, to cover Whitbourne's 'travell and charge' and 'helpe to repaire his estate, much decayed by losses att sea'.²⁵³

Whitbourne incurred losses through being taken captive in 1611 by 'that famous Arch-Pirate' Easton: arriving in Newfoundland with 10 ships, Whitbourne was 'kept eleven weekes under his command'.²⁵⁴ Easton unsuccessfully offered Whitbourne wealth, riches and many 'golden promises'; instead, Whitbourne persuaded Easton to give up piracy and request a pardon. However, he observes Easton was too impatient to wait, sailing to the Barbary coast and, after witnessing the wealth and opportunity there, choosing to stay.²⁵⁵ The Jacobean period was not only a transitional time for domestic piracy, but 1609 to 1614 was

²⁴⁹ 'Letter from John Guy,' *Hakluytus Posthumus*, Vol. 19 110 – 116; D. B. Quinn, *Newfoundland from Fishery to Colony: Northwest Passages Searches* (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, 1979) 150 – 151, also see 102 - 103; Sean Thomas Cadigan, *Newfoundland & Labrador: A History* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2009) 46.

²⁵⁰ See: William Vaughan and John Mason, *Cambrensiū Caroleia* (London: 1625); *The Golden Fleece, Diuided into three Parts* (London: 1626); *The Newlander Cure* (London: 1630).

²⁵¹ Cell, 'Introduction,' *Newfoundland Discovered* 27.

²⁵² *APC 1619 – 1621* 419, also 135, 177, 185.

²⁵³ *APC 1619 – 1621* 419.

²⁵⁴ Whitbourne in Cell 113.

²⁵⁵ Whitbourne 113.

contemporaneous with the Spanish expulsions of the Moriscos, which contributed to an increase in piratical activity - and opportunity - along the Barbary coast.²⁵⁶ Further incidents involved Henry Mainwaring ‘with divers other captains’ and ‘8 sails of warlike ships’ who plundered Newfoundland over the summer of 1614, controlling the harbours ‘whereof they commanded carpenters maryners victuals munitions and all necessaries from fishing fleet’.²⁵⁷ In addition, ‘of every six maryners they take one, and the one first part of all their victuals’: on September 14th, after fourteen weeks of ‘taking their pleasure of the fishing fleet’, they left, taking ‘about 400 mariners and fishermen, many volunteers, many compelled’.²⁵⁸

The threat to settlement, therefore, was not internal – from the indigenous Boethuks – but from fellow countrymen, whether West Country fishermen, or pirates. Indeed, the land itself was imagined and promoted as conducive to settlement: Whitbourne draws similarities between the soil, air, climate, plants and animals and familiar, domestic territories. Similarly, John Mason (1620) observes the plantations in Virginia ‘are correspondent in the Winter to the temperature of *Devenshire* or *Cornewell*’.²⁵⁹ The flexibility of geohumoral discourse enabled Newfoundland – and the British Isles – to be re-situated as a temperate zone: ‘the Iland of New-found-land is large, temperate and fruitfull’.²⁶⁰ Geohumoral compatibility was

²⁵⁶ Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 151 – 153; John C. Appleby, ‘Jacobean Piracy: English Maritime Depredation in Transition, 1603 – 1625,’ *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485 – 1649*, ed. Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012) 277 - 299. Also see: the collection of essays in Kevin Ingram, ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond. Volume One: Departures and Change* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2009); Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2010).

²⁵⁷ Quoted Prowse 103.

²⁵⁸ Quoted Prowse 103.

²⁵⁹ John Mason, ‘A Briefe Discourse of the *New-found-land*,’ *Newfoundland Discovered*, ed. Cell 97. Also see: John Mason, *A Briefe Discourse of the New-found-land, with the Situation, temperature, and commodities thereof, inciting our Nation to goe forward in that hope-full plantation begunne* (Edinburgh: 1620).

²⁶⁰ Whitbourne, ‘A Discourse’ in Cell 109.

proved by domestic animals and plants thriving in the new air and soil: '[t]he Vines that came from Plimmouth, doe prosper very well'.²⁶¹

Whitbourne argued the answer to a successful colony at Newfoundland was located within the relationship between fishing and settlement.²⁶² Both had domestic benefits, addressing problems of dearth and poverty by expanding auxiliary trades, protecting and increasing the supply of affordable protein which fish provided, and giving work and opportunity to the unsettled poor and unemployed seafarers.²⁶³ However, his tract was clearly aimed at investors and supporters, rather than a potential population, promoting Newfoundland as capable of instilling a work ethic in reluctant inhabitants, one of the rare differences from Britain. This was attributed to '(the least of all other Flies) which is called a Muskeito', having 'great power and authority upon all loitering and idle people that come to the *New-found-land*'. If the 'Muskeito' should 'finde any such lying lazily, or sleeping in the Woods' they will 'seize on them', not only provoking them into labour, but 'will so brand such idle persons in their faces that they may be knowne from others as the Turkes doe their slaves'.²⁶⁴

As Games (2008) states, a world view which remained firmly orientated towards the East - 'the ancient heart of Christendom' – was evident throughout early colonial literature associated with the Americas.²⁶⁵ Whilst spatial realms of experience and the two-dimensional map shifted 'as new geographies came into view', mental mappings and imaginings were not

²⁶¹ Whitbourne 202.

²⁶² Cell, 'Introduction,' *Newfoundland Discovered* 28.

²⁶³ Cell, 'Introduction' 2, 22. Also see: Richard Eburne, *A Plaine Path-Way to Plantations [...] With certaine Motives for a present Plantation in New-found-land above the rest* (London: 1624); *By the King, A Proclamation for the Due and Speedy Execution of The Statute against Rogues, Vagabonds, Idle, and Dissolute Persons* (London: September 17th 1603).

²⁶⁴ Whitbourne in Cell 192 – 193. Also see: *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 304.

²⁶⁵ Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560 – 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 144.

rapidly reshaped to enable new experiences and circumstances to be accommodated.²⁶⁶

Despite eastern models being largely irrelevant when mapped onto the Americas, comparisons were consistently drawn with the Mediterranean regions. Along with Europe, these were familiar to the author and domestic readership.²⁶⁷ Games notes the frequent comparisons to Turks, drawing on discourses associated with Islamic worlds: for example, the Virginia Company described the Algonquin Indians as ‘infidels’ rather than ‘heathens’.²⁶⁸ Reference to Turkish slavery was used to criticise colonies: the inhabitants of the Virginia Company colony under Sir Thomas Smythe, were ‘used with more slavery then if they were under the Turke’, kept in ‘extreme misery and slavery’.²⁶⁹ In this context, Whitbourne’s reference to Turkish slavery would appeal more to investors than future inhabitants, particularly those from the maritime communities of the West Country to whom Barbary captivity and slavery would have had a particular, horrific, resonance.

Whitbourne exploits this resonance, utilising the Turk threat in the Mediterranean to situate the Newfoundland fisheries as ‘a sure and good trade to great Brittain’, as ‘trading hither and returning from thence, wee little feare the Turkes bondage and circumcision’.²⁷⁰ He diminishes any threat from the indigenous population and visiting pirates: colonies ‘shall stand in no feare to receive hurt from the Savages, so may they be easily secured against the injury of Pyrates, who sometimes come thither’. Nevertheless, there was potentially a Turkish threat to the colony, albeit located with their own mariners. As British pirates had taken

²⁶⁶ Games 144.

²⁶⁷ Games 144.

²⁶⁸ Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London, The court book, from the manuscript in the Library of Congress Vol. 1 (1620)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906) 348, cited Games 144.

²⁶⁹ April 8, 1620 in Kingsbury 334 – 335, cited Games 145.

²⁷⁰ Whitbourne in Cell 147.

‘many serviceable mariners into *Barbary* and other parts, and thereby made many a poore widdow and fatherlesse childe’, the fear was that those ‘carried from the *New-found-land*’:

seeing their estates and their families so overthrowne, may be provoked to animate the Turkes men of warre, to saile thither to take the spoyle of our Nation, and others that are yeerly fishing on that Coast (which God defend) whereby to hinder that Trade, or the desired Plantation.²⁷¹

Whitbourne notes this would be ‘easily prevented by maintaining two good ships of warre’.²⁷² However, within a few years it was apparent the Turks posed a significant risk to the Newfoundland fleet, although despite the plundering of goods and men during the initial years of settlement, there is no record of Turks attacking Newfoundland.²⁷³ Rather, the threat was situated closer to the West Country coast, causing considerable anxiety, and, from the 1620s to the 1640s, devastating losses to the fleet.

Throughout August 1625 concerns were expressed; by various local officials, including the Mayors of Bristol and Plymouth, and in petitions from the Grand Jury of Devon; for the Newfoundland fleet and other vessels returning from New England, by various local officials,²⁷⁴ The Mayor of Poole informed the Council that the *Anne* had been taken ‘8 or 9 leagues from Plymouth’, warning unless the Council acted, ‘the Newfoundland fleet of 250 sail, and having on board 4 or 5 thousand men, of the Western parts, will be surprised’.²⁷⁵ Stewart, called to account regarding the complaints from the ‘western gentlemen’, partially blamed this vulnerability on the reluctance to arm the Newfoundland fleet.²⁷⁶ Such anxiety had a spatial dimension, spreading geographically. Twelve days after Trewinnard’s reported

²⁷¹ Whitbourne 149.

²⁷² Whitbourne 149.

²⁷³ *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 239, 246.

²⁷⁴ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 79, 81, 83, 86; *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 75.

²⁷⁵ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 81; *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 75.

²⁷⁶ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 85.

sightings of Turks from St Ives on May 7th 1625, the Mayor and Bailiff of Weymouth, over 170 miles away, informed the Council: ‘Sallee men-of-war are so ordinarily lying at the Land's End, that our shipping dare not pass’.²⁷⁷ Both incoming and outgoing fleets were at risk: in spring the vessels contained supplies, whilst the ‘sack ships’ travelling to and from their markets with freight rather than fish were of considerable value.²⁷⁸ Although the Turks may not have targeted the cargo specifically, the loss of a ship was financially devastating to the merchant, investor, owner and crew, as well as their families and communities.

Newfoundland ships had been reported taken in the spring of 1625. Court’s deposition; recorded at Plymouth in May; stated a Plymouth-Newfoundland vessel was taken in March near the Scillies, whilst the Salcombe ship described by Knight and taken in April, had also been bound for Newfoundland.²⁷⁹ Further reports appeared the following year, sounding increasingly desperate. On April 28th 1626, the Mayor of Dartmouth reported ‘Sallee pirates have come into the Channel, and have taken three barks bound for Newfoundland, and probably many others’. ‘Within 12 months’, he continued, ‘these barbarians have bereaved the King of many subjects and much impoverished that part of the kingdom’.²⁸⁰ Indeed, the risk was not just to the Newfoundland fleet, the inshore and ‘deeps’ fisheries were threatened too. In August 1625 the Justices of Cornwall wrote that due to the Turks ‘[t]he inhabitants of the coast towns are deprived of their fishing’, and likely to ‘receive a far greater loss on the return of their shipping from Newfoundland’.²⁸¹ Similarly, during the shipping returns of 1626, East Looe reported ‘scarce half’ of their boats ‘are employed for want of men in regard

²⁷⁷ TNA: PRO SP 16/2, f 75; *CSPD 1625, 1626 25*.

²⁷⁸ Pope 104.

²⁷⁹ ‘Appendix 3’ in Vitkus 356 – 358; TNA: PRO SP 16/2, f 36 (1); *CSPD 1625, 1626 20*.

²⁸⁰ *CSPD 1625, 1626 320*.

²⁸¹ *CSPD 1625, 1626 82*.

there hath been taken away by the Turks' - over 60 men.²⁸² That summer, East Looe reported a loss of 80 seamen.²⁸³

Coastal protection was wholly inadequate. In September 1625 the 'distressed soldiers of Pendennis Castle' petitioned the king: whereas 'other garrisons have received, whose wants cannot be greater, nor more miserable than ours', they were 'forced to pawn our bedding and other necessities to buy bread to keep ourselves from starving'.²⁸⁴ The following July, Captain Duppa urged Nicholas to provide protection for Falmouth harbour:

which if it be not presently supplied, heer will be noe fishing, if noe fishing, then much misery & poverty in these west parts; the Turks men of warre on both sides of the mount dayly visiting their ports that noe fishermen dare goe forth.²⁸⁵

The neglect of defences for the fisheries and inhabitants provoked emotional responses from officials within the port towns. On April 26th, two days before the Mayor of Dartmouth's report, the Commissioners of Plymouth wrote to the Council from Plympton, enclosing the examination of John Rendell and John Richie, whose ship the *Christian* 'bound for Newfoundland, had been rifled by the Turks, and nine of her crew taken for slaves'.²⁸⁶ '[T]he Turks [are] infesting the coast and carrying away the subjects and their goods', they observe, 'whilst the King's ships lie still in harbour to the charge of the King and the shame of the nation'. The Commissioners requested finance: the region was hosting a large number of idle and unpaid militia and '[b]oth the soldiers and the country begin to murmer, and will shortly become dangerous'.²⁸⁷ Significantly, they draw attention to the human cost and emotional

²⁸² TNA: PRO SP 16/34, f 105; Gray, 'Turks' 464.

²⁸³ TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 36; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 83.

²⁸⁴ TNA: PRO SP 16/6, f 137. Also see: Anne Duffin, 'Defence of Cornwall in the Seventeenth Century,' *Security and Defence in South-West England Before 1800*, ed. Robert Higham (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1987) 72.

²⁸⁵ TNA: PRO SP 16/31, f 35.

²⁸⁶ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 319.

²⁸⁷ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 319. Also see: Duffin, 'Defence of Cornwall' 73 – 75.

impact of the activities of the Turks, reporting that ‘[t]he pitiful lamentation made by wives and children for their husbands, fathers, and brothers is grievous’.²⁸⁸

Bonython also bemoaned the lack of finance in November that year, reporting the ‘spoil of ships from Newfoundland by Turkish pirates’, and the ‘defenceless condition of Pendennis; not a gun mounted, nor scarcely any ammunition; the soldiers in great misery, having had no money for three years’.²⁸⁹ Earlier that year Bonython had requested a fort be built at Fowey, ‘the necessity for which is very great’.²⁹⁰ On March 14th he complained that Pendennis was ‘entirely unprovided’, with ‘not one piece of ordnance mounted’ nor ‘a pound of shot’. The previous day, six Dunkirkers had proceeded towards the harbour, stopped only by ‘the wind suddenly rising’. ‘If lost’ he warns, regarding Pendennis, ‘it would trouble the kingdom to recover it, and what shame they should suffer if five or six ships were to come in and send 200 or 300 men to burn and spoil the adjacent towns’.²⁹¹ The following month Robert Killigrew ‘Captain of Pendennis Castle’ petitioned the Council of War for repairs, stating he had been ‘a suitor for ten years for a supply for the castle and alterations in the fortifications’. Although having received £350 from the late Council, these works had ‘long since finished’. For nine years no ordnance had been mounted: at the time of writing, ‘there are not above 4 barrels of powder’. The fifty-strong garrison had gone unpaid for two years: whilst Killigrew had provided ‘some small relief’, if they ‘had not lived on limpets (a poor kind of shellfish) without bread or any other sustenance’ they would have starved.²⁹² It was suggested two

²⁸⁸ *CSPD 1625, 1626 319.*

²⁸⁹ *CSPD 1625, 1626 480.*

²⁹⁰ *CSPD 1625, 1626 282.* Also see 231.

²⁹¹ *CSPD 1625, 1626 282.*

²⁹² TNA: PRO SP 16/25, f 105; *CSPD 1625, 1626 323 – 324.*

smaller vessels be provided to protect fishermen against Turks and other pirates, but James resisted, on the grounds of it being a costly precedent.²⁹³

The economic impact from the threat to inshore and Newfoundland fishing continued into the 1630s, despite continual promises of naval protection. Indeed, impressment into the fleet designed to protect the fisheries was itself proving damaging. Ship owners petitioned the Admiralty throughout the 1630s for their crews to continue their fishing voyages to Newfoundland ‘without impressment’, or being ‘free from any press’.²⁹⁴ Occasionally crews had already been pressed, followed by petitions for their release: the press would seem particularly problematic if ships had already been ‘furnished’ for Newfoundland - victualed and crewed at great cost.²⁹⁵ As news of an impending press spread, the merchants would hurry their departures to try and leave before the Navy arrived. Warrants, linked to the ill-fated Cadiz expedition, were issued during September 1625 to the Lord Lieutenants of Dorset, Devon, Somerset and Cornwall ‘to be conducted to Plymouth with all speed’, with instructions ‘to take care that the men returning home in ships from Newfoundland do not slip away until Mat[thew] Brooke [‘Clerk of the Cheque at Portsmouth’] can come and press them’.²⁹⁶ Pressed men also protested: on July 1st 1640 the Deputy-Lieutenants of Cornwall wrote to the Lord Lieutenant regarding the problems of pressing 1600 men in Cornwall: ‘[w]e cannot sufficiently express to you the lamentable complaints of all sorts of people that are brought us for the impressing so great a number’.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ TNA: PRO SP 14/90, f 115; Hebb, *Piracy* 29.

²⁹⁴ See, for example: *CSPD 1634 – 1635* 556; *CSPD 1637 – 1638* 232, 243, 262.

²⁹⁵ *CSPD 1634 – 1635* 556.

²⁹⁶ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 103. Also see: David J. Starkey, ‘The West Country-Newfoundland Fishery and the Manning of the Royal Navy,’ *Security and Defence in South-West England*, ed. Higham 96 – 97.

²⁹⁷ *CSPD 1640* 438.

The political sensitivity of the impact upon the Newfoundland fleet is apparent within the historical record. In May 1633 deputies ‘invested with the fullest powers’ from the petitioning West Country ports were invited to London to devise solutions, but they were unable to pledge localised finance and resources.²⁹⁸ On September 12th 1633, Nicholas wrote to Pennington, advising him to urge the Council to:

quicken the victualler, and so soon as he has the provisions to proceed to the westward. Now is the time that the fishermen return from Newfoundland, and if any of them be taken by Turks it will make a great noise here.²⁹⁹

On August 17th 1634, Pennington seemed to achieve some success, reporting that since July 30th he had ‘lain, off and on’ ‘as high as the Lizard’, and encountered 5 Turkish ships: realising they were the king’s ships, the Turks ‘packed on all the sail they could and fled’. Pennington claimed he pursued them until dark, subsequently losing them, but had ‘frightened them so that they never since appeared, neither can be hear any news of them’. He comments ‘[i]t was happy for those parts’ that the fleet was present, if not, the Turks would have ‘done a great deal of spoil and made many a poor soul captive’. Before returning to the Downs, he proposes guarding the mouth of the Channel, staying ‘till towards Michaelmas, that all the Newfoundland ships are come home. By that time they shall not need to fear the coming of any more Turks this year’.³⁰⁰ Inevitably, attacks on shipping continued, accompanied by devastating economic consequences for the West Country coastal communities. At the end of September 1635, William Gourney, Mayor of Dartmouth, wrote to the Council informing them that two Newfoundland ships ‘with about 60 seamen of the town’ had been ‘taken by Turkish pirates within three leagues of the Lizard’, adding there

²⁹⁸ Plymouth and West Devon Record Office 1/360/34; 1/360/62 – 64.

²⁹⁹ *CSPD 1633 – 1634* 206.

³⁰⁰ *CSPD 1634 – 1635* 190 – 191.

were many more Turks ‘westward of Scilly’, and expressing ‘great fears for the Newfoundland ships unless the mischief likely to ensue is timely prevented’.³⁰¹

The financial consequences on the families of captives pressurised parish communities already suffering. On July 14th 1636 the Cornish JPs observed of East and West Looe, ‘the said towns are not only impoverished but by means of the wives and children of these poor captives (being above 100 persons) are so surcharged as they are likely to fall into great decay’.³⁰² Redemption costs could be high - a joint petition from the West Country ports claimed that ransoms for the captives varied from £50 - £300.³⁰³

In 1640 the Deputy-Lieutenants of Cornwall were still reporting on ‘[t]hese Turkish miscreants’, and the emotional and economic havoc they wreaked, being ‘forced to present’:

the mischief lately done on our coast by the Turkish pirates, who have fought with our ships, and taken away divers of our people at Looe, Penzance, and other places, whereof we are unable to certify the numbers.³⁰⁴

Again, ‘[t]he fishermen are afraid to put to sea, and we are forced to keep continual watches on all our coasts’.³⁰⁵ The following year, on the eve of Civil War, the familiar narrative was still being reiterated by the Mayor, ‘his brethren, the merchants, and other inhabitants of Plymouth’ whose livelihood depended ‘chiefly upon the fish trade with Newfoundland, New England, and elsewhere’, and were ‘much discouraged by the growing power of the Turks of Algiers and Sallee, who have seized many of their ships’.³⁰⁶

³⁰¹ *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 214.

³⁰² *CSPD 1636 – 1637* 60; Gray, *Early-Stuart Mariners* 67; Gray, ‘Turks’ 464 – 465; Duffin, ‘The Defence of Cornwall’ 71.

³⁰³ TNA: PRO SP 16/521, f 146.

³⁰⁴ *CSPD 1640* 438, 450.

³⁰⁵ *CSPD 1640* 438, 450.

³⁰⁶ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/113, annexed to the Main Papers.

‘[A]ffrightments and dayly terrors [...] by reason of the contynuall infesting of our Coastes by the Turkishmen of warre, or pirates of Sally’³⁰⁷

Geographies of Fear

The depredations of the Turks provoked multiple concerns with a strong geographical focus, and the first Part of this thesis has mapped these concerns, summarised by Eliot in his account of the 1625 Parliament, *Negotium Posterorum*. He reflected upon the arrival of the Turks ‘in the west parts’:

About the time of the adjournment of the Parliament from London, the Turks were growen verie infestuous to the marchants, divers ships & vessels they had taken, w[i]th a multitude of captives, drawn from them. [I]n the west parts they had made the coasts soe dangerous through their spoiles, as few dar’d putt forth of their harbors; hardlie in them was the securitie though enough.³⁰⁸

In addition to the loss of ships and disruption to trade; ‘w[hi]ch made a generall dampe on all things, commodities being not vendible wher the transportation is denied’; and concerns regarding coastal protection, there was profound fear and grief:

noe part of that countrie did stand free, noe person but was affected w[i]th that sence hereof a dailie intelligence had been given to the ministers of the State [...] w[i]th special addresses therupon to implore for some releife.³⁰⁹

To conclude this Part, the focus of this section will be on the emotional impact of Barbary captivity. Anxiety was mapped onto the West Country – in this instance Cornwall – through flows of information between centralised authority and networks of localised power. Furthermore, these anxieties engaged with historical discourses of rebellion and lawlessness;

³⁰⁷ TNA: PRO SP 16/4, f 149.

³⁰⁸ Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *An Apology for Socrates and Negotium Posterorum: by Sir John Eliot (1590 – 1632) Now for the First Time Printed: From the Author’s MSS at Port Eliot in Two Volumes*, Vol. II (Printed for Earl St Germans and Private Circulation Only, 1881) 3

³⁰⁹ Grosart 4

and contemporary ones of national wealth and security. As explored by Lefebvre (1991 [1974]), the interaction of such disparate spheres of discourse, and the social and political practices which produce them, form a sense of ‘place’, continually transformed through subsequent events and responses.³¹⁰ The ‘affrightments and dayly terrors’ which the Turks brought to the West Country allow further layers of meaning to be mapped onto the physical and emotional landscape, transforming the rebellious, semi-autonomous coastal geographies of the West Country into sites of dependency and fear. These geographies of fear were constituted through localised imaginings and lived experience, and established by an intertwining with the physically distant and seemingly discrete territories of Barbary. Furthermore, this emotional mapping was not only projected *onto* the West Country landscape, but emerged *from* it. The passions – emotions – of grief and fear were not only embodied, but intrinsically related to the physical, or natural, environment through the framework of geohumoralism. Furthermore, the ‘natural’ humoral complexion of the Cornish was ‘bold’ and ‘hardy’: both the landscape and the embodied identity of the inhabitants were transformed through the activities of the Turks.

Localised accounts of the depredations of the Turks contain frequent references to behavioural and verbal expressions of emotion. Furthermore, the frequent requests for action and protection against the Turks were suggested partially to reassure inhabitants and ease their terror. Whilst the fears of the populace are heard primarily through the voices and textual spaces of the authorities – although many in authority were of course local inhabitants - they are strikingly apparent: shock, fear and grief are repeatedly expressed from the initial appearance of Turks on the coast. Eliot highlights their shocking audacity:

they had in some parts entred even into the mouthes of the close harbors, & shewd theselves in them, & all the open roads they us’d confidentlie as their owne. [S]ome

³¹⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Donald Nicholson-Smith transl. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991 [1984, 1974]) 84, 86.

ships they had taken under the fforts & castells, nothing did deterr them, but the whole Sea seem'd theirs. [I]n Cornwall they had landed, & carried divers prisoners from the shore. [A]ll fishermen became their prey & purchase.³¹¹

The unprecedented scale and nature of these depredations exacerbated the understandable terror of the inhabitants:

the boldness & insolence of these piratts was beyond all comparison, noe former times having beene exampled w[i]th the like. [T]heir adventure formerlie on those seas was rare, almost unheard of, w[hi]ch made their comming then more strange. [T]hat being aggravated by their frequencie & number, w[hi]ch their dailie spoiles did witness, & those much heightened by their bouldness, it made a great impression on the Countrie, & possesst it w[i]th much fear, that divers alarums it receavd, w[hi]ch made divers motions in the people, who, as their manner is, fain'd or enlargd the cause after the apprehension of their fancies, w[hi]ch passing to their neighbours, still affected them w[i]th more, untill it had a generall influence throughout all even the chiefe townes & strengths not privileged or exempted.³¹²

Whilst everyday lived experiences are crucial components in the construction of place and identity, it is the extraordinary occurring within the ordinary which disturbs and reveals the everyday, transforming place and spatially constituted identities.³¹³ These unprecedented experiences provoked unfettered imaginings – ‘fancies’ – spreading fear throughout the region via the ‘divers motions in the people’, that is, excessive passions, or (*e*)*motions*.³¹⁴ According to Schoenfeldt (2004), the passions occupied ‘an unsettled status in early modern culture, at once dangerous and necessary to ethical and physical health [...] powerful affective impulses that the individual was thought to suffer’, demonstrated through the etymology of the Latin *passus*, to suffer.³¹⁵ Beliefs were conflicting: some Stoic thinkers promoted constancy, arguing the passions were a form of sickness; others regarded this view was unhealthy, leaving nothing for the ‘little kingdom’ of the self to govern.³¹⁶ Edward

³¹¹ Grosart 4.

³¹² Grosart 3 - 4

³¹³ See: Lewis Holloway and Phil Hubbard, *People and Place: The extraordinary geographies of everyday life* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001) 35 – 36.

³¹⁴ Grosart 4.

³¹⁵ Michael C. Schoenfeldt, “‘Commotion Strange’: Passion in *Paradise Lost*,’ *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, ed. Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson 46.

³¹⁶ Schoenfeldt, ‘Commotion Strange’ 51 – 53.

Reynolds (1640) deemed the views of ‘Tully [Cicero] and Seneca, and other Stoicall Philosophers’ towards the passions as ‘light and empty’:

when they call them diseases and perturbations of the Mind; which requireth in all its actions both health and serenitie, a strong and cleare judgement; both which properties, they say, are impaired by the distempers of Passion: For it is absurd to thinke, that all manner of rest is either healthfull or cleare; or on the other side, all motion diseased and troublesome: for what water more sweet than that of a Spring, or what more thick or loathsome, that that which standeth in a puddle, corrupting it selfe.³¹⁷

This line of argument promoted controlled emotion: however, despite these different schools of thought, excessive passions were considered highly dangerous. The passions, Reynolds proposed, ‘are the best Servants, but the worst Masters’: ‘Like the Winds, which being moderate, carry the Ship; but drowne it, being tempestuous’.³¹⁸ Excessive emotion was symbiotic with imbalances within the environmentally-sensitive humoral body, causing an infectious ‘climate’ of fear.³¹⁹ Indeed, a naval report of August 1625 described the arrival of the Turks as a ‘panic’ which was ‘an incurable disease in a multitude’.³²⁰

Fear spread rapidly throughout the coastal regions of the West Country, although Eliot observes the tendency of the Cornish to feign or exaggerate in the grip of their imaginings: ‘as their manner is, fain’d or enlargd the cause after the apprehension of their fancies’.³²¹ In one of the earliest reports, recorded April 18th 1625, Bagg reported the Turks were causing ‘much feare [among] such as live upon the *Cornish* coast’ [emphasis mine], urging Buckingham to dispatch a naval force to repel the pirates and reassure the inhabitants, although his request was ignored. However, in that week alone a Dartmouth ship along with 3

³¹⁷ Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (London: 1640) 59 – 60, quoted Schoenfeldt, ‘Commotion Strange’ 53.

³¹⁸ Reynolds 46; Schoenfeldt, ‘Commotion Strange’ 52.

³¹⁹ Schoenfeldt, ‘Commotion Strange’ 46.

³²⁰ TNA: PRO SP 16/375, f 12.

³²¹ Grosart 4

Cornish fishing boats were reported taken close to shore.³²² This incident therefore impacted further up the coast – possibly beyond, given the mobility and origins of West Country seafarers. Shortly afterwards, the Mayor of Weymouth reported on the ‘Sallee men-of-war’ at Land’s End, demonstrating the spatial trajectories of concern caused by the presence of the Turks, and the spatial networks of information associated with sea-faring.³²³

Such correspondence demonstrated a shift of the imagined fearful geographies of Barbary. Weymouth officials reported that the ‘Sallee men-of-war’ ‘use[d] their captives worse than they were wont to be used at Algiers’: six years previously Algiers was ‘the whip of the Christian World, the wall of the Barbarian, terror of Europe, the bridle of both Hesperias (Italy and Spaine), Scourge of the Ilands’ – now, the most feared location of captivity was Salé.³²⁴ Such ‘fancies’ were fuelled by reports direct from Barbary relating ‘strange and new devised tortures’.³²⁵

Fear linked the West Country to Barbary, but also land to sea, both considered potential sites of being ‘taken’. In 1625 the residents of St Ives were terrified Muslims would land ‘by night among us’, especially with none of the King’s fleet to ‘fear them’.³²⁶ Court’s deposition stating that ‘runnegadoes’ would ‘often saie that they would fetch the Christians from the

³²² TNA: PRO SP 16/1, f 69; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 11; *Duffin Faction* 134.

³²³ TNA: PRO SP 16/2, f 75; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 25.

³²⁴ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 25; ‘Relations of the Christianitie of Africa, and especially of Barbarie, and Algier: written by J. B. Gramaye (1619),’ *Hakluytus Posthumus; or Purchas his Pilgrims: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others* Vol. 9, Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905) 278.

³²⁵ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 81.

³²⁶ TNA: PRO SP 16/2, f 78; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 20; quoted Nabil Matar, ‘The Barbary Corsairs, King Charles I and the Civil War,’ *The Seventeenth Century*, 16 (2001): 240.

shore', had given these terrors some authenticity, a specific fear continuing into the 1630s.³²⁷

The Admiralty wrote to Captain Thomas Ketelby on May 31st 1634, informing him of:

complaints out of the west country of divers outrages lately committed in these parts by Turks and pirates, insomuch as the poor fishermen dare not put to sea, and the inhabitants are afraid of being taken in the night out of their houses.³²⁸

Ketelby was ordered to 'hasten and scour the western parts, especially between Ushant [Ouessant] the Land's End and Scilly'.³²⁹ He had been dispatched on May 17th by Pennington to do just that: however, he neglected his duty, spending his time with his crew 'putting into Plymouth Sound and other Roads'.³³⁰ In July 1636, the Cornish JPs complained of the daily presence of the Turks, reporting 'that the poor fishermen are fearful not only to go to the seas, but likewise lest these Turks should come on shore and take them out of their houses'.³³¹

This fear had, of course, been realised with the 1627 raids on Iceland and, on June 19th 1631, the Baltimore raid, led by Murat Reis.³³² Baltimore was planted with Protestants from Devon and Cornwall, probably to benefit from the pirating and smuggling trade rife on the south-west of Ireland.³³³ For eight or nine days prior to the raid, pirates were reported 'plying

³²⁷ CSPD 1625, 1626 20; 'Appendix 3' in Vitkus 358.

³²⁸ CSPD 1634 – 1635 44.

³²⁹ CSPD 1634 – 1635 45.

³³⁰ CSPD 1634 – 1635 44 – 45.

³³¹ CSPD 1636 – 1637 61.

³³² Wilson, *Pirate Utopias* 93 - 141; GhaneaBassiri 12; H. Barnaby, 'The Sack of Baltimore,' *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 74 (1969): 101 – 109.

³³³ C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast, ed., *Calendar of the State Papers, Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I, 1601 – 1608, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and Elsewhere* (London: Longman & Co., 1874) 447, 456 – 457; *Irish Patent Rolls of James I: Facsimile of the Irish Record Commission's Calendar Prepared Prior to 1830* (Great Britain: Commissioners on the Public Records of Ireland, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1966) 107 – 108; Barnaby 106 – 107; Eric Klingelhofer, 'Proto-colonial archaeology: the case of Elizabethan Ireland,' *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge*, ed. Pedro Paulo A. Funari, Martin Hall and Siân Jones (London and New York: Routledge, 1999) 174; E. J. Priestly, 'An early 17th century map of Baltimore,' *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 49 (1984): 55 – 57; R. Caulfield, *The Council Book of Kinsale* (Guildford, Surrey: J. Billings and Sons, 1879) xxxii; M. MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) 215 – 217; Theresa D. Murray, University College Cork, 'From Baltimore to Barbary: the 1631 sack of Baltimore,' *History Ireland* 14 (4) (2009), 15 April 2010, <<http://www.historyireland.com/volumes/volume14/issue4/features/?id=326>>; Mark Netzloff, *England's*

off and on near Mizen Head’, during which time ‘two excellent pilots’ from Baltimore were taken. Accompanying rumours of a Turkish fleet gathering at Land’s End, awaiting the Newfoundland ships, led Sir William Hull to complain to the Earl of Cork that ‘[i]f these pirates are not driven off trade will be ruined, and the people will be utterly unable to pay their debts’.³³⁴ Following unsuccessful requests for naval protection, at least 30 captives were reported taken from Kinsale. On June 17th, ‘Captain Matthew Rice [Murat Reis] a Dutch renegado’ with two ships and 280 men, ‘took a ship of Falmouth off the Land’s End, rifled her, took the crew of master and nine men prisoners, and sunk her’. June 19th saw two Dungarvan vessels taken, with the masters, John Hackett and Thomas Carew, and a five-strong crew from each: Hackett ‘steered [Reis] to Baltimore saying that Kinsale was too hot for them’. The raid occurred that night.³³⁵ The delay in correspondence is poignant, as preliminary sightings of the Turks and requests for action arrived in London from June 21st onwards. The requested protection was under the command of Captain Hooke: however, Hooke and his crew had endured ten months unpaid, and were struggling to victual their ship. Hooke was held responsible for the raid going ahead: ‘if he had even cruised about he would have frightened off the Turks,’ the Earl of Cork informed Lord Dorchester, ‘As he is under your special favour I trust you will admonish him’.³³⁶ Although reports of those slain and numbers taken varied in the immediate aftermath, on July 10th a list of the 107 taken was sent by the Lords Justices to the Council, with the terrifying news the corsairs were ‘now hovering off the coast, their crews consisting of several different nations’.³³⁷ ‘This even is absolutely

Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism (Hants: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) 87.

³³⁴ Robert Pentland Mahaffy, ed., *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Charles I. 1625 – 1632* (London: Eyre Spottiswoode, 1900) 616.

³³⁵ *CSP Ireland, 1625 – 1632* 617.

³³⁶ *CSP Ireland, 1625 – 1632* 616 – 618.

³³⁷ *CSP Ireland, 1625 – 1632* 618.

without precedent, even in time of war', the Justices wrote, 'It is a grave loss to the King, but besides, it is an insult to his honour'.³³⁸

Fitz-Geffry's highly emotive account of the raid vividly describing the shock, fear and grief the inhabitants must have experienced, in order to stir the 'natural' compassion and microcosmic sympathies of his congregation - and later, his readership – towards their fellow Christians in captivity. In doing so, he demonstrates the early modern links between compassion and remembrance, to be explored in the second Part of this thesis. Here, he emphasises that the Baltimore captives included Cornish Protestant settlers, linking the geographies of the West Country, the west of Ireland, and Barbary:

Can we forget that *Tragicall transportation* of our brethren from *Baltamore* into that *Babilon, Barbary*? All of them *English*, most of them *Cornish*, suddenly surprized in the silence of the night. They dreaded no disaster, they supposed themselves safe, they went to bed and laied themselves downe (as they hoped) to sleepe in safty. When suddenly their houses were broken up, they haled out of their beds, the husband, wife and children every one fast bound, carried away in three or fowre howres, and afterward so seperated as not suffered to meet againe, but every one left to lament others misery as well as his owne. It was not with them in that night as the judge faith it shall be at his comming [Luk. 17.34] *Two in one bed, the one taken and the other left*; but two or three in one bed, *Father, Mother, Child*, seaven or more in an house all taken and not one left. What heart at this houre bleedes not at the remembrance of that nights Tragedy? The wife calls on her husband to helpe her. How can he help his Other selfe who cannot help his owne selfe?³³⁹

As highlighted earlier, Fitz-Geffry powerfully incorporates fears of the supernatural into his account by linking such beings; 'bug-beares'; with the Turks, representing them as able to appear at the bedsides of whole families and spirit them away in the night. Echoing the sentiments the Cornish JPs expressed to the monarch four months earlier, that the fear was so great local fishermen would risk their lives and lose their boats by running them onto rocks rather than be taken by Turks, Fitz-Geffry continues:

Some lost their lives fighting (but in vaine) to save their wives and children, herein happy that death prevented in them those miseries which theirs, surviving to greater sorrows doe endure. For of the two, better it is to fall by the hands, then into the

³³⁸ *CSP Ireland, 1625 – 1632* 618.

³³⁹ Fitz-Geffry 46.

hands of those *Tyrannous Turkes*, whose saving is worse then slaying, who, if they grant life, it is but to prolong grieffe.³⁴⁰

Attempting to persuade his congregation and readership to donate towards ransoming captives, relief for their families, and aid for those returning from ‘*a most grievous kinde of calamity*’, Fitz-Geffry was also aiming to deter sea-farers who may be drawn to Islam – and stir the authorities into action.³⁴¹ Similarly, the fearful imaginings within localised correspondence to the Council, were undoubtedly genuine, but deliberately emphasised to provoke action. For example, in August 1625 the Plymouth authorities warned if no action was taken ‘the whole country will have cause to rue it’, and the Mayor of Poole cautioned the Council to consider the protection of the Newfoundland fleet, ‘being about two hundred and fiftye saile of shippe’ with ‘foure or five thousand men belonging to the westerne parte’.³⁴² ‘[W]ithin this two yeares’, he continued, ‘They will not leave his most excellent Majesty saylors to man his ffleet’.³⁴³

Indeed, depopulation, whether through being taken, or due to the desertion of settlements, was an issue of concern. Geographical mobility and dislocation were inherent to captivity, with captives taken seaward: however, local inhabitants retreated inland, refusing to go to sea, or leaving their coastal communities altogether. On June 23rd 1628 Francis Bassett reported the Sorling Islands [the Isles of Scilly] were under continual threat, causing ‘the women and inserviceable people [to] daily quit the place’, whilst Fowey in 1631 was ‘so decayed in shipping mariners, fishermen, and all sorts of people living by trade, being spoiled

³⁴⁰ Fitz-Geffry 46 – 47. For the Cornish JPs, see: *CSPD 1636 – 1637* 60 – 61.

³⁴¹ Fitz-Geffry 3.

³⁴² Mayor of Plymouth’s complaint, *CSPD 1625, 1626* 79; Mayor of Poole, TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 24; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 81; also quoted Matar, ‘Barbary Corsairs’ 240.

³⁴³ TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 24; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 81; also quoted Matar, ‘Barbary Corsairs’ 240.

by Turks and pirates that many people have abandoned the town and gone to other places to seek a living'.³⁴⁴

Fear therefore caused both paralysis and flight, understood as pathological imbalances within the humoral body, generated by excessive 'motions' and uncontrolled imaginings. Related to an excess of black bile; melancholy; constriction and paralysis were linked to grief, loss and anxiety: in this sense such emotions were a form of captivity, or 'bondage', themselves.³⁴⁵ This is demonstrated in Eliot's humoral language, with his observation that the Turks 'made a great impression on the Countrie, & *possesst it w[i]th much fear*' [emphasis mine].³⁴⁶ 'Impression' was related to imagination and memory: too great an 'impression' was pathological. Memories and images were literally imprinted – or impressed – within the hindmost brain ventricle understood as devoted to memory. This ventricle had to be slightly drier than the others in order for memories to adhere: if too moist, an individual would be forgetful, but if too dry – which happened in cases of melancholy – the individual would be unable to recollect or think about little else, as the image or concept would literally become stuck in the memory.³⁴⁷ The disturbed 'motions' of the humors related to fearful imaginings were entwined with grief: the faculties became grossly impaired, darkened and clogged with heavy, black, melancholic humor. This corrupted and overstimulated the imagination, producing groundless fears and hallucinations.³⁴⁸ Indeed, sorrow in bereavement was cited as

³⁴⁴ TNA: PRO SP 16/98, f 5; Gray, 'Turks' 467; John Keast, *The Book of Fowey* (Bucks: Barracuda Books, 1987) 33; Charles Thomas, *Exploration of a Drowned Landscape* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1985) 61 – 62.

³⁴⁵ Jeremy Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England* (Hants: Ashgate Publishing, 2007) 44 - 45. Also see: David Gentilcore, 'The fear of disease and the disease of fear,' *Fear in early modern society*, ed. William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) 184 – 208.

³⁴⁶ Grosart 3 - 4

³⁴⁷ Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting In English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 8.

³⁴⁸ See: Timothy Bright, *A Treatise on Melancholie: Containing the Causes thereof, & Reasons of the Strange Effects it Worketh in our Minds and Bodies* (London: 1586); Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*

the primary cause of pathological melancholy.³⁴⁹ Eliot observes during ‘that Summer, at least, twelve hundred christians’ had been taken, the loss provoking:

great lamentation w[i]th their fri[e]nds. [T]his man bewayled his sons, that his ffather, another his brother, a fourth his servant, & the like; husbands and wives, w[i]th all relations els[e] of nature & civilitie did complaine.³⁵⁰

The ‘great lamentations’ of the West Country population in response to their collective and personal losses is often commented on within official documents. On August 3rd 1625, the authorities in Plymouth informed Secretary Conway of ‘lamentable complaints received from the captives in Sallee to the number of 800, under the barbarous cruelty of the Moors’.³⁵¹ Three days later Hutton, forwarded the Devon petition, commenting, ‘[t]he lamentable outcries of the wives of those who have been taken by the Turks, and the pitiful complaints of others, would move any Christian heart’.³⁵² The following April, the Plymouth Commissioners observed the ‘pitiful lamentation of the wives and children for their husbands [and] fathers is grievous’.³⁵³

Whilst understandable, these lamentations could be viewed as highly problematic by the authorities. Collective grief was potentially socially dangerous and volatile, compounded by pathological humors.³⁵⁴ Melancholy could develop into madness, and grief itself could also be fatal. As Macdonald (1981) documents, in London during the early 17th century, an

(London: 1621); Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson (New York: New York Review Books, 2001, [1621]); Angus Gowland, ‘The Problem of Early Modern Melancholy,’ *Past & Present* 191 (2006): 77 – 120; Bridget Gellert Lyons, *Voices of Melancholy: literary treatments of melancholy in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), and her ‘The Iconography of Melancholy in the Graveyard Scene of *Hamlet*,’ *Studies in Philology* 67 (1) (1970): 57 – 66; Schmidt.

³⁴⁹ Burton, ed. Jackson 1.2: 211.

³⁵⁰ Grosart 4.

³⁵¹ *CSPD 1625, 1626* 79.

³⁵² *CSPD 1625, 1626* 81.

³⁵³ TNA: PRO SP 16/25, f 71; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 319.

³⁵⁴ Naphy and Roberts, ‘Introduction,’ *Fear in early modern society* 2.

average of fourteen deaths a year were attributed to ‘grief’: Lafew, in *All’s Well That Ends Well* (c. 1605), observes: ‘Moderate Lamentation is the right of the dead; excessive grief, the enemy to the living’ (1.1.51).³⁵⁵ Marotti (2007) highlights how the shift from Catholic to Protestant culture instigated a shift towards a mistrust of the expression of grief, particularly communal displays of mourning: rituals were replaced with elegies, published sermons, treatises, and private ‘offstage’ emotion.³⁵⁶ New understandings and practices to manage loss, grief and sorrow were sought: processions, monuments, brasses and funeral sermons.³⁵⁷ Whilst ritualised grief was considered ‘effeminate, ‘popish,’ and antithetical to the Protestant national ideal of ‘Englishness’, lamentations were viewed as primitive: associated with pre-Christian practices articulated via medieval Catholicism.³⁵⁸ Goodland (2007) argues that whilst Protestantism allayed fears of eternal punishment through erasing the concept of purgatory, predestination did not necessarily bring certainty and reassurance.³⁵⁹ The living – or, in the context of Barbary captivity, those left behind:

were left to cope with a new sense of impotence for their grief was no longer shaped by rituals directed towards the well-being of the dead. Instead, grief became a way to measure the moral strength and inner virtue of the living [...] On the one hand sorrow was considered natural, an expected, even obligatory response to the loss of a loved one. On the other hand, sorrow could be excessive, self-indulgent, and construed as contrary to faith because it was believed to stem from doubt about the resurrection.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁵ Quoted Katharine Goodland, ‘Inverting the Pietà in Shakespeare’s *King Lear*,’ *Marian Moments in Early Modern British Drama*, ed. Regina Buccola and Lisa Hopkins (Hants: Ashgate, 2007) 52; Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: The English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990) 7; Michael Macdonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 182.

³⁵⁶ Arthur F. Marotti, ‘Foreword,’ *Marian Moments*, ed. Buccola and Hopkins xvii.

³⁵⁷ Goodland, ‘Inverting the Pietà’ 52.

³⁵⁸ Goodland 50 - 52, quote 50.

³⁵⁹ Goodland 47 – 74; also see: Naphy and Roberts, ‘Introduction’ 3.

³⁶⁰ Goodland 52.

This profound sense of loss was compounded by uncertainty as to the fate of captives. However, death was presented as preferable to captivity, whilst the physical freedoms of apostasy were heretical, condemning the eternal soul.

The increasing preoccupation with mutability during this period was intensified by practices of exchange and cross-cultural contact occurring within multiple and shifting environments, and, in this context, the uncertain and unsettled mobility of captives – an anxious form of mobility explored in more depth in the third Part of this thesis. Lacking location, the primary spaces associated with the captive were ships, harbours, port towns, *bagnios* and the sea itself: sites of dislocation - liminal geographies marked with uncertainty and anxiety.³⁶¹ Captives were associated with the mutability of fortune, when unexpected disaster could occur at any time. '[O]fte sodaine chaunging of time, is cause of sicknesse':

Nothing is more changeable than time: and therefore no thing is more perillous to the body. For as Hippocrates sayeth: The changing of time gendereth most evills. For sodayne chaunging of colde into heate, chaungeth and appayreth [wastes] bodyes.³⁶²

To manage uncertainty and fear, explanations and reassurance were sought in terms of divine providence, 'God's will': a defining generic convention of captivity narratives.³⁶³

Despite framing mutability within the concept of divine providence, uncertainty was directly linked to 'anxiety', conceptually situated between 'hope' and 'fear'.³⁶⁴ George Wither's *Collection of Emblemes* (1635) contains an image of a smoking heart positioned

³⁶¹ Jamal Eddine Benhayoun, *Narration, navigation, and colonialism: a critical account of seventeenth- and eighteenth- century English narratives of adventure and captivity* (Brussels, Belgium: Peter Lang, 2006) 157.

³⁶² Stephen Batman, *Batman uppon Bartholome* (London: 1582) 9.2 quoted David Houston Wood, *Time, Narrative, and Emotion in Early Modern England* (Hants: Ashgate, 2009) 1. Also see: Jonathan Dollimore, *Death, Desire and Loss in Western Culture* (London: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 1998) 59 – 70.

³⁶³ Naphy and Roberts, 'Introduction,' *Fear in early modern society* 4.

³⁶⁴ William J. Bouwsma, 'Anxiety and the Formation of Early Modern Culture,' *After the Reformation: Essays in Honor of J. H. Hexter*, ed. Barbara C. Malament (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980) 218; Naphy and Roberts, 'Introduction' 2.

between the symbol of fear; a bow and arrow pointed at the heart; and the symbol of hope; an anchor; accompanied by the motto ‘Speqve metvqve pavet’ ([The heart] is tormented between hope and fear). ‘Where strong Desires are entertain’d,/ The Heart ’twixt Hope, and Feare, is pain’d’, declares the legend.³⁶⁵ Wither argues fear can be a protective mechanism, whilst hope can provoke despair:

A Groundlesse-Hope, makes entrance for Despaire,
A Causelesse Feare, doth Reasons force impair,
And, terrifies the Soule, in doubtfull wayes.
Yet, quite neglect them not; for, *Hope* repells
That *Griefe* sometimes, which would our Hearts oppresse.
And, *Feare* is otherwise the *Sentinell*
Which rouzeth us from dang’rous Carelesnesse.
Thus, *Both* are good: but *Both* are Plagues to such,
Who either *fondly feare*, or *Hope too much*.³⁶⁶

Anxiety, therefore, is constituted through uncertainty, unsettledness and fluctuation.³⁶⁷

Bouwsma (1980) notes medieval *anxietas* signified ‘a vague weariness or distress of the heart’, related closely to monastic *acedia*, a complex listlessness associated with keeping a solitary life for spiritual reasons, residing between debility and flight from duty; and *tristitia*, a ‘depressing sorrow’.³⁶⁸ Johnson (2009) notes ‘anxiety’ appears with frequency around 1612; including variant forms ‘anxietude’ and ‘anxiferous’. Rooted in the Latin ‘*anxietas*’; to choke, strangle, tighten; this late usage is probably due to ‘anxiety’ being articulated through

³⁶⁵ George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (London: 1635) 39; William W. E. Slights, *The Heart in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 56 – 57.

³⁶⁶ Wither 39; Slights 57 - 58.

³⁶⁷ Wither 39; Slights 55, 58.

³⁶⁸ Bouwsma 217; Robert S. Kinsman, ‘Introduction,’ *The Darker Vision of the Renaissance: Beyond the Fields of Reason*, ed. Kinsman (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press) 14.

humoral language: the mind described as ‘troubled’ or ‘strangled’.³⁶⁹ Elisha Coles (1677) simply defined anxiety as ‘grief of mind’.³⁷⁰

To conclude the first Part of this thesis, place is a site and product of continual processes of negotiation and struggle between a plurality of narratives, practices, representations and activities, both embodied and embedded. From here, spatially-based identity emerges.³⁷¹ Neither space nor identity is stable: constituted through change, mobility and flux.³⁷² Mapping Barbary captivity associated with the ‘western parts’ shifts the coastal geographies of rebellion and lawlessness into landscapes of fear, vulnerability and anxiety. These can be read as ‘fearscapes’, where the presence of bodies and identities marked as threatening transform sites of security and belonging into geographies of fear.³⁷³ In considering how ‘space’ becomes ‘place’, this materiality is produced through ‘flows of power and negotiations of social relations’.³⁷⁴ Place is space which is named - where meaning is ascribed - a transformation which can be achieved through the ‘symbolic and imaginary investments of a population’.³⁷⁵ A locale can be constituted by human emotion and feeling.³⁷⁶ Tuan (1977) states ‘[e]motion tints all human experience’: certainly, whilst identity can be

³⁶⁹ Laurie Johnson, ‘“Nobler in the mind”: the emergence of early modern anxiety,’ *Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association*, Special Issue (2009): 141 – 156.

³⁷⁰ Elisha Coles, *An English dictionary explaining the difficult terms that are used in divinity, husbandry, physick, philosophy, law, navigation, mathematicks, and other arts and science* (London: 1677).

³⁷¹ Michael Keith and Steve Pile, ‘Introduction Part 2: The place of politics,’ *Place and the Politics of Identity*, ed. Keith and Pile (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) 24.

³⁷² Erica Carter, James Donald and Judith Squires, ‘Introduction,’ *Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location*, ed. Carter, Donald and Squires (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1993) x.

³⁷³ Sam Okoth Opondo, ‘Fearscapes/Securescapes: Urban Anxieties, Securities and the Domestic Scene,’ King’s College, London, 21 April 2011, <<http://backdoorbroadcasting.net/>>.

³⁷⁴ Carter, Donald and Squires, ‘Introduction,’ *Space and Place* xii.

³⁷⁵ Carter, Donald and Squires, ‘Introduction’ xii.

³⁷⁶ Holloway and Hubbard 7.

communicated through notions of tradition and community, it can also be understood through anxieties and fears provoked by dislocation, loss and uncertainty.³⁷⁷

The responses of the authorities and the populace to the Turks were complex. Occasionally overlapping, often conflicting, responses were informed by a network of knowledges and practices, ranging from contemporary economic opportunities to medieval understandings of Islam: producing ambivalent and unstable representations of ‘the Turk’. Barbary captivity itself was an issue of political and diplomatic sensitivity, with shifting national and international allegiances complicating the mutual piracy and captive taking between Catholic, Muslim and Protestant states.

Whilst some accounts of being ‘taken’ are dubious, subsequently unfounded or exaggerated, what is apparent is that captives were taken in numbers which had a profound economic and emotional impact upon the West Country. The perceived lack of effective protection of communities, including seafarers, and decisive action against the Turks produced heightened feelings of isolation, dislocation and despair within the region – and for those ‘forgotten’ captives in Barbary. These forgotten casualties of Barbary captivity – the West Country communities and the absent captives – also serves to foreground the theme of memory, to be discussed in the next Part of this thesis.

³⁷⁷ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977) 8.

**The Shaping of ‘West Barbary’:
The Re/construction of Identity and West Country Barbary Captivity
Volume 2 of 2**

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Part II: Remembering and Forgetting

‘Remember what thou enduredst in Algiers’¹

Reading Memory into Barbary Captivity

On a fundamental level, the relationship between representation and memory is one which produces meaning and enables cultural systems to develop.² Certainly, analysis of representations of Barbary captivity demonstrates how they actively engage with this cultural terrain of memory from which they emerge. This is a multifaceted terrain: memory manifests within spatial practice and material culture, as a theme, motif, neural process and discursive construct. The understandings of memory, and associated practices and experiences, are historically and culturally specific: furthermore, perceptions of the past can be interpreted within the context of the present in which they are formed. In particular, the material cultures and spatial practices through which memory becomes visible allow a cultural history of memory to be mapped over time and space. However, memory is also that which Bal (2002) describes as a ‘travelling concept’.³ Memory moves between historical periods, disciplines

¹ William Okeley, ‘The Preface,’ *Eben-ezer: Or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley, John Anthony, William Adams, John Jephys, John – Carpenter, From the Miserable Slavery of Algiers with the wonderful Means of their Escape in a Boat of Canvas* (London: 1675) B3^v. Also see: ‘William Okeley, *Ebenezer; or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley (1675)*,’ *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. Daniel J. Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) 124 – 192.

² Dena Elisabeth Eber and Arthur G. Neal, ‘Memory, Constructed Reality, and Artistic Truth,’ *Memory and Representation: Constructing Truths and Competing Realities*, ed. Eber and Neal (Madison, WI: Popular Press, 2001) 3.

³ Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001) 3; Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide* (Buffalo, London and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002) 24. Also see: Anne Whitehead, *Memory* (Oxford: Routledge, 2009).

and scholars, and cultural and geographical landscapes. Over the course of this journey, it changes meaning, application, reach and value, and further sites emerge through this interaction.⁴ Reading memory into representations of Barbary captivity involves visiting the contextual sites of memory whilst also engaging with these sites of interaction, in order to discern cultural meaning.

Many scholars have explored relevant aspects of memory relevant to this thesis, demonstrating the plurality of the field: memory as a humoral process and an ‘art’ (*ars memorativa*, or *memoria*); the role of memory practices in forging national, religious and individual identities; and the poetics, representations and spaces of memory.⁵ Furthermore, Hiscock (2011) has located ‘the absolute centrality of the *question* of memory in early modern Britain’s cultural life’ [emphasis mine], which suggests both the primacy and negotiated status of memory theory and practice during this period.⁶ The cultural terrain of memory was undergoing change: *memoria* displaced by print culture, whilst the construction

⁴ Bal, *Travelling Concepts* 24. Also see: Whitehead 3 – 4.

⁵ Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Penguin, 1978 [1966]); David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells, National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989) and his ‘National Memory in Early Modern England,’ *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton, New Jersey and Chichester, West Sussex: Princeton University Press, 1994) 61 – 73; Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996 [1990]) and her ‘How to Make a Composition: Memory-Craft in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages,’ *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (Bronx, New York: Fordham University Press, 2010) 15 - 29; Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory* and his *Archaeologies of English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting In English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Evelyn Tribble, ‘“The Chain of Memory”: Distributed Cognition in Early Modern England,’ *Scan: Journal of media arts culture*, 2 (2005), 19 Nov. 2011, <http://scan.net.au/scan/journal/display.php?journal_id=53>; John Sutton, ‘Spongy Brains and Material Memories,’ *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 14 – 34; Mary C. Fuller, *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage: English Narratives in the Age of Expansion* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) and ‘The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe,’ *Memory*, ed. Radstone and Schwarz 30 – 40; Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Andrew Hiscock, *Reading Memory in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁶ Hiscock, *Reading Memory* i. Also see: Yates.

of new identities and the histories to support them took primacy over knowledge retention and retrieval.⁷

Representations and practices of Barbary captivity were inevitably part of this new landscape. Therefore, it is important to give an overview of this shifting terrain of memory, before examining the ways in which Barbary captivity engages with it.

Memory and Post-Reformation Identities

The cultural products of memory and spatial practices of remembering underpinned discourses concerning national religious identity within post-Reformation Britain. For example, the role and practices of remembering the dead underwent significant change, stemming from Protestant denial of the ‘half-way house’ of purgatory, exacerbating anxieties regarding death and dying as it erased the ‘lifeline to the dying and a sense of purpose to the bereaved’.⁸ This initiated new ways to manage death and remember the dead. Pre-Reformation, the dead were part of the community, with an on-going relationship with the living. Daily mass and prayers were undertaken for their souls; they were interred close to or inside the church; chantries were founded in which they were remembered through prayer; and charitable endowments enabled objects such as a light for a saint or a window to serve as a reminder of their existence.⁹ The abolition of intercession and indulgences, and the silencing of liturgies of remembrance and masses for the repose of the soul, shattered the

⁷ Sherlock, ‘The Reformation of Memory,’ *Memory*, ed. Radstone and Schwarz 30 – 40.

⁸ Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1988 [1984]) 40.

⁹ Madeline Gray, *The Protestant Reformation: Belief, Tradition and Practice* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2003) 187; Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting* 4. Also see: Nicolas Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 39; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400 – 1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005[1992]) 455.

traditional relationship of communication and exchange between the dead and the living. Pious intervention from the living was rendered meaningless.¹⁰ The Calvinist doctrine of predestination, asserting only God could decide who was saved ('[w]e must leave to God alone the knowledge of his church, whose foundation is his secret election') meant that Christ, rather than saints, was responsible for salvation: the soul's eternal fate was sealed at death.¹¹ Moral lives and good deeds did not guarantee paradise, and the good Calvinist should not assume they were amongst 'the elect' – issues of intense uncertainty and anxiety.¹² Protestants therefore developed new forms of memory practice emphasising the instructive potential of virtuous lives and deaths, seeking signs of being God's elect within past narratives of both the living and the dead.¹³ Such practices informed identity, not only for individuals and their families, but for communities and emerging conceptions of nationhood. In the context of Barbary captivity, the survival and safe return of Protestant Britons from amongst those of other religions and ethnicities enabled narratives to access and foreground a 'chosen' status, through a framework of divine providence, discussed in the initial sections of this Part of the thesis, 'Remembered Texts' and 'Memorialising Barbary Captivity'.

Walsham (1999) identifies the Protestant preoccupation with providence as being partly rooted within the erasure of all intermediaries between God and the soul, resulting in an utter dependence upon God's mercy.¹⁴ Reformist theology emphasised God's absolute sovereignty and the depravity of humankind, with the universe ordered in an unknowable divine plan

¹⁰ Gittings 40; Michael Neill, *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 38; Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Ghosts, Kin and Progeny: Some Features of family Life in Early Modern France,' *Daedalus*, 106 (2) (1977): 94 – 95.

¹¹ Quote: John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion. A New Translation, by Henry Beveridge Esq.* (London: 1599) 4.1.2. Also see: Gittings 40; Neill 38; Sherlock, *Monuments* 110, 126 – 127.

¹² Gittings 40.

¹³ Neill 39; Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997 [1991]) 28; Sherlock, *Monuments* 113.

¹⁴ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 8 - 9.

within which humans were powerless.¹⁵ Disasters and misfortunes could therefore be explained through this framework. Personal tribulations were a test of faith or punishment for previous transgressions, whilst natural disasters were viewed as signs of divine anger, responded to by prayer and fasting. Deliverances were also part of God's plan.¹⁶ Such beliefs were not just those of strict Calvinists: as Walsham has demonstrated, divine providence saturated cheap, popular pamphlets, sermons and ballads 'in exhaustive detail and with wearisome frequency'.¹⁷ Cressy (1994) highlights the widespread internalisation of providential understanding through religious and political networks of power, such as ministers and magistrates, being a point of doctrine '[r]eiterated in every town and parish, and reinforced by annual ritual commemoration': 'the story of English Protestant deliverances provided one of the distinctive ligaments of national political culture'.¹⁸ Barbary captivity narratives contributed to this discourse, imbued with authority through patronage, with providence authenticating the assertion of Anglo-Protestant identity.

Therefore, celebratory and didactic forms of remembering were not just confined to funerary practices and associated spaces. Cressy (1989) highlights how time itself contributed to building a post-Reformation national identity: time was marked in the present with events from the past, based upon and giving expression to 'a mythic and patriotic sense of national identity'.¹⁹ Initially this was a 'de-festivalised' calendar, expunged of late medieval Catholicism, marked instead by anniversaries of recent historical events centred upon the

¹⁵ Walsham, *Providence* 9.

¹⁶ Susan Doran and Christopher Durston, *Princes, Pastors and People: The Church and Religion in England, 1500 – 1689* (London: Routledge, 2003 [1991]) 93.

¹⁷ Walsham, *Providence* quote 9; Doran and Durston 94. Also see: Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550 – 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500 – 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹⁸ Cressy, 'National Memory,' *Commemorations*, ed. Gillis 71.

¹⁹ Cressy, *Bonfires* ix.

Protestant monarch: an important method of proclaiming and disseminating Anglo-Protestantism, linking parishes through networks of celebration.²⁰ Cressy notes how these events strived to operate ‘as a unifying force, binding the nation to the ruling dynasty and securing it through an inspiring providential interpretation of English history’.²¹

The split from Rome heralded an interest in the historical past, largely driven by the desire to demonstrate Protestantism was restoring an ancient faith present in the British Isles prior to the 7th century, and the mission of Augustine, sent by Pope Gregory the Great.²² Indeed, Parry (1995) locates the development of the antiquarian movement in Britain at a point of intersection between Reformation anxieties regarding national-religious ancestry and identity, and Renaissance scholarship making available classical historical and geographical works.²³ This rise in antiquarianism during the 16th and 17th centuries can be seen as responding to a need to produce new post-Reformation identities required to map a religious tradition independent of Rome, and an alternative lineage to that of Troy. Furthermore, saving antiquities from oblivion, recording and cataloguing artefacts and textual material culture, and producing topographies which situated the landscape as a memory text, were driven by the very visible products of the 1536 – 1540 dissolution of the monasteries: the ‘gaunt ruins’ which haunted the landscape.²⁴

²⁰ Cressy, *Bonfires* xii.

²¹ Cressy, *Bonfires* ix. Also see: Rudolph Chris Hassel, Jr., *Renaissance Drama and the English Church Year* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

²² Alexandra Walsham, ‘Richard Carew and English Topography,’ *The Survey of Cornwall – Richard Carew*, ed. John Chynoweth, Nicolas Orme and Walsham (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series Volume 47: 2004) 18; Parry, *Trophies* 2.

²³ Parry, *Trophies* 2. Also see: Walsham, ‘Richard Carew’ 19.

²⁴ See: Parry, *Trophies* 210; Walsham, ‘Richard Carew’ 17 – 18; Paul Connerton, ‘Cultural Memory,’ *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley et al. (London: Sage, 2006) 318; Schwyzer, *Archaeologies*; Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape*; J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents A. D. 1485 – 1603, With An Historical Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930 [1922]) 50 – 92.

However, creating a new national-religious landscape was not without contradiction or contention: Schwyzer (2004) explores opposing imaginings of national space centred upon a debate concerning what constituted the ‘beauties of the land’.²⁵ Whilst Robert Aske, leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace, located this beauty in the abbeys and monasteries, the Protestant polemicist John Bale envisaged it in the ancient illuminated manuscripts of their libraries: ‘[i]n classic Protestant manner, Bale sought to replace the false shows and spectacles of Catholicism with the truth of texts’.²⁶ Rather than Aske’s abbeys and monasteries, however, historical memory and material texts became the dominant space for national imaginings.²⁷ Contradictions were also inherent within this attempt to homogenise the national landscape, as antiquarianism simultaneously draws attention to the diversity and complexity of localised histories across time.²⁸

The first two sections in this Part of the thesis will examine the ways in which ‘public-facing’ narratives of Barbary captivity engage with memory, and how they contribute toward the construction of Anglo-Protestant identity. It is important to note, however, that this is a *developing*, or *emerging*, national consciousness: as Schwyzer observes, ‘not the nation *per se* as much as the nation *in potentia*’.²⁹ The construction of national identity through 16th and 17th memory practices can also be seen as a process of negotiation between competing ‘British’ and ‘English’ nationalisms, vague, flexible and often interchangeable terms which raise issues and create identities neither resolved nor clearly defined to the present day. To attempt to unpick the different strands of discourse involved in these identities is a complex process beyond the scope of this thesis. As Greenfield (2002) states, commenting on the

²⁵ Schwyzer, *Literature* 49 – 75.

²⁶ Schwyzer, *Literature* 70.

²⁷ Schwyzer, *Literature* 70.

²⁸ Schwyzer, *Literature* 66; Parry, *Trophies* 2.

²⁹ Schwyzer, *Literature* 9.

conflicting views of scholars in locating the beginnings of English nationalism, '[o]ne cannot develop a precise chronology of nationalism because the nation is a shifty, insubstantial entity, a narrative or a structure of feeling rather than an institution'.³⁰ Furthermore, as Schwyzer (2002) notes, the 'facts' of old British history are primarily 'fictions', such as the settlement by the Trojan Brutus or Merlin's prophecies, which contributed to the neglect of British history until the 1990s.³¹ This problematic status has particular resonance when considering a cultural history of Cornwall, which still occupies a marginal space within new British history.

Nevertheless, broadly speaking, it would appear the desire for nationhood in the earlier part of the 16th century drew inspiration from a British history, gradually giving way to an English nationalism emerging as dominant in the 17th century. Schwyzer (2004) locates the impulse for a *British* nationalism within the Tudor period, serving not only the needs of the post-Reformation state and church, but the need to remember and recapture the past. 'The animating spirit of British nationalism', he observes, was 'the sense of nostalgia'.³² This was a yearning for an irrecoverable past 'that was unified and comprehensible, unlike the incoherent divided present'.³³ However, as Chedgzoy (2004) notes, by the end of the 16th century the misrecognition of England as an island, subsuming Scotland and Wales – and

³⁰ Matthew Greenfield, 'Henry IV: metatheatrical Britain,' *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. David Baker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 79 – 80, f.n. 2. Greenfield borrows the phrase 'structure of feeling' from Raymond Williams, *Politics and Letters*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1979) 168.

³¹ Philip Schwyzer, 'British history and 'The British history': the same old story?' *British Identities*, ed. Baker and Maley 11.

³² Schwyzer, *Literature* 10.

³³ David Lowenthal, 'Nostalgia Tells It Like It Wasn't,' *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia*, ed. Christopher Shaw and Malcolm Chase (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989) 29, quoted Schwyzer, *Literature* 74.

homogenising Cornwall – becomes apparent.³⁴ This preoccupation with creating one island, ‘the one island fixation, embellished with an imperial flourish’, according to Davies (2000), became entrenched within English political consciousness, producing a longstanding vague understanding of the geography of the British Isles, impacting on material conditions and lived experience.³⁵ Depicting England as an island enabled the state to be constructed as a sovereign nation and bounded geographical space, whilst highlighting the problematic relationship between contemporary British and English nationalisms: profoundly different yet not disparate from one another.³⁶ A tension can be discerned between what Chedgzoy describes as ‘the wishfulness of this English imagining of geopolitical integrity and security’ and the continuation of powerful local, regional, national cultural and political loyalties and identities throughout the island referred to as ‘England’.³⁷ Whilst Helgerson (1992) may be accurate in his observation that ‘[t]o men born in the 1550s and 1560s, things English came to matter with a special intensity both because England itself mattered more than it had and because other sources of identity and cultural authority mattered less’, it is important not to negate – or forget - the continuing presence of those ‘other’ loyalties and sources of identity.³⁸ It is within the memory processes and negotiations of this emerging national consciousness that representations of West Country Barbary captivity can be situated.

³⁴ Kate Chedgzoy, ‘This Pleasant and Sceptred Isle: Insular Fantasies of National Identity in Anne Dowriche’s *The French Historie* and William Shakespeare’s *Richard II*,’ *Archipelagic Identities: Literature and Identity in the Atlantic Archipelago, 1550 – 1800*, ed. Philip Schwyzer and Simon Meador (Hants: Ashgate, 2004) 25 – 42.

³⁵ Norman Davies, *The Isles: A History* (Oxford: Pan Macmillan, 2000 [1999]) xxix, quoted Chedgzoy, ‘This Pleasant and Sceptred Isle,’ *Archipelagic Identities*, ed. Schwyzer and Meador 26, 28. Also see: Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012 [1989]) 43.

³⁶ Chedgzoy 26.

³⁷ Chedgzoy 28.

³⁸ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992) 3. Also see: Christopher Ivic, ‘Mapping British identities: *Speed*’s Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine,’ *British Identities*, ed. Baker and Maley 135.

Memory and Forgetting

The cultural primacy placed upon preserving the past, and the products and practices of remembrance, inevitably brings into focus ‘forgetting’, producing a tension which this Part of the thesis will explore. The early modern period was, according to Ivic and Williams (2004), ‘a culture whose hegemonic order exhibited anxieties over the decay of memory’ and therefore ‘should pathologize forgetting’.³⁹ Indeed, the emphasis within Reformed doctrine on a constant awareness of covenant theology and God’s commandments situated forgetting as sinful.⁴⁰ Similarly, within the classical art of *memoria* and humanist learning, forgetting could be spiritually damaging. Trained techniques were used to ‘impress’ images and retain knowledge within a spatialized concept of memory: ‘forgetting’ was thus a technical error, due to insufficient impressment. Accurate memory was due to clear images, and properly marked routes to them. Poor recollection meant the ‘eye of the mind’ was not seeing clearly, or looking in the wrong place.⁴¹ Augustinian theology stated God could only be reached by journeying through, and beyond, memory: forgetting would prevent the individual from experiencing the grace of God.⁴² Indeed, within this tradition the destruction of certain visual imagery during the Reformations was considered to be a form of forgetting.⁴³

³⁹ Christopher Ivic and Grant Williams, ‘Introduction: sites of forgetting in early modern English literature and culture,’ *Forgetting in Early Modern English Literature and Culture: Lethe’s legacies*, ed. Ivic and Williams (London: Routledge, 2004) 4.

⁴⁰ Ivic and Williams, ‘Introduction’ 4. Also see: David A. Weir, *Early New England: A Covenanted Society* (Michigan and Cambridge, UK: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005) 15 – 23; Mark Dever, *Richard Sibbes: Puritanism and Calvinism in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2006 [2000]) 109 – 134.

⁴¹ Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 62; Harald Weinrich, *Lethe: the art and critique of forgetting* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2004 [1997]) 39 – 41.

⁴² Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 62, 193, 199. Also see: Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2012 [1988]).

⁴³ Yates 11; Susanne KÜchler, ‘The Place of Memory,’ *The Art of Forgetting*, ed. Adrian Forty and KÜchler (Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 1999) 53.

Humoral memory was also somatic and spatial. As highlighted in the Introduction, the mind was located within fluid-filled ventricles in the brain where sensory input converged; ‘common sense’; with the influential tradition of ‘Cell Doctrine’ situating processes such as memory and imagination within specific ventricles.⁴⁴ Humoral processes enabled the build-up memory imprints within these sites, and their recollection.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the humoral constitution of the brain was cold and moist, thus the hindmost ventricle attributed to memory needed to be slightly drier to imprint and fix memory inscriptions: too moist and recollection would be problematic.⁴⁶ As *The Touchstone of Complexions* states:

But they that have moyste spirits [...] either by the nature of the region or quality of the ayre where they dwell, are quicke and ready conceivers of any thing, but not long retaining the same in memory [...] like very moist and soft waxe, that will not easily take any print or forme.⁴⁷

Therefore, ‘forgetting’ could be pathologized as a humoral imbalance, or as characteristic of geohumoral disposition.⁴⁸ For example, Sullivan (2004) explores the relationship between forgetfulness and the pathological condition of ‘lethargy’. Marked by sluggishness, an overwhelming desire to sleep, and forgetting, lethargy was located within the ventricle where memory resides.⁴⁹ It was associated with an excess of phlegm: ‘a moyste and veraye colde

⁴⁴ Paul W. Glimcher, *Decisions, Uncertainty, and the Brain: The Science of Neuroeconomics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003) 13 – 16; Edwin Clarke, Kenneth Dewhurst and Michael Jeffrey Aminoff, *An Illustrated History of Brain Function. Imaging the Brain from Antiquity to the Present* (San Francisco, CA: Norman Publishing, 1996) 3 – 6, 8 – 53, 82; Mark F. Bear, Barry W. Connors, and Michael A. Paradiso, *Neuroscience: Exploring the Brain* (Baltimore and Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2007) 5 - 6.

⁴⁵ Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., ‘Lethargic corporeality on and off the early modern stage,’ *Forgetting*, ed. Ivic and Williams 41 – 43.

⁴⁶ Sutton, ‘Spongy Brains,’ *Environment and Embodiment*, ed. Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan, Jr. 14 – 34; Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting* 149, f.n. 30; Sullivan, Jr., ‘Lethargic corporeality,’ *Forgetting*, ed. Ivic and Williams 42 - 43

⁴⁷ Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (London: 1576) 25 – 6.

⁴⁸ Sullivan, Jr., ‘Lethargic corporeality’41.

⁴⁹ Sullivan, Jr., ‘Lethargic corporeality’ 41 – 52.

humour wasshyng the brayne'.⁵⁰ Such excess impeded the animal spirits within the humors of the brain, rendering the ventricle so moist it struggled to install memory images.⁵¹ Memory also interacted with other somatic states, with age, gender, environment and humoral complexion capable of influencing the ability to imprint memory images, or recollect them.⁵² Northerners were cold and moist, thus naturally phlegmatic, exacerbating forgetfulness.⁵³ As island dwellers, the British also internalised their watery surrounds into this moist complexion, making their humoral bodies excessively porous, highly impressionable and subject to lunar influences, with a profoundly spongy brain. Whilst this enabled sharp perception and the ability to rapidly absorb information, the brain was not stable enough to retain it, particularly in moral matters.⁵⁴ These variables made the art of *memoria* highly important, offering protection against the changeable external environment and the fickle internal humors.⁵⁵ Memory processes, therefore, were not merely internal and cerebral: rather, they occurred across both body and environment.⁵⁶

Within this schema, excessive recollection could also be pathologized. Melancholy dried the brain, rendering the imagination arid with certain impressions becoming stuck to the exclusion of others, resulting in a dangerous rumination upon that image, also evident within

⁵⁰ Thomas Eliot [Elyot], *Bibliotheca Eliotae: Eliotes Dictionarie, by Thomas Cooper the Third Tyme Corrected* (London: 1559 [1550, 1552]) quoted Sullivan Jr., 'Lethargic corporeality' 42 - 43. First published as *The Dictionary of Syr T. Eliot, knyght* (1538), with two further editions in 1542 and 1545.

⁵¹ Sullivan, Jr., 'Lethargic corporeality' 42 - 43.

⁵² Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting* 8 - 9.

⁵³ Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting* 8 - 9, 149, f.n. 30; Sullivan, Jr., 'Lethargic corporeality' 41 - 52.

⁵⁴ Sutton, 'Spongy Brains' 15 - 18; also see: John Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces: Descartes to Connectionism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 119 - 156.

⁵⁵ Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting* 8 - 9.

⁵⁶ Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting* 11.

lovesickness and bereavement.⁵⁷ Recollection and forgetting were therefore not oppositional within humoral discourse: a phlegmatic temperament resulted in an enhanced capacity to absorb information but not retain it; a melancholic disposition allowed for the secure retention of certain knowledge, but to the detriment of other forms, and in a way which necessarily leads to forgetting the world and possibly losing reason. Indeed, the Spanish natural philosopher Juan Huarte, in his *Examen de ingenious* (1575) – translated by the Cornish antiquary Carew as *Examination of Men's Wits* (1594) – placed *understanding* (associated with humoral dryness) and *memory* (associated with humoral moistness) in opposition to one another. However, this contradicted Aristotelian thought, which allowed for both memory and understanding simultaneously and therefore was deleted from Huarte's second edition.⁵⁸

The co-existence of retaining and recollecting imprints with forgetting – etymologically meaning to lose a grip on – was an on-going and precarious process of balance.⁵⁹ Humoral memory needed to record information and make it available for retrieval, but also remain accessible for new impressions.⁶⁰ Sutton (2007) examines this process: '[t]he idea of a "spongy brain"', he observes, 'was barely metaphorical'.⁶¹ Rather, it described theories of brain function and structure involving networks of hollow spaces through which fluids could flow, transporting the animal spirits around the brain.⁶² From the 1580s, sponges were

⁵⁷ Noga Arikha, *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humors* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007) 166; Weinrich 46 – 49.

⁵⁸ Weinrich 49 – 50; Richard Carew, *Examination of Men's Wits* (London: 1594).

⁵⁹ Roberto Cubelli, 'A new taxonomy of memory and forgetting,' *Forgetting*, ed. Sergio Della Sala (New York and Hove, East Sussex: Psychology Press, 2010) 35.

⁶⁰ Sutton, 'Spongy Brains' 17; Peter Stallybrass, et al., 'Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England,' *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55 (2004): 413.

⁶¹ Sutton, 'Spongy Brains' 18.

⁶² Sutton, 'Spongy Brains' 18.

increasingly used to wipe the erasable and reusable pages of table-books.⁶³ Sutton draws parallels between brain and sponge, illustrating the constant flux of humoral memory and the seemingly contradictory properties necessary to keep it functioning, as the sponge could retain and yield, absorb and efface.⁶⁴

Forgetting, therefore, can be re-orientated. Rather than simply being considered in undesirable, pathological terms of malfunction and loss within a hierarchical binary with remembering or recollection, forgetting plays a crucial role within physiological and cultural memory.⁶⁵ Forgetting gives shape to that which is remembered, akin to the cultural concept of *ma*, or ‘interval’: the gaps, silences and pauses necessary for meaning, and thus of equal substance.⁶⁶ Such an approach de-pathologizes forgetting: according to the cognitive scientist Cubelli (2010) the reciprocity of recollection and forgetting situates an *absence* of forgetting as pathological.⁶⁷ This concept of memory is useful when considering the discrepancy between the amount of private-facing, localised reports regarding Barbary captivity, not impressed upon the cultural memory, and those within the public domain: in this context, that which is remembered. Furthermore, the ‘remembered’ events within autobiographical accounts of Barbary captivity articulate generic identities, indicating a silencing and ‘forgetting’ of other identities and events, given the complexities and plurality of cross-cultural interaction. This is in order to construct – or reconstruct – and maintain identity.⁶⁸ In

⁶³ Stallybrass, et al., ‘Hamlet’s Tables’ 379 – 419.

⁶⁴ Sutton, ‘Spongy Brains’ 18 – 23.

⁶⁵ Cubelli, ‘A new taxonomy,’ *Forgetting*, ed. Sala 35 – 48.

⁶⁶ Roland Barthes, *The Preparation of the Novel* (New York and Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2011 [2003]) 26 – 27, 55 – 58. Also see: Alan Fletcher, *The Art of Looking Sideways* (London: Phaidon, 2001) 369 – 370.

⁶⁷ Cubelli, ‘A new taxonomy’ 36. Also see: Jay Winter, ‘Thinking about silence,’ *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Efrat Ben-Ze’ev, Ruth Ginio and Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 3.

⁶⁸ Celia B. Harris, John Sutton and Amanda J. Barnier, ‘Autobiographical forgetting, social forgetting, and situated forgetting: Forgetting in context,’ *Forgetting*, ed. Sala 253 – 284.

a broad sense, representations of Barbary captivity can be situated within a complexity of memory relations between ‘forgetting’ and ‘remembering’. Reading through these relations destabilizes the notion of a fixed, remembered identity, revealing ‘other’ narratives and identities, located within different frameworks of forgetting.

Forgetting is thus neither homogenous nor passive, rather, it can be considered as plural, nuanced, and textured, understood as an active *process*. For example, Anderson (2001) has identified active inhibitory processes which operate within traumatic forgetting, *traumatic amnesia*, preventing disruption to everyday activities, enabling individuals to function in the present.⁶⁹ In this sense, forgetting actively contributes to constructing and maintaining identity. Connerton (2006), discussing the work of Barnes (1947) on genealogies, identifies forgetting as part of a process through which new memories and identities can be constructed via a set of collusionary and cumulative silences. If these silences are ‘remembered’ or filled, identity within the present could be disturbed. Barnes terms this process *structural amnesia*, in which only links considered socially important get recorded and thus remembered. Structural amnesia challenges the idea that forgetting involves only a loss: rather, it signifies more of a gain in terms of forming and maintaining new identities. Applied more widely, this type of forgetting – for example, of previous relationships, actions, events and affiliations - can create shared identities within both the present and the future. In the context of this thesis these identities are national-religious. Uncovering, or ‘remembering’ silences – such as religious conversion – could therefore have far-reaching implications.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Michael C. Anderson, ‘Active Forgetting: Evidence for Functional Inhibition as a Source of Memory Failure,’ *Trauma and Cognitive Science: A Meeting of Minds, Science, and Human Experience*, ed. Jennifer J. Freyd and Anne P. DePrince (New York: The Haworth Press, 2001) 185 – 210.

⁷⁰ Connerton, ‘Cultural Memory,’ *Material Culture*, ed. Tilley et al. 318 – 321; John A. Barnes, ‘The collection of genealogies,’ *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 5 (1947): 48 – 55. Also see: John A. Barnes, ‘Postscript: structural amnesia (1947: 52 – 3),’ ed. Barnes, *Models and Interpretations: Selected Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 227 – 229.

Connerton (2006, 2011) identifies a further form of forgetting, *repressive erasure*, described by the exiled Czech writer Kundera (1978): ‘the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting’.⁷¹ Repressive erasure need not be violent or brutal, but can be covertly encrypted into spaces and practices: a form of editing out or erasing certain narratives, whilst emphasising and promoting others.⁷² Such a cultural politics of memory reaches across public, private and sacred spaces. For example, Hallam and Hockey (2001) explore material preservation and display associated with bereavement and loss, practices generated by centralised authority and their localised networks during the early modern period.⁷³ Memory is sustained through the social visibility of material objects: however, these are displayed and their meanings foregrounded at the expense of others which may be hidden, destroyed or decayed. Hallam and Hockey highlight how these memory relations inform strategies encoded within death rituals, observed through the interplay between that which is made visible and preserved, and that which is buried and left to decay.⁷⁴

The following sections will therefore locate representations of Barbary captivity within this tension between memory as retention and recollection, and memory as forgetting, through several interlinked themes. Memorialising and remembering Barbary captivity involves a memory tension incorporating erasure and forgetting, and the first two sections explore how this tension contributes to the negotiation and construction of religious and national identity. The following five sections examine the redemption- and memory-related

⁷¹ Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, transl. Aaron Asher (London: HarperCollins, 1996 [1978, 1979, 1980, 1985]) 4, quoted Connerton, ‘Cultural Memory’ 321 and Paul Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 41.

⁷² Connerton, ‘Cultural Memory’ 321; Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning* 41 – 45.

⁷³ Hallam and Hockey 8 – 9.

⁷⁴ Hallam and Hockey 9.

activities of petitioning, charity and bodily compassion, and the increasing unease concerning the failure of these activities and the ‘forgotten bodies’ of the Barbary captives in the period leading up to the Civil War. The final section highlights the role of memory in articulating the emotional impact of captivity. Forgetting is also associated with the silences associated with shame, humiliation and trauma, an area considered in the last section of this Part of the thesis. A collusive silence can occur through collective shame: even a *desire* to forget can result in the same effect as genuine forgetting. Whilst forgetting is not necessarily equivalent to silence, silence can be a response to things beyond expression and the reach of language and memory, facilitated by a desire to forget in order to survive, evident within traumatic amnesia.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the silences of trauma and shame can speak loudly.⁷⁶ As this last section explores, Barbary captivity can be seen to incorporate these experiences of shame and trauma, albeit couched within contemporary religious discourse and its framework of divine providence.

⁷⁵ Connerton, ‘Cultural Memory’ 322; Anderson ‘Active Forgetting,’ *Trauma and Cognitive Science*, ed. Freyd and DePrince 185 – 210.

⁷⁶ See: Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996) and Cathy Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995); Kim Etherington, ed., *Trauma, the Body and Transformation: A Narrative Inquiry* (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2004 [2003]).

Representing Barbary Captivity ‘for God’s glory, our country’s honour, the good example of other, our own deliverance, and [...] our everlasting memory’⁷⁷

Remembered Texts

The tension between erasure and permanence underpins the process of representing Barbary captivity to a public audience during the period. For example, published ballads, narratives, sermons and news pamphlets offered accounts of captivity in a seemingly more enduring way than their representational origins in oral or manuscript form. However, print media could also be ephemeral: not imagined for archives or to be incorporated into collections of notable events or persons, such as Hakluyt (1598 – 1600), or Fuller’s ‘Worthies’ (1662).⁷⁸ Ironically, perhaps, one account intended to be more permanent than other forms is the micro-narrative inscribed upon the 1636 memorial in Cornwall’s Truro Cathedral to Owen Phippen, yet it is barely legible, and not accessible to the public. Nevertheless, however temporary or long-term these public-facing accounts were intended or proved to be, remembering and representing Barbary captivity participates in an emergent, and subsequently enduring, nationalist discourse, articulating a specific Anglo-Protestant identity.

William Okeley’s reminder to himself; ‘*Remember what thou enduredst in Algiers*’; appears in the preface of his captivity narrative, an account which engages with memory on multiple levels. Whilst every captivity narrative necessarily evokes issues of memory,

⁷⁷ ‘Of other’ meaning ‘to others’. ‘John Rawlins, *The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol, Called the Exchange, from the Turkish Pirates of Argier (1622)*,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 114.

⁷⁸ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: 1662). Fuller, *Remembering* 4 – 5; Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, transl. Arthur Goldhammer, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007 [2005]) vii.

Okeley, held captive from 1639 – 1644, was published over thirty years after the events it describes. The decision to publish was partially, he claims, as a renewed reminder and commemoration of being chosen for God’s mercy:

I do here *Erect my Ebenezer*, as *A Small Monument of great Mercy*, and as an Obligation upon my Soul to *great Duty*, [...] that it may stand as an *Abiding witness* for God in *my Conscience* [...] When I am tempted to distrust, I may encourage my Faith from my own Narrative, saying *Remember that God who delivered thee at the sea*: when I am tempted to murmur [complain], I may suppress those mutinous thoughts from my own Narrative, saying, *Remember what thou enduredst in Algiers*.⁷⁹

Okeley escaped with four others, including the anonymous ‘John [the] Carpenter’, who is thus simultaneously celebrated and erased within the text, and William Adams, from Paignton, a Devon fishing village, ‘who, since his Captivity, had learnt and used the Trade of a Bricklayer [...] a Slave eleven Years’.⁸⁰ Besides Okeley’s text, Prince’s *Worthies of Devon* (1701) celebrates and remembers the ‘deliverance’ or ‘our’ William Adams, concluding:

A most bold adventure; and for his share therein, this our country-man, William Adams, ought to be recorded [...] William Adams lived many years after this; followed the sea still, became master of a ship in divers voyages; and was a very honest sensible man.⁸¹

Memorialised in life, he also is in death:

He died in the year of our Lord God, 1687, and his body so like to be buried in the sea and to feed fishes, lies buried in Paynton church-yard, about four miles east of Totnes; where it feasteth worms.⁸²

Adams thus becomes part of international, national and localised memory practices. The captives received relief and safe passage home at Mayork [Majorca]: the inhabitants were ‘so affected’ by their tale:

⁷⁹ Okeley, ‘The Preface,’ *Eben-ezer* B4^f.

⁸⁰ Okeley *Eben-ezer* 45.

⁸¹ John Prince, *Danmonii Orientales Illustres: or, the Worthies of Devon [...]by John Prince Vicar of Berry Pomeroy, in the same County* (London, Plymouth and Exeter, 1810 [1701]) 9 - 10.

⁸² Prince, *Danmonii Orientales Illustres* 10.

they fetched this canvas boat, and hung it up, as a monument of a most wonderful deliverance, in their great church there. Mr. Robert Hales, who was there 1671, says, he saw the naked ribs and skeliton of it, hanging still in the same place.⁸³

Prince's account drew on Okeley's. Okeley himself was assured by Hales personally that the boat was still there, and:

Mr. *Thomas Saunders*, my Wife's Brother, being in *Mayork* not long after we came from thence, saw our Boat hang up for a *Monument* upon the side of the great Church.⁸⁴

Indeed, he had also heard there were 'more Boats hanging up in *Mayork*, in Memory of *some such like escape*'.⁸⁵ News of this memorialisation prompted him to write the narrative, as:

I should be much ashamed of my self, if Strangers *unconcerned* in my Personal Deliverances, should be *so far concerned* as to preserve a Memorial of them, and yet *unthankful* I should Erect *no Standard or Pillar* as an Evidence of Gods wonderful appearing for me.⁸⁶

Okeley states he delayed publishing his account, primarily due to returning during the Civil War, but also until he could 'prevail with a friend to teach it to speak a little better English'.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the passage of time and 'deliverances from eminent dangers since that great one' had enabled Okeley to realise the significance of his narrative, and the importance of identifying God's intervention within their escape.

Addressing his reader in the mnemonic and rousing style of a sermon, Okeley continues:

When my Heart goes cold, and unthankful, I may chide, and shame it, from my own Narrative, into gratitude to God; That God, *who remembred us in our low Estate; for his mercy endureth for ever!* who preserved us at *the Sea, the Great Sea; for his mercy endureth for ever!* and secured us in *a Boat, a Contemptible Boat, for his mercy endureth for ever!* who gave us favour in the Eyes of *Strangers, for his mercy endureth for ever!* and opened to us the hearts of *Enemies; for his mercy endureth for ever!* and taught us to look up to his *never failing Mercy, when Friends failed, for his mercy endureth for ever!* who returned us safe to *England, for his mercy*

⁸³ Prince 10.

⁸⁴ Okeley, 'The Preface,' *Eben-ezer* B4^v.

⁸⁵ Okeley B4^v.

⁸⁶ Okeley B4^v.

⁸⁷ Okeley B3^v.

*endureth for ever! we called upon him in the day of our Trouble, he delivered us, and we will glorifie him.*⁸⁸

As Hunt (2010) explores, Protestantism was a ‘sermon-centred model of ministry’, whether in verbal or published form preaching was central to the Reformation project of ‘planting and establishing the key doctrines of the Protestant faith in a population deeply imbued with Catholic beliefs and stubbornly resistant to change’.⁸⁹ Whilst the printed text was unable to replicate the impact on the passions of the spoken word, such texts incorporated features indicative of their origins or subsequent role within oral dissemination.⁹⁰ Recalling sermons had become the spiritual duty of Protestants – resulting in both clergy and laity seeking new, Reformed spaces, structures and support for memory. ‘Breaking and dividing’ a text into headings and subheadings, or the strategic use of marginalia or typographical tables, were just such ‘scaffolding’ of memory.⁹¹ Okeley’s text incorporates this tradition, with frontispiece images, the title condensing the narrative, and the use of sections, summaries, poetry, italic emphasis and repetition. Dramatic and vivid events are described which serve to memorably illustrate aspects of Reformed theology and distinguish Anglo-Protestants from others. Importantly, the call to ‘remember’ in the early modern context - ‘*[r]emember what thou enduredst in Algiers*’ - did not merely mean recollecting the past, but addressed responses to present circumstances to shape future behaviour and actions.⁹²

The 1670s were also a difficult time for Puritan spirituality to which Okeley had adhered when he was taken captive, with only brief respites in persecution until the 1689 Toleration

⁸⁸ Okeley B4^f.

⁸⁹ Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590 – 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 15, 19.

⁹⁰ Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* 12, 15, 19 – 21, 117 – 186. Also see: Tribble.

⁹¹ Tribble; Sutton, ‘Spongy Brains’ 23 – 24.

⁹² Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting* 9 – 11.

Act, which still contained inherent restrictions.⁹³ This post-Restoration status led to a marked increase in spiritual autobiographies, and certainly Okeley's narrative participates in this discourse.⁹⁴ Okeley's relationship with God involved soul searching, evoked within the content, style and stated motives of the narrative.⁹⁵ During a period when religious doubt and despair was rife and could develop into religious melancholy, there was a huge amount of literature of consolidation addressing and discussing this condition.⁹⁶ Divine providence was a crucial facet of this discourse. John Downname, the Puritan minister, in his *Consolations of the Afflicted* (1613) advised the only way to prevent 'bursting out into murmuring and repining, or from sinking into desperate sorrow and deepe despair' was to embrace divine grace, and mortify earthly sorrows 'with spirituall joy, and meeke submission of our will to the pleasure of God'.⁹⁷ Submitting to God's will is a common motif of captivity narratives. For example, Richard Hasleton (1595), describing himself as 'an English Lutheran', tells how he 'yielded myself to the will of Almighty God' to endure his slavery on the Turkish galleys whilst sick and starved – physically weak but spiritually strong.⁹⁸ In between two episodes of captivity in Algiers, Hasleton becomes imprisoned by the Inquisition in Majorca, an episode at the centre of his narrative.⁹⁹ Despite interrogation and torture on the rack he refuses to

⁹³ See: Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and The Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

⁹⁴ See: Dewey D. Wallace, ed., *The Spirituality of the Later English Puritans* (Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1987).

⁹⁵ Roy Porter, 'Introduction,' *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 3; Jeremy Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England* (Hants: Ashgate Publishing, 2007) 47 – 82.

⁹⁶ Schmidt 61.

⁹⁷ John Downname, *Consolations of the Afflicted: or, The Third Part of the Christian Warfare* (London: 1613) 1.v3-10:61 – 81, quoted Schmidt 57.

⁹⁸ 'Richard Hasleton, *Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton ... in his Ten Years' Travails in Many Foreign Countries (1595)*,' *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 76.

⁹⁹ Hasleton in Vitkus 76 – 87. Also see: John F. Chuchiak IV, ed. and transl., *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536 – 1820: A Documentary History* (Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 2012) 257, 344.

‘yield and confess the faith of the Church of Rome’, informing his captors that ‘[i]f it were the will of God that I should end my life under their cruel hands, I must be content, but, if it please Him, He is able to deliver me, if there were ten thousands against me’.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, Fox (1589), held captive as a galley slave in Alexandria between 1563 and 1577, states that when the Turks first surrounded his ship the captain put the company:

in mind also that if it were God’s pleasure to give them into their enemies’ hands, it was not they that ought to show one unpleasant look or countenance there against but to take it patiently [...] to put themselves under His mercy. And again, if it were His mind and good will to show His mighty power by them, if their enemies were ten times so many, they were not able to stand in their hands.¹⁰¹

Theologically, suffering and despair was conceptualised as a stage of the soul turning towards Christ, and a trial to bring faith and hope.¹⁰² Accordingly, Rawlins (1622) states: ‘God’s trials were gentle purgations, and these crosses were but to cleanse the dross from the gold and bring us out of the fire again, more clear and lovely’.¹⁰³ This framework enabled captivity narratives to function as a mnemonic, to counter religious melancholy, teach others and explain the protagonist’s sufferings.¹⁰⁴ Okeley urges his audience to ‘[[l]earn from this Narrative to trust, and in all thy ways to acknowledge God, who by the most contemptible means, can effect the most considerable things’; Rawlins describes his narrative as ‘a true and certain discourse: apply it, make use of it, and put it to thy heart for thy comfort. It teacheth he acknowledgement of a powerful, provident, and merciful God’.¹⁰⁵ This

¹⁰⁰ Hasleton in Vitkus 84.

¹⁰¹ ‘John Fox, “The Worthy Enterprise of John Fox, in Delivering 266 Christians Out of the Captivity of the Turks,” in Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589),’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 59.

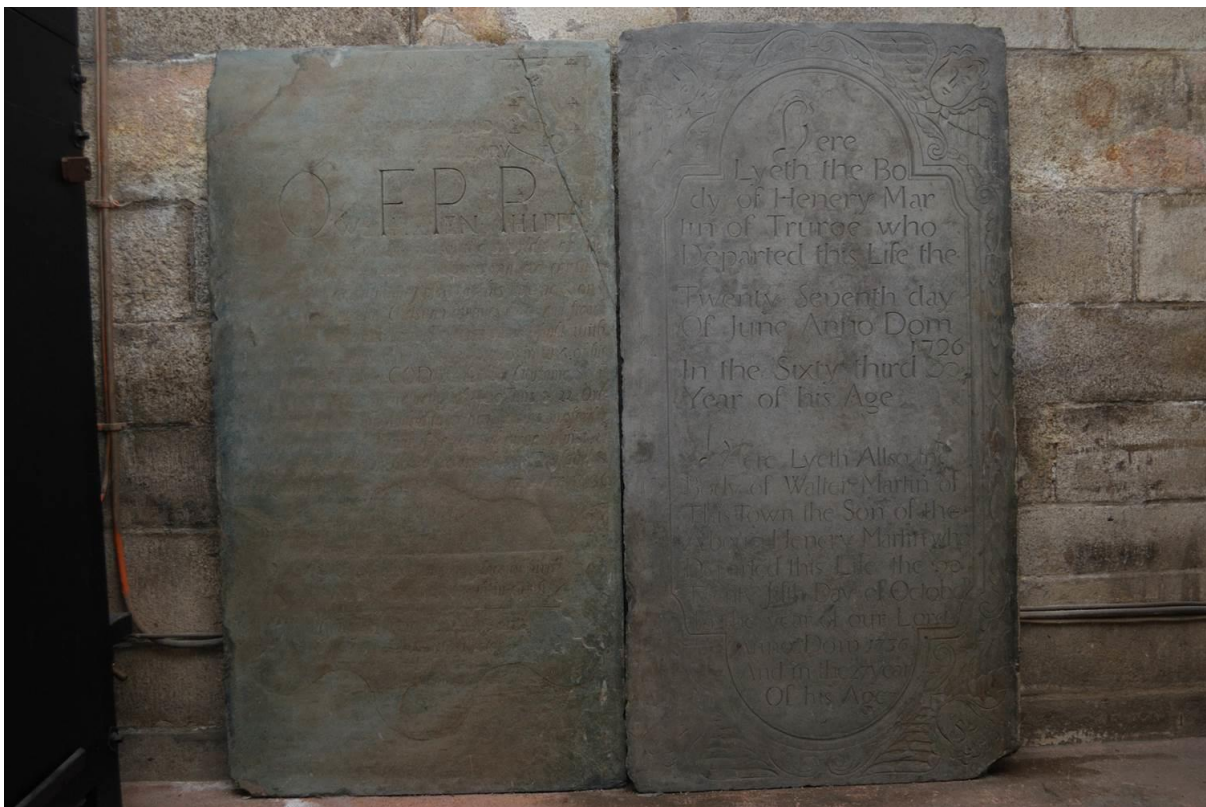
¹⁰² Schmidt 58.

¹⁰³ Rawlins in Vitkus 102.

¹⁰⁴ See: John O’Brien ‘Beginnings and Trauma,’ and Timothy Chesters, ‘Divine Trauma,’ *Trauma, Fiction, History Seminar Series: Trauma and the Early Modern*, Royal Holloway University of London, 24 November 2010, 1 Sept. 2011, <<http://backdoorbroadcasting.net/2010/11/trauma-and-the-early-modern-1/>>; Alden T. Vaughan and Edward W. Clark, ‘Cups of Common Calamity: Puritan Captivity Narratives as Literature and History,’ *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption 1676 – 1724*, ed. Vaughan and Clark (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981) 5.

¹⁰⁵ Okeley, ‘The Preface,’ *Eben-ezer* A4^r; Rawlins in Vitkus 119.

relationship between suffering and faith was not solely a feature of Puritanism, but emphasised by Reformation theologians, such as Luther and Calvin, rooted in the works of the early Church.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, John Foxe’s collection of Protestant martyrologies, *Acts and Monuments* (1570 [1563]), placed in every church, was thus hugely influential in constructing and articulating an Anglo-Protestant identity.¹⁰⁷ Foxe’s ‘monuments’ were accounts of Protestant suffering, reminders of those who had maintained the ‘true’ church, as opposed to the ‘false’ church of Rome.¹⁰⁸



The Phippen memorial (left), currently held in the basement of Truro Cathedral.

With thanks to Murray Smith, Truro Cathedral, and Dr Robin Lehman, for kindly photographing the memorial. © Jo Esra

¹⁰⁶ Schmidt 58.

¹⁰⁷ Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005 [2003]) 481.

¹⁰⁸ John N. King, ‘Religious Writing,’ *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500 – 1600*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 112; Colin Burrow, ‘The sixteenth century,’ in Kinney 18. Also see: John N. King, ed., *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs Select Narratives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

These themes can be read into the Phippen memorial, dedicated to a Dorset merchant held captive in Algiers, which draws on ‘remembrance’ to construct individual and communal Protestant identity. Commissioned by his brother George; Puritan rector of Truro and Lamorran; the memorial was erected in the north chancel of Truro’s St Mary’s in 1636. The inscription, written in English but framed in Latin, includes a heraldic shield and a micro-narrative of Owen’s capture, escape and return:

Doxa en ffisois theo [Glory to God in the Highest]

To the pious and well deserved memory of Owen Fitz-Pen alias Phippen, who travelled over many parts of the world, and on the 24 Mar. 1620, was taken by the Turks and made a captive in Argier. He projected sundry plots for his liberty, and on the 17 June 1627, with 10 other Christian captives, dutch and french, (persuaded by his counsel and courage,) he began a cruel fight with 65 Turks, in their own ship, which lasted three hours, in which 5 of his company were slain, yet God made him captain, and so he brought the ship into Cartagena, being of 400 tons, and 22 ord. The King sent for him to Madrid, to see him; he was proffered a captains place, and the King’s favour, if he would turn papist, which he refused. He sold all for £6000, returned to England, and died at Lamorran 17 March 1636.

Melcombe in Dorset was his place of birth,

Age 54, and here lies Earth in Earth.

George Fitz-Pen alias Phippen, ipsuis frater et hujus ecclesiae rector, H. M. P. [his brother and rector of this church].¹⁰⁹

The inscription conforms to the generic conventions of captivity narratives - which construct and memorialise a particular national-religious identity.¹¹⁰ These include resistance to religious conversion despite torture or temptation (‘he was proffered a captain’s place, and the King’s favour, if he would turn papist’), leadership and acts of heroism, especially in contrast with others of different faiths and ethnicities (‘he began a cruel fight’, ‘persuaded by

¹⁰⁹ The memorial’s inscription and significance was little known amongst Cathedral staff – even those who had been working there over 15 years. With thanks to Murray Smith, Verger at Truro Cathedral for allowing me access to the memorial, and for it to be photographed by Dr. Robin Lehman, in addition to sharing sources regarding the old Parish Church of St. Mary’s, George Phippen and the building of the Cathedral.

¹¹⁰ For the captivity narrative as a genre, see: Vitkus, ed. *Piracy*; G. A. Starr, ‘Escape from Barbary: a seventeenth-century genre,’ *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 29 (1) (1965): 35 – 52; Joe Snader, ‘The Oriental Captivity Narrative and Early English Fiction,’ *Eighteenth Century Fiction*, 9 (3) (1997): 267 – 298, and his *Caught Between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* (Kentucky: Kentucky University Press, 2000); Jamal Eddine Benhayoun, *Narration, navigation, and colonialism: a critical account of seventeenth- and eighteenth- century English narratives of adventure and captivity* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2006).

his counsel and courage’) and enduring and surviving the trials and tests of captivity. Events are interpreted through unifying providential framework, condensed into the phrase ‘God made him captain’.

God’s will thus guides events and the captive’s fate, favouring them over their religious enemies, including renegades. The *Exchange* of Bristol, overthrown during Rawlins’s escape, was owned and partially crewed by converts, including John Goodale and John Davies from Fowey, although referred to as ‘English renegades’, erasing their Cornish identity and re-situating Fowey within England.¹¹¹ Having a ‘lame hand’, unless Rawlins could procure a £15 ransom, he was informed he would ‘never see Christendom again and endure the extremity of a miserable banishment’.¹¹² Davies, initially captured alongside Rawlins, sought him out due to his ‘great resolution’, ‘sound heart and noble courage’, to serve on the renegade ship from which he escapes.¹¹³ The narrator reminds the reader:

see how God worketh all for the best for His servants and confoundeth the presumption of tyrants, frustrating their purposes [...] and relieves His people when they least think of succor and releasement.¹¹⁴

Similarly, Thomas Saunders (1587), of Tavistock, Devon, states ‘[h]ere may all the Christian hearts see the woonderfull workes of God shewed upon such Infidels, blasphemers, whooremaisters, and runnagate Christians’.¹¹⁵ These ‘woonderfull workes’ were the ‘plagues and punishments which Almightye God at his will and pleasure sendeth’ to non-Protestants,

¹¹¹ Rawlins in Vitkus 104 – 105. Also see: John Keast, *The Book of Fowey* (Bucks: Barracuda Books, 1987) 75; *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries*, Vol. 23, 1947 – 1949 (Exeter: James Townsend & Sons, 1949) 247.

¹¹² Rawlins 104.

¹¹³ Rawlins in Vitkus 105.

¹¹⁴ Rawlins 104.

¹¹⁵ Thomas Saunders, *A true Discription and breefe Discourse, Of a most lamentable Voiage, made latelie to Tripolie in Barbarie, in a Ship named the JESUS* (London: 1587) C.i.v. Saunders states he wrote to his father who was living in ‘Tavistoke in Devonshire’, C.iii.v.

detailed towards the end of his narrative.¹¹⁶ This motif frames Rawlins's narrative: his opening and closing paragraphs emphasise the truth and didactic value of his 'relation' as proof of God's 'power and providence' toward Anglo-Protestants, reinforced by the repetition of 'For God and King James and St. George for England!' during their overthrow of the ship.¹¹⁷

To assert Christian identity, accounts refuse to positively engage with Islam. Muslims are represented as barbaric and cruel, with emphasis upon their superstitious beliefs and lewd practices contrasting with the calmness and constancy of the Protestant captive. 'Nor do I think you will be startled at anything in the discourse touching the cruelty and inhumanity of Turks and Moors', states Rawlins, 'who from a native barbarousness do hate all Christians and Christianity, especially if they grow into the violent rages of piracy or fall into that exorbitant course of selling of slaves or enforcing men to be Mahometans'.¹¹⁸ Distinguished from the classical inhabitants of North Africa, associated with melancholy and considered subtle and wise, the inhabitants of Barbary were deemed unchaste, ignorant and choleric - the hot, dry yellow bile of anger and passion – also linked to Cornish 'mettle'.¹¹⁹

Okeley observes these 'mutable Humours of our Patrones', describing his own master as '[n]aturally a very passionate Man', and reminding his reader of this choleric disposition.¹²⁰ Citing the 'patchwork' origins attributed to Islam, Okeley provokes rage in his patron's father, after the old man 'cast out some expressions' insulting the Christian faith: 'because I

¹¹⁶ Saunders C.iii.v.

¹¹⁷ Rawlins in Vitkus 96 – 97, 110, 115.

¹¹⁸ Rawlins 119.

¹¹⁹ Mary Floyd-Wilson, 'English Mettle,' *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, ed. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) 130 – 146; Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 141.

¹²⁰ Okeley, *Eben-ezer* 14, 21.

could not express my self in *the Moresco*, or *Lingua Franc*, I supplied it with Signs; and imitating *the Coblers Yarke*, [drawing stitches tight] I signified [...] *That their Prophet was but a Cobler*'. Feigning surprise at the ensuing reaction, he continues: 'I confess, my meaning was no more, but that *Mahomet*, by the help of *Sergius, a Nestorian Monk*, and *Abdalla the Jew*, had patch'd up a Cento [a multiple text from different sources] of *Jewish, and Monkish Fopperies*, which was now *their Religion*'. However, 'without *the preamble* of many *Railing words*', the old man furiously attacked him, whilst 'my *intreaties* did but inrage *his choler*, so that I saw I might sooner *blow out the Fire with a pair of bellows*, than lenifie [soothe] his *Passion with prayers*'.¹²¹ Greed, lust and hypocrisy were also emphasised. The attack ceases when Okeley threatens to throw himself 'out of the Gallery into the Court', as '*there's little made out of a Dead Mans Skin*': the focus shifting from theological concerns to 'present money and future profit'.¹²² Furthermore, '[t]hey will neither *spare Man in their Rage nor Woman in their Lust*', he emphasises in his account of Ramadan, 'which is *their Lent*'.¹²³ The need to fast 'is but *Physick*' or '*a dry Drunkenness*', for 'when they have cram'd their Guts *all Night*, and are *Maw-sick in the morning*', and 'and whored themselves *into sin*', they 'put on their *Lenten face again*; and call that *a fast*', deeming they '*merit a pardon by abstinence*'.¹²⁴

The providential escape by the unnamed piratical protagonist in *Newes from Perin* is due to Muslim drunkenness: 'the Captaine and other Officers fell to quaffing', so he and his fellow captives 'fylde off their Irons, and hiding their legges in short strawe that was allow'd them in the night, their Captaine and Officers drunke to a shore and others in the Galley, they

¹²¹ Okeley 12 – 14. Also see: Okeley in Vitkus 153, f.n. 91, 92, 93.

¹²² Okeley 13.

¹²³ Okeley, *Eben-ezer* 26 – 27.

¹²⁴ Okeley 26 – 27.

made a desperate and yet happy escape'.¹²⁵ Here, captivity is a motif of providential punishment to provoke repentance, rather than a trial of faith: the sinful behaviour of the Cornish captive and his captors are aligned, as 'hee began to looke back into the past course of his life':

if he with the rest of his consorts had beene cast away at Sea, with all his bloody and un-repented sinnes about him: viz. Theft, Piracy, Murther, Drunkennes, Swearing, Lust, blasphemy and the like: in what miserable and desperate estate, his poore forlorne soule should have stood at the last great and terrible Day.¹²⁶

However, despite this providential escape, he has not completely repented, as he takes his stolen jewels with him to sell. One of these belonged to the Governor of Algiers, '[i]n regard whereof, he was presently apprehended as a Pirate and so sentenc'd a slave to the Galleyes'. It is only then: 'he begins to call to minde his disobedience to his Parents'.¹²⁷

Within a geohumoral framework, this slippage of identities is premised upon 'natural' shared Scythian attributes, which therefore needed to be counteracted. He imagines an alternative, civilised lifestyle: 'in his Furd gowne at his study in the Universitie, or warme and dry at some honest Tradesmans shop in the Citty' having a 'warme dyet twice a day'.¹²⁸ The references to 'warme and dry' and 'warme dyet' can be read in two ways. Cholera was warm and dry: if the natural temperament of the Cornish captive was considered choleric – conflating him with the Turks – rather than exacerbating these characteristics, warm and dry non-naturals would maintain a healthy balance. However, if he was considered phlegmatic; the cold, moist English disposition; a warm, dry diet and conditions would be

¹²⁵ Anon., *Newes From Perin in Cornwall of A most Bloody and un-exampled Murther* (London: 1618) f4^r.

¹²⁶ *Newes* f2^r – f3^r.

¹²⁷ *Newes* f3^r.

¹²⁸ *Newes* f3^r.

rehabilitative.¹²⁹ Whichever way this is read, it can be viewed as a civilising narrative of British or English identity, physically removed to the ‘Universitie’ or a ‘Tradesmans shop in the Citty’, demarcated from the protagonist’s barbaric behaviour and unruly mobility within and between the coastal regions of Barbary and Cornwall.

However, Anglo-Protestant identity was interrelated with the activities of maritime culture: overseas trade, exploration and settlement. Phippen was a merchant who had ‘travelled over many parts of the world’, and Okeley was taken from the *Mary*, ‘chiefly Laden with Linnen and Woollen Cloath’, a commercial venture combined with settlement as the *Mary* contained ‘Seamen and Passengers, above sixty, bound for the Isle of *Providence* in the *West-Indies*’.¹³⁰ William Fiennes, Lord Saye; Robert Rich, the Earl of Warwick; and Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, all leading Puritan dissidents, commissioned the voyage, continuing endeavours to establish a Puritan colony on Providence. The New World was imagined as an alternative space free from Laudian restraints: they looked to colonisation as Charles began his personal rule in 1629.¹³¹ A charter was granted in 1630 to found the Providence Island Company - another key member of the Company was the strict Puritan Sir John Robartes, first Baron of Truro, and patron to George Phippen.¹³² Despite incorporation, Charles was suspicious of this group of men who had opposed himself and Buckingham,

¹²⁹ Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London: 1584, 1612) 86; Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002) 79 – 114; Joan Fitzpatrick, *Food in Shakespeare: Early Modern Dietaries and the Plays* (Hants: Ashgate, 2007) 28.

¹³⁰ Okeley, *Eben-ezer* 2.

¹³¹ Okeley in Vitkus 124 – 125, 142, f.n. 60. Also see: Charles Carlton, *Archbishop William Laud* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987) 1, 135, 224 – 227; L. J. Reeve, *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 211 – 213.

¹³² Anne Duffin, ‘Robartes, John, first earl of Radnor (1606 – 1685),’ *Oxford DNB*, 12 March 2009; Reeve 214 – 215; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island 1630 – 1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 1. Also see: Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry Before the Civil War* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996) 26; Viv Acton, *A History of Truro Vol. I: From Coinage Town to Cathedral City* (Truro: Landfall, 1997) 71; June Palmer, *Truro in the Seventeenth Century, A Pattern of Place and People* (Truro: June Palmer/Truro Buildings Research Group, 1989).

increasingly spying on members, including raiding their headquarters.¹³³ However, as the 1630s progressed, members of the Company became stronger and more influential, as Charles and his court were becoming isolated and losing credibility.¹³⁴ Plans were formed for a Puritan commonwealth based upon growing tobacco and cotton: however, Providence was a space named and constituted through the turmoil of localised privateering, piracy and clashes with the Spanish, and disease, starvation and division amongst the existing colonies in the region.¹³⁵

The short entry of February 25th 1639/40 within the historical record regarding the *Mary* ‘having been taken by the Turks in August last’ concentrates on the loss to commercial venture. Okeley’s narrative provides an alternative - or complimentary - textual space to this report, mapping and committing to public memory the human cost forgotten within the state account, providing trajectories of other narratives and places.¹³⁶ The state report can also be unfolded, revealing hidden narratives of nation building related to economics, territories, and the circulation of goods and wealth. In addition to passengers and goods, the *Mary* was carrying various warrants and articles of agreement to the Governor and Council of Providence - ‘and others’ – most probably unknown to Okeley. This included a warrant ‘for the apprehension of Nathaniel Marston, for embezzling a wedge of gold and some gold dust’ from a prize of ‘Capt. Axe in the West Indies’, and instructions for the *Mary* to proceed to the Bay of Darien to pick up ‘certain ore’.¹³⁷ It would appear that John Butler, an agent and

¹³³ Reeve 212 – 213.

¹³⁴ Reeve 216 – 217.

¹³⁵ See: W. Noël Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860) 122 – 127, 295 - 299; Okeley in Vitkus 124 – 125, 142, f.n. 60; Kupperman, *Providence Island*, and her entry ‘Providence Island Company (act. 1630 – 1641),’ *Oxford DNB*, 12 March 2009.

¹³⁶ *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 309; Okeley in Vitkus 148.

¹³⁷ *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 294.

overseer of the Providence Island Company, had discovered a gold mine. If the gold appeared ‘good’, the *Mary* was to bring some back to England, along with Butler for refining.

Otherwise the vessel was to be engaged with privateering and defence of Providence Island for a month.¹³⁸ The taking of the *Mary* had disrupted this ‘design for Darien’, and interrupted ‘the project about the gold ore’.¹³⁹ A replacement ship with commission ‘for taking Spanish prizes’ would be sent, also carrying shoes, canvas drawers, shirts, iron, coal, ‘strong waters’, and ‘other things to be sold in the colony’.¹⁴⁰ Butler was taken alongside Okeley, but seems to have escaped during July 1640.¹⁴¹

Reading remembering into accounts of captivity involves engaging with such variable identities and unfixed spaces of maritime culture. However, published narratives begin and end at ‘home’, marking identity and offering stability. ‘Home’ constitutes a homogenised and undivided ‘England’, an imagined landscape of ‘belonging’ which obscures the nuances of the regional and the localised. Although texts contain localised ports and the regional origins of captives, there is a preoccupation with ‘England’ and a cohesive ‘English’ identity. Whilst other identities – including ‘Christian’ and ‘Protestant’ are also prominent, the repetition of ‘English’ and ‘England’ is marked, with British identities virtually non-existent. Similarly, Fox is described as ‘an Englishman’ in the title of his narrative *The worthy enterprise of John Fox, an Englishman*, a description continually emphasised throughout the text, and within the Spanish documents supporting his claims.¹⁴² Hasleton opens his narrative with his departure

¹³⁸ CSP, *Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 295 – 299.

¹³⁹ CSP, *Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 309, also see 310.

¹⁴⁰ CSP, *Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 309 – 310.

¹⁴¹ ‘A True relation of an escape made out of Argier the fourth of July 1640’, CSP, *Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* 308; BL, Sloane 3317, fol. 8; Edward J. L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: For the Trustees, 1904) 11; Nabil Matar, ‘Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577-1704,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 33.

¹⁴² Fox in Vitkus 55 – 70.

from ‘the English coast’, describes himself as ‘an English Lutheran’, and part of the ‘Church of England’, whilst Rawlins refers to James as ‘the Majesty of England’.¹⁴³ For example, a ballad published in 1624 as *The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1500 Christians: Most of Them Being Englishmen (Now Prisoners in Argiers Under the Turk)*, imagines a scene witnessed from the safety of the shore: ‘See Turks board English ships whilst Englishmen/ Like lions fight and fling them o’er’.¹⁴⁴ *Newes From Perin*, contemporaneous with attempts to raise funds for the Algiers mission - opens with the words ‘At Perin a Towne in Cornwall’, yet the unnamed pirate, captive and then merchant is referred to as ‘our English Gallant’, ‘our English cavalier’ and ‘our young English factour’.¹⁴⁵ Pitts opens his account giving thanks to God: ‘’Tis through your means that I once more breathe in English air’; and it is England which Fitz-Geffry situates as civilised and pleasing, with captivity as banishment and exile:

the condition of our banished Brethren be grievous, who are enforced to exchange *England* for *Barbary*, the pleasantest, most civiliz’d for the most barbarous, brutish nation of those parts of the world.¹⁴⁶

A unified Anglo-Protestant nation emerges from within divided European Christendom. Just as Phippen refused to ‘turn papist’, as did Hasleton: taken before the Inquisition, he refused ‘to do homage to certain images’, as ‘in England, where I was born and brought up, the Gospel was truly preached and maintained by a most gracious princess therefore I would not now commit idolatry, which is utterly condemned by the word of God’.¹⁴⁷ He defiantly

¹⁴³ Hasleton in Vitkus 74, 76, 78, 87, 89; Rawlins in Vitkus 97.

¹⁴⁴ ‘*The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1500 Christians: Most of Them Being Englishmen (Now Prisoners in Argiers Under the Turks)*,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 344 – 346. Also see: C. H. Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads* (London: Navy Records Society, 1908) 31 – 33; Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. Clii. f. 36; *The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1500 Christians: Most of Them Being Englishmen (Now Prisoners in Argiers Under the Turks)* (London: 1624).

¹⁴⁵ *Newes From Perin* f1^r, f2^r, f6^r.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Joseph Pitts, *A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans, with an Account of the Author’s Being Taken Captive (1704)*,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 220; Charles Fitz-Geffry, *Compassion Towards Captives chiefly towards our Brethren and Country-men who are in miserable bondage in Barbarie. Urged and pressed in three sermons on Heb. 13.3. Preached in Plymouth, in October 1636* (Oxford: 1637) 8.

¹⁴⁷ Hasleton in Vitkus 77.

argues points of religious doctrine with his torturers, reminding the reader of areas of contention and difference between Protestantism and Catholicism: transubstantiation and the sacraments, confession and the direct relationship with God.¹⁴⁸ Hasleton demonstrates his constancy in asserting the ‘true’ faith of English Protestantism, despite threats, violence and torture, or the temptation of freedom or advantage.¹⁴⁹

The unifying project of Protestantism - ‘the solvent of difference’ - to construct an English nation, emerges within a clear – and hierarchical – demarcation from other European Protestants, as well as Catholicism.¹⁵⁰ Within the context of captivity narratives the protagonist is often marked out not only as distinct from fellow European *Christians*, but from other European *Protestants*: ‘*Protestants*, not *Papists*; *Englishmen*, not *Strangers*’ asserts Okeley.¹⁵¹ Similarly, the memorial distinguishes Phippen, heroically, from the Dutch and French: he begins ‘a cruel fight with 65 Turks, in their own ship’ alongside ‘10 other Christian captives, dutch and french’ – although they were ‘persuaded by his counsel and courage’. This motif of divine favour, as Vitkus (2001) points out in his introduction to Fox’s narrative, is a primary source of meaning within published narratives.¹⁵² Indeed, the inclusion of Fox’s narrative in Hakluyt (1589) transforms an ephemeral pamphlet into a preserved document within a collection of maritime achievements.¹⁵³ The narrative emphasises this identity: the owner addresses his ship’s crew during an attack, reminding them:

¹⁴⁸ Hasleton 77 – 78.

¹⁴⁹ Hasleton 77 - 78.

¹⁵⁰ David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 61, also see 62.

¹⁵¹ Okeley, ‘The Preface,’ *Eben-ezer* B2^v.

¹⁵² Fox in Vitkus 57.

¹⁵³ The text was also published in 1608 as *The Admirable Deliverance of 266 Christians by John Reynard Englishman from the Captivitie of the Turkes*.

of the old and ancient worthiness of their countrymen, who in the hardest extremities have always most prevailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath been almost impossible. Such (quoth he) hath been the valiantness of our countrymen, and such hath been the mighty power of our God.¹⁵⁴

As discussed earlier, the relatively new accounts of human identity after death were discomfoting, particularly the fixed fate of the dead through predestination, whereupon only God could decide who was to be saved through ‘his secret election’.¹⁵⁵ The evidence of election sought was therefore individual and collective, personal and national. It became important to recognise separate providences’, however small, and the narrative they formed: ‘[a]s God is seen in *the smallest works of Creation*, so in the *smallest Instruments of his Providence*’.¹⁵⁶ The emphasis was on recording and preserving these deliverances, and to collate them as proof of an Elect Nation. Okeley reminds his reader to not overlook those mercies which may ‘carry not *so much of Rarity* in them, yet may have in them as much of *real power, wisdom, and goodness*’, whilst admiring his deliverance:

We are apt to deal with *our Mercies*, just as we do with *our sins*, where the *Commonness and frequency* of either, abates and takes off from *the Observation and Notice* which we owe them; we gaze, and wonder *at Comets*, and their *flaming beards*, but seldom admire *the Sun*, a far more glorious Body, because he rises and sets every Morning and Evening *upon the just and the unjust*.¹⁵⁷

Drawing parallels with a Biblical past, commemoration and memorialisation of historic episodes and accounts of heroism ‘set forth a pattern of providences’ celebrated as signs of God’s special interest in his *Anglo-Protestant* nation.¹⁵⁸ Cressy (1994) observes a variety of works created this pattern, serving:

as a reminder of the nation’s distinctiveness, of God’s mercies and of England’s particular religious and dynastic good fortune. Taken together, they set forth a view

¹⁵⁴ Fox in Vitkus 59.

¹⁵⁵ Calvin, *Institutes* 4.1.2.

¹⁵⁶ Okeley, ‘The Preface,’ *Eben-ezer* A4^v.

¹⁵⁷ Okeley, ‘The Preface’ A6^f.

¹⁵⁸ Cressy, ‘National Memory’ 62. Also see: Sherlock, *Monuments* 113.

of English identity, with historical, religious, and dynastic dimensions, that transcended regional and local loyalties.¹⁵⁹

Okeley's narrative announces its contribution to this collective discourse with the title of his final section: 'The Providences of God which attended us, and Conducted us all safe to England'.¹⁶⁰ '[S]ingle Stars have their Glories', he reminds the reader, 'yet *Constellations* are more Glorious'. Furthermore, whilst 'each Providence of God is Admirable', put together 'all the Attributes of God shine forth in them, and one Illustrate another, which reflects a light upon the former'.¹⁶¹ This construction of individual Anglo-Protestant identities through the narration and remembering of Barbary captivity, therefore, can be seen to contribute to the broader, enduring discourse of collective English national identity.

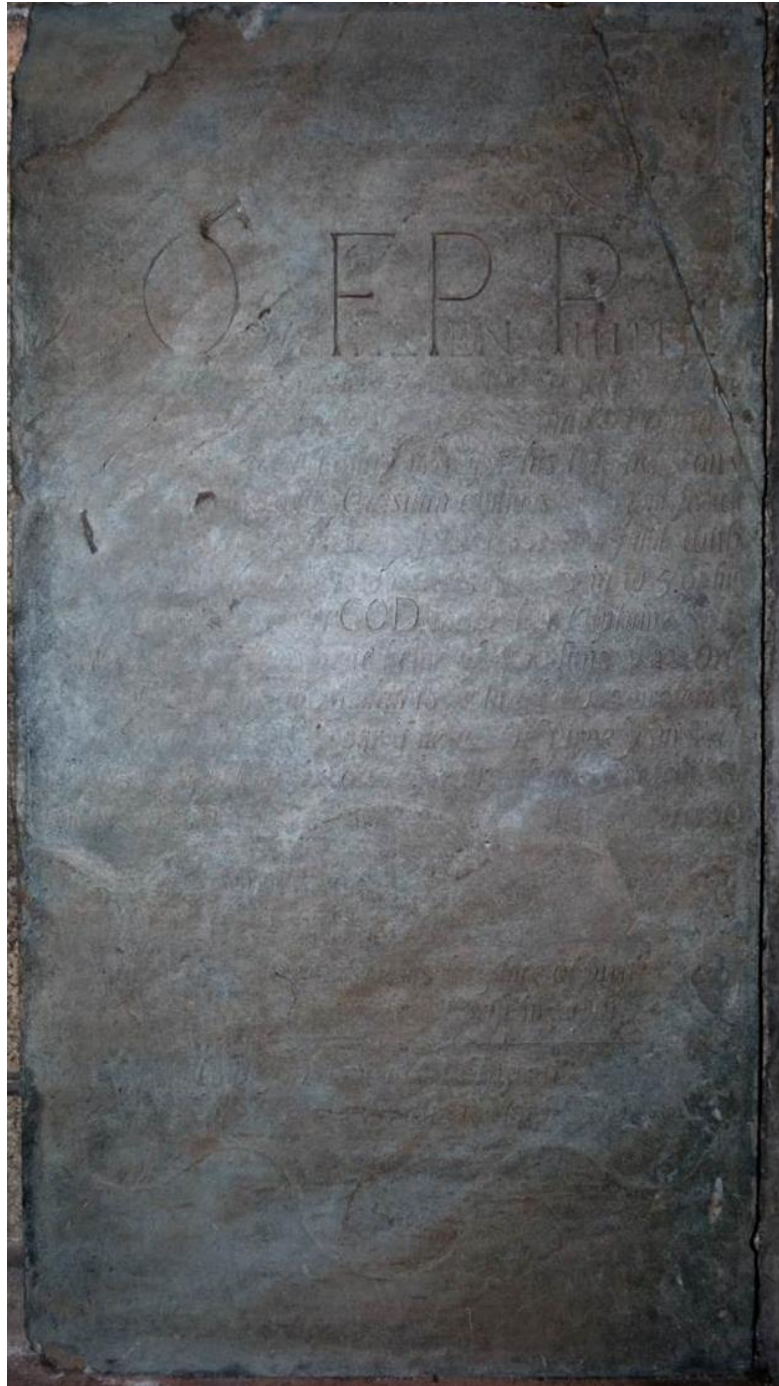
¹⁵⁹ Cressy, 'National Memory' 62.

¹⁶⁰ Okeley, *Eben-ezer* G8^r – H2^r.

¹⁶¹ Okeley G8^r – H^r.

‘And if it end with success: oh how shall the actors be remembered to posterity!’¹⁶²

Memorialising Barbary Captivity



The Phippen memorial (Photograph: Dr Robin Lehman. © Jo Esra)

¹⁶² Rawlins in Vitkus 99.

Whilst published captivity narratives map West Country coastal settlements, they are often marginalised within them. It is therefore the Phippen memorial which centralises the West Country – and Cornwall – within the public facing representations of Barbary captivity. Just as ministers and print culture were vital in disseminating narratives of deliverances, monuments also had a role in framing and establishing myths of individual and national Protestant identity within the public domain.¹⁶³ Memorials and monuments attempt to ‘fix’ history or identities, and provide stability and permanence by denying the realities of change and loss. This desire for ‘fixity’ can be read into the Phippen memorial, a device to assert individual and familial Protestant identity and memorialise evidence of God’s elect, but also a response to mutability and loss.¹⁶⁴

Memorialisation not only functions statically, but as a form of signification making statements about identity: a ‘memory text’. As a memory text consideration can therefore be given to *ma*, the gaps and silences which give meaning to that which is remembered and included, but which are themselves dynamic and fertile. Designed to replace the absent biological body with the continuity of a social body, memorials make edited ‘statements’ regarding identity, becoming contested sites where claims to ‘truth’ converge.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, the very concept of ‘truth’ shifts culturally and temporally – what constitutes a claim of ‘truth’

¹⁶³ Michael Rowlands and Christopher Tilley, ‘Monuments and Memorials,’ in Tilley et al. 501; Cressy, ‘National Memory’ 71.

¹⁶⁴ Rowlands and Tilley in Tilley et al. 500. Also see: David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). An expanded version of this research was presented in my paper ‘Truro’s Phippen Memorial: ‘a Small Monument of Great Mercy’, or a Narrative of Religious Infidelity?’ given at the University of Exeter Centre for Early Modern Studies, November 2009.

¹⁶⁵ Regarding the signifying properties of monuments, and memorials as ‘memory texts’, see: Madge Dresser, ‘Set in Stone? Statues and Slavery in London,’ *History Workshop Journal*, 64 (2007): 162 – 199, esp. 167; Susannah Radstone, ‘Reconceiving Binaries: the Limits of Memory,’ *History Workshop Journal*, 59 (2005): 137; Paul Cockerham, *Continuity and Change: memorialisation and the Cornish funeral monument industry 1497 – 1660* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006) 7 – 8; Llewellyn, *Art of Death* 48 – 9, 101, 104; Charles Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak? Post-Roman Inscriptions in Western Britain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994).

throughout the early modern period, for example, is not fixed.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, meaning is generated by the materiality of the monument, Phippen's micro-narrative, and the wider 'paratext': 'threshold' elements simultaneously framing and constituting the 'text', informing its reception, which can 'fix' meaning, or 'liberate' and 'expand' the narrative.¹⁶⁷ These include the conventions and vocabulary of Reformed memorialisation, the spatial language of the early 17th century church and, in this instance, the local network of powerful Puritan families to which George Phippen was connected to through friendship and marriage, thus influencing the memorial's reception as a steadfast Protestant document.¹⁶⁸

The merging of textuality and memorialisation is apparent within captivity narratives such as Okeley's, and is a concept the antiquarian John Weever (1631) engages with, claiming books are the most effective memorials:

[T]he Muse's works are of all monuments the more permanent; for of all things else there is a vicissitude.¹⁶⁹

Captivity narratives themselves simultaneously originate in, and respond to, vicissitudes – or mutability - unexpected changes in fortune. Okeley consistently locates God's divine symmetry as triumphing over the evils of mutability, and, evocative of Weever, conflates

¹⁶⁶ Hallam and Hockey 24; Nathalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, 'Introduction,' 'Memory and Counter-Memory,' *Representations*, Special Issue 26 (1989): 2 – 3; Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

¹⁶⁷ Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000) 103; Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, transl. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

¹⁶⁸ W. B. Bullock, *A History of the Parish Church of St. Mary, Truro* (Truro: A. W. Jordan, 1948); Alan Bryson, 'Boscawen, Hugh (bap. 1578, d. 1641),' *Oxford DNB*, 16 June 2010; Acton 71; Duffin, *Faction* 26, 41 – 57; Edwin Hadlow Wise Dunkin, *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall* (London: Spottiswoode, 1882) 69 – 72; J. L. Vivian and Henry H. Drake, ed., *The Visitation of the County of Cornwall in the year 1620* (London: The Harleian Society, Mitchell and Hughes 1874); Palmer, *Truro in the Seventeenth Century*; 'American Surnames,' *Critic*, 18 (443) (Jan 1, 1859): 11 – 12; *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* vol. XIII, no. 3 (Maryland: Heritage Books, 1993 [July 1859]); Donald Lines Jacobus, 'The Phippen Family and the Wife of Nathan Gold of Fairfield, Connecticut,' *The American Genealogist*, 17 (3) (July 1940): 4; Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing C., 1969).

¹⁶⁹ John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631) 3. Also see: Parry, *Trophies* 190 – 216; Neill 308.

memorialisation and textuality: ‘I do here *Erect my Ebenezer*, as *A Small Monument of great Mercy*, and as an Obligation upon my Soul’.¹⁷⁰ ‘Ebenezer’ means ‘stone of help,’ referring to the stone monument erected by the Biblical Samuel following a victory over the Philistines – who to declare ‘Thus far the Lord has helped us’.¹⁷¹ Okeley’s ‘Ebenezer’ is his narrative: Phippen’s, a more literal ‘stone monument’, a slab-plaque of Cornish slate, a distinct form of memorialisation flourishing in Cornwall during this period.¹⁷²

The word ‘monument’ derives from ‘to warn’ or ‘recall’; ‘monere’ via the Latin *menumentum*; meanings made available through the post-Reformation emphasis on individual achievement and worth; instruction and warnings; and virtue and piety.¹⁷³ As highlighted earlier, the denial of purgatory and abolition of intercession changed not only the *style*, but the *role* of memorials. Their previously active, prospective function of persuading the living to intercede with God and the saints on behalf of the deceased, shifted. Memorials became passively retrospective: ‘remember the dead, rather than remember to pray for the dead’.¹⁷⁴ Contextually, this call for remembrance was didactic, remembering not just to

¹⁷⁰ Okeley, *Eben-ezer* B3^v.

¹⁷¹ I Samuel 7:12; Okeley in Vitkus 127, f.n. 1.

¹⁷² Cockerham, *Continuity and Change* 11 - 12, for numerals see 35; Paul Cockerham, ‘“On My Grave A Marble Stone”: Early Modern Cornish Memorialization,’ *Cornish Studies: Eight*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2000) 9 – 39, for numerals see 26 – 27, and Paul Cockerham, ‘The early Treffy monuments at Fowey: a reappraisal,’ *Church Monuments*, 10 (1995): 20 – 36; David Cullum and Peter Wardley, ‘The Diffusion of the Hindu-Arabic Numerical System: Numeracy, Literacy and Historical Analysis of Writing Skills in Seventeenth Century West Cornwall,’ *Cornish Studies: Two*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1994) 3 – 31; Douglas James Davies, *Death, Ritual and Belief: The Rhetoric of Funerary Rites* (London: Continuum, 2002) 110; Alice C. Bizley, *The Slate Figures of Cornwall* (Marazion and Penzance: Worden, 1965 [also Perranporth, Cornwall: Privately Published, 1965]); Mark Stoyale, ‘Cornish Rebellions, 1497 – 1648,’ *History Today*, (May 1997) 26; Dunkin, *The Monumental Brasses*; John Keast, *Cornish Epigraphs* (Redruth: Trewirgie Dyllansow Truran, 1981); Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cornwall* (London: The Buildings Book Trust, 1970 [1951]).

¹⁷³ François Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) quoted in Dresser, ‘Set in Stone?’ 164; Sherlock, *Monuments* 125; Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004) 265.

¹⁷⁴ Llewellyn, *Art of Death* 79; Jonathan Finch, ‘A Reformation of Meaning: Commemoration and Remembering the Dead in the Parish Church, 1450 – 1640,’ *The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480 – 1580*, ed. David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds, London and Cambridge, MA: Maney Publishing, 2003) 442. Also see: Gittings 39 – 40; Sherlock, *Monuments* 126 – 127.

recall, but to warn and address future behaviour and actions.¹⁷⁵ Elizabeth’s 1560 proclamation ‘against breakinge or defacing monumentes of antiquitie, beyng set up in Churches,’ which were erected ‘only to shewe a memory to the posteritie of the persons there buried’, positioned monuments as sites of memory, rather than instigators of misguided religious practices: remembrance (‘to the pious and well deserved memory’) became a holy duty.¹⁷⁶



‘To the pious and well deserved memory of Owen Fitz-Pen alias Phippen...’

(Photograph: Dr Robin Lehman. © Jo Esra)

¹⁷⁵ Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting* 9 – 11.

¹⁷⁶ Sherlock, *Monuments* 98, 125, 166 – 167; Cockerham, ‘On My Grave’ 18; Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480 – 1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 348; John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535 – 1660* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1973) 117 – 119; Neill 40.

The Protestant Reformations created openings for new forms of memory - including prominent physical spaces in the parish church.¹⁷⁷ Positioned on the east wall, the location of Phippen's memorial was a sign of power.¹⁷⁸ The placement of people in the early modern church visibly represented local hierarchies, extending to the memorialised dead.¹⁷⁹ Permanently in sight of the living, the memorial was not merely a *memento mori* with the omnipresent 'what I am, you will be', it operated as a sermon, conforming to the Reformed 'hunger for preaching', 'the Word' being the principal means of salvation. Phippen's survival of seven years captivity, 'sundry plots for his liberty', escape due to his 'counsel and courage', and resistance to Catholic conversion, demonstrated Protestant perseverance and heroic achievement - examples for the living to emulate. Protestant anxiety regarding hidden Catholicism meant it was imperative to witness against popery. The dead had begun preaching - rather than pleading - to the living.¹⁸⁰

Weever noted the importance of preserving memorials as documents of genealogy and social history, ensuring the continuity and stability of hierarchical society.¹⁸¹ Certainly, the Phippen heraldic shield on Owen's memorial is significant: the rampant lion and fitchy crosses symbolising bravery, valour and strength, and establishing a new lineage from 'Fitzpen' - and thus creating stability through emulating social superiors, and heightening

¹⁷⁷ Sherlock, *Monuments* 98, 125; Brown, *Noble Society* 265; Parry, *Trophies* 192.

¹⁷⁸ Llewellyn, *Art of Death* 105; Susan Pitman, 'The Social Structure and Parish Community of St. Andrew's Church, Calstock, as Reconstituted from its Seating Plan, c.1587/8,' *Southern History*, 20 - 1 (1998 - 9): 44 - 67; S. D. Amussen, *An Ordered Society - Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) 137 - 144; John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation Religion, Politics and Society in Britain 1603 - 1714* (London/New York: Pearson Longman, 2000) 256; David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603 - 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987 [1985]) 30; Cockerham, *Continuity and Change* 8.

¹⁷⁹ Parry, *Trophies* 192.

¹⁸⁰ Sherlock, *Monuments* 95, 96 - 98, 111 - 112; Hallam and Hockey 9; Duffin, *Faction* 42, 49; Susan Hardman Moore, 'Popery, purity and Providence: deciphering the New England experiment,' *Religion, culture and society in early modern Britain*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 261.

¹⁸¹ Neill 306.

individual merit without the benefit of ancient lineage.¹⁸² Heraldry was linked to ransoming, as a convention of medieval chivalric warfare, operating as an advertisement of an individual's worth alive, rather than dead. Interestingly, Phippen's shield includes the device of scallops, symbolising pilgrimage and good works, linked to St James 'the Moor-slayer'.¹⁸³ J. Gwillim (1610) stated the Puritan 'loves no heraldry,/ Crosses in arms, they hold idolatry', the outcome would be 'no difference 'twixt the lord, and page', an erasure of individual hierarchical identity. However heraldry was powerful in its simplicity, appealing to a Protestant audience – Catholics were viewed as trivialising heraldic signs into 'idle shows', resulting in 'plebeian baseness'.¹⁸⁴ Weever, who situated his antiquarian efforts within a national, rather than parochial, discourse, expressed concern that unlike the medieval and Tudor periods, distinction of rank was no longer sufficiently memorialised in death.¹⁸⁵

Archaeologies of early modern death link the assertion of individual identity expressed through memorialisation with cultural anxieties concerning the indiscriminate nature of death. Death is a leveller: disregarding social hierarchies through its mutability, but also erasing them in a literal 'mingle-mangle' of bodies.¹⁸⁶ The phrase 'Earth in Earth' on the memorial evokes such indistinguishable mixing. However, the memorial's focus on

¹⁸² Eric Mercer, *English Art, 1553 – 1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962) 218; Cockerham, 'On My Grave' 25; Cockerham, *Continuity and Change* 3; Llewellyn, *Art of Death* 102; Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580 – 1680* (London: Hutchinson, 1982) 2 - 89.

¹⁸³ Walter Starkie, *The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957) 42, also see: 22 – 23, 69 – 75, 71, f.n. 1; W. Sloane Sloane-Evans, *A Grammar of British Heraldry, Consisting of Blazon and Marshalling* (London: John Russell Smith, 1854) 171 – 172; Jacobus, 'The Phippen Family' 4; Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings*; Hugh Clark and Thomas Wormull, *An Introduction to Heraldry* (London: Henry Washbourne and Co., 1854).

¹⁸⁴ Frontispiece in J. Gwillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (London: 1610), cited C. F. Goodey, *History of Intelligence "Intellectual Disability": The Shaping of Psychology in Early Modern Europe* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011) 137.

¹⁸⁵ Parry, *Trophies* 192 - 195, 206 – 207.

¹⁸⁶ Neill 12 - 14; Llewellyn, *Art of Death* 104, 112; Robert N. Watson, *The Rest is Silence: Death as Annihilation in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 74 – 102; Thomas Dekker, *The Wonderfull yeare* (London: 1603); R. P. Wilson, ed., *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925).

individualised identity contributes to a discourse of ‘English’ nationalism, therefore simultaneously attempting to homogenise identity through the erasure of regional, British, and mobile cross cultural identities.

‘Deaths open up spaces in social and personal relations’: however, the memorialised social body was a sign of continuity.¹⁸⁷ Within the complexity of memory relations, this can be read as a form of forgetting, operating as *structural amnesia*.¹⁸⁸ The circumstances of Phippen’s return would have raised suspicions. Although the memorial does not confront the spectre of Islamic conversion it can be read as haunting the memorial as *ma*: shaping the insistence on the continuity of Protestant identity. Heraldry and memorialisation enabled continuation and cohesion at a time of fragmentation and loss, perhaps prompted by Owen’s death, or his capture and potentially disruptive return. Significantly, the Phippen coat of arms was first entered by George the year Owen was taken, whilst George commissioned his own brass memorial plaque, in the shape of the heraldic shield, the year after Owen’s return and 22 years before his own death. The timing of this commission demonstrates spiritual preparation and personal memorialisation responding, perhaps, to a heightened sense of vicissitude.

¹⁸⁷ Llewellyn, *Art of Death* 72, 74, 101, 102, 104; Sherlock, *Monuments* 155.

¹⁸⁸ Barnes, ‘The collection of genealogies’ 48 – 55; Barnes, ‘Postscript’ 227 – 229.

‘Remember them! Nay how can you (if you have Christian hearts) forget them?’¹⁸⁹

Remembered Selves and Forgotten Bodies

In comparison to the many thousands of captives who were taken, the public-facing accounts contain a small proportion of mediated voices recalling generic narratives.¹⁹⁰ Remembering and celebrating returning individual captives also provided a reminder of the other, much larger, population of captive Britons in Barbary. Individualised elect identities, constructed through narratives which the authors claimed were of national significance and should be celebrated as a reminder of divine providence, occur within the complex memory relationship between recollection, remembering and forgetting. Their distinct ‘chosen’ status is shaped and given meaning by the many captives who were homogenised, and their experiences marginalised: forgotten bodies rather than courageous, remembered selves.

The substantial emotional and economic impact of the material absence of captives ensured their high social visibility within their communities – an individualised visibility. However, within the structure of captivity narratives, this wider population of captives are necessarily homogenised, marginalised, anonymous, or ‘off-page’: an act of *repressive erasure* to foreground specific identities. This creates an inherent tension between different facets of memory, that is, fundamentally, ‘remembering’ or ‘recall’; and ‘forgetting’.

For example, Francis Knight’s *Relation of Seven Yeares Slaverie* (1640) raises the profile of these ‘other’ captives, only to place them under immediate repressive erasure, despite his claim to be redressing the historical neglect of the ‘estate and condition’ of the captives in

¹⁸⁹ Fitz-Geffry 17

¹⁹⁰ Rawlins in Vitkus 96 – 120; Okeley, *Eben-ezer*.

Algiers. Interestingly, he employs a word to describe this attempt which can either be read as privileging himself; in a role of intermediary between captive and reader; or as referring to the inferior or mediocre quality of his description:

none, to my knowledge, hath ever devulged in Print, the estate and condition of Captives in that place of Argeire. I have undertaken thus *meanely* to present them to your sight. [emphasis mine]¹⁹¹

Captives are homogenised and their identity constituted through their sufferings, foregrounding Knight's stoic heroism and 'that mercilesse tyrannie' of the 'Turkes of Argeire'. Whilst he advertises the specific inclusion of these captives – or rather their conditions - they are marginalised as a titular addition: '*Together with* description of the sufferings' [emphasis mine], to privilege and individualise his own narrative. Similarly, 'the Multitude of my poore Country-men, groaning under the mercilesse yoake of *Turkish* thraldome', to whom Knight refers to in his dedication to Sir Paul Pindar, are placed under immediate erasure in the same sentence: 'my selfe having there suffered, losse of my estate, and the misery of 7. Yeares slaverie in chaines, and in the Gallies of Argeire [...] by the mercy of God, happily escaped'.¹⁹² Furthermore, within the main body of Knight's text, the 'description of the sufferings of the miserable captives' occupies a mere 1 ½ pages out of 56, appearing at the end of his lengthy 'plenary memoriall of my seven yeares bondage'.¹⁹³

The underlying tension inherent within repressive erasure emerges in Knight's reminding Pindar of the plight of the captives, whilst acknowledging it is 'not unknowne to your

¹⁹¹ Francis Knight, 'To the Reader,' *A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie Under the Turkes of Argeire, suffered by an English Captive Merchant. Wherein is also conteneid all memorable Passages, Flights, and Accidents, which happened in that Citie, and At Sea with their Shippes and Gallies during that time. Together with a description of the sufferings of the miserable captives under that mercilesse tyrannie. Whereunto is added a second Booke conteneing a description of Argeire, with its original manner of Government, increase and present flourishing estate* (London: 1640).

¹⁹² Knight A3^v – A3^r.

¹⁹³ Knight 28 – 29.

Worship'.¹⁹⁴ Pindar, a wealthy merchant and former diplomat familiar with Islamic territories and the Ottoman elite, would indeed have been aware of the captives.¹⁹⁵ The reminder is suggestive of the erasure under which captives were placed by many involved in trade and diplomatic relations, privileging lucrative economic relations over unpalatable social ones. Nearly two decades earlier, within his 1622 dedication to Buckingham - omitted from the later version in Purchas - Rawlins drew attention to the double erasure which many ordinary sailors who became captives were subjected to by the authorities.¹⁹⁶ Accusations of forgotten and neglected mariners were often raised against James, with complaints functioning partly to encourage naval development, but also provoked by the perceived lack of effort in ransoming poor seafarers from captivity, seemingly invisible in their anonymity – 'such men as myself':¹⁹⁷

Accept it then, I humbly beseech you, as an unpolished work of a poor sailor and the rather for that it exemplifies the glory of God. For by such men as myself, your Honor must be served, and England made the happiest of all nations. For though you have greater persons and more braving spirits to lie over our heads and hold inferiors in subjection, yet are we the men that must pull the ropes, weigh up the anchors, toil in the night, endure the storms, sweat at the helm, watch the biticle [binnacle], attend the compass, guard the ordnance, keep the night hours, and be ready for all impositions.¹⁹⁸

In the same year, the anonymous *A Relation Strange and true, of a Ship of Bristol*, complained of the erasure of ordinary, courageous captives, 'brave sparks and spirits, the

¹⁹⁴ Knight A3^v.

¹⁹⁵ Robert Ashton, 'Pindar, Sir Paul (1565/6 – 1650), merchant and diplomat,' *Oxford DNB*, 15 June 2012; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in the Ottoman Lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609 – 21* (Hants: Ashgate, 2006) 64; Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580 – 1720* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 10 – 11, 39 – 40, 52; Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964 [1935]) 29, 42, 80 – 87, 242, 247, 251; Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001 [1996]) 72 – 73.

¹⁹⁶ 'The wonderful recovery of the Exchange of Bristow, from the Turkish Pirats of Argier, published by John Rawlins, heere abbreviated,' Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus; or Purchas his Pilgrims: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others* Vol. 9 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905) 151 – 171.

¹⁹⁷ Rawlins in Vitkus 96.

¹⁹⁸ Rawlins in Vitkus 98 – 99.

darlings of valour’, who ‘thought it more courage to dye free, then to live slaves’, rather than those:

whining like whelpes, and like vassals have put their necks into the noose of perpetuall servitude, cyrying onely, God helpe, but never endeavouring to use the meanes that God hath given them.¹⁹⁹

However, if the protagonists had ‘been some Collonell, Captaine, or Commander’, ‘some navigating Lord’, ‘some gentleman of land and riches’ with ‘more mony than wit, or more wealth then valour’, the writer observes, ‘oh what a triumphing had heere beene then’.²⁰⁰

Inevitably, regular mariners were more susceptible to being taken captive, whilst their socio-economic status ensured slavery – or death - was a more probable outcome than being ransomed.²⁰¹ ‘[T]hey are very curious *in examining the Hands*’ remarks Okeley: whether they were ‘*callous and brawny*’ or ‘*delicate, and tender*’ indicated whether the captive had been ‘*inured to Labour*’ or were ‘some *Gentleman or Merchant*’, and thus ‘the hopes of a good *Price of Redemption* makes him Saleable’.²⁰² The reminder to Buckingham of the value of the ordinary, poor sailor, and their contribution to ‘England’, emphasises the enormity of the loss through captivity, even prior to the presence of the Turks within the coastal waters of the West Country.

Published accounts of captivity provide certitude, clarity and return, but in doing so they are shaped by uncertainty, ambiguity and loss. The latter occupy, in narrative terms, *ma*, informing the protagonist’s distinct providential story with which the text is concerned. Therefore, although the providential narrative frameworks and courageous deeds of certain

¹⁹⁹ Anon, *A Relation Strange and true, of a Ship of Bristol named the Jacob, of 120. Tunnes, which was about the end of Octob. Last 1621. taken by the Turkish Pirats of Argier. And how within five dayes after, foure English Youths did valiantly overcome 13. of the said Turks, and brought the Ship to S. Lucas in Spaine, where they sold nine of the Turks for Gally-slaves* (London: 1622) B2^v.

²⁰⁰ *A Relation Strange and true* B2^v – B2^f.

²⁰¹ See for example: Hasleton 75, and Fox 59 – 60 both in Vitkus.

²⁰² Okeley, *Eben-ezer* 11, also see 10.

captives are emphasised within these ‘remembered texts’, the embodied experiences and material presence of ‘forgotten’ captives, with varying levels of visibility, are active constituents. However, their representation and role is not positive. Where evident, the fate of these captives was usually bleak and uncertain, physically or spiritually fatal, shaped by and shaping the protagonist’s success. If ‘the miserable captives’ appear to be privileged, such as within Fitz-Geffry’s sermon, they tend to be given generic experiences taken from existing published accounts: homogenised, voiceless victims subjected to terrible cruelties, ‘poore prisoners and Captives’ that ‘cannot come unto us’.²⁰³ These are very much Knight’s ‘Multitude of my poore Country-men, groaning under the mercillesse yoake of *Turkish* thraldome’.²⁰⁴ Similarly, early in his narrative Rawlins and his fellow incoming captives are reminded or warned by their countrymen of the potential dangers of captivity and advised to secure work upon the ships. The fate of their homogenised ‘poore Country-men’ is made clear:

So that finding many English at work in other ships, they spared not to tell us the danger we were in and the mischiefs we must needs incur, as being sure if we were not used like slaves, to be sold as slaves, for there had been five hundred brought into the market for the same purpose and above a hundred handsome youths compelled to turn Turks or made subject to more vilder prostitution [sexual slaves] – and all English!²⁰⁵

Rawlins is, however, offered Protestant reassurance: ‘[y]et like all good Christians, they bade us be of good cheer and comfort ourselves’, reminding the incomers this was a test of faith.²⁰⁶

This episode also demonstrates the dissemination of information relying on memory occurring along and through the spaces, trajectories and networks associated with seafaring, particularly ports, harbours and amongst the crews of ships. Rawlins utilizes these spaces of

²⁰³ Fitz-Geffry 3.

²⁰⁴ Knight A3^v.

²⁰⁵ Rawlins in Vitkus 102, f.n. 15.

²⁰⁶ Rawlins 102.

‘conference’; perhaps to pre-empt reader suspicion as to his privileged position as a corsair ‘pilot’, but also removing himself from the fate of the ‘multitude’.²⁰⁷

Although marginalised and largely undifferentiated, these captives, and the alternative narratives of fear and uncertainty they represent, significantly contribute to the discursive construction of Barbary captivity. Published accounts containing generic features were widely disseminated in both print and oral form, thus functioning as *pars pro toto* within this discourse, providing consumers with certain expectations of the collective experiences, spaces and practices associated with the captive. Where published accounts provided details of captivity, they presented vivid and horrifying images seemingly designed to impress upon embodied memory, enabling particular understandings of captivity to be committed to memory and retold. Such details also augment the ‘truth value’ of the text, thus reinforcing the identity which is being constructed for the protagonist.

Certainly, whilst stories of bravery, escape and elect status may have provided some comfort to a domestic audience, for many details of the conditions and treatment of captives would have provoked anxiety. Inevitably, there would have been a heightened resonance within the deeply affected West Country coastal communities, who were also under-represented amongst successful individuals within published narratives of providential returns. Indeed, such accounts can be identified as ‘anxious narratives’: in offering both hope and fear they contain an inherent anxiety, the conceptual site of anxiety being located between ‘hope’ and ‘fear’.²⁰⁸ If hope was focused on the returning protagonist, fear concentrated upon the population of ‘forgotten bodies’.

²⁰⁷ Rawlins 103.

²⁰⁸ William J. Bouwsma, ‘Anxiety and the Formation of Early Modern Culture,’ *After the Reformation: Essays in Honor of J. H. Hexter*, ed. Barbara C. Malament (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980) 218; William G. Naphy, ‘Introduction,’ *Fear in early modern society*, ed. Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) 2.

Whilst explicit reminders of the sufferings and circumstances of captives may have provoked and sustained anxiety, they also function to stimulate and incite ‘compassion’. Throughout these representations the conditions of captivity were frequently collapsed into the word ‘miserable’, signifying not only a deplorable situation of poverty, wretchedness and injury, but a condition to be viewed with compassion and pity. Compassion, the focus of the next section, was an experience closely aligned with memory, a relationship reinforced within Fitz-Geffry’s sermon – seemingly the only extant sermon specifically publicising the plight of the captives. Significantly, not only does it emerge from the West Country, but from the coastal regions and port settlements themselves, preached at Plymouth by a Fowey clergyman.

‘Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them’²⁰⁹

Compassion Towards Captives

Passionate mercy, or *compassion*, was central to the understanding of Christ’s ‘incarnation and sacrifice’ and remembrance of his suffering. Compassion places humans in a close relationship with God, forming a crucial framework for religious social order. According to Staines (2004):

This sense of an incarnate God who must feel love, even *be* love, shapes how [Christian writers] conceive of the human person and human society: because God is love and chooses to take on our human form, he feels grief for our suffering. *Mercy* or *compassion* is the name given to this shared grief.²¹⁰

The French clergyman, Jean-François Senault identifies compassion as the drive by which people act for the good of each other: ‘Mercy is a sanctified Contagion, which makes us sensible of our Neighbors sufferings; we ayd him to comfort our selves: and we help him at his need, to free our selves from the Grief we feel’.²¹¹ Compassion was thus considered an infection, albeit divinely cleansed, and conformed to ‘an understanding of the passions and how they spread from body to body; thus the shared passion of *compassion* – known also as *mercy*, *pity*, or *sympathy*’.²¹² This mixture of classical and theological understanding was underpinned by the fundamental belief in the unbounded relationship of the body to the

²⁰⁹ Fitz-Geffry 3.

²¹⁰ John Staines, ‘Compassion in the Public Sphere of Milton and King Charles,’ *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, ed. Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson 99.

²¹¹ Jean-François Senault, *The Use of Passions*, transl. Henry Carey Earl of Monmouth (London: 1649) 508. Quoted Staines, ‘Compassion’ 100.

²¹² Staines 92

world. Composed of the same elemental materials, a correspondence between the humors, planets and seasons formed a symbiotic link between the microcosm and the macrocosm.²¹³

Fitz-Geffry utilizes this reciprocal doctrine, to remind his congregation of the occult sympathy shared with Barbary captives through cosmic correspondences.²¹⁴ ‘The Apostle presents us with a sound reason why there should be a *Sympathy* among Christians’, he observes, ‘We are all members of one body, and we doe finde in our *natural body* that *if one member doe suffer all the members do suffer with it*’.²¹⁵ Fitz-Geffry illustrates these microcosmic workings of the body: when ‘[t]he toe is trodden on; the tongue cries out, *why doe you tread on me?*’ despite, he points out, it being the toe suffering, not the tongue.²¹⁶ ‘If thus in the naturall body, how much more in the *mysticall?*’ he asks.²¹⁷ Christ is the head of this ‘mystical body’, or spiritual community, demonstrating compassion and sympathy through example.²¹⁸ To ‘hope for salvation’ individuals must be ‘feeling’ members of this Christian body, mindful of the physical sympathy they experience with their fellow Christians under Turkish thralldom: the ‘naturall instinct we finde in our owne bodies’.²¹⁹ Fitz-Geffry gives examples to demonstrate how ‘Nature it selfe incites us to this *Sympathy*’, highlighting the infectiousness of yawning, or ‘[t]hat one eating bitter or tart meates others teeth doe water

²¹³ Sutton, ‘Spongy Brains’ 14 – 34 and Sutton, *Philosophy* 21 – 49; Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004) 4; Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550 – 1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 37; Robert Lawrence Martensen, *The Brain Takes Shape: an early history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 12; Staines 100. Also see: Ruth Padel, *In and Out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

²¹⁴ Wear 37; Martensen 12.

²¹⁵ Fitz-Geffry 24. Also see: Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 97.

²¹⁶ Fitz-Geffry 24.

²¹⁷ Fitz-Geffry 42.

²¹⁸ Fitz-Geffry 43.

²¹⁹ Fitz-Geffry 41, 43.

and are set on edge'.²²⁰ These sympathies extend further, to 'brute creatures, which are led only by sense', and even 'senseless creatures by an occult quality': '[t]ouch but one string in a lute, and another soundeth though no neare untoit'.²²¹ If these can be 'affected one towards another', states Fitz-Geffry, then so 'ought *Christians*', being 'endued with *reason*, enlightened with *religion*', and possessing 'naturall affection'.²²² Sympathy should thus occur in the mind as well as the body, with Christian reason directing the passions to enable 'naturall affection' to be translated into virtuous behaviour.²²³ Without sympathy, 'any true touch of mercy and charity' cannot occur.²²⁴

Compassion was therefore a Christian duty - and one predicated upon remembering. Accordingly, Fitz-Geffry's published text contains three interrelated sermons, based upon a quote from Hebrews 13.3: 'Remember those that are in bonds as bound with them'.²²⁵ The first duty of the congregation regarding the misery of 'our brethren' in captivity is to '*Remember them*'.²²⁶ Their second duty is sympathy or compassion: 'We must so remember them as if we our selves were in the same bondage with them', a statement which opens the second sermon.²²⁷ Fitz-Geffry highlights a Biblical precedent of repeating the instruction to remember, repetition 'speaking to that noble faculty of the soule, the *memory*'.²²⁸ This is certainly a strategy he employs himself. Hebrews 13.3 is repeated throughout the text: as a

²²⁰ Fitz-Geffry 41.

²²¹ Fitz-Geffry 42.

²²² Fitz-Geffry 42.

²²³ Fitz-Geffry 41 – 42; Bruce Smith, 'Hearing Green,' *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, ed. Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson 149.

²²⁴ Fitz-Geffry 25.

²²⁵ Fitz-Geffry 1.

²²⁶ Fitz-Geffry 12.

²²⁷ Fitz-Geffry 21.

²²⁸ Fitz-Geffry 12.

whole; as a fragment, such as a single line insistence to ‘Remember them’; or an echo, as the latter part appears in the titles to the second and third sermons: ‘...as bound with them’.²²⁹

‘Their misery is bondage and captivity’, he summarises, therefore:

Our duty is to extend unto them a twofold *mercy*; 1. *Consideration*; we must *remember them*: 2. *Compassion* we must so remember them as if we our selves were *bound with them*.²³⁰

He breaks the quote into three parts; ‘Remember’, ‘Them that are in bonds’, and ‘As bound with them’; providing brief abstracts of his interpretation whilst stressing that the text will expand these points, as his aim is not merely to provide information.²³¹ Rather, the principal ‘endeavour’ for Fitz-Geffry was to encourage remembrance (‘pressing’) and stir the passions: ‘But my text hath more need of *pressing* then of *paraphrasing*. The sense is obvious enough to our understanding, would God the substance thereof could as easily worke upon our affections’.²³²

Fitz-Geffry’s sermon is steeped in the ‘scaffolding of memory’: summaries, sections, repetition, textual (and presumably, verbal) emphasis, vivid and descriptive imagery, rhetorical devices and marginalia, in addition to the omnipresent theme of remembrance itself. All these devices serve to make the contents and message memorable, encouraging the listener/reader to actively engage with its oral/textual presentation. The senses; especially hearing and sight; were considered crucial for emotional responses to occur, and are evoked within the various material, structural and conceptual spaces generated through the production and dissemination of the text, whether as representations registered through sight, or the heard sermon. This strategy could ensure the contents of the sermon were firmly

²²⁹ Fitz-Geffry 12.

²³⁰ Fitz-Geffry 3.

²³¹ Fitz-Geffry 3.

²³² Fitz-Geffry, ‘Preface’.

couched within memory to elicit a compassionate response. As Thomas Wilson (1557) observes in *The Arte of Rhetorique*:

Among all the senses, the eye sight is most quicke, & co[n]teineth the impression[n] of things most assuredly, the[n] any of the other senses do. And the rather when a manne bothe heareth and seeth a thinge (as by artificiall memorye he dothe almost se[e] thinges livelye) he dothe remember it muche the better.²³³

These sense-induced responses are complex, and give further meaning to representations of Barbary captivity within a logic of cosmic and humoral sympathies. For example, Fitz-Geffry contrasts domestic geographies with those of the captives, both representations containing strong sense imagery. In doing so, he conflates Barbary captives with the Israelites in captivity and lamenting their exile, whilst undertaking their Exodus journey with Moses.²³⁴ After wandering in the desert for three days with no water, they came across the bitter, undrinkable waters of Marah:

While you sit safe at home, and see the smoake of your owne chimnies, breath[e] in the best, your owne *English ayre*, they sit downe *by the waters of Babylon*, and weepe at the remembrance of *Sion*. While you feed on the *fat of Lambes*, and *drinke wine in bowles*, they eat the bread of sorrow, and drinke dry the *river Marah*. While you have your musicke at bankets of wine, their wine is their teares, the jingling of their chaines their sorry musicke, broken *Hearts* their *Harpes*, sighing their singing, and some prolonged hope of enlargement by your charitable contribution their only earthly comfort.²³⁵

Disordered and confused, their bodies make the ‘sorry musicke’ of captivity: the ‘jingling of their chains’, sighing and weeping their song and their ‘broken hearts’ aligned with the silent harps the Israelites hung in the trees. Fitz-Geffry maps Barbary and Babylon onto one another: ‘Remember O remember your brethren who are in *Turkish bondage*; those who sit downe by the waters of *Tunis, Algier, Sally*, and weepe, or sing to an heavy tune’.²³⁶

²³³ Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London: 1557) 116^r – 116^v, quoted Smith, *The Acoustic World* 110.

²³⁴ Psalm 137: 1; Exodus 15:23. Also see: BL MSS Thomason 669.f.11 [3], reproduced in *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 351.

²³⁵ Fitz-Geffry 18.

²³⁶ Fitz-Geffry 16.

This bodily ‘sorry musicke’ was significant to an audience exhorted to experience physical sympathy and shared passions with the captives, as the passage indicates the melancholic condition of those held in Barbary. Indeed, in his discussion of melancholy caused by poverty and want, Robert Burton (1621) hints at the inevitability of the melancholic Barbary captive – although they are placed under erasure within parentheses: ‘(I say nothing of Turks’ galley slaves, which are bought and sold like juments [beasts of burden])’. Melancholy caused by imprisonment and captivity was ‘as clear as the sun’, thus needing ‘no further illustration’.²³⁷ Music could signify or encourage well-being and harmony, or discord and illness – especially melancholy - as music affected the humors: the ‘heavy tune’ of the captives, and their unruly, discordant music of ‘jingling’ and sighing, becomes symptomatic of pathological melancholy.²³⁸ Weeping; the ‘broken hearts’ of grief and loss; sorrow; hunger; and troubled senses, were all indicators of the same condition. Furthermore, captives were in a geohumoral zone associated with the cold, dry, black humour of melancholy, and their bodies – especially their brains - would be dried by the Barbary heat, as well as by their tears and thirst. If melancholy became pathological, their bodies would become *hot* and dry ‘as the humour is more or less adust’.²³⁹ Whilst the brain becoming cold and dry manifests as folly or foolishness, associated with the natural melancholy of old age which ‘produceth a gentle dotage’, Burton maintains that if the brain becomes hot and inflamed, madness; loss of reason; will follow.²⁴⁰ Melancholic inflammation of the brain could also result from beatings and little sleep, developing into chronic insomnia due to this

²³⁷ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson (New York: New York Review Books, 2001, [1621]) 1. 2: 351, 346.

²³⁸ See: Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, The Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006) esp. 1 – 17.

²³⁹ Burton, ed. Jackson 1.3: 383.

²⁴⁰ Burton 1.2: 378.

drying process on the brain – frequent motifs within captivity narratives.²⁴¹ Melancholy is also exacerbated by ‘[b]read that is made of baser grain, as pease, beans, oats, rye’: the staple ‘horse-bread’ diet of the Barbary captive.²⁴² Burton cites Galen as describing such bread as ‘horse-meat’, ‘and fitter for juments than men to feed on’.²⁴³

If reason was completely overruled by melancholy, the madman could become bestial. Indeed, Burton’s reference to ‘juments’, and descriptions of the dehumanising treatment of captives associating them with oxen and horses, may well have indicated or exacerbated this concern. Fitz-Geffry states the Turks ‘make beasts of them’, with ‘their Faires and markets fuller of our men then ours are of horses and cattle’.²⁴⁴ Christians were ‘bought, sold, cauterized, seared’, cruelly beaten, and disallowed ‘competent sustenance & convenient lodging as we doe our horses & oxen’:

yoaked together like oxen; their owne oxen and horses keeping Holy-day, while our miserable bretheren doe beare their burthens and plough the fields.²⁴⁵

Rawlins describes in his narrative how, after valuation, they were hurried ‘like dogs into the market’, ‘as men sell hackneys [horses] in England’, whilst Okeley recalls how ‘we were *driven like Beasts* thither, and exposed *to Sale*’, noting how ‘[i]f a Patron shall *kill his Slave*’ the penalties were ‘no more for it, than if he should *kill his Horse*’.²⁴⁶ Similarly, *The Lamentable Cries* describes the captives as being ‘[f]ed with coarse horse-bread’, also stating:

for they then are led
To market and like beasts sold by the head,

²⁴¹ Burton 1 – 2: 378 - 379.

²⁴² Burton 1.2: 222 - 223.

²⁴³ Burton 1.2: 223.

²⁴⁴ Fitz-Geffry ‘Preface’, 12.

²⁴⁵ Fitz-Geffry ‘Preface’.

²⁴⁶ Rawlins in Vitkus 102; Okeley, *Eben-ezer* 8 – 9, 33.

Their masters having liberty by law
To strike, kick, starve them, yet make them draw
In yokes, like oxen, and if dead they beat them.²⁴⁷

Chains were another dehumanising motif of captivity. In his *Adventures* (1670), the elusive ‘T. S.’, recounting events between 1648 and 1652, describes his encounter with a renegade ‘*Cornish* man, that by his Apostasie had procured unto himself great Wealth amongst the *Turks*; he was a Trader in Slaves’.²⁴⁸ The renegade informed T. S. if he and his companions came ashore without his protection they would ‘be led to the Market, and there sold as Horses’.²⁴⁹ Subsequently placed in ‘a great strong Chain about twenty pound weight link’d to our Legs and tyed to our Girdle’, the captives - again in ‘jingling Chains’ - were inspected ‘as well as an expert Farrier can the good or ill Qualities of a horse’.²⁵⁰ T. S. finds himself ‘with an ill-favoured *Turk*, leading me by a Chain, as a Horse or a Bullock, thorough the streets’, to the cries ‘in *Franca Lingua*, *Who will buy a Christian?*’²⁵¹ In addition to their discordant noise, chains were also associated with the madness of the pathological melancholic: beasts, captives and the melancholic madman converged on this motif. For example, the poem describing the title-page images of Burton’s text observes:

But see the Madman rage downright
With furious looks, a ghastly sight.
Naked in chains bound doth he lie,
And roars amain, he knows not why.²⁵²

²⁴⁷ ‘*The Lamentable Cries*,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 345, 346; Firth 31 – 33.

²⁴⁸ T. S., *The Adventures of (Mr T. S.) An English Merchant, Taken Prisoner by the Turks of Argiers, & carried into the Inland Countries of Africa: With a Description of the Kingdom of Argiers, of all the Towns and Places of Note thereabouts, Whereunto is added a Relation of the Chief Commodities of the Country, and of the Actions and Manners of the People* (London: 1670) 18.

²⁴⁹ T. S. 18.

²⁵⁰ T. S. 23 – 24, 27. Also see: MacLean, *Oriental Travel* 179 – 219, esp. 196 – 199.

²⁵¹ T. S. 35.

²⁵² Fitz-Geffry 18; Burton, ed. Jackson, Frontispiece, 8 – 9.

When considered through cosmic correspondences, melancholic captives acquire further meaning. Microcosmic bodies within which reason was overthrown were analogous to disorder within the body politic: a government (reason) overthrown by unruly subjects (passions) - a warning, perhaps, to the authorities of the broader dangers of forgetting Barbary captives.²⁵³ In encouraging cosmic sympathies with melancholic captives, Fitz-Geffry's sermons can be read as attempting to create internal discord within his listeners and readers, which, if governed by Christian reason would translate into compassion. If Christian compassion was absent, the 'natural sympathies' could lead to pathological melancholy, whilst an unsympathetic audience believe they 'sit safe at home'. Although it appears Fitz-Geffry situates the domestic audience within an emotional landscape mapped in binary opposition to those in Barbary, the melancholic imagery is suggestive. In describing those at home as eating 'the fat of Lambes' and drinking 'wine in bowles', Fitz-Geffry is evoking domestic melancholy. Most wines were thought to cause melancholy, and whilst the occasional 'cup of wine is good physic [...] if moderately used', this is certainly not the excess that 'wine in bowles' implies.²⁵⁴ Meat fat – thought hard to digest – also 'breed[s] melancholy'.²⁵⁵ In addition, Fitz-Geffry's language is that of insularity – not the shared sympathies and mindfulness of compassion. Those at home are positioned as susceptible to developing pathological melancholy, their inward-looking perspective situating them as oblivious to the captives - and of the risk to their humoral health. The 'smoake of your *owne* chimnies' [emphasis mine] is inhaled, along with 'your *owne* English ayre' [emphasis mine] – interestingly, one of the few references to the English in Fitz-Geffry's sermon. Smoke; blackened and sooty and producing hot, dry air; is associated with melancholy: 'those black

²⁵³ Winkler 121 – 122.

²⁵⁴ Burton, ed. Jackson 1.2: 223.

²⁵⁵ Burton 1.2: 219.

fumes' fill the brain with 'misty fogs,/ Which dull our senses, and soul clogs', according to Burton.²⁵⁶ As one of Galen's six non-naturals, respiration was understood to impact upon the humors and cause disease. Burton states that 'bad air' can cause pathological melancholy: '[i]t offends commonly if it be too hot and dry, thick, fuliginous [sooty], cloudy, blustering, or a tempestuous air'.²⁵⁷

Fitz-Geffry's *Compassion Towards Captives* had, of course, also been preached the year before publication. Just as textual representations designed to appeal to the senses were thought important to the processes of memory and compassion, sound was also significant, capable of producing powerful and profound changes within the body.²⁵⁸ Virtuous behaviour and merciful acts were driven by embodied emotions: a skilled orator could evoke compassion through moving the passions, a persuasive practice associated with classical rhetoric.²⁵⁹ Plain Protestant churches, lacking distractions for the hearer, were sites of rousing and repetitive sermons designed to be emotionally provocative and memorable.²⁶⁰ Rooted in his work as a Catholic missionary, Wright states his *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1601) was partially to aid the 'Christian Orator' in understanding the power of the passions over their 'Auditors affections'.²⁶¹ Staines (2004) describes Wright's work as a 'manual for a rhetorical practice of the passions', which, whilst a personal failure in the sense of Wright's religious and political mission, is useful for understanding that affecting – or manipulating – the passions was viewed as an art which could be used to persuade crowds, congregations and

²⁵⁶ Burton, Frontispiece: 8.

²⁵⁷ Burton 1.2: 237.

²⁵⁸ See: Smith, *The Acoustic World* 97.

²⁵⁹ Staines 94 – 95.

²⁵⁹ Staines 94 – 95.

²⁶⁰ Tribble.

²⁶¹ Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London: 1630 [1601, 1604]) quoted Staines 94.

communities.²⁶² The sermon, therefore, becomes both a performative and transformative event.²⁶³

Preaching was part of a reciprocal relationship between preacher and audience: preachers were sensitive to reactions within their congregation, who were not expected to be passive.²⁶⁴ Hunt (2011) discusses how ministers began to complain about the apparent ineffectualness of their preaching from the latter part of the 16th century, expressing disappointment that only a small proportion of their congregation appeared to genuinely respond to their sermons. Hearers were not moved to tears, and behaved as if they were neither troubled in their consciences nor needed to engage with the message being preached.²⁶⁵ However, communities were usually positive about their local preachers, but often had difficulty following, understanding and remembering the sermons, leading to the publication of what Hunt terms ‘art-of-hearing literature’.²⁶⁶ Primarily a Puritan genre emphasising the importance of the live sermon, the literature addressed the difficulties of sustaining intellectual and emotional engagement with what were often quite lengthy sermons.²⁶⁷ For example, the tracts offered hearers advice on preventing themselves falling asleep: retiring early on a Saturday night, pricking themselves, or providing sudden verbal responses to the preacher if they felt sleepy – advice which also shaped strategies of delivery and mnemonics employed by the preacher himself.²⁶⁸

²⁶² Staines 95.

²⁶³ Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* 7 – 8, 81 – 94.

²⁶⁴ Hunt 5, examples of audience reaction, 5 – 7.

²⁶⁵ Hunt 63.

²⁶⁶ Hunt 64.

²⁶⁷ Hunt 71.

²⁶⁸ Hunt 68 – 72. For example, *The Drowsie Disease; or, An Alarme to Awake Church Sleepers* (London: 1638).

Repetition – employed by Fitz-Geffry – was important for the reception of a sermon. Far from being considered tedious, repetition was fundamental to memory training: as Hunt observes ‘[f]rom the universities it spread to the parishes; and by the beginning of the seventeenth century it had become firmly established as a key part of the art of hearing’.²⁶⁹ Repetition, and other aids to memory within the sermon, enabled it to be remembered and repeated by the hearer. Heads of households were encouraged to disseminate the contents of sermons to their children and servants, or share in collaborative discussion with others, ‘one remembering what another hath forgotten, and he againe supplying that wherein the other is defective’.²⁷⁰ Multiple encounters provided an ‘enlargement’: a deepening of understanding, wider exploration and plural application of the sermon, vital to religious instruction and underpinning social obedience and order.²⁷¹

However, the transformative aspect of preaching could be problematic. Protestant rejection of the type of bodily relationship with God professed within Catholic Mass and transubstantiation provoked suspicion of a visceral, or base, experience of compassion – and any expression of that process. For example, Staines highlights the controversy regarding the phrases ‘bowels of mercy’ or ‘bowels of compassion’, taken from the New Testament and signifying the love of God and Christ – terms used several times by Fitz-Geffry.²⁷² Describing an experience of great intensity: ‘the direct witnessing of an event (or a narrative) that moved the entire body and soul of a spectator’, it was omitted from radically Protestant bibles.²⁷³ Indeed, displays of emotion were contentious within certain traditions, with sermons expected to be repressive, not expressive; plain and instructive, addressing the intellect rather than the

²⁶⁹ Hunt 72 – 81, quote 72.

²⁷⁰ Nicolas Bownde, *The Doctrine of the Sabbath* (London: 1595) quoted Hunt 73, also see 80 – 81.

²⁷¹ Hunt 73 – 74, 77.

²⁷² Staines 100 – 107.

²⁷³ Staines 94 – 95, 101.

passions.²⁷⁴ However, as Hunt (2011) and Shuger (1998) demonstrate, many preachers, including Puritans, drew on a grand style of ‘affective’ oratory, using voice and gesture to stir the passions.²⁷⁵ The preacher was also expected to possess his own ‘inward feeling’ towards his subject matter in order to impart the same to his congregation: providing a sincere ‘performance’ accompanied by, according to James (1997), ‘the use of a felt, if irregular rhetoric, as opposed to a polished and carefully contrived style’.²⁷⁶ Preachers drew on Biblical authority to justify bodily compassion. Fitz-Geffry reminds his audience that ‘Our blessed Saviour presseth this duty upon us by his owne example as well as by his doctrine’, ‘presseth’ indicating the importance of remembrance.²⁷⁷ A lack of visceral compassion: ‘*Want of charity, want of the bowels of mercy, want of Christian compassion, want of feeling our brethrens wants, and consequently of true Christianity*’, Fitz-Geffry repeatedly emphasises, ‘doe restraine us from rel[ie]ving our brethren’ from captivity, placing the domestic population ‘in a farre worse thraldom’.²⁷⁸ The captives may have been:

in corporall bonds, we without this compassion, are in spirituall. They under *Turkes*, we under the *Deuill*. They bought and sold by men, we sold under sinne. They under the tyranny of other, we under our owne tyrannous lusts, and affections.²⁷⁹

Whilst Fitz-Geffry may have had *doctrinal* authority to move his congregation’s passions, denouncing emotional dormancy was politically sensitive, particularly in the context of a Cornishman reminding a Plymouth congregation of the regional impact – or rather neglect -

²⁷⁴ Hunt 82 - 83.

²⁷⁵ Hunt 83 – 94; Debora K. Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988).

²⁷⁶ Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 231, quoted Hunt 84.

²⁷⁷ Fitz-Geffry 23. Also see: William Perkins, *A Godly and Learned Exposition or Commentarie upon the three first Chapters of the Revelation* (London: 1606 [1604]) 66.

²⁷⁸ Fitz-Geffry ‘Preface’.

²⁷⁹ Fitz-Geffry 47.

of Barbary captivity. Anger (choler), rather than compassion, could be stirred. Indeed, Fitz-Geffry boldly extorts God to:

raise up some happie hand to exhibite to our gracious *Soverainges* eyes & eares
Danmoniorum gemitus, as our predecc[e]ssors the old *Brittons* pressed by the *Picts*,
presented unto the *Consul Boëtius*, *Britannorum gemitus* (but with better success).²⁸⁰

Fitz-Geffry maps the ‘groans of the Dumnonii’ – the Britons of the South-West Peninsula (*Danmoniorum gemitus*) - onto ‘the Groans of the Britons’ (*gemitus Britannorum*), first recorded in the 6th century history-sermon *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* [On the Ruin and Conquest of Britain], or *De Excidio Britanniae* [The Ruin of Britain], attributed to the arcane British cleric, Gildas. This was published regularly throughout the 16th century.²⁸¹ ‘The Groans’ were the final appeal to the Romans for help against the barbarian invasion of Picts and Scots from the north, following the withdrawal of the Roman armies. According to Gildas, the unsuccessful plea was made to Flavius Aetius, the Roman military leader in the Western Empire:

The wretched remnant, sending to Aetius, a powerful Roman citizen, address him as follows: - ‘To Aetius, now consul for the third time: groans of the Britons’. And again a little further thus: - ‘The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians, thus two modes of death await us, we are either slain or drowned.’ The Romans, however, could not assist them.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Fitz-Geffry ‘Preface’.

²⁸¹ See: N. J. Higham, *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); John Allen Giles, ed., *The Miscellaneous Works of Venerable Bede Vol. II* (London: Whittaker and Co., 1843) 67; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 500 to c. 1307* (London: Routledge 1996) 2; Thomas D. O’ Sullivan, *The De Excido of Gildas: Its Authenticity and Date* (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 4.

²⁸² Robin Melrose, *The Druids and King Arthur: a new view of early Britain* (North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 2011) 168; Sheppard Sunderland Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1967) 363; John Allen Giles, ed., *The Works of Gildas and Nennius* (London: James Bohn, 1884) 16. Also, John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia, Volumes 1 – 5* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2006) 808.

Notably, Gildas was disparaging towards the Britons, viewing them as sinful and aggressive, with pagan elements – indeed, he punned the Dumnonii of Devon and Cornwall as *Damnonii*, damnation:²⁸³

Ever since it has been inhabited, this ingrate [the island of Britain, so the Britons] has risen up, stiff-necked and haughty, now against God, on occasion against its own citizens, sometimes even against kings and their subjects from across the seas.²⁸⁴

By referencing Gildas, Fitz-Geffry situates Charles as a distant and potentially ineffective Roman leader, the captives and their families as the Dumnonii, and the Turks as violent and oppressive barbarians, forcing their victims into inevitable death, whether physically through brutality, or the spiritual damnation of conversion.

Whilst the sermon evokes compassion based on a shared Christian identity, Fitz-Geffry reiterates these more localised identities, which would have had a particular resonance at Plymouth. ‘They are our *country-men*’, he reminds his audience, ‘and unto many, *neare kinsemen* who are in *Barbary*’.²⁸⁵ He emphasises this relationship through a passage rich in sense-imagery:

Remember those your country-men, your acquaintance, some of your owne kindred, with whom you have often eaten, dranke, and made merry, those who sometimes went up with you to the Temple of the Lord, now abandoned from the Temple, and grievously suffering because they will not abandon the Lord, sold in markets like beasts, by creatures more brutish then beasts, stigmatized, branded when they are bought by circumcised, *monsters, miscreant Mahumetans* [...] Remember them! Nay how can you (if you have Christian hearts) forget them?²⁸⁶

Continuing to emphasise this connection, he also makes public, albeit keeping the source anonymous, the partial contents of two localised letters he received from the wives of captives:

²⁸³ N. J. Higham, *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002) 55; Koch, *Celtic Culture* 621. Also see: Higham, *The English Conquest* 111.

²⁸⁴ Higham, *The English Conquest* 14. Also see: Marion Gibson, *Imagining the Pagan Past: Gods and goddesses in literature and history since the Dark Ages* (London: Routledge, 2013) esp. chpt. 1.

²⁸⁵ Fitz-Geffry 43 – 44.

²⁸⁶ Fitz-Geffry 17.

One of them in a letter to his wofull wife concerning his owne and his fellowes miseries, among other sad passages inserteth this advice, in any case not to suffer their Sonne to adventure on those co[a]sts least he should fall into his fathers wofull case.²⁸⁷

The accompanying marginalia emphasises ‘[a]nother like-wise in a letter to his wife, professeth’ that a ‘cruell death’ at the hands of the Turks for killing his master seems preferable to slavery - carefully emphasising that both are more desirable than apostasy.²⁸⁸

In localising Barbary captivity, Fitz-Geffry could appeal directly to the passions of his West Country audience and readership, many having experienced the impact of the depredations of the Turks. Nevertheless, during one of his most emotive passages recalling the Baltimore raid, the Cornish and English are demarcated; ‘All of them *English*, most of them *Cornish*’. Locating the Cornish as a subgroup of the English could thus remind ‘English’ centralised authority of their responsibilities.²⁸⁹ Similarly, in his Preface, after wishing God to ‘raise up some happie hand’ to turn the monarch’s attention to the plight of the region, he hopes that:

Neither will that illustrious *Peere*, the Oracle of Justice in our land, faile to performe what he is said to have promised at *Plymouth* with tearfull eyes (the evidences of a tender and truly religious heart) to the mournfull wives and children of these oppressed captives, that when he returned to the Court, he would become their advocate unto the Majestie of the King. *Remember him o my God concerning this, who is to vigilant in doing justice at home, that he is not dormant in extending mercy to those who suffer extreame misery abroad.*²⁹⁰

The ‘Oracle of Justice’ probably refers Sir John Bankes, appointed Attorney General in September 1634, following Noy’s death. Fitz-Geffry’s comments can be read as a gibe: 1636/7 was a time of deep dissatisfaction regarding the progression of Noy’s ship money initiative – it being aggressively pursued without discernible results. The first two writs, devised by Noy, suggested extending the levies beyond the port towns to the adjoining

²⁸⁷ Fitz-Geffry 17.

²⁸⁸ Fitz-Geffry 17.

²⁸⁹ Fitz-Geffry 46.

²⁹⁰ Fitz-Geffry ‘Preface’.

maritime counties. However, the Council was reluctant to do this, thus the first writs issued in October 1634 were to all port towns and ‘maritime places’, that is, non-port towns, villages and parishes along the sea coast. The third writs issued under Bankes on October 9th 1636, the same month Fitz-Geffry delivered his sermon, contentiously extended the levies across the country, making it permanent. After a legal challenge in 1637; the year Fitz-Geffry’s sermon was published; Bankes argued the third writs conformed to pre-parliament English laws and customs allowing kings to raise money for the defence of the realm in times of danger. Drawing on several precedents, he argued that royal power was inherent within the personage of the king, not derived from the people: thus the king was the sole judge of what constituted danger, and how it should be addressed.²⁹¹ Contextually, therefore, Fitz-Geffry’s sermon was politically controversial.

An intensity of contagious feeling could be immensely problematic to the authorities. The passions, and thus the humoral mind, could both act and be acted upon, affecting will and behaviour.²⁹² This could be dangerous if a rhetorical performance (*actio*) was used for seditious purposes.²⁹³ Inciting visceral compassion, therefore, had a political aspect, linked to social order.²⁹⁴ Rather than merely imparting points of Christian doctrine, Fitz-Geffry uses various strategies, however contentious, to incite centralised and localised action on behalf of the captives. Similar themes appear within the ballad *The Lamentable Cries* – a popular genre containing the mnemonics of rhyme, rhythm and tune:

²⁹¹ Christopher W. Brooks, ‘Bankes, Sir John (1589 – 1644),’ *Oxford DNB*, 10 Feb. 2010; T. B. Howell and T. J. Howell, *Cobbett’s Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Present Time Vol. III* (London: R. Bagshaw, 1809) 1014 also 1374; John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1636 – 1637* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867) 159 – 160.

²⁹² Staines 97. Also see: James, *Passion and Action*.

²⁹³ Staines 107.

²⁹⁴ Staines 99.

You, who at home in golden pleasures dance,
 Wasting both noons and night in dalliance,
 O when these groans of Christians pierce our ears,
 To free them, give your charity, and your tears,
 Whilst you that are our Christian princes styled
 (All jars amongst yourselves being reconciled)
 Into the field with one knit army come
 To kill this lion that thus tears Christendom.²⁹⁵

In urging remembrance, Fitz-Geffry also explores the processes of forgetting. Remembrance and compassion were Christian duties, guided by reason, memory and Christ's example. Forgetting was a bodily dysfunction impeding compassion, related to sin and humoral function: '*Satan and mans corruption*'.²⁹⁶ Fitz-Geffry identifies several causes of this impediment. The sin of pride and 'statelinesse' – a lack of humility - meant '[s]ome are so lofty that they disdain to looke so low as to take notice of their poore brethren's distresse', whilst others referred to the captives as '*but a company of base creatures, such as the world may well spare*'.²⁹⁷ Apathy, or 'senselesse stupidity', was associated with impaired senses incapable of stimulating the passions: through this dearth of embodied emotion, individuals are 'insensible' to their own sufferings, and unable to 'condole others'.²⁹⁸ A further impediment Fitz-Geffry highlights is sensuality, pleasure-seeking, or 'epicurisme': 'when men are soaked in the pleasures, and drowned in the delights of this present world', they resist reminders of grief or distress, lest it 'should drowne all their mirth'.²⁹⁹ Furthermore, the warmth of sensuality and gluttony exacerbated forgetfulness: the 'cold ayre

²⁹⁵ '*The Lamentable Cries*' in Vitkus 346; Firth 31 – 33.

²⁹⁶ Fitz-Geffry 37.

²⁹⁷ Fitz-Geffry 38.

²⁹⁸ Fitz-Geffry 37 – 38.

²⁹⁹ Fitz-Geffry 38, also 12 – 13. also see: J. M. Rist, *Epicurus: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1977 [1972]).

of affliction' encouraged remembrance, which 'soone leakes out' in 'the heate of prosperity'.³⁰⁰ 'Our selves being in safety' observes Fitz-Geffry, 'how prone are we to forget those who are in misery', querying whether others can be remembered whilst 'forgetting our selves', a widespread cultural concern.³⁰¹ Understandings of the humoral body as unregulated and undisciplined produced imaginings of an 'anxious fluidity and instability of selves': 'forgetting oneself' contributed to discourses of unsettled and mobile identities – examined further in the final Part of this thesis.³⁰²

A further obstacle to compassion is 'pretended want', mimicked by Fitz-Geffry: 'I am poore in my selfe, I have a great charge of mine owne, I am in the *Usurers* hands, as hard a thralldom as some of them doe endure in *Sally* or *Algier*'.³⁰³ He advises 'sooner' remembrance, to feel for others through their affliction, or to 'give *griefe*, give *teares*, give *compassion*'.³⁰⁴ A similar plea appears in *The Lamentable Cries*: 'To free them, give your charity, and your tears'.³⁰⁵ These are no 'small almes', demonstrating the 'pitying heart' of those who do 'not shut up his bowels from his afflicted brother'.³⁰⁶ Those extending 'the bowels of compassion' gives 'no smale part of himself'.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁰ Fitz-Geffry 13.

³⁰¹ Fitz-Geffry 12 – 13.

³⁰² Quote: Ivic and Williams, 'Introduction' 5. Also see: Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting* 41; Zackariah Long, '“Unless you could teach me to forget”: spectatorship, self-forgetting, and subversion in anti-theatrical literature and *As You Like It*,' *Forgetting*, ed. Ivic and Williams 151 – 164. Also see: Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: The Chicago University Press, 2006).

³⁰³ Fitz-Geffry 40.

³⁰⁴ Fitz-Geffry 40.

³⁰⁵ 'The Lamentable Cries' in Vitkus 346; Firth 31 – 33.

³⁰⁶ Fitz-Geffry 40.

³⁰⁷ Fitz-Geffry 27 – 28.

A spatial understanding of memory becomes important: '[i]f thou wilt not afford thy distressed brother a place in thy memory, though wilt hardly afford him any part of thy money'.³⁰⁸ Whilst compassion was symbiotic with remembrance, according to Fitz-Geffry, it was made visible through finance:

Remember to pity them, remember to pray for them, remember to extent your charity according to every man's ability towards the redeeming & reducing them home, or the relieving of their poore wives and wofull children at home.³⁰⁹

Compassion ('the almes of the minde') could be rewarded ('treasured up in God's bag') without financial contribution (the 'almes of the hand'). However, compassion was 'the *purse* out of which thine almes must be drawne': donating financially indicated true Christian compassion. However, just as 'warne words' cannot cloth the naked, and 'fat words' cannot fill the hungry, 'painted' or 'cold' compassion 'restrains the bowels of charity' profiting no one.³¹⁰ Without genuine compassion, contributions would not be divinely counted.

Nevertheless, the fate of captives without this financial compassion is made vividly clear with brutal descriptions of terrible suffering, which themselves would elicit emotional responses. Ransoms were 'too heavy for the poore captive himself or his friends', and if not received 'they will beat [it] out of his flesh, using him more cruelly in hope to get his ransome the more speedily':

For as they are extreamely covetous so are they unmercifully *Cruell* [...] if not he nor his friends can procure his ransome, nothing can free him (unlesse he will renounce his faith) but he must remaine slave during his life.³¹¹

The worst impediment to compassion was covetousness, or avarice, 'greediness in getting, tenacity in keeping, sordity in spending', both sinful and pathologized.³¹² Biblical authority

³⁰⁸ Fitz-Geffry 40.

³⁰⁹ Fitz-Geffry 19.

³¹⁰ Fitz-Geffry 27 - 28.

³¹¹ Fitz-Geffry 11.

instructed that ‘having food and raiment [clothing] let us be therewith content [...] For the love of money is the root of all evil’.³¹³ Reformed religion reacting against the perceived greed of the Catholic church, had given, according to Valenze (2006), ‘new life to this sentiment’.³¹⁴ Alongside Catholics and diabolical temptation, Fitz-Geffry presents the Turks within this opposing system. ‘Such is their avarice’, he observes, ‘they make marchandize of men’.³¹⁵ Covetousness was ‘the maine opposition to Gods *providence*’, and part of ‘the *Devils Logicke*’; indeed it was ‘the very *cut throate* of *compassion*, the *Antipathy* to all *Christian Sympathy*’.³¹⁶ Whilst clutching a fist, the palm cannot extend with charitable contribution.³¹⁷

Burton discussed the pathology of covetousness, it being ‘the pattern, image, epitome of all melancholy, the fountain of many miseries, much discontented care and woe’.³¹⁸ Just as the sight of food increases appetite, the sight of gold produces covetousness – a base response, detrimental to the brain.³¹⁹ Burton cites Hippocrates as counselling if ‘he should cut up that weed of covetousness by the roots, that there be no remainder left, and then know this for a certainty, that together with their bodies, thou mayest quickly cure all the diseases of

³¹² Burton, ed. Jackson 1.2: 283. Also see: Fitz-Geffry 38 – 40; David Zaret, *The Heavenly Contract: Ideology and Organization in Pre-Revolutionary Puritanism* (London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985) 44, 190 – 191; Christopher Hill, ‘Protestantism and the Rise of Capitalism,’ *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England*, ed. F. J. Fisher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006 [1961]) 15 – 39.

³¹³ 1 Timothy 6:7 – 10. Also see Burton, ed. Jackson 1.2: 283 - 285, 3.1.21.

³¹⁴ Deborah Valenze, *The Social Life of Money in the English Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 91.

³¹⁵ Fitz-Geffry 11.

³¹⁶ Fitz-Geffry 38 - 39.

³¹⁷ Fitz-Geffry 39.

³¹⁸ Burton, ed. Jackson 1.2: 283.

³¹⁹ Burton 3.2: 196.

their minds'.³²⁰ Highlighting the melancholy links to covetousness – and thus serving as a warning to his readership and congregation should they not be moved to compassionate giving - Fitz-Geffry observes a drying effect on the 'streames of *mercy*', exhausting the 'veines of *charity*', impeding the spirits in translating feeling into behaviour.³²¹ The miser is unable to register the sense-information required for the processes of compassion: 'the continuall voice of his owne covetous desires doe deafen him against all complaints of others', being 'no more moved' by the:

teares of *Widowes, Orphans, Captives*, then with the whining of a whelp, or the peeping of a chick. The crie of the *horse-leach* ever ringing in the *misers* eares, *Give, Give*, so drownes the crie & complaint of the poore that he heares no more the *Lazars bell* nor the *prisoners fetters*.³²²

Fitz-Geffry's sermon, therefore, confronts a complex variety of concerns regarding Barbary captivity, premised upon a memory-tension between remembering and forgetting. The call to remember testifies to the forgotten status of the majority of captives, whilst financial compassion was considered the most significant marker of remembrance. However, forgotten, silenced and homogenised captives held in Barbary still had the power to inform social disorder and political upheaval across domestic territories.

The attempt to make compassion visible and effective – financially – demonstrates this memory-tension, as uncharitable forgetting was contested by those seeking purposeful compassion animated through remembering. This is evident through the appeals for charitable alms and pensions, compensation for losses, and for ransom and redemption costs by captives, ex-captives and their dependents. Such appeals engage in networked flows of localised and centralised power, and it is these processes which are examined in the following sections.

³²⁰ Burton 1.2: 283.

³²¹ Fitz-Geffry 39.

³²² Fitz-Geffry 39. Also see: Proverbs, 30. 15.

**‘Tuesdayes weel’e sit to heare the poore-mans cryes,/ Orphans
and widowes: our owne princely eyes/ Shall their petitions
reade’,³²³**

Processes of Charitable Memory

As demonstrated in Fitz-Geffry’s sermon, appeals for charitable aid are situated within a discourse of compassion, emerging from interactions steeped in memory tension, as those suffering from the impact of Barbary captivity attempted to provoke active, compassionate remembrance in others. Appeals for charitable aid – whether for alms, pensions, ransoms or redemption – could be localised on a parish or county level, with the authorities petitioned directly for relief and alms. Individual or collective appeals to centralised government could be made via local bases of religious, socio-economic, familial or political power. Centralised government was also petitioned directly, which, if successful, resulted in authorised collections and begging on a localised level. These requests were particularly concerned with ‘forgotten’ captives, and whilst there are individuals named - and many provided with a micro-narrative of captivity - their appearance in the archive was historically available to a few select officials. As the following sections show, the ultimate responsibility for financial compassion was shifted from the authorities onto the general population, meaning that many of these narratives with their named protagonists were disseminated more widely. However, this would have been orally, and were narratives certainly not designed for long-term or widespread remembrance or commemoration. Although concurring with many features of

³²³ The King in Thomas Dekker, *If It Be Not Good, The Diuel is in it, A New Play* (London: 1612) C^v. Also see: R. W. Hoyle, ‘The Masters of Requests and the Small Change of Jacobean Patronage,’ *English Historical Review*, 126 (520) (2011): 545, and David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000) 85.

captivity narratives, the protagonist in these appeals is emphasised as a victim with no hope of providential intervention, or destitute after returning. This contrasts with published narratives, where victim identities are under erasure, and accounts conclude upon return. Whilst some charitable appeals attempt to portray a constant and heroic identity in the confrontation with mutability, loss and captivity, this functions to represent the named captives and their families as truthful and deserving, rather than discursively construct an Elect nation.

Although the financial burden of captivity was placed upon the population, the responsibility for ensuring ransoms were paid and redemption achieved was complex, with an arbitrary and often opportunistic process involving merchants, factors and company representatives. The two state organised missions to combat Barbary piracy and return captives, contentiously financed by ship money taxation, were largely unsuccessful, and certainly do not constitute a systematic approach to redeeming captives. Indeed, as these sections demonstrate, throughout the period under study the monarch and the Council were exhorted by the maritime communities to address and engage with all aspects of Barbary captivity, whether to undertake defensive, aggressive or diplomatic measures; to remedy the emotional and economic impact; or to instigate the physical and financial processes involved with redemption. However, as already demonstrated in Part I of this thesis, naval activities were largely perceived to be ineffectual and inadequate, adding to economic hardship whilst failing to provide reassurance. Diplomacy, if the populace was aware of it taking place, tended to be ephemeral with little influence upon those engaged in these activities. Likewise, intervention by centralised authority in ransoming and support for dependants was indirect and minimal, merely part of a process of sanctioning and licencing further appeals for charity and finance elsewhere. Whilst collection monies were channelled back to centralised authority for ransoming to occur, this was arbitrary, sporadic, and riddled with favouritism

and corruption, as the contributions were charitable and the agents were employed by the trading companies.³²⁴ As Matar (2005) has proposed, the memory tension manifesting within these disorganised, inconsistent and decentralised approaches to financing and undertaking ransoming contributed to the narrative leading up to the period of the Civil Wars.³²⁵ This failure of the processes of captive ransoming and redemption etches a forgotten landscape onto the anxious one mapped in Part I.

‘Remember the Poor Prisoners’³²⁶

Appeals on behalf of Barbary captives were made from the second half of the 16th century, addressed to the monarch, or those in close office. For example, on July 13th 1567, the Bishop of London, Edmund Grindall, appealed to Secretary Cecil[I], although not for direct redemption – rather, Grindall ‘[b]egs him to further the suit of the bearer for a licence to make a collection for ransom of certain Englishmen, captives in Algiers’, one of the first group of captives.³²⁷ Such ‘petitioning’ was a centuries-old method of seeking royal authority and justice: complaints and appeals were made orally, received by the chancellor as secretary to the monarch and keeper of the Great Seal, and put in writing by chancery clerks, for councillors to consider and administer remedies.³²⁸ If the ruling favoured the petitioner,

³²⁴ Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589 – 1689* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2005) 50 – 52, 60.

³²⁵ Matar, *Britain* 38 – 110.

³²⁶ Marcellus Laroon, ‘Remember the Poor Prisoners,’ *The cries of the city of London: drawne after life in 74 copper plates* London: 1733 [c. 1688], image 49, 3 Sept. 2010, <<http://images.library.yale.edu/walpoleweb/oneitem.asp?imageId=IwIpr19156>>.

³²⁷ Robert Lemon, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series, of the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth 1547 – 1580* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1856) 295.

³²⁸ Dorothy M. Gardiner, ‘Introduction,’ *A Calendar of Early Chancery Proceedings relating to West Country Shipping 1388 – 1493* (Torquay: Devon and Cornwall Record Society N.S. Vol. 21, 1976) ix. Also see: Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* 83 – 99.

orders were made for localised officials to undertake appropriate action, including bringing parties to the royal court. However, as the duties of the court increased, separate Justices developed into the fixed common bench. Commissioned to hear the complaints of the people and administer common law, this became the normal process for most cases. Nevertheless, during the period under study, petitioning the monarch was still a viable custom, particularly when grievances could not be remedied within common law. The perception of a monarch interested in the complaints of their subjects, and the belief they would come to their aid, was a strongly held conviction.³²⁹

Petitioning did not necessarily occur directly. The Court of Requests emerged from the early King's court primarily to receive the petitions of the poor in the name of the monarch, to prevent accusations of partiality and a continual flood of suits overwhelming state business. Offices were created to manage the workload, with private petitions assigned to the Masters of Requests, roles formed in 1538/9, although not referred to by this title until 1541. They operated under the Chief Judge, Lord Privy Seal, charged with attending to these petitions, whilst protecting the functioning of governance. The Masters were an important way of accessing centralised government until the Civil War.³³⁰

The act of petitioning, therefore, was not seditious, but an established tradition seeking a peaceful and lawful outcome. Hoyle (2002, 2011) notes petitions were ubiquitous during the early modern era, 'directed from social inferiors to their superiors', initiating a process in

³²⁹ Gardiner, 'Introduction,' *Calendar of Early Chancery Proceedings* ix – x; Hoyle, 'Masters' 545 – 546.

³³⁰ Kenneth Pickthorn, *Early Tudor Government: Henry VII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934) 37; Theodore F. T. Plucknett, *A Concise History of the Common Law* 5th ed. (Union: New Jersey: The Lawbook Exchange, 2001 [1956]) 184; Hoyle, 'Masters' 547 - 549. Also see: John Guy, 'The Privy Council: Revolution or Evolution,' *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration*, ed. C. Coleman and D. Starkey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) 59 – 86.

matters of justice, debts, tenancies and offices.³³¹ Any person in authority could be petitioned, the highest being the monarch.³³² James, whom Hoyle describes as ‘a counselled king’, did not generally decide on petitions without conferring with councillors and basing outcomes on their advice – or, rather, approving their decisions.³³³ Buckingham was in a highly privileged position within this hierarchy, and, Hoyle notes, was instructed in 1626 to set aside time to receive petitioners, authorising him to ‘behave in a quasi-royal manner’, powers and pretensions inextricably linked to the breakdown of relations between the King and Parliament.³³⁴ Masters often held multiple offices, although were members of the Council by promotion, not default. Nevertheless, they were very powerful: it was at their discretion as to whether a petition was presented to the monarch and in what fashion.³³⁵ Inevitably, payments were made to the Masters for favourable treatment, making these posts highly desirable and lucrative. Under Buckingham, Masterships had a retail value, being bought and sold.³³⁶

Another method of appeal was to Trinity House, an organisation officially incorporated after ‘the maisters, rulers and maryners of your Navye within your Ryver of Thamys and other places’ themselves presented a petition to Henry VIII on March 19th 1513.³³⁷ A Royal Charter was granted to this guild of mariners based at a great hall and alms houses in

³³¹ Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 545; R. W. Hoyle, ‘Petitioning as Popular Politics in Early Sixteenth-Century England,’ *Historical Research*, 75 (2002): 365 – 389.

³³² Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 545; Hoyle, ‘Petitioning’ 365 – 389.

³³³ Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 562 – 563.

³³⁴ Hoyle, ‘Masters’ f.n. 4, 545; Judith Richards, “‘His nowe Majestie’ and the English Monarchy: the Kingship of Charles I before 1640,’ *Past and Present*, 113 (1986): f.n. 37, 80; Reeve 11 – 14.

³³⁵ Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 550.

³³⁶ Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 550 – 551.

³³⁷ G. G. Harris, *The Trinity House of Deptford, 1514 – 1660* (London: The University of London Athlone Press, 1969) 19 – 20, 63; G. G. Harris, ‘Introduction,’ *Trinity House of Deptford Transactions, 1609 – 35*, ed. Harris (London: London Records Society, 1983) ix; Trinity House, <www.trinityhouse.co.uk>.

Deptford – the Guild of the Holy Trinity - on May 20th 1514.³³⁸ The origins of the foundation are obscure: alms houses linked to mariners were at Deptford in 1505, and the letters patent indicate this was the resurrection of an older foundation.³³⁹ In 1604 James granted a new charter, primarily concerned with governance and structure, and around this time the working headquarters moved from Deptford to Ratcliff, a mariner’s hamlet in the parish of Stepney where many of the corporation’s hierarchy resided. Transactions and meetings, however, were still held at Deptford.³⁴⁰ Trinity House had several responsibilities, including providing arbitration in maritime disputes, building the King’s ships, supplying sea defences, including ordnance to merchant ships, maintaining seamarks and the rights to ballastage – although these latter two monopolies were lost during the first decades of the 17th century.³⁴¹ Trinity House also certified the misfortunes of mariners.³⁴² Both individuals and groups petitioned for certification: if successful, indigent mariners and their dependents could obtain a licence to beg, which ensured they did not break vagrancy statutes.³⁴³

Hoyle (2011) notes a rise in petitioning during the early 17th century, particularly ‘Petitions of Grace’: petitions of the indigent or marginal, ranging from maimed soldiers to merchants who had lost their ships. These were for alms, admittance to alms houses, or for

³³⁸ Harris, *Trinity* 19 – 20, 72, 137, 274; David Delison Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government 1616 – 1642* (Hants: Scholar Press, 1994) 22; Henry Benjamin Wheatley and Peter Cunningham, *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions Vol. 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 [1891]) 149.

³³⁹ Harris, *Trinity* 21.

³⁴⁰ Harris, *Trinity* 45 – 62; Harris ‘Introduction,’ *Transactions* x; Trinity House.

³⁴¹ The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) SP 14/112, ff 42, 90; TNA: PRO SP 14/153, ff 104, 107; TNA: PRO SP 14/115, f 3; Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I, 1619 – 1623* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858) 78, 142; William Page, ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Cornwall*, Vol. I (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1906) 498; David Delison Hebb, ‘Profiting from Misfortune: Corruption and the Admiralty under the Early Stuarts,’ *Politics, Religion and Popularity: Early Stuart Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, ed. Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 117; M. Oppenheim, ed., *Sir William Monson’s Naval Tracts*, Vol. III (London: Navy Records Society, 1913) 355 – 362; Harris, *Trinity* 127 – 153, 178 – 214; Harris, ‘Introduction,’ *Transactions* x, ix, xii, xiv, xv.

³⁴² Harris, ‘Introduction’ xiv – xv.

³⁴³ Harris, ‘Introduction’ xiv – xv.

collections or briefs - licences to beg. It is apparent there was a growing knowledge of entitlement which local provision could not meet.³⁴⁴ Hudson (2007) identifies a shift occurring in petitioning for pensions by disabled soldiers, particularly between 1593 and 1641. The emphasis became placed upon the petitioner's inability to work and their lack of access to other means of subsistence, rather than through their military history and whether they were capable of further service: need took precedence over the injury itself. Increasingly, they were expected to prove their disability in person, and began demonstrating a progressively sophisticated knowledge of the system, contemporaneous to the authorities becoming more discerning.³⁴⁵ Indeed, new petitioning regulations and guidelines were instigated under James to monitor and curb expenditure, whilst stipulating criteria for requests.³⁴⁶ Certainly, it appears Trinity House was increasingly petitioned during the period under study: as Harris (1983) highlights, many of these cases were due to the activities of the Turks.³⁴⁷ Hundreds of certificates were duly issued, often for travelling collectors to raise money for ransoms.³⁴⁸ Given the process involved, it is inevitable many petitioners resided in the mariner's hamlet in the vicinity of Trinity House. Upon appeal for certification, a case was presented testifying to the good character of the captive(s), describing their capture, the terrible conditions they were held in, the risk to their souls, and, importantly, the plight of dependents. If accepted, certificates were authorised by the Master of Trinity House and other Elder Brethren.

³⁴⁴ Hoyle, 'Masters' 569.

³⁴⁵ Geoffrey L. Hudson, 'Arguing Disability: Ex-Servicemen's Own Stories in Early Modern England, 1590 – 1790,' *Medicine, Madness and Social History: Essays in Honour of Roy Porter*, ed. Roberta Bivins and John V. Pickstone (Hants: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) 105 – 117, esp. 107.

³⁴⁶ *A Declaration of His Majesties Pleasure: In What Sort He Thinketh Fit to Enlarge or Reserve Himself in Matter of Bounty* (London: 1610); Hoyle, 'Masters' 579.

³⁴⁷ Harris, 'Introduction,' *Transactions* xiv – xv; Matar, 'Introduction' in Vitkus 25.

³⁴⁸ Harris, 'Introduction' xiv – xv; Matar, 'Introduction' 25.

Examples of (successful) certification demonstrate this format. Elizabeth Ensome of Ratcliff received certification in 1626 to procure a £250 ransom and charitable relief for herself and her three small children. Her husband Robert, master of the *Unicorne*, was taken by Salé ship 30 miles from the Isles of Scilly. The risks of him being left unransomed are made apparent: '[h]e is cruelly misused to make him forsake Christ and serve Mahomet'.³⁴⁹ On May 27th 1620, Sara, wife of Limehouse mariner Matthew Clarke, was granted certification confirming Clarke's position as master of the *Susan*, taken by Turks in the Straits on January 5th 1619 whilst voyaging to Alicante. Networks of maritime information apparently delivered details to Sara: the 80-ton *Susan* was taken by two 300-ton Turkish men-of-war, 'full of men and ordnance': nevertheless, the would-be captives fought 'for nine hours in the night'. Some of Clarke's 'principle men' were killed, 'and others sore hurt', whilst the ship, Clarke and the rest of the crew were taken to Algiers and 'sold in the market as slaves', fed bread and water, and made to 'lay on the ground with chains on their legs'. Just over a month later, a deal was brokered by Henry Warde, an English merchant, for their ransom of around £300: 'Clarke is to remain prisoner there until the money is raised, and neither he nor his friends can do so without help'.³⁵⁰ Elizabeth Haines was granted a certificate on April 30th 1623, confirming her husband Thomas, a Bristol mariner, was taken on the *Jacob* of Bristol travelling to the Straits on 'St Steven the Martyr's day last' [26th December]. The ship was sunk during the skirmish, with all crew either drowned or killed – except for Haines and one other. They managed to swim away from the vessel, but were captured from the water by the Turks. Haines was taken to Algiers, 'unless charitable

³⁴⁹ Harris, *Transactions* 66.

³⁵⁰ Harris, *Transactions* 45.

provision is made for his ransom, which is great' he would remain 'in miserable captivity', his dependents 'likely to starve in his absence'.³⁵¹

Certification gave authority and 'truth' value to petitioner's claims, and their micro-narratives provided vivid and generically memorable stories to relay whilst begging, or collecting for ransoms. As Matar (2001) points out, when collectors related such narratives within local churches or taverns, they were also disseminating terrifying images of Turks and Moors.³⁵² The value placed on individual captives could differ considerably, dependent on variables such as age, gender, status, and whether a captive had skills beneficial to their captors. However, the relatively large sums required meant collections were neither localised, nor confined to maritime regions. Ransoms formed a substantial income for the Barbary States: on June 8th 1634 Secretary Coke presented a report to the King on 'the unsatisfactory state of the relations between England and various foreign countries', reporting that at Tunis 'many are kept in slavery, and many turn Turks. At Sallee and Morocco the spoils of our people are their greatest wealth'.³⁵³ Profits were not only made through plundered cargoes and vessels, but from ransoming and the slave markets.

Despite forced conversion represented as commonplace, often prisoners were discouraged from converting, particularly if they could command prices within the higher range - although ransoms were always at least tens of pounds.³⁵⁴ To raise the money in the small amounts available through parish collections, therefore, took time - and travel.³⁵⁵ In 1625 Thomasin

³⁵¹ Harris, *Transactions* 56.

³⁵² Matar, 'Introduction' in Vitkus 25.

³⁵³ John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1634 – 1635* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864) 68 – 69.

³⁵⁴ Laura A. Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400 – 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 70; Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983) 89; Matar, 'Introduction' in Vitkus 25.

³⁵⁵ Matar, 'Introduction' 25.

Fletcher's husband Michael, a Rotherhide mariner and master of the *Lit[t]le James*, had been 'surprised by a Sallee man-of-war on the west coast, not many leagues from Plymouth', whilst returning from a New England plantation. It would appear that Fletcher's captors were aware of his high ransom value. He had been encouraged to write home often: 'it appears from his letters that he is in miserable captivity'. Held at Salé, with a £300 ransom and an £80 loss, collections were licenced in January 1626 for Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Middlesex, and the cities of London and Norwich, relatively highly populated areas.³⁵⁶ Indeed, the mobile figure of the collector became a recognised identity, demonstrated by Marcellus Laroon's late 17th century engraving, *Remember the Poor Prisoners*.³⁵⁷ Such mobility can be read as a continuation of the unsettled subjectivities Fumerton (2006) locates as intrinsic to poor seamen - a life, notes Rediker (1987), marked by fluidity and 'shaped by mobility, dispersion and high mortality', a mobility explored in Part III.³⁵⁸ Even when ashore, Fumerton reveals, mariners were associated with unsettledness: that of the mobile working poor, the changeability of the coastline, the liminality of the harbours and ports – and the cultural, ethnic and social mobility which could occur in foreign climes.³⁵⁹

Ironically, it is the tragedy of abandonment and the terrifying fate of forgotten captives which provides brief textual remembrance of these petitioning women within the historical record. Further examples include Joan Browne of Wapping, who petitioned for the ransom of her husband John in 1624 - the same year Sara Short, living in Limehouse with four children, petitioned for her husband Henry in Algiers, and Ann Dodson of Radcliff, whose husband

³⁵⁶ Harris, *Transactions* 70 – 71; 'Transactions 1609 to 1625,' Trinity House, London, ff 86v, 87; Matar, 'Introduction' 25.

³⁵⁷ Laroon, 'Remember'; Matar, 'Introduction' 25.

³⁵⁸ Fumerton; 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)159, 200.

³⁵⁹ Fumerton 119 – 122.

John was in Tunis where '[t]he Turks inflict intolerable torments upon him'. His ransom was £160.³⁶⁰ The wife of Richard Morris of Wapping, also a mother of four young children, remains anonymous in the record, although presenting in person on the same day as Ann and Sara. Her husband was master of the *Samuell*, on which Dodson served as master's mate. Morris, whose ransom was set at £240, had been taken by Turks on four previous occasions, so 'grievously beaten so that many small bones and splinters had to be taken from his head, nearly costing him his life'.³⁶¹ It is likely these women knew each other, and probably drew comfort and understanding within their localised communities. In the case of Thomasine Nelme of Poplar her neighbours actively supported her request for certification in 1611. Trinity House reported her case to Lord Chancellor Elmore. Her husband, William, master of a ship of 'Apsham' [Topsham] and his crew, were taken to Algiers whilst 'lying at anchor', the crew enslaved in the galleys, the ransom being £200. Thomasin and her five children risked perishing 'for want of sustenance' without charitable aid.³⁶²

As incidents increased over the ensuing decades, individual women petitioned Trinity House on behalf of other dependents of captives taken from the same ship. In June 1632 a certificate was granted to Mary Croft of Ratcliff, whose husband was master of the *Flying Drake* of Lyme Regis: the appeal incorporated the anonymous wives and children of nine other captives named in a marginal note.³⁶³ According to Matar (2005), Barbary captivity changed the lives of female dependents who 'had to acquire agency in order to conduct affairs independently of patriarchal authority' – including petitioning, arguing that petitioning

³⁶⁰ Harris, *Transactions* 59 – 61.

³⁶¹ Harris, *Transactions* 60.

³⁶² Harris, *Transactions* 10.

³⁶³ Harris, *Transactions* 76 – 77.

women challenged social norms.³⁶⁴ Wives petitioned individually and collectively to Trinity House, but also made political appeals *en masse* - in their thousands - direct to the highest authority, predicated upon their desperate economic, social and emotional state.³⁶⁵

However, Hoyle (2011) demonstrates that women were frequent petitioners during this time, particularly on matrimonial matters, and certainly individual petitioning women were socially and politically acceptable.³⁶⁶ Nevertheless, this mass petitioning demonstrates the widespread impact of Barbary captivity. In 1623 it was reported the ‘wives, kindred, and fir[i]ends’ of captives ‘do so importune his Majestie at all turns, that he is forced som[e]times to geve them hard usage both in words and worse’.³⁶⁷ In 1625, it was reported that the ‘poor women that follow the King are many of them in great misery and want and likewise in the western parts’.³⁶⁸ As Matar (2005) suggests, this collective petitioning would not only have involved dependents from the mariner parishes east of London Bridge, but those ‘who gravitated to the city in the hope of effecting their kinsmen’s release’, many undoubtedly having West Country connections.³⁶⁹ By the end of March 1626/7, Trinity House expressed concerns to the Council regarding the amount of mariners being taken, and increase in petitioning. Having interviewed men returning from Salé, including those seeking financial help to travel home, and viewed letters from captives:

It is evident that there are some 1,200 or 1,400 English captives, all or mostly taken in the Channel, within 20 or 30 miles of Dartmouth, Plymouth and Falmouth. When

³⁶⁴ Matar, *Britain* 76.

³⁶⁵ Matar, *Britain* 78.

³⁶⁶ Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 566.

³⁶⁷ Letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, 12 July 1623, in John Chamberlain, *Letters of John Chamberlain* 2 vols., ed. Norman Egbert McLure (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939) 2: 507, quoted Matar, *Britain* 80.

³⁶⁸ TNA: PRO SP 71/1, f 492, quoted Matar, *Britain* 81.

³⁶⁹ Matar, *Britain* 79.

the ships are full of the king's subjects, the pirates return to Sallee, sell the captives in the common market, and return for more.³⁷⁰

In an intriguing observation of the West Country maritime regions and their inhabitants, they note '[t]he coast is unguarded by ships, and friends are not restrained from helping the infidels'.³⁷¹

Petitions were designed to invoke compassion, detailing the terrible conditions of captivity and the destitution of dependents, but they also demonstrate awareness of localised maritime knowledges and wider political processes. Petitioners often suggested action which could be undertaken by centralised authority. In September 1624, 'many poore women whose husbandes and sonnes and servants are detained captives in Algier and other portes of Barbary' petitioned the Council with palpable urgency, as there was:

at this present a shipp going from the port of London for Algier and Tunis and that they cannot heare of any other shipp likely to goe for that place this twelve months againe and that if this oportunitye should be lost for the withdrawing home of the said captives now that his Majestie hath a consull residing there they doubt whether they should recover the like againe and that at their request, Nicholas Leat, marchant, doth offer to advance one thousand pound sterling, or anie lesser somme in Algier for redeeming of the said captives or as many of them as may be had for so much mony, so as the said Nicholas Leat maie have an order of the Board to be repaid the said summe so by him disbursed out of such monyes as are or shalbe gathered by the briefes graunted by his Majestie (and grounded upon an order of the Upper House of Parliament made the 27th of May 1624) for the redeeming of the aforesaid captives.³⁷²

The petition, underwritten by the Board of Bishops 'greatly moved with compassion of the hard estate of the said captives', emphasised there should be no delay 'in this busines'.

Redemption costs were given for a list of named captives, 56 in Algiers, and 8 in Tunis, 'or as many of them as may be had'.³⁷³

³⁷⁰ Harris, *Transactions* 75.

³⁷¹ Harris, *Transactions* 75.

³⁷² J. V. Lyle, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England 1623 – 1625* (London: HMSO, 1933) 335. Also see: Matar, *Britain* 80 – 81.

³⁷³ *APC 1623 – 1625* 335 - 336.

A further petition was presented to Buckingham in March 1625/6 by ‘the distressed wives of almost 2,000 poor mariners remaining most miserable captives in Sallee in Barbary’, having ‘exhibited many petitions to his Majesty, but could never yet receive any one answer’. They prayed Buckingham would ‘intercede with the King in their behalf’, in his ‘wonted goodness and gracious pity towards poor women and miserable captives’.³⁷⁴ ‘Distressed’ has multiple significations. These women were simultaneously anguished and impoverished: under enormous strain from the ‘force’ of poverty, misfortune and sorrow, but also indicative of the legal act of distraint: seizing goods to pay debts.³⁷⁵ The wives state their husbands have:

for a longe tyme contynued in most wofull, miserable and lamentable captivite and slavery in Sally in aforesaide, undergoing most unspeakable torments and want of foode through the merciles crueltie of their manifold masters, and which is the worst of all, the extreame want of the spirutall foode of their soules.³⁷⁶

In addition, ‘your petitioners’ with many ‘poore smale children and infants are almost reddie to perish and starve for wante of meanes and food’ - usually obtained ‘through the industire of the poore captives’:

unless the said poore and miserable captives bee by some meanes redeemed, they are like utterlie to perrishe, but your poore petitioners are noe waie able to redeeme them, the ransomes demanded are soe greate.³⁷⁷

They evoke the religio-humoral concept of compassion; ‘for Christ Jesus sake’; textually and through the ‘pressing’ of repetition. ‘Commiserate the most wofull, lamentable and distressed estate’ of the captives and their dependents, the petitioner’s begged, ‘out of your pious and

³⁷⁴ John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1625, 1626* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858) 516 – 517. Also see: Matar, *Britain* 81.

³⁷⁵ *OED*.

³⁷⁶ Pierre de Cenival and Philippe de Cossé Brissac, ed., *Les surces inédites de l’histoire du Maroc ... archives et bibliothèques d’Angleterre* Vol. 3. (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936) quoted Matar, *Britain* 81.

³⁷⁷ de Cenival and de Cossé Brissac quoted Matar, *Britain* 81.

Christian charritie towards the poore members of Christs mystical bodie'.³⁷⁸ They wish Buckingham to 'bee a meanse' to the king, to suggest:

hee would bee graciously pleased to send some convenient messenger unto the Kinge of Morocoe and Governor of Sally aforesaide, for the redemption of the saide poore distressed captives owt of their extreame tormentes and miserie.³⁷⁹

In return, the petitioners and their children 'shall for ever (as already they are bounde) pray for Your Honours and Worships happines both in this worlde and in the worlde to come'.³⁸⁰

In May 1626 Charles warned '[r]emember that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting and dissolution', and also informed Buckingham 'out of his royall care of his distressed subjectes who are held in captivity by the Moores' he would send Francis Vernon 'to treat and deale for the releassing of those his said subjectes'.³⁸¹ Vernon was to 'be furnished with twoe sufficient ships for the more safe transporting of him thither and bringing of him back in these dangerous tymes'.³⁸² However, there is no evidence this resulted in any captives being released. Charles dissolved Parliament in June, leaving him unable to financially contribute to such an undertaking.³⁸³

Favouritism is evident: for example, special attention was given to one persistent petitioner who implied ransoming had been conducted unfairly. In April 1627 the Council wrote to Roe regarding a 'humble petition' from Marie Blundill, wife of Richard, who, 'above three yeares since was carryed into Argier and there bought by one Hashan Basha, of Napoly de Romaine', now deceased. Blundill 'was put in a galley and contineweth in

³⁷⁸ de Cenival and de Cossé Brissac quoted Matar 81.

³⁷⁹ de Cenival and de Cossé Brissac quoted Matar 81.

³⁸⁰ de Cenival and de Cossé Brissac quoted Matar 81 – 82.

³⁸¹ Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of England From the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War 1603 – 1642, Volume 6: 1625 – 1629* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1884) 83; Reeve 12; J. V. Lyle, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England 1625 – 1626* (London: HMSO, 1934) 480 – 481.

³⁸² *APC 1625 – 1626* 480 – 481. Also see: Matar, *Britain* 82.

³⁸³ Gardiner, *History* 121; Matar, *Britain* 82.

miserable servitude and slaverie under the comaund of Hamond Bey’, Hashan Basha’s brother, and kept ‘in chaynes in the galleye’s hold’. As Marie ‘hath beene a long suitor to this Board and solicited for obtayneing a general ransome for the captives in Turkie’, and witnessed other having ‘theire husbands and fr[i]ends released of captivitie’, the Council urge Thomas Roe, the ambassador in Istanbul, ‘to take some speedie and efectuall course for the release of the said Richard Blundill out of bondage’.³⁸⁴

Other individual women petitioned the Council, demonstrating favouritism - given the processes required to get a petition to this level - and providing micro-narratives for their husbands, revealing knowledge of political machinations.³⁸⁵ Bennett Wright, wife of William Wright, a ‘most miserable distressed Prisoner under the tyranie of the divlish turkes’, was aware of Turks held in Winchester prison. William, taken in May 1636, ‘is like miserably to perish’ as neither his wife nor friends could pay the above-average £90 ransom.³⁸⁶ Bennett reminds the Council she had ‘desired that her husband might be reansomed w[i]th the ransome of some of those Turkes w[hi]ch lay in Winchester gaole’, complaining they had now been ‘bought’ by ‘one Mr. Newland of ye Isle of Wight’.³⁸⁷ Bennett closes her petition praying for a ‘worke of piety’ by the Council, to ensure the ‘reliefe and ransom of her poore husband’.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁴ J. V. Lyle, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council 1627: Jan - Aug* (London: HMSO, 1938) 251. Also see: Matar, *Britain* 82.

³⁸⁵ Matar, *Britain* 87.

³⁸⁶ The average being £65. Matar, *Britain* 87.

³⁸⁷ Matar, *Britain* 82. Also discussed in my paper, ‘Some of your Majesties Subjects did take some Moores, and Turkes’: Captive Muslims in Early Modern Cornwall’, Cornish Studies Conference 2012, Institute of Cornish Studies, University of Exeter, 14th September 2012.

³⁸⁸ TNA: PRO SP 16/408, f 118; John Bruce and William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1638 – 1639* (London: Longman & Co., 1871) 271; Matar, *Britain* 87 – 88.

Further mass petitioning occurred in 1631, with Mary Farr ‘and others’, who had ‘husbands, sons, and other dear friends in Barbary’. Again, the petitioners appear well informed, acknowledging that John Harrison, the King’s ‘late agent’ had redeemed 260 subjects at Salé. However, the subsequent peace agreement brokered by Harrison had been undermined due to Mr. Maddock, the master of a ship bound for Spain, and Mr. Wye, a merchant, capturing a Salé ship and selling the crew as Spanish slaves, along with the vessel and goods. As a result ‘merchants goods and their factors in Sallee are embargoed and divers ships taken and Englishmen made slaves’. The petitioners ‘[p]ray for redress and the punishment of Maddock and Wye, with a dispatch of Capt. Harrison back again with an answer to letters brought by him from the King of Morocco’.³⁸⁹ A response came in 1633: the women were ordered to cease petitioning the Council.³⁹⁰

Nevertheless, a further petition was presented on November 12th 1635 to the Lords of the Admiralty, on behalf of ‘husbands, ffathers’ enslaved in ‘Argeir and Sally’.³⁹¹ This petition indicated ‘Captain Bushell’ was ready to redeem ‘distressed persons’ whose ransoms had been raised through the compassion of their friends, but the Council needed to authorise the voyage. Permission had not been granted: as Matar (2005) highlights, problems with redemption were not necessarily due to insufficient collection funds, but insufficient political impetus.³⁹² Later that year, another petition was presented on behalf of ‘Clara Bowyer, Margarett Hall, Elizabeth Ensam, Elizabeth Newland w[i]th a thousand poore women more and upwards’, reminding the King these captives – approximately 1500 – were ‘yor poore

³⁸⁹ John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1631 – 1633* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1862) 219.

³⁹⁰ TNA: PRO SP 71/1, f 492; TNA: PRO PC [Privy Council] 2/43, f 551. Also see: Hebb, *Piracy* 198; Matar, *Britain* 81.

³⁹¹ TNA: PRO SP 16/301, f 66, quoted Matar, *Britain* 83.

³⁹² Matar, *Britain* 83.

subjects and husbands being all Seafayring men'.³⁹³ Whilst 'all on the Seae following their lawfull calling', they were 'severall times taken by the Sally men of Warre, and carried to Sally in Barbary', where some of them had now been for over three years in the 'most miserable lamentable, & woefull slavery & captivitie, enduring hard, & extreame labour, want of sustenance, and greevius torments'.³⁹⁴ Again, the neglected religious needs of the captives – a dangerous form of abandonment – is of grave concern, '[t]hrough the merciless crueltie of their manifold M[oors] and which is the greatest of all the want of the spirituall foode of their soules'. The women appear to be aware of diplomatic procedures for securing release, shifting responsibility onto the monarch and reminding him of his duty to his subjects.³⁹⁵ They request he corresponds with the 'kinge of Moorocoe' whom they understand 'will deliver them all out of captivitie if yor ma[jes]tie send an Embassador, or yor highnes letter', alternative options being 'deathe, or extraordinary ransoms'.³⁹⁶

Further mass petitions were presented – indeed they continued into the 1650s.³⁹⁷ On May 31st 1638 the wives of captives taken from the *Mary* and now 'in cruell bondage under the Turkes of Argere' demonstrated this increasing agency. '[M]iseries and afflicions doth much torment your petitioners', they complain, having 'nothing at all towards their ransome nor their owne lively hoods'. Nevertheless, they had proactively made 'earnest request to the Merchants who set forth the saide Shipp', who had pledged £100 towards the £800 redemption costs, despite their own losses. To raise the remainder, and 'ransome their husbands from their intolerable servitude', they appeal to the king's 'pittie' to:

³⁹³ TNA: PRO SP 16/306, f 85. Also see: Harris, *Transactions* 66.

³⁹⁴ TNA: PRO SP 16/306, f 85, quoted Matar, *Britain* 83 - 84.

³⁹⁵ Matar, *Britain* 84 – 85.

³⁹⁶ TNA: PRO SP 16/306, f 85, quoted Matar, *Britain* 84.

³⁹⁷ TNA: PRO SP 18/36, f 84; Matar, *Britain* 90 – 92.

graunt your petitioners your gracious Letters patente by way of Breif for such places as your Ma[jes]ty shall think fitt, where by to collect the alms of well disposed Christianes.

Otherwise, ‘they must there end their daies in Turkish slavery, and wee hard in miserable penury’.³⁹⁸ The same day another petition was presented on behalf of the ‘many Marriners, prisoners in Argere and Tunis’, a response to an earlier petition, not extant.³⁹⁹ Captain Leate - probably Nicholas Leat[e] – had apparently been appointed to redeem captives with collection funds. However, the Council had ordered to ‘ye contrary, and staie is made’: the petitioners were therefore ‘still enforced to trouble yor honors for [th]eir reliefe’. Once again, the women emphasise the ‘distresse and sorrow’ of themselves and the captives, begging the Council to ‘appoint some speedy order for redempson’.⁴⁰⁰

The legal status of the wives of captive Britons feature in *The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights* (1632).⁴⁰¹ Section 26 covers ‘Captivitie or long absence of one which is married’, beginning ‘It falleth out not seldome, the one of them which are married to be taken captive, or otherwise so detained, that it is uncertaine if he live or no’.⁴⁰² The tract suggests after a spouse had ‘beene gone five yeares, and nothing knowne whether he lived or no’ they could remarry, although this is not in compliance with common law which ‘commandeth simply to forbear Marriage till the death of him or her that is missing be certainly knowne’.⁴⁰³ Whilst acknowledging the moral and legal dilemma the wives were in, the tract neither clarified, nor alleviated, this uncertainty. However, some women were aware their husbands had died. Mary Temple of Limehouse, informed Trinity House how her late

³⁹⁸ TNA: PRO SP 16/391, f 95; John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1637 – 1638* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1869) 477 – 478; Matar, *Britain* 86.

³⁹⁹ TNA: PRO SP 16/391, f 98, quoted Matar, *Britain* 87.

⁴⁰⁰ TNA: PRO SP 16/391, f 98, quoted Matar 87.

⁴⁰¹ *The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights: Or, The Lawes Provision for Women* (London: 1632).

⁴⁰² *The Lawes* 66.

⁴⁰³ *The Lawes* 66; Matar, *Britain* 82 – 83.

husband John had been captured several times over the previous three years – including during an encounter with the notorious Captain Easton in 1612. In May 1613, whilst Master of the *Peter*, he was taken by three ‘ships of war manned by Turks and Moors, and 4 christians’, who murdered one of the crew and tortured the rest – forcibly circumcising a young boy so he would ‘turn Turk’. Taken to Salé, John was ‘so misused that he died within 8 days’, leaving Mary and her four small children ‘in great poverty’. Her licenced collection covered a relatively wide geographic area: London, Middlesex, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, Surrey, Chichester, Buckinghamshire, Herfordshire, Westminster and Canterbury.⁴⁰⁴

Certificates reveal the unsettled and mutable lives of seafarers and their families. Grace Ewens of Limehouse, granted a certificate on September 12th 1621, reported how her late husband, Robert; ‘honest and of good estate’; had sustained numerous losses at sea over the previous four years. One vessel he had invested in was chased by Turks whilst voyaging from Ireland to Spain: to escape, the ship had to be run aground. Another ship he had invested in was badly damaged and goods lost due to bad weather: once re-fitted, it was promptly taken by ‘Turks and Moors’ whilst en route to Cadiz and Malaga, with two of the crew still held captive. Ewens, ill in Ireland at the time, had subsequently died – the £200 he left entrusted to his brother Roger, who also died shortly afterwards, was ‘embezzled by strangers’ leaving nothing for Grace, or his son, Thomas.⁴⁰⁵ Many suffered multiple misfortunes, but the actions of the Turks had the greatest impact. Richard Knott, from St Katherine’s parish near the Tower of London, granted certification on December 29th 1621, had experienced two devastating ship wrecks. On May 13th 1616, his ship foundered off the coast of Biscay: having ‘saved only his life’, he lost over £60. The second, on April 4th 1621, was near Belle Ile, an island near Brittany. Despite being rescued by a Fowey bark, he lost ‘over £70 in

⁴⁰⁴ Harris, *Transactions* 16.

⁴⁰⁵ Harris, *Transactions* 50 - 51.

clothes, instruments and his adventure'. However, six months later, the *Faulcon* was attacked by two Turk ships off the Portuguese coast, taking all Knott possessed - over £130 – and 'unmercifully beat him to make him confess what was in the ship'. The ship was fleeced of 'tackle, apparel and furniture', before being 'forced ashore by a storm and, striking the Manacle rocks near the Lizard, sank': Knott lost 'his whole estate amounting to over £260, besides the loss of his time'. Therefore, '[b]eing disabled by the cruelty of the infidel and unfit to pursue his profession, he, his wife and 2 small children are exposed to perpetual misery without charitable relief'.⁴⁰⁶

Other family members also petitioned: on September 15th 1621, William and Thomas Hammon; a tailor and a blacksmith; were licenced to collect the £80 ransom of their brother, Henry, held in Tunis since 1616. Additional notes reveal the networks through which families gleaned information. Thomas Prator, captured with Hammon and taken to Algiers, was released during Mansell's recent expedition. In June 1621, Prator informed a London merchant, Mr. Bigs, that at the time of his rescue Hammon was still alive at Tunis. This information was confirmed by Thomas Griffen of Ratcliff and Peter Rowe of Millbrook, Cornwall, both captured by vessels upon which Hammon was forced to serve.⁴⁰⁷ Robert Mathew petitioned for the ransom of his brother, Peter, in 1624, his account containing the familiar motifs of captivity. Seven months previously the ship Peter was on had been 'surprised by a Turkish man-of-war', and taken to Salé:

He lives in misery in iron chains, is forced to grind in the mill like a horse all day long, is fed on bread and water, and insufficient of that, and is tortured to make him turn Turk.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁶ Harris, *Transactions* 53 – 54.

⁴⁰⁷ Harris, *Transactions* 51.

⁴⁰⁸ Harris, *Transactions* 58.

These familiar images were repeated in a petition dated October 3rd 1640 sent by 3000

Algiers captives themselves:

in miserable captivity undergoing most unsufferable labours, as rowing in galleys, drawing in carts, grinding in mills, with divers such unchristianlike works, most lamentable to express and most burdensome to undergo, withal suffering much hunger and many blows on their bare bodies, by which cruelty many not being able to undergo it have been forced to turn Mahometans.⁴⁰⁹

‘[M]any good seamen and others your subjects’, they continue, will ‘perish unless some course be by you taken for our release’, adding that their release ‘we of ourselves cannot procure of our great losses and the extraordinary ransoms’. The petition listed shipmasters and their men who had been taken captive since May 18th 1639 – totalling 957.⁴¹⁰

Petitioning was difficult to manage. By the mid-1630s at least 1000 petitions a year were received by the Masters, although, probably due to sheer volume, record-keeping was poor.⁴¹¹ Before decisions were made, petitions were referred on to panels of councillors or commissioners, a lengthy, unmanageable and overly bureaucratic exercise: no secretariat was assigned, only an occasional clerk.⁴¹² Petitioning was rife: reputedly James was ‘constantly beset by petitioners within his palaces, via backstairs and doorways, and without his palaces, even when hunting’ – indeed, after James’s death, instructions were issued in 1626 by the Council stating petitioners should only present requests in spaces designated for such activities, not at the backstairs or personal chambers.⁴¹³ The royal route to chapel was an

⁴⁰⁹ William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, of the Reign of Charles I, 1640 – 1641* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1967, [1882]) 134. Also see: Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640 – 1685* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007) 40 – 41.

⁴¹⁰ *CSPD 1640 – 1641* 134.

⁴¹¹ Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 552.

⁴¹² Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 552.

⁴¹³ Quote Richards, ‘His nowe majestie’ 80; Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* 85; Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 552 – 553. Also see: J. V. Lyle, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council 1626: June – Dec.* (London: HMSO, 1938) 38.

acknowledged site to petition the monarch, subsequently handed to the Master, who was also petitioned directly.⁴¹⁴ Whilst Charles was reputed to distance himself from petitioners, a debated accusation, Hoyle (2011) suggests James understood he could not address the volume of petitions he received, whilst being aware it was crucial to show interest in petitioned grievances.⁴¹⁵ However, he seems to have found it tiresome to be besieged by groups clamouring a case *en masse*, or overly persistent individuals – on one occasion a female petitioner was removed from court and whipped.⁴¹⁶

The West Country authorities also received mass petitions pleading for defensive action and restitution regarding the depredations of the Turks: these were forwarded to centralised government. Several accounts of collections for captives, and payment of alms for ex-captives exist within West Country parish records, although the amount is inconsistent with documentation recording the regional impact of captivity. As Hudson (2007) highlights, the pressures on localised provision led to increased centralised petitioning for charitable aid – undoubtedly problematic for many within the region.⁴¹⁷ Generalised collections for the ‘captives taken in Turkey’ appear locally: in 1593 Kilkhampton gave 6d to a ‘poor man that gathered for prisoners that are in Turkey’, contributing 5s to two further collections in 1595.⁴¹⁸ The following year St Ives donated 20d, whilst St Neot gave 2s for ‘prisoners in Turkey in 1613’, the same year Liskeard ‘paid to one having a brief for redeeming certain prisoners that were taken in Turkey’ 5s. Four years later Camborne donated 5s 6d ‘for the

⁴¹⁴ Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 555 - 556. Also see: K. J. Kesselring, *Mercy and Authority in the Tudor State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 122.

⁴¹⁵ Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 552, 555, 558.

⁴¹⁶ Andy Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak Country, 1520 – 1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 236 – 237; Hoyle, ‘Masters’ 555. Also see: Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* 83 – 99.

⁴¹⁷ Hudson, ‘Arguing Disability’ 107.

⁴¹⁸ Cornwall Record Office (CRO) P.102/5/1, f 57, 60v.

ransoming of prisoners taken with the Turks'.⁴¹⁹ These were probably mobile collectors operating under the auspices of a generalised collection throughout the country from the second half of the 16th century, following centralised directives, and spreading the impact of Barbary captivity inland, although such collections had additional resonance within the coastal regions.⁴²⁰

Localised collections were authorised for captives and their dependents. In 1632 the Bishop of Exeter held a special collection throughout the diocese for dependents of Millbrook captives, whilst on July 2nd 1622 a collection was authorised in Lyme Regis for local mariner William Hyett, and ten others held in Algiers.⁴²¹ John Bolithoe, 'late of ye Burrough of Penryn in Cornwall & now Captive in Sally', supported by the Mayor of Penryn and other local officials, successfully petitioned the Bishop of Exeter for a collection to be made in churches for his ransom. Bolithoe, 'aged about sixteen years', was taken from a ship bound to Madeira with wheat during September 1645. The desperation is apparent:

Ye ship taken by a Sally man of war & ye master & your petitioner and Company all made Slaves where now your petitioner lives under very great servitude and being altogether unable by any thing of his owne or by help of nay kindred to raise the Ransome being very high your poore peitioner doth humbly Adresse unto your lordship praying & beseeching your [Lordship] to take his said and Deplorable Condition unto your [prompt?] Consideration & to permit your petitioner to Collect ye benevolences of ye Charitable disposed persons within your Lordships Diocese.⁴²²

⁴¹⁹ St Neot: CRO P162/5/1; Liskeard: CRO P.126/4/1 f.103v; Camborne: CRO PD 322/2; St Ives: John Hobson Matthews, *A History of the Parishes of St. Ives, Lelant, Towednack and Zennor, in the County of Cornwall* (London, E. Stock, 1892)164. Also see: Todd Gray, 'Turks, Moors and the Cornish Fishermen: Piracy in the Early Seventeenth Century,' *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, N.S. X (4) (1990): 460; Duffin, *Faction* 134.

⁴²⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report of Manuscripts in Various Collections Vol. I* 68; Matthews, *A History* 164; Matar, 'Introduction' in Vitkus 24.

⁴²¹ Devon Record Office (DRO) DQS OB 1/6, Bapt. 1632, 405; DRO DHC D/LRM/T24.

⁴²² CRO St. Dominic Parish, P50/7/2.

Youth made Bolithoe vulnerable, hence it was important that ‘your poore petitioner may not only be Redeemed from ye hardships of Bodily Sufferings but may be delivered from ye temptations of such infidels and enemies of the Christian faith’.⁴²³

What is striking from these appeals is the lack of parity between the apparent number of captives, and those ‘remembered’: redeemed and celebrated within the public domain. Furthermore, despite the numerous accounts preserved in the more private-facing historical record, it is clear countless more captives were homogenised and unknown as individuals. London based mariners and their dependents had the advantages of geographical accessibility to centralised authority: nevertheless, despite their tenacious efforts, the vast majority of captives remained neglected by the English authorities. The deeply affected communities from Devon and Cornwall were multiply disadvantaged due to their marginal location, and probably had a lack of procedural knowledge with reduced access to networks of power. Importantly, the appearance of certain petitions or certification within the historical record can obscure the complex processes, knowledge, and connections to power that enabled them to be heard and preserved, at the expense of untold others.

⁴²³ CRO St. Dominic Parish, P50/7/2.

‘Yor highnes said subjects & husbands cannot bee redeemed or delivered, but by deathe, or extraordinary ransoms’,⁴²⁴

Forgetting Barbary Captives

Despite the efforts of petitioners and collectors to ‘remember the poor prisoners’, ransoming did not free the vast majority of captives: Hebb (1994) estimates at best less than a third were ransomed and returned.⁴²⁵ Redemption was a lengthy procedure, and the realisation of their ‘forgotten status’ led many to convert to Islam.⁴²⁶ Countless captives died, or were sold into private slavery, making them difficult to locate and redeem. Of the 302 Icelandic captives of 1627, only 37 were located when a delegation arrived to redeem them nine years later, with the fate of the others unknown.⁴²⁷ Similarly, three years after the Baltimore raid, only one captive had been redeemed, the consul in Algiers reporting that of the remaining 108 ‘near 70 remainith to be redeemed, the rest being dead or turned Turk’.⁴²⁸ Two months after the raid he had noted that there were 89 women and children ‘taken lately from Baltamore’.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁴ From the petition of Clara Bowyer, Margaret Hall, Elizabeth Ensam, Elizabeth Newland ‘w[i]th a thousand poore women more and upwardes’. TNA: PRO SP 16/306, f 85, quoted Matar, *Britain* 83 - 84

⁴²⁵ Hebb, *Piracy* 163.

⁴²⁶ See: Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558 – 1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 21 – 72.

⁴²⁷ Benton, *Law* 70 – 71; Hebb, *Piracy* 163.

⁴²⁸ James Frizell, February 1633/4, quoted in Hebb, *Piracy* f.n. 1, 164.

⁴²⁹ TNA: PRO SP 71/1, f 151, quoted Matar, *Britain* 54 – 55.

Redemption costs were substantial and included fees, bribes, ransoms and travel, and the processes were slow, unreliable and fraught with logistical problems.⁴³⁰ Whilst securing the levies for the Algiers and Salé missions were not without difficulties, the Council intervened where necessary.⁴³¹ However, administering the collected funds was, inevitably, unmanageable – and often fraudulent and corrupt. Due to ineffectual ‘official’ ransoming, many were conducted privately. In April 1622 Roe wrote to the king regarding the ransoming of ‘divers poore men your Majesties subjects in captivity to the Grand Signor, and to other men’, stating the many licenced collections ‘made for particular men in churches’ he fears ‘have bene abused’. He urges the king to ‘speake with my lord keeper therein, that no private letters patents might be granted’, and to issue ‘a warrant under the greate seale’ to ‘some honest and elect men of the Spanish and Turkish companies as tresures for the poore captives’. He also advised monthly collections to take place in London and Middlesex, ‘to receive the charity of compassionat and well affected men’.⁴³² Nevertheless, eleven years later, on March 21st 1633, Charles felt compelled to issue a Royal Proclamation against ‘making Collections without Licence under the Great Seale’, due to fraudulent claims for personal gain and families initiating private collections.⁴³³

Despite the collections, official redemptions were rare. On April 14th 1628 it was revealed the Archbishop of Canterbury possessed £3000 for redeeming captives in Algiers – an unused

⁴³⁰ Hebb, *Piracy* f.n.1, 136, 136 – 170.

⁴³¹ Harris, *Transactions* 45, 49; Paul Raffield, *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power, 1558 – 1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 197; William Prynne, *An Humble Remonstrance Against the Tax of Ship-money Lately Imposed* (London: 1641) 2 – 3. Also see: Henry Parker, *The Case of Shipmony Briefly Discoursed* (London: 1640).

⁴³² Sir Thomas Roe, *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from the Year 1621 to 1628 Inclusive* (London, 1740) 32; Matar, *Britain* 48.

⁴³³ James F. Larkin, *Stuart Royal Proclamations Vol II: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) 373 - 374; Matar, *Britain* 57.

sum collected since at least 1624.⁴³⁴ A committee was appointed on May 29th to oversee the funds. However, money donated by the parishes, yet controlled and supervised by centralised authority rather than families, communities or trading companies, was proving contentious regarding its distribution and use.⁴³⁵ It would appear that many ordinary captives – a large number associated with the seditious and piratical ‘western parts’ - were not prioritised within redemption decisions. Indeed, as Matar (2005) observes, there is evidence for ethnic discrimination. In 1653 English captives were prioritised over Scottish and Irish captives: London decision-makers deeming these captives less ‘deserving’ than the English.⁴³⁶

The forgotten status of Anglo-Protestants generally was heightened in contrast with other European captives, with whom they shared the spaces of slavery and the theological landscape of Christendom. The corrupt and disorganised processes of ransoming which Britons endured; leaving them susceptible to death, pathological melancholy and conversion; differed considerably to that of their Catholic co-captives. As Okeley observes:

The *Spaniards* every Year return a considerable sum of money to *Algiers*, to be employed in the Redemption of such of their own Country as are there in Slavery: Some say there is a *particular Treasury* set apart for that Service; but this I know: that they use the *Charitable benevolence of well-disposed Persons*, to advance it.⁴³⁷

As a religious duty deeply entrenched within Catholic consciousness, the practices and terminology of redemption and ransom combined religious and economic discourse. ‘Redemption’ signifies freeing a captive, slave or prisoner by payment, but also the deliverance from sin and damnation through the shedding of Christ’s blood. Similarly, ransom was the penalty for release, but also referred to the release from sin.⁴³⁸ Highly

⁴³⁴ Parliamentary Archives Main Papers, HL/PO/JO/10/1/34, 1 April 1628 – 29 April 1628.

⁴³⁵ Matar, *Britain* 52.

⁴³⁶ See: Matar, *Britain* 91.

⁴³⁷ Okeley, *Eben-ezer* 28.

⁴³⁸ *OED*.

organised and efficient, Catholic redemption was rooted in the Crusades.⁴³⁹ Specific religious orders were dedicated to redeeming captives: the Trinitarians, or the ‘Order of the Holy Trinity for the Ransom of Captives’, founded in 1198, and the Mercedarians, ‘The Royal and Military Order of Our Lady of Mercy of the Redemption of Captives’, established twenty years later.⁴⁴⁰ Both Orders subsidised ransoms, and travelled in person to redeem captives, receiving voluntary financial support from the Catholic monarchy, who felt a moral and religious duty towards the captives, viewing them as casualties of a Christian war against Islam.⁴⁴¹

The Trinitarians were established by a Rule at the beginning of Innocent III’s pontificate, by John de Matha of Provence – a region ‘on the frontier between Christendom and Islam’ – in order to ransom Christian captives taken due to both crusading and piracy.⁴⁴² A third of the Order’s resources were given for redemption, and the religious houses gave annually, some having all their income destined for the fund: the first time captive redemption had been given priority by a religious order. The monies were also used for freeing Muslim captives where appropriate.⁴⁴³ Under strict guidelines, friars collected alms, and publically preached on captivity and the redemption missions. They were not to exaggerate or spend collected money on themselves, to collect only in sanctioned places, and be moderate in food, drink

⁴³⁹ See, for example, James W. Brodman, ‘The Rhetoric of Ransoming: A Contribution to the Debate over Crusading in Medieval Iberia,’ *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001) 41 – 52.

⁴⁴⁰ The Trinitarians, <www.trinitarians.org>; Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy Mercedarian Friars, <www.orderofmercy.org>.

⁴⁴¹ Matar, ‘Introduction’ in Vitkus 29; James W. Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009) 169.

⁴⁴² Brodman, *Charity* 150.

⁴⁴³ Brodman, *Charity* 152 – 153.

and apparel.⁴⁴⁴ All alms were recorded upon collection in the redemption book, and deposited within 24 hours in the secure box sited in every religious house.⁴⁴⁵ Friars prepared the expedition, which included specialist ships, two redeemtors and a procurator, who would also purchase goods to be sold in Barbary with profits added to the redemption fund.⁴⁴⁶ Leaving ceremonies took place, and during ‘redemption time’ which spanned from departure to return, the religious communities ‘accompanied’ redeemers with daily psalms and prayers, in continual remembrance of the captives.⁴⁴⁷ Rigorous guidelines governed redeemtors, a role only a select few undertook: they had to be mature, compassionate, virtuous, learned, solid in their faith, able to negotiate – and not be duped or seduced by the infidel.⁴⁴⁸ For Mercedarians, there was also a so-called ‘fourth vow’, or the vow of redemption: the example of Christ the Redeemer required they offer themselves as a substitute to redeem a Christian captive – particularly if the captive may convert and ransom funds fell short. There is, however, little evidence to suggest that this occurred.⁴⁴⁹ From the 16th century onwards Algiers was the most common destination for Spanish Mercedarians: taking up lodgings on arrival, they conducted the processes of ransoming as a business transaction, with all details documented.⁴⁵⁰ When return was imminent, word was sent ahead and processions with services of thanksgiving were organised: an opportunity for captivity and redemption

⁴⁴⁴ Brodman, *Charity* 168 - 169; ‘Mercedarian Historical Survey: 1574 – 1770,’ Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy Mercedarian Friars, 29 April 2010, <www.orderofmercy.org>.; Bruce Taylor, *Structures of Reform: The Mercedarian Order in the Spanish Golden Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 25 – 26.

⁴⁴⁵ ‘Mercedarian Historical Survey’; Brodman in Gervers and Powell 46.

⁴⁴⁶ Taylor, *Structures* 26. Also see: Matar, ‘Introduction’ in Vitkus 29.

⁴⁴⁷ ‘Mercedarian Historical Survey’.

⁴⁴⁸ Taylor, *Structures* 28; Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500 – 1800* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) 179.

⁴⁴⁹ Taylor, *Structures* 28; Brodman, *Charity* 169, 172; ‘Mercedarian Historical Survey’.

⁴⁵⁰ Taylor, *Structures* 26, 28; ‘Mercedarian Historical Survey’.

narratives to be publicly shared.⁴⁵¹ Returned captives lodged in the Order's houses before reintegration back with their families and communities, and provided with clothing and other goods necessary for return.⁴⁵² These processes were not without problems: although captives were bound into service with the Order for a year and a day upon safe return, many absconded before the processions and services were over.⁴⁵³ Concerns regarding mass institutionalised ransoming were expressed during the 17th century: however, the whole process held a powerful appeal amongst European Catholics, and was highly successful.⁴⁵⁴ It is clear that these efforts, and the treatment of returned captives, contrasted sharply with the British experience.⁴⁵⁵

Domestic concerns regarding the forgotten captives and failures to guard the sea continued throughout the period leading up to the Civil Wars: Charles's accession coincided with the arrival of the Turks in the waters of Cornwall and Devon, and his reign saw escalating anger.⁴⁵⁶ The perceived ineptitude of Buckingham, compounded by treasury debt, the deeply unpopular ship money, lack of royal financial contributions and mismanagement of ransoming and redemption, intensified the unrest.⁴⁵⁷ Although, privately, proposals to address Barbary captivity following the mass petitions were put forward, these were costly and unworkable, unable to incorporate the differing demands of those involved. In April 1632 it

⁴⁵¹ Taylor, *Structures* 27; Davis, *Christian Slaves* 179; 'Mercedarian Historical Survey'.

⁴⁵² Brodman, *Charity* 150 – 172; 'Mercedarian Historical Survey'.

⁴⁵³ Taylor, *Structures* 27; 'Mercedarian Historical Survey'.

⁴⁵⁴ Taylor, *Structures* 28; Davis, *Christian Slaves* 19 – 21. Also see: Gillian Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011) and James W. Brodman, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier* [1986], The Library of Iberian Resources, 29 April 2010, <www.libro.uca/rc/captives.htm>.

⁴⁵⁵ Matar 'Introduction' in Vitkus 29.

⁴⁵⁶ Matar, *Britain* 49 – 51.

⁴⁵⁷ Matar, *Britain* 49 – 75, and his 'Wives, Captive Husbands, and Turks: The First Woman Petitioners in Caroline England,' *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 23 (1997): 111 – 128. Also see: Reeve, *Charles I*.

was suggested a heavily armed and expensive fleet of ships be dispatched to deter the corsairs, displaying the formidable power of Anglo-Protestantism.⁴⁵⁸ Another proposal was for ships to only use safe (but profitable) ports, ceasing trade with the Ottomans whilst employing vessels to indiscriminately attack the Barbary coast, to ‘waste burne & spoyle, to take women and children and to doe unto them as they have done unto us’.⁴⁵⁹ Roe recalled in January 1637 these suggestions were in direct response to the petitioning of West Country merchants, ‘as far as memory will help him, having no notes nor copy’. Three copies of this report appear to have been produced: for the king, the Council – subsequently lost – and Roe’s copy, which, ‘having produced nothing but reprehension’, he burnt. He remembers the proposals were to sail a ‘strong fleet’ to Alexandria, capturing as prizes the Turks, their ships and goods:

and should afterwards range the coast of Barbary, land among the villages, and make prisoners of all the men, women and children, and then return to Algiers and Tunis, and there exchange the prisoners taken, and so redeem English captives. If they refuse to exchange, then go over to Majorca, Sardinia and Spain, and to sell the Turks for money.⁴⁶⁰

Inevitably, objections were considerable, the proposals being completely incompatible with a government in financial crisis wishing to build diplomatic and commercial relations with Islamic territories.⁴⁶¹

Another committee was appointed, informing the King as of 1632 the number of captives from ‘the western parts’ exceeded a thousand, meaning ransoming would be more than £40,000. Charitable contributions would not raise a fraction of this sum, wrote the anonymous author, strongly advising a cessation in paying ransoms as they encouraged captive-taking, enabling the ‘Bodys of your Maj[es]ties subjects [to] become so good

⁴⁵⁸ TNA: PRO SP 71/1, f 111 r – v.

⁴⁵⁹ TNA: PRO SP 71/1, f 111 r – v. quoted Matar, *Britain* 55.

⁴⁶⁰ *CSPD 1637 – 1638* 192.

⁴⁶¹ Matar, *Britain* 55.

merchandize'. This approach, he advised, should be combined with either a war against the corsairs, a peace treaty with them, or a complete cessation of trade with the Ottoman Empire until piracy was suppressed, with letters of marque issued to privateers to avoid deployment of the king's ships. Any losses, he argued, were less than those caused by the corsairs, and proffered alternative trade destinations for cloth, warning fishing and trade would stop completely in the West Country if action was not taken, causing 'as great a loss and more durable both to yo[u]r Ma[jes]tie and your whole Kingdome' as any loss to the king's income through customs.⁴⁶² Although the aim was to find a solution with no impact on the monarch's finances, these proposals were detrimental to the merchants, responsible for the safety of their ships and crews, and finding new trading routes and ports. Whilst the merchants were willing to undertake some privateering, this would be disadvantageous to diplomatic relations, and, once licenced, they may not target only North African or Ottoman shipping.⁴⁶³ However, these proposals demonstrate the continuing contested and futile search amongst those in power to address the problem, and, importantly, the emerging split between the king and his subjects.

As Birchwood (2007) and Matar (1997, 2005) observe, the impending civil strife continually intersected with the Turkish threat and plight of the captives.⁴⁶⁴ In July 1640, the Cornish Deputy-Lieutenants complained the recruitment levy imposed on the region was disrupted by 'the mischief done on our coast by the Turkish pirates, who have fought with our ships, and taken away divers of our people'.⁴⁶⁵ Five months later – two months after the petition from the Algiers captives – Parliament set up a 'Committee for Argiers', to receive

⁴⁶² TNA: PRO SP 71/1, ff 130 – 132 v, quoted Matar, *Britain* 56.

⁴⁶³ Matar, *Britain* 56 – 57.

⁴⁶⁴ Matar, 'Wives' 111 – 128 and *Britain* 49 – 75; Birchwood, *Staging Islam*.

⁴⁶⁵ William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1640* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1880) 438, cited in Birchwood, *Staging Islam* 41.

petitions and demonstrate grievances were being heard.⁴⁶⁶ The following year – coinciding with the Grand Remonstrance – Parliament passed an Act ‘for the reliefe of the Captives taken by Turkish Moorish and other Pirates and to prevent the taking of others in time to come’.⁴⁶⁷ Inherently critical of previous approaches, Parliament made it clear that funding and conducting ransoming should be a centralised responsibility: the monarch had thus failed in his duty.⁴⁶⁸ Indeed, prior to leaving London in January 1642, Charles gave assent to the Act: an admission of this failure, as it directly accused him.⁴⁶⁹ The Act ‘remembered’ the ‘forgotten’ captives, addressing present circumstances to shape future action, re-locating them from a secondary foreign matter, to a domestic priority - and re-orientating ransoming from ‘parochial charity to national policy’.⁴⁷⁰ It also demonstrated that Parliament, not the King, had instigated this change.⁴⁷¹

The Act was extended in 1642 for three years, but met with increasing opposition as no results were forthcoming.⁴⁷² In 1645 Edmond Cason was sent to Algiers with substantial ransom funds, but lost all when his ship sunk. He redeemed over 240 captives the following year (of which at least 106 of whom were from West Country port towns) publishing a detailed financial account in 1647.⁴⁷³ Despite ‘the storme’ of domestic war, and the captives

⁴⁶⁶ *The official minute book of the House of Commons, covering the Short Parliament and beginning of the Long Parliament of Charles I, and the period running up to the outbreak of civil war in 1643 Vol. 2* (London: 1802) 48; Matar, *Britain* 65.

⁴⁶⁷ Maurice F. Bond, ed., *Manuscripts of the House of Lords, Addenda 1514 - 1714 Vol. 11* (London: HMSO, 1962) 257 – 259; Matar, *Britain* 65 – 68.

⁴⁶⁸ *The official minute book of the House of Commons Vol. 2* 152; Willson Havelock Coates, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D’Ewes* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942) 54, 117, 203, 221, 227; Matar, *Britain* 65 – 67.

⁴⁶⁹ Matar, *Britain* 65, 74, 173. Matar provides a full reprint of the act, see: 173 – 176.

⁴⁷⁰ Sullivan, Jr., *Memory and Forgetting* 9 – 11; Matar, *Britain* 68.

⁴⁷¹ Matar, *Britain* 68.

⁴⁷² *The official minute book of the House of Commons Vol. 2* 720; Matar, *Britain* 70.

⁴⁷³ Edmond Cason, *A Relation of the Whole Proceedings Concerning the Redemption of the Captives in Argier and Tunis* (London: 1647); Matar, *Britain* 71 – 72; Matar, ‘Introduction’ in Vitkus 15 – 16.

in ‘a forein State, so remote as Africa’, Cason represented Parliament as taking this responsibility seriously, unlike the monarchy.⁴⁷⁴ Indeed, Thomas Sweet, a captive writing from Algiers two months after the Parliamentarians had taken power, had heard ‘[t]here is now a party in England renowned over the Christian world for their piety this way’ - that is, redeeming captives.⁴⁷⁵ Many were opposed to these expeditions; funded by rises in taxes and levies; particularly merchants who did not trade in the affected region.⁴⁷⁶ Ironically, the radical political faction, the Levellers, petitioned Parliament on behalf of the ‘multitudes of poor distressed prisoners for debt’ ignored and forgotten at home, due to the focus on Barbary:

Your zeal makes a noise as far as Algiers, to deliver those captive Christians at the charge of others, but those whom your own unjust laws hold captive in your own prisons; these are too near you to think of.⁴⁷⁷

Charles was executed in 1649: in March and October 1650 two further Acts were passed, the latter assigning 15% of customs to build naval convoy ships for the merchant vessels, significantly changing future relations with Barbary.⁴⁷⁸

Whilst having a role in the unrest, political loyalties and concerns regarding Barbary captivity cannot easily be mapped onto the complexities of the Civil Wars. Despite attempts to construct and fix an oppositional relationship, loyalties were not situated within a Royalist-Parliamentarian binary: factions were mutable, and supporters motivated by multiple

⁴⁷⁴ Cason, *A Relation* 11; Matar, *Britain* 72.

⁴⁷⁵ ‘Appendix 2,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 351. Also see: Matar, *Britain* 72.

⁴⁷⁶ William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1644* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888) 285 – 286; *The official minute book of the House of Commons, covering the central period of the English civil war Vol. 3* (London: 1802) 664; *The official minute book of the House of Commons, covering the end of the civil war, the king’s surrender at Newark, and the formation of the New Model Army Vol. 4* (London: 1802) 196; Matar, *Britain* 70.

⁴⁷⁷ Quoted Matar, *Britain* 72, and Brian Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution, 1640 – 1649* (London: Heinemann, 1976) 290. Also see: Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1991); Andrew Sharp, ed., *The English Levellers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 [1998]).

⁴⁷⁸ The March Act was ‘For the Redemption of Captives’. Matar, *Britain* 73.

concerns.⁴⁷⁹ County communities experienced the wars in different ways, whilst many foreign professional soldiers fought on both sides.⁴⁸⁰ For example, several Turks fought for Parliament in the West Country during 1643, deemed to be pirates by the opposition, whilst in 1645 ‘12 Black Moores’ along with ‘78 English Mariners’ crewed a royal vessel at Bristol.⁴⁸¹ Sir John Berkeley, the governor of Barnstaple, was accused of releasing Algerian corsairs from Launceston gaol for them to enlist with Royalist troops.⁴⁸²

Despite the emotional and economic impact of the Turks upon the West Country, and the powerful network of Puritan families throughout the region, county and regional loyalties were not simply pro-Parliament.⁴⁸³ Indeed, Pendennis Castle was the last Royalist stronghold in the South West, the second to last within mainland Britain, after Harlech Castle in north-west Wales.⁴⁸⁴ The consistent and dominant Royalist loyalties within Cornwall – although not fixed nor monolithic – Stoye (2002) relates to Parliament being associated with ‘Englishness’, and Charles being viewed as a ‘British’ monarch.⁴⁸⁵ However, de Groot (2004)

⁴⁷⁹ Jerome de Groot, *Royalist Identities* (Hants: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004) xiii – xiv, 1.

⁴⁸⁰ Oliver Lawson Dick, ed., *Aubrey’s Brief Lives* (Jaffrey, New Hampshire: David R. Godine, 1999 [1949]) 105; Mark Stoye, *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005) 94; Peter Gaunt, *The English Civil Wars, 1642 – 1651* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003) 48; J. G. A. Pocock, ‘The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary,’ *The American Historical Review*. 104 (2) (April 1999) 496.

⁴⁸¹ BL Thomason Tracts 77 (18); TNA: PRO SP 28/128, f 27; DRO DD 391 (Exeter Siege Accounts) f 33; *Mercurius Aulicus* (11 – 18 November 1643); John Lynch, *Bristol and the Civil War: For King and Parliament* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009 [1999]) 117; Stoye, *Soldiers and Strangers* 92 – 93, 245 n. 13. Also see: Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628 – 1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 219; C. V. Wedgwood, *The King’s War: 1641 – 1647* (London: Fontana, 1970) 153 – 154.

⁴⁸² Richard W. Cotton, *Barnstaple and the Northern Part of Devonshire during the Great Civil War, 1642 – 1646* (London: Printed for the author, 1889) 249.

⁴⁸³ See: John Barratt, *The Civil War in South-West England* (South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2005).

⁴⁸⁴ Arnold Taylor, *Harlech Castle* (Cardiff: Cadw, 2007) 13; Geoffrey Smith, *Royal Agents, Conspirators and Spies: Their Role in the British Civil Wars, 1640 – 1660* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011) 86; Stephen C. Manganiello, *The Concise Encyclopedia of the Revolutions and Wars of England, Scotland and Ireland 1639 – 1660* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2004) 419; William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1645 – 1647* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891) 467; Barratt, *Civil War* 138.

⁴⁸⁵ Mark Stoye, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002). Also see: Mark Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the*

explores the emergence of a complex discourse of loyalty whereupon Royalist sensibilities were associated with order, social stability, and pre-ordained, fixed hierarchical roles, placed in direct contrast with the unstable social inversions and transgressions of Parliament, disrupting the ‘natural order’.⁴⁸⁶ Charles stood against this breakdown of order and meaning, signifying stability, becoming the ‘central definition of order, the guarantor of security, the centre’.⁴⁸⁷

Drawing on Derrida (1978 [1967]), de Groot observes how meaning requires a centre, even if artificial, to legitimate, guarantee and mediate – providing an immobile and ‘reassuring certitude’, ‘beyond the reach of play’, or subversion.⁴⁸⁸ The King functioned as a guarantee of meaning: Parliamentarian denial of the monarch’s fundamental authority equalled an ‘unmeaning, a decentring’.⁴⁸⁹ Although Charles created a fragmented, county-led kingdom, it was one which could focus and unite through his presence.⁴⁹⁰ Parliament, for many ‘seemed to challenge this notion of absolute space’, suggesting ‘a more fluid, negotiable, permeable concept of nation’.⁴⁹¹ Royalist loyalties were thus informed by a desire for stability, meaning and certitude – all offered by the concept of monarchy.⁴⁹² Through certitude, according to Derrida, ‘anxiety can be mastered’: significant, perhaps, for communities suffering decades of fear and anxiety through Barbary piracy and captivity.⁴⁹³

English Civil War (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994) and his *From Deliverance to Destruction: Rebellion and Civil War in an English City* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996); Barratt, *Civil War* 7 – 12.

⁴⁸⁶ de Groot xv, xiv, 117 – 127.

⁴⁸⁷ de Groot 5.

⁴⁸⁸ Derrida, *Writing and Difference* (London: Routledge, 2001 [1978, 1967]) 352 cited de Groot 5.

⁴⁸⁹ de Groot 5.

⁴⁹⁰ de Groot 23.

⁴⁹¹ de Groot 23, 127.

⁴⁹² de Groot 18.

⁴⁹³ Derrida, *Writing* 279; de Groot 5.

However, regardless of regional or individual loyalties, the realities of Civil War – the ‘misery of miseries’ in which ‘both parts doe destroy and are destroyed, and both sides doe endamage and are endamaged’, mapped further arbitrary and traumatic lived experiences onto the maritime communities of the West Country.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ Richard Ward, *The Character of Warre or the miseries thereof disected and laid open from scripture and experience* (London: 1643) 9; de Groot xiv – xv.

‘[A] little *Map of the world of miseries*’⁴⁹⁵

Articulating the Trauma of Barbary Captivity

The West Country landscape and related identities imagined through Barbary captivity can also be mapped through the memory-related theme of ‘trauma’. Barbary captivity was undoubtedly an overwhelming experience involving profound loss, abandonment and multiple encounters with death. Captives witnessed and experienced extreme violence and threats to life: shocking and personally catastrophic. Despite the prevalence of piracy, captive-taking, and other risks associated with seafaring, these experiences were out of the everyday. Indeed, anxious expectations of being taken would probably have heightened terror, rather than managed it. From a modern perspective, such episodes can be situated as ‘traumatic’, with accounts interpreted as narratives of ‘trauma’: a historically mobile or ‘subjectively determined’ concept symbiotic with embodied memory.⁴⁹⁶ Responses to what may be defined as traumatic are culturally and historically embedded, and discursively understood. Modern concepts of the body/mind split, or the individually bounded self - which feature in the diagnostics of trauma - are therefore anachronistic within discussions of the

⁴⁹⁵ Fitz-Geffry 8.

⁴⁹⁶ Kim Etherington, ‘Trauma, the Body and Transformation,’ *Trauma*, ed. Etherington 22. Also see: M. T. Miliora, ‘Trauma, dissociation, and somatization: a self-psychological perspective,’ *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis*, 26 (2) 1998: 273 – 293; J. Douglas Bremner, ‘Effects of Traumatic Stress on Brain Structure and Function: Relevance to Early Responses to Trauma,’ *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation*, 6 (2) 2005: 51 – 68, and his ‘The Relationship Between Cognitive and Brain Changes in Posttraumatic Stress Disorder,’ *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1071 (2006): 80 – 86; and Bremner et al., ‘Deficits in Short-Term Memory in Posttraumatic Stress Disorder,’ *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 150 (7) 1993: 1015 – 1019; Robert C. Scaer, *The Body Bears the Burden: Trauma, Dissociation, and Disease* (New York, London, Oxford: The Haworth Medical Press, 2001); Peter A. Levine and Ann Frederick, *Waking the Tiger: Healing Trauma* Berkeley, (California: North Atlantic Books, 1997); Babette Rothschild, *The Body Remembers: The Psychophysiology of Trauma and Trauma Treatment* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2000); Judith Herman, *Trauma and Recovery: The aftermath of violence from domestic abuse to political terror* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Terence M. Keane, Brian P. Marx, and Denise M. Sloan, ‘Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: Definition, Prevalence, and Risk Factors,’ *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder*, ed. Priyattam J. Shiromani, Keane and Joseph E. LeDoux (New York: Humana Press, 2009) 2; Caruth, *Unclaimed* 3 – 4, 11, 91.

early modern body. Indeed, scholarship on early modern trauma has tended to draw uncritically on modern trauma studies, overlooking, for example, the humoral body.⁴⁹⁷

However, as a discursive framework, the modern language and understanding of trauma can make available responses to overwhelmingly terrifying and shocking experiences: the articulation and management of these responses can then be discerned within a contemporary discourse of humoral embodiment and theological understanding.

Within lay, neurobiological and psychoanalytic understandings, the modern concept of trauma is imagined as a ‘wound’ inflicted upon mental function, resulting from sudden and overwhelming incidents provoking extreme fear, helplessness or horror. Boundaries of ‘safety’ – the zone between the self and threats to survival – are violated and reduced.⁴⁹⁸ Whilst an intense fear of annihilation, loss of control and shock are experienced at the time – indeed, they mark incidents as traumatic – such responses can intrusively appear after the event has passed and the threat removed. Attributed to the original traumatic experience having overwhelmed the body’s defensive systems, these effects are repetitive, non-linguistic, and inappropriate to the present.⁴⁹⁹ They manifest as mental and physical phenomena: sensory flashbacks (nightmares, hallucinations); hypervigilance (exaggerated startle responses, sleep disorders); constriction (impaired memory, detachment – also

⁴⁹⁷ See, for example, the collection of essays in James Robert Allard and Mathew R. Martin, ed., *Staging Pain, 1580 – 1800: Violence and Trauma in British Theater* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009); Thomas P. Anderson, *Performing Early Modern Trauma from Shakespeare to Milton* (Hants: Ashgate, 2006); and Patricia A. Cahill, *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁴⁹⁸ Scaer 1 – 7.

⁴⁹⁹ Caruth, *Unclaimed 2*; Jeffrey C. Alexander, ‘Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma,’ *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. Alexander et al. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2004) 6 – 7; Susan J. Brison, ‘Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self,’ *Acts of Memory: cultural recall in the present*, ed. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crew and Leo Spitzer (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, Dartmouth College, 1999) 40; Herman 34. Also see: Rothschild.

‘freezing’, numbing or immobility); and physical panic (stress response). A diagnosis of post-traumatic stress is predicated on these symptoms.⁵⁰⁰

Post-trauma symptomology is rooted in memory tension: the body remembers and continually re-enacts the traumatic response (hypermnnesia), whilst the linguistic articulation – or active/conscious memory - of the trauma is absent, fragmented or lacking (amnesia). Despite different theoretical approaches concerning trauma, this memory tension is thought to result from the abruptness of traumatic events resisting meaning or simple comprehension, thus defying integration into the totality of a person’s life experience.⁵⁰¹ Garcés (2002), in her discussion of how Barbary captivity informed Cervantes’s work, describes trauma, in the first instance, ‘as an unmediated shock, an ungraspable wound, registered rather than experienced’.⁵⁰² This lack of assimilation renders trauma inexpressible: manifesting instead through somatic post-trauma symptoms, or somatic manifestations of memory.⁵⁰³

Within a realist understanding, the shattering impact of trauma emerges from the event itself and how it interacts with the needs of human beings: the response is inevitable and rational in the context of abrupt and threatening change undermining ontological security, order, social bonds, and community connections. Due to the enormity of the trauma it is distanced, remaining unprocessed within conscious thought.⁵⁰⁴ Psychoanalytic theory

⁵⁰⁰ See: MIND, ‘Understanding post-traumatic stress disorder,’ 3 Sept. 2011, <www.mind.co.uk>; Etherington, ‘Trauma, the Body and Transformation’ 23; Brison 40. Also see: Scaer; Levine and Frederick; Rothschild; Herman.

⁵⁰¹ Bessel A. van der Kolk, ‘The Biological Response to Psychic Trauma,’ *Post-Traumatic Therapy and Victims of Violence*, ed. Frank M. Ochberg (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1988) 26; Caruth, *Unclaimed* 2, 6. Levine and Frederick 18.

⁵⁰² María Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive’s Tale* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002) 7.

⁵⁰³ Alexander, ‘Cultural Trauma’ 7; Bessel A. van der Volk, ‘The body keeps the score: Memory and the evolving psychobiology of post traumatic stress’ *Harvard Review of Psychiatry*, 1 (5) 1994: 253 – 265; Scaer 85 – 126; Rothschild 37 – 73.

⁵⁰⁴ Alexander, ‘Cultural Trauma’ 2 – 3; Garcés 15.

expands this idea, assigning a form of psychological defence as occurring between the external traumatic event and internal responses to it.⁵⁰⁵ The trauma event becomes so terrifying it is repressed: rather than framed within rational understanding it becomes a disruptive presence within imagination and memory. The ‘truth’ of the experience is perceived, but unconsciously, and thus the traumatic response comes not only from the event, but the anxious processes involved in keeping it repressed.⁵⁰⁶ This produces the ‘haunting’ characteristics of traumatic memory. Repression, or distancing, can thus be understood as an active form of forgetting. Although in the case of continuing traumatic stress, detrimental brain changes have been found to occur impacting on long-term memory, recent neurobiological research on memory demonstrates that traumatic forgetting; *traumatic amnesia*; is related to mechanisms which eradicate the disruptive presence of non-traumatic memories and minimize perceptual distraction during everyday tasks.⁵⁰⁷ In this context, forgetting is vital, ensuring at least a partial continuation of self-functioning.⁵⁰⁸ ‘More often than we realize’, observes Anderson (2001), ‘forgetting is the goal and remembering the human frailty’.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁵ Alexander, ‘Cultural Trauma’ 5.

⁵⁰⁶ Alexander, ‘Cultural Trauma’ 5.

⁵⁰⁷ Anderson ‘Active Forgetting’ 185 – 210; J. Douglas Bremner et al., ‘Relevance to the current controversy surrounding the ‘false memory syndrome,’ *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 153 (7) 1996: 71 – 82; J. D. E. Gabrieli, ‘Cognitive neuroscience of human memory,’ *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49 (1998): 87 – 115; C. Grillon, Steven M. Southwick, and Dennis S. Charney, ‘The psychobiological basis of posttraumatic stress disorder,’ *Molecular Psychiatry*, 1 (4) 1996: 278 – 297; LeDoux, ‘Emotion, memory and the brain,’ *Scientific American*, 270 (6) 1994: 50 – 57; van der Kolk, J. A. Burbridge and J. Suzuki, ‘The psychobiology of traumatic memory: Clinical implications of neuroimaging studies,’ *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 821 (1997): 99 – 113. Also see: J. M. Goodwin and R. Attias, ed., *Splintered Reflections: Images of the Body in Trauma* (New York: Basic Books, 1999); van der Kolk, ‘The body keeps the score: Memory and the evolving psychobiology of post traumatic stress,’ *Harvard Review of Psychiatry*, 1 (5) 1994: 253 – 265; Rothschild.

⁵⁰⁸ Michael C. Anderson and C. Green, ‘Suppressing unwanted memories by executive control,’ *Nature*, 410 (6826) (2001): 366 – 369.

⁵⁰⁹ Anderson ‘Active Forgetting’ 186.

Resolving trauma therefore involves bringing it into the realms of conscious memory and expression. Repressed or forgotten memory traces are understood to surface during the therapeutic process of ‘talking therapies’, or through literature and other cultural forms. These are the in-between transformative spaces of transference, within which a coherent narrative structure emerges, and the act of ‘bearing witness’ to others facilitates a fundamental ontological shift.⁵¹⁰ Indeed, recent neurobiological and psychobiological research on memory, fear and trauma has emphasised the linguistic inexpressibility of trauma, and the importance of language within processes of resolution. Findings, supported by neuroimaging, have shown trauma memories are experienced as sensory fragments, with few, if any, linguistic components, demonstrating heightened activity in areas of the brain responsible for emotional arousal, and a decrease in those thought to transform experience into language. This is understood to result from the failure of the central nervous system to synthesize sensations experienced during the traumatic experience into semantic memory, which is concerned with meaning, concept-based knowledge and understanding.⁵¹¹ To eliminate intrusive symptoms, it is therefore important to integrate these experiences into semantic memory.⁵¹²

Accounts and narratives of captivity, therefore, can be situated within a space of transference. From this location, they can be interpreted as the product of the traumatised captive-narrator, attempting to articulate their experiences, and recreate and reframe tormenting images of kidnap, captivity and torture to give order, meaning and structure to

⁵¹⁰ Brison 40, also see 39. Alexander, ‘Cultural Trauma’ 6; Etherington, ‘Trauma, the Body and Transformation’ 31.

⁵¹¹ See: Gordon H. Bower, ‘A Brief History of Memory Research,’ *The Oxford Handbook of Memory*, ed. Tulving and Fergus I. M. Craik (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 3 – 32.

⁵¹² van der Kolk, Burbridge and Suzuki 99 – 113; Gabrieli, ‘Cognitive neuroscience’ 87 – 115; Grillon, Southwick, and Charney 278 – 297; LeDoux, ‘Emotion’ 50 – 57.

fragmented memory.⁵¹³ In the context of published narratives, this transformative space enables the captive to become not only an ‘elect’ survivor, but convert an ambiguous ethno-religious identity to a distinct Anglo-Protestant one. Discursively, trauma causes the self to be ‘undone’ or ‘disrupted’ in terms of spatial and temporal identity: the self needs to be ‘remade’ for recovery. Brison (1999) states this undoing is due to ‘breaking the on-going narrative, severing the connections along remembered past, lived present, and anticipated future’, reliant upon a suitable listener ‘to return to personhood’.⁵¹⁴ Captivity accounts can be considered an attempt to assimilate the traumatic past into a present, thus promising a future, and constructing a coherent self-narrative and reintegrating the survivor within their community.⁵¹⁵ Intentional, human-inflicted trauma, observes Brison, ‘shatters fundamental assumptions of the world, and cuts ‘the sustaining connection’ with humanity. Victims become objects: ‘their subjectivity is rendered useless and viewed as worthless’.⁵¹⁶ Accounts produced upon *return* therefore, can be interpreted as re-establishing subjectivity, social relations and coherence. However, accounts emerging materially within Barbary itself demonstrate the severed connections, continuing abandonment and traumatic confrontation with oblivion and annihilation experienced by the forgotten captives.

Within this reading, trauma can be discerned within surviving letters from captives in Barbary. For example, Samuel Harres wrote to his father from ‘Tripelo [Tripoli] in Barbere’ in July 1610; Robert Adams wrote to his father, Captain Robert Adams ‘at his house, in Ratcliff’ from Salé in November 1625; Thomas Spaight sent correspondence to the authorities from the galley *Patron Reall* in July 1633; whilst Thomas Sweet sent a letter to

⁵¹³ Garcés 218; Levine and Frederick 65 – 83.

⁵¹⁴ Brison 41.

⁵¹⁵ Brison 39 – 40; Nicola King, *Memory, Narrative, Identity: Remembering the Self* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) 124.

⁵¹⁶ Brison 40 – 41.

friends from Algiers in 1646.⁵¹⁷ Harres gives a short account of being captured, seemingly orientating himself through factual information, giving just a fleeting glimpse of his treatment, perhaps an initial attempt to articulate his experiences from within on-going traumatic circumstances:

I was afraid I should have been made a slave, for when I was in the galley I was chained to a bank [rowing bench] and made to row naked and beaten, and then I took such a cold, which brought me to a bloody flux [dysentery], and as yet I am not well; and here they keep us perforce and will make us to serve on a voyage or two, and then they say they will let us go, but I believe them not.⁵¹⁸

Spaight states his pen ‘cannot express his miserable condition’, observing ‘[t]his letter is written in a dark hole’, demonstrating, perhaps, the inability to process or articulate the enormity of his situation. For Spaight and his fellow captives, the future is uncertain: they are to be taken to ‘the grand signor, and God knows their fate thereafter’.⁵¹⁹ Within the letters of both Adams and Sweet, the traumatic rupture of abandonment and displacement are acute: the margins of Adam’s letter states, I pray let me hear an answer from you, soon as possible you can’, and a post-script poignantly states ‘I have sent three or four letters before this by several men and never heard from you’.⁵²⁰

Trauma necessitates a distancing mechanism, and Adams describes his terrible treatment in detached, descriptive prose, lacking emotional expression:

You may please to understand that I am here in Salley, in most miserable captivity, under the hands of most cruel tyrants. For after I was sold, my patron made me work at a mill like a horse, from morning until night, with chains upon my legs, at 36 pounds weights apiece, my meat nothing but a little coarse bread and water, my lodging a dungeon underground, where some 150 or 200 of us lay altogether [...] and every day beaten to make me either turn Turk or come to my ransom.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ Vitkus, ed., *Piracy* 347 – 353; Harris, *Transactions* 6, 124 – 125.

⁵¹⁸ Vitkus 348.

⁵¹⁹ Harris, *Transactions* 124 – 125.

⁵²⁰ Vitkus, ed., *Piracy* 349 – 350.

⁵²¹ Vitkus 349.

Sweet, enslaved for six years, had ‘written oft’ to various individuals, unsuccessfully. Trauma disrupts connections: remaining un-ransomed is a form of annihilation, a severance from a past and a future. Sweet’s efforts to disavow his forgotten status, seeking explanations for his abandonment within a coherent narrative, are apparent:

to Master Southwood I sent an enclosed to my father, if living, and other letters to my brothers and friends, if not dead. I could never hear whether any of you were alive or dead, which makes me think the letters are either miscarried or all of you deceased or gone to other places, or else I know you are so much Christians and friends that you would have looked upon me in such a condition.⁵²²

Sweet’s fate is tied to another Protestant captive, Richard Robinson, with their dual ransom being £250. ‘Many hundred slaves have been redeemed from their misery since we came hither’, Sweet writes, ‘which makes us hope still we may be the next, and then the next, but still our hopes are deceived’.⁵²³ Sweet’s apparent surrender to his circumstances can be related to the traumatic immobility of constriction: seemingly passive, it serves to protect the self in situations of powerlessness.⁵²⁴ Caruth (1996) speaks of a duality within traumatic narratives, ‘between a *crisis of death* and the correlative *crisis of life*’, as the traumatic confrontation with death renders life unbearable.⁵²⁵ Sweet states if he and Robinson are not ransomed, they will ‘go up to the country [and] you may never hear of us again’; similarly Adams writes to his father:

And, dear father, I humbly beseech you, for Christ Jesus’ sake, to take some course for my deliverance, for if neither the king take no course, nor my ransom come, I am out of all hope ever to behold my country again.⁵²⁶

Certainly, within such representations being remembered and acknowledged seems crucial: whether by God, communities or the authorities. Without remembrance, the

⁵²² Vitkus 350.

⁵²³ Vitkus 351.

⁵²⁴ Bessel A. van der Kolk, *Psychological Trauma* (Arlington, VA: American Psychological Publishing, 1987) 3 – 4.

⁵²⁵ Caruth, *Unclaimed* 7.

⁵²⁶ Vitkus, ed., *Piracy* 351, 350.

encounter with death becomes annihilation, whilst being forgotten becomes oblivion.

Remembrance can therefore address the traumatic encounter, providing both a future and a past to manage the traumatic present. This is apparent in Rawlins's outburst: immortal fame and being 'remembered to posterity' can occur even within 'death itself':

oh how shall the actors be remembered to posterity! And make their fame immortal that either purchased their liberty, even out of fire, or delivered themselves (though by death itself) from slavish captivity.⁵²⁷

Traumatic remembrance, however, is somatic, unwelcome and intrusive:

full of fleeting images, the percussion of blows, sounds, and movements of the body – disconnected, cacophonous, the cells suffused with the active power of adrenalin, or coated with the anesthetizing numbness of nonadrenalin.⁵²⁸

The fifth section of Okeley's narrative, entitled 'Some Remarkable Observations that I gleaned up, whilst I remained in Algiers', includes fragmentary and disconnected descriptions of incidents which can be considered traumatic, involving witnessing.⁵²⁹ Okeley recounts the harsh punishments and killings of others, particularly those who were not Anglo-Protestants – indeed many were not captives – 'bearing witness' to the trauma of others, repetitively emphasising his role of observer: 'I saw', 'I was there', 'I could not but Observe'.⁵³⁰ He separates these 'Observations' from his own traumatic situation and responses – described as 'Troubles', 'Afflictions', or 'Vexatious pressures':

They that are pressed with *their own Personal Grievances*, have little leisure to *look abroad*, and observe *the Motions of others*; and indeed our own Afflictions however sweetened, lay still gnawing and grating upon our Spirits, that we must needs be very ill qualified to treasure up materials to make a History [...] Yet sometimes I could make a Truce with my Troubles, and obtain so long a cessation from my Vexatious pressures, as to make Observation.⁵³¹

⁵²⁷ Rawlins in Vitkus 99.

⁵²⁸ Roberta Culbertson, 'Embodied Memory, Transcendence, and Telling: Recounting Trauma, Re-establishing the Self,' *New Literary History*, 26 (3) 1995: 174, quoted Brison 42.

⁵²⁹ See: Etherington, 'Trauma, the Body and Transformation' 25; Rothschild; Levine and Frederick; Herman.

⁵³⁰ Okeley, *Eben-ezer* 26 – 33.

⁵³¹ Okeley 26.

Yet it is apparent these ‘most lamentable spectacle[s]’ were deeply disturbing, and remained with him.⁵³² Driven by the impulse to tell, he provides vivid visual sense-impressions of the barbarity he witnessed, many years afterwards, indicating these images and his responses did not dissipate upon return.

Okeley’s description of the horrific ‘torture of the hook’ indicates the paucity of adequate language to express the ‘unspeakable’ within the traumatic encounter:

Two others of their own Countrey-men I saw Executed in a most terrible, and dreadful manner, (but either I did not know, or do not remember their Crimes:) The one was thrown off from a *high Wall*, and in his Fall he was caught by the way, by one of the *great sharp Hooks*, which were fastened in the Wall; it caught him *just under the Ribs*, and there he hung roaring an unspeakable pain till he dyed.⁵³³

The other was nailed by his wrists and ankles to a ladder with iron spikes, ‘and lest his Flesh and Sinews should fail, and the Nails not hold’ also with cords: ‘*Two days I saw him alive under this Torture*, how much longer he Lived under it I cannot tell’.⁵³⁴ Whilst appearing dispassionate, elements of traumatic repression emerge: ‘but either I did not know, or do not remember their Crimes’. ‘I cannot tell’ could indicate Okeley could not judge – or ‘cannot’, as the phrase is temporally confusing; or, resulting from the traumatic event, imply he is unable, rather than unwilling, to articulate further. The tense within this latter interpretation suggests traumatic memory intruding upon the present.

‘Traumatic’ responses within contemporary texts are similar to modern symptomology, albeit expressed within a different discursive framework. The ‘traumatic’ emotions of grief, despair and fear produced by such incidents, are associated with sense impressions causing an imbalance, primarily of melancholy. A vivid representation of traumatic symptoms is evident in *Henry IV, Part I* (c. 1597): Lady Percy questions Hotspur’s hypervigilance and

⁵³² Okeley 31.

⁵³³ Okeley 31 – 32.

⁵³⁴ Okeley 31 – 32.

despondence, which ‘takes from thee/ Thy stomacke, pleasure, and thy goulden sleepe’, prompts him to ‘start so often when thou sitst alone’, given ‘To thicke eyed musing and curst melancholy’.⁵³⁵ The drying of the brain caused by such imbalance causing images to become stuck is evident in Hotspur’s constant flashbacks to the battlefield, ‘In thy faint slumbers’:

And thus hath so bestird [bestirred] thee in thy sleepe,
That beads of sweat have stood upon thy brow
Like bubbles in a late disturbed streame
And in they face strange motions have appeard.⁵³⁶

‘Grief and fear goe usually together’ stated Reynolds (1640): an excess can lead reason to a ‘fearful contemplation of its own misery, th[a]n to a fruitful discourse how to avoid it; for as the motions of a wounded Body, so the discourses of a wounded Mind are faint, uncertain, and tottering’.⁵³⁷ Indeed, the violent passions produced by an ‘extremity of anguish’ narrowed ‘passages’ within the mind: a weakened and blinded reason was unable to locate them.⁵³⁸ Therefore, ‘the Mind is constrained having no Object but its owne paine to reflect upon, to fall into a dark and fearful contemplation of its own sad estate’.⁵³⁹ Grief ‘doth refrigerate’, continues Reynolds, being ‘the worst temper for Action’:

in the body there is no other Passion that doth produce stronger, or more lasting inconveniences by pressure of the heart, obstruction of spirit, wasting of strength, drynesse of bones, exhausting of Nature. Griefe in the heart [...] stoppeth the voyce, looseth the joynts, withereth the flesh, shrivelleth the skin, dimmeth the eyes, cloudeth the countenance, defloureth the beauty, troubleth the bowels, in one word, disordereth the whole frame.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁵ *The History of Henrie the Fourth* (London: 1598) D1^r.

⁵³⁶ *Henrie the Fourth*, D1^r.

⁵³⁷ Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (London: 1640) 229.

⁵³⁸ Reynolds 229 - 230

⁵³⁹ Reynolds 230.

⁵⁴⁰ Reynolds 231 – 232.

The forgotten captives in Barbary – continually ‘retraumatised’ – can once again be situated as melancholic. Grief and fear could result in reason being impaired or lost, as with environmentally-induced melancholy. Reason controlled emotional excess through rational thought – or language: lack of reason is thus associated with the move beyond language and rational meaning.⁵⁴¹ The long-term, traumatised captive was particularly susceptible to Islamic conversion due to abandonment and a fearful future, caused by the religious doubt and despair of melancholy.⁵⁴² Religious constancy was difficult to maintain within foreign climes and captive conditions: physical abandonment was accompanied by a neglect of their spiritual guidance and ‘nourishment’, and feelings of divine abandonment.⁵⁴³ Whilst religious despair was cultivated in some contexts as a spiritual exercise, to reap displays of God’s grace and comfort, this was combined with ‘spiritual physick’: guidance from texts or a preacher, which Protestant captives were deprived of accessing.⁵⁴⁴ Reynolds suggests that ‘patience and wisdom in the bearing of one sorrow, doth keep the mind in a stable condition against any other’, advising that the sufferer ‘keeps his ears open to counsel, and his reason to judgement above his Passion’: ways of managing trauma.⁵⁴⁵

The captive returning to their indigenous environment was understood as correcting some aspects of melancholic imbalance. Furthermore, although accounts after return reveal traces of traumatic response, the transformative work of the narrative can be discerned within a providential reframing. As discussed earlier, events are embedded within this explanatory framework: for the traumatised, or potentially traumatised, captive, it provides (retrospective) meaning to their experiences, and connections to a compassionate audience. Besides as

⁵⁴¹ Schmidt, *Melancholy* 30 – 32.

⁵⁴² Schmidt 81.

⁵⁴³ Schmidt 139.

⁵⁴⁴ Schmidt 54, 137.

⁵⁴⁵ Reynolds 229.

remembrance, Okeley uses divine providence as a method of forgetting, or traumatic amnesia. Certain occurrences are given meaning through God. For example, Okeley observes whilst the wind is able to place them in danger or not, it is God who ‘appoints it the Moment when it should come about to blow us into the Mouths of our Enemies’.⁵⁴⁶ To manage the mutability of seafaring, he promotes the idea of active forgetting – denial – combined with divine grace:

Denyal is often the best Answer, and we had need leave all Petitions to the wisdom of God to be Interpreted, according to his good pleasure, and returned as they may be good for us, and make most for his own Glory: we were also taught, that the Sea may sometimes be our best Friend, and the Earth our worst Enemy; and that *nothing can do us good or hurt but by the Direction and Commission of the Almighty*.⁵⁴⁷

The traumatic experience can therefore be assimilated through divine providence, in correlation to the strength of religious conviction which would influence the integration of the catastrophic event. Caruth (1996) highlights the importance of assimilation through meaning and understanding: the closer to the traumatic incident this occurs, the less detrimental the long term effects.⁵⁴⁸ Forgotten captives, however, would struggle with placing themselves within this framework. The function of divine providence, and humoral systems, therefore, are crucial to understanding early modern discourses of ‘trauma’.

Nevertheless, not all returning captives could situate themselves within a celebratory narrative of God’s elect. Whilst the forgotten captive bodies in Barbary produced fear and concern amongst their dependents, anxiety converged on the bodies of captives who may have been non-repenting converts. These captives harboured an unseen, but eternally fatal, wound upon their soul, to be examined within the third and final Part of this thesis.

⁵⁴⁶ Okeley, 3.

⁵⁴⁷ Okeley, 3.

⁵⁴⁸ Caruth, *Unclaimed* 5.

Part III: Return

‘I know no country I can call home’¹

Mobile Identities

The memory tension between remembrance and forgetting explored in Part II of this thesis contributed to the subjectivities of those held in Barbary, and of those who managed to return and leave accounts of their experiences. Reading this memory tension within the discursive elements of Barbary captivity demonstrates ways in which anxiety manifests. The identity of the Barbary captive can also be interpreted through the anxious elements of early modern discourses concerning mobility and travel. Such an interpretation interconnects and maps the identities and landscapes of Barbary and the West Country through an overlay of unsettlement, movement, change and transformation - the concerns of the five main sections that form this Part of the thesis. Firstly, two introductory sections will give an overview of mobile identities related to Barbary captivity, and the kinds of anxiety attached to this mobility.

Whilst the term ‘captive’ implies restriction on movement, pre- and ex-captive identities create a tension between mobility and static-ness. Pre-captive identities were inherently mobile, or, to use Fumerton’s (2006) term, ‘unsettled’: fishermen and other mariners,

¹ Ward in Tunis, just prior to his conversion to Islam. Robert Daborne, ‘A Christian Turned Turk,’ *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England: Selimus, A Christian Turned Turk, The Renegado*, ed. Daniel Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) 190 (7.13).

merchants, pilgrims, peripatetic clergy, colonists and travellers.² Indeed, despite being ‘settlers’, the West Country captives taken from Irish Baltimore can also be situated as ‘unsettled’. The attempt by centralised authority to fix, or ‘plant’ Protestant communities to colonise and suppress the indigenous population contributed to inevitable hostility, disharmony and social disorder. Furthermore, Baltimore itself became a haven for piracy, with an inherent mobility of goods, people and identities.³ The coastal settlements and harbours of Cork had trajectories of illicit trade and piratical activity to the West Country, markets which were increasingly being suppressed, and themselves in a state of flux.⁴

Ex-captive identities can be considered unsettled subjectivities. Whilst families and communities did their utmost to collect ransoms, evoke compassion and petition the authorities for the return of captives, such returns were potentially disruptive: a theme which shapes this final Part of the thesis. Captives - or those claiming to have been - were not merely considered unfortunate individuals in foreign climes. Islamic conversion was commonplace, and communities were instructed to examine returned captives for circumcision. Returning captives were required to give depositions, and renegades could be interrogated and executed if considered unrepentant, possibly through impalement.⁵ Britons, with their cold, moist humoral disposition were vulnerable to foreign influence, including Islam. Poverty stricken and disabled ex-captives were often forced into the mobility of begging and wandering, whether licensed or not, whilst others returned to the unsettled life of

² Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: The Chicago University Press, 2006). Also see: A. L. Beier, *The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (London and New York: Methuen, 1983) 5.

³ H. Barnaby, ‘The Sack of Baltimore,’ *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 74 (1969): 101 - 109; Theresa D. Murray, University College Cork, ‘From Baltimore to Barbary: the 1631 sack of Baltimore,’ *History Ireland* 14 (4) (2009), 15 April 2010, <<http://www.historyireland.com/volumes/volume14/issue4/features/?id=326>>

⁴ Mark Netzloff, *England’s Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism* (Hants: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) 88.

⁵ Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558 – 1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 72.

the mariner. Furthermore, movement impacted upon humoral balance: the mutability of the voyage or the unsettlement of domestic travel could create detrimental micro- and macrocosmic imbalances.⁶

The identity of the Barbary captive emerges within the profound increase in domestic mobility, overseas travel, and maritime trade which helped define early modernism. Captivity narratives were part of the accompanying literature which debated, justified and advised: an ambivalent and multi-faceted discourse of travel, mobility and associated identities.⁷

Dominant discourse understood mobile identities as unstable identities - 'unfixed'.⁸ These emerged from within both legitimate and illegitimate spatial and fluid economies, primarily associated with social instability, criminality and deviant lifestyles, such as pirates, rogues, vagrants, beggars, fugitives, counterfeiterers, tricksters and masterless men. Mobile identities also included a range of itinerant and peripatetic workers, including mariners.⁹ Inevitably, individuals moved in and out of several of these identities, compounding official anxiety.

Mobility challenged dominant models of social identity and order, models which 'assumed a nation within which people were fixed in place not only socially but geographically, allowing little scope for the undeniable realities of movement in its various

⁶ Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004).

⁷ M. G. Aune, 'Passengers, Spies, Emissaries, and Merchants: Travel and Early Modern English Identity,' *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550 – 1700*, ed. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Hants: Ashgate, 2009) 132; Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2011) 37 – 44; Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 91 – 104.

⁸ See, for example, A. L. Beier: *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560 – 1640* (London: Methuen & Co., 1985), his *The Problem of the Poor* and 'Vagrants and Social Order in Elizabethan England,' *Past and Present*, 64 (1974): 3 – 29; Paul A. Slack, 'Vagrants and vagrancy in England, 1598 – 1664,' *Economic History Review*, second series 27 (1974): 360 – 379; Linda Woodbridge, *Vagrancy, Homelessness, and English Renaissance Literature* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Craig Dionne and Steve Mentz, ed., *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2004); Fumerton.

⁹ Beier, *Masterless Men* 86 – 105.

forms'.¹⁰ Mobility was an agent of change, evidenced by overseas travel. Nevertheless, this understanding of mobility was ambiguous. The period was marked by a shift 'from chivalric adventure to venture capitalism', benefitting individuals, trading companies, common wealth and sovereign, contributing to territorial expansion through interrelated colonial activities.¹¹ The emergence of national identity and imaginings of empire were infused with the activities and narratives of mobility and maritime enterprise.¹² 'Nation, region, and the world were all intertwined in this period' observes Games (2008), with power connected to networks of mobility and expansion.¹³

'There are two occasions wherein Travell may passe', stated Hall (1617), 'Matter of trafique, and Matter of State': overseas 'trafficke' was a dangerous, albeit necessary,

¹⁰ McRae 2. Also see: Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 133 – 177.

¹¹ William H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and searchings (1500 – 1720),' *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 25; Michael Nerlich, *Ideology of Adventure: Studies in Modern Consciousness 1100 – 1750* Vols. 1 and 2 (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987). Also see, for example, Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire 1480 – 1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580 – 1720* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Antoni Maczak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995); Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560 – 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); and the collections in Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh, ed., *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Kenneth Parker, ed., *Early Modern Tales of the Orient: A Critical Anthology* (London: Routledge, 1999); James D. Tracy, ed., *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World 1350 – 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 [1990]).

¹² See, for example, Andrews, *Trade* 84; Sherman, 'Stirrings and searchings' 17 – 36; Claire Jowitt, 'Rogue Traders: National Identity, Empire and Piracy 1580 – 1640,' *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Hants: Ashgate, 2007) 53 – 70; Ralph Bauer, *The Cultural Geography of Colonial American Literatures: Empire, Travel, Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Also see the collected works of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas, and, for example, D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook* Vols. 1 and 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974); Loren Pennington, ed., *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas 1577 – 1626* Vols. 1 and 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1997); Peter C. Mancell, *Hakulyt's Promise: an Elizabethan's obsession for an English America* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

¹³ Bishop Joseph Hall, *Quo Vadis? A Just Censure of Travel as It Is Commonly Undertaken by the Gentlemen of Our Nation* (London: 1617) 2.

undertaking.¹⁴ Greed, however, was associated with excessive and unhealthy mobility.

Geoffrey Whitney (1586) answers his question ‘What does accursed greed for gold not drive men to do?’:

Desire to have, doth make us much indure,
In travaile, toile, and labour voide of reste:
The marchant man is carried with this lure,
Throughe scorching heate, to regions of the easte.¹⁵

As Gil Harris (2004) demonstrates, the discourse regarding foreign trade during this period was imagined through the framework of the humoral body, allowing for necessary ‘venting’ by trading overseas, but accompanied by the risk of contagion, imbalance and corruption, affecting the microcosmic body-natural and the macrocosmic body-politic alike.¹⁶ These risks were inherent within those returning from overseas, and therefore needed to be minimised, a recurring theme explored throughout this final Part of the thesis.

The ‘Matter of trafique’ overseas and general travel abroad were not clearly demarcated or culturally defined from one another into binary categories of legitimate/illegitimate, regulated/unregulated, healthy/unhealthy. Similarly, domestic mobility and movement involved with internal trade were culturally entwined, and largely viewed with suspicion. Even the production of licences authorising mobility did not allay suspicion, particularly as such documentation could be counterfeit, stolen, purchased or exchanged.¹⁷ Rather than being

¹⁴ Hall, *Quo Vadis?* 2.

¹⁵ Ge[o]ffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and Other Devises, For the moste parte gathered out of sundrie writers, Englished and Moralized* (Leyden [Leiden]: 1586) 179, quoted Daniel Vitkus, ‘Labor and Travel on the Early Modern Stage: Representing the Travail of Travel in Dekker’s *Old Fortunatus* and Shakespeare’s *Pericles*,’ *Working Subjects in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Natasha Korda (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011) 225.

¹⁶ See: Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economies: drama, mercantilism and disease in Shakespeare’s England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) esp. 13 – 28.

¹⁷ *By the Queene. A Proclamation against sundry abuses practised by divers lewd & audacious persons falsly naming themselves Messengers of her Maiesties Chamber, travelling from place to place with writings*

articulated with certitude, the lived and imagined experiences of geographical movement during the early modern period were undergoing processes of negotiation and categorisation, marked by ambivalence and shaped by social concerns related to the increasing migration of people and goods.¹⁸ Representations which stigmatised various sections of the ‘unsettled’ population demonstrate an impetus to identify, address and manage deviance. Popular literature and statutes reveal these processes: the marked increase in rogue literature symbiotic and reciprocal with state attempts to define boundaries between licit and illicit mobility.¹⁹ This process of cultural and legal negotiation is evident, as Hindle (2004) notes, within the legal ambiguity and inconsistent policies towards begging during the period. A long-standing survival activity undertaken by the poor, begging was related to ideas of Christian charity and hospitality, yet was a drain on parish resources, criminalised, associated with social unrest, and treated with hostility and suspicion.²⁰ It appeared traditional Christian virtues of gratitude and humility were being erased by aggression and arrogance, manifesting within the practices of the beggar.²¹

Many of the issues regarding domestic and overseas mobility converged within the maritime communities of the West Country. Certainly, the movement of goods inland was

counterfeited in forme of Warrants: As also against another sort of vagabond persons that carrie counterfeit Passports wherewith to begge and gather almes (London: 1596).

¹⁸ McRae 91.

¹⁹ McRae 93. Examples of rogue literature include: Thomas Harman, *The Groundworke of Conny-catching* (London: 1567 [1566]); Robert Greene, *A Disputation, Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher, and a Shee Conny-catcher* (London: 1592), his *The Defence of Conny-catching* (London: 1592), his *A Notable Discovery of Coosenage*, (London: 1592), *The Second part of Conny-catching* (London: 1591), and his *The Third and last part of Conny-catching* (London: 1592); John Awdelay, *The Fraternitie of Vacabondes, As wel of ruflyng Vacabondes* (London: 1575). Also see: Anon., *The Devils Cabinet Broke Open [...] Together With a Relation of the Laws, Customes, and Subtitles, of House-Breakers, Pick-Pockets, and other Mekanick Caterpillars of this Nation* (London: 1657); Anon., *Stanleyes Remedy: Or The Way how to reform wandring Beggars, Theeves, high-way Robbers and Pick-pockets* (London: 1646).

²⁰ Steve Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England c. 1550 – 1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [2004]) 62, 67 – 68, 73. Also see: L. P. Wandel, ‘Begging,’ *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Reformation* 4 vols., ed. H. J. Hillerbrand (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 1: 137.

²¹ Hindle, *On the Parish?* 73.

The Treaty of Algiers associated with piracy, an activity with a blurred relationship to legitimate privateering.²² McRae (2009) notes the ambiguity towards the internal movement of goods for individual profit, which was often couched in terminology questioning the legitimacy of such ‘traffic’, and the accompanying economies and lifestyles.²³ This ambiguity also applied to activities reaching overseas: trade and plunder were enmeshed in a historically forged symbiotic relationship, becoming allied with territorial expansion, patriotism and Protestantism.²⁴ Significantly, Fumerton states it is seafarers who symbolised anxious mobility during this period, signifying the mobile worker without a stable ‘place’: spatially and emotionally unsettled.²⁵ This anxious mobility will be discussed in more depth in the following introductory section.

Anxious Mobility and Returns

The West Country, as a historic maritime region, was symbiotic with the mobility of seafarers, and associated with the accompanying instability and disorder. Indeed, overseas trade, piracy, pilgrimage and long-distance fishing had been undertaken for centuries before the period under study, and the region played an important role in the increase of travel, trade and settlement during.²⁶ This rise in maritime activities meant not only an increase in

²² John C. Appleby, ‘Pirates and Communities: Scenes from Elizabethan England and Wales,’ *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crime, Government and Society c. 1066 – c. 1600*, ed. Paul Dalton and Appleby (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009) 149 – 172, esp. 156 – 167; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering. English Privateering During the Spanish War, 1585 – 1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964) esp. 15 – 22, 28.

²³ McRae 210.

²⁴ Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering* 15, 34, 100 – 123, 159 – 221, 229 – 236.

²⁵ Fumerton xiii, xix – xx.

²⁶ Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas: A History of Cornwall’s ‘Great Emigration’* (Fowey: Cornish Editions Ltd., 2005) esp. 30 – 53.

seafaring traffic, but the ships themselves grew in range and size, requiring more mariners – ‘and yet more’, Andrews (1984) observes, ‘because the sea consumed them so fast’.²⁷ Mutability and risk were exacerbated by the rise in unskilled men going to sea, which, in addition to the maritime violence of piracy, privateering and European conflict, increased internal tension and conflict on board ship.²⁸ Coastal communities were also painfully aware of the unpredictability of the ocean. ‘In as much therefore as thys Towne is placed so nigh to the maine, that it useth the *Ocean* as an handmayde to bring in profit’, John Madox[e] informed his congregation in 1581, ‘how servicable it is whe[n] it is well pleased’, yet ‘bedlam [...] when it beginneth to be wanton’.²⁹ Madox[e] dedicated his published sermon to the local Mayor, Bailiffs and Aldermen of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis:

you being Marchants, and therefore often travailing the dangerous salt fome, may, (by taking it [the sermon] with you and recording the same) learne howe to passe in the acceptable feare of God, your idle times at sea, to the benefit of your own soules, and most of all to the glorye of God.³⁰

Byam, preaching to the maritime community of Minehead in 1627 on the occasion of a captive returning from Algiers and to Christianity, also acknowledges the dangers many in his congregation had to confront. Evoking the concept of exile through his reference to Pittacus of Mytilene, and drawing on the Biblical phrase ‘they that go down to the sea in ships see the works of the Lord and his wonders of the deep’ - also used by Okeley and Rawlins in the Prefaces to their captivity narratives – Byam observes:

But you that goe downe to the sea in shippes, and occupie your businesse in great waters (for the state of the world cannot stand without buying and selling, traffique and transportation) what shall I say of you? *Pittacus* reckons you neither amongst the dead, nor the living. The grave is alway[s] open before your face, and but the

²⁷ Andrews, *Trade* 26.

²⁸ Andrews, *Trade* 27 – 28 and his *Elizabethan Privateering* 40 – 42.

²⁹ John Madox, *A Learned and a Godly Sermon, to be read of all men, but especially for all Marryners, Captaynes and Passengers, which travell the Seas, preached by John Madox, Maister of Arte and fellow of All soules in Oxforde, at Waymouth and Melcombe regis, a Porte in the Countie of Dorsett, the 3 day of Ocober, in the yeere of our Lord 1581* (London: 1581) aviii^f.

³⁰ Madox, aiv^r.

thicknesse of an inch or twaine that keeps you from it: One breath, flaw, gust, may end your voyage.³¹

Byam explicitly links mutability and peril at sea to the volatility of seafarers and the threat to their souls from Islamic conversion. Similarly, during the reintegration of a renegade in Stepney, Gouge (1639) also reminds those ‘whose calling it is *to goe to sea in ships, and to doe businesse in the great waters*’ to remember the trials of ancient Christian martyrs and be strong in their faith:

where yee are in danger to be surprized (as this *Penitent* was) by the mortall enemies of Christians, or have occasion to abide and trafique among them. You may be brought to triall, and to give poofe before men, whether the habit of Martyrdome be in you or no.³²

He likens the ‘difficulty and perill’ of seafaring to the trials of faith, stressing the importance of ‘stand[ing] stedly against all assaults’:

Yee Mariners know what it is to have a resolved mind and purpose to saile to your intended place: yee passe through all weathers: no gathering of clouds, no shouring of raine, no thundring or lightning, no stormes and tempests will turne you back: as soone may your ship be set in the sea, as you returne backe againe: you are confident of passing through, though it be with much labour and paines, with great difficulty and perill.³³

Gouge associated *elite* travellers, however, with fickleness:

But they who goe to sea for pleasure, to be sea-sick, or to see strange countries, if they see a black skie and discerne stormes arising, they cry out, *O backe againe, backe againe: Wee'l no further.*³⁴

³¹ Edward Kellet and Henry Byam, *A Return from Argier, A Sermon Preached at Minhead the County of Somerset the 16, Of March, 1627, at the admission of a relapsed Christian into our Church* (London: 1628) 76 – 77; Psalm 107: 23 – 24. Also see: Andrew M. Miller, transl. *Greek Lyric: An Anthology in Translation* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Co., 1996) 39; Ewen L. Bowie, ‘Early Expatriates: Displacement and Exile in Archaic Poetry,’ *Writing Exile: The Discourse of Displacement in Greco-Roman Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. Jan Felix Gaertner (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2007) 32 – 36; Matthew M. McGowan, *Ovid in Exile: Power and Poetic Redress in the Tristia and Epistulae Ex Ponto* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2009) 39; T. K. Seung, *Plato Rediscovered: Human Value and Social Order* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996) 82; George Sarton, *Ancient Science Through the Golden Age of Greece* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1993 [1952, 1970, 1980]) 168.

³² William Gouge, *A Recovery from Apostacy, Set out in A Sermons Preached in Stepny Church neere London at the receiving of a Penitent Renegado into the Church, Octob. 21. 1638* (London: 1639) 57.

³³ Gouge 58 – 59.

³⁴ Gouge 59.

Travel was frequently viewed with suspicion and even outright hostility, particularly if undertaken for personal enhancement - even for religious purposes. Ambiguity is revealed by the attempts to draw distinctions between profitable and pleasurable travel, and that embarked on for study or posturing.³⁵ Furthermore, culturally embedded notions of travelling associated it with the displacement and punishment of exile, and the controversy and ambivalence of pilgrimage.³⁶

The official values of pilgrimage concerned spiritual salvation, undertaken as an act of penance or thanksgiving. Visiting shrines, holy places and relics throughout the journey as well as at the destination, was considered a virtuous practice, resulting in the granting of indulgences, although curiosity and escape were also motivations for undertaking a pilgrimage, particularly abroad.³⁷ Pilgrimage, although expensive and dangerous, was undertaken by many Britons – including those of ordinary status throughout the centuries of the medieval period, with the three most popular destinations being Jerusalem, Rome and St. James of Compostella in Spain.³⁸ Whilst considered a Catholic practice involving both real and imagined journeys to the shrines of saints, Protestantism could not erase either the impulse or the cultural memory of pilgrimage. Indeed, the spiritual ‘journey’ – although excluding shrines – emerges as an important concept within Reformed Christianity.³⁹ As

³⁵ Ord, *Travel 2*; Ord, ‘Returning from Venice to England: Sir Henry Wotton as Diplomat, Pedagogue and Italian Cultural Connoisseur,’ *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Betteridge (Hants: Ashgate, 2007) 164.

³⁶ Ord, *Travel 2*; Donald Kimball Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: Re-writing the World in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh and Marvell* (Hants: Ashgate, 2008) 34; Thompson, *Travel Writing* 37 – 40. Also see: F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

³⁷ Warneke 20.

³⁸ Warneke 18 – 19.

³⁹ See: N. H. Keeble, ‘“To be a pilgrim”: constructing the Protestant life in early modern England,’ *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 238 – 256; Grace Tiffany, *Love’s Pilgrimage: The Holy Journey in English Renaissance Literature* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2006).

Warneke (1994) observes, journeying and pilgrimage – whether domestic or overseas – was deeply embedded within the early modern cultural psyche.⁴⁰ The transformation of the medieval physical and cultural religious landscape, through the Dissolution and Reformed religious practices, transformed identity and place – however, this was not complete and absolute. The new Protestant political-religious landscape was established ‘not by extirpating the traces of the past but by incorporating them into a topography of change’.⁴¹ Whilst travel took on an economic mantle, traces of pilgrimage provided a template for journeying. Many accounts of pilgrimages, particularly to Jerusalem, survived, and the concept appeared in early modern dramatic representation, often merged with motifs of journeying and voyage.⁴² Certainly, conceptions of early modern travel to the Mediterranean and Muslim lands were ‘rooted in the sacred’, framed and shaped by a long tradition of pilgrimage and Crusade, the latter interleaved within the broader concept of pilgrimage.⁴³ Warneke notes that pilgrimage provided representations and criticisms of travellers used in later debates concerning educational travel, particularly regarding moral and cultural corruption.⁴⁴ Curiosity was a vice within medieval theology: ‘the temptation of *curiositas* generally referred to any morally excessive and suspect interest in observing the world, seeking novel experiences, or acquiring

⁴⁰ Warneke 20.

⁴¹ Jennifer Summit, ‘Leland’s *Itinerary* and the remains of the medieval past,’ *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 168

⁴² Smith, *Cartographic Imagination* 17. Also see: Philip Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 45 – 67; Gary Waller, *The Virgin Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Literature and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 165 – 169; Tiffany 25 – 40; Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics, 1589 – 1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); the essays in Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems, ed., *Travel and drama in Shakespeare’s time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Vitkus, ‘Labor and Travel’ 225 – 242; William H. Sherman, ‘Travel and Trade,’ *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004) 109 – 120.

⁴³ Smith, *Cartographic Imagination* 17, 26; Warneke 24 – 25.

⁴⁴ Warneke 21, 24. Also see: Games 21 – 22.

knowledge for its own sake.⁴⁵ Indeed, Hall (1617) states that his ‘censure’ and ‘quarrel’ is with ‘the Travell of curiosity’, highlighting those who pretend to be the ‘eyes and eares of State’ deemed ‘necessarie to the well-being of the head’.⁴⁶ Such ‘private Inter-lopers of intelligence’ merely ‘lie abroad only to feed some vaine Cameleons at home with the aire of Newes,’ notions evident in Gouge’s dismissal of elite travellers.⁴⁷ However, one of the primary criticisms of the medieval pilgrim was lying: the ‘traveller-liar’ was an increasingly common representation during the 17th century.⁴⁸

Motifs of spiritual trials and ‘travails’ are apparent within captivity accounts.⁴⁹ Generically, medieval accounts of pilgrimage did not emphasise the return journey.⁵⁰ However, there has been debate within the study of pilgrimage and Crusade - as to the extent narratives focused on destination, ‘one-way’ journeys, non-returns and on-going exile, diverging from narratives and representations of captivity, where the focus was on return.⁵¹ Return, nevertheless, was problematic. Concerns which emerge, according to Warneke, within criticisms of medieval pilgrimage and early modern educational travel, centred upon fears of spiritual and material change, which could corrupt and infect upon return. These are anxieties evident within representations of the returned captive.⁵²

⁴⁵ Warneke 22. Also see: Thompson, *Travel Writing* 38.

⁴⁶ Hall, *Quo Vadis?* 5.

⁴⁷ Hall, *Quo Vadis?* 5; Gouge 59.

⁴⁸ Warneke 21, 23 – 25.

⁴⁹ See: Vitkus, ‘Labor and Travel’ 225 – 242; Nabil Matar, ‘Introduction: England and Mediterranean Captivity, 1577 - 1704,’ *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. Daniel J. Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) 36 – 37.

⁵⁰ Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1980) 46 – 52.

⁵¹ See for example, Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature, 700 – 1500* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001) 192 – 195; Warneke 19; Donald R. Howard, *The Idea of the Canterbury Tales* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), and his *Writers and Pilgrims*.

⁵² Warneke 29.

As discussed earlier in this thesis, captivity accounts expressed the pain of separation – the dislocation of exile - another enduring motif of travel literature. The same year of a proclamation detailing increased controls over the movement of individuals such as those associated with Catholic exiles, Palmer (1606) published his taxonomies of travellers.⁵³ These ranged from ‘involuntaries’ to ambassadors and intelligencers, abstracted into tables ‘for the ease and aide of mens memories’.⁵⁴ ‘Involuntaries’ were those banished ‘By the course of the Law’, ‘the displeasure of the King’, or those ‘*Persecuted* for a good conscience’.⁵⁵ The banished person was advised ‘Not to murmure for their banishment’, ‘Not to travaile into the countrey that is enemie to their Prince, or to God’ and ‘Alwayses to discover fruits of allegiance to their Prince and Countrey’.⁵⁶ Whilst exile came to mean the involuntary and official expulsion of an individual from a community, the classical texts of the Greco-Roman worlds understood exile more broadly to include other forms of voluntary displacement, evasion and travel.⁵⁷ This displacement and separation from an individual’s home was, however, painful and unsettled, although mutable and transitional.⁵⁸ Byam cites Pittacus as locating the mariner ‘neither amongst the dead, nor the living’, whilst Ovid situates exile as liminal, inbetween life and death, a living death – but also a space of transformation and potential.⁵⁹ In his passage, Byam situates seascapes and foreign landscapes as potentially transformative, albeit within the dangerous schema of the heinous

⁵³ Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, ed., *Stuart Royal Proclamations Vol. 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) 147 – 148; Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Travailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London: 1606).

⁵⁴ Palmer, *An Essay* A1^v, abstraction of the first part, I: 4 – 6.

⁵⁵ Palmer A1^v, abstraction of the first part.

⁵⁶ Netzloff 75.

⁵⁷ Bowie 21.

⁵⁸ McGowan 13 – 14.

⁵⁹ Kellet and Byam 77; McGowan 12. Also see: Hazel Andrews and Les Roberts, ed., *Liminal Landscapes: Travel, experience and spaces in-between* (Oxford: Routledge, 2012).

sin of apostasy, emphasising the importance of constancy in the Christian faith within those spaces, where ‘[t]hat *African* monster, to which so many poore soules have been made a prey; The Turke (which God forbid) may bring you under his Lee [shelter, haven]’. ‘[R]emember your first love, the God of love, your blessed Saviour’, he urges, ‘*fight a good fight, keeping faith and a good conscience*’.⁶⁰

Travelling, for whatever purpose, could be seen to imitate the motions of the heavenly spheres, but also provoke macrocosmic restlessness, disrupting social stability and harmony; it could profit the individual and the commonwealth, but rupture the integrity of cultural and national identities.⁶¹ Such divergent views are evident within the huge amount of literature and guides of the period debating the benefits and detrimental effects of travel, offering advice to the would-be traveller.⁶² Whilst these texts were primarily aimed at recreational and educational travellers, those engaging in journeys, particularly overseas voyages, were considered travellers.⁶³ Nevertheless, the literature locates the ideal constitution for travel with the male educated elite. Jerome Turler (1575) advised travelling women were ‘incontinent’, and those considered ‘frantique’ and ‘furious’ were ‘unfit to traveill’.⁶⁴ Palmer insisted Nature ‘prohibiteth Infants and decrepit persons, whose defect of understanding and doting age pleadeth insufficiencie’ from travelling, whilst ‘others such as fooles, madde men and furious persons’ were also unsuitable. With regards women travellers, Palmer notes that,

⁶⁰ Kellet and Byam 77.

⁶¹ Ord, *Travel* 2; Warneke 222.

⁶² Ord, *Travel*; Warneke; Netzloff 74 – 75; Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis and Philippa Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation 1500 – 1660* (Hants: Ashgate, 2007).

⁶³ Games 18.

⁶⁴ Jerome Turler, *The Traveiler of Jerome Turler* (London: 1575) 9, translated from Latin, quoted in Peter Holland, ‘The dramatic form of journeys in English Renaissance drama,’ *Travel and drama in Shakespeare’s time*, ed. Maquerlot and Willems 171.

‘most Countries prohibiteth women, who are rather for the house then the field; and to remain at home, then travaile into other Nations, but in speciall cases’.⁶⁵

Therefore, the ideal traveller posing the least risk was intelligent, well-balanced and regulated in morals and habit, grounded in religion, educated in their natural geohumoral constitution, and mindful of return.⁶⁶ Pleasure was thought to ‘make a man not thinke of hys returne’, and upon return there was a danger of importing non-indigenous vices.⁶⁷ Foreign manners and customs should be very carefully introduced to avoid accusations of ‘affection’: evidence of travel should ‘appear rather in his discourse than his apparel or gesture’.⁶⁸ Risks were imagined through the geohumoral body: ‘porous’ and impressionable, thus liable to absorb foreign cultures.⁶⁹ The young traveller was considered particularly susceptible. Youth was a ‘mutable, wavering and slipperie age’, and the young traveller was specifically advised to not forget his return.⁷⁰

Domestic mobility amongst those in the lower socio-economic strata – including huge numbers of mariners – was also the focus of widespread anxiety. A number of factors – population increases, rent rises, crop failures, low wages, high food prices, disease - converged during the period leading to a huge increase in poverty, dispossession,

⁶⁵ Palmer, *An Essay* I: 17.

⁶⁶ Ord, *Travel* 1.

⁶⁷ Turler 63; Ord, *Travel* 1 – 2.

⁶⁸ Francis Bacon, ‘Of Travel,’ in *The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral, of Francis Bacon* (Rockville, Maryland: Arc Manor, 2008 [1625]) 45; Bedford, Davis and Kelly 61. Also see: Ord, *Travel* 1.

⁶⁹ John Sutton, ‘Spongy Brains and Material Memories,’ *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 14 – 15; Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 1 – 86; Warneke 79 – 101.

⁷⁰ Bartholomew Batty, *The Christian mans Closet, Wherein is conteneid a large discourse of the godly training up of children: as also of those duties that children owe unto their parents, made dialogue wise, very pleasant to reade, and most profitable to practise, collected in Latin by Bartholomew Batty of Alostensis, And nowe Englished by William Lowth* (London: 1581) 52. Also see: Sir John Stradling, *A Direction for Travailleurs* (London: 1592) C4^r; Hall, *Quo Vadis?* 7; Turler 63. Ord, *Travel* 1; Warneke 74 – 101; David J. Baker, “‘My Liquid Journey’: The Frontispiece to *Coryat’s Crudities* (1611),” *Environment and Embodiment*, ed. Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan, Jr. 118 – 136; Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 1 – 86.

homelessness, migration, vagrancy and unemployment, and the number of mobile labouring poor.⁷¹ To survive, many had to resort to criminality and/or subsistence migration, and were often driven – whipped – from town to town.⁷² Seeking opportunities usually involved mobility, either intrinsic to the work itself, or it being seasonal or unstable, such as within military service, the fisheries or the cloth industry.⁷³ Such lifestyles, licenced or not, were marked by anonymity, detachment, displacement and instability, associated with transitory spaces and sites of heterogeneity, such as ports and harbours, inns, taverns and alehouses, roads, rivers, ships, lodging houses, markets and fairs, and considered threats to social and cosmic order.⁷⁴

In response, there were a number of legislative attempts during the 16th and 17th century to regulate the movement of subjects within and beyond state boundaries. These were often preoccupied with those considered outside of patriarchal, rather than geographical, boundaries, and focussed upon the poor.⁷⁵ According to Braddick (2000) the way these threats were defined reveals a complex and changing vision of social order: a patriarchal pattern of hierarchy and subordination which the state simultaneously constructed and protected, incorporating class, status and gender.⁷⁶ Images of deviance, such as witches, pirates and beggars, were those considered outside of the normative pattern of ‘civil’ society.⁷⁷ Labour laws required the able-bodied poor to have masters – by being attached to

⁷¹ Fumerton 5 – 6; Beier, *Problem of the Poor* 8.

⁷² Fumerton 6.

⁷³ Beier, *Problem of the Poor* 4 – 13; Beier, *Masterless Men* 76 – 78; Fumerton 84 – 107.

⁷⁴ Fumerton 7; Beier, *Masterless Men* 69 – 85. Also see: McRae.

⁷⁵ See, for example, Fumerton; Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c. 1550 – 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Beier, *Problem of the Poor* and *Masterless Men*; Hindle, *On the Parish?*

⁷⁶ Braddick 102.

⁷⁷ Braddick 146 – 153. Also see: Netzloff 56 – 57.

households, working as servants, in husbandry or as apprentices – but these systems were themselves unstable, often leading to vagrancy.⁷⁸ ‘Masterless’ men – primarily young, adult men, the wandering and rootless unemployed considered able-bodied and fit for work – were referred to as ‘idle’ and constituted as rebellious.⁷⁹ Masterless men can be discerned from other groups of mobile poor, such as those considered unemployable and vulnerable – the old, very young, mad, infirm or disabled. They were also differentiated from the dispossessed and mobile working poor, such as seafarers, although the law discouraged all mobility amongst these lower orders.⁸⁰ Indeed, mobile workers were not officially recognised as separate from the vagrant until the 1662 Act of Settlement.⁸¹ Licenses were issued to certain occupations, including mariners, ex-soldiers, pedlars, entertainers and students, although these individuals were still covered by vagrancy laws, and moved in and out of employment and licenced/unlicensed mobility.⁸²

Seamen were particularly associated with the sites and lifestyles of mobility. According to Fumerton ‘the word *unsettled* quintessentially described them’. Seamen were ‘nomads’ according to Rediker (1987):

Mobility, fluidity, and dispersion were intrinsic to the seamen’s life. Seafaring culture necessarily took shape without firm geographic boundaries or stable residence.⁸³

He cites seafarers describing themselves as leading a ‘Roving course of Life’, possessing an ‘unhappy mind of Rambling’, and never ‘properly Settled’.⁸⁴ Mariners were also considered

⁷⁸ Beier, *Problem of the Poor* 8.

⁷⁹ Beier, *Problem of the Poor* 3 – 6, 29 – 36.

⁸⁰ Fumerton xii – xiii.

⁸¹ Fumerton xiii.

⁸² Fumerton xix – xx; Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550 – 1640* (Hants and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002 [2000]) 48.

⁸³ Fumerton 91; 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)159.

reckless, due to the unpredictability of their lives and the uncertainty of return.⁸⁵ This image was reinforced by the demographic of many ordinary seamen: young, unmarried, receiving an irregular income, with frequent casual and transient relationships.⁸⁶ Family ties were difficult, due to prolonged separation - a feature prevalent amongst the very poor and itinerant generally.⁸⁷ Capp (1989) observes 'for many sailors the marriage bond was weak and easily broken': bigamy frequently occurred.⁸⁸

Ports and harbours, domestic or foreign, which formed part of the geographies of seafaring, were marked by unsettlement. They were associated with travel, multivocality, mixing and exchange, as were the numerous coastal alehouses, inns and taverns. McRae (2009) observes how the representation of inns and alehouses, as fixed locations which both facilitate and are constituted by mobility, indicate 'a culture within which travel itself was in the process of being commodified'.⁸⁹ They were the haunts of mariners and pirates alike, often depicted as sites of violence, drunkenness, immorality, illicit activity and generalised lawlessness: 'the nurseries of all riot, excess and idleness'.⁹⁰ They were thus subject to ambivalent discourse – places of hospitality, commerce, community and entertainment, but also of drunkenness, crime, immorality and disorder.⁹¹

⁸⁴ Rediker 158 - 159; Fumerton 91.

⁸⁵ Rediker 159.

⁸⁶ Rediker 159.

⁸⁷ Fumerton 91; Rediker 159.

⁸⁸ Bernard Capp, *Cromwell's Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution, 1648 – 1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) 252; Fumerton 91.

⁸⁹ McRae 123.

⁹⁰ Quoted in Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 219 – 220. Also see: John C. Appleby, 'The problem of piracy in Ireland, 1570 – 1630,' *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder 1550 – 1650*, ed. Claire Jowitt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 51, 54; Sanders, *Cultural Geography* 61; Braddick 140 – 142; McRae 122 – 142.

⁹¹ McRae 123; Walker 165, 219 – 221.

Ships were also spaces of potential conflict. Whilst the life of a mariner was marked by mutability, movement and fluidity, there was an inherent tension between incarceration and mobility. Life aboard ship was restrictive and regimented, space was cramped and had to be shared with cargo or ballast, as well as vermin.⁹² As Rediker comments, life at sea ‘constituted a binding chain of linked limits’ – food, space, stimulation, movement, social interaction, freedom.⁹³ Put simply, there was ‘too little space aboard the ship and too much space outside’.⁹⁴ ‘The Shippe maye well be resembled to a Cittie or common wealth’, Madox[e] informed his congregation, drawing on cosmic correspondences. The winds could ‘styre up stryfe, and spreade debate betweene man and man’, the waves could provoke ‘ambitious desyres’, causing ‘mennes minds inordinatelie to swell in pride, in vaine glorie, in emulation, in debate’ resulting in ‘wrestling and strugling’.⁹⁵ Madox[e] wishes there to be ‘no more bickering’ and ‘that the Shippe bee not troubled with surges of debate, whyle the Marriners strive who shall sitte at the Helme’.⁹⁶

Medieval legislation concerned with lower socio-economic mobility developed during the early modern period.⁹⁷ From the start of the Jacobean period – a time of transition from privateering to colonisation - legislation shifted to those moving beyond the boundaries of the kingdom itself. The proclamation in 1606, primarily concerned with minors and female travellers linked to Catholic exiles, acknowledged the difficulty in administering centralised surveillance, devolving responsibility of issuing ‘passports’ to port commissioners.⁹⁸

⁹² Rediker 160.

⁹³ Rediker 159.

⁹⁴ Rediker 159.

⁹⁵ Madox e Ci^v.

⁹⁶ Madox e Cy^r.

⁹⁷ Beier, *Problem of the Poor* 1; Beier, *Masterless Men* 3; Braddick 102.

⁹⁸ Hughes and Larkin, *Vol. 1* 147 – 148; Netzloff 74, f.n. 59, 231.

Similarly, in 1607, overseas travel was prohibited unless authorized by the king and Council, partly in response to fears regarding the illicit exportation of bullion and coin.⁹⁹ However, these measures were primarily targeting the lower classes or those viewed as enemies of Anglo-Protestantism: merchants and their factors were presumed to self-regulate.¹⁰⁰

Palmer reveals the increasing anxiety regarding overseas travel which lacked official authority and control. He refers to secretive, transgressive travellers - those ‘with all evill and mischiefe in their travailes’ – labelling them ‘fugitives’. ‘Fugitive’ is a term Burton (1621) uses in defining melancholic inconstancy, and thus the actions of the individual, ‘seeking change, restless, I say, fickle, fugitive, they may not abide to tarry in one place long’.¹⁰¹ Movement and travel is both a symptom and a cause within humoral discourse, producing inconsistencies in behaviour, loyalty and identity. Fugitive travellers were damaging to ‘theire own Countrie, Princes, State, Parents, friends and all that is held deare in this life’, bringing shame and corruption upon their return, and were ‘unworthy of the honourable name of Travailers’.¹⁰² Indeed, the term ‘runnagate’, often used interchangeably with ‘renegade’, and was another term for a rootless, wandering vagrant.¹⁰³ Palmer marginalises figures such as pirates and renegades within his text, whilst ultimately foregrounding them by defining ‘honourable’ travel against deviant mobility, demonstrating a shift from the Elizabethan endorsement of merchant-privateering to Jacobean anti-piracy discourse, and the accompanying negotiations regarding travelling identities and state power.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Netzloff f.n.57, 231.

¹⁰⁰ Netzloff 74.

¹⁰¹ Palmer, *An Essay* A1^v; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson (New York: New York Review Books, 2001, [1621]) 1.3.391 – 392.

¹⁰² Palmer A1^v.

¹⁰³ Beier, *Masterless Men* 4.

¹⁰⁴ Netzloff 56 – 57, 76 – 77; Braddick 146 – 153.

Attempts to control mobility were entwined with those to suppress piracy. Proclamations in the early part of the 17th century placed surveillance and controls on the movement of ships, and the activities of those in ports and maritime settlements. Such proclamations, as Jowitt (2010) highlights, did not distinguish between piracy and privateering, with both warranting the death penalty.¹⁰⁵ James making peace with Spain made attacks on Spanish ships particularly provocative: his proclamation ‘against Pirats’ of 1609 – contemporaneous with the Morisco expulsions from Spain, and the publication of Grotius’s *Mare Liberum* arguing for the freedom of the sea - expressed his fury at the ‘fowle crimes’ of piracy, ‘most hatefull to his minde, and scandalous to his peaceable government’:

If any person whatsoever shall upon the Seas, or in any Port or haven, take any Ship that doth belong to any of his Maiesties Subiects, friends, or Allies, or shall take out of it by force, any goods of what nature or qualitie soever: he or they so offending shall suffer death, with confiscation of lands and goods, according to the Law in that case provided.¹⁰⁶

The ‘many depredations and Piracies’ damaged relations ‘with all other Princes and States’, and were ‘committed by lewd and ill disposed persons’. ‘Insensible’ of ‘the imputation they cast upon the honour of their Sovereigne so precious to him’, they were ‘accustomed and habituated to spoile and rapine’: James was therefore ‘inforced to reiterate and inculcate his loathing and detestation’ of these crimes, and the intended swift suppression of ‘the delinquents’.¹⁰⁷

James’s proclamation demonstrates the unease with mobile identities, in this instance, emerging from the relationship between trade and plunder. Piratical activities, it stated, were being ‘continued by the connivence, or corruption in many the subordinate Officers,

¹⁰⁵ *By the King, A Proclamation against Pirats* (London: 1608 [1609]); Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580 – 1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010) 34; Netzloff 56 – 57. Also see: ‘A Royal Proclamation By the King. A Proclamation against Pirates. [Whitehall, 8 January 1609],’ *Three Turk Plays*, ed. Vitkus 353 – 356.

¹⁰⁶ *A Proclamation against Pirats*.

¹⁰⁷ *Proclamation*.

especially such as are resident in and neere Ports and Maritime Counties'.¹⁰⁸ Mariners, port officials, victuallers and merchants were understood as equally capable of being 'lewd and ill disposed'. James wished to deter those 'committing so odious actes' from assisting 'so enormous malefactors'.¹⁰⁹ All subjects were forbidden from 'furnishing, Victualing, ayding, receiving, relieving, comforting or abetting, any Pirate or Sea-rover, or any person not being a knowen Merchant, by contracting, buying, selling, bartring or exchanging with him or them', upon threat of the king's 'heavy indignation', and 'grievous paines by Law'.¹¹⁰ To prevent 'future mischiefes' the Vice Admirals were sternly ordered to quarterly certify any ships 'warlikely appointed' which had 'gone to the Sea, or returned within that time with any goods taken at Sea'. Vice Admirals and port officials were to prevent ships sailing before they had been searched, and to 'stay such as apparantly shalbe furnished for the warres, and not for merchandizing or fishing'. Indicators were provisions, furniture, 'or extraordinary number of men, or suspected persons therein'. Suspected ships should only be granted leave with sureities double the value of the ship and furniture, and to engage in nothing during their voyage 'but lawfull trade of Merchandize or Fishing'.¹¹¹ The proclamation, itself inherently mobile, was disseminated amongst the domestic ports and maritime communities, but extended its jurisdiction to subjects in 'Tunis, Argiers, or in any other place in Barbary, or the places adjoining', forbidding them 'to buy, barter, exchange, or receive directly or indirectly any goods taken at the Seas, upon any pretext whatsoever'. Sanctions were confiscation of

¹⁰⁸ *Proclamation.*

¹⁰⁹ The proclamation states 'factes' rather than 'actes'.

¹¹⁰ *Proclamation.*

¹¹¹ *Proclamation.*

property and goods in England, and legal punishments appropriate for ‘so contemptuous and grievous an offender’.¹¹²

‘The world of long-distance commerce, was’, Games (2008) points out, ‘by necessity and design, a cosmopolitan one’, based on shared economic relations involving the circulation of goods and people.¹¹³ Islamic territories and the Mediterranean region were heterogeneous sites of transference, exchange and mixing, but where Anglo-Protestants felt their difference and vulnerability acutely.¹¹⁴ The Ottoman Empire and North African provinces were diverse, consisting of a fusion of cultures, traditions and histories: Islam itself was understood within Protestant polemic as a mobile and hybrid religion, spread through invasion and violent conquest.¹¹⁵ Muhammad himself was often described as a figure of hybridity and mimicry: ‘His parents were of divers nations and different in religion: His father Abdallas was an Arabian: His mother Cadige a Jewe both by birth and profession’.¹¹⁶ Islamic law provided freedom of religious practice – a freedom rarely allowed to Jews and Muslims in Christendom - and relationships were complex and nuanced, rather than separate and oppositional.¹¹⁷ Cross-cultural interaction was evident via not only the import and export of goods, but clothing, knowledges and language: *lingua franca* had to be learnt to communicate and trade in the region, or ‘dragomen’ (interpreters) were employed, many of whom were

¹¹² *Proclamation*.

¹¹³ Games 81.

¹¹⁴ Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan 2003) 22 – 23, 43; Games 84.

¹¹⁵ Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 5, 8; Matthew Dimmock, ‘“A Human Head to the Neck of a Horse”: Hybridity, Monstrosity and Early Christian Conceptions of Muhammad and Islam,’ *The Religions of the Book, Christian Perceptions, 1400 – 1660*, ed. Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 66; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultans, Culture and Everyday Life in the Ottoman Empire from the Middle Ages until the beginning of the twentieth century*, transl. Martin Bott (London: I. B. Tauris and Co, 2000) 63, 91 – 92; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 17.

¹¹⁶ Anon., *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* (London: 1597) 1^v; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 17.

¹¹⁷ Dimmock, ‘A Human Head’ 66; Goffman, *Ottoman Empire* 19 – 20.

Jews, Armenians or renegades.¹¹⁸ Despite the capitulations which enabled a retention of ‘Englishness’ in faith and law, many immersed themselves within foreign cultures: Christian visitors adopted Muslim clothing and habit, leading to officials expressing concerns that the customs practiced by those within the Muslim territories would result in them forgetting their own.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, customs and practices could be ‘imported’, whether through goods and foodstuffs, or within individuals upon their return. Anxieties regarding travel and religious conversion were rooted in this sharing and re-articulation of different cultures.¹²⁰

The final Part of the thesis is concerned primarily with the returned ex-captive: a figure particularly conducive to being read through these anxious discourses of mobility.

‘Returning’ implies a transformation: a *reversion* back to a previous condition, practice, habit, belief or place – thus also implying bodily change within geohumoral discourse.¹²¹

Movement between places indicates movement between identities, associated with cultural and religious mobility. Those who disguised, masked or performed identity were thought to lack loyalty, such as renegades and converts, foreign spies and Catholics.¹²² Whereas economic voyages were largely understood as necessary and beneficial to the common wealth, Barbary captivity indicated close contact and a sustained immersion within Islamic culture - and European Catholicism - often for several years. The returned captive was a source and a site of cultural apprehension: the unrecognisable stranger; albeit one asserting their Protestant loyalty and unchanged temperament; the returning insider as disruptive

¹¹⁸ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 18.

¹¹⁹ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 22 – 23, 43; Games 84; Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 67.

¹²⁰ Daniel Vitkus, ‘Poisoned Figs, or “Traveler’s Religion”: Travel, Trade, and Conversion in Early Modern English Culture,’ *Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writings*, ed. Goran V. Stanivukovic (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 46.

¹²¹ *OED*.

¹²² Netzloff 76; Tobias Hug, *Impostures in early modern England: Representations and perceptions of fraudulent identities* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009) 5 – 6.

outsider, with the potential to initiate disorder. Thus anxieties and suspicions were generated regarding their ‘true’ nature, whether they had ‘turned Turk’.¹²³ Furthermore, there were those claiming to have been held in Barbary, drawing on various narratives and signifiers of captive identity to legitimately wander, claiming charity and alms, examined in the final section.

The transformative properties of the providential journey of return can therefore be read as not only emphasising, but making and re-making – ‘returning’ - the Anglo-Protestant elect identity of the ex-captive, linked to discourses of forgetting and shame. Movement between and within places creates relational geographic imaginings, shaping spatialised identities. Accounts of returns attempt to situate Barbary as a culturally mixed site of trauma and dislocation, with the domestic landscape a bounded place of safety and healing. However, mobility instigates a shift away from traditional concepts of place and identity, imbuing sites with fluidity and rendering them unfixed.¹²⁴ Returning thus creates an inter-relational trajectory between Barbary and Britain, linked through the potentially contaminating mobile body of the ex-captive.

The five sections which form this final Part of the thesis discuss different aspects of these returns, highlighting the inherent link between the identity of the Islamic convert and that of the ex-captive. The first section explores the disruption related to shifts in identity of those returning from Barbary, and looks at ways in which the anxiety provoked by such returns was managed and articulated. The second section explores the representation of Islamic conversion in more depth, whilst the third section examines the manifestation of anxieties

¹²³ Claire S. Schen, ‘Breaching “Community” in Britain: Captives, Renegades, and the Redeemed,’ *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Michael J. Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling (Hants: Ashgate, 2008) 229 – 246; Matar, *Islam and his Britain and Barbary, 1589 – 1689* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2005).

¹²⁴ Fumerton xii.

surrounding the relationship between apostasy, imperial expansion and the mobility of allegiance. These discussions were underpinned by geohumoral discourse, and the fourth section examines how this converged onto the body of the returning Barbary captive. The final section discusses the difficulties encountered by the authorities in discerning certain identities associated with the Barbary captive – attempts at which reveal their defining markers and signifiers.

*‘Amphibia, Chamelions, Ambo-dexters and Nullifidians’*¹²⁵

Returns and Transformations

Anxiety regarding Islam breaching the margins of the kingdom, and ‘infecting’ the population, was particularly intense with regards returning Barbary captives.¹²⁶ Within geohumoral discourse, captives were not only outside of the jurisdiction of Anglo-Protestant authority, but were particularly at risk of assimilating Islam due to their misery, despair and melancholic disposition, and the associations of mariners with fluid and mobile identities. Ex-captive returns from Barbary, sites of piracy, mixing and apostasy, were a potential threat to social order. This section examines such disruptive returns, and the cultural practices and texts which simultaneously expose and attempt to manage such anxieties.

Certain procedures to reintegrate ex-captives were instigated by the authorities, although localised maritime communities did not necessarily voice the same concerns, and often protected those returning from the attentions of state and church.¹²⁷ Matar (1998) observes that parents in particular demonstrated acceptance towards their sons returning as Islamic converts, an issue prompting a firm response from the religious authorities and localised preachers.¹²⁸ The return of the captive alive was the primary concern of families, and even within the wider community there appears to have been a degree of ease in distinguishing

¹²⁵ Kellet and Byam 35

¹²⁶ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 22 – 23, 43; Vitkus, ‘Poisoned Figs’ 46. Also see: Susanne Scholz, *Body Narratives: Writing the Nation and Fashioning the Subject in Early Modern England* (Hants: MacMillan, 2000) 85 – 86; Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002 [1966]) 122 – 123; Ellis Veryard, *An account of divers choice remarks* (Exon: 1701) 266; Margaret Healy, ‘Highways, Hospitals and Boundary Hazards,’ *Borders and Travellers*, ed. Betteridge 31 – 32.

¹²⁷ Netzloff 56 – 57.

¹²⁸ Matar, *Islam* 68.

between inner faith and outer appearance.¹²⁹ Preachers seized upon this deceitful anomaly to warn congregations of the dangers of ‘secret renegades’ amongst them, although urging tolerance of those who were repentant.

It was customary for returning ex-captives to give depositions to localised officials, who were urged to check for indications of conversion.¹³⁰ Renegades were expected to repent: the published sermons of Kellet and Byam (1628), and Gouge (1639) were delivered during services of reintegration after apostasy.¹³¹ Procedures to readmit Islamic converts into the church were formalised in 1637, after correspondence between John Hall, Bishop of Exeter, and Archbishop Laud, regarding a number of ex-captives who had converted in Morocco, and wished to repent.¹³² *A Form of Penance and Reconciliation of a Renegado or Apostate from the Christian Religion to Turkism* was duly approved by Parliament: a process occurring across several Sundays and involving public shaming rituals, conforming to Laudian principles of church order and discipline.¹³³ This was, in the words of Matar (1998), ‘a quasi-drama of return’.¹³⁴ The ceremony was enacted as a spectacle of spatial reintegration, visible to the congregation and experienced by the renegade. The ‘offender’ was to be initially ‘heard judicially before the bishop of the diocese’ and officially excommunicated, which was then publically declared within the cathedral and his parish church. Privately, the local minister was to ‘lay open and aggravate the heinousness of his sin both in respect of God, the

¹²⁹ Matar, *Islam* 68.

¹³⁰ See for example: TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 39; 16/316, f 100; 16/329, f 46; 16/332, ff 42 – 42v, 44 – 46.

¹³¹ Kellet and Byam.

¹³² *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D. D., Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury 7 vols* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1853) 5.2: 352; Matar, *Islam* 69.

¹³³ *Laud* 5.2: 372 – 376; ‘Laudian Rite for Returned Renegades (1637): A Form of Penance and Reconciliation of a Renegado or Apostate from the Christian Religion to Turkism,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 361 – 366; Matar, *Islam* 69. Also see: Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006).

¹³⁴ Matar, *Islam* 69.

Church, and his own soul’, checking whether he had committed ‘any other grievous crime’ to be absolved.¹³⁵

The offender’s repentance and forthcoming penance was announced within the local church on the first Sunday. The following week, the penitent stood in the church porch during morning service, then; with measures taken to ensure ‘boys and idle people flock not about him’; he moved:

without the church door, if extremity of weather hinder not, in a penitent fashion in a white sheet and with a white wand in his hand, his head uncovered, his countenance dejected, not taking particular notice of any person that passeth by him.¹³⁶

On his knees, he begged passing church-goers to remember ‘a poor wretched apostate or renegado’ in their prayers. The next week he again stood within the porch in his penitent garb, before being brought by a churchwarden to ‘penitently kneel’ at the west side of the font, until after the second lesson. Whilst reciting a dramatic confession – the transcript provided in Laud’s text – he was to ‘smite his breast three times’. Finally, in a ‘humble and devout manner’, the penitent kissed the lowest font stone, struck his chest and retreated to the porch.¹³⁷

The next Sunday he was permitted to stand ‘in his penitential habit’ near to the minister’s pew, who as to ‘publicly put the offender in mind of the foulness of his sin and stir him up to a serious repentance, advising him that a slight and ordinary sorrow is not enough for so grievous an offence’. The purpose of this was to ‘stir’ the penitent’s humors, for him to find ‘a true and earnest remorse in his soul for his sin’, the ‘shameful revolt’ from God.¹³⁸ He was expected to confess and express his remorse, begging forgiveness from God and the

¹³⁵ *Laud* 5.2: 372; ‘Laudian Rite’ in Vitkus 361.

¹³⁶ *Laud* 5.2: 372 - 373; ‘Laudian Rite’ 361 – 362.

¹³⁷ *Laud* 5.2: 372 - 373; ‘Laudian Rite’ 361 – 362.

¹³⁸ *Laud* 5.2: 374 - 376; ‘Laudian Rite’ 363 – 366.

congregation, having ‘washed this sin with my tears’.¹³⁹ For the renegade to become a ‘true Christian convert to His Savior’, a number of other ritualised actions and speeches took place – for which templates were provided – although Laud acknowledges the penitent may not be literate, and have to repeat after the minister. Finally, his sheet and wand were removed. His spatial integration and spiritual transformation was then complete, and the renegade was ‘returned’ to church, community and nation, through a ritual management of anxiety.¹⁴⁰

However, cultural anxieties surrounding returns were pervasive: discernible, for example, in the ‘newes’ or murder pamphlet, *Newes from Perin*.¹⁴¹ Generically, the pamphlet can be situated amongst other ephemeral popular pamphlets reporting on ‘monstrous’ or ‘unnatural’ events within a moralising framework: warning against sin, and illustrating God’s providential control of human affairs, thus legitimising gratuitously horrifying narratives.¹⁴² As such, the pamphlet depicts a domestic crime – the murder of a son by his father – representing an unstable and inverted social order, and demonstrating the tragic consequences of undermining authority from within.

¹³⁹ *Laud* 5.2: 374; ‘Laudian Rite’ 363.

¹⁴⁰ *Laud* 5.2: 372 – 376; ‘Laudian Rite’ 361 – 366.

¹⁴¹ Anon., *Newes From Perin in Cornwall of A most Bloody and un-exampled Murther* (London: 1618).

¹⁴² Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists & Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2002) 146; Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers, Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580 – 1640* (London: The Athlone Press, 1983) 186. Also see: Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1550 – 1700* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994). Scholarship on 17th century pamphlets has mentioned *Newes from Perin* (e.g. Lake and Questier 176 – 178; Clark 107) but as a murder/moral pamphlet, not regarding Barbary captivity.

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Newes from Perin in Cornwall (1618)

(Image: Early English Books Online)

The son's piracy which led to his captivity in Algiers was followed by a providential escape and a successful apprenticeship to a Barber-Surgeon 'farre off in the West', resulting in him working for himself.¹⁴³ He 'thus wrought himselfe an Estate of some two hundred pound and better'.¹⁴⁴ After an absence of fifteen years, he decides to return to Cornwall, although, ominously, he is shipwrecked off the coast due to a terrible storm – and an encounter with the 'unfamiliar': '[d]uring this mutenous insurrection of the waves, The Master being a *Stranger*, and *unacquainted* with the coast, split his Ship against a Rocke' [emphasis mine], which made 'a generall massacre of them all'.¹⁴⁵ The unnamed protagonist survived, 'laiden with Jewels and Gold, by the will of heaven', and proceeded to Penryn.¹⁴⁶ Arriving at what had been his father's inn – a motif of mobility, travel and shifting identities - he discovers the old man has remarried, giving the property 'in way of dowrie with one of his daughters, being sister to this our distressed Travailer'.¹⁴⁷ He visits his sister, who informs the 'stranger' her brother had 'long since [been] taken by the Turkes and died (as they were informed) a Gally slave'.¹⁴⁸ Convincing her of his true identity due to the 'great red Moale growing in the bent of his left arme', she reveals 'the chiefe cause of [their mother's death] proceeded from his disobedient stubbornnesse and obstinate course' – his unsettled, piratical lifestyle.¹⁴⁹ Their father was now living at a 'Countrey house of his young wives, some three or foure miles distant': he vows to visit and request his father's pardon.¹⁵⁰ Attempting to dissuade him, his sister warns that their 'Mother in Law' will assume he has come, newly

¹⁴³ *Newes From Perin* A4^v.

¹⁴⁴ *Newes* A4^v.

¹⁴⁵ *Newes* B1^v.

¹⁴⁶ B1^v.

¹⁴⁷ B1^v – B2^r.

¹⁴⁸ B2^r.

¹⁴⁹ B2^r.

¹⁵⁰ B2^r.

shipwrecked in 'poore and thinne habit', to take money from their impoverished father.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, the protagonist decides to conceal his identity, and request lodgings from his stepmother, 'being a poore Sea fairing man' having lost his ship and goods.¹⁵² The old man is keen for the 'stranger' to stay, as he reminds him of his own son of whom he hopes to obtain news from the stranger the next morning. Before retiring that night, the son reveals his wealth to his stepmother. Unable to settle, she allows the devil to tempt her to murder the stranger and steal his gold, subsequently persuading her reluctant husband to commit the act. The sister arrives at her father's house the following morning asking to speak to her brother, revealing the true identity of 'the young man that in the habite of a poore Saylor came the last night, to damaund lodging', adding that he had brought gold to pay their father's debts.¹⁵³ Going to the body, the father finds the mole on his son's arm and kills himself – quickly followed by his wife who is urged on by both the devil and her guilty conscience. Going to find them, the sister bears witness to the stepmother's dying confession as to having been the 'Author of all'. The sister laments:

with such ardour of affection and violence of passion it made all the standers by with a generall voyce cry out 'It was the Bloodiest and most Inhumane murther the Countrey was ever guilty of.'¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ B2^r.

¹⁵² B3^r.

¹⁵³ C1^v.

¹⁵⁴ C2^r – C2^v.

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Newes from Perin in Cornwall (1618)

(Image: Early English Books Online)

The threat of social disorder is thus located in the familiar and the intimate, mapped onto family breakdown, but precipitated by the unfamiliar, the foreign, the external, the stranger. This dynamic is articulated through a struggle between the devil and human sin on one side, and divine providence, justice and mercy on the other.¹⁵⁵ Internal authority is undermined through the externalised figures of the stepmother - and the returning ex-captive. Whilst his pious mother has died of grief due to the protagonist's errant ways, the stepmother was 'more respecting her owne future estate' than the old man's 'present welfare'; and her own children, over those 'to whom they are but mothers in Law'.¹⁵⁶

For women to possess an outward-looking gaze away from the domestic made her particularly inclined towards sin: sinful impulses gave the devil agency, and multiple sins

¹⁵⁵ Lake and Questier 147 - 148; Dolan 4.

¹⁵⁶ *Newes* B3^r.

formed a chain which could lead to murder. Although the father committed prolicide (filicide), the stepmother's sins of covetousness and greed had allowed the devil a foothold. As is common in morality tales, the devil makes an appearance in the pamphlet: not physically, but as a spectral being, although sometimes woodcuts would show a devilish figure.¹⁵⁷ A screech owl also appears at the window during the murder, reinforcing this moral theme. Originating within medieval bestiaries, the owl's shrieks foretold disaster, symbolising the wailing sinner in hell: it was also traditionally associated with melancholy.¹⁵⁸ However, this chain of sin was initiated by the *son*, responsible for his mother's death, and his father's poverty, with other 'bloody and un-repentet sinnes': 'Theft, Piracy, Murther, Drunkennes, Swearing, Lust, blasphemy and the like'.¹⁵⁹

An anxious narrative emerges, centred upon the unsettled identity of the protagonist moving between errant son, pirate, captive, traveller, wealthy ship's surgeon and poor mariner – emphasised by his returning a 'stranger', able to conceal his true identity with ease. The mobile body of the returning captive, therefore, becomes a literal site of unstable identity and social disruption. It is a body which could absorb, return and communicate contamination, instigating unnatural vices and barbaric impulses – even if conversion to Islam is not made overt or denied. Such risks were inherent within humoral discourse. For example, the association of the Turks with cholera, which produced unpredictable violent behaviour, and the melancholic captive being linked to covetousness and a propensity for temptation and sin, are motifs within the narrative. Furthermore, certain practices of the Turks were frequently recorded as evidence of their barbarity, including parricide and

¹⁵⁷ B4^r.

¹⁵⁸ *Newes* C1^r. Mariko Miyazaki, 'Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-semitism,' *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, ed. Debra Hassig (New York: Garland, 1999) 28; Bridget Gellert Lyons, *Voices of Melancholy: literary treatments of melancholy in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971) 45.

¹⁵⁹ *Newes* A3^v.

prolicide, echoed in *Newes from Perin*. '[W]hat can be thereunto more contrarie, than for the father most unnaturally to embrue his hands in the bloud of his own children?' asks Knolles, 'A common matter among the *Othoman Emperours*'.¹⁶⁰

Newes from Perin also draws on the narrative of the prodigal son, a common source of 16th and 17th century theological debate regarding forgiveness of sin and processes of redemption. However, here the narrative is inverted, allowing the reader to map the chain of sins leading to the tragic conclusion, rather than the joyful reunion of the Biblical tale.¹⁶¹ Vincent Jukes, a repentant convert and the subject of Gouge's apostasy sermon, was another 'prodigall son' signified by the motif of the sermon: 'He was lost, and is found'.¹⁶² Here, the sacred space of the church becomes a simultaneous space of performance, as the conclusion to the narrative is enacted:

Ye have here the *Catastrophe* or sweet close of a *Parabolicall History*, or Historical Parable, which is full of trouble and confusion throughout the greatest part of it, but endeth with a joyfull issue. The *Place* whereon it was represented, is the *Church*. For out of the Church did the *Prodigall* depart: Into the Church did he returne: And most of the memorable matters therein related, are related as performed in the Church.¹⁶³

Gouge recounts Juke's personal narrative, aligning it with the Biblical parable. Aged 17 he was apprenticed to a ship's cook, bound for Greenland, returning after 5 months. As with the anonymous protagonist in *Newes from Perin* he leaves his father's house: in Juke's case this also implies the Christian church. His next voyage was to Genoa, during which 'they were set

¹⁶⁰ Richard Knolles, 'The Author's Induction,' *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London: 1603). Also see: Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 62; Vitkus, 'Introduction,' *Three Turk Plays* 19.

¹⁶¹ Barbara Haeger, 'The prodigal son in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Netherlandish art: depictions of the parable and the evolution of a Catholic image,' *Simiolus Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 16 (2/3) (1986): 128 – 138.

¹⁶² Luke 15. 11 – 31; Gouge 7. Also see: Margo Todd, 'A Captive's Story: Puritans, Pirates, and the Drama of Reconciliation,' *The Seventeenth Century*, 12 (1997): 37 – 56, cited Netzloff 80.

¹⁶³ Gouge 7.

upon by Turkish pirats'.¹⁶⁴ '[A]fter a dangerous fight', according to Gouge, 7 crew were killed, and 20 more 'wounded and maimed'.¹⁶⁵ 34, including Jukes, were sold in Algiers: '[o]f that company many died, foure were ransom'd, and seven there still abide in slaverie'.¹⁶⁵ Jukes proved to be the eighth captive counted who was traditionally given to the king. After two months he passed to the king's brother, before being sold to a Moor. Beaten and threatened daily, Jukes was made 'to renounce his Christian religion, denie *Christ*, acknowledge *Mahomet* to bee a great *Prophet*', 'conforme himselfe to the *Turkish* rites, and attire', and also circumcised.¹⁶⁶

Despite Juke's conversion, he was sold to a Greek renegade to serve as a soldier on a corsair vessel, 'which went forth upon the spoile', with 'two *English* Christians', 'a *Flemming* Circumcised as himselfe', and 'twenty native *Turks*'.¹⁶⁷ The 4 captives overthrow the ship, killing 10 Turks, maiming 5 more: the remaining 5 were 'so affrighted, as they knew not what to doe, but through feare ran up to the riggin: where they were threatned to be shot thorow if they would not yeald'.¹⁶⁸ Similar to Phippen's narrative, the surviving Turks, vessel and goods were sold in Spain, the profits divided between Jukes and his three allies – who 'were perswaded, and abode among the *Spaniards*'.¹⁶⁹ 'This *Penitent*', Gouge declares, 'bearing more love to his native *Country* and reformed *Religion* in which hee had beene brought up, refused to abide in *Spaine*, but tooke his first opportunity of coming for *England*', just as Phippen refused Catholicism.¹⁷⁰ Initially, Jukes hid his conversion, swiftly

¹⁶⁴ Gouge 2.

¹⁶⁵ Gouge 2.

¹⁶⁶ Gouge 2 – 3.

¹⁶⁷ Gouge 3.

¹⁶⁸ Gouge 4.

¹⁶⁹ Gouge 5.

¹⁷⁰ Gouge 5.

joining a Greenland-bound vessel: however, his conscience during the journey was ‘much troubled night and day’, with disturbed sleep ‘through horror of conscience for denying his Christian Faith’.¹⁷¹ Upon return, he admitted his conversion to the parish curate: after consultation with the reverend and vicar, his case was passed up the church hierarchy.¹⁷² The ritual processes of community reintegration – a series of returns and transformations – were then instigated.

A later account of Jukes also draws on the prodigal son motif and community reintegration through celebratory embodied practices. In this instance, along with his wayward brothers, Jukes leaves his father’s house in Myddle in Shropshire, his father Thomas having ‘three sons, and never a good one’. The youngest, also Thomas, ‘did use to break neighbour’s houses’, although ‘had the fortune to be caught before he had done any mischief’. His father ‘in some drunken humour’ apprenticed him to a jugglar, giving the jugglar’s wife ‘an old petticoat’. The second son, Richard; ‘a companion of John Owen, of Myddle, who was one of the falsest thives in this country’; was imprisoned at Shrewsbury for horse-stealing, on release he became a soldier. Vincent was the eldest:

an active, nimble man; he went to be a seaman, and was taken prisoner by the Turks, att Tangiers, and another Englishman, his companion. These two, after some time, changed their religion (if they had any before), and became Turks, and so got more favour and liberty than other slaves.¹⁷³

The narrative contains familiar generic motifs:

After some time, these two were sent a roving in a small vessel, and only either Turks in their company: and these two, watching an opportunity, when the Turks were all under deck, shut down the hatches, and kept them there, and hoisted up sail for England; and meeting with some English merchants, they gott relief, and so

¹⁷¹ Gouge 5.

¹⁷² Gouge 5 – 6.

¹⁷³ Richard Gough, *Human Nature Displayed in the History of Myddle. Antiquities and Memoirs of Myddle* (London: 1834) 29 – 30.

brought the little vessel to England, and put the Turks on shore, and sold the vessel.¹⁷⁴

Here, Juke's return and reintegration differed considerably from Gouge's sermon, illustrating a divergence in community and official responses to returns: 'Vincent Jukes bought a new suit of clothes, and a good horse, and came down to Myddle, and was there at that time that they were singing ballads abroad in market towns of this adventure'. In a further subversion of the prodigal motif, Jukes 'went after to sea again, and was never heard of more'.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Gough 30.

¹⁷⁵ Gough 30.

‘And who fiercer enemies to *Christ* and *Christians* then these *renegado*’s, *Christians* turned *Turks*?’¹⁷⁶

Conversion Anxiety

The primary fear surrounding those returning was of Islamic conversion.¹⁷⁷ Just as regulating mobility and travel concentrated on the lower social strata, it was ordinary mariners and captives – identities often shared – who were considered most at risk of apostasy. This risk was exacerbated by youth. This group, according to Sir Thomas Sherley commenting on renegades in Constantinople, were not ‘of rype aage & mature understandinge’.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, the success of the Empire was partly attributed to the child levy, or tribute system – *Devşirme* - practiced by the Ottomans. Christian children taken by, or given to, the Empire underwent Islamic conversion and were conscripted into imperial institutions, which included the military, often rising to positions of great wealth and power.¹⁷⁹ The 1587 captivity narrative attributed to Thomas Saunders names the first known convert from British Christianity to Islam, and in doing so, highlighted youth as a risk factor.¹⁸⁰ The king of Tripoli’s son ruled the ‘Iland of Jerbbye’ [Djerba, just off the Tunisian

¹⁷⁶ Charles Fitz-Geffry, *Compassion Towards Captives chiefly towards our Brethren and Country-men who are in miserable bondage in Barbarie. Urged and pressed in three sermons on Heb. 13.3. Preached in Plymouth, in October 1636* (Oxford: 1637) 10.

¹⁷⁷ Matar, *Islam* 5; John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) xiv; M. Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1908) 241 – 242.

¹⁷⁸ Sir Thomas Sherley, *Discours of the Turkes (ca. 1606 – 07)*, ed. E. Denison Ross (London: Camden Miscellany, 1936) 11, quoted Netzloff 77.

¹⁷⁹ Jean W. Sedlar, *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000 – 1500* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994) 241 – 242; Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) 113 – 114, 161; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 113.

¹⁸⁰ Thomas Saunders, *A true Discription and breefe Discourse, Of a most lamentable Voiage, made latelie to Tripolie in Barbarie, in a Ship named the JESUS* (London: 1587); Matar, *Islam* 34.

mainland], ‘wherunto arrived an English ship called the Greene Dragon’.¹⁸¹ On board was ‘a verie unhappie boie’, who has heard whoever turns Turk ‘should be well entertained of the kings sonne’: ‘this boy did run a shore, & voluntarilie turned Turke’.¹⁸² Shortly afterwards, the prince visited his father in Tripoli, and:

seeing our companie, he greatlie fancied Rich. Burges our pursser, & James Smith, they were both young men, thefore he was verie desirous to have them to turne Turke, but they would not yeeld to his desire.¹⁸³

Despite the King requesting they convert, Burges and Smith resisted, stating ‘If it please your highnes, christians we were borne, & so we will remaine’, begging him not to force them.¹⁸⁴

This was not the end of the matter: ‘[t]he king had there before in his house, a son of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom [the] kings son had inforced to turne Turke, his name was John Nelson’.¹⁸⁵ Despite Nelson’s attempts to persuade them to convert, Burges and Smith stated they would not ‘during life’.¹⁸⁶ However, a month later, the king’s son took Burges and Smith back to ‘Jerbbie’: Saunders and his crew later witnessed a letter from the men reporting they had converted and been circumcised against their will.¹⁸⁷ Forced conversion was to become a familiar, albeit contested, motif within representations of Islam and Barbary captivity.

Nevertheless, hundreds, probably thousands, of Christians *willingly* converted to Islam, an identity which resided in between cultures, enabled through mobility, travel and cultural

¹⁸¹ Saunders Cii^v.

¹⁸² Saunders Cii^v.

¹⁸³ Cii^r.

¹⁸⁴ Cii^r.

¹⁸⁵ Cii^r.

¹⁸⁶ Cii^r.

¹⁸⁷ Cii^v.

exchange.¹⁸⁸ The physical absence of bodies from Christendom, and bodies present in Muslim territories receptive to receiving Islam were dual concerns. Leo Africanus, an Andalusian Muslim who converted to Christianity after being ‘taken by certain pirates’ and presented to Pope Leo X, observed ‘Christians became Turkes, partly upon some extreme & violent passion’, either ‘to release themselves of torments and cruelties’, or ‘for hope of honors and temporall greatnes’. He notes there were many ‘of these two sorts’ in Constantinople, ‘being thought to be Christians in hart’.¹⁸⁹

The same year Pory’s translation of Africanus’ work was published, the Benedictine friar Diego de Haedo estimated half the population of Algiers were renegades, which he put at about 6000 and households, or 60,000 people – although clearly an exaggeration, as it was doubtful that the overall population was more than 75,000.¹⁹⁰ In 1614, the captive William Davies wrote there were more converts in ‘Turkie and Barbary’ than ‘naturall Turkes’, and Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, a French-speaking convert from Flanders, put the figure in Algiers, at over 6000 converts in 1619, with 500 a year converting.¹⁹¹ The French Trinitarian friar, Father Pierre Dan, reported in 1634 of 8000 renegades in Algiers, with a further population of 25,000 Christian captives; and 7000 captives at Tunis, with up to 4000 male and 700 female converts.¹⁹² A huge proportion of captives were thought to have converted to Islam – perhaps as many as three quarters according to the Spanish Carmelite, Jerónimo Gracián, although he

¹⁸⁸ Netzloff 73; Faroqhi 91 – 92; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 111.

¹⁸⁹ Leo Johannes Africanus, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, transl. John Pory (London: 1600) 60, 386.

¹⁹⁰ Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006) 112.

¹⁹¹ William Davies, *A True Relation of the Travails and most miserable Captivitie of William Davies, Barber-Surgion of London* (London, 1614) B3^v; ‘Relations of the Christianitie of Africa,’ *Hakluytus Posthumus; or Purchas his Pilgrims: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others* Vol. 9, Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905) 278.

¹⁹² Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Barbary Corsairs* (London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1890) 154; Dursteler 112; Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in theatre, religion and resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004) 209.

was publishing at the beginning of the Morisco expulsions from Spain with the specific intention of raising alms for the redemption of captives.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, conversion was so commonplace that a city gate in Algiers was still called ‘Renegado’s Gate’ in the 18th century.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, regardless of the accuracy of the numbers, conversion was a very real anxiety for Britons back home.

The relative ease of conversion – with seemingly little required of the convert so long as they conformed outwardly – contributed to the numbers of renegades, and reinforced the view that certain groups were particularly at risk.¹⁹⁵ The tolerance of Islam was unparalleled in Christian Europe: Jews, Christians and Muslims had established communities, who mingled, lived, worked and worshipped together and alongside each other, with Catholic captives in particular allowed places of worship.¹⁹⁶ Condemnations of Islam, observing the ‘mixture of Mahumetans with Christians’, still acknowledged these religious freedoms: if Christians paid their levies and ‘speake nothing against the Religion and Sect of Mahumet’ they were permitted ‘the liberty of their religion’.¹⁹⁷ The anonymous account of captivity

¹⁹³ Jerónimo Gracián, *Tratado de la redempción de captivos: En que se cuentan las grandes miserias, que padecen los Christianos, que están en poder de infieles, y quan santa obra sea la de su Rescate* (Brussels: 1609), 32, cited Stephen Clissold, *The Barbary Slaves* (London: Paul Elek, 1977) 86; Paul Baepler, ‘Introduction,’ *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*, ed. Baepler (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 43; Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of Carolina Press, 2009) 54.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas Pellow, *The Adventures of Thomas Pellow, of Penryn, Mariner Three and Twenty Years in Captivity Among the Moors Written by Himself, and Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Dr. Robert Brown* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1890) 53.

¹⁹⁵ Clissold 91.

¹⁹⁶ TNA: PRO SP 71/2, f 65, quoted Matar, ‘Introduction’ in Vitkus 18; Claire Norton, ‘Lust, Greed, Torture, and Identity: Narrations of Conversion and the Creation of the Early Modern Renegade,’ *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 29 (2) (2009): 259 – 268, 262; Matar, *Islam* 28 – 29; Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycout at Smyrna, 1667 – 1678* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 7.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Master Brerewoods Enquires of the Religions professed in the World: Of Christians, Mahumetans, Jewes and Idolaters: with other Philosophicall speculations, and divers Annotations added,’ *Hakluytus Posthumus; or Purchas his Pilgrims: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others in 1626* Vol. 19, Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907) 305.

published with Ockley's text revealed the Algiers captives 'have allsoe liberty to say & and hear mass every places allowed for that Service', whilst Okeley notes he and other Christian captives were permitted to meet thrice-weekly to hear the ex-captive Reverend Devereux Sprat[t] preach.¹⁹⁸ Somerset born, he was taken off the coast of Ireland, and stayed on in Algiers after his release, preaching to captives during the 1640s.¹⁹⁹ There were reports of well-attended Protestant services held in a private house, and of Catholic priests prevented from being put to labour, and permitted to lead their coreligionists in processions celebrating holy days. Turks themselves were described as dropping in to the Christian churches, taking enjoyment from listening to the children reciting their catechism.²⁰⁰ Despite this religious autonomy, the combination of religious law and civil life within the territories meant all inhabitants closely engaged with the traditions, rituals and celebrations of Islam.²⁰¹ Christians gained a familiarity with the freedoms, diversity and opportunities which Islam offered its adherents, particularly attractive to those coming from early modern Britain: 'a culture with a religious climate marked by intrusion, surveillance, and controversy', and a regime which attempted to erase difference and assert a repressive uniformity.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Simon Ockley, *An Account of South-West Barbary Containing What is most Remarkable in the Territories of the King of Fez and Morocco, Written by a Person who had been a Slave there a considerable Time; and Published from his Authentick Manuscript* (London: 1713) 112; William Okeley, *Eben-ezer: Or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley, John Anthony, William Adams, John Jeph, John – Carpenter, From the Miserable Slavery of Algiers with the wonderful Means of their Escape in a Boat of Canvas* (London: 1675) 23 – 25; Clissold 124; Matar, *Islam* 28 – 29; Anderson, *English Consul* 7; Norton 262.

¹⁹⁹ 'Appendix II: The capture of a Protestant divine by an Algerine corsair, in the seventeenth century,' *Travels and Researches in Crete, Vol. 1*, ed. Thomas Abel Brimage Spratt (London: Jan Van Voorst, Paternoster Row, 1865) 384 – 387.

²⁰⁰ Matar, 'Introduction' in Vitkus 19; Norton 262; F. Dominick Busnot, *The History of the Reign of Mula Ismael the present King of Morocco, Fez, Taflit, Sous &c.* (London: A. Bell and J. Baker, 1715) 157; Matar, *Islam* 29; Anderson, *English Consul* 7.

²⁰¹ Matar, *Islam* 28.

²⁰² Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 110.

Conversion involved a declaration and a gesture which acknowledged the oneness of God, and the authority of Mohammad as his prophet. The convert's hair was cut, leaving a tuft on the top of the head, a turban replaced his discarded cap, and a Muslim name replaced his Christian one. A surgeon would perform the circumcision, and the new convert would rest for two weeks. For captives, this ritual took place in a mosque, for non-slaves at the tomb of a local saint, or *wali*, followed by celebratory processions.²⁰³ Davies (1614) interprets the 'manner of a Christian turning Turke', seemingly designed to shock his Christian readership:

He is put upon a horse with his face towards the taylor, and a Bow and an Arrow in his hand, then the picture of Christ is carried before him with his feet upwards, at the which he draws his Bow with the Arrow therein, and thus he rideth to the place of Circumcision, he is Circumcised, receiving a name, & denying his Christian name, so that ever after he is called a Runagado, that is, a Christian denying Christ and turned Turke.²⁰⁴

Once the rite was performed, besides learning some basics of the Qur'an, few formal practices or demonstrations of faith were required, and little stigma was attached to the status of renegade.²⁰⁵ Indeed, Burton (1621) noted that the Christian who 'will Turn Turk [...] shall be entertained as a brother'.²⁰⁶

Islamic society was powerful and hierarchical, but absorbent, therefore - regardless of social or ethnic origin - conversion offered superior living conditions, financial opportunities and social mobility. This compared favourably to the episodes of economic depression, unemployment (particularly for soldiers, mariners and labourers), famine and plague back

²⁰³ Clissold 86, 91; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 111. Also see: Kellet and Byam 31; Nancy Khalek, 'Dreams of Hagia Sophia: The Muslim Siege of Constantinople in 674 CE, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, and the Medieval Islamic Imagination,' *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition: Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook*, ed. Asad Q. Ahmed, Behnam Sadeghi, and Michael Bonner (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011) f.n. 28, 141; John Iskander, 'Saint,' *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. Juan E. Campo (New York: Infobase, 2009) 598 – 600.

²⁰⁴ Davies, *True Relation* B3^v.

²⁰⁵ Clissold 86, 91; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 111.

²⁰⁶ Burton, ed. Jackson 3.349, quoted Matar, 'Introduction' in Vitkus 2.

home - or the bleak uncertainty of the enslaved Christian.²⁰⁷ The tolerance and mobility of the diverse Islamic worlds, consisting of multiple cultures and networks, made it easier for individuals to improve their socio-economic status in Barbary than within the rigid societies of early modern Britain, where opportunities were fairly static, mapped from birth.²⁰⁸ Even enslaved captives had certain economic opportunities and freedoms, including on the galleys. Protestants observed how enslavement on Spanish, Italian or French galleys was considered worse than on Muslim ships, the latter considered cleaner, and slaves reportedly received two shares of the *ghaneema*, or prize.²⁰⁹ Indeed, there appeared to be a huge difference in the benefits of conversion. ‘*Renegats*’, according to Veryard, ‘are advanc’d to divers of the most considerable and profitable Employments’; and captives who converted gained freedom and ‘good Recompence’. This was contrary to the practices on Christian galleys: slaves who embraced the captor’s religion continued in slavery, with ‘no prospect of bettering his Condition’.²¹⁰ Turks ‘had rather see a Slave *dead than Idle*’, according to Okeley, and Father Dan noted how Christian captives kept taverns in Algiers, selling wine, bread and various meats, frequented by both Turks and renegades.²¹¹ Peter Unticaro, ‘a Spaniard born, and a Christian’ who helped Fox (1589) escape, had been captive for about three decades, yet hired ‘a certain victualing house’, also paying ‘a certain fee unto the keeper of the road’.²¹²

²⁰⁷ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 110 – 11; Matar, *Islam* 28 – 29; Clissold 86; Norton 259 – 268.

²⁰⁸ Faroqhi 63, 91 – 92.

²⁰⁹ John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1635* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865) 325; F. H. Blackburne Daniell, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: March 1st, 1675, to February 29th, 1676* (London: Mackie and Co, 1907) 154; Elias Neau, *An Account of the Sufferings of the French Protestants, Slaves on Board the French King’s Galleys* (London: 1699); John Bion, *An Account of the Torments the French Protestants Endure Aboard the Galleys* (London: 1708); *This is a short Relation of some of the Cruel sufferings (For the Truths sake) of Katharine Evans & Sarah Cheevers, in the Inquisition in the Isle of Malta* (London: 1662); Matar, ‘Introduction’ in Vitkus 21; Matar, *Islam* 132 - 137.

²¹⁰ Veryard 318.

²¹¹ Okeley, *Eben-ezer* 15; Baeppler, ‘Introduction’ 15; Marià Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive’s Tale* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002) 141.

²¹² ‘John Fox, “*The Worthy Enterprise of John Fox, in Delivering 266 Christians Out of the Captivity of the Turks,*” in Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (1589),’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 62.

Unticaro had never attempted escape ‘but kept himself quiet, without touch or suspect of conspiracy’, enabling him to help Fox.²¹³ Upon meeting a fellow Briton with a shop trading in ‘Lead, Iron, Shot, Strong waters, Tabacco, and many other things’, Okeley persuaded his patron for the means to buy stock in order to work there.²¹⁴ Okeley also put his own savings towards the venture, demonstrating that those enslaved were able to earn above their basic needs.²¹⁵ Despite Okeley claiming he ‘wore out three or four irksome Years in this way of Trading’, his time in Algiers had clearly been financially lucrative.²¹⁶ Prior to his escape Okeley transferred his goods into ‘ready Money’, concealing his silver and gold in a false-bottomed trunk made by one of his cohort, with other goods of worth in the ‘Body of the Trunk’:

committed privately to the Fidelity of our dear Minister, Mr. *Sprat*; he took the charge of it, and he was now ready to receive his full Discharge. This Trunk he *Faithfully Secured*, and *carefully brought over*, and as *honestly delivered* to me when he heard I was come safe to *London*.²¹⁷

Undoubtedly, this kind of immersion in Islamic life contributed to blurred identities, making Islamic conversion a logical step for many.²¹⁸ As Sherley warns: ‘that place [Constantinople] & conversation with infidelles doeth much corrupte [...] in everye 3 yeere that they staye in Turkye they loose one article of theyre faythe’.²¹⁹

Many converted to Islam in despair of never returning. John Bolithoe’s petition, which emphasised his age at the time of capture (16) and thus his humoral susceptibility to conversion, pleaded that he:

²¹³ Fox in Vitkus 62.

²¹⁴ Okeley, *Eben-ezer* 18 – 19. Also see: Baepler, ‘Introduction’ 15.

²¹⁵ Okeley 15, 16.

²¹⁶ Okeley 20.

²¹⁷ Okeley 59 – 60.

²¹⁸ Norton 265, 268.

²¹⁹ Sherley 11, quoted Netzloff 77.

may not only be Redeemed from [the] hardships of Bodily Sufferings but may be delivered from [the] temptations of such infidels and enemies of the Christian faith.²²⁰

Conversion broadened economic and social opportunity. Renegades had valuable skills to offer their new communities, bringing intelligence information, operational knowledge and new technologies. Subsequently, lucrative offers of employment were made to Christian mariners and soldiers to convert and become corsairs or join the military.²²¹ Renegades often piloted corsair ships in the coastal waters of Europe, devised strategies, manufactured and operated weaponry, and used the knowledge of their home territories for the profit of their adopted ones. Many Barbary ships were crewed by Christians, attacking either Muslim or Christian vessels.²²² Indeed, renegades introduced the ‘round ship’, or sail war ship, to the corsairs, which enabled them to extend their depredations beyond the Straits, something which their oar-propelled vessels had not been able to do.²²³

Renegades also made their living from other professions: as Matar (1994) drily states, ‘[e]vidently, Mohammad was more attractive than Christ because he paid higher wages to those who served him’.²²⁴ Converts married, had families, and grasped opportunities for social mobility, advancement, and the pursuit of riches and honour. To many of the lower social orders Islam signified a rise to social, economic and political power, enabled by the

²²⁰ Cornwall Record Office (CRO) St. Dominic Parish, P50/7/2.

²²¹ For example, see ‘John Rawlins, *The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol, Called the Exchange, from the Turkish Pirates of Argier (1622)*,’ *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 96; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 36 – 37.

²²² Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 36 – 37, 111; Clissold 98.

²²³ Clissold 98.

²²⁴ Nabil Matar, ‘“Turning Turk”: Conversion to Islam in English Renaissance Thought,’ *Durham University Journal* 86 (1) (1994): 38.

lack of social and ethnic discrimination in Islamic life.²²⁵ Such a motivation is demonstrated, for example, by Sherley's disparaging comments describing renegades:

for the most parte roagues, & the skumme of people, whyche being villanes and atheists, unable to live in Christendomme, are fledde to the Turke for succoure & releyffe & of these are most of his bashawes made.²²⁶

Renegades not only became Janissaries; officers in the Ottoman military; but leading officials and commanders – which were all posts which were traditionally linked to *Devşirme*.²²⁷ At least 33 of the 48 grand viziers in power in Constantinople from 1453 to 1623 were Christian converts, and in 1580 alone more than half the important officials (*qaid*s), and 25 of the 33 naval commanders (*raï*s) in Algiers were renegades.²²⁸ Knight (1640) noted powerful

Muslims:

in the great *Turkes Soray*, who are his *Courtiers*? who his *Councillors*? who his *Vissiers*? who his *Bashawes*? who his greatest Instruments, but these denyers, the somnes of Christians.²²⁹

Blount observed renegades were generally atheists, 'who left our cause for the *Turkish* as the more thriving in the Wor[l]d, and fuller of preferment.²³⁰ Renegades served as bodyguards and governors: the Italian ex-captive ʿUlūj ʿAlī (Ochaiali or Ochali) rose to power in Algiers during the later 16th century, becoming Pasha and then Beylerbey, second to the Grand

²²⁵ Baepler, 'Introduction' 43; Matar, *Islam* 15; Dimmock and Hadfield, 'Introduction,' *The Religions of the Book* 12; Clissold 88.

²²⁶ Sherley 4, quoted Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in the Ottoman Lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609 – 21* (Hants: Ashgate, 2006) 116. Also see: Netzloff 77.

²²⁷ Sedlar 241 – 242; Shaw and Shaw 113 – 114, 161; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 113.

²²⁸ Netzloff f.n. 63, 232; Clissold 86 – 87; John B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast: Algiers under the Turks, 1500 to 1830* (New York: Norton, 1979) 164 – 165; Matar, 'Turning Turk' 33 – 41.

²²⁹ Francis Knight, *A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie Under the Turkes of Argeire, suffered by an English Captive Merchant, Wherein is also conteined all memorable Passages, Flights, and Accidents, which happened in that Citie, and At Sea with their Shippes and Gallies during that time, Together with a description of the sufferings of the miserable captives under that mercilesse tyrannie, Whereunto is added a second Booke conteining a description of Argeire, with its original manner of Government, increase and present flourishing estate* (London: 1640) B1^v.

²³⁰ Sir Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant: A brief Relation of a Journey lately performed by Mr. Henry Blunt Gentleman, from England by the way of Venice... With particular observations concerning the moderne condition of the Turks, and other people under that Empire* (London: 1650 [1634, 1636, 1638]) 112.

Vizier.²³¹ He was apparently nicknamed Fartax, or Fartas, meaning ‘Scabby’, due to the scurvy or ringworm he suffered from during his time as a galley slave.²³² An admiral of the Ottoman sultan’s fleet, Ramadan Sardo, was once a captive Sardinian goatherd who proved so popular amongst the population of Algiers, they sent a deputation to the Ottoman Sultan to replace their *basha* ‘Arab Ahamed’ with Ramadam Sardo, which was agreed.²³³ Hassan Aga – Samson, the son of Francis Rowlie, a Bristol merchant - converted during the late 16th century, becoming a eunuch and treasurer to ‘Ulūj ‘Alī. He was so powerful Harborne had to request his assistance in ransoming captives.²³⁴ The Cornishman encountered by Mr. T. S. ‘by his Apostasie had procured unto himself great Wealth amongst the *Turks*’, whilst the Penryn convert Thomas Pellow appears to have enjoyed a successful life in Morocco, the catalyst for his return being civil strife and the death of his wife and daughter.²³⁵ An executioner for the King of Morocco, Pellow notes, was a butcher from Exeter, called Absalom (Abd-es-Selam).²³⁶

Not all converts were from the lower social orders. Sir Francis Verney became a renegade corsair in Tunis. Married at fourteen to his twelve year old step-sister - a union which quickly soured – he accrued debts from a young age, and was involved in incidents of disorderly

²³¹ Wolfgang Zündelin to Philip Sidney, Venice 9th January 1575 in Roger Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney Vol. 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 374 f.n. 8, also see lx.

²³² J. Morgan, *A Complete History of Algiers. To which is prefixed, An Epitome of the General History of Barbary from the earliest Times: Interspersed With many curious Passages and Remarks not touched on by any Writer whatever* (London: 1731) 420, 488, 490, 498, 538. Also see: Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, transl. John Rutherford (London: Penguin, 2003 [2000]) 368.

²³³ Morgan, *Complete History* 520 – 522. Also see: Clissold 86 – 87.

²³⁴ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations: Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* Vol. 6 (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1910) 282 – 283; Matar, *Britain* 6; Bosworth 115; MacLean, *Oriental Travel* 184 – 186.

²³⁵ T. S., *The Adventures of (Mr T. S.) An English Merchant, Taken Prisoner by the Turks of Argiers, & carried into the Inland Countries of Africa: With a Description of the Kingdom of Argiers, of all the Towns and Places of Note thereabouts, Whereunto is added a Relation of the Chief Commodities of the Countrey, and of the Actions and Manners of the People* (London: 1670) 17; Pellow. Also see: Norton 264 – 265.

²³⁶ Pellow 103.

conduct and family disputes.²³⁷ He travelled to Jerusalem and back whilst his estates were being sold during 1607/8, leaving England for the last time at the end of 1608. Verney was in Tunis by autumn 1609 – the edict to expel the Moriscos from Spain was signed in the September - and correspondence stated that Verney ‘an Englishman of very noble blood who has gone through a fortune of four thousand crowns a year’, had joined the corsairs. A week later it was reported Verney had turned Turk.²³⁸ Further news in May 1610 revealed Verney was ‘in great poverty and deeply in debt to the Turks’, and seven months later he was said to have joined forces with the convert Ward.²³⁹ Preying on multinational shipping, including vessels from Poole and Plymouth, Verney was taken captive by a Sicilian vessel and enslaved for two years, subsequently redeemed by an English Jesuit on condition that he converted to Catholicism.²⁴⁰ Verney died, after spending ten days in the hospital of St Mary of Pity in Messina, Sicily, on September 6th 1615, aged 31.²⁴¹ Lithgow, the Scottish traveller, buried him:

Here in Messina I found the (sometimes) great *English* Gallant Sr. *Frances Verny* lying sick in a Hospitall, whom sixe weekes before I had met in *Palermo* [...] here in the extreamest calamity of extreame miseries contracted Death: Whose dead Corpes I charitably interred in the best manner, time could afford me strength, bewailing sorrowfully the miserable mutability of Fortune, who from so great a Birth, had given him so meane a Buriall.²⁴²

²³⁷ John Bruce, ed., *Letters and Papers of The Verney Family down to the end of the year 1639* (London: Camden Society, John Bowyer Nichols and Sons, 1854) 93 – 102.

²³⁸ Horatio F. Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy, Vol. 11: 1607 – 1610* (London: Mackie and Co., 1904) 386. Also see: Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568 – 1614* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

²³⁹ *CSP Venice, 1607 – 1610* 481.

²⁴⁰ William Lithgow, *Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteen Yeares Travayles* (London: 1632) 397 – 398. Also see: Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil war, 1603 – 1642, Vol. III: 1616 - 1621* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883) 65 - 67.

²⁴¹ Bruce, ed., *Letters and Papers of The Verney Family* 100 - 102.

²⁴² Lithgow 397 – 398.

His remaining possessions were transported back to the family seat at Claydon House, Buckinghamshire by a merchant, John Watchin: a pilgrim's staff from his first journey to Jerusalem, three well-used cane walking sticks, an enamelled ring, a turban, two silk tunics, a purple Turkish robe and slippers.²⁴³ Although Bruce (1854) claims Verney's retention of his pilgrim's staff inlaid with crosses demonstrates 'he did not comit the unnecessary and improbable offence of becoming a renegado', the evidence indicates otherwise.²⁴⁴

The clothing he left, however, can be read as powerful signifiers of Islamic conversion. As Jones and Stallybrass (2000) observe, early modern clothing was viewed as 'printing, charactering, haunting': central as 'material establishers of identity'.²⁴⁵ Clothing influenced the humors, imprinting upon both observer and wearer. Edmund Spenser (1596) observed 'there is not a little in the garment to the fashioning of the minde and conditions', whilst Phillip Stubbes (1583) warns exotic clothing '*transnatureth*' English gallants, 'making them weake, tender, and infirme'.²⁴⁶ Clothing is also a ghost that, even when discarded, still has the power to haunt.²⁴⁷ According to Riello and McNeill (2006), shoes are particularly 'ever present', suggestive of character and socio-cultural situation.²⁴⁸ They contain heightened 'haunting' properties, being 'uniquely independent from the physical body'. Shoes are 'self-

²⁴³ Bruce, ed., *Letters and Papers of The Verney Family* 100. Also see: Nabil Matar, 'Verney, Sir Francis (1584 – 1615), pirate,' *Oxford DNB*, 3 March 2012; Lady Francis Parthenope Verney and Lady Margaret Maria Williams-Hay Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Seventeenth Century* Vol. 1, 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 2004); Margaret Maria Verney, 'Verney, Francis,' *DNB Vol. 58: Ubaldini – Wakefield* (London: Smith, Elder & Company, 1899) 262 – 263; Adrian Tinniswood, *The Verneys: A True Story of Love, War, and Madness in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2008).

²⁴⁴ Bruce, ed., *Letters and Papers of The Verney Family* 100.

²⁴⁵ Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 4.

²⁴⁶ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997) 72 – 73; Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London: 1583) G1^r, cited Jones and Stallybrass 4.

²⁴⁷ Jones and Stallybrass 4.

²⁴⁸ Giorgio Riello and Peter McNeil, 'A Long Walk: Shoes, People and Places,' *Shoes: A History from Sandals to Sneakers*, ed. Riello and McNeil (Oxford: Berg, 2006) 3.

standing’, possessing their shape even in the absence of the wearer: ‘This peculiar nature explains why they often stand for something else that is not physically present’.²⁴⁹ Thus, the empty shoe is profound - or to use Kelly’s (2010) expression, ‘pregnant’ - a signifier of loss.²⁵⁰ Verney’s Turkish slippers signify both a corporeal loss through death, and the loss of his Anglo-Protestant soul through apostasy.²⁵¹ Indeed, the dual loss of material bodies and immortal souls to the Muslim territories is poignantly illustrated by another pair of empty shoes. The *Hopewell* of Dartmouth was discovered by a London vessel in the spring of 1637 drifting twenty leagues from Land’s End, with no crew, sails or ropes, although the cargo was still intact. Disturbingly, there was a single pair of Turkish shoes on board.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Riello and McNeil 9, also cited Stephen Kelly, ‘In the Sight of an Old Pair of Shoes,’ *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, ed. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010) 59.

²⁵⁰ Kelly 62 – 66; Ellen Carol Jones, ‘Empty Shoes,’ *Footnotes: On Shoes*, ed. Shari Benstock and Suzanne Ferriss (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001) 197 – 232.

²⁵¹ Tinniswood, *Verneys* 129.

²⁵² The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) High Court of the Admiralty (HCA) 13/53, f 155, Examination 169, May 1637.

‘Winning another soul to the Mahometan sect’²⁵³

Bodies, Souls and Territories

As explored in the previous section, apostasy could be liberating or corrupting; provoking anxiety or promising opportunity. For those striving to create a unified, homogenous kingdom, converts threatened this vision of Anglo-Protestant integrity. Linked to the plurality and expansion of Islam, renegades had embraced multiplicity, and abandoned cultural-political loyalties: they simultaneously fascinated, bewildered and infuriated, imagined as heterogeneous, yet unified in their barbarity and disloyalty.²⁵⁴ Physical mobility could produce shifts in identity, and thus allegiance, producing ‘Renegadoes of God, and Traytors to their Country’.²⁵⁵ ‘All margins are dangerous’, observed Douglas (1966): indeed, at the time Verney was travelling to Jerusalem in 1608, a proclamation was issued, requiring oaths of allegiance from returning travellers in addition to the prohibition of unauthorised travel.²⁵⁶ Refusal resulted in port custody, although, ironically, Verney would have been excluded, as those ‘being knowen Merchants or men of some qualitie’ were exempted.²⁵⁷

Cultural anxiety surrounding Islamic conversion was not, however, merely concerned with the individual. The consuming of bodies – and souls – by Islam signified Anglo-Protestant depletion and territorial expansion. Islam embraced its converts: the relationship between conversion and Muslim imperial expansion had been a source of theological and political

²⁵³ Philip Massinger, ‘The Renegado,’ *Three Turk Plays*, ed. Vitkus 314.

²⁵⁴ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 36 – 37.

²⁵⁵ Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus* Vol. 6, 108.

²⁵⁶ Douglas 122.

²⁵⁷ Hughes and Larkin, *Vol. 1* 184 – 185; British Library Stowe MS 170, Edmond Papers, Vol. V. f 26; Netzloff 74, f.n. 58, 231.

anxiety for centuries.²⁵⁸ Certainly, it was more common for Christians to convert to Islam than the other way round.²⁵⁹ The space of empire was imagined, observes Brummett (2007), not as precise territorial demarcations, or merely as political or sovereign territory. Rather, empire was:

counted in souls and in the human terrain over which preachers can exert spiritual and fiscal authority. Such ‘maps’ of fidelity and infidelity envision no clear line between the ‘Ottoman Empire’ and ‘Europe.’²⁶⁰

Imagining and mapping terrain in this way is evident in Brerewood’s discussion of religious diversity – presented numerically and couched in the language of territorial possession. Islam was spreading beyond its ‘natural’ environment, and the text describes geographies ‘somewhat thicke mingled with Mahumetans’.²⁶¹ These imaginings situated captives and forced or coerced conversion as symbiotic with each other, and with Islamic expansion: ‘[t]he *Turks* are very Zealous in promoting their Sect, by encouraging such as embrace it’.²⁶²

Rycaut (1665) conflated bodies and territories, observing without the ‘abundant supplies of Slaves’:

the *Turk* would have little cause to boast of the vast numbers of his People: and that a principal means to begin the ruine of this Empire, were to prevent the taking of so many Captives, or intercept those numbers of Slaves which are daily transported to nourish and feed the body of this great *Babylon*.²⁶³

They would not only lack slaves, but masters, as ‘Slaves becoming *Turks*, are capable of all privileges’. ‘This is the true reason the *Turk* can spend so many People in his Wars, and values not the lives of Ten thousand Men to win him but a span of ground’, Rycaut concludes.

²⁵⁸ Tolan, *Saracens* xiv. Also see: Matar, *Islam* 2; Clissold 88; Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonders of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

²⁵⁹ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 108 – 109.

²⁶⁰ Palmira Brummett, ‘Imagining the early modern Ottoman space, from world history to Piri Reis,’ *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 27 – 28.

²⁶¹ ‘Master Brerewoods Enquires,’ 312, 316 – 317.

²⁶² Veryard 318.

²⁶³ Paul Rycaut, *The History of The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London: 1665) 1. 151 – 152.

This need to replenish the population, constantly depleted through ‘Summer-slaughters of the Plague, and destructions of War’, Rycaut attributes to ‘the natural use of the Women being neglected amongst them, as St. *Paul* saith, *Men burning in lust one towards an[o] ther* [Rom C.I]’. The Empire, therefore, was reliant upon ‘the abundant supplies of Slaves, which daily come from the Black Sea’.²⁶⁴ Their gain was Christendom’s loss: apostasy and captive-taking – ‘taken’ and ‘converted’ bodies – were imagined as a form of theft. Ordinary mariners who converted were considered a material loss to their masters, for which they had no recompense, and renegades situated themselves under the protection of foreign rulers, with English law having no jurisdiction.²⁶⁵ Hakluyt (1584) notes, ‘howe divers have bene undon by their servauntes w [hi]ch have become Renegadoes, of whome by the custome of the Contrie their M[aste]rs can have no manner of recoverye, neither call them into Justice’.²⁶⁶ Kellet (1628) warned that of those who ‘change Faith for Gaine’:

the trecherous villainy of Factors, is notorious; who being intrusted with much goods of their master, turn Turkes, to be masters of those goods, destroying their soules to cozen the honest-brave Merchants-Adventurers.²⁶⁷

He emphasises to his congregation there is no true profit in apostasy, the ultimate price being the immortal soul: ‘*If yee be circumcsised, Christ shall profit you nothing*’ [Galatians 5.2].²⁶⁸

The successes and attractions of Islam disturbed Christendom, and damaged the concept of Anglo-Protestant nationalism. Paradoxically, comfort was sought in the motif of forced conversion – including the violation of circumcision. ‘For these Biggots’, reported an anonymous captive, ‘make no Scruple of attempting to bring about that Perversion by Force

²⁶⁴ Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire* 1.151 – 152.

²⁶⁵ Netzloff 78.

²⁶⁶ Richard Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planning,’ [1584] *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts, 2 vols.*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935) 2.218, quoted Netzloff 77.

²⁶⁷ Kellet and Byam 35.

²⁶⁸ Kellet and Byam 2. Also see: Netzloff 83.

and Violence, which they cannot accomplish Reason and Argument'.²⁶⁹ Forced conversion enabled many to shift between identities without severe punishment, reinforced the providential narratives of others, and encouraged (financial) compassion.²⁷⁰ Torture, violence and extreme terror were more 'acceptable' explanations for apostasy - despair was understandable. Willing or voluntary conversion, however, was to be located in the realms of sin, primarily lust and avarice, or covetousness. Rawlins (1622) observes fear made many convert:

so many, even for fear of torment and death, make their tongues betray their hearts to a most fearful wickedness and so are circumcised with new names and brought to confess a new religion.

Nevertheless:

[o]thers again, I must confess, who never knew any god but their own sensual lusts and pleasures, thought that any religion would serve their turns and so for preferment or wealth very voluntarily renounced their faith and became renegades, in despite of any counsel which seemed to intercept them.²⁷¹

However, the Ottomans did not pursue the spread of Islam through systematic conversion - demonstrated by the many unconverted Christians and Jews lived throughout the Muslim worlds, and noted by many over the decades.²⁷² '[T]hey compel no man' wrote George Sandys in 1610; Blount observed in 1636, 'the Turke puts none to death for Religion', and Kellet insisted in his 1627 sermon that conversion was due to 'their alluring Promises' and

²⁶⁹ *A Description of the Nature of Slavery Among the Moors, And the Cruel Sufferings of those that fall into it; With the Manner of their being brought and sold like Beasts at Publick Markets [...] Written by one of the said redeem'd Captives* (London: 1721) 7; Norton 264, 266.

²⁷⁰ See: Norton 259 – 268; Baepler, 'Introduction' 43; Matar, 'Introduction' in Vitkus 22; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 111; Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: 1937) 375. See, for example, TNA: PRO SP 71/16, f 505 – 506; SP 71/12, f 210.

²⁷¹ Rawlins in Vitkus 102 – 103.

²⁷² Clissold 91 – 92; Matar, *Islam* 26, 28; Norton 259 – 268; Robert W. Hefner, 'Rethinking Islam and Democracy,' *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs*, ed. Timothy Samuel Shah, Alfred Stepan and Monica Duffy Toft (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 91.

‘allurements, rather than to their violence’.²⁷³ Although apostasy *from* Islam was occasionally dealt with harshly, the Qur’an itself stated there should be no compulsion regarding matters of religion.²⁷⁴

Kellet, addressing the Minehead renegade directly, casts doubt on his forced conversion: ‘thy excuse, that thou wert forced to conforme thy selfe’. ‘[I]f thou wert not forced, if thy tongue, or thy heart consented to Circumcision; if thou didst put any trust in it’, he warns:

if thou heldest up thy finger, or didst cast away thy hat, or sufferedst thy selfe to be drench with *Opium*, or exchangest the markes of thy profession, or by using any other abjuring trickes, or initiating ceremonies to that hellish irreligion, like other Renegadoes [then] many teares must flow from thine eyes to wash those sinnes away.²⁷⁵

‘[F]or, he reminds the congregation, ‘we have heard and read, that the Turkes compell none to their Religion’. Drawing on imagery of a receptacle holding liquids; signifying the retentive/leaky properties of the humoral body; Kellet states ‘we are uncertaine whether you did [willingly convert] or no’, reminding him ‘not we, but God must try’ to discern whether his version ‘will hold water or no’. Kellet offers evidence contradicting the renegade’s account, emphasising the signification of clothing:

let mee come to those faults, for which (I am sure) thou hast no just excuses. You went in Turkish-guise, your apparel proclaimed you to be a Turke, at least in semblance; the exchanging of your ordinarie clothing for the Mahometan you cannot deny, you were seene and taken in it, taken (I heare say) willingly to come to our side, but taken in such an attire as did discriminate you from a Christian; you cannot say, that daily they put on those clothes.²⁷⁶

In addition to ‘this thy great fault of wearing Vestures, of Turkish fashion’, he also added ‘a greater of bearing Armes against Christians, in one of the Turkish shippes’, a sin and crime

²⁷³ George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610 Containing a description of the Turkish Empire* (London: 1615) 56; Blount, *A Voyage* 110; Kellet and Byam 31, 34, 39. Also see: Matar, *Islam* 26, 28; Netzloff 82 – 83.

²⁷⁴ Qur’an 2: 26. Hefner 91.

²⁷⁵ Kellet and Byam 31.

²⁷⁶ Kellet and Byam 31.

against ‘thy Countrymen, friends and kindred, against Christ himselfe in his members’.²⁷⁷

The return to Christendom was thus to be enacted through the cleansing ritual of weeping. As ‘a little bloud discoloureth much water’, a ‘fountaine of teares’ was required to wash away this ‘bloud of the Christians’: however, it was tears of compunction, not compassion, which were required.²⁷⁸

Although many believed freedom followed conversion - however, the Qur’an encouraged, rather than commanded, Muslims to release co-religionists.²⁷⁹ The Exeter captive Pitts; who apostatized under duress but was not free; recalled he had known ‘some that have continued Slaves many Years after they have turn’d Turks’.²⁸⁰ Although only Christians could be galley slaves – and the convert could not be fettered - this also meant conversion *en masse* would have been counterproductive, as galley slaves were required in great numbers.²⁸¹ Whilst certain groups were perhaps encouraged to convert, such as the young; soldiers or mariners; skilled artisans or technicians; clerics, or other individuals whose conversion would have gained some political ground; the ordinary captive was not – indeed, on occasion violently discouraged.²⁸² Rather, as Norton (2009) highlights, forced conversion served an important psychological function culturally and socially. Such a motif responded to Islamic opportunities of wealth and power whilst managing collective anxiety provoked by the threat to Anglo-Protestant identity through mass economic migration, captivity and conversion.²⁸³ Indeed, the anxious preoccupation with porous boundaries included those of the material

²⁷⁷ Kellet and Byam 33.

²⁷⁸ Kellet and Byam 33.

²⁷⁹ Qur’an 4:36. Matar, *Islam* 26. Also see: Veryard 318.

²⁸⁰ Joseph Pitts, *A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans* (Exeter: 1704) 131, cited Matar, *Islam* 26.

²⁸¹ Clissold 91.

²⁸² Clissold 91 – 92.

²⁸³ Norton 264 – 266. Also see: Chew 375.

body, as well as the Islamic territories.²⁸⁴ The geohumoral body of the Barbary captive, discussed in the next section, was an intense site of cultural anxiety.

²⁸⁴ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 36.

‘[T]erribly *Turkished*’²⁸⁵

The Geohumoral Body of the Barbary Captive

Anxiety led to many writers attempting to understand and explain the impetus for conversion. Whilst geohumoralism tended to be used ‘subphilosophically’ rather than as a precisely articulated system of thought, it provided writers with a discourse in which to situate their concerns.²⁸⁶ The combination of religious, environmental and medical thought formed a framework which made sense of mobile identities, highlighted the physical and spiritual vulnerabilities predisposing individuals to apostasy, and outlined practices to reduce these risks. It also usefully countered the socio-economic, religious and cultural attractions of Islam.²⁸⁷ The cosmic connections between living things, the elements, objects and the environment made apostasy logical and inevitable unless certain religio-medical measures

²⁸⁵ John Deacon, *Tobacco Tortured, or, The Filthie Fume of Tobacco Refined: shewing all sorts of Subjects, that the inward taking of Tobacco fumes, is very pernicious unto their bodies [...] and most pestiferous to the publike State* (London: 1616) 10.

²⁸⁶ Katharine Eisaman Maus, ‘A Womb of His Own: Male Renaissance Poets in the Female Body,’ *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. Douglas A. Brooks (Hants: Ashgate, 2005) 98.

²⁸⁷ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity*; Gail Kern Paster, ‘The Humor of It: Bodies, Fluids, and Social Discipline in Shakespearean Comedy,’ *A Companion to Shakespeare’s Works, Volume III: The Comedies*, ed. Richard Dutton and Jean Elizabeth Howard (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003) 47 – 66; Jacques Bos, ‘The rise and decline of character: humoral psychology in ancient and early modern medical theory,’ *History of the Human Sciences* 22 (3) (2009): 29 - 50; Richard H. Grove in *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600 – 1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); J. W. Johnson, ‘Of Differing Ages and Climes,’ *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 21 (1960): 465 – 480; Marian J. Tooley, ‘Bodin and the Mediaeval Theory of Climate,’ *Speculum*, 28 (1953): 64 – 83; Z. S. Fink, ‘Milton and the Theory of Climatic Influence,’ *Modern Language Quarterly*, 2 (1941): 467 – 480; Leonard F. Dean, ‘Bodin’s *Methodus* in England before 1625,’ *Studies in Philology*, 39 (1942): 160 – 166; Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan, Jr., ‘Introduction: Inhabiting the Body, Inhabiting the World,’ *Environment and Embodiment*; Noga Arikha, *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humors* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007); Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: an introduction to knowledge and practice* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) and her *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2007); Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550 – 1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Vivian Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* (London: Routledge, 2004) and his ‘Humoralism,’ *Companion Encyclopaedia of Medicine*, ed. W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) 2: 286 – 287.

were adhered to, and emphasised the consequences of apostasy on the individual as microcosm, and the nation as macrocosm.

Reading Islamic conversion through this framework foregrounds the early modern material body and place-based identity. Whilst ‘turning Turk’ was an attractive option for socio-economic and cultural reasons – particularly for the thousands of ‘forgotten’ captives – many texts were preoccupied with changes to the hidden, external and internal aspects of the material bodies of those suspected, or known to have, converted, diverting attention from socio-economic motivations. Mobility, travel and conversion anxieties were mapped onto, and rearticulated through, the body of the returning captive, with families, communities and authorities unsure whether the captive returned with ‘Islam in his heart or marked on his body’.²⁸⁸ Nevertheless, as already highlighted, families and communities possibly had a casual attitude towards conversion – Byam warns his congregation not to ‘multiply and aggravate their offences, by hiding, denying, excusing, translating sinne’ - localised and centralised authority expressed concern.²⁸⁹ In these contexts ‘Turkish attire’ became significant, along with ‘those secret sores’ of circumcision - ‘the Marke of the Beast’.²⁹⁰ Additionally, there was the possibility of profound changes to the inner organs, particularly the heart and the brain. Humoral imbalance, or corruption through contagion – dyscrasis - disturbed organ function, shaped actions, thoughts, behaviour and beliefs, all of which could impact upon the soul within.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ Matar, *Turks* 72.

²⁸⁹ Matar, *Turks* 72; Kellet and Byam 74.

²⁹⁰ Kellet and Byam 74 – 75.

²⁹¹ See: Thomas F. Glick, Steven John Livesey and Faith Wallis, *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopaedia* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005) 179 - 180; F. David Hoeniger, *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992); Robert A. Erickson, *The Language of the Heart, 1600 – 1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

The inherited geohumoral tendencies towards barbarism, heresy and fickleness in religious matters, were shared with the Turks through Scythian ancestry.²⁹² Furthermore, Anglo-Protestant efforts to reframe and rehabilitate aspects of northern had further implications.²⁹³ Renegades, Byam, states, were ‘flexible before the fall [apostasy]; carelesse and obstinate after it’.²⁹⁴ The ‘flexible’, porous bodies of the settled, island-dwelling Britons were moist and softened: the Scythians were hardened through movement and warfare.²⁹⁵ Softened bodies were able to assimilate foreign cultures, which had allowed the Romans to civilize an innate hardiness. However, this meant Britons were prone to assimilating Islam, and to being conquered and subjugated.²⁹⁶

Britons had a tendency towards mobility: as island dwellers, their watery surrounds were internalized into their already moist complexion, making them excessively porous and highly impressionable, and subject to the strong lunar influences which controlled the ever-shifting tides. The instability of their surrounding elements led to discontent and restlessness, a desire to travel in foreign climes, and the impulse to seek out new experiences, regardless of their humoral suitability.²⁹⁷ These ideas emerged from classical thinking, and were made explicit in several medieval texts, quoted in turn by writers such as Camden and Andrew[e] B[o]orde.

²⁹² Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 11, 14 – 19, 28 – 31, 48 – 66, 89 – 110; Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 54 – 79; T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950) 4 – 6, 89 – 98; Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2008) 69 – 82; John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981) 45. Also see: Hugh A. MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons* (Canada: Harvest House, 1982); John E. Curran, *Roman Invasions: The British History, Protestant Anti-Romanism, and the Historical Imagination in England, 1530 – 1660* (Cranbury, NJ and London: Associated University Presses, 2002); Mark Thornton Burnett, ‘Tamburlaine: An Elizabethan Vagabond,’ *Studies in Philology* 84 (1987): 250 – 257.

²⁹³ See: Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity*.

²⁹⁴ Kellet and Byam 74.

²⁹⁵ Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 102 – 103.

²⁹⁶ Curran 15.

²⁹⁷ See: Baker, ‘My Liquid Journey’ 122 – 126; Warneke 82 – 83.

Peter of Blois wrote to Richard, Bishop of Syracuse in the 12th century, commenting ‘it is written that all island peoples are generally faithless’, whilst Peter de Celle believed the watery elements which surrounded England caused trivial fantasies to slide with ease into their minds. Later, the 14th century poet John Gower declared that the moon’s influence, which controlled ‘flodes high and ebbes lowe’, made the English unsettled and restless, compelling them to ‘seche many londes straunge’ and ‘travaile in every londe’.²⁹⁸ The 14th century Benedictine monk Ranulf Higden; widely read and highly influential during the early modern period; observed how ‘[t]he peple of Englonde is fulle curious to knowe straunge thynges by experience’, whilst ‘never contente of the state of their degree, transfigurenge to theyme that is congruente to an other man’.²⁹⁹

The relationship between the material body and its environs was multifaceted. The wind and waves were extremely potent environmental forces upon the microcosmic humors, affecting the sensitive microclimate of the body and fashioning identity, just as they were within the macrocosm, shaping spaces physically and through social activities.³⁰⁰ They also provided a template for understanding the mutability of the humoral body. The 1621 *Table of Human Passions* stated:

²⁹⁸ Peter of Celle to Nicholas of St. Albans, circa 1178 in R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) 146; Peter of Blois to Richard Bishop of Syracuse, mid-twelfth century, in G. B. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy: The Middle Ages (to 1525)* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1954) 220; John Gower, *Confessio Amantis Vol III*, ed. Reinhold Pauli (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857) 109 – 110; Warneke 82 - 83.

²⁹⁹ Churchill Babington, ed., *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; Together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century Vol II* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1869) 169 - 171. Also see: William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, ed. R. D. Dunn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984 [1605]) 19. Camden quotes Andrewe Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge* (London: 1542) on the same subject, 20 – 21. See: Warneke 82.

³⁰⁰ Paster, *Humoring* 6; Gail Kern Paster, ‘Becoming the Landscape: The Ecology of the Passions in the Legend of Temperance,’ *Environment and Embodiment*, ed. Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan, Jr. 139.

that as there were foure chiefe winds which excite divers stormes, be it at land or sea; so there are foure principall *Passions* which trouble our *Soules*, and which stir up divers tempests by their irregular motions.³⁰¹

Wright (1604) described how the passions:

toss and turmoile our miserable soulls, as tempests & waves the Ocean sea, the which never standeth quiet, but either in ebbing or flowing, either winds doe buz about it, or raines alter it, or earthquakes shake, or stormes tyrannize over it.³⁰²

Similarly, Bishop Edward Reynold's stated in 1640 that '[t]he Passions of sinful men are many times like the tossings of the Sea, which bringeth up mire and dirt'.³⁰³ For example, the sparsely populated and primarily coastal region of Cornwall was understood through its climate, proximity to the sea, rock formations and tin deposits, all of which shaped geohumoral identity.³⁰⁴ Norden described the exposed position of the peninsula, with its 'fierce and furious wyndes' that 'sharply assayle the naked hills and Dales': both he and Carew (1602) commented on the lack of woodland.³⁰⁵ Carew noted Cornwall's 'temperate heat' and mild winters, careful to mention the healthy and clean air, it being 'cleansed, as with bellows, by the billowes and flowing and ebbing of the Sea, and therethrough becommeth pure, and subtile, and by consequence, healthfull'; simultaneously reassuring and unnerving the contemporary reader with the assertion that overseas contagion tended to get worse the further inland the carriers travelled.³⁰⁶ He added:

the Countrie is much subject to stormes, which fetching a large course in the open Sea, doe from thence violently assault the dwellers at land, and leave them uncovered houses, pared hedges, and dwarfe-growne trees, as witnesses of their

³⁰¹ Also quoted Paster, 'Becoming the Landscape' 138.

³⁰² Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London: 1630 [1601, 1604]) 334. Also see: Michael C. Schoenfeldt, "'Commotion Strange": Passion in *Paradise Lost*,' *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, ed. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) 63; Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan Jr., 'Introduction' 3.

³⁰³ Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (London: 1640) 49.

³⁰⁴ W. G. V. Balchin, *The Making of the English Landscape: The Cornish Landscape* (London/Sydney/Auckland/Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983) 25, 39.

³⁰⁵ John Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars* (London: 1728 [1610, 1598]) 19. Also see: Balchin 57.

³⁰⁶ Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall* (London: 1602) C^f.

force and furie; yea, even the hard stones and iron barres of the windows, doe fret to be so continually grated.³⁰⁷

This hostile, mutable, hardy and tempestuous landscape produced similar identities: rebellious, mutable, and not conducive to the exertion of authority.

Rowe (2007) notes this ‘constitutional inconsistency’ made for ‘an anxious basis for social order’.³⁰⁸ For example, Hall (1617), in describing the world as ‘wide and open’, asked ‘how few young travellers have brought home, sound and strong, & (in a word) English bodies’?³⁰⁹ Social order was understood through the microcosmic mapping of the body: as Crooke (1631) stated, the material body of Man ‘may worthily be called a Little world, and the patterne and epitome of the whole universe’.³¹⁰ The whole world, including the presence of God, was inside the body: the humoral relationship with the heavens being the primary link between the micro and macrocosms, a paradigm which concerned social order through the concept of the ‘Body Politic’.³¹¹ The animal spirits were produced by the ‘condition and nature of the Place, Ayre, Countrey and nourishment’, and to stay in one’s natural environment was considered best for body and nation.³¹²

The mutable climate and shifting tides affected the ecological, humoral brain, which orchestrated temperament, health and behaviour.³¹³ This concept contributed to travel being considered a dangerous undertaking: it heightened the permeable qualities of the body, which

³⁰⁷ Carew, *Survey C*^v.

³⁰⁸ Katherine Rowe, ‘Inconstancy: Changeable Affections in Stuart Dramas of Contract,’ *Environment and Embodiment*, ed. Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan, Jr. 90 – 93.

³⁰⁹ Hall, *Quo Vadis?* 18.

³¹⁰ Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia* (London: 1618 [1615]) 6, quoted in Sarah Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 70.

³¹¹ Tarlow 70.

³¹² Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (London: 1576) C3^f.

³¹³ Paster, *Humoring* 23; Mary Floyd-Wilson, ‘English Epicures and Scottish Witches,’ *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 57(2) (2006): 134.

could corrupt the humors of the brain. John Howell (1653) observed as ‘the sea tumbleth perpetually about’, so ‘their braines do fluctuat in their noddles, which makes [the British] so variable and unsteady’.³¹⁴ Kellet described the ‘giddy-brained shallow’ who ‘shift[s] [from] the Religion he was borne in’, whilst Baptist Goodhall (1630) warned the ‘giddy braines’ of the British traveller could result in as many religions ‘as through realms [they] range’.³¹⁵ William Slatyer (1621), blamed ‘braine-sick humors’ for the inconstant behaviour of Britons, and Thomas Neale (1643) disparaged the many ‘braine-sicke Travellours’ who ‘live from day to day’: overheated ‘by a furious brain’, they ‘doe skip in forraigne Countries, without method or discretion, from one place to another’.³¹⁶ Neale also refers to the ‘vaigneglorious brain-sick youths’ who ‘doe so overheate themselves with hot exotique wines and fruits’.³¹⁷ These factors ensured Islamic conversion could be situated as resulting from humoral disposition, marginalising alternative narratives of the attractions of Islam.

Related to melancholy, the hot climate of Barbary exacerbated ‘braine-sick humors’: drying the spirits and producing smoky vapours known as ‘adust’ which corrupted the brain if not properly released. For example, Thomas Vicary (1577) suggested head hair was so ‘the fumosities of the brayne might assend and passe lyghtlyer out by them’, which would not occur if the head had a hard covering.³¹⁸ The risk to the brain in Barbary was great. ‘We leave our ancient simplicitie [...] in a forreine ayre’, wrote John Deacon (1616), ‘and (in stead thereof) do too greedily sucke up from forreiners, not their vertues, but vices, and monstrous

³¹⁴ John Howell, *A German Diet: or, the Balance of Europe* (London: 1653), quoted Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 54.

³¹⁵ Baptist Goodhall, ‘The Tryall of Travell,’ in *The Tryall of Travell* (London: 1630) H1^r; Kellet and Byam, 21.

³¹⁶ William Slatyer, *Palae-Albion* (London: 1621) 53 – 66; Thomas Neale, *A Treatise of Direction, How to travel safely, and profitably into Forraigne Countries* (London: 1643)10.

³¹⁷ Neale 11.

³¹⁸ Thomas Vicary, *A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Mans Body* (London 1577) C3^r. Quoted Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1993) 11 – 12.

corruptions, as well in religion and manners'. He concludes, 'so many of our English-men's minds are terribly *Turkished* with *Mahometan* trumperies'.³¹⁹ Such 'corruption of mens minds and bodies' was 'contagious', resulting from 'our carelesse entercourse of trafficking with the contagious corruptions, and customs of forreine nations'.³²⁰ According to Deacon, the import and consumption of foreign goods also affected the humors, spreading the 'vices, and monstrous corruptions' of Islam. 'Trafficke' and travel brought 'an unorderly transporting of sundry pernicious drugs into this poore Iland of ours from forreine countries', including tobacco and 'many strange and uncooth medicines never heard of before', which were 'contrary to our countries climate, the naturall constitution of our country bodies, the inevitable rules of all physicall reason, and the long approved custome of all our wise Ancestors'.³²¹ For example, tobacco was a 'venimous matter enemie to mans nature': the smoke and fumes were hot and dry, thus linked to melancholy and, for users and traffickers, resulted in 'the blind obscuritie of their braines'. If the vital spirits ascending from the heart to the brain were not pure and untainted, then clear thought and astute action would not be possible.³²²

Suspensions of those returning from Barbary centred upon shifts in geohumoral identity, despite whether the body involved was considered that of the excessively porous Englishman, the 'hardy' Scythian-Briton, or a conflation of the two. Geographical movement between places transformed identities, whilst coastal dwellers, sea-farers and those who frequented ports and harbours were considered prone to fluidity. Geohumoralism provided an explanation for those who moved – seemingly with ease – between identities, such as

³¹⁹ Deacon, *Tobacco Tortured* 6, 10.

³²⁰ Deacon, *Tobacco Tortured* 10.

³²¹ Deacon, *Tobacco Tortured* 18, 15.

³²² Deacon, *Tobacco Tortured* 18, 15.

captives, privateers, pirates, overseas travellers and mariners: identities were environmentally embedded. In this reading, coastal regions become sites of dual and transitional identities; the sea, of mobile identities. In *A Christian Turn'd Turk*, the captain of a ship which Ward and his crew have taken asks: 'We are of Marcelles, bound for Normandy./ Of which are you?' (2.33 – 34): the piratical Gismund replies, 'We are of the Sea!' (2.35). A separate identity is forged: they are 'a race of thieves' (2.44). At the beginning of the play Ward states to his 'amazed' prey: 'Conceive you not the language of the sea?' (1.15 – 16), as the embodied practices of piracy become signifiers of place-based identity. As Llamas and Watt (2010) observe, '[l]anguage not only reflects who we are but in some sense it *is* who we are'.³²³ Furthermore, this 'race of thieves' are bankrupts who have 'lain/ Upon their country's stomach like a surfeit; / Whence, being vomited, they strive with poisonous breath/ To infect the general air' (2.44 – 47).³²⁴ Vicary notes that the stomach 'is a necessarie member to al[l] the body; for if it fayles in his working, al[l] the members of t[h]e body shal[l] corrupte': an important function being to discern and expel superfluity.³²⁵ Here, French mariners identify pirates as England's waste, expelled from their nation and displaced from their country, resulting in them contaminating the shared territory of the sea. Just prior to Ward's conversion scene – demonstrating his mobility through theatrical spectacle - Ward declares his rootlessness and displacement, which thus serves as an antecedent to conversion: 'I know no country I can call home' (7.13).³²⁶

³²³ Daborne, 'A Christian Turned Turk,' 158, 162; Carmen Llamas and Dominic Watt, 'Introduction,' *Language and Identities*, ed. Llamas and Watt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010) 1.

³²⁴ Daborne 162 – 163.

³²⁵ Vicary 66, quoted Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 30 - 31.

³²⁶ Daborne 190.

Also associated with coastal geographies, renegades possessed a dual identity which many contemporaries found confusing, often describing them through their place-based origins. Thomas Dallam observed on his visit to Istanbul in 1599, an unhelpful Muslim - ‘a Cornishe man borne’; five decades later, Mr. T.S. encountered the slave-trading ‘*Cornish* man’, wealthy due to his ‘Apostasie’; whilst Rawlins’s narrative, names amongst ‘divers English renegadoes’ John Goodale from Fowey, and Henry Chandler (‘Rammetham Rise’) from the maritime diocese of Southwark.³²⁷ A 1626 report identifies Robin Locar from Plymouth, his Muslim name being ‘Brahen’ (Ibrahim): he was known as the ‘English Mammi’.³²⁸ In 1631 John Harrison referred to a ‘ronagado of Dartmouth’: Thomas Norton, who converted in Salé and was said to ‘now exceed the Turk’s cruelty to his own countrymen’; whilst the dubious account of the 1645 coastal raid on Cornwall was ‘directed, it is supposed, by some renegade of the country’.³²⁹ Whilst the relationship between renegades and coastal regions had a logical socio-geographic explanation, maritime settlements; with their ports and harbours, proximity to the sea and ever changing shoreline; were understood geohumorally as producing mobile, unstable and mixed identities.

The confusion regarding the mixed and mobile identities of renegades is apparent in their representation. Clem, the comic character in *The Fair Maid of the West* is given multiple cultural and ethnic identities, none of which are clearly demarcated, as he oscillates between Cornish/English, Turk/Moroccan, Christian/Muslim, eunuch/renegade. For example, Tota,

³²⁷ Rawlins in Vitkus 103 – 105, 117; ‘The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599 – 1600,’ *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. J. Theodore Bent (New York: Burt Franklin, 1893) 79; T. S. 18; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 209, f.n. 44; Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579 – 1624* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2003) 50; Jowitt, *Voyage Drama* 170; Matar, *Islam* 35 – 36; Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 11 – 12, 85, 87; Bosworth 115

³²⁸ Cited Matar, *Islam* 34 - 49.

³²⁹ *CSP Venice, Vol. 27: 1643 – 1647* 209; Todd Gray, ‘Turks, Moors and the Cornish Fishermen: Piracy in the Early Seventeenth Century,’ *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, N.S. X (4) (1990): 461; M. Oppenheim, *The Maritime History of Devon* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1968) 55, n. 1; Matar, *Islam* 34 - 49.

Mullisheg's queen, asks the *Cornishman*: 'Canst thou be secret to me Englishman?' Responding, he reveals his converted identity – conflating religious, ethnic and medical discourses: 'Yes and chast too, I have ta'en a medicine for't'.³³⁰ He is a servant at the beginning of the play – Roughman refers to him as 'slave' – shifting to high office by the end: comically attributed to his castration: 'I am Bashaw of Barbary, by the same token I sould certain precious stones to purchase the place'.³³¹ Similarly, Ward in *A Christian Turn'd Turk*, is portrayed primarily as an Englishman, despite conversion and being referred to by his Arabic name, Wardiyya ('of the rose') in Muslim sources.³³² Ward did not regret his apostasy, living a life of wealth and privilege in Tunis. Despite Daborne's play being written in 1611, a decade before Ward's death, at the end of the play he commits suicide, swearing allegiance to Britain/England and Christendom/Protestantism. Addressing the Turks and delivering a warning to the audience he declares: 'O may I be the last of my country/ That trust unto your treacheries, seducing treacheries' (16.315 – 316).³³³ However, repentance does not prevent Daborne's final humiliation to Ward's corpse; soul ('accursed'); and memorialisation. The Governor orders:

Tear the wretch piecemeal! Throw his accursed limbs
 Into the raging bowels of the sea!
 His monument in brass we'll thus engrave:
 "Ward sold his country, turned Turk, and died a slave." (16.323 – 326)³³⁴

Whilst this portrayal operates as both a warning and a punishment, Matar (2006) argues it demonstrates the difficulty in viewing the renegade without the Englishman being present,

³³⁰ Thomas Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West; or, A Girl Worth Gold Parts I and II* (London: 1631) Part II, B2^v.

³³¹ Heywood, *Fair Maid* E2^f, L4^v.

³³² Matar, *Turks* 62; Matar, *Britain* 6.

³³³ Daborne, 'A Christian Turned Turk' 230.

³³⁴ Daborne 231.

apparent in Harborne's response to [H]Assan Aga.³³⁵ Refusing to accept Assan's apostasy, Harborne assures him he sees a fellow Christian and compatriot: Assan spoke English, remembered his family in Bristol, and still admired the Queen.³³⁶ Despite his conversion; castration; name change; other language; clothing; status, wealth and power as a Muslim; Harborne still wrote:

notwithstanding your body be subject to Turkish thraldom, yet your vertuous mind [remains] free from those vices, next under God addict to ye good service of your liege Lady & sovereign princes, her most excellent majesty.³³⁷

Matar's observation that this is indicative of the confusion and anxiety – or denial – experienced by those confronted with mixed or changed ethnicities is valid. However, Harborne is perhaps identifying Assan's innate 'Englishness'. Islamic conversion shaped geohumoral discourse, as attempts were made to understand slippages of ethnicity, religion and allegiance in the context of emerging national identity, drawing upon available philosophical and ontological frameworks. Writers discussed 'natural' and 'accidental Turks', distinguishing between those whose ethnicity had been geographically and cosmically constituted from birth, and thus had an inborn 'natural' complexion; and 'accidental' Turks - those who had 'turned' Turk. The distinction between 'natural' and 'accidental' was important, enabling the inherited geohumoral link to the Turk to be disavowed: 'natural' ethnicity originated within creation myths of indigenous identity created from dust, earth, or soil. Beliefs in autochthonous life, spontaneous generation, and human being as *indigenes*, persisted into the 17th century, and underpinned classical

³³⁵ Matar, *Britain* 6 – 7; Matar, *Islam* 55 – 57; Matar, *Turks* 61 - 62; Susanne L. Wofford, 'Foreign Emotions on the Stage of *Twelfth Night*,' *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theater*, ed. Robert Henke and Eric Nicholson (Hants: Ashgate, 2008) 145. Also see: Jowitt, *Voyage Drama* 157 – 175.

³³⁶ Matar, *Britain* 6.

³³⁷ Quoted Matar, *Britain* 6. Also see: Burton, *Traffic and Turning* 99.

geohumoralism.³³⁸ Complex humoral interactions between immediate surroundings and ‘natural’ temperament subsequently shaped identity, cognitive systems and behaviour.³³⁹ ‘Naturall I terme them, that are borne of Turkish parents: and them I call accidental, who leaving our faith, or the Moysaicall law, become Mahumetans’, observed Pory, and indeed renegades were considered more ruthless than ‘natural Turks’, surpassing ‘the very *Barbarians* themselves in Cruelty’.³⁴⁰ ‘Accidental’ suggests an unintentional or unforeseen event, conforming to geohumoral logic combined with the plight of captives who ‘turned Turk’. However, within Aristotelian substance theory, ‘accidental’ refers to a quality, attribute or property unessential to the existence of something - secondary or incidental: an ‘accident’ does not impinge upon the essence.³⁴¹ It is perhaps within this strand of thinking that Harborne’s dealings with Assan can be located. A similar negotiation can be discerned in Okeley’s account of an Englishman ‘who had brought over with him *his Drunken Humour*’. Captivity failed to sober him: he ‘turn’d a Renegado, and of a *Drunken Christian* became a *Drunken Turk*’.³⁴²

Kellet likens renegades – ‘such as are among us, though not of us’ - to amphibians and chameleons, highlighting their ease of transforming identity:

³³⁸ Robert Lawrence Martensen, *The Brain Takes Shape: an early history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 13; Wear 37 – 38. Also see: Alix Cooper, *Inventing the Indigenous: Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Matthew R. Goodrum, ‘Atomism, Atheism and the Spontaneous Generation of Human Beings: The Debate over a Natural Origin of the First Humans in Seventeenth-Century Britain,’ *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63 (20) (2002): 207 – 224; Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964).

³³⁹ Paster, ‘The Humor of It’ 47; Bos 29 – 50; Martensen 13; Wear 37 – 38; Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* 101.

³⁴⁰ John Pory, ‘A summarie discourse of the manifold Religions professed in Africa,’ *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, Africanus 1015; Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Citizen-saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology* (University of Chicago Press, 2005) 114. Ockley, ‘The Preface of the Editor,’ *An Account* 118.

³⁴¹ Charlotte Witt, *Substance and Essence in Aristotle: An Interpretation of Metaphysics VII – IX* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1989), and Mary Louise Gill, *Aristotle on Substance: The Paradox of Unity* (New Jersey and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1989).

³⁴² Okeley, *Eben-ezer* 32.

*Ambo-dexters, Nulli-fidians, such Amphibia, as can live, both on Land and Water, or such as have stayned their soules with some blacke sinnes: these are the Chamelions which will change colour with every ayre, and their beliefe, for matters of small moment.*³⁴³

The chameleon was believed to consume air, as referred to in *Hamlet*: ‘Excellent i’faith, of the chameleon’s dish: I eat the air, promise-crammed’ (3.2.83-84). Thomas Cooper (1565) observed: ‘He chaungeth into the colour of that he sytteth upon [...] he never eateth nor drinketh but is noryshed with the ayre’.³⁴⁴ Indeed, by 1656, the verb ‘Chameleonize’ had come to mean ‘to live by the air’.³⁴⁵ Kellet conflates food and the elements as shapers of identity, whilst Neale warns against the ‘heedless devouring of ‘out-landish foode’, or the ‘Mahometan Berry’ (coffee) which prepared the consumer for Islamic conversion.’³⁴⁶

Although coffee had been drunk in Britain since at least the start of the 17th century, the opening of coffee-houses from the Interregnum onwards provoked increased concerns which drew on this thinking.³⁴⁷ Indeed, *The Maiden’s Complaint against Coffee* (1663) did indeed complain: ‘It makes a Christian blacker far within/ Then ever was the Negars outward skin’, making links with melancholy and the internal ‘blacke sinnes’ of apostasy.³⁴⁸ Coffee was understood to have drying properties which acted upon phlegmatic conditions and constitutions, and could therefore be detrimental to the brain. Christians had a responsibility to fortify themselves against the possibility of conversion, whatever the circumstances, via the Galenic six non-naturals.

³⁴³ Kellet and Byam 35.

³⁴⁴ Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (London: 1565) T2^f.

³⁴⁵ Thomas Blount, *Glossographia: or a Dictionary Interpreting all such Hard Words* (London, 1656) H7^f.

³⁴⁶ Neale 12.

³⁴⁷ Pasqua Rosee, *The Vertue of the COFFEE Drink* (London: 1652); W. R., *Organon Salutis, An Instrument to cleanse the Stomach* (London: 1659 [1657]); *The Ale-wives Complaint against the Coffee-Houses, in a Dialogue between a Victuallers Wife and a Coffee-Man* (London: 1675); *A Cup of Coffee: or Coffee in its Colours* (London: 1663). Also see: Matar, *Islam* 110 – 118; Edward Robinson, *The Early English Coffee House* (Christchurch: The Dolphin Press, 1972 [1893]); Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

³⁴⁸ *The Maidens Complaint against Coffee, of the Coffee-House Discovered, Besieged, Stormed, Taken, Untyled and Laid Open to publick view* (London: 1663) 6.

Geohumoralism situated both the ‘English’ and ‘Britons’ as predisposed to conversion: in response, the authorities warned of the risks, whilst addressing subsequent fears. These discourses contributed to – or made evident – processes of geohumoral negotiation. In 1585, the Barbary Company reassured their Morocco-bound representatives the air ‘is as holsome as can be, and yourself not altered neither in favour nor person, but healthful and in as good liking as you were at your departure’, although the ambassador Henry Roberts was reported ‘undon by the unnaturall clyment in that countrie’.³⁴⁹ Fitz-Geffry assured his congregation ransomed captives would not be permanently changed, shifting to a more anthropogenic view: ‘’Tis not the ayre or soyle that makes a nation, but the people, as not the knots nor borders, but the hearbs and flowers doe make a garden’.³⁵⁰ Similarly, Turks made Barbary barbarous: the land itself ‘turning Turk’ rather than the reverse:

Were *Barbary* as it was before it turned *Barbary* there would be some comfort of living in it, when it was famous for *Arms, Civility, Piety*...But now a man may seeke Africk in Africk and not find it. Instead of Africk we find *Barbary* and *Morocco*.³⁵¹

Within this paradigm, renegades – repentant ones at least – were unable to change the domestic landscape: however, cosmic forces would ‘turne Britaine into *Barbary*’, due to the lack of civility, compassion, and ‘unthankfulnesse of them that dwell therein’.³⁵²

Ottoman imperial success provoked an interest in those removed from their indigenous, or natural, territories. The Turks were considered highly adaptive – indeed, continual movement and invasion was part of their Scythian inheritance – potentially a useful model for Britons. Blount observes ‘natural dispositions’ – those ‘originally inspired and composed by the Climate whose aire, and influence they receive’ - meant to the people of the north-west ‘no

³⁴⁹ Quoted Thomas S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959) 230.

³⁵⁰ Fitz-Geffry 8 – 9.

³⁵¹ Fitz-Geffry 9 – 10.

³⁵² Fitz-Geffry 9 – 10.

people should be more averse, and strange of behaviour, then those of the *South-East*. However, these parts were ‘now possessed by the *Turkes*’, and this was an achievement needing to be examined and emulated.³⁵³ Thomas Proctor (1578), discussing warfare, conflates Scythians and Turks, stating that ‘principallye by the huge monstrous multitudes of barbarous Scithyens, the *Turkes* in no longe time [...] extended their Empyre so farre, into all the three partes of the worlde’.³⁵⁴ However, Lithgow noted ‘natural *Turks*’ were weak ‘in sea battles, neither were they expert mariners, nor experienced gunners’, hence their need for ‘Christian runnagates, French, English, and Flemings’, without whose navigation and munition skills navigation, ‘the *Turks* would be as weak and ignorant at sea as the silly Ethiopian is unexpert in handling of arms on land’.³⁵⁵ This was an idea which gained currency following Lepanto. However, Lithgow did note that they were especially skilled in ‘the use of munition, which they both cast to them and then become their chief cannoneers’.³⁵⁶ Such discussions can be read as a product of increasing cross-cultural contact, and reveal the flexibility of geohumoral discourse, which contributed to its endurance.

If travel was unavoidable, however, how could religious infidelity be avoided? Humoral disposition did not remove responsibility. Stable brains resided within balanced humoral bodies, against which ‘prevaileth neither the instability of fortune’ nor ‘the mutability of worldly fickleness’.³⁵⁷ Although Lemnius stated ‘education altereth nature’, and general travellers were advised to fortify themselves through careful use of the non-naturals, captives were deemed most at risk of apostasy – and to ordinary sea-farers, such advice was fairly

³⁵³ Blount, *A Voyage* 4 – 6.

³⁵⁴ Thomas Proctor, ‘Preface,’ *Of the Knowledge and Conduct of Warres* (London: 1578). Also see: Patricia A. Cahill, *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 45.

³⁵⁵ Lithgow 188 – 189.

³⁵⁶ Lithgow 188 – 189.

³⁵⁷ Lemnius 3.

inaccessible.³⁵⁸ Protestant preaching was therefore a crucial method of disseminating advice to localised maritime communities most likely to encounter Islam. They needed to be thoroughly educated and secure in their faith. According to Lithgow:

the private humor of discontented castaways is always an enemy to public good, who from the society of true believers are driven to the servitude of infidels and refusing the bridle of Christian correction, they receive the double yoke of despair and condemnation.³⁵⁹

He identifies those ‘forsaking their Faith, and denying Christ to be their Saviour’ to be ‘ramverts most of them, either in a torment of melancholy, otherwise in the ecstasy of madness’.³⁶⁰ Gouge reminds his congregation ‘Yee Mariners know what it is to have a resolved mind and purpose to saile to your intended place’, enduring all weather conditions. Similarly, ‘there are trees whose rootes are as deepe, and spread as farre abroad in the earth, as their boughs ascend, and spred themselves in the aire’, which neither tempests or storms can uproot:

The branches may sooner be rent from the body, and the whole tree split asunder, then rooted up, and throwne downe. So a Christian well rooted and grounded in the Articles of his faith, will sooner have his limbes pull’d one from another, and his body and soule severed, then [be] drawne from his faith.³⁶¹

Gouge draws on the understanding of *indigenes*: to be ‘well rooted’ and ‘grounded’ within their natural born religion would embed Anglo-Protestantism firmly within their brains and hearts, to prepare for contact with Islam.

The returned ex-captive and the Islamic convert therefore possessed geographically and culturally mobile identities linking Britain and Barbary, which can be read as overlapping, or having points of convergence. Their inherent fluidity resulted in anxious attempts at discerning ‘true’ or ‘authentic’ identities associated with Barbary, drawing on certain

³⁵⁸ Lemnius 26. Also see: Warneke.

³⁵⁹ Lithgow 188 – 189.

³⁶⁰ Lithgow 188 – 189.

³⁶¹ Gouge 58.

signifiers which themselves could prove false or confusing, as demonstrated in the last section of this thesis.

‘[T]here are some that have played Renegadoes’,³⁶²

Suspicious Bodies and Fallacious Identities

Whilst preachers demonstrated the penitent convert would be forgiven, they emphasised the most heinous sin was the ‘secret’ renegade: outsiders masquerading as insiders, undermining social order, enemy of church, community and realm.³⁶³ The particularly fluid and adaptable bodies of seafarers, coastal dwellers and renegades, complicated identification, and, despite humoral logic, bodily changes instigated by heresy and apostasy did not automatically involve a religious ‘return’ once back home. Furthermore, the hidden nature of apostasy (circumcision; alterations to the brain, heart, and soul) meant outer appearance and practice may not conform to inner faith, exacerbated by the belief renegades were supported by their families and communities and able to evade detection. This anxiety is expressed through Kellet’s representation of renegades; ‘such as are among us, though not of us’; amphibious and chameleon-like.³⁶⁴ Gouge expressed grave concerns that Muslims were present, undetected, in his church:

I feare, I feare, that there are some even now here present that have beene [...] *lost*; but not [...] found. I feare there are some that have played Renegadoes, and as an evidence thereof are circumcised.³⁶⁵

‘And in their *Circumcision*’, Fitz-Geffry revealed, renegades ‘have cut themselves off, not only from *Christianity*, but from *humanity*’.³⁶⁶

³⁶² Gouge 16.

³⁶³ Matar, *Islam* 66 – 68.

³⁶⁴ Kellet and Byam 35.

³⁶⁵ Gouge 16.

³⁶⁶ Fitz-Geffry 10.

Circumcision was an anxious topic, often conflated with castration. Parker (2005) explores ‘the pervasive discursive network that conflated Barbary and the “barbarous” with barbering of all kinds, including the cut of castration or forcible circumcision and the shaving of bodily hair as a sign of slavery’.³⁶⁷ Drawing on contemporary dictionaries, she explores networks of associations through spelling, sound and etymology, linking hair loss, lust, cruelty, effeminacy, slavery, sodomy and castration.³⁶⁸ Barbering was related to the ‘barbaric’, ‘unmanning’ cutting practices of circumcision/castration associated with Barbary, punishment, shaming, captives and slaves.³⁶⁹ For example, the transformation of the castrated Cornishman Clem in *The Fair Maid of the West* is accompanied by linguistic variations of Barbary and ‘barbers’: ‘For your country’s sake, which is called Barbary, I will love all barbers and barberies the better’ (5.1.125 – 9). ‘Barbaries’ denoted both barbershops and barberies, a medicinal fruit linked to jaundice, and choler – that is, the humoral predisposition of Turks - due to the yellow insides of the stem and bark.³⁷⁰ Kellet evokes the Biblical ‘Robber’, ‘Murtherer’ and ‘Mutiner’ Barrabas in his sermon; whilst the reference to shaving the sultan’s ‘beard’ after Lepanto evokes shaming, loss and defeat – although temporarily in this instance, as power was regained, that is, regrown.³⁷¹ The profession of barber-surgeon in *Newes from Perin*, thus gains further significance within the text.³⁷² Just as identity is disguised upon return in the pamphlet, the ‘bloody sinne’ of circumcision could be

³⁶⁷ Patricia Parker, ‘Barbers and Barbary: Early Modern Cultural Semantics,’ *Renaissance Drama Vol. 33*, ed. Jeffrey Masten and Wendy Wall (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2005) 201.

³⁶⁸ Parker, ‘Barbers’ 201, 202 - 208.

³⁶⁹ Parker, ‘Barbers’ 212.

³⁷⁰ Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2002) 97; f.n. 23, 219.

³⁷¹ Kellet and Byam 19 – 20; E. S. Creasy, *History of The Ottoman Turks: From the Beginning of Their Empire to The Present Time, In Two Volumes, Vol. I* (London: Richard Bentley, 1854) 355 - 356.

³⁷² Also see: Daborne, *A Christian Turn’d Turk* (London: 1612), and Thomas Kyd’s *Solyman and Perseda* (London: 1592).

hidden. The secrecy of circumcision is addressed by Byam: conflating medical and religious discourse, he urges ‘[i]f any such be here, who hath received the Marke of the Beast, and lives unknown’, for the sake of their soul, should ‘Get thee to some learned Priest, open thy grieffe to the Physitian of thy soule’. They then should reveal, ‘without blushing, those secret sores of thine’.³⁷³

This inconsistency between outward appearance and inner allegiance was concerning: indeed, either faith could be feigned or enacted - or an individual could oscillate between the two, demonstrating a lack of faith, a ‘nullifidian’. Whilst many renegades re-entered their parishes, participating in Christian practices whilst still professing Islam, there were those who ‘played Renegadoes’ - even being circumcised – admitting ‘in their private letters to their friends that outwardly they are Mahumetans, but in minde they remaine Christians’.³⁷⁴

In 1615 an Algiers Muslim expressed doubts regarding the sincerity of recent converts:

We content our selves with only obliging them to wear our Habit, and to seem *True Believers* in outward Appearance, without ever offering to examine their Consciences [...] but we have Reason to believe the greatest Part of them are as unbelieving as those who begot them.³⁷⁵

Netzloff observes the preoccupation with uncertain boundaries during the Laudian period, hence the spatial re-integration of renegades into the church. However, performative identities – enacting and incorporating the signifiers of a particular identity – also elicited concern.³⁷⁶ Certainly, the Laudian rite conforms to the definition of *performance* as

³⁷³ Kellet and Byam 41, 74 – 75.

³⁷⁴ Fitz-Geffry 35. Also quoted Matar, *Islam* 168.

³⁷⁵ Translation of a lost Spanish original, J. Morgan, *Mahometism Fully Explained* (London, 1723 – 25) 295, quoted Gerard Wiegers, ‘European Converts to Islam in the Maghrib and the Polemical Writings of the Moriscos,’ *Conversions islamiques: Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen (Conversions to Islam: Religious Identities in the Islamic Mediterranean)*, ed. Mercedes Garcia-Arenal (Paris: Masionneuve et Larose/European Science Foundation, 2001) 208; Norton 268.

³⁷⁶ Netzloff 79. Also see: Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), and her *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The performance of gender in Shakespeare’s England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing In Early*

embodied, witnessed and enacted within specific locations; and *performative*, as the enactment had social consequence in constructing a particular outward-facing identity.³⁷⁷

Acknowledging identities as performative and constructed enables them to ‘function as a potent space for cultural conflict, a site of imagination and contest’.³⁷⁸ Indeed, a powerful site to enact the bodily spectacle of conversion was the theatrical stage, contributing heavily to popular imaginings of the Islamic convert.³⁷⁹

Whilst it was understood identity could be ‘performed’; as demonstrated in contemporary discussions regarding theatrical ‘seeming and being’, Church papists, fraudulent beggars and the effortless façade of *sprezzatura*; the humoral body did not possess demarcated inner ‘authentic’ and outward ‘performed’ selves, as envisaged within modern conceptions.³⁸⁰ Early modern interiority was neither originary nor autonomous: understood instead through the reciprocal interaction between ‘internal’ humoral processes and ‘external’ elements producing behaviour. Breitenburg (1996) observes early modern ‘sign systems’ were

Modern England (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998); Mark Breitenburg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984 [1980]), and the collections of essays in Kathryn M. Moncrief and Kathryn R. McPherson, ed., *Performing Maternity in Early Modern England* (Hants: Ashgate, 2007), and *Performing Pedagogy in Early Modern England: Gender, Instruction, and Performance* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011); Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring, ed., *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi B. V., 2005); Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh, ed., *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

³⁷⁷ Elin Diamond, ‘Introduction,’ *Performance and Cultural Politics*, ed. Diamond (London: Routledge, 1996) 1; Döring, ‘Introduction,’ *Performances of the Sacred*, ed. Rupp and Döring 18. Also see: Kathryn M. Moncrief and Kathryn R. McPherson, ‘Embodied and Enacted: Performances of Maternity in Early Modern England,’ *Performing Maternity* 1.

³⁷⁸ Moncrief and McPherson, ‘Embodied and Enacted’ 1.

³⁷⁹ See: Jane Hwang Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

³⁸⁰ Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (London: 1561 [Venice: 1528]); Harry Berger, *The Absence of Grace: Sprezzatura and Suspicion in Two Renaissance Courtesy Books* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000); Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999 [1993]); Hug; Robert Dimit, ‘Divine Grace, the Humoral Body, and the ‘Inner Self’ in Seventeenth-Century France and England,’ *Space and Self in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. David Warren Sabean and Malina Stefanovska (Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2012) 153 - 162.

‘critically important media’ to constitute and outwardly fix identification, attributing this to ‘the absence of a biological, essentialist basis for identity’.³⁸¹ However, geohumoral identity was transitory: the attempt was to ‘balance’ rather than ‘fix’. Identity ‘sign systems’; clothing, behaviour, speech acts, social relations, cultural surroundings; were the products *and* producer of a ‘biological’ humoral body interacting with a ‘natural’ disposition. The mutability of the humoral body could be exploited to manipulate identity, destabilising individual health and the wider body politic. Whilst deliberate alteration of the humors produced inner workings and outer displays conforming to one another, the resultant identity was ‘inauthentic’ if deemed ‘unnatural’, or easily and frequently changeable on a profound level. However, internal changes could be obscured or hidden – particularly if pathological: deception, such as the sin of denying apostasy, was inherent to these deep humoral changes.

Clothing was an anxious cultural practice which could alter identity or mask inner changes. Clothing indicated status; regulated by sumptuary laws; and affiliation.³⁸² Thus, renegades were frequently referred to as having ‘taken the turban’. A powerful symbol of a shift in allegiance, the turban was ‘the most dominant, the most feared, and the most awe-inspiring symbol of Islam’.³⁸³ Travellers would adopt Islamic clothing: for example, Lithgow was portrayed in Muslim robes and turban, whilst Blount admitted he ‘clad in the Turkish manner’ – however, ‘Turkish attire’ was the ‘Embleme of Apostacie’.³⁸⁴ Within the multi-religious Ottoman Empire, headwear distinguished Muslims from non-Muslims. ‘[T]he christians inhabiting among them’, observed Giovanni Botero (1601), ‘are all cloathed in long garments like the Turkes, and are not distinguished by any apparel they weare [...] but

³⁸¹ Breitenberg 152.

³⁸² Scholz 18; Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 36 - 37. Also see: Jones and Stallybrass.

³⁸³ Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558 – 1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 214 – 222, quote 215.

³⁸⁴ Kellet and Byam 75; Lithgow, frontispiece; Blount, *A Voyage* 98.

onely by the attire of their heads'.³⁸⁵ Sandys (1615) notes the turban was white, 'like great globes, of calico' with 'little copped caps on the top, of greene or red velvet'.³⁸⁶ The Turks 'cover their head with a Turbant', Botero stated, yet 'Christians use not white nor round' – if worn, they were apparently of 'no one colour'.³⁸⁷ Christians who had tried the white turban were criticised. It was an 'apostaticall insinuation' claimed Sandys, whilst a French account warned of an Armenian merchant donning a Muslim turban by mistake being forced to convert, as it was only to be worn by a Muslim.³⁸⁸ Being turbaned was crucial to conversion, hence the ritual discarding of the Christian cap: the turban, and circumcision, signified complete entry into the Islamic community.³⁸⁹ Rycaut noted the turban made ordinary seafarers feel important, it being 'no small inducement to the vulgar people, who is most commonly won with outward allurements, to become *Turks*'. Being distinguished 'by a white Turbant, or such a particular Note of honour', allows 'privilege to domineer and injure with the most impunity'.³⁹⁰ Furthermore, the 'vain and gay humour' of English and French travellers drew them to the 'fancy and enticement of the *Turkish Mode*', by which Islam 'entrapt' them, whilst 'the *Britains*, and other Nations' conquered by the Romans, were predisposed to adopting foreign habits, 'which they accounted to be Humanity and refinement of their Manners; but *Tacitus* saith, *Pars servitutis erat*, a signal symptom of their subjection'. 'And thus', he concludes, 'the *Turk* makes his very Habit a bait to draw some to

³⁸⁵ Giovanni Botero, *Relations, of the Most Famous Kingdoms and Common-weales through the World. Discoursing of their Scituations, Manners, Customes, Strengthes and Pollicies. Translated into English and enlarged* (London: 1611 [1601, 1608]) 373 – 374. Also see MacLean and Matar 217.

³⁸⁶ Sandys; MacLean and Matar 217.

³⁸⁷ Botero 373; Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus* Vol. 9, 113; MacLean and Matar 217.

³⁸⁸ Sandys 63; Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Collections of travels through Turkey into Persia, and the East Indies*, transl. John Phillips and Edmund Everard (London: 1684) 176 [mispaginated 169], cited MacLean and Matar 218.

³⁸⁹ MacLean and Matar 217 - 218.

³⁹⁰ Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire* 1.152.

his Superstition; Riches to allure the Covetous; Rewards and Hopes, to rule the Ambitious; fears and terrours of death, the cowardly and timorous and by all means works on the dispositions and humours of Men, to make additions to his Kingdom'.³⁹¹

Islamic clothing was imbued with suspicion and anxiety. Although renegades could repent and 'redress', and demonstrate their return to Anglo-Protestantism by publicly trampling their turbans for example, this ease of changing clothing indicated the ease of changing religion.³⁹² For example, upon being criticised for her apostasy, a convert replied '[a] Turkish garment will become me as well as a Spanish petticoat', whilst Byam associates clothing with unsettled identities, the mobility of seafaring, and the heterogeneity of ports and harbours:

I am informed, many hundreds are Musselmans in Turkey and Christians at home, doffing their religion as they do put on their clothes, and keeping a conscience for every harbour where they shall put in.³⁹³

The Minehead renegade, 'seene and taken' 'in Turkish-guise', 'attire as did discriminate you from a Christian', was thus untrustworthy.³⁹⁴ Such 'apparrell proclaimed you to be a Turke, at least in semblance', Kellet scolded; 'How could you hope in this unsanctified habit to attaine heaven?' added Byam, 'how could you, clad in this unchristian weede; how could you but with horror and astonishment thinke on the white robe of the innocent Martyrs which you had lost?'³⁹⁵ Exchanging clothes indicated an 'investment': conversion due to 'baites and allurements of immunitie present, and prosperity promised'.³⁹⁶ 'Thou hast changed, thy Habit and Vestmentes, in token of change in Religion', continued Kellet, 'wearing Vestures, of

³⁹¹ Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire* 1.152 - 154.

³⁹² Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches 1678* (London: 1679) 289; Nabil Matar, 'The Renegade in English 17th Century Imagination,' *Studies in English Literature*, 33 (1993): 501; Netzloff 84; *William Laud* 5.2: 373, 375; 'Laudian Rite' in Vitkus 362, 365.

³⁹³ Emanuel D'Aranda, *The History of Algiers and It's Slavery*, transl. John Davies (London: 1666 [1657]) 1; Matar, 'Introduction' in Vitkus 2; Norton 268; Kellet and Byam 54.

³⁹⁴ Kellet and Byam 31.

³⁹⁵ Kellet and Byam 31, 75.

³⁹⁶ Kellet and Byam 34.

Turkish fashion' enabled his becoming a 'Piraticall Thiefe of the sea', whilst donning Islamic 'vestments' brought status and office, wealth and opportunity.³⁹⁷ Kellet links 'taking the turban' directly with profiteering: 'Thy deforming of thy head, thy *Crimen crinium*, I will call, naturally, morally, in a double sense *Capitale*'.³⁹⁸ 'Capital' meant head – and severe punishment - but also referred to the basis for commercial or financial ventures: assets, finance or stock used to produce further wealth.³⁹⁹ Kellet attempts to undermine the turban's associations with power, relating it to 'scald pate'; weeping ('running') head sores (probably due to ringworm); which he claims 'Mahomet' 'was always plagued' causing him '(as some say) to weare a white Shash (woollen would have made his scald pate sorer) therefore his Turbant was of linen'. Emulated by his followers, conversion could spread through geohumoral sympathies: '[l]ike will to like; Scald-pate to Scald-pate'.⁴⁰⁰ Furthermore, they had:

no haire on their head, except one locke on the top of their crowne, (so perhaps had their *Mahomet*, who was a man of much Matter, and of Running head) and by this locke, they hope to be lifted up to Paradise; and this they cover, as the rest of their head, with a Turbant.⁴⁰¹

Kellet observes that these men do not realise the Resurrection 'abhorreth so unnatural and deformed a sight'. Hasleton, however, defends the ease of wearing Moorish garb, as it enabled his escape. Selling his 'English tools' he purchased a 'suit of Moors' clothing', complete with sword and lance. Presumably having a command of the language, he manages to fool a watchman, '[i]t being somewhat dark, and I, in apparel and with my weapons like a

³⁹⁷ Kellet and Byam 33, 41. Also see: Netzloff 84.

³⁹⁸ Kellet and Byam 34, 41. Netzloff links this to circumcision, however, '*Crimen crinium*' is Latin for 'hair crime' or 'crime of the hair', 84 – 85.

³⁹⁹ R. Cotgrave, *Dictionary of French and English Tongues* (London: 1611), quoted *OED*. Also see: Netzloff 84 – 85.

⁴⁰⁰ Kellet and Byam 32, 34.

⁴⁰¹ Kellet and Byam 32. Also see: Sandys 53, 32 – 33; Matthew Dimmock, ed., *William Percy's Mahomet and His Heaven A Critical Edition* (Hants: Ashgate, 2006) 183; MacLean and Matar 220.

Moor, answered boldly that I was a friend and told him I was coming to the governor to deliver letters from the king'.⁴⁰² However, despite his justifications and assertion of Anglo-Protestantism, Hasleton's 'ethnic passing' was part of a wider anxious discourse.

Byam demonstrates cultural anxieties regarding the secret, internal bodily effects of apostasy. Whilst 'those Apostates and circumcised Renegadoes, thinke they have discharged their Conscience wondrous well, if they can Returne, and [...] make profession of their first faith' and 'hide their sinnes from men', they 'appeare as they are to the righteous Judge, from whose eyes nothing is hid, nothing is secret'.⁴⁰³ It was disturbing, however, that many were unwilling to recognise the severity of their sin. These renegades were 'amphibia' in the widest sense, possessing two modes of existence and being of a combined or doubtful nature, also having a duplicitous, indiscernible existence located between truth and lies.

'Amphibology' was a feature of treasonous discourse, and 'lying like truth' was a serious threat to society and order.⁴⁰⁴ Kellet refers to Africanus's story of a 'wily bird, so endued by nature, that she could live as well with the fishes of the sea, as with the fowls of the air; wherefore she was rightly called Amphibian' using it to avoid paying yearly tributes to either the king of the fishes or the king of the birds, living with the other when payment was due: 'And so this bird, to avoid yearly exactions and tributes, would eftsoons change her element'. Leo likens this to himself, admitting upon hearing 'Africans evil spoken of, I will affirm my self to be one of Granada: and when I perceive the nation of Granada to be discommended,

⁴⁰² 'Richard Hasleton, *Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton ... in his Ten Years' Travails in Many Foreign Countries (1595)*,' *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 92 – 93.

⁴⁰³ Kellet and Byam 74.

⁴⁰⁴ See: Stephen Mullaney, 'Lying Like Truth: Riddle, Representation, and Treason in Renaissance England,' *ELH*, 7 (1980): 32 – 47; George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: A. Constable & Co. 1895) 267; Henry Ainsworth, *The art of logick; or, The entire body of logick in English* (London: 1657); Netzloff 84.

then I will profess myself to be an African'.⁴⁰⁵ However, notably, Africanus's amphibian did not merely change appearance, but 'would eftsoons change her element' – her humoral balance, thus her physical body. Within the discursive fluidity and flexibility of geohumoral discourse, the ability to 'change element' had a dual status itself as Britons attempted to rectify their marginal status and geohumoral weakness in two fundamental, but contradictory, ways. A rehabilitated identity had to be constructed which incorporated, but reframed, the marginalised northern status; paradoxically, a northern disposition had to be overcome through the manipulation of the Galenic six non-naturals.⁴⁰⁶

Kellet's use of 'Nullifidian' points to predisposed, geohumoral 'return' to heresy. Having no faith; 'unbelief'; 'was heresy at its most dramatic': the heresy of conversion was usually referred to as a 'lapse' or 'back-slide', a return to a previous state.⁴⁰⁷ Rycaut despaired of converts unrepentant of their 'abominable Lapse and Apostasie', whilst underneath Kellet's title is the Biblical quote: '*Returne ye back-sliding Children, and I will heale your back-slidings*'.⁴⁰⁸ Similar to amphibia, '*Ambo-dexters*' were double dealing: writers railed against 'certain halfe-face'd Christians' treating faith lightly, possessing a 'double' or 'faint'

⁴⁰⁵ Africanus; Kellet and Byam 20; Peter C. Mancell, ed., *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 104.

⁴⁰⁶ See: Jean Bodin, *The six books of a common-weale...Out of the French and Latine copies, done into English, by Richard Knolles* (London: 1606); Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 3 – 4, 16; Hodgen; Stanley W. Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to Modern Times* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* transl. Janet Lloyd (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1988); Luis García-Ballester, 'On the origin of the "six non-natural things" in Galen,' *Galen and Galenism Theory and Medical Practice from Antiquity to the European Renaissance*, ed. Jon Arrizabalaga, Montserrat Cabré, Lluís Cifuentes and Fernando Salmón (Hants: Ashgate, 2002) 105; Siraisi, *Medieval and Renaissance Medicine* 101; Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs, and Nature in the Renaissance: The Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Paster, *Humoring* 4.

⁴⁰⁷ Sammy Basu, "'We are in strange hands, and things are come to a strange passe": Argument and Rhetoric against Heresy in Thomas Edward's *Gangraena* (1646),' *Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe: For, Against, Beyond Persecution and Toleration*, ed. John Christian Laursen (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2002) 18.

⁴⁰⁸ Rycaut, *Present State* 290; Matar, *Islam* 66. I would like to thank Dr. Justin Meggitt at Cambridge University, Faculty of Divinity, Theology and Religious Studies for an invaluable and useful discussion on the terms 'lapse' and 'backsliding'.

heart.⁴⁰⁹ Faith was defined through this organ and the body was conceptualised as a container of secrets: significant when considering secret renegades.⁴¹⁰ '[H]alf-Turks and half-Christians', states the 1624 ballad, 'Those renegades, who (their Christ denying)/ Are worse than Turks, Turks them *in heart* defying' [my emphasis].⁴¹¹ The geohumoral body altered through heresy, which was considered an infectious 'poison' and 'plague' attacking the heart and corrupting the brain, expelling faith.⁴¹² '[T]he plague does not hang about the outward limbs but attacks the heart, immediately poisons it with venom and suddenly destroys him who but a little before was in health then it spreads a fatal contagion to others also', wrote William Whitaker (1588), 'In like manner heresy especially assails the hearts and expels faith from the mind then creeps further and disperses itself over many'.⁴¹³ As the register of sensation - seen or felt - the heart physically altered depending on experience. Gouge's sermon highlighted the dangers of 'relapse' back to Islam after repentance, explicitly linking medical and religious discourse:

Experience shewes how dangerous a relapse is after a recovery from a bodily sicknesse. Much more dangerous is a spirituall relapse after repentance from an heighnous sin. The heart of man by such a relapse will be much more hardned in sin.⁴¹⁴

The heretical heart hardened, the soul residing within turned black, hence Kellet's warning renegades 'have stayned their soules with some blacke sinnes'.⁴¹⁵ Turks were also hard-

⁴⁰⁹ Kellet and Byam 54.

⁴¹⁰ Erickson xv - xvi.

⁴¹¹ 'The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1500 Christians: Most of Them Being Englishmen (Now Prisoners in Argiers Under the Turks)', *Piracy*, ed. Vitkus 344 - 346; C. H. Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads* (London: Navy Records Society, 1908) 31 - 33.

⁴¹² John Marshall, 'Defining and redefining heresy up to Locke's *Letters*,' *Heresy, Literature and Politics in Early Modern English Culture*, ed. David Loewenstein and Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 261.

⁴¹³ William Whitaker, *Disputation of Holy Scripture* (London: 1588) quoted Marshall, 'Defining and redefining heresy' 261.

⁴¹⁴ Gouge 87.

⁴¹⁵ Kellet and Byam 35.

hearted: Floyd-Wilson highlights how Scythian hardness could resist what would move most. The King in *Edward III* expresses awe of that which could ‘rayse drops in a Tartar’s eye’ and ‘make a flytheart Sythian pytiful’ (2.1.72); whilst in the *Merchant of Venice* neither Turks nor Tartars were thought to feel pity due to their ‘brassy bosoms and rough hearts of flint’ (4.1.30 - 31).⁴¹⁶

Secret renegades were thus difficult to detect. Devon’s Thomas Norton was an example of a returned renegade discovered concealing his apostasy, although via information rather than confession/examination. Norton was arraigned at Winchester, in the same proceedings as six ‘Moors or Turks of Sallee’ whose ship had been distressed and forced to land. They were initially taken to the Isle of Wight, then to Winchester, where they were found guilty of taking a small Torbay vessel.⁴¹⁷ Norton himself had been enslaved 17 previously in Algiers for an unknown period of time. Escaping to Salé ‘he lived at his own disposal for divers years, upon the shore, using his trade of a ship-carpenter, and at other times going to sea’. His former patron ‘repaired to Sallee and reduced him to bondage’, but Norton was now able to ransom himself. He returned to sea, gaining a reputation for cruelty within Salé itself. The year before his arraignment he had taken a Dartmouth vessel, ‘her men, sails, ammunition, and cables, and left her to the waves that soon convoyed her to the rocks’.⁴¹⁸ Norton’s ship was lost at Rochelle, and the French released the Christians and allowed the others to return to Salé. Norton managed to secure a passage to Dartmouth and

⁴¹⁶ William Shakespeare, *The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice* (London: 1600); Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 98, 220, e.n. 46. Also see: F. G. Butler, ‘The Barbarous Scythian in ‘King Lear,’” *English Studies in Africa* 28 (1985): 78.

⁴¹⁷ John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1637* (London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868) 487.

⁴¹⁸ *CSPD 1637* 487.

lived as a carpenter, ‘until discovered by some to whom he had been hard at Sallee, and so was indicted and found guilty’.⁴¹⁹

Converts ‘retiring’ back home, such as Norton and Pitts; the latter of whom claimed forced conversion but was bequeathed a considerable sum by his paternal Muslim master; suggests Phippen’s return with vast wealth could have been due to apostasy. Whilst there is no mention of Islamic conversion on his memorial, this would not erase the possibility for his contemporaries. Phippen’s refusal to ‘turn papist’ demonstrates his unwavering commitment to Anglo-Protestantism, but also draws on the familiar conflation of Turks and Catholics, federating Pope, ‘Turk’ and Satan in their shared desire to convert Protestants and condemn them to damnation.⁴²⁰ Indeed, anxiety regarding fallacious identity emerges within contemporary discourses regarding hidden Catholicism, and the inability to ‘peer into men’s souls’, preventing the internal workings of religious infidelity to be identified - although the Protestant belief that body and soul were intrinsically interlinked implied somatic knowledge could shed light on the workings of the soul.⁴²¹ The ambiguous and multiple nature of textuality, despite its claims to a fixed singularity, would have enabled any ‘church papists’ to read the memorial as proof of Phippen’s inevitable lapse into the religious infidelity of Islam through refusing Catholicism. Such ambiguity is also demonstrated by the number of years Phippen was enslaved, conforming to the laws of Biblical Israel commanding Hebrew slaves be freed every seven years.⁴²² Contemporary Protestant readers, understanding themselves as

⁴¹⁹ CSPD 1637 487.

⁴²⁰ Vitkus, *Turning Turk* 77; Highley 63; Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Othello: A Contextual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 27.

⁴²¹ Mark Harrison, *Disease and the Modern World: 1500 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004) 31.

⁴²² Deuteronomy 15: 1 – 3; Raymond Westbrook and Bruce Wells, *Everyday Law in Biblical Israel: An Introduction* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009) 123 – 124; Lawrence Boadt, *The Old Testament: an introduction* (New York: The Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle, 1984) 264; Micheline R. Ishay, *The History of Human Rights From Ancient Times to the Globalization Era* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008) 48.

the inheritors of Israel, could read this as providential, whereas others may have found this a little too convenient.⁴²³ The inability to fix Phippen's narrative to a singular meaning underlines the memorial as 'memory text', creating identity for the continuing 'social body' of the deceased. To establish and 'fix' a consistent Anglo-Protestant identity, the themes of mutability and multiplicity are simultaneously evoked, and erased. As highlighted earlier, memorials are sites of contestation and competing claims to 'truth'. Identifying hidden apostasy within the material body of the returning captive is unattainable; similarly examining the social body of the memorial cannot locate the 'truth' of Phippen's affiliations, although recovers important *possibilities* under erasure. This undermines the concept of a fixed narrative identity, articulating those identities rendered silent.

Such mobile identities enabled impostures in the form of false returns, for financial gain. Indeed, this appears to not only have been an individual endeavour, but an organised trade, occurring both in the West Country and the Mediterranean. According to M. Laugier de Tassy, an agent of maritime affairs in Holland, Christians acquired knowledge of Algiers from either Spanish monks, 'who spread abroad a thousand Fables, in order to inhanche the Merit of those Services they do the Public, in passing over to Barbary to redeem Captives', or:

fictitious Stories related by certain pretended Slaves, who roam up and down Europe as Mendicants, carrying about with them Chains and Fetters which they never bore in Africa, but artfully and fallaciously make Use of some Certificate, from the Fathers of the Redemption, and which they have either begged or purchased from some ransomed Person, who had actually been in Captivity.⁴²⁴

Certificates were also traded in the coastal regions of Britain. On March 1st 1632 William Lea, a Great Yarmouth sailor, was questioned by two JPs at Colyton, a prosperous East

⁴²³ Also see Knight.

⁴²⁴ Quoted Morgan, 'Preface,' *Complete History*.

Devon town, regarding his pass. This document allowed him fifty days of unimpeded travel from St Ives to Norfolk, also instructing that parish officials *en route* should:

help him to lodgings in due time being lawfully demanded and withal in regard of his poor distressed estate you may do a deed of charity to relieve him with your charitable contributions as Almighty God in pity shall move you.⁴²⁵

The pass certified that Lea and ten others had arrived at St Ives on September 9th 1631 on a Dutch man-of-war, which had rescued them from the Turk ship they were captive on. The pass bore the signatures and seals of Sir Francis Vivian, and Sir Francis Godolphin – ‘Francis Vevin and Francis Goddollfin’ on the pass.⁴²⁶ Suspicions had inevitably been raised as to the document’s authenticity. As with other cases of forged licences, it was possible the counterfeiter hoped authorisation from such eminent figures would go unchallenged: conversely, it was unlikely these men would sign certificates, and, additionally, their signatures would be well-known.⁴²⁷ Lea admitted the document was forged, counterfeited by a Thomas Smythe, whom he described as around 45 years of age with a ‘broad’ brown beard:

somewhat white about his cheeks, and [who] hath but one leg & goeth with a stilt fastened about his knee with 4 ribs of iron and travels with a woman and one little child. This woman is of mean stature having her hair somewhat reddish.⁴²⁸

Lea reported this woman possessed a small bag containing forty counterfeit seals belonging to Smythe ‘cut in blue stone’. Smythe, and his wife, were duly caught on the road, stating they were travelling for business ‘allyed to one Mr Harvey Customer of Lyme’.⁴²⁹ Brought before the JPs, Smythe testified he was from King’s Lynn, and, whilst sailing on the *Marygold* of Hull to the Straits, he was taken by Turks. Smythe also claimed he had been left at St Ives by a Dutch ship, and had possessed a pass. Sending for his wife, who came to

⁴²⁵ Devon Record Office (DRO) DQS Bundle Box Easter 1632, testimonies 1, 2, cited Gray, ‘Turks’ 457.

⁴²⁶ DRO DQS Bundle Box Easter 1632, testimonies 1, 2, cited Gray, ‘Turks’ 457.

⁴²⁷ Hug 21.

⁴²⁸ DRO DQS Bundle Box Easter 1632, testimonies 1, 2, cited Gray, ‘Turks’ 457.

⁴²⁹ Pamela Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish: Reproducing Colyton 1540 – 1840* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002) 145.

Cornwall, they left St Ives in the middle of January, travelling together since. Unfortunately, his pass had been destroyed on the night he was apprehended whilst he lit some tobacco.⁴³⁰

Although his wife testified he could neither read nor write, as Gray (1990) observes, it is likely Smythe earned a living producing such passes – perhaps it was Smythe, or one of his alleged crew-members, who was the ‘poor Norfolk man bound for Ireland’ recorded in the St Ives Borough Accounts, having been given 6 pence sometime after Christmas 1631.⁴³¹

Despite this particular imposture being uncovered, the narrative of returned captives being brought into St Ives by a Dutch ship was clearly plausible.⁴³² Micro-narratives and certification which could be believed by the authorities were crucial: as explored earlier, these elements authorised begging and alms, providing the ‘unsettled’ a means to account for their wandering. As Fumerton (2006) observes, ‘one of the defining features of the vagrant outlined in the statutes of the period was an inability to give a proper ‘reckoning’ of his or her life’.⁴³³ To the authorities the inability to give a good account of one’s life indicated criminality.⁴³⁴

The body itself was also a site for account, such as circumcision or injury. This also enabled imposture, whether of the material body or through embodied spatial practices and behaviour. Inevitably, deception was a source of anxiety: indeed, the imposture in *Newes from Perin* underpins the tragic events. According to Hug (2009) contemporary issues concerning fraudulent beggars included the rise of material documents certifying narrative identity and authorising spatial mobility; the misuse of trust systems; performative strategies

⁴³⁰ DRO DQS Bundle Box Easter 1632, testimonies 1, 2, cited Gray, ‘Turks’ 457; Sharpe, *Population* 144 – 145.

⁴³¹ John Hobson Matthews, *A History of the Parishes of St. Ives, Lelant, Towednack and Zennor, in the County of Cornwall* (London, E. Stock, 1892) 91 cited Gray, ‘Turks’ 457; Sharpe, *Population* 145.

⁴³² Gray, ‘Turks’ 458.

⁴³³ Fumerton 47.

⁴³⁴ Fumerton 48 – 49.

regarding appearance, behaviour and language; suspicion of the geographically mobile; and the subsequent threat to divine and social order.⁴³⁵ Besides forged documents and fictional life stories, survival methods of deceptive self-presentation included strategies of ‘downward mobility’, through clothing, or feigned disability.⁴³⁶ Movement and gesture could be falsified, such as crawling, trembling, limping or convulsions; supposed defective body parts displayed; blindness enacted; miscarriage feigned; soap was swallowed to give the impression of ‘the falling sickness’ (epilepsy) and wounds were self-inflicted.⁴³⁷ Speech and hearing impediments were also faked, as demonstrated in the 17th century case of Walter Freazer. Freazer’s strategy worked for four years, as he travelled the country with a sign stating his tongue had been cut out by the Turks, a trick he had learnt ‘beyond sea’.⁴³⁸ His pretence, ‘imposed upon a great part of the nation’, was discovered by John Morris, it being ‘a trick he learned in Holland of drawing so much of his tongue into the throat, that there seemed to be only the root remaining’.⁴³⁹

Freazer drew on signifiers of the returned Barbary captive - successfully demonstrated in the West Country. Two young men of Penryn ‘whose tongues were cut off by Turks’ were awarded alms at Dawlish in 1608, probably the same pair given 2 shillings at Liskeard parish the following year - John and Thomas King ‘who had their tongues cut out of their heads’. They were awarded a further 6 pence towards the release of their ship and its owner.⁴⁴⁰ Eight

⁴³⁵ Hug 17 – 18. Peter Burke, ‘Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes,’ *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 23.

⁴³⁶ Hug 20 – 21.

⁴³⁷ Hug 20 – 21, also see 4.

⁴³⁸ *Depositions from The Castle of York, Relating to Offences Committed in The Northern Counties in the Seventeenth Century* (Durham, London and Edinburgh: The Publications of the Surtees Society, 1861) 15. Also see: Hug 20.

⁴³⁹ *Depositions from The Castle of York* 15.

⁴⁴⁰ Elisa Godfrey, ‘Notes on Dawlish parish and its Churchwarden Account,’ *Devonshire Association Transactions*, 101 (1969): 33; CRO B/Lisk 272; Gray, ‘Turks’ 460.

years later, a beggar called ‘Wise’ received 5 shillings at Tiverton in Devon, after presenting Admiralty certification licensing himself and 8 others to receive monies as returned ex-captives who had their tongues cut out.⁴⁴¹ Whether or not these were genuine claims, they were clearly believable to local authorities and communities. However, for ordinary seafarers, vagrants and beggars to adopt the mantle of a returned captive was, in many senses, ‘upward mobility’. The generic features of Barbary captivity gave scope for heroic or elect identities to be constructed, or those designed to evoke compassion.

Hug highlights how we are only aware of imposters through their encounters with authority, but there is also a process of social definition through their interactions with the communities they move within and through. Certainly, Lea’s account of Smythe and his wife having in their possession forty counterfeit seals, his apparent travelling through the coastal regions (St Ives, Colyton and on to Lyme Regis) - and their managing to travel as far as Colyton in this way, would indicate that such identities – whether forged or not – were credible and could be successfully performed. Familiarity with certain knowledges, signifiers and practices were crucial to produce forged passes, appropriate narratives and convincing bodies: constructing an identity for the Barbary captive.

⁴⁴¹ Cited in Sadru Bhanji, *Barbary Pirates off the Devon Coast* (Devon: Orchard Publications, 1996) 3.

Conclusion

Barbary captivity was a common feature of the ambiguous cross-cultural interactions between early modern Britons and Muslims from the Barbary states and wider Ottoman Empire, as scholars such as Matar and Vitkus have demonstrated. Lingering medieval understandings of Islam, rooted in Crusade, informed these relations, but became an increasingly confusing and contradictory template for the reality of interactions with the Muslim worlds. Contact inspired fascination and provoked imperial envy in addition to fear: the latter focused upon an encroaching Islamic presence clustered around the practices of Barbary captivity, and related to invasion anxiety, threats to the ‘common-wealth’ generated by trade and settlement, and the displacement of Christian Britons to both Barbary and Islam through captivity and conversion.

The maritime regions of the West Country – particularly Devon and Cornwall - were heavily impacted by Barbary captivity, as demonstrated within the archival material. However, regional significance and the localised impact of Barbary captivity are areas which have been largely overlooked within existing scholarship, a gap within which this thesis resides. Taking an inter-disciplinary and transcontextual approach – also acknowledging the unboundedness of seafaring regions - this thesis has mapped a cultural history of Barbary captivity, interpreting localised representations in order to understand this geographical impact. In doing so, it has engaged with the relationship between place and identity – forged through narrative, imaginings, emotional relations, embodied activities and ethnic markers, in addition to contemporary concepts of geohumoralism.¹ West Country place-based identity – within which Cornwall can be distinguished as having several markers of ‘difference’ from

¹ For example, Yi-Fi Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Lewis Holloway and Phil Hubbard, *People and Place: The extraordinary geographies of everyday life* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001); Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

England - was historically constituted as rebellious, lawless, semi-autonomous and piratical, associated with religious non-conformity. However this was also a region marked by cultural erasure, suppression, marginalisation, and competing loyalties. These place-based histories became enmeshed with those of Barbary captivity. From the three main areas identified within the source material: being taken; being in captivity; and returning; themes emerge of fear, anxiety, memory tension, shame and silence. It is these themes which construct the domestic cartographies of Barbary captivity.

Part I explored accounts and representations of being taken into Barbary captivity, mapping the fears of the inhabitants of the coastal regions of the West Country, and highlighting tensions between localised and centralised concerns. The emotional and economic impact of Barbary captivity was not only instigated by the depredations of the Turks, but also by the costly – and unsuccessful - attempts to protect mariners and the coastal regions. West Country geographies became transformed from sites of lawlessness and semi-autonomy into vulnerable and dependent fearscape, with the voices of inhabitants unheard. This reorientation was contemporaneous with the erasure of Cornish-language voices and attempts to homogenise regional identities, in addition to the cultural project of rehabilitating the geohumoral English complexion and the displacement of negative Scythian genealogies onto the peripheral Britons. These were all processes related to emerging Anglo-Protestant national identity.

‘Forgetting’ was explored in Part II, which identified the centrality of memory tension within representations of Barbary captivity. In contrast with the wealth of private-facing archival material, public-facing representations of captivity was scarce: whilst a few captives were remembered and memorialised, the majority were ‘forgotten’. Memory and memorialisation were significant in constructing and reinforcing specific elect Anglo-Protestant identity, and the remembering and celebrating of individual captives participated in

this discourse, enabled by the forgetting and homogenising of others. This included both placing the impact of captivity upon the West Country, and early modern regional identities, under erasure – areas this thesis has sought to address. Remembrance creates relations across time and space, whilst forgetting fractures and dislocates: in the context of this thesis, this regional negation was particularly significant for Cornwall. Engaged in a problematic relationship with Anglo-Protestantism, Barbary captivity produced discourses and practices which reinforced the marginalisation of the region.

Part II also explored the attempts by family and communities to remember the captives, situating memory as intrinsically related to Christian notions of charity and the humoral bodily processes of compassion. However, petitioning, collections and preaching fundamentally failed to redeem captives, contrasting poorly with the organised redemptions of Catholic Europe and threatening the elect status of the fledgling Protestant nation. Political sensitivity regarding this issue probably contributed to the lack of dramatic or published popular representations of captivity. Although Parliament drew on this failure during the following period of civil unrest to condemn the King, they also proved unable to redeem captives in any significant numbers.

Memory is also linked to modern notions of ‘trauma’, a concept applicable to the experiences of early modern captivity. However, as Part II highlights, the role of divine providence, elect status, and giving depositions and narratives upon return, were ways of managing captivity ‘trauma’. It was the ‘forgotten’ captives who were vulnerable to ‘trauma’ – or, within a humoral framework, melancholy – predisposed and inclined to ‘turn Turk’, the source of much domestic anxiety.

The final part of this thesis explored this anxiety in the context of returning captives – or those claiming to be - and the fluid identities associated with maritime communities, the

mobility of seafarers and of other travellers. Renegades could easily become subsumed and hidden within the maritime geographies of the West Country just as they could adapt to the coastal geographies of Barbary. The localised historical record tends to fall silent regarding returning renegades: a few who were discovered or confessed appear through their punishment, either through the criminal courts or religious shaming. The journey of the Barbary captive thus moves towards silence: the coastal geographies of the West Country become landscapes of fear, forgetting, shame and suppression. To conclude, I would argue that mapping the region through representations of Barbary captivity thus reveals sites of cultural trauma – exacerbated in Cornwall by the unique history outlined in the introduction to this thesis – which can be mapped into the modern era.

Alexander defines cultural trauma as occurring when collective memories and consciousness are marked by terrible events, altering future identities.² Tumarkin (2005) observes how trauma is not contained within events themselves, but produced through the ways they are experienced: her ‘traumascapes’ are not merely the physical settings of tragedy, but spaces where overwhelming events have remained unincorporated and thus (re)appearing as unfinished business.³ The fear and loss generated by Barbary captivity clearly impacted upon the region, yet undergoes a silencing within popular representation and localised historiography. Nevertheless, the spectre of Barbary captivity still haunts later constructions of place and identity.⁴

² Jeffrey C. Alexander, ‘Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma,’ *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. Alexander et al. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2004) 1.

³ Maria Tumarkin, *Traumascapes: The Power and Fate of Places Transformed by Tragedy* (Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2005) 12.

⁴ An exploration of these themes are covered in my chapter, ‘Cornish Crusaders and Barbary Captives: Returns and Transformations,’ *Mysticism, Myth and Celtic Identity*, ed. Marion Gibson, Shelley Trower and Garry Tregidga (Oxford: Routledge, 2013) 155 – 170, in which I argue that Barbary captivity is conflated with representations of Crusade.

Just as captivity narratives marginalised West Country voices in order to assert Anglo-Protestant elect identity, the narrative journey of *Newes from Perin* demonstrates how the cultural trauma of Barbary captivity has also been suppressed enabling an assertion of a romanticised Cornish identity. For example, the folklorist Robert Hunt included a version of the narrative, entitled ‘The Penryn Tragedy’, in his 1865 collection of Cornish folk-tales: a discipline which viewed stories, customs, ballads and proverbs as ‘fragments’ to be collected, arranged and studied to ‘obtain a shadowy image’ of a culture under erasure.⁵ Located within a discourse incorporating earlier topographical writings, Romanticism and the Celtic Revival - which gave primacy to an older, pre-industrial, romanticised Cornwall – Hunt’s collection has contributed to one of the dominant discursive constructions of Cornwall and Cornish identity: an imagined landscape of magic, supernatural beings, ancient traditions and hauntings with resonance in the present. The meaning and significance of this ‘older’ Cornwall is not merely constituted through experience, but through deeply embedded narratives and the emotional responses and *subsequent* experiences they produce.⁶

Hunt declares from the outset the ‘authentic’ origins of his tale within *Newes from Perin*, thus situating ‘The Penryn Tragedy’ as a ‘legend’: a highly localised, mono-episodic and historicised narrative related as believable and unique to the area.⁷ He cites the pamphlet as lost, naming it as *News from Penryn in Cornwall, of a most bloody and unexampled Murder*,

⁵ Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England; or, The Drolls, Traditions, and Superstitions of Old Cornwall* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1865) 1st Series: 32; ‘The Penryn Tragedy,’ 2nd Series: 253 – 255.

⁶ See: Tuan; Kent C. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, writing and the sense of place* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1993); E. V. Walter, *Placeways: A Theory of the Human Environment* (USA: UNC Press, 1988).

⁷ Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethans* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006 [2003]) 151 – 177; Timothy R. Tangherlini, *Interpreting Legend: Danish storytellers and their repertoires* (New York: Garland, 1994) 22; Kishore Bhattacharjee, ‘The Legend, Popular Discourse and Local Community: The Case of Assamese Legends,’ *Folklore as Discourse*, ed. M. D. Muthukumaraswamy (Chennai, India: National Folklore Support Centre, 2006) 105.

citing five other versions of the narrative.⁸ The account he reproduces is from Gilbert's 1838 *Parochial History*, a text founded upon the manuscript histories of the late 17th and early 18th century Cornish historians Hals and Tonkin. Gilbert's version is from William Sanderson's *A Compleat History* (1656), and assumed to be an accurate version of the original document, although it includes a treacherous Jewish character.⁹ As with *Newes from Perin*, Sanderson gives a cautionary moral framework to the tale, using reports of 'Theft, Rapine, [plunder] Murthers, and such like' to 'mind us hourelly to beg of God [...] least we fall into Temptations of sin and Satan'.¹⁰

Hunt also refers to George Lillo's 1736 play, *Fatal Curiosity: A True Tragedy*, set in Penryn, and also emphasising its origins within the pamphlet narrative. The play was extremely popular, and appeared in numerous printed editions. The 6th edition, published in Liverpool in 1767, provided an additional text in the form of a letter from Sir Walter to Lady Raleigh, composed at Winchester whilst awaiting execution.¹¹ Other editions included a German translation and subsequent German plays supposedly inspired by *Fatal Curiosity*.¹² Importantly, Lillo erases the protagonist's Barbary captivity and his involvement in piracy, merely mentioning his being robbed by 'lawless pyrates; by the *Arabs* thrice'.¹³

⁸ These are: Davies Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall, Founded on the Manuscript Histories of Mr. Hals and Mr. Tonkin* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1838); Daniel Lysons and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia; Being A Concise Topographical Account of The Several Counties of Great Britain. Volume the Third, Containing Cornwall* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1814); George Lillo, *Fatal Curiosity: A True Tragedy* (London: 1736); William Sanderson, *A Compleat History of the Lives and Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scotland, And of Her Son and Successor, James the Sixth, King of Scotland her son James* (London: 1656); and 'The celebrated Mr. Harris of Salisbury' in his *Philological Inquiries* (London: 1781), who repeats Lillo's dramatic plot. Hunt, *Popular Romances* 2nd Series 255, 253.

⁹ Sanderson 463 – 465.

¹⁰ Sanderson 465.

¹¹ George Lillo, *A Fatal Curiosity An Affecting Narrative, Founded on Facts* (Liverpool: 1767).

¹² See: Francis E. Sandbach, 'Karl Philipp Moritz's 'Blunt' and Lillo's 'Fatal Curiosity,' *The Modern Language Review*, 18 (4) 1923: 449 – 457.

¹³ Lillo 35.

This narrative is repeated frequently within historical, folkloric, topographical and travel writings concerned with Cornwall and Cornish identity throughout the 19th century, which, whilst shifting in emphasis and detail, all undergo a series of returns back to either Lillo or Sanderson - not *Newes from Perin*. These include, for example, Lysons (1814), Joseph Polsue (1868) and Charles Dickens (1869). Some accounts, such as by Samuel Drew and Fortescue Hitchens in their 1824 ‘Dreadful Effects of the Love of Gold, in a Horrid Murder Committed near Penryn’, and Sabine Baring-Gould’s brief account in 1899, merely provide a synopsis of *Fatal Curiosity*, without piracy, North Africa or Barbary captivity.¹⁴

These complex, excessive, and unstable intertextual relations are produced by the ghostly presence of *Newes from Perin*, and the early modern captivity narrative linked to Cornwall within it, which has consistently remained out of view. Sanderson also left the possibility of residual knowledge of the family’s identity within his closing comments: ‘the imprinted relation conceals their Names in favour to some Neighbour of Repute and Kin to that Family. The same sense makes me therein silent also’.¹⁵ As Tuan points out, ‘[m]yths flourish in the absence of precise knowledge’: Sanderson’s statement, combined with lost origins and gaps in the historical record, and the lack of public-facing representations of Barbary captivity particularly concerning the West Country, has instigated a textual layering, embedding this transformed legend within the landscape.¹⁶ This layering has included locating the murder as occurring in a barn at Bohelland Farm, on St Gluvias church land, introduced into the

¹⁴ Lysons; Joseph Polsue, *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall* vol. 2 (Truro: William Lake, London: John Camden Hotten, 1868); Charles Dickens, ‘As The Crow Flies. Due West. Penryn to the Land’s End,’ *All the Year Round*, New Series, vol. 1 (22) Saturday May 1, 1869: 514; Samuel Drew and Fortescue Hitchens, ‘Dreadful Effects of the Love of Gold, in a Horrid Murder Committed near Penryn,’ *The History of Cornwall, From the Earliest Records and Traditions, to the Present Time*, vol. 2, ed. Drew and Hitchens (Helston: William Penaluna, 1824) 294 – 295; Sabine Baring-Gould, *A Book of the West II: Cornwall* (London: Methuen, 1899) 267.

¹⁵ Sanderson 465.

¹⁶ Tuan 85

narrative from the early nineteenth century.¹⁷ More recent transformations have increased the sense of localised Cornish identity, particularly the 1997 and 2003 productions of Justin Chubb's *Bohelland* by The Cornish Theatre Collective. The play references *Newes from Perin* through the woodcut imagery on their publicity material, although it is transformed once again, being referred to as 'The Bohelland Tragedy'. Performed partially in Cornish, against a background of smuggling and witchcraft, *Bohelland* follows the tradition of Hunt, rather than the 17th century pamphlet itself.¹⁸

The return of Lillo's play and Hunt's 19th century narrative, and their subsequent versions, to an *absent* originating text has enabled and reinforced a sense of localised Cornish identity. However, the material *presence* of the pamphlet uncovers the illusion of a fixed starting point, as narrative emphasis and details shift, revealing the extent to which Barbary captivity and the moral impulse of the pamphlet have been consistently placed under erasure. The narrative is transformed within folkloric cartographies attempting to map a textual return to an 'older', insular, pre-industrial Cornwall, a landscape within which overt histories of Barbary captivity are unwelcome.¹⁹ Furthermore, it would seem a virtually identical German murder was reported in 1618 and in 1649 in Bohemia.²⁰ The story of a son, believed dead but returning home wealthy to find his parents in poverty, then being murdered for his money whilst posing as a stranger, provides a highly adaptable narrative which is not geographically specific. Ironically, a pamphlet produced primarily for a London readership, set far enough away to prevent verification, has been assimilated within that specific 'isolated' location. Just

¹⁷ Lysons 119; Drew and Hitchens 294.

¹⁸ Justin Chubb, *Bohelland*, The Cornish Theatre Collective, 4 May 2010, <www.cornish-theatre-collective.co.uk/bohelland1997.html>.

¹⁹ Esra, 'Cornish Crusaders' 155 – 170.

²⁰ Jennifer Westwood and Jacqueline Simpson, *The Lore of the Land. A Guide to England's Legends, from Spring-Heeled Jack to the Witches of Warboys* (London: Penguin, 2005)105.

as the Phippen memorial simultaneously produces a narrative of captivity, whilst revealing it to be physically damaged, displaced and marginalised, recovery of *Newes from Perin* reveals both a narrative of Barbary captivity, and its subsequent marginalisation. There is an erasure of the very element which delivers the possibility of authenticity to the narrative's geographical setting.

Returning to Barbary captivity therefore transforms these folkloric imaginings of the Cornish landscape linked to the modern Celtic Revival, which asserted a narrow, inward-looking identity conforming to the Revival movement, and the literary genre of Romance.²¹ The 'West Barbary' of my title was a 19th century description applied not to make regional historical links to the terrors of captivity or geographies of opportunity, but part of a pervasive and romantic construction of pre-industrial Cornwall as insular, primitive, wild and 'otherworldly'.²² 'Shaping West Barbary' also returns to Barbary captivity to challenge this construction, problematizing the historical and subsequent identities which have been produced: instead, focusing upon a pre-industrial, 'older' Cornwall as outward-facing, engaged in frequent cross-cultural interactions and exposed to numerous multi-religious encounters. As this thesis has demonstrated, aspects of these encounters can be considered traumatic. It has been argued that medieval Romance emerged due to the inability of historical narratives to relate the failure, and negotiate the trauma, of crusade, including

²¹ See: Gregory Castle, *Modernism and the Celtic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia, Volumes 1 – 5* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2006); and the essays in Gibson, Trower and Tregidga, ed.

²² Langford Lovell Price, *West Barbary: Or Notes on the System of Work and Wages in the Cornish Mines* (London: Henry Frowde, 1891); Alan M. Kent, ed., *Voices from West Barbary* (London: Francis Boutle, 2000); Bernard Deacon, 'The hollow jarring of the distant steam engines': images of Cornwall between West Barbary and the delectable Duchy,' *Cornwall: Cultural Constructions of Place*, ed. E. Westland (Penzance: Patten Press, 1997) 7 – 24; Shelley Trower, 'Geological Folklore: Robert Hunt and the industrial, aesthetic and racial composition of 'Celtic' Cornwall,' *Mysticism, Myth and Celtic Identity*, ed. Gibson, Trower and Tregidga 117 – 129; Amy Hale, 'Selling Celtic Cornwall: Changing Markets and Meanings?' *Tourism, Consumption & Representation*, ed. K. Meethan, A. Anderson and S. Miles (Wallingford, Oxfordshire: CABI, 2006) 272 – 283.

crusade cannibalism on the bodies of Saracens in Syria.²³ The conflation of history and fantasy produced a genre where historical trauma could be reinterpreted and transformed. In this reading the marginal and repressed presence of Barbary captivity produces a modern Cornwall still haunted by the 17th century cultural trauma of Barbary captivity. However, rather than ‘forgetting’ Barbary captivity, leaving it residing within the margins of localised narratives of place with a conflation of history and romantic fantasy to shape place-based identity, this thesis seeks to ‘remember’ and incorporate such overwhelming events into the historiography of Cornwall and the wider West Country.

²³ Geraldine Heng, ‘Cannibalism, the First Crusade, and the Genesis of Medieval Romance,’ *Differences*, 10 (1) 1998: 98 – 174.

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