"He that converseth with mariners and sailors": Articulations of English Maritime Identity in
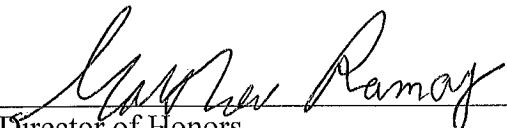Early Modern Voyages and Travels, 1558-1620.
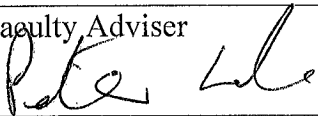
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On the basis of this thesis defended by the candidate on ___4/26/12___
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"The Psalmist saith, that 'He that goeth to sea, shall see the wonders of God!'
and I may well say, that he that converseth with mariners and sailors
shall hear of the wonders of men!"
- *The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a ship of Bristol* [1]

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[1] "The Famous and Wonderful recovery of a Ship of Bristol, called the exchange, from the Turkish Pirates of Argier" (London: Printed for Nathaniel Butter at Saint Austen's Gate, 1622) quoted in *The English Garner: Stuart tracts, 1603-1696*, ed. Thomas Seccombe (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1877-1890), 7:251.

CONTENTS

Introduction

So sondrie men entring into these discoveries propose unto themselves severall endes. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, and that often times by dishonest and unlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the saving of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels.
- Richard Hakluyt, dedication in *A notable historie containing foure voyages ... unto Florida ....* [1]

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw an increase in the maritime travels of Englishmen. For centuries, maritime traffic and voyaging stayed close to the English shoreline through the fishing industry, coastal coal transportation (the "true nursery and seminary for English seamen"), and the textile trade with Antwerp, Belgium. [2] Slowly, English maritime traffic and voyaging haphazardly expanded its traditional geographical boundaries. By the early seventeenth century, England edged onto the international stage as a maritime nation, albeit as a small and relatively weak power. [3] During their travels, the men who ventured beyond England's beaches wrote about their experiences for their employers, for entertainment, or at the request of certain interested parties.

This thesis hopes to engage the voices of the early modern English travelers as they are preserved in those travelogues, travel narratives, and voyage documentations. Through their recovery, modern readers and scholars may better understand the developing relationship between English mariners and landsmen, the sea, and the exotic cultures seafarers encountered during their voyages. The aims of this thesis are to examine the self-awareness of early modern Elizabethans and how the travelogues written by merchants and mariners contributed to the formation or delineation of an English maritime identity.

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[1] Richard Hakluyt, *A notable historie containing foure voyages ... unto Florida ....* quoted in Kenneth Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 30-31.
[2] An unnamed sixteenth source quoted by G.J. Marcus in *A Naval History of England* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1961), 55.
[3] Elaine W. Fowler, *English Sea Power in the Early Tudor Period, 1485-1558* (Ithaca: published for the Folger Shakespeare Library by the Cornell University Press, 1965), 23.

Modern historiography of this time period focuses primarily on attempting to locate the foundations of early English empire rather than recovering the voices of these forgotten men. Much of the current discussion agrees that the English, and later British, Empire did not begin during Queen Elizabeth's reign. [4] Intrinsic to their discussion, however, is the secondary idea of identity formation and the increasing self-awareness experienced by the English people at this time. What is missing from this discussion is a reflection on how the English seafaring community fit into this increasing self-awareness. After all, it was part of the triad of British imperial characteristics: a Protestant, commercial, and maritime empire. [5] Roger Mason, for example, asserted that during the Elizabethan period, England experienced an increase in self-knowledge and awareness. Because his work is focused more on the idea of Elizabethan empire building, he did not develop that idea any further. [6]

Other historians have begun to use early modern travelogues to try to trace the origins of English nationalism. In his introduction to a collection of voyage narratives from the seventeenth century, Charles Harding Firth commented that early modern maritime travelogues

> were written by less important people, and deal with less important events; but while they contain little information of direct use to historians, they are indispensable to those who seek to understand the temper of seventeenth century Englishmen. [7]

Since Firth wrote that statement in the late 1800s, historians have proven his belief that the voyage narratives contained little useful information untrue. He was correct, however, that the

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[4] Among the most prominent of these historians are David Armitage, Roger Mason, N.A.M. Rodger, and Kenneth Andrews. Please see: David Armitage, "The Elizabethan Idea of Empire" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6, Vol. 14 (2004):269-277 and *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Roger A. Mason, "Scotland, Elizabethan England and the Idea of Britain" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (2004): 279-293; N.A.M. Rodger, "Queen Elizabeth and the Myth of Sea-Power" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Sixth Series, Vol. 14 (2004): 153-174; and Kenneth Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

[5] Armitage, "The Elizabethan Idea of Empire," 8; Rodger, "Queen Elizabeth and the Myth of Sea-Power in English History," 153.

[6] Mason, "Scotland, Elizabethan England and the Idea of Britain," 280, 286, 293, 282.

[7] Charles Harding Firth, "Introduction" in *An English Garner: Stuart Tracts 1603-1693,* ed. Thomas Seccombe (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1903), 7:xxx.

voyage narratives can give historians a valuable insight into the "temper" of early modern seafarers. Mary Fuller argued that the aim of travel writing was to "establish certain realities – the possibility of discovery, the lands discovered, the experiences or intentions of oneself or fellow travelers..." [8] The ideas of self that solidified within this time, she said, would prove highly influential to "an empire defined by its ultramarine existence." [9]

Anna Suranyi examined travelogues dated throughout the seventeenth century. In her book, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England*, she argues that the assumption existed the early modern period

> that the English had shared interests, shared destinies, and a common frame of reference: that they were a unified people. Consequently travel writers expressed patriotic feelings about what they called their 'nation,' a term which included government, people, and land. In concert with this process, they were beginning to shed identification of the state with a monarch. In these aspects they participated in what benedict Anderson has called an imagined community – a 'world of plurals,' in which all Englishmen saw themselves speaking with the same voice. [10]

Although her conclusions may prove correct when applied to a wider swath travel writings from the later seventeenth century, I have found that she missed a crucial portion in the formation of this self-awareness and maritime identity: the original chasm between the view of the English maritime identity as landsmen saw it and the reality presented in travelogues. What emerged from those maritime documents makes it evident that the single voice of English patriots in Suranyi's study would take many years to actually form. I hope to add to this discussion by returning to the voices of the men whose travelogues and voyage documents remain to see how they really represented the influence of the maritime culture and how that culture affected their landsmen counterparts.

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[8] Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 11.
[9] Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, 101.
[10] Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 39.

Necessity forced English merchants and mariners outside of their traditional commercial zones. For years, the textile and woolen trade between England and Antwerp, Belgium, prospered. This trade was England's most prominent export. By the end of Henry VIII's reign, however, the market collapsed and a new market for English textiles was desperately needed. [11] So, the resourceful Englishmen turned towards foreign markets. The need for specific travel instructions quickly became obvious. One of the ways in which merchants dispensed travel advice was through the publication of books specifically geared towards a mercantile audience. The most famous of these was *The Marchant's Avizo*, written by John Browne in 1589. It became so popular that five editions of the book were published between 1590 and 1640. Soon, advice for merchants and mariners travelling into unfamiliar terrain was dispensed by way of 'mercantile advisors' to the joint stock companies. [12]

The tradition of dispensing advice left its mark on the maritime community through its adoption in merchant and mariner's travel logs. These documents were the result of much detailed observation by early modern travelers. The men recorded important information about a journey and made notes on difficult points of the passage for future voyagers to use. Some advice involved certain geographical terrains or weather characteristics of which to be wary. Writing of Martin Frobisher's second voyage, Dionyse Settle noted for the next ship to sail that way that ice, extreme winds, rough seas, and monstrous islands were "greatly to be regarded." [13] Two travelers to Russia wrote to beware of rocks and "keepe hard aboord the shore" to avoid

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[11] Fowler, *English Sea Power*, 34.
[12] Eric H. Ash. "'A Note and a Caveat for the Merchant': Mercantile Advisors in Elizabethan England" *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 7-9.
[13] Dionyse Settle, "Martin Frobisher's Second Voyage" in *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques & discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over-land ....* (abbreviated in footnotes as *PN*) Reprint of the 2nd edition, 1598-1600. (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and sons, 1903-05), 7:218.

them. [14] The advice in travelogues demonstrates that the merchants and mariners directed their writing towards an audience, be they employers or fellow seafarers. Elizabethan merchants wrote to warn of the dangers they encountered as well as noting other aspects of the mission that could be improved upon in the future.

Not all advice was concerned with geographical or agricultural features. Some advice centered on increasing the size of ship used, pointing out, reasonably, that the larger the ship, the more cargo it could hold and the more profit reaped from a voyage. [15] Others advised on the quality of men sent abroad to trade; one such man was Richard Cheinie, who addressed the Muscovy Company warning against sending men with "riotous livers" or who were drunkards. [16] Elizabethan merchants and mariners did not write for their own pleasure, but intended their works for the eyes of others, evidenced by the advice contained in the ship and voyage logs. It was these words of advice that two men, Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas, sought to collect and archive in the late sixteenth century. It is important to understand the intentions of Hakluyt's and Purchas' collections, so that researchers may gain a better idea of what the sources they preserved can illuminate about early modern travel.

The records of travels and adventures were important not only to contemporary Elizabethans but also to the men who followed in their footsteps. Voyage journals and ship logs were essential documentation of merchants' and mariners' activities. As Englishmen forged new paths to their desired destinations they recorded the steps and events of their journeys. [17] These texts threw light on the geographical unknown and acted as references for other navigational,

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[14] Thomas Southam and John Sparke, "The way discovered by water by us Thomas Southam & John Sparke," in *PN*, 3:74-75.
[15] Andrew Edwards, "A letter of Arthur Edwards to M. Thomas Nicols," in *PN*, 3:45.
[16] Richard Cheinie, "The second voiage into Persia," in *PN* 3:43.
[17] William Sherman, "Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)" in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 18, 25.

commercial, and informational purposes for those who followed. As the scope of English travel increased, so did the intricacies of trade and manufacturing. For merchants, official written records were important to mitigate legal disputes. [18] The nature of these writings is impersonal and reveals little about the true feelings of the writer, but the content which merchants and mariners choose to include in the text reveals what seafaring Englishmen did or did not value at the time. [19] Elizabethans' logs books and records were and are sources of valuable insight into early modern travelling, but they served an important practical purpose for their authors.

As Firth noted, many of the maritime travelogues were written "were written by less important people, and deal with less important events," but those men were nonetheless essential to early modern voyaging. [20] Many of the travel narratives that remain today were not written by the famous leaders of the expedition. There is no evidence that Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Martin Frobisher, John Hawkins, or any of the other Elizabethan sea-dogs (except for Sir Walter Raleigh) kept journals of their travels. More often than not, the masters of the vessels, the ship's captain, or the explorer's first mate would document events during a voyage. Gilbert left the chronicling to four other men, the most well-known of whom is Edward Hayes. Similarly, Martin Frobisher's unsuccessful adventures were documented by George Best and Michael Lok, to name a couple. [21] Hayes, Best, and Lok all grew up around the mercantile world and worked in or around the maritime community as adults. [22] Men like these chronicled their travels, including in their narratives advice for those men who might someday follow in their footsteps.

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[18] Deborah E. Harkness, "Accounting for Science: How a Merchant Kept His Books in Elizabethan London" in *The Self-Perceptions of Early Modern Capitalists*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2008), 209, 212.

[19] Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, 8.

[20] Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, 7:xxx.

[21] Sherman, "Stirrings and Searchings," 25.

[22] *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (abbreviated in footnotes as *ODNB*), s.v. "Best, George," R.C.D. Baldwin. http://www .oxforddnb.com/view/article/2289 (accessed March 26, 2012); *ODNB*, s.v. "Lok, Michael" James McDermott. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16950 (accessed November 30, 2011); *ODNB*, s.v. "Hayes, Edward, " David Quinn. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37524 (accessed November 30, 2011).

The increase in navigation incited a proliferation of interest in voyage documentation. Thankfully, so many of their voyage narratives and other documentation of their travels have survived, some published for profit and others collected by Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas.

Undoubtedly, the most famous collectors and preservationists of early modern travel writings are Richard Hakluyt the Younger (1552-1616) and, to a lesser extent, Samuel Purchas (1577-1626). [23] In their lengthy tomes, Hakluyt and Purchas preserved the voices of Elizabethan travelers for generations to come. Hakluyt with his two publications of the *Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1580, 1599-1600) and Purchas' similar work, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625). As Hakluyt's erstwhile protégée, Purchas appropriated some of the entries from the *Principall Navigations* and some non-published accounts that Hakluyt had collected before his death into *Pilgrimes*, as well as accounts he himself acquired. This established *Pilgrimes* as a work in similar vein to *Principall Navigations*. Although neither man traveled farther than France in his lifetime, both became authorities on the known, and unknown, world outside England through their extensive works and consultation with men in the business. [24]

Both Hakluyt and Purchas petitioned their old friends and acquaintances to help them collect documents that would illustrate the outside world to the people of England. Hakluyt, first introduced to a "universall Mappe" that illustrated all of the "known Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories..." by his cousin

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[23] *ODNB*, s.v. "Hakluyt, Richard (1552?–1616)," Anthony Payne.
http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11892 (accessed October 29, 2011); *ODNB*, s.v. "Purchas, Samuel (*bap.*1577, *d.*1626)," David Armitage. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22898 (accessed October 29, 2011).
[24] Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2007), 4, 302; "Publisher's Note," in *Hakluytus posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes: contayning a history of the world in sea voyages and lande travells by Englishmen and others* (abbreviated in footnotes as *Pilgrimes*), ed. Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and sons, 1905-07), 1:xxii.

Richard Hakluyt the Elder, after swore that he "would by God's assistance prosecute that knowledge and kind of literature." So he began to collect documents from "the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation," whose well-known names included Anthony Jenkinson, Richard Stapler, and William Borough, all merchants. He also managed to obtain the records of the travels of Edward Fenton, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Martin Frobisher, and Thomas Cavendish from the senior officers on their respective voyages who took careful logs of their journeys. [25] He endeavored "not to write a book, but to publish a set of documents." [26] His work inspired Samuel Purchas to begin a similar endeavor. Their arduous work leaves early modern historians with a wealth of primary source material that can only be dreamed of in some other fields of study.

Many of the entries found in Hakluyt and Purchas are prized today for their relatively reliable reports of the movements and occupations of Englishmen abroad. Hakluyt edited and compiled stories and accounts of English merchants and travelers written in their own words while maintaining the distinctive voice of the original authors. That characteristic of the *Principall Navigations* makes it an invaluable reference source. The hard work of amassing all the accounts of "voyages [that] lay so dispersed, scattered and hidden," that often never before published, reaped unintended benefits for Hakluyt. Today, modern scholars still recognize and praise Hakluyt's scarce, light-handed editing to the original texts and narratives he compiled. [27] Through Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* and, to a more limited extent, Purchas' *Pilgrimes,* in

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[25] Hakluyt, "To Sir Francis Walsingham," in *PN* 1:xvii-xviii; E.G.R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography 1583-1650; a sequel to Tudor Geography 1485-1583* (London: Methuen, 1934), 17, 19.

[26] Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, 14.

[27] Hakluyt, "To Sir Francis Walsingham," *PN* 1:xix; Mary Fuller, *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage: English Narratives in the Age of Expansion* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 19. His work is also used as a tool for further research into his own support of Elizabethan colonial endeavors.

addition to other historical sources, modern historians can study the interests and occupations of the men who traveled away from the English shores.

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The goal of this thesis is to articulate the particular role that English seafaring merchants and sailors played in the creation of an English maritime identity. As early modern travelers, mariners and some merchants were the nonpolitical face of Englishness abroad. They recorded their experiences for their fellow countrymen and women to read. By examining those writings, it becomes clear that the ways in which mariners developed and demonstrated their sense of identity was far different than their compatriots thought or hoped they should. The process of trade, exploration, and finally colonization revealed the differences between English landsmen and seafarers. When the limits of that connection and the flexible definition of their English identity that sailors exhibited in particular situations were revealed, the differences between landsmen and mariners caused interesting conflicts within English society. The following is the trajectory that my argument will follow. First, I examine how seafaring merchants and sailors were different from English landsmen. Secondly, I will discuss the reaction of the landsmen to the flexibility English mariners who were held captive abroad showed in regards to the outwards signs of their English identity. Finally, I will examine a shipwreck in the Bermudas which serves as a case study of a time when the conflicting views and beliefs of landsmen and mariners came to a head and was, in a manner of speaking, resolved.

Chapter one explores the distinct characteristics of the Elizabethan maritime community to consider how those qualities shaped merchants' and mariners' views of their surroundings. In the late Elizabethan era, men involved in the maritime industries travelled abroad as either mariners or merchants. Their distinctive occupation shared many characteristics with the greater

English population, but it had developed certain idiosyncrasies that bound mariners and merchants together as a society apart from all other people. These men brought their beliefs and the long established independent nature of the maritime profession to their travels. The English-crafted vessels became a defining national symbol to English landsmen. Their mariner counterparts, however, identified with their ships for an entirely different and self-centered reason: the ships were their means for protection and any other symbolism they held came as an afterthought to their crews. This chapter argues that the character of the English maritime community set it apart from other Englishmen. This is shown by the differing ways in which the mariners and landsmen viewed the symbolic importance of English ships.

Although the mariners saw their ships as an important source of protection, the ship could not save them from all dangers. Occasionally, merchants and mariners left or were taken from their ships. The risk of being marooned thousands of miles from home was very real for English mariners. These situations most often resulted in the Englishmen's captivity. This chapter delves into Englishmen's records of their time while in captivity and their description of their interactions and time among foreign cultures. Survival necessitated an uneasy cooperation between the Englishmen and their captors. In order to do so, however, it was necessary for them to outwardly shed their English identities. Stories of the mariners' cooperation with their captors created a particular tension within the English landsmen; how were they supposed to identity with these men, whose lifestyle and values were already distanced from a populace eager to embrace them? The sailors' experiences and actions, driven by the necessity for survival, only widened the gap between the two English subcultures. Whereas before, landsmen were eager to embrace mariners as fellow compatriots, the mariners were the ones who most eagerly reached out to secure the socio-religious connection between the two groups.

The third and final chapter of this thesis focuses on the shipwreck of the *Sea Venture* on the small island chain called the Bermudas. Once again, English travelers – now both men and women, mariners and landsmen – found themselves stranded miles from England on an island famed as the "Devil's Island." Unlike the mariners and merchants in the second chapter and the castaways' counterparts in Jamestown, Virginia, the survivors of the *Sea Venture* did not have to contend with native Bermudians, for there were none. The English men and women had only themselves to worry about during their time on the island. The events and rivalries on the island threw the differences between English maritime culture and their landsmen counterparts into sharp relief. The Mariners' Revolt and the way in which it was portrayed by William Strachey highlighted intrinsic differences between the thoughts of a soldier and landsmen and a mariner. As in captivity, English sailors acted in their own interests, although they did not desire to separate from their fellow countrymen entirely. The outwards movement of the Elizabethans in trade and exploration did not change the maritime identity of English sailors or that they would naturally behave in ways that benefited their own self-interest; it only changed the location of the geographical location of the tensions between the landsmen and mariners.

Chapter I

The Men and Their Ships

Rouse up thy spirit, man, and shake it off:
A noble soul is like a ship at sea,
That sleeps at anchor when the ocean's calm;
But when she rages, and the wind blows high,
He cuts his way with skill and majesty.
- Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Honest Man's Fortune* [1]

Who were those travelling Elizabethans, those men who, in the late sixteenth century,

saw more of the world than many people alive today ever will? Occasionally, their names read

like the *dramatis personae* at the beginning of a Shakespearean play, creating a memorable cast

of characters. Simultaneously, there are many mariners whose names are not as familiar to

modern audiences, although their contribution to the expanse of English maritime knowledge

was considerable. When studying this era, it is important to understand the nature and culture of

the mariners and merchants who travelled abroad because this culture directly influenced the

content of the primary source documents that remain for researchers to pore over today.

Grandiose descriptions of early modern travelers conjure up romantic images that are

difficult to divorce from the imagination. Richard Hakluyt described the pool of men from whom

he amassed travel documents for his work *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and

Discoveries of the English Nation* (1580, 1599-1600) as "the chiefest Captaines at sea, the

greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation." [2] Samuel Purchas, Hakluyt's protégée,

more theatrically described "...the Merchant coasting more shores and islands for commerce,

then his progenitors have heard of, or himself can number; the Mariner making other Seas a

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[1] Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, "The Honest Man's Fortune" in *The Works of Francis Beaumont
and John Fletcher* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1866), 2:Act IV, 490.
[2] Richard Hakluyt, "To Sir Francis Walsingham," in *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques & discoveries of
the English nation made by sea or over-land* .... (abbreviated in footnotes as *PN*) Reprint of the 2nd edition, 1598-
1600. (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and sons, 1903-05), 1:xviii.

Ferry, and the widest Ocean a Strait, to his discovering attempts..." [3] This chapter will set aside those idealized and embellished descriptions of the seafaring Englishmen to more closely examine the characteristics of the early modern English maritime community. By doing so, modern readers may gain a better sense of the societal influences acting on early modern travelers. By nature, English merchants and mariners inhabited a particular occupation; one which had no parallel to trades carried out primarily on land. Their occupation defined how they experienced the world and set them apart from their land-bound brethren.

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A World of Their Own: The Men Who Travelled

To pass the seas some think a toil,
Some think it strange abroad to roam;
Some think it a grief to leave their soil,
Their parents, kinfolks, and their home.
Think so who list, I like it not:
I must abroad to try my lot.
   ∹ In Praise of Seafaring Men, in Hope of Good Fortune [4]

The maritime community was insular, and families that fell within its bounds were closely interwoven. Many mariners came from seafaring families or families who were involved in related trades, for example a shipbuilding or an overseas trade industry. [5] For example, Edward Hayes, who chronicled Sir Humphrey Gilbert's demise, was the son of a Liverpool merchant. Roger Bodenham, a ship captain, wrote that two famous figures served on his ship for a time: Richard Chancellor, who later became famous for exploring Russia, and Matthew Baker,

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[3] Samuel Purchas, "Epistle Dedicatorie to the Prince of Wales," in *Hakluytus posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes: contayning a history of the world in sea voyages and lande travells by Englishmen and others* (abbreviated in footnotes as *Pilgrimes*), Samuel Purchas, ed. (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and sons, 1905-07), 1:xxxviii.
[4] Roy Palmer, ed., "In Praise of Seafaring Men, in Hope of Good Fortune" in *The Oxford Book of Sea Songs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 4-5.
[5] Cheryl Fury, "Training and Education in the Elizabethan Maritime Community, 1585-1603," *The Mariner's Mirror* 85, no. 2 (May 1999): 147, 150-151, 154. "One common pattern was for men in related trades to apprentice their sons as mariners... there was considerable overlap among skilled seamen and traders: boys who were apprenticed as merchants became mariners and vice versa."

later one of the most famous English shipwrights. [6] The highly enmeshed nature of societal

connections and influence also played an important role in a boy's or mans' initial entry into the

maritime community. Michael Lok's brother is believed to have introduced Lok, an influential

figure in the Mercer's Company and the Russia Company, to Martin Frobisher; the acquaintance

resulted in Lok's support of Frobisher's attempts to reach the land of 'Cathay' through the yet

undiscovered Northwest Passage. Edward Webbe, author of the rousing *His Trauailes*, began

working with well-known merchant Anthony Jenkinson in Russia with his father's assistance. [7]

Through the years, families built up connections and established themselves within the maritime

community and occupations closely associated with trade and seafaring. [8]

Before continuing in this description of the maritime culture, it is important to make a

few distinctions. Sailors, or mariners, were men whose main occupation was practiced on the

sea. Their occupation is defined much like it is today. Early Elizabethan merchants, however, are

a trickier group to define. For the purposes of this thesis, the English merchant community is

delineated into two distinct groups: seafaring merchants and land-based merchants. Seafaring

merchants were men who were traders, either of cloth or other commodities, who physically

went abroad with their goods or a ship to complete a trading voyage. A good example of a man

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[6] *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (abbreviated in footnotes as *ODNB*), s.v. "Hayes, Edward (b. c.1550, d. in or after 1613)," David B. Quinn. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37524 (accessed November 30, 2011); Roger Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham with the great Barke *Aucher* to Candia and Chio, in the yeere 1550," in *PN*, 5:72.

[7] *ODNB*, s.v. "Lok, Michael (c.1532–1620x22)," James McDermott. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16950 (accessed November 30, 2011); Edward Webbe, *His Trauailes* (1590), ed. Edward Arber (London: Alex. Murray & Son, 1868), 17.

[8] Michael Oppenheim, "The Royal and Merchant Navy under Elizabeth," *The English Historical Review* 6, no. 23 (July, 1891): 471, http://www.jstor.org/stable/546749 (accessed May 6, 2011); Geoffrey Vaughn Scammell, "British Merchant Shipbuilding, c. 1500-1750" in *Seafaring, Sailors and Trade, 1450-1750: Studies in British and European Maritime and Imperial History* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum, 2003), 36-37. This type of insular community was also characteristic of the small group of elite Elizabethan shipwrights because of level of secrecy around the design and production of the vessel. Peter Pett, Richard Chapman, and Matthew Barker were among the most foremost shipwrights of the time.

like this is Anthony Jenkinson, who is mentioned above. [9] Seafaring merchants were counted as

members of the ship's crew, as record of deceased crew members from the *Speranza* indicates. [10]

Other merchants, such as those who dealt with Captain Bodenham, who is discussed later on,

were land-based. They would send a servant on a voyage with their commodities, and the servant

and the ship's captain would have the responsibility to ensure that the maximum amount of

merchandise was sold. The best way to describe the relationship between merchants and

mariners is to say that all merchants were salesmen, of a sort, whose occupation was to buy and

sell goods; not all merchants, however, were seafarers, only some of them. [11]

The connections built through the interwoven nature of the seafaring community allowed

the maritime merchant and sailors to become an extremely self-sufficient and self-regulating.

Unlike other workers in the early modern era mariners were not protected by guilds,

organizations which would protect and promote the interests of those masters and craftsmen in a

particular industry. [12] This is unusual in a society where guilds were important for regulating

industrial norms. Without guilds to establish trade and occupational norms, each master mariner

was responsible for upholding standards and educating apprentices, formal or informal, to the

best of their abilities. [13] Lacking any official educational regulations, English mariners taught

their apprentices and green sailors each in their own specific manner. Because of this, high levels

of independence and little oversight from any institution or government authority were

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[9] Anthony Jenkinson, "The voyage of Master Anthony Jenkinson, made from the citie of Mosco in Russia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yeere 1558..." in *PN*, 2:449-479, for example.
[10] "The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ships, to wit, the Speranza, which wintred in Lappia, where sir Hugh willoughby and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553" in *PN*, 2:212-214.
[11] Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, "Chapter One: The Elizabethan Period" in *Statesmen and Sea Power* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1946), 4. Despite the separation I tried to show above, the two occupations (seafaring and trade) were interwoven in the minds of the Elizabethans. This is particularly apparent through Queen Elizabeth's key sources to find sailors to man the Royal Navy vessels: fisheries, trade, and piracy.
[12] Fury, "Training and Education," 157.
[13] Fury, "Training and Education," 157.

customary to men within the maritime industries. Although their land-bound merchant comrades did have these guilds, maritime merchants associated themselves with seafaring customs, consciously, or unconsciously, emulating the self-reliant customs of the sea. Spain and Portugal held a tight monopoly on overland trading routes (which were extremely dangerous to travel) and on commonly used sea lanes. The somewhat handicapped English merchants had to rely on sailors and their seafaring knowledge to help them discover new trade routes to circumvent the Iberian monopoly on markets that English merchants were interested in penetrating. This close cooperation between merchants and mariners left its mark on English merchants. Now, instead of operating independently, they saw themselves as part of England's maritime culture. The Society of Merchant Adventurers of Exeter is an excellent example of this mindset.

The Merchant Adventurers of Exeter were similar to the English mariners. The full name of the guild was "The Society of Merchant Adventurers Trading beyond the Seas." Looking from the perspective of the twenty-first century, the dual meaning of this name is particularly interesting. Not only does it emphasize trade and the difficulties that accompanied transporting valuable goods over long distances, but it also acknowledges the adventures sailors meet while they hazarded the "perils of the sea," including treacherous pirates and tumultuous weather. Merchants also retained something of the same self-contained nature that mariners possessed. Members of the society swore not to disclose the Adventurers' activities to those outside the fold. One consequence of confidentiality was the omission of the Merchant Adventurers in the history books of Exeter for many years. John Hoker, Exeter city historian during the late sixteenth century, was also a Merchant Adventurer and purposefully left information about the society out of the city's history books. [14]

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[14] William Cotton, *An Elizabethan guild of the city of Exeter* (Exeter: Printed for the author by William Pollard, North Street, 1873), v-vii. The Merchant Adventurers of Exeter were not the only company of Merchant

Hoker's literacy was not unusual among merchants because writing was a crucial supplement to the merchants' records and business; literacy rates in the merchant community were some of the highest in early modern England. Literacy was necessary and set many merchants and mariners apart from many other tradespeople, whose work did not require much reading or writing. Studies have shown that 88-94% of merchants and shopkeepers in the Diocese of Norwich and approximately 59% of London crafts- and tradesmen were literate in the late Elizabethan era. [15] Although the male members of the Elizabethan nobility received a higher quality of education, the number of non-aristocratic, literate, professional men outnumbered the nobility three-to-one. [16] Most merchants came from this sector of society, just literate enough to record their thoughts and activities. Increasingly, the complexities of trade and travel necessitated basic reading and writing skills for any ambitious merchant. [17]

The men within the Elizabethan maritime community were a minority among Englishmen. A well-to-do noble could traipse throughout Europe and be considered widely travelled, while merchants and mariners travelled places most English citizens could only imagine in their wildest dreams. The manifestations of these distinct maritime mannerisms become evident in two instances: the religious customs aboard ships and the unique power of a crew of ordinary seamen to change the destination and objective of a voyage.

The religious customs and traditions on a ship illustrate the ways in which life aboard a ship took on unique characteristics separate from those of the sailors' land-bound counterparts.

Adventurers in sixteenth century England. There were Merchant Adventurer guilds in Bristol, York, and London, among other locations.

[15] Richard L. Greaves, *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 334; Deborah E. Harkness, "Accounting for Science: How a Merchant Kept His Books in Elizabethan London" in *The Self-Perceptions of Early Modern Capitalists*, ed. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2008), 212.

[16] Laura Caroline Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 57.

[17] Harkness, "Accounting for Science," 206, 212.

On board a ship, the mariners adhered strictly to the established prayer times, once before dinner and once after the setting of the watch. If a mariner did not observe these prayer times, he was held for twenty-four hours in irons. The punishment for blasphemy was even worse, Peter Kemp noted that one extreme punishment included

> a 'maudlin-spike, viz. an iron pinn, clapt close into their mouth and tyd behind their heads, and there to stand a whole hour, till their mouths are very bloody; an excellent cure for swearers.' [18]

In her book *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, Cheryl Fury examined the religious customs of the English maritime community in detail. As shown in the quote above, English mariners were unapologetically Protestant. Until the late sixteenth century, however, there was a decided lack of structured religious institutions aboard ships. In 1588, only thirteen priests served a total of 197 ships, only 34 of which were official naval vessels, the rest hired merchantmen, assembled to defend the English coast against the Armada. To fill the void, seamen established their own customs and traditions of worship that were unique to the maritime community. Throughout the 1580s, Queen Elizabeth desired an increase in religious uniformity aboard seagoing vessels, and required that seamen attend more structured services lead by chaplains. This order stirred up much resentment in the sailors, because their customary forms of worship were being so carelessly brushed aside. [19] Despite the lack of official clergymen and doctrine from the Crown, the maritime community established effective methods of worship and ensured that sailors behaved in a Christian manner.

Just as a ship's crew would operate its religious services by its own customs, the maritime community established its own traditions of authority. Ordinary sailors could change

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[18] Peter Kemp, "Chapter One" in *The British sailor: A social history of the lower deck* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited, 1970), 2. Kemp noted that this extreme punishment was not doled out often.
[19] Cheryl Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men: The Social History of the Elizabethan Seaman, 1580-1603* (London: Greenwood Press, 2002), 86, 118, 120-121.

the course and destination of the ship. Once a ship left the harbor, the captain became the ultimate authority aboard. A captain held "monarchical, even tyrannical powers," an authority which, while supreme, was delicate and ultimately grounded in his ability to prevent mutiny. [20] Maritime custom held that if there were to be any significant changes in the voyage plan, the captain would consult the crew. Of both parties, either the captain or the crew, the future of the crew was the more precarious. They were paid most of their wages only *after* the successful completion of a voyage, so any change in the voyage plan held the possibility of radically altering their future for the worse. [21] On his second voyage, Sir James Lancaster was introduced to this custom. In order to prevent a mutiny, he had to explain his decisions and reassure the crew that his choices would not affect their wages. [22] When Henry Hudson encountered a similar situation on his voyage to what would become Canada, he was not as adept at defusing the predicament. Lancaster returned home safely, but Hudson was not as lucky. [23]

Even as the maritime culture diverged from daily life on the English shore, life aboard the ship was not immune to problems that plagued sailors' families and friends on land, including the extent of religious orthodoxy and the nature and limits of authority. Because of the poor documentation of mariners' lives in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, not much scholarly work has concentrated on the lives and culture of everyday seamen. Pulling evidence from primary source documents and secondary literature, however, a clearer picture begins to

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[20] Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485-1603* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 278.

[21] Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, 102, 97. For more information on this topic, please see G.V. Scammell's, "Mutiny in British Ships, c. 1500-1750" in *Seafaring, Sailors and Trade, 1450-1750: Studies in British and European Maritime and Imperial History* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum, 2003), 337-354.

[22] Richard Hakluyt, "The well governed and prosperous voyage of M[aster] James Lancaster, begun ... in October 1594" in *The voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies, 1591-1603*, ed. William Foster (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1940), 33-34.

[23] Henry Hudson died in North America.

emerge of the nature of maritime life and the symbolic significance ships held for seamen far away from home.

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The Ships and Their Significance

To multiply ships and to lack mariners is to set armour upon stakes on the sea coast
and to provide no people to wear it, or to build castles and put no soldiers in them.
> - Queen Elizabeth I [24]

In the late sixteenth century, the world was still a very dangerous place for Englishmen abroad. Certainly no one was going to cower at the sight of them. Andrew Hadfield aptly reminds his readers that mid-sixteenth century England was "an isolated, second-rate power on the fringes of Europe." [25] Seafaring was a necessity for travelling to exotic locales if the land routes proved too dangerous (as they often were) or if the mariner's destination lay across the sea. Thus, travelers had to take refuge in the safest places they could – their ships. The mariners and their vessels held a particular symbolic importance to the English landsmen despite the cultural differences between the landsmen and sailors. Very often, however, the symbolism given to the maritime occupations did not correlate with how English sailors saw their relation to their ships.

The robust shipbuilding industry was a source of pride for the English. One hub of early modern English shipbuilding lay along the banks of the Thames, although ship yards were established all around the country, wherever there was room and access to the sea. [26] In those shipyards, English shipwrights practiced their art, which Anthony Nixon heralded together with

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[24] Queen Elizabeth I, quoted in Richmond, "Chapter One: The Elizabethan Period," 4.
[25] Andrew Hadfield, "General Introduction" in *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English, 1550-1630: An Anthology,* ed. Andrew Hadfield. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 9.
[26] Scammell, "British Merchant Shipbuilding, c. 1500-1700," *Seafaring, Sailors, and Trade,* 35-36.

nautical navigation as "the most excellent [faculties] that are exercised amongst men." [27]

Similarly, Clement Adams proclaimed that he did not know who he admired more, the merchants

who procured high quality wood or the shipwrights who used that wood to construct a ship.

Thanks to the merchants and the shipwrights, he said, mariners would have vessels with lead-

lined keels to deter wood-eating ocean worms, as well as armor and artillery to protect them

from their human enemies. [28] This pride was rightly rooted in the high quality of English ships.

While the shipwrights did their best to protect the mariners from human enemies and sea

creatures, the real test of the quality of a ship was its ability to withstand the sea's harsh

environment. Shipwrecks caused by harbor accidents or capture or destruction in combat, like

that of the *Revenge* in 1591, were notorious precisely because they were rare. Eleven of 115

warships belonging to the English crown were definitely identified as lost or destroyed between

1509 and 1603. Only one of the twenty-two ships that voyaged to Roanoke was lost en route.

And one of fifteen ships that sailed in Martin Frobisher's three exploratory voyages between

1576 and 1579 was lost at sea. [29] Those low statistics were largely due to the excellence of

English seamanship, but storms on the ocean could cause a ship handled by the most experienced

mariners to sink. [30] The ability of English ships to withstand storms was proven by the longevity

of Elizabethan ships. For example, the *Elizabeth*, constructed in 1558, was used until 1618 – a

sixty year lifetime. The *Ark Royal*, built in 1587, was lost at sea in 1636, still in seaworthy

condition. Many ships constructed in the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign were still

registered in her 1602 navy list. [31] The international community recognized and envied the

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[27] Anthony Nixon, *A true relation of the admirable voiage and trauell of William Bush gentleman* (London: printed by T[homas] P[urfoot] for Nathaniel Butter, 1608. Reproduction of the original held by the Folger Shakespeare Company).
[28] Clement Adams, "The Neue Nauigation and discouerie of the kingdome of Muscouia" in *PN*, 2:240-241.
[29] Ian Friel, *Maritime History of Britain and Ireland c. 400-2001*(London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 100.
[30] Such as the *Sea Venture*, who was commanded by the highly experienced Sir George Somers.
[31] Oppenheim, *The Royal and Merchant Navy*, 470.

quality of the English-made ships during this time. After the construction of the *Triumph* in 1561, the Spanish crown – owner of one of the largest navies of the period – offered any man who captured the *Triumph* £22 per ton of the vessel as well as pension payments for his lifetime. [32] From the reverent praise bestowed on the art of shipbuilding and the excellence of English shipwrights, further earned by the performance of these vessels, it would follow that the products of such great effort and skill would also be highly revered within English society.

The English indicated their pride in their vessels through frequent use of ship analogies in literary and political works. One way that writers represented the connection between a human being and a vessel was to anthropomorphize the vessel. William Strachey, a merchant and passenger on the ill-fated *Sea Venture*, described the damage to the storm ravaged ship as a wound to men who already faced death. [33] Sir Philip Sidney wrote a vivid description of a wreck in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*:

> a ship, or rather the carkass of the ship, or rather some few bones of the carkass, hulling there, part broken, part burned, part drowned; death having used more than one dart to that destruction. [34]

Writers and poets also turned this literary device around, equating humans, to ships. George Gascoigne wrote, "I am the ship myself, mine Anchor was thy faith." In *The Honest Man's Fortune*, Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher use a ship as an allegory for the noble human soul. [35] A ship was a metaphor not only for a single person, but also as a figure that represented the

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[32] Oppenheim: "During those same years, and sometimes during the same gales which the English ships weathered successfully, whole Spanish fleets floundered at sea." Oppenheim, *The Royal and Merchant Navy*, 494, 498. G.V. Scammell briefly states a slightly different opinion on the matter, for his quote please see "British Merchant Shipbuilding, c. 1500-1750," Scammell, *Seafaring, Sailors, and Trade*, 35. For more information about the quality of the Elizabethan navy and ships during this period, please refer to Geoffrey Parker's "The *Dreadnought* Revolution of Tudor England" *The Mariner's Mirror* 82, vol. 3 (August 1996): 269-300.

[33] William Strachey, "A true reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609: Two Narratives*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Charlottesville, VA: Published for the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities by the University Press of Virginia, 1965), 9.

[34] Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (London: Printed for George Calvert..., 1674), 4.

[35] Beaumont and Fletcher, "The Honest Man's Fortune," *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher*, 490.

entirety of the government. A phrase that was oft echoed in Elizabethan documents was the phrase "the ship of state." [36] The importance of the ship to the very survival of her passengers and crew was reflected by the equation of a ship to a person or a person to a ship. To early modern Englishmen, the conceptual difference between the loss of a ship and the loss of a sailor was minimal.

While their land-based counterparts admired ships for the symbolic meanings given them, English merchants valued ships for a very practical reason: ships were their transportation and protectors of their goods and incomes. For the merchant, the ship served two purposes: it conveyed goods across the world, and it served as a refuge from malicious enemy interests towards their passengers and crew. During a trading voyage in the Caspian Sea in 1574, the vessel used by agents of the Muscovy Company was overtaken by pirates and her passengers and crew dumped aboard a boat carrying horses and swine. Miraculously, the Englishmen made it back to a nearby city, where one of the merchants, Geofrey Ducket, petitioned the town to "have men and boates set out for the rescuing and recovering of the ship if it were possible." [37] Ducket hoped he would get his goods back, but the phrasing in that passage is important. The writer of this particular account stated that Ducket wanted the entire ship back, not just the merchandise it contained. Perhaps the merchant in this case was attached to the ship, or, more than likely, he hoped that he would retrieve more of his goods that remained in the ship. Thus, the ship was

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[36] Sir Henry Killigrew."H. Kyllygrew to Burghley." *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589,* ed. Richard Bruce Wernham. Vol. 22: July-Dec 1588. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, Oct. 16 1588), 266. *State Papers Online* http://go.galegroup.com/mss/start.do?p=SPOL&u=nash87800 (accessed March 16, 2012); Morison."Morison to Cromwell." *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* J. Gairdner, ed. Vol. 7: 1534. (London: Longman &Co., 27 Oct 1534), 504. *State Papers Online*. http://go.galegroup.com/mss/start.do?p=SPOL&u=nash87800 (accessed March 16, 2012); Sir Anthony Standen."Sir Anthony Standen to Secretary Cecil." *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509-[1603].* Robert Pentland Mahaffy, ed. Vol. 11: 1601-3 (with addenda 1565-1654). (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 15 Oct 1601), 130. *State Papers Online* http://go.galegroup.com/mss/start.do?p=SPOL&u=nash87800 (accessed March 16, 2012).
[37] P.I., "The fift voyage into Persia made by M. Thomas Banister, and master Geofrey Ducket, agents for the Moscovie Company" in *PN,* 3:155.

important to these travelers, but it gained its importance from its function, not the fact that it held

a particularly English symbolism for its passengers and crew.

To mariners, the ship became important because it provided protection from attackers

who wished them harm, not because they harbored any real attachment to the ship itself. Writing

about his 1558 voyage from Moscow to Bokhara, Anthony Jenkinson, also a merchant, described

a terrible storm the ship encountered. Instead of going ashore, he and the ship's crew risked the

rough seas. He knew that

> ...Although we threw much of our goods overboard, ... and our selves thereby in great
> danger like to have perished either in the sea or els upon the lee shore, where we should
> have fallen into the hands of those wicked infidels, who attended our shipwracke; and
> surely it was unlike that we should have escaped both the extremities, but onely by the
> power and mercy of God. [38]

Unlike Ducket, Jenkinson and the crew of his ship had a choice between two "extremities": the

ship in the storm or the dangers ashore. Given this choice, they sided with the lesser of the two

evils. Jenkinson was willing to rid himself of the goods his ship carried because the alternative

was the almost certain sinking of the ship. A narrative from 1576 also illustrates this decision.

The English merchant ship *The Three Half Moons* was attacked by eight Turkish galleys en route

to Spain. The captain and the master of the ship examined the situation and concluded that "there

was no way for them to flie or escape away, but that either they must yeeld or els be sunke."

Only after that was noted did the ship's master rally his men's courage by admonishing them,

saying they should live up to their English ancestors' courage and valor. [39] Both of these crews

remained with their vessels because they literally had no other choice – the ships were their best

option for survival in trying circumstances. For all three men (Ducket, Jenkinson, and the master

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[38] Anthony Jenkinson, "A voyage of M. Anthony Jenkinson through Russia, and over the Caspian sea into Persia, Anno 1561" in *PN*, 3:19.
[39] "The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe an Englishman in delivering 266. Christians out of the captivitie of the Turkes at Alexandria, the 3. of Januarie 1577," in *PN*, 5:153.

of the *Three Half Moons*), the ship took on an importance, not because it was a particularly

English object, but because it held and protected things, their goods or lives, that they valued.

The English maritime community was a unique society closely connected with the

English merchants and shipping. This group was comprised of a hearty group of mariners who

knew what they wanted and who were not afraid to mutiny if they did not agree with the way

things were going. They were Protestants and upheld the beliefs of the Anglican Church, but

only up to the point where it did not interfere with how they wanted to practice their religion.

The English sailors' beliefs varied from how their land-based counterparts believed they should

think and behave. This characteristic of the maritime community carried over into merchants'

and mariners' travels and their lack concern for any ideological symbolism in connection to their

vessels. English mariners travelled in ships, which were highly valued within English society, as

demonstrated through multiple literary sources and political references. To maritime merchants,

however, the ship itself was important to them because it held within its hull their lives and

livelihoods. For other mariners, the ship became important because it was the only choice they

believed they had for survival.

A travelogue written by Captain Roger Bodenham after a trading voyage to the Levant

vividly illustrates the reality of the seafaring merchants' and mariners' relation to their vessels.

In 1550, Bodenham, captain of the ship *Aucher*, was commissioned to carry goods to the lands of

Candia and Chio in the Levant. During this time, Bodenham wrote, there was no travelling

through this area without a promise of safe conduct given from "the Turke." [40] Despite the risks

involved with the voyage and its proposed destinations, Sir Anthony Aucher, the owner of the

ship and Bodenham's employer, gave the captain permission to sail. His confidence in the

success of the voyage stemmed from the assurance of a particular landsmen merchant, Anselm

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[40] This author was unable to uncover the identity of the particular Turk to whom Bodenham referred.

Salvago, whose goods were the bulk of the *Aucher*'s cargo. Salvago promised Sir Anthony that the ship would receive safe passage from the Turk. [41]

Salvago's promise was hallow, and when the Turk refused the ship safe passage, Bodenham faced a serious conflict. He was bound to complete the voyage and deliver the goods to their destinations, however, by doing so, he would risk his life and the lives of his crew members. [42] If Bodenham refused to undertake the journey, he would have to find another way to transport the goods at his own expense, a responsibility he adamantly declined. Still in port, the landsmen merchants whose goods he promised to carry abroad put enormous pressure on the wavering Bodenham; he wrote that they were "without care of the losse of the ship [and] would have compelled me to goe." [43] Constrained by his obligations and harangued by the merchants, Bodenham was convinced to undertake the journey. Here, Bodenham reveals his true colors. Although he pointed at the merchants for lack of care for the vessel, he was swayed by the financial loss he would sustain if he refused to make the voyage. Had Bodenham identified his health and wellbeing with that of the ship, as suggested in early modern literature, he would not have agreed to set sail for the Levant.

Bodenham and the *Aucher* reached their destination in Chio safely, but once there, Bodenham anchored the ship outside the port, unwilling to risk entering without permission for safe passage. Again, he was pressured by the merchants' servants travelling on the ship and the merchants in the town to enter the port to sell the merchandise the *Aucher* carried. To ease his misgivings, the Chio merchants promised to obtain a twenty day assurance of safe passage from the Turkish army and a city bond worth 12,000 ducats to protect the ship. Bodenham and the mayor of the city both knew that their situation was precarious, but Bodenham's interest in profit

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[41] Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham," in *PN,* 5:72.
[42] Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham," in *PN,* 5:73.
[43] Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham" in *PN,* 5:72.

and the assurances of the Chio merchants won out. He rushed to sell his goods while the Turkish navy was rapidly approaching the city. Soon his contacts in Chio called on him and told him secretly that he must flee the city to avoid being captured by the Turks. They could not protect him, they said. They could not even protect themselves. [44]

Three times, the English merchants had put their own interests above the safety of the ship; and three times, although it was against his better judgment, Bodenham gave into their persuasion and remained in port. Time had run out. To avoid capture, Bodenham and the *Aucher* needed to leave immediately, but the weather, the merchants, and even his own sailors were working against him. "The wind was contrarie... [and] the marchants English men and others regarding more their gaines than the ship hindered me... and made the marriners come to me to demand their wages [and] ... time" to spend them in Chio. [45] Just like the merchants, his actions were influenced by monetary gains. Although he expressed worry about the ship, this was probably because if the ship was damaged or destroyed, he would most likely face serious financial repercussions from the owner, Sir Anthony.

A ship is nothing without her crew, and Bodenham soon lost his to the allure of the exotic city. During the time he was persuaded to remain in port, the sailors on the *Aucher* grew restless and, influenced by the merchants, demanded Bodenham pay them their wages out of pocket so they could spend it in the port city. The captain paid them their wages, but with a stipulation that revealed his frustration with the situation and with the mariners' careless attitude towards the safety of the ship. If the sailors did not return to help the ship set sail, Bodenham "would make answer the same in England, with danger of their heads." With that threat, he convinced many

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[44] Roger Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham" in *PN,* 5:74.
[45] Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham" in *PN,* 5:74.

men who were married in England or "had somewhat to loose" to remain with him on the ship. [46]

Even so, some were determined to go ashore. As the Turkish army and navy sped closer and

closer to the city, Bodenham signaled for his crew to return. Some came back and boarded the

Aucher reluctantly, but a few remained. Unable to wait any longer, Bodenham cast off and fled

as quickly as possible. The men he left behind were taken as galley slaves by the Turks. [47]

Mariners only cared to stay with the ship when threatened with bodily harm and even then had to

be dragged back to the ship moaning and groaning. The English mariners had no real symbolic

attachment to the ship itself.

Each party, the merchants and the sailors, acted on its separate interests and motivations

during the *Aucher*'s voyage to Candia and Chio. The merchants wanted to successfully trade

their wares. The sailors wanted to enjoy their exotic port visit. Captain Bodenham wanted to

protect the ship he had the financial responsibility to command. Out of the entire company of

men, only two men seemed to have any sort of ideological attachment to the *Aucher* itself.

Bodenham described this scene with Sir Anthony's servant:

> the Master gunner who was a madde brayned fellow, and the owners servant had a
> parlament between themselves, and [the servant] upon the same came up to me with his
> sword drawen, swearing that he had promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, to live and
> die in the sayde shippe, that he would fight with the whole armie of Turkes, and never
> yeeld. [48]

This account is interesting because Sir Anthony's servant and his apparent compatriot, the

Master Gunner, are the only two men who are described as wanting to defend the ship purely for

the sake of protecting it. If the unnamed servant only desired to earn his pay, he would have

urged Bodenham to leave Chio immediately; dying on the vessel would not bring him anything

but a watery grave. The master gunner and the servant are interestingly depicted as being

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[46] Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham" in *PN,* 5:74.
[47] Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham" in *PN,* 5:75.
[48] Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham" in *PN,* 5:74-75.

somewhat off-kilter and out of the norm. Bodenham called the master gunner "a madde brayned fellow." Bodenham, by his own confession, seemed frustrated when approached by a man with his sword inexplicably drawn as if to fight the Turks then and there. [49] Even the way he described calming the servant, "at last I made him confesse his fault and followe mine advise," was written in a condescending tone. Luckily for Bodenham, he was able to convince the servant and the master gunner that remaining to fight was unnecessary, and the *Aucher* was able to depart Chio just barely missing the arrival of the Turks and safely return to England.

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This chapter seeks to elucidate the origins of the tensions that arose between travelogue documents in English maritime culture and their audience – readers within England. English sailors and merchants were Englishmen by birth, and thus shared many cultural characteristics with their countrymen. The English landsmen viewed sailing vessels as distinctly English. But the nature of maritime culture did not always live up to the ideals created for it by Crown and by other Englishmen.

"The chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners" were a unique group of men within the English working community. [50] The insular and self-sufficient character established in men through their participation in this community assisted them in times of trouble during their voyages. Their strong sense of self, demonstrated through mutinies and adherence to traditional maritime religious customs, stuck with them throughout their voyages. Seafaring merchants and mariners were not attached to their ships as symbols of their unwavering English identities; the ships were primarily a means they used to earn their livings,

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[49] Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham" in *PN*, 5:75. "… with this fellow [the servant] I had His much to doe…"
[50] Hakluyt, "To Sir Francis Walsingham" in *PN*, 1:xviii.

and as such, the sailors could survive without their ships and were able to hold onto their English

identities without anchoring them to any particularly English object.

Chapter II

Far from Free: Sailors in Captivity

Thus we never see the true State of our Condition,
till it is illustrated to us by its Contraries;
nor know how to value what we enjoy,
but by the want of it.
- Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*

As a result of their occupation, all men who traveled ran the risk of being shipwrecked or

stranded in foreign locales, and not all those who were left behind survived to tell the tale of their

harrowing experience. But those men who did live could rank their incredible stories and

harrowing accounts among the most enduring narratives from the sixteenth century. After his

hazardous voyage, Roger Bodenham returned to England safely, a dream fostered by many

Englishmen abroad. Arthur Edwards wrote a letter to his employers, plaintively wishing for

God's grace to return home after a period of "careful travel, with many a sorrowful day and

unquiet sleeps. Neither had I the company of one English person to whom sometime I might

have eased my pensive heart." [1] Unfortunately, a safe return to England was not a guaranteed end

to all early modern travels. This chapter examines the writings of those Englishmen who were

separated from their ships and fellow crew members. These men's misadventures often led to

their captivity in Turkish, Spanish, Portuguese, or other foreign societies. Both the maritime

heroes of captivity narratives and their audiences dealt with the coexisting feelings of superiority

and vulnerability vis-à-vis the foreign peoples and cultures the captive mariners encountered.

Once they escaped captivity, the mariners wrote about their experiences abroad; their narratives

became popular because they spoke to the landsmen's fears and attempted to resolve them.

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[1] Arthur Edwards, "A letter of M. Arthur Edwards, written the 8. of August 1566," in *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques & discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over-land* .... (abbreviated in footnotes as *PN*) Reprint of the 2nd edition, 1598-1600. (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and sons, 1903-05), 3:63.

For sailors, their vessels were important because they safe guarded the men's lives, but when the danger came from within, men were ready, in theory, to go to any lengths to ensure their own survival. August 29, 1583, the English ship the *Delight* ran aground, leaving its sixteen surviving crew members to subsist in only the small ship's boat. The extremely low supplies drew one sailor, Master Hedly, to suggest that it might "please God" to cast four of the sixteen survivors overboard to save the rest of the men. To which Richard Clarke, master of the *Delight* said, "I replied unto him, saying no, we will live and die together," succinctly ending the discussion. [2] During an expedition to Central America in 1568, John Hawkins found himself without the victuals to sustain the entire crew during the voyage back to England. Some sailors, fearing a turn towards cannibalism, claimed they would rather be put ashore and face their fate with the "Savages or Infidels" rather than face starvation, drowning, or becoming cannibals. Despite all of their talk, when the captain agreed to their proposals "it was a world to see how suddenly mens minds were altered: for they which... desired to be set on land, were now of another minde" and they became frantic to remain with the ship. [3] It is impossible to know if Hedly would have, ultimately, reacted the same way if Clarke followed his suggestion. What is certain, however, that despite the risk of starvation, mariners would rather remain with the vessel rather than risk their survival in unknown lands filled with potential enemies and dangers.

The consequences of being stranded abroad were recorded in ship logs if English crews found one of their forsaken countrymen during their voyages. For example, Grenville records the discovery and rescue of two Englishmen from an unnamed land in the log of his 1585 voyage to

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[2] Richard Clarke, "A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the Delight, …1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight," in *PN,* 8:86. The troubles of Clarke and the remaining survivors of the *Delight* did not end in the boat. They eventually made it ashore only to run into Spanish sailors. Luckily, Clarke explained, the Englishmen were able to fool the Spaniards into thinking they were only poor fishermen and the Spaniards let them go.

[3] Miles Philips, "A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, put on shore in the West Indies by Mr. John Hawkins, 1568" in *PN,* 9:408-409.

Virginia. [4] The stories of those men who were left, survived, or made a full recovery from their tribulations were recorded by their saviors. But those inadvertent rescuers were not always capable of reviving their compatriots, who without correct supplies could become ill. John Segar was left on the island of Santa Helena for eighteen months and died shortly after he was rescued by Edmund Barker and the crew of the *Edmund Bonaventure*. Barker reports that "crazed in minde and halfe out of his wits..." [5] Segar died, but his name lives on in Barker's travel log, joining the many legions of now nameless sailors and explorers whose remains litter the globe.

The incredible stories of those men who did live to tell their tales could include these harrowing accounts among the most enduring narratives from the sixteenth century. Many early modern explorations and voyages ended in failure: failure to find a new passage, failure to complete a mission, or – worst of all – failure to return home. [6] In the face of this uncertainty, their vessels and fellow crew members were the only support system the English merchants and mariners had in new and dangerous worlds In the late sixteenth century, if a sailor did not return home, he was likely lost at sea or taken captive in a foreign land – the latter of which meant an encounter with a foreign "other," peoples who the surviving merchants and sailors would describe in their travel narratives.

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[4] Richard Grenville, "The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenvile, for Sir Walter Ralegh to Virginia, in the yeere 1585" in *PN*, 8:310-317.

[5] Edmund Barker, "A voyage with three tall ships" in *The voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies, 1591-1603*, ed. William Foster (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1940), 16.

[6] In her book, *Voyages in Print*, Mary Fuller takes a closer look into the significance of the rhetoric of failure in early-modern English travel narratives and treatises. Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

I reflected what a mortification it must prove to me to appear as
inconsiderable in this nation as one single Lilliputian would be among us.
      - Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*

The voyage narratives from English survivors can illuminate the differences that the

English perceived between themselves and the cultures they encountered, solidifying ideas about

the English civilization in the process. The wild popularity of John Florio's English translation of

Michel de Montaigne's *Essays*, published by Edward Blount in 1603, attests to this fact.[7] One of

his essays, titled "Of Cannibals," has many characteristics akin to English travel narratives.

Montaigne's attention to the differences between French and South American cultures and values

was intended as a reflection for introspective consideration. His English counterparts, however,

were not so inwardly contemplative. Mary Fuller describeed early modern English travel

narratives as appearing "wholly directed towards the external world, incapable of speaking about

the self."[8] Although Fuller is correct that early modern English travel accounts are more

concerned with telling about the exotic world beyond the Dover coast, there are times, during

moments of captivity, when the accounts allow rare looks into what those travelers thought about

themselves.

Two examples of Englishmen forced to be abroad are the harrowing tales of Andrew

Battell and Miles Philips. Andrew Battell spent approximately eleven years living as a captive

alternatively with Portuguese soldiers and merchants in Africa and the Gagas, a African tribe

from Angola. In 1590, he and four of his crewmates were captured on the island of Saint

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[7] For more on Montaigne's essay "Of Cannibals," please refer to George Hoffman's "Anatomy of the Mass: Montaigne's 'Cannibals'" *PMLA* Vol. 117, No. 2 (Mar., 2002): 207-221. For more on the general English reception of Montaigne's *Essays*, please refer to William M. Hamlin's "Florio's Montaigne and the Tyranny of 'Custome' *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 63, No. 2 (Summer 2010): 491-544.

[8] Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, 8, 15.

Sebastian off the Brazilian coast and transported to Africa by his Portuguese captors. [9] Miles

Philips was sent ashore in Central America after accompanying John Hawkins on a voyage and

initially submitted to Spanish captivity after he and his fellow castaways were left naked and

weaponless by the Chichimici. It took Philips sixteen years of adventure through Mexico and

Spain to return to England. [10] Although the circumstances that led each to their predicament were

different, the situations themselves were similar enough for an analytical comparison. Each man

was forced to live in unfavorable conditions for an Englishman, each survived by actively

participating in their captor's societies, and both recorded their tale on paper for their

countrymen to read.

In their writings, Englishmen who had traveled abroad illustrated the moments where

they defined themselves. First, they were able to observe other cultures in the context of a very

English object – their ship. When attacked or when their situation became particularly trying,

sailors always had the safety of their ships to rely on. Once the men were stripped of that

comfort, either by captivity or through abandonment in foreign lands, they had to define

themselves without the crutch of having anything they knew or understood around them. In their

travel writings, men like Andrew Battell and Miles Philips described their harrowing journeys

abroad. After their publication, Battell's and Philips' travelogues piqued the imagination of their

countrymen. [11] For each, there were moments where his identity as an Englishman determined

his fate, for better or for worse. Their narratives are interesting not only from the standpoint of

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[9] Andrew Battell. *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh, in Angola and the Adjoining Regions*, ed.
Ernest George Ravenstein (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1901), xiii, 6.
[10] Miles Philips, "A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, one of the company put on shoare
Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies by M. John Hawkins 1568...." in *PN,* 9:398.
[11] Samuel Purchas printed Battell's *The Strange Adventures* in two separate (but similarly titled) publications,
*Purchas his Pilgrimage: or Relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages and places discovered,
from the creation unto this present* (published 1613) and in *Hakluyt Posthumous, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*
(published 1625). Richard Hakluyt published Philips' narrative in *The Principal Navigation, Voiages and
Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589, 1599).

documentation of alien cultures, but also from the way in which the two men describe their interactions with their captors and the means that they used to survive. Through Philips' and Battell's actions, it is clear that both saw their time in captivity as transitory moments. The men held onto a sustaining belief in their English identities and that they would one day return home. Because of this, they placed their own survival above retaining outward signs of their English identities.

The captured English mariners unsuccessfully attempted to escape their captors. Although Philips was initially persuaded to surrender to the Spanish, he and his fellow crewmembers realized that their once chance of survival and freedom was escape. After two months of plotting, Philips and his companions escaped. Their lack of knowledge of the Mexican terrain hindered them unfortunately, and they walked directly to Mexico City, where they were recaptured by Spanish forces. [12] Years later, Andrew Battell also attempted to flee shortly after he was captured by the Portuguese in 1590. Battell failed to escape and "lived a most miserable life for the space of six years" until 1595 when he attempted to run away for the second time. Battell's second escape attempt signals that although he lived and worked among the Portuguese for six years, which is not an inconsiderable amount of time, he considered his situation temporary and reversible. As such, he tried to exert as much control over his situation as he could by taking whatever chance he could to escape. Battell made it as far as the coast in Bamba where he was cornered by Portuguese soldiers. [13] During the stand-off, Battell described, "I... answered the captain that I was an Englishman... and rather than I will be hanged, I will die amongst you." [14] He only surrendered to the Portuguese captain after being assured multiple

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[12] Philips, "A discourse," in *PN,* 9:414, 421.
[13] Modern day province of Mbama on the southwest coast of Congo.
[14] Battell, *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell,* 13. Meaning he would rather die in a gun battle than surrender to the Portuguese and be hanged for attempting to escape.

times that he would be pardoned by the governor of Bamba. Though pardoned, he had "hardly escaped" because he was sentenced to three months in prison. [15] Battell seemingly abandoned his English identity in favor of his survival during his first six years among the Portuguese, but in reality, he maintained his sense of self as an Englishman. As their first form of defense against unfriendly captors, both Battell and Philips tried unsuccessfully to run away to separate themselves from their unfavorable situations.

Battell's and Philips' failure to escape left them with one method of survival: assimilation into their captors' society. At the beginning of each day, these men did not know if it would be their last. While this is a characteristic of each life, Philips' and Battell's situations were particularly hazardous because they were nearly powerless while in captivity. Unlike later English colonists in North America who could, by virtue of sheer numbers, afford to provoke their neighbors, Battell and Philips had to adapt or die. "Among the cannibal people," Battell remarked, "I determined to live… till we should see the Sea again; and so I might escape by some ship." Philips echoed his feelings: "…little doeth any man know the sorow and griefe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was constrained to make faire weather of it." [16] To both men, their captivity was not ingrained in their minds as a permanent state of being. It was one that they could, hopefully, eventually reverse. One can infer from the two men's actions that their connection to their English identity overwhelmed any bond created during their time in captivity. This identification undoubtedly sustained and fueled their desire to survive their troubles.

A forced, outward religious conversion was one of the most obvious methods English mariners had to assimilate, though it not the easiest. For Philips, this was an exacerbation of his

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[15] Battell, *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*, 13.
[16] Battell, *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*, 25; Philips, "A discourse," in *PN*, 9:434.

already tenuous situation. He and the other English mariners had, "never in all our lives we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their laws," he told the Spanish Inquisitors when first questioned. [17] When they asked if he believed in transubstantiation, Philips knew if he did not give the Inquisitors the answer they were looking for, he and his companions would die. So Philips and the other English mariners affirmed that they were never taught, and thus could not follow, any of the Protestant doctrine. Philips and the other English captives were tortured by the Inquisitors for three months, at the end of which the received their punishments. Some men were whipped, some were sent to work as galley slaves, some were burned to death, and finally Philips and a handful of others were sent to monasteries to be reformed. [18] After five years, Philips reported that the chief Inquisitor called him and the other Englishmen back

> and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged up in the head church… and every mans name and judgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. [19]

This was additionally done to the "fooles coates" of the English galley slaves. To the Spaniards, the shirts served as physical trophies of the heretics' conversion to Catholicism, a bizarre documentation of the victory of Catholicism over its enemies. From another standpoint, however, the shirts can be seen as a testament to those men whose desire to survive overrode their care for outwards demonstrations of their true religious beliefs and principles. Philips and his companions preserved their lives by adhering to the fanatical religious expectations of their captors. Interestingly enough, Battell did not report having the same problem with the Portuguese nor later with the African tribe, the Gagas, who apparently did not force their captives to convert to their beliefs. [20]

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[17] Philips, "A discourse," in *PN*, 9:426.
[18] Philips, "A discourse," in *PN*, 9:425-426, 428.
[19] Philips, "A discourse," in *PN*, 9:431.
[20] Battell, *The Adventures of Andrew Battell*, 33-34. For example, Battell reported that during his sojourn with the tribe, he was allowed to watch a human sacrifice. The ritual was performed by the great Calandola, the Gagas'

Beyond religious conversions, Battell and Philips developed technical skillsets the Spaniards and Gagas desired to give their captors a useful reason to keep them alive. After a second failed escape attempt which was followed by a decade acting as a merchant-trader for the Portuguese, Battell became a hostage of the African tribe called the Gagas. [21] For a time, Battell acted as a foot soldier for the chief and military leader of the Gagas, the Great Calandola, who held Battell's musket and marksmanship in high esteem. Because of this, Battell was nearly always armed, which saved his life more than a few times, and enabled him to ask virtually anything of the Great Calandola and receive it. Battell's firearms were so coveted that the Gagas made a distinct exception for him. Usually, they would kill all adult prisoners of war, keeping only children alive whom they would groom for battle. The very instrument that was used to kill ensured that Battell remained alive in the hostile world of the Gagas. [22] When his travels led him to the Portuguese once again, Battell was appointed as a sergeant to in the Portuguese military. [23]

Philips took a less bloody route, becoming apprenticed to a silk weaver. For three years, Philips learned how to make grosgrains and taffetas, although he never gained the level of trust from his captors that Battell did. [24] Unlike Battell, however, Philips was more explicit about the ways in which his occupation not only saved his life but helped to preserve his sense of superiority towards the Spaniards and Mexicans he lived among. When an Inquisitor asked him why he had not married yet, Philips replied that he "had bound [him] selfe at an occupation." His evasion of the question made the already suspicious Inquisitor even more skeptical, who ordered

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military leader and general, and "men-witches" and Battell observed until the tribesmen order him to leave "as [Battell] was a Christian, for then the Devil doth appear to them, they say."

[21] Ernest George Ravenstein, "Introduction," in *The Adventures of Andrew Battell*, xiii-xiv. Ravenstein approximated the time Battell spent as a trader for the Portuguese between 1591 to 1601; Battell, *The Adventures of Andrew Battell*, 23.

[22] Battell, *The Adventures of Andrew Battell*, 28, 32.

[23] Battell, *The Adventures of Andrew Battell*, 31.

[24] Philips, "A discourse," in *PN,* 9:432. Philips was forbidden the city or go near the Port of San Juan de Ulloa by himself and without his master's permission and he was constantly accused of wanting to run away to England to become a "heretike Lutherane againe," which was the correct assumption. Philips, "A discourse," in *PN,* 9:432.

Philips to remain in within the city's bounds and not to venture near the Port of S. John de Ullua. [25] Shortly earlier in his narrative, Philips confessed to not feeling comfortable with the idea of marrying a Spanish or Mexican woman because it would have been necessary to "know such horrible idolatrie [was] committed, and durst not ... speake against it...." [26] Although their occupations differed, the outcome of their endeavors was the same: Philips and Battell were both determined to ensure their survival in a harsh environment by any means open to them. Circumstances would have it that Battell became a warrior-trader and Philips, in the more refined society of Spanish-influenced Central America, became adept with producing textile goods. Each man worked for many years hundreds of miles from their homes in England and cultivated talents their captors valued to bide their time until they could attempt escape once more.

Whether stranded abroad by unlucky circumstance or captured by a hostile foe, Englishmen articulated the differences between themselves and the people that they encountered in their writings after their return to England. For many, it was not only a vehicle to describe the alien lands that they lived in, but also a means to explain how their survived their ordeal. Both Andrew Battell and Miles Philips they tried to make the best of their vulnerable states by assimilating into their captors' societies. But the men never fully integrated into the Spanish, Portuguese, or Gaga cultures, as indicated by their numerous escape attempts. While preserving their lives, the prisoners held onto their own culture and religion. Despite their established occupations and, in Philips' case, religious "ties" to their temporary identities, Philips and Battell undertook arduous escapes and journeys to return to England. Neither man escaped easily, but

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[25] Philips, "A discourse," in *PN*, 9:432.

[26] Philips, "A discourse," in *PN*, 9:431. Interestingly enough, this was not the case for a handful of his fellow sailors who were also in captivity in Mexico: Four of his companions married black women; two married Spanish women; and two married women of mixed Spanish and Indian blood (one of the wives, Philips said, was rumoured to be the daughter of Hernando Cortes). Because I know of no documentation where those men (listed below) explained the reasoning behind their actions, there is little evidence to explain why the men married foreign women. However, Philips was abroad for 16 years. In light of that fact, it seems unusual that Philps would remain unmarried for such a long time and it makes the other men's actions seem more practically minded.

each preserved in order to walk freely once more. [27] Through these sets of documents a clearer

picture emerges: English merchants and mariners were survivors by whatever means necessary, a

trait shared by their other seafarers held captive in hostile environments.

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"To turn Turk": English Captives in Turkey

These many years in this most wretched island
We two have lived, the scorn and game of fortune...
The greatest plagues that human nature suffers
Are seated here, wildness, and wants innumerable.
          - John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage* [28]

Dangers that could overcome even the best of English vessels, resulting in the ship's

passengers and crew becoming captives in a foreign land. In Chio, Bodenham and the *Auger*

were lucky enough to escape the oncoming Turkish navy, but only because the Chio townsmen

who diverted the Turks while the English ship got away. [29] Other English mariners did not have

such a fortunate fate against the Turks. By definition, a 'captivity narrative' (the tale of one's

time imprisoned in a foreign land) pits its narrator or protagonist against his or her captors.

Captivity narratives evolved from the earlier tradition of travel narratives, correlating the

similarities between the idea of "travels" and "travails," a Middle English word to describe

torment or travels. [30] Unfailingly, until the beginning of the Anglo-Spanish War in 1585, the

Ottomans, called "Turkes," were the primary adversarial figures of Elizabethan captivity

narratives. When facing imprisonment or forced slavery, the Englishmen in these tales are shown

to take strong stands against their captors and to hold tightly onto their religious beliefs. The

writings of the men who survived being alone in foreign lands illuminate the complex

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[27] Battell, *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*, 39-41; Philips, "A discourse," in *PN* 9:435-445.

[28] John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage* in William Shakespeare's *The Tempest,* ed. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004), 304.

[29] Roger Bodenham, "The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham," in *PN,* 5:75.

[30] Joe Snader, *Caught Between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 19; Merriam-Webster, s.v. "travail." http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/travail (accessed March 30, 2012).

association between religion and identity in English captives in Turkish lands and the anxiety that their experiences and actions early modern travelers and dealt with on a daily basis.

English mariners held captive in foreign societies valued their survival above preserving outward signs of their patriotism; men held captives by the Turks were no different. John Foxe and Edward Webbe, both gunners on their respective ships, were taken captives when Turks attacked and overwhelmed the English forces on their ships. [31] Like Andrew Battell and Miles Philips, they both took steps to better their situation in captivity by integrating to varying extents into Turkish society. Webbe forthrightly admitted that he offered his talents to the Turks to get more food and better treatment: "I had good skill in Gunners art, which I thought would have been greatly esteemed at the Turkes hands..." [32] Webbe served in the Turkish army as a gunner for some period of time. John Foxe's narrative addressed his actions in a more obtuse manner: "some [men] likewise make more shift, and worke more devises to helpe their state and living, then other some can doe." Foxe befriended his Turkish prison guard and bribed the man to let him come and go from the prison as he wished (although he was still required to wear a shackle on his legs). Although it was never mentioned if Foxe assisted the Turks in any particular way, they were not afraid that he would cause any "mischief" in their community. [33] Mariners held captive in many different societies were willing to cooperate with their captors in order to survive.

Despite the differences and distance between England and the Ottoman Empire, people in England were aware of the captive merchants' and sailors' unhappy situation. Queen Elizabeth,

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[31] "The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe an Englishman in delivering 266. Christians out of the captivitie of the Turkes at Alexandria, the 3. of Januarie 1577," in *PN,* 5:155-156; Edward Webbe, *His Trauailes* (1590), ed. Edward Arber (London: Alex. Murray & Son, 1868), 20. Webbe's *His Trauailes* was so popular after its publication, that it was printed by three different publishers; John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Printed in the Netherlands by Thieme-Nijmegen: N. Israel/Amsterdam, 1965), 142.
[32] Webbe, *His Trauiles,* 20.
[33] "The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe," in *PN,* 5:156

the highest political power in England, was well aware of the presence of English sailors held captive by the Turks. In a letter to Sultan Murad III from 1579, Queen Elizabeth asked that "certaine of [her] subjects, who are deteined as slaves and captives in [the Sultan's] Gallies" be released. The men, she said, were not held for attacking the Turks or for breaking any Turkish laws and thus deserved the Sultan's clemency. [34] On a lower political level, William Harborne, an English merchant, acted in the interests of the English prisoners. Harborne was an ambassador for the Turkey Company in Constantinople and Queen Elizabeth's 'Orator, Messenger, Deputie and Agent' to Sultan Murad III. [35] During his time as ambassador, Harborne regularly worked to with the Ottoman government to ensure that English mariners received safe passage through Turkish waters and promise that no Turks would bother them. [36] In *His Trauailes*, Edward Webbe reported that Harborne worked to free the English mariners held captive by the Turks by collect ransom money from other London merchants to pay the Turks. [37] These sources make it clear that captive sailors did not disappear from English landsmen's thoughts because they were detained in far off lands.

The knowledge of the captives' "most vilde and grieuous tortures," did not stop landsmen from condemning them for shedding outward signs of their nationality, occupation, and religion. [38] In 1627, Edward Kellet wrote a sermon to address a man recently returned to England, who

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[34] "The answere of her Majestie to the aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke,...October 1579...." in *PN,* 5:177-178. The conversation between the two rulers resulted in a treaty that gave English merchants trading privileges in Turkey. *PN,* 5:178-183.

[35] Webbe, *His Trauailes,* 28; *ODNB,* s.v. "Harborne, William (c.1542–1617)," Christine Woodhead. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12234 (accessed April 10, 2012).

[36] "A letter to the right honourable William Hareborne her Majesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signior from Alger" in *PN,* 5:263; "The commaundement obtained of the Grand Signior by her Majesties ambassador M. Will. Hareborne, for the quiet passing of her subjects to and from his dominion, sent in An. 1584...." in *PN,* 5:275-276.

[37] Webbe, *His Trauailes,* 29. Harborne worked to free English mariners held captive not only in Turkey, but also in other nations, such as with the dilemma that arose with one English ship called *The Jesus.* "The Turkes letter to the King of Tripolis in Barbarie, commanding the restitution of an English ship, called the Jesus, with the men... Anno 1584" in *PN,* 5:314-315; "A letter of Master William Hareborne, the English Ambassadour... for the restoring of an English shippe called the Jesus, with the goods, and men, detained as slaves, Anno 1585" in *PN,* 5:316-319.

[38] Webbe, *His Trauailes,* 29.

was captured and made a slave by the Turks. [39] Kellet, however, seemed to have unrealistic expectations of the returned captive, whose behavior had "giuen cause of offence to many." [40] Aside from the fact that the mariner had pretend to be a Muslim convert for so long, Kellet himself was most offended because the man had given himself up to his English brethren wearing Turkish robes. He castigated the returned prisoner most severely for abandoning any outward signs of his English identity and wearing "apparrell [that] proclaimed you to be a Turke... [and] as did discriminate you from a Christian." [41] Kellet argued:

> I say, if thou heldest vp thy finger, or didst cast away thy hat, ... or exchangest the markes of thy profession, or by vsing any other abiuring trickes, or initiating ceremonies to that hellish irreligion, ... thy Repentance had neede sur|mount thy Penance.... [42]

The most notable of Kellet's list are the actions which would have led to a change in the outward appearance of the prisoner. Kellet argued that something as minor as a change in clothing was an active betrayal of his countrymen, friends, and the Christ. After all, Kellet continued, the early Christians and Jews "professe[d] their Religion, by their very Apparell." [43] The minutiae which indicated the English captive's submission to the Turks "hellish irreligion" were hardly avoidable. Andrew Battell, Miles Philips, John Foxe, and Edward Webbe were all held in captivity more than a decade. [44] Their English clothes could not have lasted that long under the conditions the men lived in. Assuming first that Kellet's nameless English captive was abroad approximately a decade and then considering the harsh conditions he would have endured as a

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[39] Edward Kellet, *A returne from Argier. A sermon preached at Minhead in the county of Somerset the 16. of March, 1627. at the re-admission of a relapsed Christian into our Church. By Edward Kellet Doctor of Diuinity* (London: Printed by T. H. for I. P. and are to be sold by Richard Thrale, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Crosse-Keyes, 1628), unnumbered page. http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo2/A04776.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext (accessed March 13, 2012).

[40] Kellet, *A returne from Argier*, 41.

[41] Kellet, *A returne from Argier*, 31.

[42] Kellet, *A returne from Argier*, 31.

[43] Kellet, *A returne from Argier*, 32-33.

[44] Battell. *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*, xiii; "The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe," in *PN*, 5:157; Philips, "A Discourse," in *PN* 9:398; Webbe, *His Trauailes*, 28.

galley slave, it is entirely logical that sometime during his captivity he would have needed new clothes. Considering this, Kellet's argument seems indicative of an underlying anxiety within English landsmen that one's outward appearance was indicative of how one inwardly conceived of their identities.

Through their descriptions of attempted escape, both Webbe and Foxe tried to assert their loyalty to Christianity and England despite lacking outward markers of their national identity and religion. The overblown nature of these tales makes each man's story appear to be justifying the numerous years of compliance with the Turks and their integration, although incomplete, into Turkish societies. Foxe's and Webbe's escape stories attempted to bolster their audience's confidence in the men's loyalty through tales of religious conflict, where, after arduous struggles, the men refused to become Muslims. Their audiences would have received Foxe's and Webbe's patriotic and religious portrayals well. For example, despite his stinging rebukes to the returned Turkish captive, Kellet graciously allowed that the man had shown enough remorse and had "recouered both thy Head aboue, and thy Body out of the waters, which might have swallowed thee up." [45] For example, Webbe reported that after thirteen years of captivity, he led an escape attempt with 500 Christians also in captivity with him. The Christian captives used vinegar to wear through their 14 foot thick prison wall made of lime, earth, and sand. The mass of prisoners would have completed their escape, he said, if a barking dog had not have given them away. Webbe and his fellow Christians returned to prison and each received 700 lashes as punishment.[46]

John Foxe succeeded where Webbe failed: he not only escaped but violently killed his Turkish jailer and struck the Turks a metaphorical blow for all of Christianity. Like Webbe, Foxe

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[45] Kellet, *A returne from Argier*, 42.
[46] Webbe, *His Trauailes,* 28. Webbe further said he and the other received 300 lashes to their stomachs and 400 lashes on their backs.

was a Turkish prisoner for thirteen to fourteen years. In late December 1577, Foxe conspired with another Christian prisoner, Peter Unticaro, to escape from the Turks. [47] Foxe and Unticaro managed to flee with 266 other prisoners in January 1578. During his flight, Foxe encountered the Turkish jailor he befriended years before. The two men had a heated exchange, a conversation that resulted in the Turk's death.

> Turk: O, Foxe, what have I deserved of thee, that thou shouldest seeke my death?
> Foxe: Thou villiane…hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserved at my hands. [48]

Calling the English sailor by name, the Turk begged Foxe to tell him what he did to deserve death. Foxe did not reciprocate the Turk's familiarity, a purposeful rejection of the years they knew each other. Thus, the Turk's humanity is removed and he becomes no more than a faceless enemy encountered on a battlefield, someone to be killed without mercy:

> Wherewith [Foxe] lift up his bright shining sword of tenne yeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blowe, as therewithall [the Turk's] head clave a sunder, so that he fell starke dead to the ground. [49]

Although the scene was undoubtedly exaggerated, it can give modern readers an insight into the insecurities of early modern Englishmen, both abroad and in England.

The death of the Turkish jailor is indicative of Englishmen's acute awareness of their relative powerlessness as captives of foreign countries. First, the jailor was shocked when Foxe approached him with murderous intentions. The friendly relationship between the two men seemed wiped away in an instant. As soon as Foxe did not see himself as being at the mercy of his captors, he wiped away any pretense of friendliness he had held in the past. Instead of merely saying that he missed England and held it within his heart, Foxe appears to have wanted to prove

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[47] "The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe," in *PN,* 5:156-158.
[48] "The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe," in *PN,* 5:158-159.
[49] "The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe," in *PN,* 5:159.

it to his audience. Through his actions he demonstrated that his cooperation with the jailor all those years did not change Foxe's loathing of the man's Turkish origins.

Second, Foxe killed him with one blow of a dull sword. Before Foxe and the other prisoners left, they raided a Turkish house for weapons. There, Foxe picked up an "olde rustie sword blade without either hilt or pomell" which was the weapon he used to kill his Turkish jailor. [50] The author of Foxe's narrative mentions that his sword was rusty twice, which seemed to confer importance to that fact. Readers can infer that despite his blunt blade, Foxe's hatred towards the Turks gave him the extra strength he needed to deliver the fatal blow. Alternatively, the sword can also be read as a metaphor for Foxe's own identity and spirituality. Foxe liberated the blade from a Turkish house, and although it no longer had the traditional components of a weapon, he was able to use the blade to defeat his heathen enemy. Likewise Foxe escaped from the Turkish prison, but although he was forced to blend into and cooperate with his captor's societal standards, his core identity as a Christian and an English sailor remained untarnished. Able to strike back after so many years of captivity, this blow was not meant to be viewed as the heartless slaughter of an unarmed man, but vengeance of Christendom, and in particular the English role, for years of suffering under intolerable cruelties.

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The men's time abroad and experiences with foreign cultures was not left in the countries they departed. John Foxe, for example, became a sort of celebrity within Europe for his daring defiance of his Turkish captors. Before returning to England to laud and honor, Foxe was hosted by the Pope and the king of Spain. [51] Printed travelogues allowed their landsmen counterparts, as well as modern readers, how the mariners an insight into other facets of the English maritime

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[50] "The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe," in *PN*, 5:158.
[51] "The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe," in *PN*, 5:164.

culture brought to light by the mariners' travels. Snader argued that captivity narratives created anxieties within the English public because the state of captivity "created a sense of cultural imbalance." [52] The cultural imbalance Snader referred to can be seen in the reaction of English landsmen to the realization that captive mariners saw their outward expression of their "English" identities a flexible trait. Despite that, an underlying tension exists within those travelogues concerning how the maritime captives were to reconcile their core cultural and religious foundations with the necessity of survival. This comes across most clearly in Elizabethan captivity narratives. These documents emphasized the cultural and physical triumph of English Christians against their heathen captures, carefully highlighting those victories to bolster their audience's belief in the strength of the Christian religion and the integrity of the English identity. [53]

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[52] Snader, *Caught Between Worlds*, 63.
[53] Snader, *Caught Between Worlds*, 63. Joe Snader makes a similar argument about captivity narratives ranging from the late 1500s to the early 1700s.

Chapter III

'The Lost Flock *Triumphant*': The Wreck of the *Sea Venture* in the Bermudas

For the islands of the Bermudas, [afford] nothing but gusts, storms, and foul weather,
which made every navigator and mariner to avoid them as Scylla and Charybdis,
or as they would shun the Devil himself...
- Silvester Jourdain, *A Discovery of the Bermudas, Otherwise Called the Isle of Devils* [54]

The Bermudas were a desolate and menacing place in the imaginations of early modern

Elizabethans. The islands received their name from the Spanish explorer Juan de Bermudez who

officially discovered the islands in 1503. The Bermudas, however, was left without a permanent

settlement until 1612. [55] Throughout the sixteenth century, the Bermudas gained an increasingly

unpleasant reputation as an island of untold magic, devilry, and peril for passing ships. Many

Spanish, Portuguese, and English ships sailed past the small chain of islands on their way to

Central America or to the West Indies. The history of Bermuda and the English began with

shipwrecks and castaways. In 1593, Henry May accidentally became the first English mariner to

land in the Bermudas. May had just been saved by a French ship from being stranded on another

island himself, and was on his return journey to Europe. When the ship's navigators drunkenly

miscalculated their distance from the Bermudas, the ship wrecked off the island chain. For five

months, May and twenty-six other survivors lived as castaways on the islands while constructing

a small ship for their escape. [56]

Printed in the second edition of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, May's voyage became

famous and was later mentioned in connection with the next English experience with the

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[54] Silvester Jourdain, "A Discovery of the Bermudas, A Voyage to Virginia" in *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609: Two Narratives.* Louis B. Wright, ed. (Charlottesville, VA: Published for the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities by the University Press of Virginia, 1965), 108.
[55] Jean Kennedy, *Isle of Devils: Bermuda under the Somers Island Company, 1609-168* (London: William Collins Sons & Co Ltd in association with Baxter's, Hamilton, Bermuda, 1971), 18, 21; Henry C. Wilkinson, *The Adventurers of Bermuda* 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 24.
[56] Henry May, "May's Narrative," in *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies, 1591-1603,* edited by William Foster (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1940), 25-28.

Bermudas: the wreck of the *Sea Venture*. This experience was very different from the first. Among the passengers and crew of the *Sea Venture* were two distinct groups: men and women ready to begin their lives as English colonists, and the mariners manning the ship whose only purpose was to ferry the colonists to their new home. Almost as soon as the survivors of the *Sea Venture* wreck crawled ashore, there was a significant conflict of interest between the mariners and the prospective Virginian colonists, the root of which lay in the fundamental difference of opinion between English sailors and landsmen.

Whereas May was stranded for only five months, it took the survivors of the *Sea Venture* nine months to escape the island. Several factors may have contributed to this difference. First, May was stranded with only twenty-six other people, while every person on the *Sea Venture* survived its wreck; the *Sea Venture* castaway community was initially comprised of 150 people. The increased number of opinions undoubtedly provided by the large number of people could have slowed the decision process and the execution of ideas. Second, May was the only Englishman on the French ship, "a stranger among 50 and odde Frenchmen and others." [57] There was not a single foreigner, at least not one mentioned by either Strachey or Jourdain, on the *Sea Venture*. The 1609 castaway community was comprised mostly, if not entirely, of English men and women, not all of whom, reasonably, had any shipbuilding experience. The third, and perhaps most important, difference was that May and the Frenchmen had a common goal, to return as quickly as possible to Europe, unlike the survivors of the *Sea Venture*. [58]

The differences between May's time in the Bermudas and the *Sea Venture* castaways' are mentioned here because they demonstrate the value of the latter as a case study for examining the historical significance of the events described in the first two chapters. Within this island space,

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[57] May, "May's Narrative," in *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, 28.
[58] If any dissention arose between the twenty-seven men while on the island, it was not significant enough for May to mention in his memoir.

it was necessary for the mariners and their landsmen compatriots to directly face the consequences of the profound differences between English land and maritime culture. Sailors understood that, as an inherent risk of their occupation, they might be stranded in foreign lands. It was generally the case, however, that they were stranded among a culture very different from their own. The survivors of the *Sea Venture* present an exception to this general rule, because in the Bermudas the only other people on the island were other English men and women. The views of landsmen and mariners often differed, be it about the symbolic importance of a ship or how flexible their English identities were when their own survival was at stake. The events that took place during the nine months the castaways were in the Bermudas were the direct result of the meeting of these two English subcultures. These incidents highlighted the fact that English mariners were more willing to place their English identities second in line to their own interests, lives, and happiness.

Earlier, this thesis discussed the independent and slightly detached nature and customs of the English maritime community. The effects of this culture were examined in the writings of English merchants and mariners who were stranded or held as captives in alien societies. In Bermuda, English mariners and landsmen were forced to live and work closely together to ensure their survival. The events that occurred during their time on the small island chain further illuminates the tensions between English landsmen and mariners. Were the ideological and practical differences between the two groups too broad to overcome? An early mutiny began with the murmurings of dissenting mariners, whose interests differed from those of Sir Thomas Gates, appointed governor of Jamestown, and the would-be Virginia colonists. Eventually, the castaways split into two groups, one led by mariner Sir George Somers and the other by the Sir Thomas Gates.

The Mariners' Revolt

Some dangerous and secret discontents nourished amoungst us
had like to have been the parents of bloody issues and mischiefs.
       - William Strachey, "A True Reportory" [59]

Jamestown was floundering. It was more successful than the initial English colony of Roanoke only in that it had not disappeared without a trace. In 1608, a convoy of ships set off from Plymouth, England, bound for Jamestown to provide supplies to the struggling colonists in Virginia. The passengers and crew on the *Sea Venture* included Sir Thomas Gates, future governor of the Jamestown colony (Figure 2); Sir George Somers, a mariner and the admiral of the fleet sailing to Jamestown (Figures 3 and 4); William Strachey, who became Jamestown's secretary upon his arrival in Virginia; and Silvester Jourdain, an English merchant. [60]

En route to America, the ships encountered a storm and were separated from one another. The fleet's flagship, the *Sea Venture*, was blown off course and sank on the reefs off a small island chain (Figure 1). For nine months, the *Sea Venture* castaways survived on the island until they could build two sound boats to continue their interrupted journey to Jamestown. Two written accounts of the wreck of the *Sea Venture* appeared shortly after some of the survivors returned to England. Silvester Jourdain's account was published upon his return to England in 1610 for bookseller Robert Barnes. Fifteen years later, William Strachey's version of events was published in letter form in Samuel Purchas' *Hakluyt Posthumous, or Purchas Pilgrims*. [61] The

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[59] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, 40.

[60] Wesley Frank Craven, "An Introduction to the History of Bermuda, I: Bermuda's Place in the New World of the Seventeenth Century" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Second Series, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April, 1937): 182-183; John Fisk, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours* Vol. I (Boston: Houghten Mifflin Company, 1897), 169; Louis B. Wright, "Introduction," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, xiii.

[61] Wright, "Introduction," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, x, xviii. While there are a lot of problems with using Strachey as a source, especially considering that he was obviously a biased source (he was an aspiring politician) and leaves many details foggy. Despite that, his narrative is still a valuable source to help illuminate and illustrate larger trends that existed in the time period about which he wrote.

wreck of *Sea Venture* rose to fame after the publication of these two reports, which revealed the events that unfolded during survivors' unintentional sojourn on the islands.

After all of the passengers and crew made it safely ashore, both accounts recorded the surprise the survivors felt when they discovered they were in the Bermudas. Throughout the sixteenth century, the numerous ship wrecks around the island chain led to its reputation as the "Devil's Islands [that] are feared and avoided of all sea travelers alive above any other place in the world." [62] Once the castaways had recovered from their terrifying ordeal, they found the islands pleasant despite their ignominious reputation. From Strachey's report, Sir Thomas Gates became the apparent leader of the band of castaways. When the *Sea Venture* became lodged between two rocks off the coast of one of the islands, the vessel remained there long enough for her crew to retrieve numerous provisions from her hold as well as salvage rigging and iron to build a new ship. [63] A seasoned soldier and statesman, Gates led the efforts to begin building a vessel for their escape. Discord, however, soon arose. The Mariners' Revolt highlights the differing priorities of the larger English merchant and mariner community and the would-be English colonists. For the mariners, only the endeavors that affected their health and well-being directly were viewed as a worthy of their support.

In the eyes of a band of sailors, the beautiful and bountiful Bermudas were a far better option than a small colony in the wilds of Virginia. Within less than two months, the first rumblings against Sir Thomas Gates began. Gates led the castaways' efforts to build a small boat from the remains of the *Sea Venture* in order to continue their journey to Virginia, but his decisions not only affected the would-be colonists, but the mariners as well. Because of the storm and the destruction of all of the ships in the convoy, including the *Sea Venture*, the sailors

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[62] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia,* 16.
[63] Jourdain, "The Discovery of the Bermudas," in *A Voyage to Virginia,* 105-107.

had no idea when they would return to England. Since they had to be thousands of miles away from friends and family, the mariners began to think that place they should settle where they had "the least outward wants the while." [64] But every crewmember and passenger on the *Sea Venture* knew the ship's intended mission. The Virginian colony of Jamestown was failing, so much so that supplies and new colonists were needed from England as soon as was humanly possible. Whereas Virginia was a land of "wretchedness and labor," Bermuda's fish, hogs, and vegetation must have begun to look increasingly favorable. [65] Gates, hoping to take his place within the colony's government and to be seen as the colony's savior, was desperate to leave the Bermudas. Unhappy with Gates' command, "dangerous and secret discontents" began blossoming among the sailors.

Although the movement was numerically small, the mariners held a great influence over the fate of Gates' dream of one day reaching Virginia. After gathering together, the mutineers decided to take action. Soon, the sailors won other would-be colonists to their cause through what Strachey described as "false baits." Their supporters included some influential landsmen among the castaways, whom Strachey left unnamed; a blow to Gates' authority as colonial governor of sorts. [66] To protest, the six main dissenters boldly announced that they would not help to continue to build the small escape boat. [67] The loss of those men was sorely felt since they had convinced a smith and a carpenter to abandon their work on the vessel as well. Unwilling to let anything stand in the way of good order and discipline and eager to take his position in Jamestown, Gates quickly dealt with the mutiny and its organizers. As a punishment,

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[64] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia,* 41.
[65] Jourdain, "The Discovery of the Bermudas," in *A Voyage to Virginia,* 108-109. Jourdain noted that there was enough food in the Bermudas that the survivors of the *Sea Venture* could stay on the islands for nine months even though "all our provisions of bread, beer, and victual" were ruined by the sea water.
[66] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia,* 40-41.
[67] This boat is referred to in the text as a "pinnace."

Gates banished the mutineers to a life on the islands, the very place they wished to remain. Thus banished, the six men were exiled to another island, although the smith and the carpenter were pardoned and allowed to stay with the colony because of their useful skills. [68] Gates dealt quickly and efficiently with the mutiny and the work on the pinnace continued without the mutineers.

The men's exile was not the beginning of a permanent colony, however. The exile did not come as an unforeseen circumstance to the mutineers. While the mariners plotted, they made contingency plans to separate from the rest of the castaways and live on another island should their mutiny fail to convince enough of the landsmen to resist Gates and halt the shipbuilding process. Strachey did not make it clear whether the mariners followed their contingency plan or not, but the men did leave the castaway community for an unspecified amount of time. The mutineers did not take into consideration, however, the discomfort that they would encounter because they no longer had access to the store of supplies that was rescued from the *Sea Venture* before it sank. [69]

When describing the return of the mariners to the castaway community, Strachey offered two reasons for their repentance; the first was the "missed comfort [of those men] (who were far removed from our store)." [70] One of their motivations, he says, was to make their own lives more comfortable. In light of the knowledge that captive sailors would integrate into their captors' society if the option gave them a better life in captivity, it is not a surprise to think that, while in the Bermudas mariners would take actions to make themselves more comfortable. They would not let differences in opinion or beliefs get in the way long enough to hurt their state of well-

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[68] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia,* 42.

[69] Strachey did not make it clear whether what the exiles faced while away from the rest of the castaways was only discomfort or an actual difficulty eking out their survival on an island chain they themselves described as bountiful. This is one of the many interesting details that Strachey, writing after being away from the Bermudas for a time, did not remember to indulge while writing or forgot about altogether.

[70] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia,* 43.

being. That reason, however, was obviously not what Strachey hoped to highlight about the mariners' return, since it only took up one line of text.

For the second reason for the mariners' return, Strachey chose to play up a prettier, more idealized version of the mariners and their objectives for forgiveness. This was, undoubtedly, to cater to his audience. He attributed their change of heart to "the society of their acquaintance," who convinced the outlaws to petition to return to the company of castaways:

> besides, the society of their acquaintance had wrought in some of them, if not a loathsomeness of their offense, yet a sorrow that their complement was not more dull and therefore a weariness of their being thus untimely [outlawed].... [71]

This was version that Strachey thought would comfort the readers of his adventurous travelogue in the years to come, not his true opinion. Strachey seemed wary of the men. His tone makes it clear he did not trust them at all and saw the mariners as entirely manipulative as they practiced their "false baits" and "seeming sorrow." [72] He evidentially went out of his way to (thinly) whitewash his opinion the questionable actions of the mariners for his readers' sake. Despite their displeasure with the mariners, the colonists and Gates were willing to take the repentant mariners back into the flock, much like Kellet forgiving the mariner who "turned Turk." In landsmen's eyes, sailors remained integral to the English population and culture. The significance of the exiled mariners' return was not about the completion of the boat, they had other men for that. It was about the mariners' choice to return to the community of the English landsmen. Strachey seemed to be aware of the longing within his fellow countrymen and women for a story of the cultural links between landsmen and mariners which would overcome the personal motivations that drove the revolt.

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[71] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, 43.
[72] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, 40, 43.

While in the Bermudas, the sailors expressed their dislike of the way Gates governed their actions in the best way they knew how – through a mutiny. Although mutiny was the most-used method by which mariners expressed their differing opinion to their landsmen compatriots, there are other non-mutiny instances where soldiers or landsmen and mariners' wishes were seen to clash. In their travels throughout the early modern period, the travelogues written by English merchants and mariners make their belief in their identity as English citizens clear. Between sixteenth century exploration and the beginning of English colonization in North America, however, the mariners' understanding of their Englishness did not necessarily translate into supporting the colonization efforts of their English compatriots.

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Further Incarnations of the Tensions between Landsmen and Mariners

The broken remainder of those supplies made a greater shipwreck in the continent of Virginia by the tempest of dissention: every men, overvaluing his own worth, would be commander; every man, underprizing another's value, denied to be commanded...
  - Sir Thomas Gates, *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony in Virginia* [73]

The Mariners' Revolt was not an event caused by circumstances particular to the situation in the Bermudas. The roots of the revolt lay within the larger trends of antagonism between English soldiers/landsmen and mariners, as well as the driving self-interest of the maritime men, during the Elizabethan period. The following instances can illuminate the tensions between the two subcultures which existed years before the wreck of the *Sea Venture*, while castaways were still in the Bermudas, and finally within the newly founded Jamestown colony.

The natural antagonism between Elizabethan soldiers and sailors flared when one group was perceived to have hindered the interests and opportunities of the other. In 1596, Robert

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[73] Sir Thomas Gates, *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony in Virginia* quoted by William Strachey in "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, 96. Wright believes that this passage was placed in "A True Reportory" after it was published by Purchas because Gates' *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony in Virginia* was not recorded in the Stationer's Record until 8 November 1610, too late for Strachey to have used it in his original letter.

Devereux, the Earl of Essex, was sent as the head of the English army to fight in Spain. His mission: conduct joint operations with the English naval force led by Sir Charles Howard. English forces won the battle, but while English soldiers began to loot the city, their maritime counterparts had to sit bitterly by and watch as the Spanish set their richly laden merchants vessels on fire, sending all of the navy's potential plunder to the bottom of the harbor. Howard and his fellow sailors were outraged at losing their spoils and paralleled the soldiers' good fortune with robbing not only themselves but also the queen of a fair share of the mission's profit. The relation between Essex and Howard was already strained at the beginning of the battle, but it completely deteriorated after the "maldistribution of spoils" between the Elizabethan army and navy. [74] Paul Hammer argues that this inequality and the existing rivalry between the general, Essex, and the admiral, Howard, contributed to the political circus and financial "witch-hunt" that followed the battle. The ramifications of this fallout, he says, were still felt when English forces returned to Cadiz in 1625. [75] Throughout the early modern period, contemporaries recorded the rivalries between landsmen and mariners.

In some cases, the tension was alleviated once both groups parted ways, where as some conflicts had farther reaching consequences. The fallout of the 1596 capture of Cadiz illustrates the conflicting interests of Gates and Somers that would follow while the Englishmen and women were in the Bermudas. After the Mariners' Revolt was over, the castaway community was not free from conflict. Strachey soon reported that Gates and the admiral, Sir George Somers, had parted ways. Two months after the Revolt, Somers suddenly requested to take two carpenters from Gates' company and go to another island to build a second vessel after observing that the little boat they sent out to Virginia right after the wreck was unlikely to have survived

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[74] Paul E.J. Hammer, "Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596" *The Historical Journal* Vol. 40, No. 3 (September 1997): 623-624.
[75] Hammer, "Myth-Making," 624, 641.

the voyage to Jamestown. Somers left along with the larger group with some twenty-two men (who seem, from Strachey's description, to be mostly sailors) to another small island (Appendix I). Their goal: to build a second seaworthy vessel to transport the Bermudian castaways to Virginia. [76]

Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were two faces of the same coin. They held almost equal powers of command and authority in their respective areas of governance. While the supply convoy was at sea, Somers was the admiral in charge of all of the ships and their crews. Gates, however, was appointed by the Virginia Company as its chosen governor-elect for the Jamestown colony. If Somers was the nonpareil commander of the mariners aboard the *Sea Venture* and Gates was appointed to be the leader of the colonists, which of these men were the castaways supposed to observe as the senior authority figure on the island? This question not only arose among the castaway community, but it became a bone of contention between the two men. The conflict between Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers emphasized the often contradictory interests and opinions of seafaring and land-based Englishmen.

Although the rift between Somers and Gates is often discussed by historians researching the wreck of the *Sea Venture,* they leave their analysis within the confines of Bermuda and Virginia rather than tying it into larger trends of the period. Kieran Doherty suggests that the many mutinies were rooted in a power struggle between Gates and Somers. He speculates that Gates considered himself a more adept leader for the band of castaways while on the island; he was, after all, Jamestown's governor-elect. Somers, away from the sea, his area of expertise, was expected to defer to Gates. [77] Lorri Glover and Daniel B. Smith present the issue as one fueled by personality differences and a natural rivalry between sea and land commanders. They argue that

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[76] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia,* 55.
[77] Kieran Doherty, *Sea Venture: Shipwreck, Survival, and the Salvation of the first English Colony in the New World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007), 78.

Gates' fervor for escape was driven the aggressive mindset of an army commander and an eagerness to assert the authority appropriate for an official governor of Jamestown. Somers, on the other hand, removed from command at sea, was patient and held a natural curiosity about the islands the English mariners and colonists temporarily inhabited. [78] None of those scholars frame the argument between the two men as a result of landsmen-mariner tensions. I suggest that, while that may not have been the reason behind this feud, the traditional tensions between landsmen and mariners helped to exacerbate the conflict.

Contemporary Nathaniel Butler acknowledged the tensions between Gates and Somers and wrote in his *Historye of the Bermudaes* that "the sea and land commandours being alienated one from another (a qualetye over common to the English) and falne into jealousies, thought it better to direct their efforts from different places." [79] Although he was not on the island to record the tensions, his insight should not be summarily dismissed because of his good fortune. [80] Even through their references to Gates and Somers, William Strachey, a politician and landsman by occupation, and Silvester Jourdain, a merchant, indicate their preference for one of the two commanders. Jourdain is unreserved in his praise of Somers' brave and noble exploits. From Jourdain's pen, Somers is presented as a "man inured to extremities" and "willing to do service unto his prince and country without any respect of his own private gain." Gates is only mentioned twice – once as "our governor" and once as "our general." Jourdain's remarks about Gates are hardly stirring praise considering his opinion of Somers. [81] On the other hand, Strachey continuously refers to Gates as "our governor" and highlights his leniency with the instigators of

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[78] Lorri Glover, *The Shipwreck that Saved Jamestown: The* Sea Venture *Castaways and the Fate of America* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2008), 139, 142, 155-156, 159.

[79] Nathaniel Butler, "Introduction" from *Historye of the Bermudaes* (published for the first time by the Hakluyt Society in 1882) quoted in Wilkinson, *The Adventurers of Bermuda*, 49.

[80] *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (abbreviated in footnotes as *ODNB*) "Butler, Nathaniel (*b.* 1577, *d.* in or after 1643)," Andrew Thrush. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2958 (accessed January 13, 2012).

[81] Jourdain, "The Discovery of the Bermudas," in *A Voyage to Virginia,* 109, 115-116.

the multiple mutinies that occured during the castaways' time on the island. [82] Although neither

Strachey nor Jourdain offer any overtly negative opinion of Somers or Gates, their writing

indicates their partiality towards a certain commander – an opinion which parallels their

occupational backgrounds as a political figure and a merchant, respectively. [83] While neither

Strachey nor Jourdain explicitly said that there was a feud between Gates and Somers, the

following incident that occurred while in the Bermudas leaves no doubt of the power struggle

between the men.

When Gates tried to bring justice to a mariner who murdered one of his fellow shipmates,

Somers and other members of the *Sea Venture*'s crew banded together to remove the murderer

from Gates' authority. Strachey reported that Edward Samuel, a sailor was "villainously killed"

by another mariner named Robert Waters, soon after the Englishmen arrived in the Bermudas.

Waters was caught and sentenced to be hanged the next day. During the night, some of Waters'

fellow shipmates rescued him from custody "in despite and distain that justice should be showed

upon a sailor and that one of their crew should be an example to others…" [84] The murderer and

his accomplices then fled into the woods. Later, Somers would mediate negotiations with Gates,

resulting in a postponement of Waters' trial. [85] True to form, Strachey did not go into detail

about the tensions between the two men, but one can reasonably guess at its presence during this

mediation between Gates and Somers was not a pleasant one. Waters was a murderer sentenced

to die under Gates' command. To have sailors, men who obeyed Somers, so blatantly rescue

Waters from his fate must have been an unpleasant surprise to Gates. To add salt to the wound,

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[82] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, 10, 28, 43.
[83] *ODNB*, s.v. "Jourdain, Silvester (*bap.* 1565, d. 1650?)," John C. Appleby.
http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15142 (accessed March 26, 2012); *ODNB*, s.v. "Strachey, William (1517-1621)," Betty Wood. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26623 (accessed March 26, 2012).
[84] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, 53-55.
[85] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, 55.

Somers became involved in what it is clear Gates' believed to be his realm of authority. Neither Strachey nor Jourdain mentioned the outcome Waters' delayed trial. This narrative is indicative of tensions between the sea and land commanders in the Bermudas. This is made clear in the story as Gates and Somers involved themselves in what the other commander would have considered his own authoritative realm. When the castaways finally left the Bermudas on May 10, 1610, in the small boats they constructed from the remains of the *Sea Venture*, one would think that the antagonism that flourished between all ranks of landsmen and mariners would have remained on the islands. [86] That was, unluckily for the Jamestown colonists, not the case.

Between sixteenth century exploration and the beginning of English colonization in North America, mariners' understanding of their maritime English identity did not necessarily translate into supporting the colonization efforts of their English compatriots. When the *Sea Venture* castaways reached Virginia, they found the colony poor, near starving, and maintaining a tenuous relationship with the local Indian tribe. Once the sailors from the *Sea Venture* arrived, they saw their opportunity to make some extra money by selling goods at discounted prices to the Indians. The colonists were shocked by the "misgovernment," "villainy and mischief" of the mariners, whose covert nighttime trades with the Indians subverted any trading the Jamestown colonists tried to open with the Indians in the daytime. [87]

The mariners' insubordinate, self-interested trade with the Indians, coupled with Gates' experiences in the Bermudas, left a tangible mark on some of the earliest laws passed in the Jamestown colony. Sir Thomas Gates became governor of Jamestown in 1611, a year after his arrival from the Bermudas. To reign in the disorderly mariners and colonists, Gates and his

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[86] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, 35-38, 54, 58. The number of castaways on the island of Bermuda was depleted by the following: an early attempt to send word of the wreck to Jamestown (8 dead); a murder (1 dead); those who died of natural causes (3 dead); and two men who deserted both parties of castaways and decided to live out the rest of their lives on the islands.
[87] Strachey, "A True Reportory," in *A Voyage to Virginia*, 72-73.

marshal, Sir Thomas Dale, proclaimed martial law within the colony. The newly enacted laws and regulations were known as the *Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall.* [88] Within these severe regulations, one can see the mark made by his time with the mariners. Of the thirty-odd laws, three laws were aimed specifically towards the "covetous and wide affections of some greedy and ill disposed Seamen, Saylors, and Marriners..." [89] Gates very clearly viewed the sailors' actions as inhibiting the growth and wellbeing of the colony he was entrusted to govern and protect. These laws, coupled with the events in the Bermudas, indicate that English mariners and landsmen were aware of the value differences between the two subcultures. Mariners valued their lives and wellbeing, an interest that clashed in the early days of colonization with the interests of early colonizers like Sir Thomas Gates.

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Early modern English soldiers and sailors did not often cooperate well with one another and, when the two communities were required to accommodate each other in close quarters, they did so uneasily. This tenuous relationship between the seafaring men and landsmen significantly impacted the events during the early years of English colonization. While in the Bermudas, the mariners, either as mutineers or, through banding together with Sir George Somers, indicated that the independent nature was still alive within the maritime community. After the Mariners' Revolt, the divided leadership between Gates and Somers undoubtedly slowed the escape of the castaways from the Bermudas. Finally, the English mariners understood their place as English citizens but did not see a conflict of interest if they continued to pursue their own business

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[88] Warren M. Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Williamsburg, VA: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 1975), 7.

[89] William Strachey, comp. "Excerpts from the *Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall*" (1611) quoted in *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century*, 30-31.

transactions with Native Americans rather than acting solely with the benefit of Jamestown in mind.

Conclusion

...I have sailed through the Levant seas every way, and have been in all the chief islands within the same sea...
I have sailed far northward within the mare glaciale, where we have had continual day...
I have sailed over the Caspian Sea, and discovered all the regions thereabout adjacent...
And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine own house....
- Anthony Jenkinson, "The names of countries Anthony Jenkinson travelled unto" [90]

The English maritime identity and how English merchants and mariners articulated it was a continuous point of conflict for the Elizabethans. The maritime industries were essential to sustain the English economy, first by finding new markets for English textiles and then through the flourishing of the English shipbuilding community. Unfortunately, English mariners did not view their occupation and occupational tools with the same symbolic significance. They lived a difficult life and they were not men who often romanticized danger.

One of the hazards of their travels was the risk of being captured by the enemy, be they Spanish soldiers or Turkish sailors. Because English mariners were practical men, they did whatever they could to survive if they were held captive or made a galley slave. The sailors had already removed themselves geographically and objectively from the rest of English society. But survival meant integration into their captor's societies, a third distance from the rest of English society. Even a partial assimilation into a foreign society caused English landsmen to fear that the maritime captives to become forever lost to England and Christendom. The sailors' experiences in captivity, however, had the opposite effect than the landsmen expected: captive mariners readily and extravagantly proclaimed their Englishness and Christian values in their travelogues.

The uneasy coexistence of the viewpoints of English landsmen and mariners came to a head when circumstances forced the two groups to cooperate in the Bermudas. When back

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[90] Jenkinson, Anthony. "The names of countries Anthony Jenkinson travelled unto" in Richard Hakluyt's *Voyages and Discoveries: The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation,* ed. Jack Breeching (London: Penguin Books, 1972), 158-159.

within a community of other Englishmen and women, the mariners could once again act in their own best interests without having to defend their decisions to their fellow countrymen. This progression of tensions, from their onset in England, formation in reaction to captivity narratives, and culmination in the widening Atlantic world, indicates that the Elizabethan and early Stewart period was a time when the English maritime identity was a distinct entity all of its own, free from any nationalistic or imperial endeavors.

The Elizabethan era was widely considered the foundation on which the British Empire was built. One of the oldest institutions in the world, the British Empire has a history that spans five centuries and a geographical footprint that marked the "largest territorial empire in world history." [91] Until the Empire's disintegration after World War Two, Great Britain and its territories were a force to be reckoned with. [92] By the time of the collapse of the British Empire, it was the widely accepted view that the Empire was, and had always been a Protestant, commercial, and maritime Empire built around the foundations that Queen Elizabeth I and her sailors had created. [93] In later years, the British would view their vast land Empire as one nation sustained by its maritime character. The importance of the sea and the ships that conveyed Englishmen and women abroad is demonstrated in an illustration of the various flags and shields of the British colonies and territories (Figure 5, for details see Figure 6). Of the sixteen images, almost half prominently displayed a ship, emphasizing the importance of this maritime community. [94] The goal of this thesis was to discover the origins of this national maritime

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[91] Jane Samson, ed. *Oxford Readers: The British Empire* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2001), 1.
[92] Darwin, John. "Britain's Empire" in *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives* Ed. Sarah Stockwell (Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, 2008), 18.
[93] Armitage, David. "The Elizabethan Idea of Empire" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6, Vol. 14 (2004), 8; Rodger, N.A.M. "Queen Elizabeth and the Myth of Sea-Power in English History" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Sixth Series, Vol. 14 (2004), 153.
[94] The top section is comprised of colonies and territories that were in or by Canada and the bottom half were those colonies or territories located in the Caribbean, with the exception of Newfoundland.

identity and how idea was or was not articulated in early modern travelogues and voyage documentations.

What I uncovered was an interesting tension between English landsmen and English merchants and mariners. The landsmen's view of the English maritime culture was more along the lines of what is popularly known today. They lauded the seafaring men, put ship building on a pedestal, and feared instances when it seemed like English sailors were abandoning the national identity of which the landsmen were so proud. Alternatively, however, mariners demonstrated in their voyage narratives that their main interest were the endeavors that ensured they would one day return to England. Early modern travelogues and narratives demonstrate that the closely knit relationship between the land and sea elements of England were not yet at a point where their interests and ideals neatly coincided. The English nation who Anna Suranyi argued "shared interests, shared destinies, and a common frame of reference" as a unified whole would not appear until later in the seventeenth century. English seafarers and landsmen in the Elizabethan and early Stuart period did not see "themselves speaking with the same voice." [95] The voice of merchants and mariners as documented in travel narratives articulate the existence of an English maritime identity which was still distinct from any other during this time.

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[95] Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark, Delware: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 39.

Appendices

Appendix A
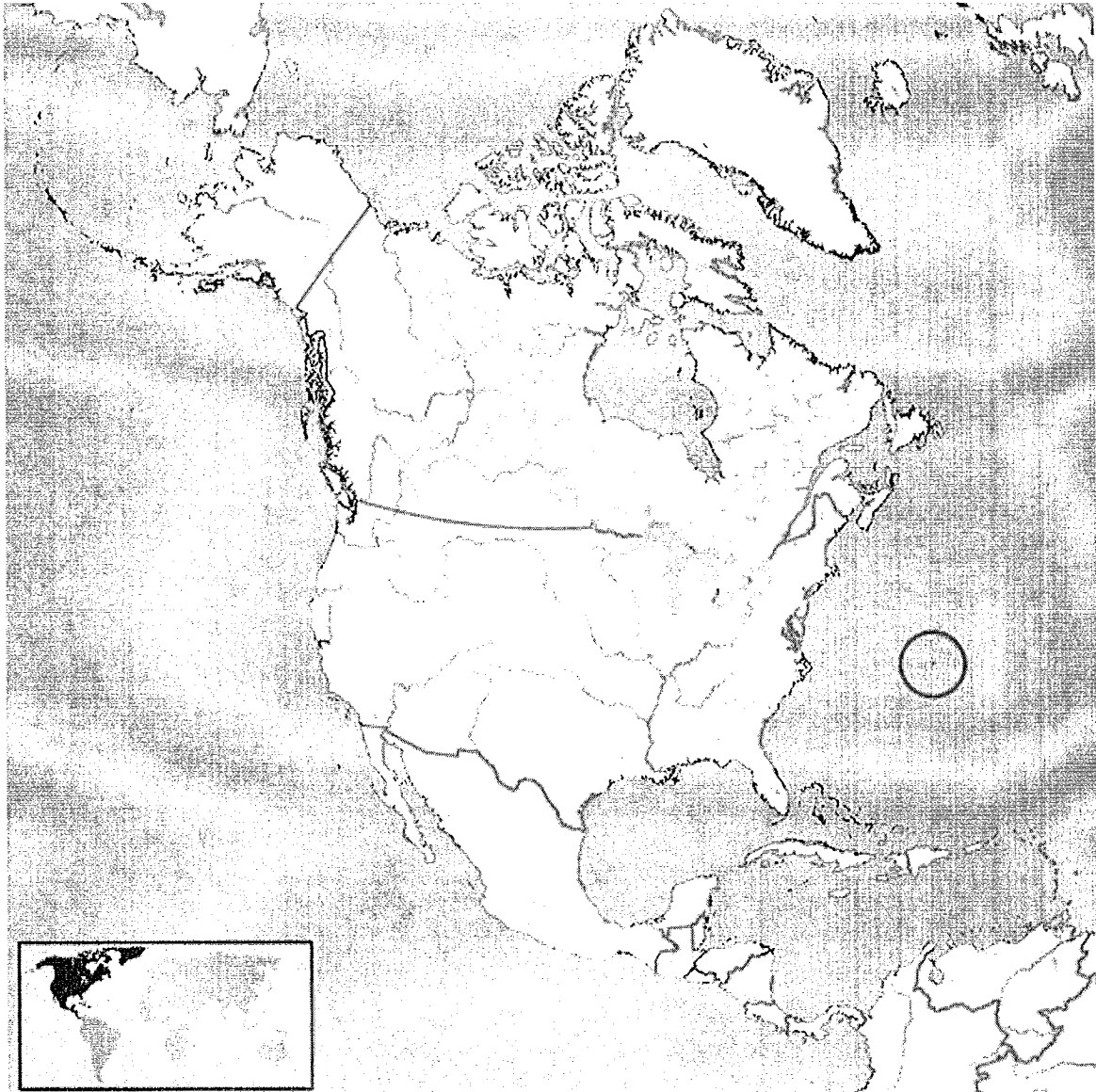
Maps and Illustrations

Figure 1: Bermuda, or the Somers Isles (red circle)

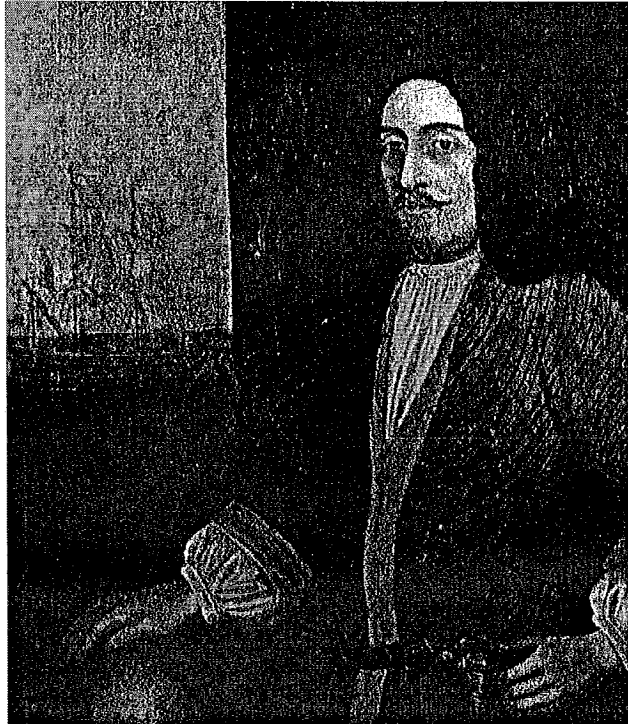Figure 2: Sir Thomas Gates

Figure 3: Sir George Somers by Paul van Somer, c. 17th century
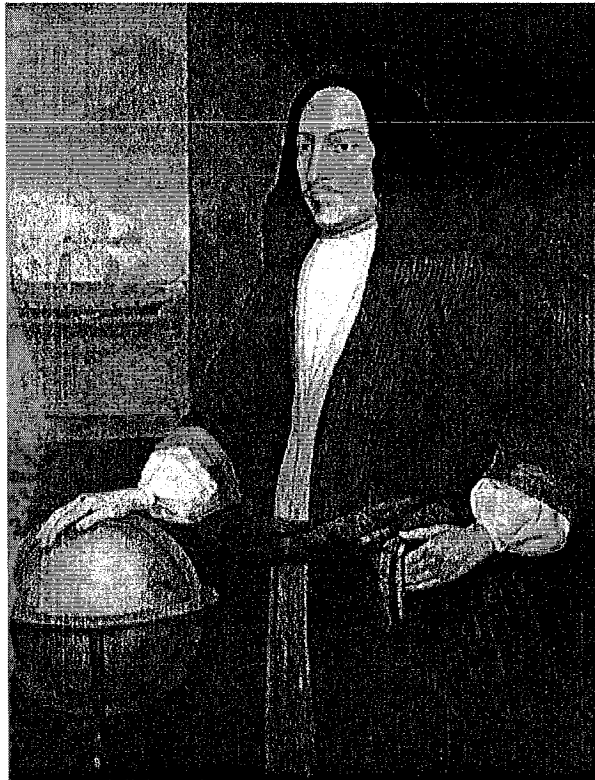

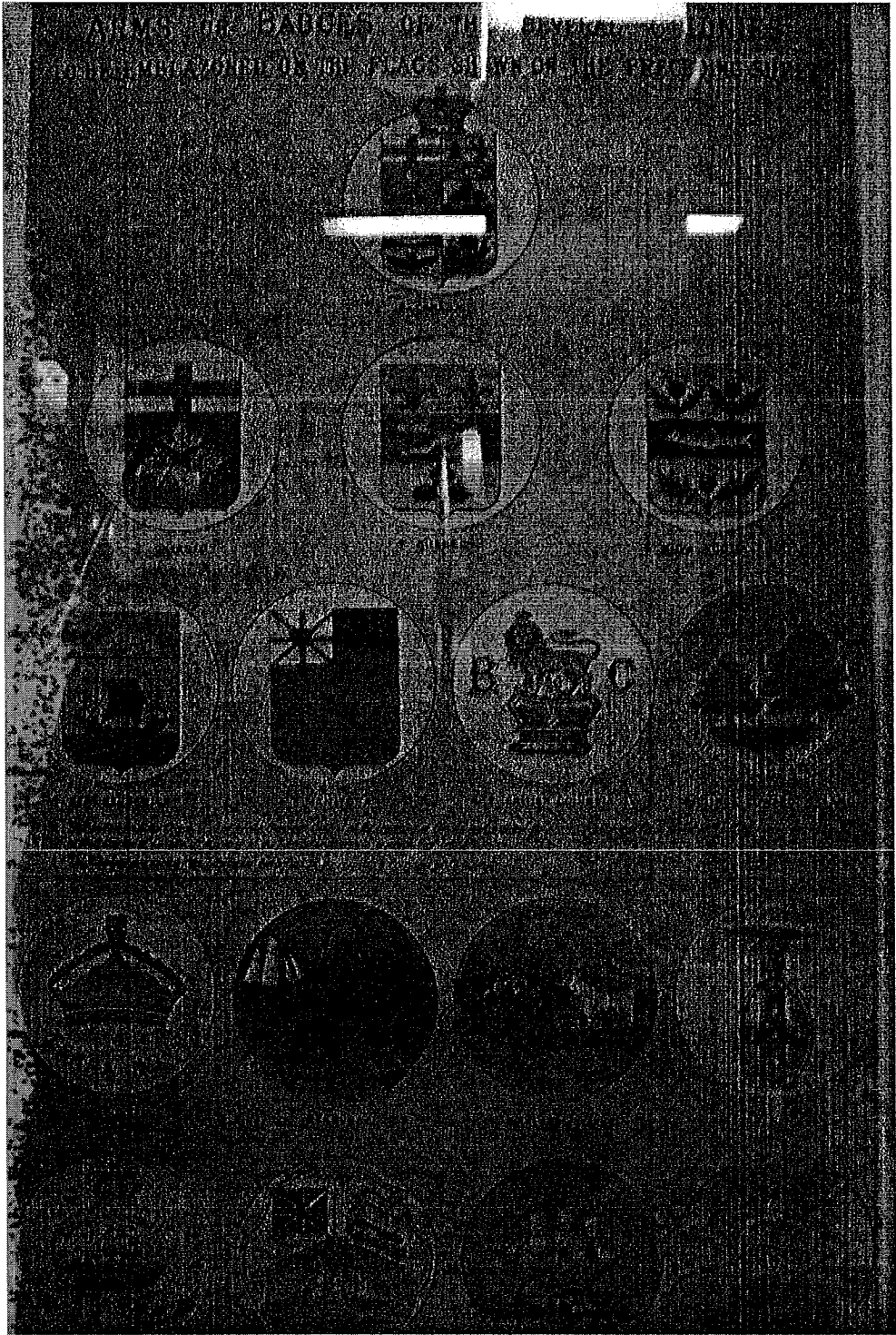Figure 4: Sir George Somers by Charles X. Harris, 1930

Figure 5: An Illustration of Shields and Flags of Various British Overseas Colonies and Territories (undated). The British National Archives, TNA: CO 325/54, personal photograph of a scanned Copy.
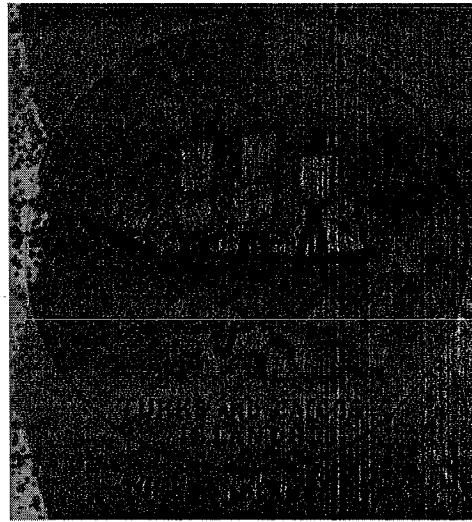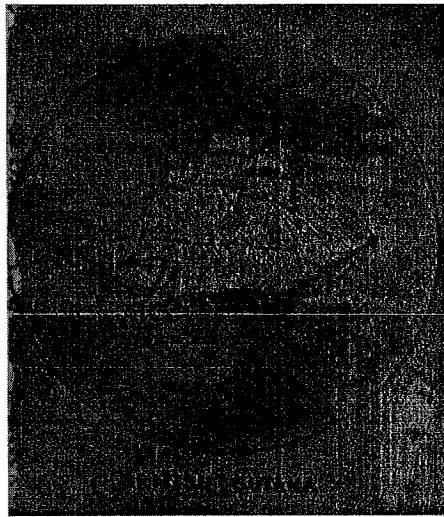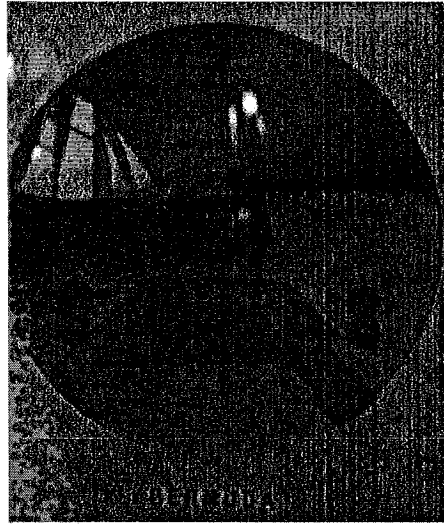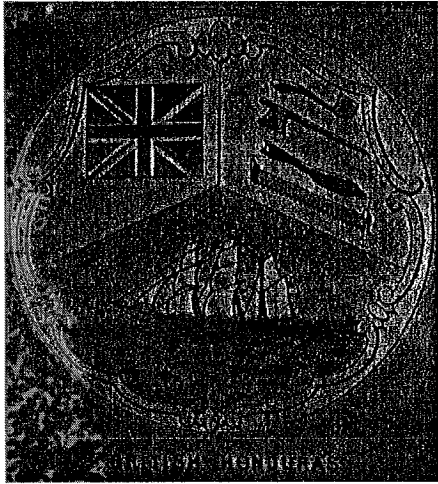
Figure 6: Details from An Illustration of Shields and Flags of Various British Overseas Colonies and Territories.

Appendix B

A Timeline of the Bermudas

1503	Juan de Bermudez discovers the Bermudas
1515	Bermudez returns with Gonzolo Fernandez d'Orviedoy in an attempt to land hogs on the island, but weather prevented him to do so, using the Ship *La Garza*.
1526	Gonzolo Fernandez d'Orviedoy Valdes wrote an account of a Portuguese vessel on its way to Portugal from San Domingo which was wrecked on the reefs of Bermuda. They built a small ship and escaped after four months
1563	Don Pedro Menendez de Avila visits the island looking for his son who was lost at sea
1593-1594	Henry May and the French ship he was passenger on strike the reefs around Bermuda and sink. He and the crew stay a number of months constructing an escape vessel. May is most likely the first Englishman to every step foot on the island.
1604	Captain Diego Ramirez and his crew are separated from their convoy of Spanish treasure ships bound for Spain and castaway on the island. It took the men 22 days to repair the ship into sailing shape for their escape.
25 Jul 1609	The wreck of the *Sea Venture*
Aug 1609	A longboat commanded by Henry Ravens and manned by seven other Englishmen departs for Virginia. They are never seen or heard from again.
01 Sept 1609	The first mutiny, begun by the mariners.
27 Nov 1609	Sir George Somers departs to build a second pinnace on the main island with 22 men.
10 May 1610	The survivors of the *Sea Venture* depart from Bermuda
24 May 1610	The passengers and crew of the *Sea Venture* arrive in Jamestown, VA.
1610	Silvester Jourdain's *A Discovery of the Bermudas, Otherwise Called the Isle of Devils* published.
1612	The first colonizing venture bound for Bermuda is undertaken
1625	William Strachey's "A true repertory of the wrecke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates Knight; upon, and from the Ilands of the Bermudas; his coming to Virginia, and the estate of that Colonie then, and after, under the government of the Lord La Warre, July 15. 1610. Written by William Strachey, Esquire" is published in Samuel Purchas' *Pilgrims*.

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