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University of Kent

School of History

**‘The World is Lately Growne’: Representing a Global
World in Early Modern English Broadside Ballads**

Duncan Frost

Supervisors: Professor Jan Loop and Professor Bernhard Klein

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
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Abstract

The early modern period witnessed large scale global expansion and interconnectivity. This thesis demonstrates that broadside ballads provide an insight into how their consumers imagined the outside world during a highly dynamic period. Through their liminal form (amalgams of tunes, texts, woodcut images and public performances), ballads created emotional communal moments which embedded their representations of the outside world in the minds of the audience. This study focuses on ballads describing non-European people and places. These constitute a minority of the total ballad corpus and have often been overlooked, or not placed into a wider, global context. By analysing representations of sailors, the dangers of the sea, the Americas, and the Islamic World, I demonstrate how the early modern global world was imagined. Ballads comment upon the outside world, emphasise the human cost of enriching the nation and were significant in the colonial enterprises of early modern joint-stock companies. They frame foreign cultures in varying and contradicting ways depending on prevailing political interests. The significance of this study is that it emphasises the ways in which the global world informed ballads and is reflected in them. By analysing ballad narratives within their cultural and production contexts, highlighting the web of connections that joins them to other literary forms, and incorporating the contemporary knowledge held by the audience, we can analyse how different works and events would have been received.

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Declaration

This thesis and the work presented is entirely my own and has not been submitted for a degree at another university or for any other award. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated; and appropriate reference is made in the footnotes and bibliography to my published article, which is based on research undertaken during the period of doctoral study.

Abbreviations

EBBA English Broadside Ballad Archive

ESTC English Short Title Catalogue

RI Hyder E. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London', *Studies in Philology*, 21:1 (1924), 1-324.

Note on Spellings

In my transcriptions of the ballads, I have retained the original spelling and capitalisations as much as possible. However, when entire words appeared capitalised in the original source, I have generally only capitalised the first letter to make the in-text quotes easier to scan. I have only retained the capitalisation or italicisation of words if I felt it was notably important to the extract.

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Introduction

This is Major Tom to Ground Control
I'm stepping through the door
And I'm floating in a most peculiar way
And the stars look very different today
For here am I sitting in a tin can
Far above the world
Planet Earth is blue
And there's nothing I can do
Though I'm past one hundred thousand miles
I'm feeling very still
And I think my spaceship knows which way to go
Tell my wife I love her very much, she knows

Ground Control to Major Tom
Your circuit's dead – there's something wrong
Can you hear me, Major Tom?
Can you hear me, Major Tom?¹

David Bowie released *Space Oddity* in July 1969. This song gave him his initial commercial breakthrough and was strategically timed to coincide with the Apollo 11 moon landing.² The song is, therefore, a product of the cultural milieu of its historical moment. Popular culture responds to, and reflects, contemporary events in the wider world. To study the popular culture of any period is to be given an insight into a particular society's values. Popular culture reveals what subjects a society deemed interesting, to what items or values it attributed worth and, conversely, what it disregarded or even held in contempt. Early modern English broadside ballads were a key form of entertainment for their contemporaries, both informing and reflecting their audiences' tastes and opinions. Therefore, ballads provide an insight into how their consumers imagined and understood the outside world.

Just as *Space Oddity* is a product of its historical moment (capturing a point in time when humanity was no longer consigned to a terrestrial life), broadside ballads experienced their heyday at a time of cultural expansion and interconnectivity. The seventeenth century saw the

¹ 'Space Oddity', in *The Best of David Bowie 1969/1974*, arranged by Derek Jones (London: Wise Publications, 1998), p. 2.

² Adam Sweeting, 'David Bowie obituary', *The Guardian*, 11 January 2016, Music Section <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/jan/11/obituary-david-bowie>> [accessed 12 October 2019]

dawn of the global world, and this significant historical development can be discerned as an underlying current in early modern ballads.³ Whilst the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had been an era of first contacts and exploration, the seventeenth century was an age of ‘second contacts’ – sites of first encounter became places of repeated meeting; and people and goods regularly travelled from one place to another.⁴ It was a time of dynamic movement.

The period is also characterised by global territorial expansion, and not just by Europeans. Across Eurasia, powerful empires arose, such as the Ottoman, Safavid, Mughal, Russian, Tokugawa, Ming and Qing. Eurasia had witnessed intermittent engagement between its inhabitants since antiquity, but this unprecedented empire building and cross-cultural exchange, distinctive in its global scale, brought different regions of the world into sustained contact and ultimately led to the ‘integration of global space’.⁵ It is important to note that, despite Eurocentric historical narratives and teleological interpretation, this period was not one of European technical, cultural and political dominance over other cultures.⁶ Until the mid-eighteenth century there was a period of rough balance between dominant Eurasian societies, as well as between native communities in the outer-world and invading Europeans. John Darwin refers to this as ‘the early modern equilibrium’.⁷

Ballads describe and comment upon the world around them, reinforcing certain morals, providing didactic instruction and warning of dangers. In fact, the entire genre of broadside

³ Timothy Brook notably argued for the emergence of global interconnectivity occurring in the seventeenth century, see Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (London: Profile Books, 2008). Many other historians also attest to the defining characteristic of the early modern period being global cross-cultural contact, interaction and the movement of commodities, see Charles H. Parker, *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age, 1400-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Global History of Empire Since 1405* (London: Allen Lane, 2007); *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Routledge, 2015); Claudia Schnurmann, “‘Wherever Profit Leads Us, to Every Sea and Shore. . .’: The VOC, the WIC, and Dutch Methods of Globalization in the Seventeenth Century,” *Renaissance Studies*, 17:3 (2003), 474-493; and Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁴ Brook, p. 8.

⁵ Parker, p. 3.

⁶ John Darwin notes that early modern European political, military and commercial achievements were overshadowed by those of the Ottomans, Safavids, Mughals, Ming and Tokugawa regimes. Furthermore, Europe’s exploitation of the new resource base in the Americas and the opening of long-distance trade routes which linked Asia, Africa and the Americas did not create a basis for global predominance. Darwin, p. 104.

⁷ See Darwin, *After Tamerlane*, chapter three, ‘The Early Modern Equilibrium’, pp. 101-155.

literature was designed to ‘instruct, exhort, entertain, and, perhaps above all, to persuade an audience’ (even if only to purchase the broadside in question).⁸ In *Space Oddity*, the danger of space travel and fragility of the ‘tin can’ which protects the astronaut is clear in the fear of the voice from Ground Control which calls out, ‘Your circuit’s dead – there’s something wrong / Can you hear me, Major Tom?’⁹ The early modern equivalent of space travel was venturing out into the blank expanse of the open ocean. Many ballads about sailors, or ballads describing journeys across the sea, emphasise the inherent dangers of this act and convey a sense of helplessness in the face of nature’s might. Both *Space Oddity* and many early modern broadside ballads shaped their audiences’ imaginations of space and oceanic travel, respectively, and convey powerfully emotional responses to these journeys.

Using *Space Oddity* to illustrate the manner in which songs can capture the significance of their historical moment is fruitful to a point, but it must be remembered that there are key differences between *Space Oddity* and early modern broadside ballads. David Bowie was a known, single author as opposed to the frequently unknown and often multiple broadside ballad authors. Furthermore, Bowie’s song, whilst it may draw on other elements of popular culture, is not as inextricably linked to these as broadside ballads were with other forms of cheap print and the culture of news reporting. To appreciate how news and information about the outside world circulated in cheap print in early modern England, it is necessary to understand the intertextual nature of this literature.

Intertextuality is the ‘effect that the existence of one text has on the contents of another’.¹⁰ The early modern period witnessed significant developments in the manner of news dissemination and popular engagement with news.¹¹ The categories of manuscript, printed and

⁸ Angela McShane, ‘Ballads and Broadside from the beginnings of print to 1660’ in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Vol. 1: Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford U.P., 2011), pp. 339-62 (p. 341).

⁹ ‘Space Oddity’, p. 2.

¹⁰ Catherine M. Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), p. 23.

¹¹ See Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2015); *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Joad Raymond, 2002 edn. (London: Frank Cass, 1992); *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxon: Routledge, 2006);

oral news overlapped, and stories could move fluidly from one medium to another. Ballads were one of the ‘principle agencies of news’ and were popular because of their entertaining nature and ability to impart news to the illiterate and semi-literate.¹² In the sixteenth century, singing played an important role in mediating news events to a largely illiterate public.¹³ After the 1590s, ballads started to become displaced by the prose pamphlet as the most common medium for conveying news.¹⁴ However, this does not diminish their importance. Peoples’ opinions and awareness of current affairs were influenced by a ‘proliferation’ of private letters, manuscript separates, pamphlets, newsbooks, libels and broadside ballads as well as oral news exchange.¹⁵ The intertextual and generic exchange between the various forms of print was also at its ‘most dynamic’ in times of crisis.¹⁶

Broadsides (this term encompasses ballads but refers to any printed material occupying one side of paper), were an integral element of the book trade and complemented it by ‘advertising or summarising’ longer treatises, almanacs, pamphlets and plays.¹⁷ It is notable that the same events reported in pamphlets and newsbooks also appeared in ballads. Ballads could be based on pamphlets and function as a ‘commercial trailer’ for the original work.¹⁸ A single publisher might print both a ballad and pamphlet about the same event or two publishers might work together to produce a ballad and pamphlet respectively, sharing woodcuts to emphasise the link between the two.¹⁹ Furthermore, there might even be ‘cross-over’ ballads – ballads in both

Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); and Richard Cust, ‘News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England’, *Past & Present*, 112 (1986), 60-90.

¹² Richard Cust, pp.60-90 (p. 66).

¹³ Pettegree, p. 121. It is significant that, in the sixteenth century, as printed news culture began to develop, technologies of communication (such as official proclamations, town criers, street songs and tocsins) all relied on speech and sound. This connection between public information and the spoken word was so strong that to ‘publish’ was, by definition, an oral act. Books, on the other hand, were only ‘printed’. Kate Van Orden, ‘Cheap Print and Street Song following the Saint Bartholomew’s Massacres of 1572’, in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. by Kate Van Orden (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), pp. 271-323 (p. 306); Pettegree, p. 11.

¹⁴ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 17.

¹⁵ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 364.

¹⁶ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 355.

¹⁷ McShane, ‘Ballads and Broadsides’, pp. 339-62 (p. 342).

¹⁸ Hugh Dunthorne, ‘Singing the News: The Dutch Revolt and English Street Ballads, c. 1560–1660’, *Dutch Crossing*, 21:2 (1997), 54-72 (p. 57).

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 57.

white-letter (Roman type) and black-letter (Gothic type) versions produced by the same publisher and each designed to reach different audiences.²⁰ Given the intertextual and self-referential nature of cheap print in the early modern period, it would be possible to analyse the ways in which the outside world was imagined through an examination of the full range of street literature forms. However, this thesis is primarily concerned with ballads because they were distinct from other forms of cheap print, interacting with their audience in unique ways and creating powerful, emotive representations of the outside world.

Ballads could hold a journalistic function. However, most of the ballads that will be examined in this thesis are not ‘news’ ballads. As a general rule, whether relating a domestic, military or national story, ballads rarely did more than ‘sketch’ an outline of the events.²¹ Angela McShane states that the purpose of ballads was not to narrate the news, but ‘to expound upon the moral, political, or comic potential of any story’ – their primary aim was to raise emotions.²² This was also the aim of other literature, particularly pamphlets, but ballads were able to achieve this with more ease and create emotional communal moments beyond the scope of other print forms because of their liminal existence, encompassing text, woodcut images, public performance and musical nature.

Christopher Marsh demonstrates that sound and hearing may have held more privileged places in the early modern period than they are generally granted today.²³ Music could be found everywhere: churches, court dances, theatres, alehouses, in the street, places work (both rural and

²⁰ Angela McShane, ‘Typography Matters: The Branding of Ballads and the Gelding of Curates in Stuart England’ in *Book Trade Connections from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (London: British Library Print Networks Series, 2008), pp. 19-44 (p. 30).; Angela McShane, ‘Political street songs and singers in 17th-century England’, *Renaissance Studies*, 33:1 (2019), 94-118 (p. 114). For a detailed examination of white- and black-letter ballads, see McShane, ‘Typography Matters’, pp. 19-44.

²¹ McShane, ‘Ballads and Broad-sides’, pp. 339-62 (p. 361).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 361.

²³ See Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Marsh argues that we tend to ‘privilege sight over sound’ (people speak of ‘seeing’ a concert). However, in the early modern period, there was a greater parity between these two senses. He highlights the language tropes and cultural practices that referred to ears. For instance, ‘ear-witnesses’ instead of our ‘eye-witnesses’ and the common role of ears as targets in forms of punishment. Marsh, *Music and Society*, p. 10.

urban), domestic settings and celebratory gatherings.²⁴ Music also featured prominently in the army and ships' crews often included musicians.²⁵ The broadside ballad inhabited a variety of spaces within this musical world. Many houses and taverns plastered broadside ballads to their walls, both as a cheap form of decoration, but also so that they could be sung and performed by visitors. Some taverns kept their own instruments and may have even encouraged ballad-singers to attend so as to attract customers.²⁶ In domestic settings, the fireside formed a natural gathering point and ballads provided ideal entertainment for dark evenings. In such settings, ballads were shared between servants and gentry (the seventeenth-century antiquarian John Aubrey recalled hearing ballads being sung by his old nurse).²⁷ In these environments, ballads created emotional communal moments and became shared points of cultural reference.

Writing a ballad that would become such a point of reference was the aim of many balladeers. McShane uses the example of the sailor Vincent Jukes in 1701 to demonstrate this process. Jukes was captured by a Turkish ship, converted to Islam, escaped and returned to England. A ballad was then published about his adventure. By becoming the subject of a song, particularly a printed one, Jukes acquired a celebrity that 'could long outlast the ephemeral situation of being "news"'.²⁸ This was the power ballads. Their liminal nature gave them advantages over other forms of cheap print in creating lasting impressions in the minds of their audience. In a semi-literate world, there was considerable value in embedding a message in verse

²⁴ James Revell Carr, "'An Harmlesse Dittie': Ballad Music and its Sources", in *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 21-24 (p. 21); Eric Nebeker, 'The Heyday of the Broadside Ballad', in *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 3-5 (p. 3); Marsh, *Music and Society*, p. 58.

²⁵ Alison Games, 'Anglo-Dutch Maritime Interactions in the East Indies During the Early Seventeenth Century', in *Governing the Sea in the Early Modern Era: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Ritchie*, ed. by Peter C. Mancall and Carole Shammas (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 2015), pp. 171-195 (p. 179). For more information about ballads and the military in the seventeenth century, see Angela McShane, 'Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15:1-2 (2011), 105-137.

²⁶ McShane, 'Typography Matters', pp. 19-44 (p. 31).

²⁷ See Linda Phyliss Austern, 'Women's Musical Voices in Sixteenth-Century England', *Early Modern Women*, 3 (2008), 127-152.; and Robert A. Schwegler, 'Oral Tradition and Print: Domestic Performance in Renaissance England', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 93:370 (1980), 435-441.

²⁸ McShane, 'Political street songs and singers', pp.94-118 (p. 105).

since rhymes could pass easily through oral communication networks and strike firmly into the memory of singers and audiences.²⁹

In this thesis, I will demonstrate the ways in which early modern broadside ballads reflected and informed the views and opinions of their audience, thereby shaping the ways in which these people imagined and understood the increasingly global outside world. Ballads' efficacy in this regard was noted by the well-respected polymath John Selden, who spoke against those that disparaged ballads and other cheap print, saying,

Tho' some make slight of Libels, yet you may see by them how the wind sits: As take a straw and throw it up into the Air, you shall see by that which way Wind is, which you shall not do by casting up a Stone: More solid things do not shew the Complexion of the times so well, as Ballads and Libels.³⁰

Treatises, tomes, polemics and other heavy 'stones' of early modern scholarship, whilst invaluable for intellectual history, do not provide such an illuminating path into popular imaginations of the world as transient and ephemeral ballads. As well as the emotional communal moments that they could create, the value of studying ballads is that they are reductive. Owing to their limited length, they had to distil and reduce meanings and concepts for their audience. They help provide historians with an insight into the cultural outlook of people who have left little other record of their lives. It is certain that many of the contemporary ballad audience lived on the margins of literacy or were completely illiterate.³¹ The inability of these people to write has left historians with practically no traces of their thoughts and feelings.³²

Adam Fox states that much of the 'rich fabric of this partially literate and quasi-oral culture has been irretrievably lost'. However, he also notes that, whilst the elusive and ephemeral nature of

²⁹ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 304. Set rhyming patterns and a basic structure were also important for ballad-mongers who had to attract and audience and hold its attention. Singers could not afford to forget lyrics since, in the 'economy of ballad singing', wealth was acquired by the production and circulation of texts. Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 61.

³⁰ John Selden, *Table-Talk: Being the Discourses of John Selden Esq; or his Sense of Various Matters of Weight and High Consequence Relating Especially to Religion and State* (London: Printed for E. Smith, 1689), p. 31. Samuel Pepys obviously agreed with the sentiment of this quotation as he placed it at the head of his ballad collection. John C. Hirsh, 'Samuel Pepys as a Collector and Student of Ballads', *The Modern Language Review*, 106:1 (2011), 47-62 (p. 48).

³¹ Adam Fox, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145 (1994), 47-83 (p. 47).

³² *Ibid*, p. 47.

this material makes it difficult to recover, it is these very qualities that give it an ‘invaluable immediacy and spontaneity’.³³

George Duby points to propaganda texts, treatises on good behaviour, moral homilies, manifestos, pamphlets, sermons, encomia, epitaphs and the biographies of exemplary heroes as documents in which a society gives direct expression to the virtues it reveres and the vices it abhors.³⁴ These texts functioned to defend and propagate the ethical systems upon which the society’s own sense of righteousness is based.³⁵ I argue that ballads can be grouped alongside these texts as they similarly display and reinforce contemporary attitudes. In the early-twentieth century, Gordon Gerould argued that the choice and management of themes in ballads can reveal details about the habits and tastes of the people who made and sang them.³⁶ This idea is reinforced by Peter Burke who says that, whilst the oral nature of popular culture in early modern Europe makes it elusive, historians can infer a great deal by more indirect means.³⁷ One such method is to analyse ballad narratives within their wider cultural context, following the web of connections that links them to other works and global events. Ballads were written with the expectation of certain knowledge on the part of their consumers, who already possessed cultural points of reference which could be invoked or subverted. Ballads’ restricted size meant that all narrative information had to be condensed and distilled, to be transmitted as concisely as possible. Therefore, close attention to the ballads’ construction reveals which elements of the consumers’ knowledge about the outside world were taken for granted, and which were the easiest themes to use to convey different concepts.

The English popular ballad dates from around the fourteenth century, and it is suggested that it originated in a largely illiterate society, where songs and other mnemonic devices allowed

³³ Fox, ‘Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule’, pp.47-83 (p. 83).

³⁴ Georges Duby, ‘Ideologies in Social History’, in *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, trans. by David Denby, ed. Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 151-165 (p. 156-157).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 156-157.

³⁶ Gordon Hall Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 36.

³⁷ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, rev. edn (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), p. 65.

for the memorisation of events, histories and legends.³⁸ Manuscript ballads also circulated in England long before the art of printing arrived.³⁹ The broadside ballad then emerged in the sixteenth century with the growth of the printing press and thrived between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries.⁴⁰ Tessa Watt states that, in the later-sixteenth century, there were 3000 distinct ballads published. If the smallest possible run which a printer would produce is assumed (200 copies), this means there was an absolute minimum of 600,000 ballads in circulation. However, if runs were closer to 1000 or 1250 copies (the standard run for a book at the time) then the total number of ballads circulating would reach between three and four million.⁴¹ Furthermore, McShane emphasises just how much of the ballad world has been lost to historians. For the entirety of the sixteenth century, only 300 ballad sheets in total are extant but she references the startling example of a man in 1584 who purchased one hundred ballad sheets in one transaction.⁴²

England was by no means the only European country to have a thriving ballad market. Ballads created in the Netherlands are often remarkably similar to the English broadside ballad, particularly in terms of naval themes, and there was a distinct genre of German-language ballads about the Ottomans (*Türkenlieder*).⁴³ In Britain, the ballads that have survived have tended to do so because they form part of ballad collections. Most of the ballads discussed here can be found in the Pepys Library in Cambridge or the British Library's Roxburghe collection. These collections, as well as several others, have been digitised by the English Broadside Ballad Archive

³⁸ William Gahan, 'Ballad Measure in Print', in *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 17-20 (p. 18); Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962), p. 34.

³⁹ Robert S. Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence Upon the Transmission of English Folksongs' (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Cambridge, 1974), p. 28.

⁴⁰ Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad*, p. 34.

⁴¹ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 11.

⁴² Angela McShane Jones, 'Rime and reason.' *The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640-1689* (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, 2004), p. 82. It was very common for metropolitan readers to send ballads, pamphlets and newsbooks to their correspondents and seventeenth-century letters are 'littered' with references to enclosed material. See Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 83-84.

⁴³ I had originally intended to compare the various European ballad traditions throughout this thesis but found there was so much to discuss on English broadside ballads alone, this idea will have to be pursued in future research.

(EBBA) team of the University of California, Santa Barbara. The immense benefits to any scholar studying broadside ballads offered by EBBA cannot be understated, particularly in terms of bringing together the often overlooked musical and iconographical elements of balladry. The scale of their project is staggering, and so far they have digitised 9359 ballads (estimated to be 89.1% of early English ballads).⁴⁴

Whilst the EBBA collection has provided the vast majority of ballads referenced in this thesis, I have complemented this resource by including ballads from the Bodleian Libraries, the Early English Books Online project, ballads found in early modern pamphlets held at the British Library and ballad collections printed in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.⁴⁵ To provide more accurate dating for these ballads and to aid with the discovery of more ballads (including those no longer extant), the Stationers' Register Online and Hyder Rollins' invaluable 'Analytical Index' were of immense use.⁴⁶ My analysis of ballads is driven by a close reading of the texts and I highlight how the audience would have processed and understood certain references and allusions to people and places. I expand upon this by integrating an analysis of the impact that the extra-textual elements of the ballads, such as their use of tunes, woodcut images and performance contexts, would have had upon the audience.

Throughout the thesis, I shall be examining a range of broadside ballads produced between the late-sixteenth and early-eighteenth centuries. However, these will be complemented at times by references to, and analysis of, a range of other contemporary sources such as pamphlets, manuscript ballads and poems. Whilst ballads had efficacy in creating the emotional

⁴⁴ *EBBA Homepage* [online]. English Broadside Ballad Archive [cited 16 January 2020]. Available from <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>>

⁴⁵ See *Broadside Ballads Online* [online]. The Bodleian Libraries [cited 05 July 2020]. Available from <<http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>>; *Early English Books Online* [online]. ProQuest [cited 03 August 2020]. Available from <<https://search.proquest.com/eebo/index>>; *Collection Of Old Ballads. Corrected from the best and most Ancient Copies Extant. With Introductions Historical and Critical*, Vol. III (London: printed by J. Roberts, 1725).; *The Early Naval Ballads of England*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841).; Charles H. Firth ed., *Naval Songs and Ballads* (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908).; C. H. Firth ed., *An American Garland: Being a Collection of Ballads Relating to America* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1915).

⁴⁶ See *Stationers' Register Online* [online]. University of Oxford [cited 03 August 2020]. Available from <<https://stationersregister.online/>>; and Hyder E. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London', *Studies in Philology*, 21:1 (1924), 1-324.

communal moments which could more firmly shape perceptions of the outside world, they often operated upon the assumption that audiences already knew who or what a song concerned.⁴⁷ Therefore, additional sources will be used to better clarify and contextualise how the ballads' representations functioned in the intertextual world of the seventeenth century. Some sources, such as black-letter ballads, pamphlets and other forms of cheap print, would have been widely accessible. Others, such as manuscript ballads, white-letter ballads, poems and elegies would have circulated in smaller circles or contained references that would have been obscure to a wide readership.⁴⁸ Whilst these would have had less of an impact on the imaginations of the general public, they complement and elaborate upon themes present in more 'accessible' documents. Furthermore, as black-letter ballads were consumed by people across the socio-economic spectrum, it is important to appreciate the range of texts produced at one time or in response to a particular event. For instance, in the discussion of the visit of four Native American 'kings' to Queen Anne in chapter four, I examine 'accessible' broadsides, black-letter ballads and pamphlets, as well as less 'accessible' political ballads. There are many parallels in the representation of Native Americans, yet the political ballads co-opt the 'kings' to be tools of political criticism.

Most scholarly work on balladry examines those which do not depict the outside world, instead they focus upon the representation of certain English occupations, such as tailors, cobblers or tinkers; analyse the social function of ballads in England; or highlight the multimedia aspect of balladry and the extra-textual meaning conveyed by woodcuts and tunes.⁴⁹ This thesis,

⁴⁷ McShane, 'Political street songs and singers', pp.94-118 (p. 104).

⁴⁸ See McShane, 'Typography Matters', pp.19-44.

⁴⁹ For instance, see Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006); *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012); Joy Wiltenburg, 'Ballads and the Emotional Life of Crime', in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 173-186; Angela McShane, "'Ne sutor ultra crepidam': Political Cobblers and Broadside Ballads in Late Seventeenth-Century England", in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 207-228; Angela McShane Jones, 'Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: The Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads from 1640 to 1689', in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Adam Smyth (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 69-87; Christopher Marsh,

on the other hand, almost exclusively examines those ballads describing the global movement of people and objects as well as depicting foreign peoples and places. Other scholars have considered these representations: Fox discusses the ways in which ballads created the idea of ‘Scottishness’; Anders Ingram places the ballads concerning the Ottoman Siege of Vienna into the context of the Exclusion Crisis in England and highlights their political use of the concept of the ‘Turks’; and Katie Sue Sisneros examines the representations of Muslims and the politics of cultural identity in ballads.⁵⁰ However, my thesis differs from these with its far more global focus, considering and comparing the representations of different European and non-European peoples, and contextualising these within the global seventeenth-century world.

Ballads discussing the wider world and non-European cultures make up only a very small proportion of the total ballad corpus. Using just the ballads currently listed on EBBA, a search of the term ‘France’ returns 716 ballads (7.7% of the archive’s collection). Excluding the multiple copies or different editions of the ballads, that leaves 398 individual ballads. However, a search for ballads referring to ‘India’ (which includes the term ‘Indian’ used for Native Americans) returns 85 ballads (0.9% of the archive) and only 61 of which are individual ballads. Even

‘The Sound of Print in Early Modern England: The Broadside Ballad as Song’, in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, ed. by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 171-190; Patricia Fumerton, ‘Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32:3 (2002), 493-518; Patricia Fumerton, ‘Making Vagrancy (In)Visible: The Economics of Disguise in Early Modern Rogue Pamphlets’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 33:2 (2003), 211-227; Mark Hailwood, ‘Broadside Ballads and Occupational Identity in Early Modern England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79:2 (2016), 187-200; Stella Achilleos, ‘“Drinking and Good Fellowship”: Alehouse Communities and the Anxiety of Social Dislocation in Broadside Ballads of the 1620s and 1630s’, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 22 (2014), 1-32; McShane, ‘Recruiting Citizens’, pp. 105-137; Fox, ‘Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule’, pp.47-83; Christopher Marsh, ‘“The Blazing Torch”: New Light on English Balladry as a Multi-Media Matrix’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 30:1 (2015), 95-116; Alexandra Franklin, ‘Making Sense of Broadside Ballad Illustrations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. by Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), pp. 169-194; Megan Palmer, ‘Picturing Song across Species: Broadside Ballads in Image and Word’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79:2 (2016), 221-244; Christopher Marsh, ‘Best-Selling Ballads and their Pictures in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Past and Present*, 233:1 (2016), 53-99; Patricia Fumerton and Megan E. Palmer, ‘Lasting Impressions of the Common Woodcut’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 383-400; and Christopher Marsh, ‘A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79:2 (2016), 245-262.

⁵⁰ See Adam Fox, ‘Jockey and Jenny: English Broadside Ballads and the Invention of Scottishness’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79:2 (2016), 201-220; Anders Ingram, ‘The Ottoman Siege of Vienna, English Ballads, and The Exclusion Crisis’, *The Historical Journal*, 57:1 (2014), 53-80; and Katie Sue Sisneros, ‘“The Abhorred Name of Turk”: Muslims and the Politics of Identity in Seventeenth-Century English Broadside Ballads’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2016).

references to the ‘Turk’, who was one of the most familiar foreign characters, only occur in 366 ballads (3.9% of the archive), and just 188 of these represent individual ballads. As these ballads constitute such a small percentage of the total quantity of ballads, there has been a tendency for them to be understudied unless they refer to specific events such as the Ottoman siege of Vienna. However, ballads depicting the outside world and other cultures significantly shaped the ways in which these people and places were collectively imagined.

Broadside ballads were printed on one side of a sheet of paper (enabling them to be plastered upon walls) and then sung and sold in the streets of London.⁵¹ Ballads were produced in London for an urban audience, but they were disseminated further afield throughout England by itinerant pedlars. As scholars became increasingly interested in ballads in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the definition of a ballad became a contentious topic and the broadside ballad was often excluded from this (despite the fact that the term ballad applied exclusively to street ballads until the early-eighteenth century).⁵² An assumed key difference between a broadside ballad and a traditional ballad is in the manner of its dissemination. Traditional ballads are believed to have been passed down through an oral tradition, whereas broadside ballads are seen as inexorably linked to the printed word. Those advocating this view argue that this difference tends to be reflected in each ballad category’s choice of topics. Common themes for traditional ballads are ancient battles, knights and ladies, ghosts (particularly those of lovers), forced marriage, spurned love and Robin Hood.⁵³ Broadside ballads, on the other hand, seem to speak more about contemporary events and religious issues, as well as marvels, wonders and monstrous happenings.⁵⁴ They also incorporated common features from the rich oral culture and religious imagery of early modern England, as well as the use of traditional symbols and images

⁵¹ Nebeker, pp. 3-5 (p. 4).

⁵² Ibid, p. 3.; Natascha Würzbach, *Die Englische Strassenballade 1550-1650 [The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650]*, trans. by Gayna Walls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 4.

⁵³ Nebeker, pp. 3-5 (p. 3-4).

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 4. However, many of the ‘traditional’ ballad themes are found in broadside ballads – particularly Robin Hood.

which can be traced back to the Middle Ages, early Christianity, and Greek and Latin mythology.⁵⁵ The broadside ballad's tendency towards sensationalism has led to it being seen as inferior in quality to the traditional ballad.⁵⁶ However, this is to impose fixed limits and classifications on products which are fluid and often resist such categorisation. Ballads moved in and out of written and oral versions, and what might be defined as a traditional ballad could appear as a printed broadside.⁵⁷

James Francis Child was one of the early scholars of ballads and folklore in the nineteenth century. For Child and his contemporary folklorists, the oral transmission of traditional ballads implied that they possessed unique qualities of 'the people': these ballads were examples of untutored nature versus the artificiality of art.⁵⁸ For this reason, the ballads that most interested these scholars were those which had minimal crossovers into text or, ideally, none at all.⁵⁹ Traditional ballads are, therefore, generally defined with reference to Child's collection of 305 ballads.⁶⁰ However, broadside ballads actually formed a significant proportion of Child's source material. Child's distinction between the traditional and broadside ballad was formed by personal preference. Child appreciated short, lyrical narratives with an elliptical way of storytelling based on formulaic language and narrative tropes, but there is no set distinction between traditional and broadside ballads.⁶¹ In fact, there was 'no necessary antithesis' between oral and literate communication in this period and Paula McDowell argues that print may actually have done as much to preserve the oral tradition as to destroy it, since many broadsides were older than the oral variants collected by Child.⁶² She also notes the problems caused by Child's

⁵⁵ Dagmar Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1637-1645* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997), p. 130; 136.

⁵⁶ Würzbach, *Die Englische Strassenballade*, p. 146.

⁵⁷ Flemming G. Andersen, *Commonplace and Creativity: The Role of Formulaic Diction in Anglo-Scottish Traditional Balladry* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1985), p. 43.

⁵⁸ Nebeker, pp. 3-5 (p. 4).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad*, p. 33.

⁶¹ Mary Ellen Brown, 'Child's Ballads and the Broadside Conundrum', in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 57-72 (p. 65; 67).

⁶² Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 5; Paula McDowell, "'The Art of Printing was Fatal': Print Commerce and the Idea of Oral Tradition in Long-Eighteenth Century Ballad Discourse', in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*,

distinction between traditional ballads and printed ballads (the latter of which he largely disdained). In striving to promote traditional ballads as ‘true democratic poetry’, Child condemned most broadside ballads, despite the fact that they had a longstanding association with the broadest possible spectrum of social ranks.⁶³ Early collectors of folk songs and ballads produced highly modified and selective collections and, through these, an entirely artificial concept of traditional folksong was created.⁶⁴ Natascha Würzbach questions whether this closed and authoritative status of Child’s canon has actually hindered ballad research.⁶⁵

Whilst the division between traditional and broadside ballads did not exist until after the early-eighteenth century, I will be focusing primarily on the ballads emerging from the broadside printing presses.⁶⁶ In the seventeenth century, there were two general formats for the presentation of printed ballads: a landscape page with title and images at the top of the sheet and the imprint information in the bottom right corner (see Figure 1a); and a portrait page with two vertical columns of text – this style was often used for political ballads, which frequently had no images adorning them (see Figure 1b).⁶⁷ In the 1620s, the dominant format for the broadside was a ballad printed in two parts on a large sheet of paper, with illustrative woodcuts, tune names and black-letter print.⁶⁸ This style changed in the 1650s, and the ballad shortened so it was generally in one part, meaning that two separate ballads could be printed on one sheet which was then cut in half and sold as two individual ballads.⁶⁹ Woodcuts and black-letter print (as opposed to the roman type of white-letter print which can be seen in Figure 1b) are part of the distinctive look

ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 35-56 (p. 55). For more information on the exchange between oral and literate forms, see Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*.

⁶³ Paula McDowell, “‘The Manufacture and Lingua-facture of Ballad-Making’: Broadside Ballads in Long Eighteenth-Century Ballad Discourse”, *The Eighteenth Century*, 47:2 (2006), 151-178 (p. 170).

⁶⁴ David Atkinson, *The English Traditional Ballad: Theory, Method, and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 233.

⁶⁵ Natascha Würzbach, “Tradition and Innovation: The Influence of Child Ballads on the Anglo-American Literary Ballad”, in *The Ballad and Oral Literature*, ed. by Joseph Harris (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 171-192 (p. 171).

⁶⁶ McDowell, “‘The Art of Printing was Fatal’”, pp. 35-56 (p. 36).

⁶⁷ Alexandra Franklin, “The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads Before 1820”, *Bodleian Library Record*, 17:5 (2002), 327-352 (p. 329-330).

⁶⁸ Nebeker, pp. 3-5 (p. 5).

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 5.

of the broadside ballads of the seventeenth century.⁷⁰ White-letter ballads emerged during the political tensions of the late 1630s. Publishers, who sought to differentiate political songs (written for an educated, informed audience) from the mainstream ballad trade, ‘achieved an instantly recognisable distinction’ through their use of typography and orientation.⁷¹ Both black- and white-letter ballads were interested in political events but, unlike the white-letter ballads designed for the ‘political cognoscenti’, black-letter ballads were ‘carefully manipulated by highly market-sensitive publishers’ to appeal to quotidian England.⁷² Black-letter type, and its associated styles, began to disappear at the end of the seventeenth century, partially as a result of the expiration of the Licensing Act in 1695 which opened the printing of ballads to publishers outside of London.⁷³

It was often assumed that broadsides, and black-letter texts more generally, were targeted at a lower-class audience.⁷⁴ However, it is now held that the use of black-letter by printers was a conscious decision to evoke a traditional, communal English past.⁷⁵ Black-letter had a ‘brand’ value. As the chosen type face of official government pronouncements and the visual embodiment of the king’s voice, black-letter conveyed tradition and guaranteed accessibility of content.⁷⁶ As a form of multimedia dissemination combining the textual with the visual and the oral, ballads were also accessible to a wide-ranging audience, encompassing the semi-literate or illiterate.⁷⁷ The veracity of the two-tier model of popular and elite literature is questioned by Tim

⁷⁰ Simone Chess, ‘Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings of Ballad Illustration’, in *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 33-36 (p. 33).

⁷¹ McShane, ‘Political street songs and singers’, pp.94-118 (p. 114).

⁷² McShane, ‘Typography Matters’, pp. 19-44 (p. 44).

⁷³ Samuel Pepys was concerned that the older, more traditional black-letter ballads would be replaced by the white-letter variety. See Hirsh, pp.47-62 (p. 48). Hyder E. Rollins, ‘The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad’, *PMLA*, 34:2 (1919), 258-339 (p. 261-262).; Franklin, ‘The Art of Illustration’, pp.327-352 (p. 339).

⁷⁴ A primary proponent of this view was Charles Mish. See, Charles C. Mish, ‘Black letter as a social discriminant in the Seventeenth Century’, *PMLA*, 68:3 (1953), 627-630.

⁷⁵ Gerald Egan, ‘Black Letter and the Broadside Ballad’, in *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 29-32 (p. 31).

⁷⁶ McShane Jones, “‘Rime and reason.’”, p. 41.

⁷⁷ Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 133.

Harris and effectively dismissed by Watt.⁷⁸ Watt argues that, as ballads were hawked in alehouses and markets but also sung in noble households, the two-tiered model fails to match the reality of a multi-tiered social hierarchy.⁷⁹ She further states that the idea that broadsides and chapbooks were aimed at, and consumed by, a definable group may be a myth.⁸⁰ An investigation of cheap print should not consider it as a genre aimed exclusively at a definable social group since the creation of a separate body of literature for an identifiably plebeian audience did not occur until the late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century.⁸¹



Figure 1a: An example of a black-letter ballad: *The French Monstrous Beast, Which Devours all before it; Overthrowing Houses and devouring Fryers alive, the sight of which frightened Lewis into a Confession of his Evils.* (1692), Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge (hereafter PL), Pepys Ballads 2.371r, EBBA 20991 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

King James Lamentation
UPON THE
LANDING
OF
KING WILLIAM
IN
HOLLAND.

Y E Kings and Princes all here sigh,
And hear my Lamentation
For none was ever so cruel
As William the third the Dutchman
To his own People in Religion
And give the Crown of Great Britain
To one whose name was never known
To be a King of Great Britain
Till now I've come to be so.
Sorrow led the English Crew
Received me in their Army
But now, brave William, you part
And go where you will
Then God will send you to the
His Courage then to his
And do the same to help him
You dare not turn back
As his Vindictive arms advance
I hasten to the Palace
And from that Room most Bird of Feathers
So, I'll be gone
But such unfortunate Success
Days on days, but, my dear
That I can't, I can't, will yet to Rome
All those who dare believe me.
Tis true, last Year an English Fleet
Did help the Dutch Navy
But now his Power is so great
Or Help what profit have I?
My Brother James now thinks much
Of all his vast Expenses
And if new Spring no Comfort bring,
I shall be less distressed
But never will he hope that now
Since William's gone to Holland
Where He and German Princes vow
To make me King of Denmark.

L O N D O N, Printed by J.H. in White-Church, 1690.

Figure 1b: An example of a white-letter ballad: *King James's Lamentation Upon The Landing Of King William In Holland.* (1690), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.103, EBBA 22364 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

⁷⁸ Tim Harris, 'The Problem of 'Popular Political Culture' in Seventeenth-Century London', *History of European Ideas*, 10:1 (1989), 43-58 (p. 43)

⁷⁹ Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 2.; See Cust, 'News and Politics', pp.60-90.

⁸⁰ Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 3.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 5.

Broadside ballads were not aimed at an exclusive audience, but rather they attempted to appeal to as wide an audience as possible. Through the early modern period, the population who could afford to access broadside ballads, which cost a penny, was steadily growing.⁸² From the early-sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, the percentage of the English population employed in agriculture fell from over 80% to less than 60%. This growing number of non-agricultural workers were paid in wages rather than in kind, and they brought their spending power to bear on an expanding market of broadsides, pamphlets, sermons and news-sheets.⁸³ Contemporary sources demonstrate the presence and influence of the ballad trade. Ballads and balladeers can be found in the records of court sessions, accused of being libellous and seditious.⁸⁴ Furthermore, references in Samuel Pepys' diary reveal not only the significant presence and reach of ballads in the city, but also a network of ballad exchange between individuals.⁸⁵ Ballads were certainly enjoyed and sung by soldiers and sailors, and military ballads were written for and about them. Because of this fact, these ballads 'played a direct role in recruitment, retention and morale-building'.⁸⁶ In addition to soldiers and sailors, before 1640, a large proportion of ballad consumers were drawn from the middling ranks of yeomen, husbandmen and tradespeople, and even gentry readers were not uncommon.⁸⁷ However, the

⁸² Fumerton, 'Not Home', pp.493-518 (p. 498).

⁸³ Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, ed. by Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 1-30 (p. 11).

⁸⁴ See the example of two Middlesex fiddlers on trial for performing a ballad about the Duke of Buckingham in Cust, 'News and Politics', pp.60-90. For more information on libels and ballads, see Alastair Bellany, 'The Embarrassment of Libels: Perceptions and Representations of Verse Libelling in Early Stuart England', in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, ed. by Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 144-167; and Fox, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule', pp.47-83.

⁸⁵ Pepys refers to a large number of ballads being made in praise of the Duke of Albemarle and comments that there were so many that the Duke 'will soon sound like' the popular English folk hero Guy of Warwick (Wednesday 6 March 1666/67). He also worried that the town 'will be full of ballads' about the appearance of the Duchess of Newcastle at one of the meetings of the Royal Society (Thursday 30 May 1667). It is also clear that ballads were carried around by people to provide entertainment and show to friends. Pepys records that someone took 'some ballads out of his pocket' at a funeral, which Pepys read aloud as people came around to hear (Friday 15 May 1668), and mentions an acquaintance showing him a ballad which Pepys then borrowed (Saturday 4 February 1659/60). See *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* [online]. Project Gutenberg, 2003, updated 9 August 2016 [cited 03 August 2020]. Available from: <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/4200/4200-h/4200-h.htm>>.

⁸⁶ McShane, 'Recruiting Citizens', pp.105-137 (p. 112).

⁸⁷ Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 5.

value of ballads in studying the lives of the itinerant working poor has also been emphasised by several scholars.

Fumerton argues that broadside ballads offer realistic representations of the unsettled labouring poor far better than either rogue pamphlets or drama.⁸⁸ Similarly, writing about the use of ballads in understanding the views of the early modern community, Stella Achilleos uses the term 'lower order subjectivity'.⁸⁹ She argues that ballads are enough of a window into the popular culture of the period to allow historians to consider how lower social orders were represented in texts aimed at their consumption.⁹⁰ Ballad consumers were members of a broad community from a variety of social backgrounds. The degrees of education and occupations held by the members of this community fluctuated greatly, but they were all linked by an enjoyment of ballads. The social range represented in the ballad audience is encapsulated in a line from the first page of an early eighteenth-century ballad pamphlet. It introduces three ballads 'which may be sung or said by either the Nobility, Gentility, or Mobility, both Male and Female'.⁹¹ Although widely popular, ballads and ballad sellers were not universally appreciated. A popular form of literature in this period was the character sketch (an exaggerated and ironic portrayal of a person's defining qualities).⁹² Contemporary satirist Richard Brathwaite produced character sketches of various tradespeople and social stereotypes. He stated that the term ballad-monger 'is the ignominious nickname of a penurious poet', who 'stands much upon Stanza's, which halt and hobble as lamely as that one legg'd Cantor that sings them'.⁹³ Another representation of ballad-mongers (this time from the Dutch Republic) can be seen in the 1635 painting *The Ballad-Monger* by Adriaen van Ostade (see Figure 2). The genre paintings of the Dutch Republic provide more than a pictorial record of life in the seventeenth century. They provide a view into the Dutch

⁸⁸ Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 46.

⁸⁹ Achilleos, pp.1-32 (p. 8).

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 8.

⁹¹ *Have at you blind Harpers: Three Ballads Concerning the Times* (London: Printed by J. Baker, 1710), p. 1.

⁹² Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 220.

⁹³ Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies: Or, A New Cast of Characters* (London: 1631), p. 8.; Brathwaite, *Whimzies* p. 10.

mental world during a turbulent age, commenting on attitudes towards all aspects of private and public life.⁹⁴



Figure 2: *The Ballad-Monger* by Adriaen van Ostade c.1635 © Holburne Museum, Bath

In the background of this painting, a child grins cheekily as he steals eggs from a basket, underlining the strong link of ballads with trickery and deceit. Ballad-mongers were often seen as vagrants, moving and performing in the fringe elements of society alongside criminals and pickpockets.⁹⁵ In fact, it was not uncommon for pickpockets to target crowds distracted by a

⁹⁴ Christopher Brown, *Images of a Golden Past: Dutch Genre Painting of the 17th Century* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), p. 9.

⁹⁵ Kris McAbee and Jessica C. Murphy, 'Ballad Creation and Circulation: Congers and Mongers', in *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 7-9 (p. 9).

ballad-monger's performance.⁹⁶ The term 'monger' highlights ballad-mongers' less than respectable reputations. Whilst 'monger' denotes only that these people trafficked in a specific commodity, the connotation was that they engaged in a disreputable trade.⁹⁷ Ballads and other cheap print, partly because of the anonymity surrounding their creation, were seen as vehicles for the transmission of seditious or criminal ideas. In 1679, not insignificantly coinciding with the political turmoil of the Exclusion Crisis, a proclamation was published stating that 'divers Malicious and Evil disposed persons' had printed 'many Seditious and Treasonable Books and Pamphlets, endeavouring thereby to dispose the minds of His Majesties Subjects to Sedition and Rebellion'. Therefore, it was promised that anyone who could aid the apprehension of an 'Authour or Printer of any Seditious and Treasonable Book or Pamphlet' would receive 'the Reward of Fourty pounds'.⁹⁸

As well as author anonymity, ballads were hard to regulate and censor because of the manner of their distribution. They spread outwards from London in the hands of itinerant pedlars. These wandering salespeople travelled between major towns, markets and more outlying regions.⁹⁹ Pedlars were unsettling figures to many contemporaries. In Britain, the Netherlands and Italy, pedlars were figures of disruption and often used as scapegoats for the consequences of print.¹⁰⁰ Richard Brathwaite, under the pseudonym Clitus Alexandrinus, described the many tricks of pedlars saying, 'He will sell you clots for Cloves, course crummes for Currans, Orpine

⁹⁶ See Una McIlvenna, 'Chanteurs de rue, or street singers in early modern France', *Renaissance Studies*, 33:1 (2018), 64-93 (p. 80).; and Leslie Shepard, *The History of Street Literature: The Story of Broadside Ballads, Chapbooks, Proclamations, News-Sheets, Election Bills, Tracts, Pamphlets, Cocks, Catchpennies, and other Ephemera* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973). Sometimes this was a scam run by the ballad-monger and pickpocket in collusion.

⁹⁷ McAbee and Murphy, pp. 7-9 (p. 9).

⁹⁸ *By The King. A Proclamation For the Suppressing of Seditious and Treasonable Books and Pamphlets* (London: Printed by John Bill, Thomas Newcomb, and Henry Hills. Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1679)

⁹⁹ See Laurence Fontaine, *A History of Pedlars in Europe*, trans. by Vicki Whittaker (Cambridge: Polity, 1996). Fontaine argues that to truly understand pedlars, and overcome the urban viewpoint left to us by extant sources, we must discard the concept of itinerancy and concentrate upon establishing settled roots, as these seeming men-from-nowhere, had to have been born somewhere. Fontaine, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman, 'Introduction: The Distribution and Dissemination of Popular Print', in *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500-1820*, ed. by Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond, and Jeroen Salman (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 1-29 (p. 10). See Karen L. Bowen, 'Sounding out a Public's view of Pedlars with texts: A Consideration of Images of Pedlars in the Low Countries (1600-1850)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 15 (2008), 93-108.

for Saffron, and compound your pepper with his Earth-pouder, to gull you.¹⁰¹ Not only were pedlars cheats, but they were also vulgar – a point Brathwaite associated with the ballads they often carried or sang: ‘He ha’s an obscene veine of Ballatry, which makes the Wenches of the Greene laugh.’¹⁰² Pedlars could switch between general purveyor of goods and ballad-monger, although the number of those exclusively carrying ballads was likely dwarfed by the number who carried them along with other merchandise.¹⁰³ The pedlar linked rural and urban communities, introducing commodities and goods of local or distant origin, as well as often selling ballads.

In this thesis, I will demonstrate that the increasingly global world of the seventeenth century is reflected in broadside ballads, and that they shaped their audience’s imaginations of various aspects of the wider world, such as its peoples, its riches and its dangers. However, there are difficulties with this approach. The anonymity of most ballads disrupts their reliability as a source of popular *mentalités*. After all, the view expounded in a ballad could be that of elite partisans who could afford to have it printed and distributed.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, ballads cannot be credited with accurate, detailed representations of the outside world since many of their depictions are shaped by prevailing cultural assumptions or vested interests. The best way to navigate these issues is to focus on the commercial demands which drove ballad production. As Mark Booth states, like any article of commerce, ballads had to be adapted to two roles: calculated to sell and at least appearing to serve the purchaser.¹⁰⁵ Consumers purchased ballads for information and entertainment. Therefore, to meet these demands, ballad publishers needed to be attuned to shifts in popular tastes and opinions. Publishers were not discriminatory about

¹⁰¹ Richard Brathwaite used a number of pseudonyms. His best-known work, *Barnabae Itinerarium, or Barnabee’s Journal*, was written under the name Corymbaeus. Other pseudonyms used by Brathwaite were Blasius Multibibus, Eucapnus Nepenthicus, Musaeus Palatinus, Musophilus, Hesychius Pamphilus, and Philogenes Paledonius. See *Dictionary of Pseudonyms: 13,000 Assumed Names and Their Origins*, ed. by Adrian Room, 5th edn (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2010), p. 119.; Richard Brathwaite, *A Catercharacter throwne out of a Boxe By an Experience’d Gamester* (London: 1631), p. 18.

¹⁰² Brathwaite, *A Catercharacter throwne out of a Boxe*, p. 19-20.

¹⁰³ Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ McShane, ‘Political Cobblers’, pp. 207-228 (p. 209).

¹⁰⁵ Mark W. Booth, *The Experience of Song* (London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 103.

the opinions they disseminated as their aim was to produce ballads that would sell.¹⁰⁶ From the choice of subject matter alone, historians can make general assumptions about what was important or interesting to the audience. This commercial aspect is key, but it must not be taken as a catch-all approach to every ballad. Many ballads, including black-letter ballads such as *Londons Lotterie* which will be examined in chapter 3, were commissioned advertisements and not driven by commercial necessities. They were not produced with an eye to making profit through sales of the ballad itself. Any ballad must be assessed on its own terms in light of the context of the complex nature of the ballad market.

Black-letter ballads, though usually targeted at the lower end of the market, were actually more expensive to produce than white-letter ballads and were also more expensive to purchase.¹⁰⁷ Whilst most ballad writers probably made little money from their products, ballads themselves were economically successful products that were generally tailored to accommodate the largest possible audience.¹⁰⁸ The black-letter market was socially wider, and distributed further, than that of the white-letter ballads.¹⁰⁹ The range of people to which black-letter ballads tried to appeal can be seen in the final verse of the ballad *Tobias Observation*, which emphasises the benefits of purchasing ballads:

But yet I would have you one penny bestow
& that is the price of this Ballad you know
You know it is good to learn Children to Read,
it's fit for a Youngman to sing to a Maid
It is good for pastime on each holy day,
and here be the Ballads come buy them away.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ McShane, 'Political Cobblers', pp. 207-228 (p. 209).

¹⁰⁷ McShane Jones, "'Rime and reason.'", p. 48.

¹⁰⁸ Paxton Hehmeyer, 'The Social Function of the Broadside Ballad: Or, A New Medley of Readers', in *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 11-13 (p. 12).

¹⁰⁹ McShane Jones, "'Rime and reason.'", p. 48.

¹¹⁰ *Tobias Observation; A Youngman came unto a fair, by chance he met his true Love there Said he, sweetheart though art welcome here, invited her to drink some Beer, But in the end prov'd ne'r the near, as in this Song it will appear.* (1687), PL, Pepys 3.155, EBBA 21167.

As a general approach to the study of ballads, particularly those in black-letter, we can broadly state that views espoused within them were held by, or at least resonated in some way with, many people in early modern London. It just should be born in mind that, in the context of production, not all ballads were subject to the same commercial concerns and that the authorship of different ballads could make a significant difference to the popular reach and appeal of the product.¹¹¹ McShane states that by drawing upon the publishers' well-informed sensitivity, scholars of *mentalités* can begin to mitigate the notorious lack of readership evidence that broadside ballads present.¹¹² By being aware of differences in genre, content and style of cheap literary forms, and by considering the economic factors of production and sale, we can differentiate between commissioned broadsides that sought 'to impose social, religious, political, or cultural authority from above' and retail broadsides that competed in the open market, 'engaging the tastes and interests of the broadest possible audience'.¹¹³ The fact that most ballads were designed to appeal to as wide an audience as possible means we are generally offered a glimpse into a world view that was both espoused to, and held by, much of the urban population.

Many of the ballads produced in the seventeenth century have not survived; and even those that are extant have lost their 'ephemeral traces', such as the oral and musical performance, physical gestures and other non-textual elements accompanying their dissemination.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the survival of ballads was not helped by the fact that their ultimate fate (unavoidable for one of the cheapest forms of paper) was often ending their days as pipe kindling or privy paper.¹¹⁵ From this fact, a broad generalisation can be made: the extant ballads

¹¹¹ Printers and publishers knew the extra marketability of ballad that was written by a popular balladeer. In fact, they might even add a balladeer's name onto the product even if that balladeer had not written it. Scholars should be aware that even supposedly authored ballads were probably 'workshop products' rather than the output of a single writer. See McShane, 'Political Cobblers', pp. 207-228.

¹¹² Ibid, p. 225.

¹¹³ McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', pp. 339-62 (p. 342).

¹¹⁴ Joshua B. Fisher, 'Introduction: Toward a Pedagogy of the Ephemeral', in *Encountering Ephemerality 1500-1800: Scholarship, Performance, Classroom*, ed. by Joshua B. Fisher and Rebecca Steinberger (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), pp. 1-12 (p. 3.).

¹¹⁵ Hehmeyer, pp. 11-13 (p. 11).

available to historians that have managed to survive the test of time are likely to be those which were most numerous and, therefore, probably most popular and often reprinted. In addition, a conscious effort might have been made to preserve the most popular ballads (both by individual families and by professional collectors such as Samuel Pepys).

A simple analogy for the dissemination and survival chances of a broadside ballad is the common joke. Anyone may compose one, but if other people do not find it to be funny it will not be transmitted and cease to exist. On the other hand, if it is thought to be amusing, it will spread rapidly and appear in numerous different versions.¹¹⁶ Whilst a slight oversimplification, this analogy is still useful when considered along with the fact that ballads not only reflected the beliefs and views of their audience, but also had the dual, and crucial, role of shaping these opinions. Margaret Spufford states that one of the very limited ways in which historians can attempt to recreate the mental world of the past is to describe the fictional world to which those who could read, but not necessarily write, could be admitted.¹¹⁷ As mass entertainment for people on a broad spectrum of literacy, ballads were significant in the creation of this fictional world. Furthermore, it seems that many black-letter ballads were purchased for or by young and early readers (during the early-seventeenth century, education in literacy tended to be in black-letter).¹¹⁸ In this context of instruction, the ballads' representations of the outside world would have been internalised by the reader/learner. Ballads describing cultures and places, which most of their audience would never encounter, invariably cemented the audience's mental images of these exotic locations and their inhabitants. Therefore, assuming a broad correlation between popularity of ballads and their survival, historians can analyse how ballads informed the popular imaginations of distant countries and foreign cultures.

¹¹⁶ Barre Toelken, 'Context and Meaning in the Anglo-American Ballad', in *The Ballad and the Scholars: Approaches to Ballad Study* D. K. Wilgus and Barre Toelken eds. (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1986), pp. 29-50 (p. 32).

¹¹⁷ Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen & Co., 1981), p. 1.

¹¹⁸ McShane Jones, "'Rime and reason.'" p. 45.; McShane, 'Typography Matters', pp. 19-44 (p. 25).

In *La Mentalité Primitive*, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl stated that a culture's way of thinking could be discovered by analysing its collective representations.¹¹⁹ The *mentalité* approach is not entirely appropriate for this thesis but is a useful foundation from which to build analysis. Michel Vovelle argues that *mentalité* embraces what is not formulated, what remains apparently insignificant and what remains deeply buried in the unconscious.¹²⁰ Similarly, according to Jacques Le Goff, the history of *mentalités* reveals the underlying foundations of a historical individual's thoughts.¹²¹ The *mentalité* approach's attention to apparently insignificant details and underlying foundations of thoughts is particularly relevant to the study of ballads. In many ballads about sailors, there are frequently single-line references, unrelated to the topic of the ballad, to the danger of Turks or pirates. These 'background' figures are seemingly insignificant in the context of the ballad, never appearing nor influencing the plot. The important point is that these figures were looming presences in the contemporary imagination and are, therefore, manifested in sporadic references.

Ballads provide insights into various shifting and evolving popular imaginations and ideas about the outside world. Eva Johanna Holmberg emphasises that, whilst imagination is a noun, it should be regarded as an active process of engaging with cultural knowledge, rather than a fixed location with clear boundaries.¹²² Adopting this approach takes the shifting, and sometimes contradictory, imaginations of the outside world into account. Holmberg states that the process of 'imagining the Jews' refers to the production of culturally shaped and conditioned ideas.¹²³ These culturally shaped ideas also heavily influenced the ways in which the rest of the world was imagined. Malcolm Gaskill warns that the full panorama of a mental world can never be captured

¹¹⁹ Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *La mentalité primitive [Primitive Mentality]*, trans. by Lilian A. Clare (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1923), p. 32.

¹²⁰ Michel Vovelle, 'Ideologies and Mentalities', in *Culture, Ideology and Politics: Essays for Eric Hobsbawm*, trans. by John Dunne, ed. by Raphael Samuel and Gareth Stedman Jones (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), pp. 2-11 (p. 8).

¹²¹ Jacques Le Goff, 'Mentalities: A History of Ambiguities', in *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, trans. by David Denby, ed. Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 166-180 (p. 169).

¹²² Eva Johanna Holmberg, *Jews in the Early Modern English Imagination: A Scattered Nation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 6.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 5.

within a single, interpretative structure. Instead, historians must search for a passage into *mentalités* that is both manageable and illuminating, and which offers vivid snapshots suggestive of the broader picture.¹²⁴ Whilst I will not be using the terms ‘mentalities’ and ‘*mentalité*’, I hope to show that the representations of the global world in broadside ballads can provide this manageable, but illuminating, insight into the early modern imaginations.

Ballads do not provide a ‘historically accurate’ representation of the seventeenth-century global world. However, their selective choice of subjects, repetitive use of certain themes and culturally shaped representations of foreign places and peoples allow historians to see what was important to the contemporary audience. The fact that ballads were ephemeral and transient products, tied to the historical moment of their creation, only further facilitates this insight. Kevin Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll argue that, whilst ephemeral materials generally became discarded waste, they mattered greatly at the moment of distribution.¹²⁵ Their importance in understanding public opinion and imaginations of the wider world is that ephemeral materials occupied public space, thereby helping to construct that space.¹²⁶ When posted in coffeehouses or taverns, ballads transformed those spaces into theatres for discussion by inviting their audience to participate in a particular discourse – cheap print engendered ‘discursive exchange and community’.¹²⁷ Furthermore, ballads were designed to incite debate, banter and contest.¹²⁸

Christopher Marsh argues that, rather than looking for the one intended meaning of a ballad, historians should be aware of the many possible meanings that may have registered amongst the audience.¹²⁹ Ballads could be used as a form of general social critique or, more specifically, as a criticism of an individual. Criminals and prisoners were frequently derided in

¹²⁴ Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 28.

¹²⁵ Kevin D. Murphy, and Sally O’Driscoll, ‘Introduction: “Fugitive Pieces” and “Gaudy Books”: Textual, Historical, and Visual Interpretations of Ephemera in the Long Eighteenth Century’, in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. by Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), pp. 1-28 (p. 1).

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹²⁸ Marsh, ‘The Sound of Print’, pp. 171-190 (p. 175).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

ballads, but even distinguished members of society feared becoming the subject of a ridicule ballad.¹³⁰ In a society where good name mattered to both a gentleman and a village housewife, any form of defamation had serious public consequences.¹³¹ The danger of libels was in their effect rather than their content since the insult of a libel compelled the insulted person, their friends and family to avenge the insult, thereby potentially breaching the peace.¹³² Alastair Bellany also supports the argument that the circulation of verse libels not only reveals contemporary perceptions of men like Robert Cecil, but also may have shaped them.¹³³

Ballads are unique sources because of the many ways in which their audience could interact with them. In discussing theories of genre, Northrop Frye states that the basis of generic distinction in literature appears to be the ‘radical of presentation’: words may be acted in front of a spectator; they may be spoken before a listener; they may be sung or chanted for an audience; or they may be written for a reader.¹³⁴ Frye concludes that genre is ultimately determined by the conditions established between the poet and their public.¹³⁵ This means, when analysing a ballad, it is essential to consider the many elements with which people could engage: the oral elements (the ballad-monger’s performance and the tune to which the ballad was set); the visual elements (the text, which was accessible to literate people, and the woodcut images which could be observed and interpreted by literate and illiterate alike); and the conative elements (how the interplay of repeated encounters with the same woodcuts or tunes added extra layers of meaning to ballads).

Examining the context of ballad performances raises questions about the role ballads played in everyday life during this period. In the maritime community, books, tales and ballads all functioned as important means of communication, education and entertainment. Marcus Rediker

¹³⁰ Rollins, ‘The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad’, pp.258-339 (p. 279). See Bellany, pp. 144-167 and Fox, ‘Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule’, pp.47-83.

¹³¹ Bellany, pp. 144-167 (p. 146).

¹³² Ibid, p. 146.

¹³³ Ibid, p. 158-9.

¹³⁴ Northrop Frye, “‘Theory of Genres” (1957)’, in *The Lyric Theory Reader: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Virginia Jackson and Yopie Prins (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2014) pp. 30-39 (p. 30).

¹³⁵ Ibid, p. 30.

sees songs as vessels of a collective consciousness of the sea.¹³⁶ However, ballads did more than voice the concerns of one social group, they allowed people to experience the lives of others and inhabit different personas through the process of role-speculation. Fumerton argues that role-speculation, which is vicariously lived subjectivity, is enacted by the singing of songs (for both ballad-mongers and a participating audience).¹³⁷ Singers employed role-speculation by temporarily and uncommittedly trying out identities, taking them on and casting them off as the song proceeded.¹³⁸ These serial personae could be inhabited freely (or for a penny if one decided to purchase the ballad) and could be experienced by the audience in the process of listening and, especially, singing along.¹³⁹ Role-speculation and vicarious experience are particularly important when considering how ballads introduced their audience to the seventeenth-century global world. This was because travel opportunities were unavailable to most people in England. Therefore, ballad consumers could imaginatively see the world, do battle and acquire riches by experiencing these actions in ballad narratives.¹⁴⁰ Fumerton argues that examining broadside ballads, and the multiple role-speculations they offer, allows historians to fully inhabit the aesthetic space of the itinerant working poor.¹⁴¹ The role-speculation offered in ballads may have held particular appeal for male ballad consumers who could act out their attraction to an unbound, male subjectivity without ever actually becoming vagrant.¹⁴² Role-speculation could provoke either a critical or sympathetic ‘wearing’ of personas. Singing a ballad from the point of view of a coal seller would elicit very different responses from a struggling labourer or a wealthier individual who did not engage in manual work.¹⁴³

¹³⁶ Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 190.

¹³⁷ Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 45-46.; Fumerton, ‘Not Home’, pp.493-518 (p. 504; 512).

¹³⁸ Fumerton, ‘Not Home’, pp.493-518 (p. 504).

¹³⁹ Ibid, p. 504.; Fumerton, ‘Making Vagrancy (In)Visible’, pp. 211-227 (p. 227).

¹⁴⁰ Laura Miller, ‘Sea: Transporting England’, in *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 247-250 (p. 247).

¹⁴¹ Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 46.

¹⁴² Fumerton, ‘Not Home’, pp.493-518 (p. 512).

¹⁴³ Hehmeyer, pp. 11-13 (p. 12).

In one way or another, early modern Londoners would have encountered ballads. They were ubiquitous throughout the city and their constant presence in daily life found manifestation in contemporary literature. Excerpts of ballads can be found in Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear* and *Henry VI Part II*; and there are more passing references to balladry in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Twelfth Night*.¹⁴⁴ The pervasiveness of broadside ballads meant that they were extremely well-placed to influence public perceptions and shape general opinions.¹⁴⁵ The persistent use of ballads in England for the spreading of anti-Scottish propaganda, from the accession of James VI and I to the aftermath of the battle of Culloden, highlights their potency as a political weapon.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, Fox shows that ballads helped create the image of the perfidious Scottish 'blue cap' that endured into the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁷ McShane also demonstrates the power of ballads for use in military recruitment as they were an ideal vehicle for urging young men to place loyalty to the crown or nation above family, civic or communal ties.¹⁴⁸

Since the broadside ballad is a liminal source, it needs to be considered in a variety of contexts, particularly as these were not actually separate but operated simultaneously.¹⁴⁹ It is the interplay of these elements that allows for analysis of meanings that are not explicit in the texts.¹⁵⁰ Barre Toelken outlines five contexts that should be born in mind when analysing ballads:

- 1) Immediate human context: the varying meanings produced depending on who is singing (e.g. parent to child, man to woman, elder to younger, or individual to mixed group).
- 2) Social context: the surroundings of family, occupation, religion, ethnicity and region.
- 3) Cultural-psychological context: the linguistic codes displaying traditional fears, and commonplaces holding emotional meanings understood by members of a specific group.

¹⁴⁴ Simone Chess, 'Shakespeare's Plays and Broadside Ballads', *Literature Compass*, 7:9 (2010), 773-785 (p. 775).

¹⁴⁵ Fox, 'Jockey and Jenny', pp.201-220 (p. 219).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 219.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 219.

¹⁴⁸ McShane, 'Recruiting Citizens', pp.105-137 (p. 108).

¹⁴⁹ Toelken, pp. 29-50 (p. 37).

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 37.

- 4) Physical context: the specific place and geographical location of the performance.
- 5) Time context: the meaning, not otherwise inherent in the text itself, produced by the occasion of performance.¹⁵¹

All of Toelken's five categories are relevant and they vary in precedence in different contexts. However, in this thesis, the physical context, the social context and the cultural-psychological context have the most relevance. The physical context of performance for most ballads began in the street. Here, ballad-mongers competed with the sounds of early modern urban life for the attention of passers-by (a fact demonstrated by the many ballads which call out to an audience to attract their attention). The social context is particularly important when considering Fumerton's concept of role-speculation and vicarious experience. Inhabiting the persona of a sailor through song would produce different meanings for the singer depending on their own social status, occupation and closeness to the maritime community. Finally, the cultural-psychological context holds significance when assessing the ways in which ballads informed their audience about other cultures. The depictions of Muslims and Native Americans in ballads were framed in charged ethnographical language and conformed to the prevailing paradigms with which non-European and non-Christian societies were viewed (the 'culturally shaped' imaginations referred to by Holmberg). The meanings produced by the cultural-psychological context of performance are similar to the iconographical language present in the woodcuts which adorn ballads and to the connotative layers of meaning conveyed by the choice of tunes to which ballads were set.

Most scholarship previously held that woodcut images bore little resemblance to the story narrated in a ballad, were haphazardly chosen and only functioned to help sell the ballad by making it look appealing.¹⁵² However, recent work has argued that the selection of woodcuts displays discipline and intent, and that there is a close relationship between the image and the

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p. 36.

¹⁵² Palmer, 'Picturing Song', pp.221-244 (p. 222).; Würzbach, *Die Englische Strassenballade*, p. 9.

text.¹⁵³ Illustrations could be ‘reflective’, offering a mirror of the reader; they could be ‘narrative’, acting as a guide through the narratives; or they could be ‘allusive’, opening a window beyond the text.¹⁵⁴ Analysis of ‘allusive’ images demonstrates that audiences could potentially decode large connotative meanings of ballad lyrics through the additional layers of visual information.¹⁵⁵ Regular purchasers of ballads would have encountered the same woodcut images repeatedly. Therefore, these images not only started to gain their own connotative meanings, but simultaneously would have referenced other illustrations and pamphlets emerging from a shared, intertextual cultural tradition.¹⁵⁶ This led to close associations between images and texts.

Ballads and woodcuts were encountered in a variety of places: in the hands of ballad-mongers, on the walls of alehouses, pinned up in ordinary homes and tacked to posts. They had a significant public profile and few people would have been unfamiliar with them.¹⁵⁷ There was a widespread visual vocabulary in England and, through repetition of these images, printers created an iconography legible to the ballad audience.¹⁵⁸ This was not an instant process and the connotative meanings of an image could have had older origins. This was because the reuse of woodcuts spanned centuries (sixteenth-century broadsheet blocks can be found in eighteenth-century prints).¹⁵⁹ Marsh argues that the continual use of woodcuts and melodies, in addition to the cross-referencing nature of broadside ballads, means that to study a single ballad in isolation is to risk missing a substantial proportion of its significance.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³ Franklin, ‘The Art of Illustration’, pp.327-352 (p. 328). For the scholarship more dismissive of woodcuts, see Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition* and Würzbach, *Die Englische Strassenballade*. For support for the serious consideration of woodcuts, see Franklin, ‘The Art of Illustration’, pp.327-352.; Palmer, ‘Picturing Song’, pp.221-244.; Marsh, ‘A Woodcut’, pp.245-262.; Marsh, ‘Best-Selling Ballads’, pp.53-99.; and Fumerton and Palmer, ‘Lasting Impressions’, pp. 383-400.

¹⁵⁴ Franklin, ‘Broadside Ballad Illustrations’, pp. 169-194 (p. 171).

¹⁵⁵ Palmer, ‘Picturing Song’, pp.221-244 (p. 242).

¹⁵⁶ Freist, p. 147.

¹⁵⁷ Marsh, ‘Best-Selling Ballads’, pp.53-99 (p. 62).

¹⁵⁸ Angela McShane and Clare Backhouse, ‘Top Knots and Lower Sorts: Print and Promiscuous Consumption in the 1690s’, in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Michael Hunter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 337-357 (p. 337).; Franklin, ‘The Art of Illustration’, pp.327-352 (p. 331).

¹⁵⁹ Chess, ‘Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings’, pp. 33-36 (p. 35).

¹⁶⁰ Marsh, ‘A Woodcut’, pp.245-262 (p. 259).

A startling amount of information could be conveyed by the strategic placement of woodcuts and subtle changes in their presentation. Fumerton and Megan Palmer investigate a common woodcut, which they refer to as the ‘welcoming woman’. The earliest versions of this woodcut seem to have included a rose next to the woman.¹⁶¹ This is a Tudor rose and, therefore, the woman evoked memories of the Tudor dynasty and, especially, Elizabeth I for the audience (see Figure 3a).¹⁶² However, more meaning can be extracted from this image. Whilst she is often gesturing at the Tudor rose, the welcoming woman’s clothing reveals her to be a fashionable woman of the late 1630s. In the ballads produced at this time (when the monarchy was felt to be unsteady), a political comment can be discerned since a ‘modern’ woman is gesturing to a symbol of a nostalgically beloved dynasty. The welcoming woman looks back to a past which is romanticised as more politically and financially secure.¹⁶³ The rose disappears sometime between 1646 and 1650, either during the height of the Civil Wars or in the early years of the Commonwealth (see Figure 3b). Fumerton and Palmer state that the welcoming woman had sufficient appeal to warrant remaking, so long as the reference to monarchy was removed. It is also possible that, even when the lady appears unaccompanied by the rose in ballads that seem to have no political subtext, audiences with sufficient visual literacy would be reminded of the Tudor rose simply because of its conspicuous absence.¹⁶⁴ Most of the surviving appearances of the welcoming woman occur on ballads printed after 1670, when her fashion was half a century out of date. Fumerton and Palmer argue that this emphasises her nostalgic appeal and that she stands as an ‘English Everywoman’, representative at all times of the possible past, present and future of England.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Fumerton and Palmer, ‘Lasting Impressions’, pp. 383-400 (p. 390).

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 391.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 396.



Figure 3a: *Loves fierce desire, and hopes of Recovery Or, A true and brief Discription of two resolved Lovers, whose excellent wits, sutable minds, and faithful hearts one to another, shall heedfully be spoken of in this following new made paper of Verses.* (1644-1680?), British Library (hereafter BL), Roxburghe 3.130-131, EBBA 30440 © British Library Board C.20.f.9.130-131. RI 1565.



Figure 3b: *The country Maidens Lamentation For the Loss of her Taylor: Who after pretence of a great deal of Love, ran way with her Clothes, and left her destitute both of Cloathes and Sweetheart Maidens beware, who have not known The Tricks and Humours of the Town: For you will find that there are many, Who of a Maid will make a penny.* (1685-1688), PL, Pepys Ballads 3.343 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

Marsh undertakes a similar analysis and examines one of the best-known characters in seventeenth-century England. The figure first seems to have appeared in the 1650s and, owing to his welcoming posture and outstretched hand, Marsh refers to him as the ‘how-de-do man’ (see Figure 4).¹⁶⁶ Not only is the how-de-do man a common appearance on ballads, he is also present in ballads issued by twenty-one different individuals and so it is obvious that any self-respecting publisher needed access to a recognisable version.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Marsh, ‘A Woodcut’, pp.245-262 (p. 247).

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 249.



Figure 4: The how-de-do Man as seen on *The Famous Sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow*. (1624-1680?), BL, Roxburghe 3.56-57, EBBA 30403 © British Library Board C.20.f.9.56-57

The how-de-do man was overwhelmingly a positive presence in ballads, for whom the audience were invited to feel admiration, sympathy or empathy.¹⁶⁸ However, the implied meanings of this character could vary through framing the image in certain ways. In many ballads, the how-de-do man stands in for characters whose romantic relationships are difficult and occasionally disastrous.¹⁶⁹ In *The Woful Complaint, and Lamentable Death of a forsaken Lover*, he represents a depressed man whose sweetheart has scorned him, and he wanders the woods before committing suicide. On most ballads featuring the how-de-do man, he is placed opposite (and, therefore, appears to be approaching) a woman. This set-up was so common that the appearance of the how-de-do man without a female counterpart was striking and could itself create meaning.¹⁷⁰ In *The Woful Complaint*, there is no female figure and the how-de-do man stares

¹⁶⁸ Marsh estimates that 75% of the ballads showing the how-de-do man are in this category. Ibid, p. 249.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 251.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 252.

straight through the space where she would normally be situated to an image of his own skeleton.¹⁷¹ (see Figure 5).

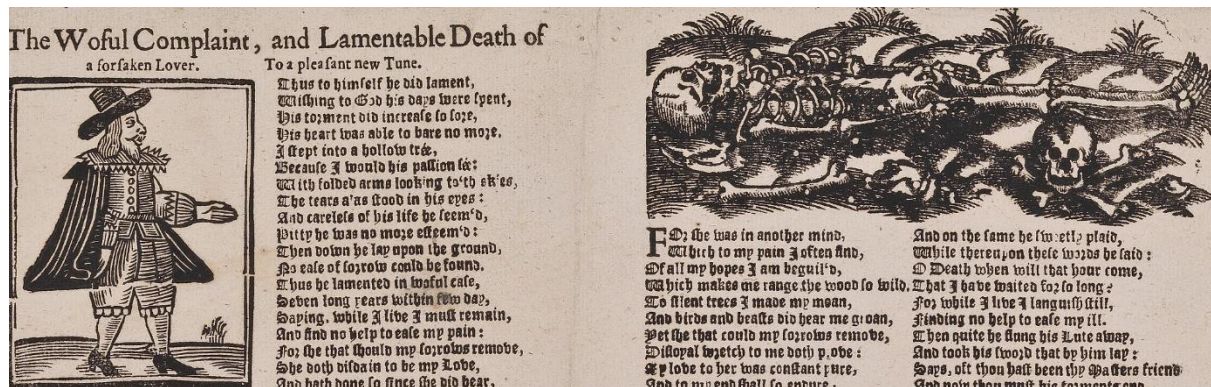


Figure 5: The how-de-do man gazes upon his fate, as seen on *The Woful Complaint, and Lamentable Death of a forsaken Lover*. (1663-1674), UGL, Euing Ballads 391, EBBA 32015 by permission of the University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections.

Woodcuts could add extra-textual meaning to a ballad, but they were not the only feature of balladry to accomplish this. The tunes to which ballads were set also carried their own connotations. Marsh notes that, whilst themes, expressions, characters and pictures all moved around between songs, it was the melodies which were the most effective ‘cross-pollinators’.¹⁷² The redeployment of well-known tunes to new words, a process known as contrafactum, was a feature of most early modern ballads; and the better-known the tune, the denser its webs of associations.¹⁷³ This unique aspect of early modern ballads was not appreciated by Richard Braithwaite. He summed up the contrafactum process with the disparaging comment that the ballad-monger has ‘one tune in store that will indifferently serve for any ditty’.¹⁷⁴

The musical dimension of balladry is significant as music provides ballads with a performance context, physically bringing the ballad to life.¹⁷⁵ Music also helped contribute to the

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p. 252.

¹⁷² Christopher Marsh, “‘Fortune My Foe’”: The Circulation of an English Super-Tune’, in *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*, ed. by Dicuwke van der Poel, Louis Peter Grijp and Wim van Anrooij (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 308-330 (p. 327).

¹⁷³ Una McLivenna, ‘When News was Sung: Ballads as News Media in Early Modern Europe’, *Media History*, 22:3-4 (2016), 317-333 (p. 320); Marsh, “‘Fortune My Foe’”, pp. 308-330 (p. 327). Also see Una McLivenna, ‘The Power of Music: The Significance of Contrafactum in Execution Ballads’, *Past and Present*, 229:1 (2015), 47-89.

¹⁷⁴ Braithwaite, *Whimzies*, p. 9.

¹⁷⁵ Carr, pp. 21-24 (p. 21).

emotional communal moments which ballads could create. Ballads were specifically designed for performance, and the aural and oral dimensions of seventeenth-century literature is difficult to imagine today. Consequently, scholars may frequently miss the point of ballads since melodies could create meaning.¹⁷⁶ It is easy to fall into the trap of neglecting the importance of tunes since they were a key, but rarely published, component of broadside ballads. Broadside ballads were mostly printed as verbal texts only, with the tunes identified by name but not musical notation.¹⁷⁷ This was because broadside ballad writers assumed that their consumers possessed an oral repertoire of popular melodies and simply naming the tune would be sufficient (even if the tune was unknown by the consumer, the ballad-monger would repeatedly sing the melody until it was memorised).¹⁷⁸

There were a variety of ways in which the previous associations of a tune could contribute to a ballad's potential impact. Where the text fitted into a clear thematic category, the most obvious technique was to name a tune that identified and reinforced that theme. This action added new momentum and depth to the meanings of the text and connected it with all ballads sung to that melody.¹⁷⁹ A Dutch raid on the Medway in 1667 provides an example of the power of musical connotations. The Dutch fleet sailed up the Medway and captured the famous and symbolic ship *The Royal Charles*.¹⁸⁰ A Dutch sailor then played the tune 'Joan's placket is torn' upon a trumpet. This was a brilliant piece of 'melodic mockery' since the tune carried heavy sexual overtones which would have been immediately recognised by contemporaries.¹⁸¹ In addition to adding meaning to the ballad, a tune was also a marketing device. Prior associations of a tune would profoundly influence a listener's attitude to hearing a new song, and, therefore,

¹⁷⁶ Marsh, 'The Sound of Print', pp. 171-190 (p. 171).

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 171.

¹⁷⁸ Carr, pp. 21-24 (p. 21-22).

¹⁷⁹ Marsh, 'The Sound of Print', pp. 171-190 (p. 180).

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 182.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p. 182.; McShane, 'Recruiting Citizens', pp.105-137 (p. 122).

tunes could be selected so as to attract those potential customers who enjoyed songs on that particular theme.¹⁸²

Tunes could be more than just a means of clever mockery and were sometimes primary means of communication and self-identification for early modern Europeans. After the 1587 expedition to England's ill-fated Roanoke colony, Governor John White returned to England leaving ninety-one men, seventeen women and nine children in North America.¹⁸³ Delayed by the 1588 Spanish Armada and other inconveniences, it was not until 1590 that John White managed to return, but the Roanoke colonists were no longer there.¹⁸⁴ The behaviour of White's search party is highly significant for understanding the centrality of music and ballads in early modern life. One night they saw a large fire and wondered if it had been made by the colonists. To announce themselves as Englishmen they 'sounded with a trumpet a Call, and afterwarde many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly'.¹⁸⁵ The significance of this is that they announced their national identity through music and song. A similar event took place in 1586, during Francis Drake's attack on the Spanish settlement of St. Augustine. A prisoner approached Drake's fleet in a boat and, to show his association with the Dutch resisting Spanish rule in Europe, played the tune 'the Prince of Orange' on a fife.¹⁸⁶ Music's close link with national and personal identity demonstrates the pervasiveness of musical literacy in early modern culture.

It took neither textual nor musical literacy to be able to exploit the conjunction of melody, text and performance in a sophisticated manner.¹⁸⁷ The potentially subversive content of

¹⁸² Marsh, 'The Sound of Print', pp. 171-190 (p. 180).

¹⁸³ 'The Fourth Voyage Made to Virginia in the Yere 1587, by Governor John White', in *Early English and French Voyages Chiefly from Hakluyt 1534-1608*, ed. by Henry S. Burrage (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), pp. 279-300 (p. 298-300).

¹⁸⁴ See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*, 2nd edn (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), pp. 121-127.

¹⁸⁵ 'The Fifth Voyage of M. John White', in *Early English and French Voyages Chiefly from Hakluyt 1534-1608*, ed. by Henry S. Burrage, pp. 301-324 (p. 317).

¹⁸⁶ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 96.

¹⁸⁷ McIlvenna, 'When News was Sung', pp.317-333 (p. 328).

songs meant that singers and composers were subject to varying levels of scrutiny, censorship and potential punishment.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, if a song had sexual connotations, the writer could aim to deceive the official licenser, appearing innocent by excluding ‘the smut’ from the title and initial verses but instead burying it in the melody and main verses to be rediscovered by well-informed listeners.¹⁸⁹ This may help to explain why early modern ballads, which sometimes look rather bland to modern readers, were regularly categorised by contemporary moralists as dangerously licentious.¹⁹⁰

Marsh and Una McIlvenna each conduct detailed examinations of particular ballad tunes. McIlvenna demonstrates that ballads set to the melody ‘The Rich Merchant Man’ generally concern interrelated themes of punishment, repentance, greed and desperation, with a particular focus on material wealth, the sins that it could drive people to commit and their subsequent punishments.¹⁹¹ The tune was fundamentally linked to a drive to educate the serving classes in appropriate behaviour among the ever-growing merchant class, via a negative model of punitive retribution which stressed the need to be charitable and to shun material greed.¹⁹² Marsh demonstrates that the tune ‘Fortune my foe’ (the best-known secular melody in early modern England, and the most frequently cited broadside ballad melody) was associated with disasters, murders and the last speeches of those condemned to capital punishment.¹⁹³ The tune was so well-known that the expression ‘Fortune my foe’ became a common exclamation of despair.¹⁹⁴ The tune was chosen for such a quantity of songs that it gained many overlapping associations and became a holder of meaning in its own right.¹⁹⁵ If ‘Fortune my foe’ was named as the tune to a moralising ballad that warned youths to behave well, it carried with it a stern and threatening

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 328.

¹⁸⁹ Marsh, ‘The Sound of Print’, pp. 171-190 (p. 183).

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 183.

¹⁹¹ Una McIlvenna, ‘The Rich Merchant Man, or, What the Punishment of Greed Sounded Like in Early Modern English Ballads’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79:2 (2016), 279-299 (p. 280).

¹⁹² Ibid, p. 280.

¹⁹³ Marsh, “‘Fortune My Foe’”, pp. 308-330 (p. 308).; Marsh, ‘The Sound of Print’, pp. 171-190 (p. 183).

¹⁹⁴ Marsh, “‘Fortune My Foe’”, pp. 308-330 (p. 308).

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 316.

reminder of what became of the dissolute – words could not convey this as powerfully as the distinctive melody.¹⁹⁶ Alternatively, a ballad in which the narrator describes how happy they are to have lost all their possessions and to have taken back-breaking labour sounds like a conventional moral dictation of values. However, if it was set to ‘Fortune my foe’ it would have been impossible for the contemporary audience to listen to it without a satiric smile.¹⁹⁷ Ballad composers, publishers, printers and singers could hope to guide the responses of consumers through strategic use of woodcuts, tunes and inter-ballad references, but it is important to remember that those responses were ultimately beyond their control because of the prior experiences of each individual.¹⁹⁸

Ballads are unique sources, entertaining and interacting with their audience in a myriad of ways. The seventeenth century saw the growth of a global world, and this is reflected and represented by ballads. It would be wrong to claim that ballads are the unadulterated voice of labouring people, as many ballads were sponsored pieces of propaganda or written by known authors. However, if historians analyse them as documents that formed and informed the opinions of their audience (acknowledging the fact that the ballads display a range of views and are not homogenous) then, through inferences to events or people in their representations of outside world, we can begin to construct the ways in which the outside world and other cultures were imagined by the early modern ballad audience.

In examining the representations of the seventeenth-century global world, this thesis will take a journey from England, and what would have been local and familiar to the ballad audience, and move outwards. The thesis, therefore, crosses many different historical fields and draws them together through ballad analysis. Much of the analysis focuses broadly on different environments, places and peoples, selecting a variety of small references from many ballads to illustrate my arguments. However, when there are several ballads about a particular event, or a

¹⁹⁶ Marsh, ‘The Sound of Print’ pp. 171-190 (p. 181).

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 185.

¹⁹⁸ Marsh, “‘The Blazing Torch’”, pp.95-116 (p. 111).

ballad describing an event that epitomises the dominant paradigm of representing that particular place, culture or concept, we shall linger a little longer and examine the wider social, political and cultural context and how ballads operated within this.

The maritime community was the first point of contact, on English soil, with the outside world. Therefore, chapter one will examine the representation of sailors in broadside ballads. Sailors were the agents of the globalising process and their ballad personas often stand in stark contrast to their representations in other literature and social thought. In ballads concerning sailors, England is placed at the centre of the expanding world and the sailor was represented as a vital figure for the country's defence and economic prosperity.

As we move from the familiar towards the unknown, chapter two considers oceanic travel – that transitional journey between the outside world and home, in which sailors (depending on cruelties and vagaries of weather and tide) could find themselves suspended in limbo betwixt the safety of harbours and at the mercy of the open ocean. This chapter considers the ballad representations of the mysteries and dangers of the sea, from monsters and storms to pirates. These ballads speak to an increasing understanding of, and mastery over, the ocean but also the powerlessness that can be felt when in the grip of a storm. Pirates are complicated figures, imaged both as the most terrifying of threats but also as noble or even heroic figures, and represent the chaotic nature of the sea and the outside world.

Having left England and come through the dangers of early modern oceanic travel (unscathed or otherwise), we arrive at a foreign shore. With the benefit of historical hindsight, certainly the most significant English landfalls were part of the early attempts to found colonies in North America. Chapter three examines this early colonial enterprise, considering the representation of an empty, abundant land distributed by the Virginia Company, as well as the darker ballad narratives of kidnap and indentured servitude used to supply the colonies with labour. It then analyses the ways in which ballads contribute to the imaginations of Native Americans, whose representation varied between savage heathens or legitimate sovereigns of

their land, depending on the prevailing political attitudes at the time of the ballad's creation. However, even when autonomy seems to be attributed to Native Americans, there were underlying assumptions about their inherent child-like nature and need to be governed by the civilised English.

The fourth and final chapter, focuses on the real and imagined relationships early modern England had with the Islamic world. Muslims, like Native Americans, belonged to a non-European culture and there are certain similarities in their ballad depictions. However, Islam is notable in that it represented a physical and spiritual threat (fears of forced conversion coming from an Ottoman invasion or from being captured by the Barbary Corsairs) in a way which Native American culture did not. Another difference between the representations of Islamic and Native American culture is that the Islamic world held a significant allure to the early modern imagination. Elements of Islamic culture, such as coffee, permeated into European society, with highly varying responses to them. Furthermore, the perceived decadence and luxury of Islamic societies (in particular the sultan's harem) meant that they were common settings for fictitious ballad narratives that played out a physical and sexual conquest of Islamic countries.

Early modern England was connected in a variety of ways to the increasingly global world of the seventeenth century. These connections can be discerned, either implicitly or explicitly and in a myriad of forms, in broadside ballads. These cheap, ephemeral products held a powerful influence on their audience, and, through them, historians are privileged with a glimpse into how this audience understood and imagined their place and the role of their nation in this interconnected world.

Chapter One: The Sailor

I am a Sailor bred and born,
And the fear of death therefore I scorn,
If I at Home should stay,
What would Commanders say,
It never shall be said,
That I a seaman bred,
Will ever hide my head,
I'll go, and it is in vain to answer no.¹⁹⁹

These lines are taken from a ballad in which a sailor is compelled, by his very self-identity as a sailor, to leave home and travel.²⁰⁰ As such, the verse encapsulates the concept of dynamism and movement that characterised the seventeenth century. However, this is not to say that people and commodities did not travel the globe before this point. The importance of the seventeenth century was the scale of the interconnected web of commerce and communication and the frequency of global movement. The primary impetus driving this process, especially from the European perspective, was economic. In the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Portuguese and the Spanish raced, in opposite directions, to reach the East Indies and claim a monopoly over the cloves and nutmeg grown there. At the same time, the Spanish were extracting large quantities of bullion from the mines of South America, changing the nature of the European economy.²⁰¹ The Spanish treasure fleets were constant targets for pirates, particularly the Elizabethan sea dogs (who were celebrated as heroic privateers at home, but from any perspective outside the Anglo world were seen as pirates).²⁰² In the Mediterranean, for political as well as economic reasons, the English were trying to broker trade agreements and

¹⁹⁹ *The Undaunted Marriner; Or, The Stout Seaman's Valliant Resolution, In A Dialogue Between Him and Nancy his Love, at his going on Board.* (1664-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.364, EBBA 22188.

²⁰⁰ This concept of the sailor who 'must' go to sea is discussed by Fumerton. See Fumerton, *Unsettled*.

²⁰¹ See Elvira Vilches, *New World Gold: Cultural Anxiety and Monetary Disorder in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). Vilches notes that the influx of bullion caused serious problems in Spain as contemporary authors discussed how imports from America had brought ruin instead of fortune. Vilches, p. 1.

²⁰² Peter C. Mancall and Carole Shammas, 'Introduction', in *Governing the Sea in the Early Modern Era: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Ritchie*, ed. by Peter C. Mancall and Carole Shammas (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 2015), pp. 1-13 (p. 2).

alliances with Morocco and the Ottoman Empire.²⁰³ The world outside Europe held the tantalising promise of valuable commodities which could be sold, as well as land that could be occupied and exploited.

The explorations and discoveries of the sixteenth century resulted in scattered trading posts and small spheres of European coastal influence in foreign lands with otherwise unknown interiors.²⁰⁴ This littoral focus is reflected in the map shown in Figure 6, drawn by Charles Wilde (an English East India Company purser on a voyage to Indonesia in 1651).²⁰⁵ This is a typical European map for the period. It locates important coastal features such as watering holes, inlets, rivers and shoals, and Wilde provides depths, distances and landmarks in Bantam harbour.²⁰⁶ This map demonstrates that Wilde's interest in, or knowledge of, the land beyond the coastline was negligible (a simple line of trees signals the border between sea and empty space). The main focus of his interest was the commercial entrepôt of Bantam.²⁰⁷

With the exception of parts of America, which Europeans had found easier to dominate (partially due to the vulnerability of the native population to Old World diseases), sixteenth-century European power abroad was mostly thalassocratic. In the seventeenth century, Europeans acquired greater land-based dominance but the distance of these colonial peripheries from the imperial home countries, and the need to transport commerce, meant that the sea was integral to European power. In the dawning global world, it was sailors who had the most exposure to other cultures and places. They were the initial conduits through which information from and about the outside world filtered back to Europe. When ships laden with spices and

²⁰³ Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), p. 13. Brotton notes that Elizabethan England regarded Islam, with its refusal to worship icons and its veneration of a holy book, as a faith with which 'it could do business'.

²⁰⁴ See Elizabeth Mancke, 'Early Modern Expansion and the Politicization of Oceanic Space', *The Geographical Review*, 89:2 (1999), 225-236.

²⁰⁵ Charles Wilde's maps and sketches can be found in British Library MS Sloane 3231.

²⁰⁶ Games, 'Anglo-Dutch Maritime Interactions', pp. 171-195 (p. 175).

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 175.

other exotica arrived in Europe, they were unloaded into port cities (whose population was largely tied, in one way or another, to the maritime community).



Figure 6: Charles Wilde's map of Bantam Harbour (1651) © British Library Board MS Sloane 3231.

Sailors and the sea are frequent subjects of broadside ballads. In fact, one of the categories into which Samuel Pepys organised his ballad collection is simply called 'Sea' (incidentally, this is also the only category defined by an occupation).²⁰⁸ Laura Miller argues that the popularity of sea ballads can be explained by considering a sailor as the ideal ballad consumer: someone from the lower classes with (occasionally and temporarily) a little extra money to spend; little room to carry books; an interest in music; and with a lot of time on their hands.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, the deck of a ship was a cultural space where a mix of literary activity took place, from the singing of shanties to the reading of printed ballads. Many ballads were designed either with the maritime community in mind as the target audience or to appeal to

²⁰⁸ Miller, pp. 247-250 (p. 247).

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 250.

people from other trades who were encouraged to become sailors in military recruitment drives. The idealised representation of sailors in these ballads was highly influential in recruitment efforts. Sea ballads can be generally categorised into four different groups: general praise for seamen; tales about infamous privateers; celebrations of naval victories; and love songs (usually dialogues between a sailor and his partner at the moment of departure). The last two categories are the most numerous.²¹⁰ The dialogue conversations between lovers revolve around the themes of leaving, returning, the danger of abandonment, loss and constancy.

Fumerton has extensively studied the figure of the constant sailor in ballads and argues that seamen, by the nature of their work, were an unsettled group. She states that, in ballads, many seamen tell their partners that they ‘must’ go to sea (this compulsion not necessarily being externally imposed upon them, but a manifestation of a deep personal need), and that ballads about sailors and their sweethearts display both commitment and unsettledness, stability and displacement.²¹¹ In such ballads, the woman must always be constant, whilst the man has opportunity to experiment with inconsistency and an unsettled life before ‘casting anchor in wedlock’.²¹² One of the functions of these ballads is to encourage morally good behaviour amongst members of the maritime community. The constant lovers are held up as paragons of true love and the ballad audience are left to compare their own treatment of their partners, or potential partners, to this model behaviour. This was because deserting one’s wife was a viable option for sailors, who could easily be absent for long periods. Seamen’s spouses were especially susceptible to relationship limbo, where absence could merge imperceptibly into separation and desertion or even ignorance as to whether one’s husband was living or dead.²¹³ This ignorance is encapsulated in the ballad *The Mariner’s Delight, Or, The Seamans Seaven Wives*, in which a woman is left by her sailor sweetheart and she believes he has perished. However, she discovers that he has

²¹⁰ Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 135.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 138-139.

²¹² *Ibid*, p. 139.

²¹³ Cheryl A. Fury, ‘Seamen’s Wives and Widows’, in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 253-275 (p. 259).

seven wives across a large geographic span of England, Wales, France, the Netherlands and Virginia.²¹⁴

Sometimes, ballads not only encourage constant behaviour but provide warnings of the punishments and repercussions for being inconstant. *The Laundry-Maid's Lamentation for the loss of her Seaman* describes how a seaman 'made a mighty shew of Love, / And vow'd & swore that he would constant prove'. However, he did not prove true: 'He brought her presents from the Golden shore, / And thus unlockt her Heart and Chamber-door: / But when he'd gain'd his will he march'd away, / And left his Mistris with a Kid to play.'²¹⁵ This is an excellent example of how an innovative use of woodcuts could add extra-textual meaning to a ballad. Two figures, male and female, can be seen in the top right-hand corner of the ballad (see Figures 7a and 7b). Each is extending their hand towards the other. This posture is highly common in ballad illustrations and suggested a romantic link, either current or proposed, between the two.

Other than the fact that the man depicted in Figure 7b is standing still, he is very similar to Marsh's how-de-do man. Early modern concepts of posture and gesture suggest that the how-de-do man is manly and of good status: his arm does not droop; he keeps his hat on (not expecting to meet a superior); and he stands erect whilst looking straight ahead.²¹⁶ The male figure from *The Laundry-Maid's Lamentation* shares these qualities. However, this is confusing because the man described in the ballad is not a heroic gentleman but an inconstant sailor.

²¹⁴ See *The Mariner's Delight, Or, The Seaman's Seaven Wives. Being a pleasant new Song; shewing how a Seaman call'd Anthony courted a young Maid whose Name is Susan, in London: and (with great difficulty) gain'd her affection; Notwith-standing he had seaven Wives, all alive at that time: and at last was discovered, to the great advantage and satisfaction of the Vertuous Maid and all her Relations. From which every Woman, Wi-dow and Maid may learn how to be wary, and cautious in their Courting.* (1662-1692?), BL, Roxburghe 2.355, EBBA 30795.

²¹⁵ *The Laundry-Maid's Lamentation for the loss of her Seaman. The Seaman made a mighty shew of Love, And vow'd & swore that he would constant prove. He brought her presents from the Golden shore, And thus unlockt her Heart and Chamber-door: But when he'd gain'd his will he march'd away, And left his Mistris with a Kid to play. Now she laments, and tears her flaxen Hair; He's shipwrackt, and she's ready to despair.* (1672-1696), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.164, EBBA 21826.

²¹⁶ Marsh, 'A Woodcut', pp.245-262 (p. 247).



Figure 7a: Female Figure on *The Laundry-Maid's Lamentation for the loss of her Seaman*. (1672-1696), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.164, EBBA 21826 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.



Figure 7b: Male Figure on *The Laundry-Maid's Lamentation for the loss of her Seaman*. (1672-1696), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.164, EBBA 21826 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

The fact that the male figure displayed here is clearly not a sailor, coupled with the fact that his clothes and posture suggest good status, would seem to lend credence to the argument that woodcuts often bore little resemblance to a ballad's narrative. However, this would belie the skill and care used by printers in setting up complex crosscurrents between ballads in the imagination of viewers.²¹⁷

In a conventional romantic ballad, the woodcuts of the male and female figures with hands outstretched would be placed next to each other – as I have shown them above – so that the figures reach towards one another. However, in this ballad, that ideal constant relationship is fractured by another woodcut which has been placed between the two. This third woodcut shows a woman sitting alone and breastfeeding an infant. The fantasy relationship, where a man is noble and constant, epitomised by the two romantic figures is shattered by the reality of a

²¹⁷ Ibid, p. 246.

single woman trying to raise a child alone (see Figure 8). This woodcut is used in three other ballads printed throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century. Two of these ballads feature sexual relations outside marriage and the other features the death of a lover.²¹⁸ To the frequent ballad consumer, this woodcut may well have carried the connotations of these themes. Therefore, with only visual literacy required, a ballad consumer could see the representation of an ideal romantic relationship divided by a single woman associated with extra-marital sex and the death of a loved one. The large woodcuts of two ships on the opposite side of the ballad sheet then provide the information on the manner of the seaman's fate.



Figure 8: The full tableau of the three characters on *The Laundry-Maid's Lamentation for the loss of her Seaman*. (1672-1696), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.164, EBBA 21826 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

Whilst it is not explicitly stated, it seems plausible that the seaman's punishment for abandoning the woman is his death at sea. However, he is not the central subject of this ballad and his death is summarised in two lines: 'for i'm inform'd he's dead; / Some Shark his body has

²¹⁸ See *Unfortunate Jockey, And mournful Jenny. Jockey was by Sawny slain, Which troubled Jenny sore, In sorrow now she doth remain, And vows to love no more.* (1681-1684), BL, Roxburghe 4.83, EBBA 31509.; *The Loving Chamber-Maid, Or, Vindication of a departed Maidenhead. Being the Art to lye with a Man and yet be a Virgin. Maidens ---- but Ah what is maid I pray An infant Female that scarce views the day, For e're the things we Virgins call aspire To 13 years, they feel a strange desire: Longing for what themselves can scarcely tell, Which strange desire of make their bellies swell, And then what 'tis they know too fatal well.* (1672-1696?), NLS, Crawford.EB.1053, EBBA 33650.; and *The Crafty Barber of Debtford, You Debtford Women all beware of this same Crafty Barber: For when he gets between your Arms There he takes up his barbour.* (1651-1686?), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (hereafter BRBML), 2000 Folio 6 10, EBBA 35668.

possest.²¹⁹ The ballad is sung by the persona of the single woman, and it is with her the audience is meant to empathise. She is presented as a truly tragic figure, not angry at the man for abandoning her: 'I cry, I mourn both night and day, / to think of my Willy's Fate; / For his Return I alwaies pray, / but Prayers are all too late.'²²⁰ She is without anyone to help and support her. She looks for help from the maritime authorities, 'But they're so huffish and so high, / they ne'r regard my Prayer.'²²¹

The woman's hopeless situation leads her to decide to commit suicide and to take her child with her: 'My Kid and I alike shall dye, / The curled waves will be / The only Grave for him and I / that I do desire to see.'²²² As argued in the introduction, ballads are cultural products which function to defend and propagate the ethical systems upon which a society's sense of righteousness is based.²²³ This ballad highlights to its audience the damage that can be caused by immoral and inconstant behaviour. The sailor is punished by death at sea, but his actions caused sufferings to others as well. The ballad also functions as a warning to young women to avoid giving themselves up to such men. This is achieved by having the ballad sung in the persona of a woman, rather than third person narration, and by addressing the ballad to women in particular with the first line: 'Come mourn with me fair Nymphs, come mourn.'²²⁴ This line plays on a concept of female unity and mutual support. Through the creation of an emotional communal moment, the ballad encourages women hearing it to want to join the community of 'fair Nymphs' and support one of their number through her grief.

The theme of constancy is persistent throughout broadside ballads and represents a fact of life for many women in the maritime community: that they could easily lose, or be left by, their husbands. The context of increasing commerce and travel in this period should be

²¹⁹ *The Laundry-Maid's Lamentation for the loss of her Seaman.*, EBBA 21826.

²²⁰ Ibid

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Duby, pp. 151-165 (p. 156-157).

²²⁴ *The Laundry-Maid's Lamentation for the loss of her Seaman.*, EBBA 21826.

remembered when examining the constancy ballads, which attempt to tether the unsettled seaman to a stable home. These ballads held the specific function of preaching a moral message to the maritime community. They presented images of the ideal relationships between sailors and their less unsettled families on shore, as well as images of the ways in which inconstancy could be detrimental to all. That the constant sailor trope was one of the most common themes in seventeenth-century broadside ballads concerning sailors, is a testament to the perpetual motion of sailors' lives, and a manifestation of attempts to limit the dangers of abandonment that the long absences of global movement could facilitate.

The constancy theme of the seventeenth century stands in contrast to earlier ballads which instead celebrated travel and movement. One reason for this shift is the development of contemporary thought regarding a global English presence. 'In prais of Seafaringe men, In hope of good fortune' is a manuscript ballad from 1585. The ballad states, 'Whoe siekes the waie to win renowne', let him his 'soylle eschew / Lett [him] go Rainge and seke A newe'.²²⁵ Unlike the attempt to anchor sailors to their families and home country through the constant seaman motif of the seventeenth century, this earlier ballad displays a figure of firm conviction ('No hap can hinder his entente / He steadfast standes') with a clear desire to travel: 'Sum thinkes it agrefe to leave their Soylle, / Their parents cynsfolke and their whome / Thinke soe who list I like it nott / I most abrod to trie my Lott.'²²⁶ The context of the ballad's creation is highly important when considering this theme. The ballad refers to Richard Greenville, who left England in 1585 to establish the first English colony in America. The ballad does not promote a desire to return home, instead it describes how all places are the same to the bold seafarer: 'The sunn quoth he doth shine as well / abrod as earst where I did Dwell.'²²⁷ Whilst 'sum thinkes it strange abrod to Rome', a brave man in search of wealth must be content to make all places his home. This is epitomised in the third verse when the narrator states 'in chanyge of streames each fish can live /

²²⁵ British Library MS Sloane 2497, fol. 48.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

Eche foule content with everie Ayre' and 'I judg all lands A licke'.²²⁸ The ballad disparages those who stay 'at whome at carte to Drudge', stating that, had the Greeks been of that mind, they would have 'never the Trogian's foylde'. The ballad encapsulates the idea of wealth and renown lying away from home with its final line: 'Wherfore who lust to live at whome / To purchas fame I will go Rome.'²²⁹

The image of the heroic and bold sailor continued into the seventeenth century, but the encouragement to leave one's home was mostly overshadowed by the attempts to pin down the unsettled seaman. One explanation for this shift is that it coincides with a change in contemporary thought. In the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, one of the early justifications for colonial expansion was the prevailing belief that England had a surplus population of the poor and unemployed.²³⁰ This group was deemed to be dangerous and a potential threat to social and economic stability because it was widely believed that poverty and unemployment led to criminality.²³¹ Therefore, Elizabethan imperial promoters, such as Richard Hakluyt (the younger) and Gilbert Humphreys, argued that colonial settlements would ease England's social and economic burdens – a sentiment which was also echoed in pamphlets and sermons.²³² However, this led to tensions. Whilst the authorities wanted to get rid of their undesirable poor to Virginia and the Caribbean islands, the colonial settlers already there were not enthusiastic about the prospect.²³³

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid. Rome meaning, in this instance, 'to roam' rather than the Italian city.

²³⁰ Abigail Swingen, 'Labor: Employment, Colonial Servitude, and Slavery in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic', in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, ed. by Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 46-73 (p. 48).

²³¹ Ibid. This view was particularly strong around the end of the sixteenth century when the incidence of crime was rising, and vagrancy was approaching its peak – both particularly high in dearth years such as in the later 1590s. See Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York: Longman, 1988), especially chapter five, 'The Dangerous Poor'.

²³² Swingen, pp. 46-73 (p. 48). Richard Hakluyt presented his *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* to Elizabeth I in 1584. It proposed that England's idle poor could be put to work in the colonies and that the colonies could also be used to hold criminals. See Armstrong, *Writing North America*, p. 6.

²³³ Armstrong, p. 128.

In the mid-seventeenth century, this line of populationist thought began to alter. The poor, vagrant and even criminal populations began to be seen as potential economic resources which could be exploited through training and management.²³⁴ There were many contemporaries who, in the second half of the seventeenth century, were highly critical of England's imperial and commercial policies. Many of these complaints rested on the idea that population and, therefore, labour needed to remain at home and be cultivated. The colonies competed with the home country for people.²³⁵ This change in conceptualisation made the idea of peopling the colonies with African slaves all the more appealing.²³⁶ By relying upon African slaves, colonies were no longer dependant on England for a valuable labour supply and there was no competition for people.²³⁷

This shift in populationist ideology stimulated a massive increase in the slave trade, which characterised eighteenth-century England's economic activities.²³⁸ This development finds expression in a number of ballads. Chapter 3 will examine several ballads, such as *Londons Lotterie* and *Newes from Virginia*, which promote early colonial endeavours.²³⁹ These ballads, as well as a number of no longer extant titles such as *laste newes from Virginia, beinge an encouragment to all others to followe that noble enterprise*, are encouragements not just to travel to foreign shores for the good of the nation, but crucially to settle and cultivate the land.²⁴⁰ These are then contrasted by later ballads which reflect a need to return home – commonly depicted by the conversations between constant lovers.²⁴¹ In almost no ballad is this tension between adventure and domestic

²³⁴ Swingen, pp. 46-73 (p. 53).

²³⁵ Swingen, pp. 46-73 (p. 54).

²³⁶ Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind, 'Introduction', in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, ed. by Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 3-22 (p. 10).

²³⁷ Swingen, pp. 46-73 (p. 61). See *Certain Considerations Relating to the Royal African Company of England* (London: [s.n.], 1680) ESTC R205914.

²³⁸ Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind, pp. 3-22 (p. 10).

²³⁹ See Chapter 3 of this thesis – 'Establishing a Foothold'.

²⁴⁰ *Laste newes from Virginia, beinge an encouragment to all others to followe that noble enterprise* (RI 1471) was entered into the Stationers' Company Register by John Wrighte in August 1611. See Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 129).

²⁴¹ Another contributing factor to the call for labour, particularly that of young males, to remain in the country was the military and naval recruitment in the mid- and later-seventeenth century. During this time, England entered its own period of internal military strife as well as various conflicts with France, Spain and the Netherlands across the course of the century. Of the two to three hundred extant 'military' ballad titles published between 1639 and 1695,

commitment more plainly played out than *A Voyage to Virginia*. In this ballad, a soldier is departing for Virginia and leaving his partner in England. The two contrary forces of his desire to be with her and his longing for ‘Promotion and for Honour’ under ‘Englands Banner’ are made clear. He explains, ‘pretty Betty I now must leave thee, / the Drums doth summon me away’, although ‘it sore doth grieve me’. All verses which are sung from his perspective end with the line ‘I must to Virginia go’, whilst those sung in the persona of Betty end ‘do not to Virginia go.’²⁴² In an era of increasing travel and the beginnings of a global empire, the change in themes of ballads about sailors (from promoting travel to calling on sailors to remain settled) is a manifestation of wider discourses on what relationship England should have with the wider world.

Sailors were the agents of the increasing globalisation of the seventeenth-century world. It was through their activities that the outside world was brought closer to England, and this world was made more tangible by the commodities that were unloaded into port cities. This chapter will consider the varying representations of the maritime world and community within ballads, as well as the mercantile connections that tied England with the rest of the world. Whilst the total population of the maritime community cannot be counted with particular accuracy, it was sufficiently important to be a symbol of early modern England, especially in terms of its responsibilities in trade and war.²⁴³ These two roles are emphatically portrayed in ballads and so, after having investigated the importance of the sea to early modern states in terms of defining political authority and autonomy, this chapter will focus on the ballad representations of sailors defending the country from hostile foreign powers and strengthening the economy through the transportation of goods. These sea ballads of the seventeenth century ‘established a set of

most were published from 1660 onwards. See McShane ‘Recruiting Citizens’, pp.105-137 (p. 108). However, the weighting towards a higher number of titles surviving from the second half of the century could well be shaped by developments in collecting and preserving ballads after the Restoration.

²⁴² *Voyage to Virginia: / Or, / The Valiant Souldiers Farewel to his Love; / Unto Virginia he's resolv'd to go, / She begs of him, that he would not do so; / But her intreaties they are all in vain, / For he must Plow the curled Ocean Main; / At length (with sorrow) he doth take his leave, / And leaves his dearest Love at home to grieve.* (1685), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.159, EBBA 21821.

²⁴³ David Loades, ‘The English Maritime Community, 1500-1650’, in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 5-26 (p. 24).

themes in content that would remain in place for centuries'.²⁴⁴ Whilst the sailor was an often-ridiculed figure in other contemporary cultural discourses, ballads do much to redress this balance, propagating the image of heroic sailors upon whom the whole nation depends.

Sea: The First Frontier

For all the benefits that the sea brought to early modern nation states, it also presented a problem: how could it be subjected to political power and authority? The sea is a uniform mass, boundaries are not visible and its sheer size meant that borders could not be constantly guarded and patrolled.²⁴⁵ This is not to mention the inherent dangers of life at sea, from isolation and potential starvation to shipwreck in storms. However, it was vitally important that European states exercised their naval power to protect trade routes and fishing grounds, as well as to defend themselves.²⁴⁶ Ballads about sailors and maritime life are immersed in these political considerations. More so than almost all other ballad themes, ballads about sailors are external in outlook. As demonstrated in the introduction, most ballads are unconcerned with the outside world and comment more explicitly upon English society and culture. Ballads about sailors are frequently the exception to this rule. As the agents of early modern globalisation, the image of the sailor was accompanied by the associations of travel, foreign commodities and encounters in distant lands. Ballads about sailors, therefore, introduced their audience to the outside world and contributed to an imagination of the global world in which England is placed in a central and leading position.

²⁴⁴ Paul Gilje, *To Swear Like a Sailor: Maritime Culture in America, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 136. For the longer-term development of many of these themes, see Gilje chapter 5 'Songs of the Sailorman'. Gilje traces these themes through the Anglo-American nautical music of the eighteenth century and their relationship to the development of the British Empire and the independence of the United States.

²⁴⁵ Mancall and Shammas, pp. 1-13 (p. 1).

²⁴⁶ Mancall and Shammas state that fishing was at the heart of many early modern maritime issues as, unlike land animals which could be fenced in or at least tracked, fish had the 'unattractive quality' of changing their domiciles for unpredictable reasons. See Mancall and Shammas, pp. 1-13 (p. 2).

The political need to establish authority over the sea was well-understood throughout English society and is emphatically expressed in the ballad ‘A Satyr on the Sea-Officers; Or, A Long Prologue to a Short Play’. This ballad is a satirical criticism of officers whom the ballad considers unfit for duty. It states that parliament needs to address the issue of authority over the sea, otherwise the French monsieur ‘will make the narrow seas his station. / Then what becomes of all our ancient rule, / Our right from Edgar, and command from Thule?’.²⁴⁷ The Anglo-Saxon King Edgar was often evoked when English, or later British, sovereign authority over the seas needed to be proclaimed. Edgar’s realm was thought to have encompassed Britain and its neighbouring islands (including Ireland).²⁴⁸ As the earliest claim to the entire archipelago, Edgar’s insular empire became the foundation myth of maritime Englishness.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, the concept of Albion (the ancient term used to designate the entire island of Britain) found political meaning in the seventeenth century with the accession of James VI and I.²⁵⁰ The ballad argues that if the inheritance of Edgar’s maritime rights was not maintained, England would be insignificant in terms of European politics, let alone in terms of the global world. However, as argued in the late seventeenth-century ballad *The Jovial Marriner; Or, the Sea-Man’s Renown*, if English authority covered the sea, then foreign countries which ‘doth tremble at our fame’ dare not protest ‘if we say all our own’.²⁵¹ As well as looking to Edgar, English writers could call on more recent history to affirm the belief that English power was anchored in maritime history.²⁵² The originating agents of the empire were seen to be the Elizabethan sea dogs who had

²⁴⁷ ‘A Satyr on the Sea-officers’, in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 137-140 (p. 139).

²⁴⁸ Sebastian I. Sobceki, ‘Introduction: Edgar’s Archipelago’, in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 1-30 (p. 8).

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7; 1.

²⁵⁰ Julia Crick, ‘Edgar, Albion and Insular Dominion’ in *Edgar, King of the English 959-975: New Interpretations*, ed. Donald Scragg (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 158-170 (p. 158).

²⁵¹ *The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown. Sail forth bold Sea-men, plough the Liquid Main, Fear neither storms nor Pirats, strive for gain. Whilst others sleep at home in a whole skin, Your brave adventures shall great honour win.* (1670-1682), National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Crawford.EB.544, EBBA 32976. The concept of Edgar’s command over the British seas was actually the by-product of deliberate rewriting and forgery undertaken by two generations of monks in twelfth-century Worcester to make collective history subservient to their specific local needs. See Sobceki, pp. 1-30 (p. 7).

²⁵² David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 100.

circumnavigated the globe, singed the king of Spain's beard, rid the oceans of pirates and Catholics, and opened maritime trade routes.²⁵³

Authority over the sea was a continually growing bone of contention between nations in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁵⁴ The arguments generally revolved around *Mare Clausum* (closed sea) or *Mare Liberum* (free sea) policies. Generally, nations tended to adhere to one policy for both local and global waters. Therefore, any nation wishing to claim control over its own coastal waters (*Mare Clausum*), had to accept Spanish and Portuguese control of the high seas. Whereas, those who wished to assert their rights to navigate and trade in foreign territories or fish off foreign coasts (*Mare Liberum*), consequently had to accept mere jurisdiction over their coastal waters.²⁵⁵ A key moment in the debate came with the publication of Hugo Grotius' *Mare Liberum* in 1609. Grotius argued that *dominium* (ownership) presupposed occupation and, therefore, as it was impossible to occupy the seas, they belonged to no nation and could only be ruled through *imperium* (sovereign authority).²⁵⁶ Grotius' text was primarily produced in the context of Dutch competition with the Portuguese in the East Indies, but it held relevance for England's identity as a dominant maritime power. For several centuries, England had generally held a policy of *Mare Liberum*. However, this changed with James I, whose 1609 statute asserted English *dominium* and a *Mare Clausum* policy over coastal waters (although England actually continued to hold a *Mare Liberum* policy in regard to the open seas, which served its broader trade and exploration interests).²⁵⁷ The English entry into the free seas debate came from John Selden in 1636, who argued that the sea could be claimed because it could be delimited (Selden was an active member of the Virginia Company and so was hardly a disinterested scholar on

²⁵³ Ibid, p. 100.

²⁵⁴ For the many treatises written in support of free or closed seas, see Mónica Brito Vieira, 'Mare Liberum vs Mare Clausum: Grotius, Freitas, and Selden's Debate on Dominion Over the Seas', *Journal of the History Ideas*, 64 (2003), 361-77.

²⁵⁵ Sandra Logan, 'Michael Drayton's Poly-Olbion: maritime England and the free seas debates', *The Seventeenth Century*, 33:4 (2018), 411-426 (p. 414).

²⁵⁶ Renaud Morieux, 'Anglo-French Fishing Disputes and Maritime Boundaries in the North Atlantic, 1700-1850', in *Governing the Sea in the Early Modern Era: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Ritchie*, ed. by Peter C. Mancall and Carole Shammas (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 2015), pp. 41-75 (p. 41; 42).

²⁵⁷ Logan, pp.411-426 (p. 415).

these matters).²⁵⁸ Problems of maritime rights and authority were at the centre of disputes between the Stuart monarchy and its North Sea neighbours, particularly the Dutch. These issues led to collisions between the English and Dutch trading companies over rights of navigation in the East Indies.²⁵⁹ The presence of foreign vessels in what a nation considered its home waters strained diplomatic relations, and intruders were described as threatening national prosperity.²⁶⁰

A fractious relationship existed between the English and the Dutch, who were united in their Protestantism but were in fierce economic competition. In the seventeenth century alone, English military support was crucial to the emergence of the independent Dutch Republic; there were three Anglo-Dutch wars in 1652-54, 1665-67, and 1672-74; and a Dutch prince, William of Orange, became the king of England.²⁶¹ The resulting dynamic was that, even outside of more formal conflicts, hostilities erupted between the two powers in the Indonesian archipelago, the mid-Atlantic region of North America, on the west coast of Africa, and on the coast of South America. Simultaneously, the two powers traded amicably throughout the period elsewhere.²⁶² The poem 'On The Signall Victory Obtained In A Sea-Fight By His Majesty Of Great Brittain's Fleet Over The Dutch', from the late 1660s, is one of a number of poems and ballads that attempt to lay claim to political authority over the sea. Many of these poems and ballads are steeped in the rhetoric of the Restoration, proclaiming a strong monarchy and a unified nation. The poem states that the strength of Charles II's navy is such that he 'Might if he pleas'd engross the trade at sea, / And make all kingdoms to him tribute pay'. However, he will not do this because he 'strives to makes those waters free, / As nature ment that element should bee'. Charles is thus cast as an omnipotent yet benevolent ruler. He will be like the 'generous princes, who 'gainst rebells fight, / Defend their title but do not use their might'.²⁶³ This line functions as

²⁵⁸ Morieux, pp. 41-75 (p. 42). See, Patricia Springborg, 'Hobbes, Donne and the Virginia Company: *Terra Nullius* and "The Bulimia of Dominion"', *History of Political Thought*, 36:1 (2015), 113-164.

²⁵⁹ Armitage, p. 104.

²⁶⁰ Morieux, pp. 41-75 (p. 44).

²⁶¹ Games, 'Anglo-Dutch Maritime Interactions' pp. 171-195 (p. 171).

²⁶² *Ibid*, p. 171.

²⁶³ British Library MS Burney 390, fol 60.

a useful disclaimer to explain why other ships might be sailing through waters which were nominally ‘English’, but reinforces that Charles could stop them instantly if he wished. However, the problems of authority, autonomy and jurisdiction of the seas did not just affect monarchs and high politics.

The drama and conflicts that played out at sea concerning the definition of a state’s maritime borders often involved fishermen rather than specifically naval personnel.²⁶⁴ To undermine the claims of French fishermen, English fishermen argued that the French were sounding the coasts to prepare for an invasion.²⁶⁵ It would be misleading to regard such historical figures as ‘mere pawns in a game of geopolitical chess’.²⁶⁶ In reality, maritime populations displayed a subtle understanding of the loopholes in the law of the sea.²⁶⁷ These concerns find expression in the ballad *The Royal Victory, Obtained (with the providence of Almighty God) against the Dutch-Fleet, June the 2d. and 3d. 1665*, which recounts the success in the Battle of Lowestoft. It is clear that, whilst the nations were jostling for power, the ballad audience were aware of how this might affect them on a more personal level. In this ballad about a great naval victory, it is significant that one line shapes it as recompense for grievances over fishing rights: ‘They eat up our Fish without Reason or Lawes, / But now they are going to pay for the Sauce.’²⁶⁸ This ballad provides a brief, illuminating glimpse into how wider political and economic considerations, which are most often studied by scholars on a national level and through the unemotional lens of statistics, were understood at a more basic level by contemporaries. In terms of creating an emotional communal moment that would impact upon the minds of its audience, this ballad is effective through playing on patriotic feelings, suggesting that the nation is being insulted as its

²⁶⁴ Morieux, pp. 41-75 (p. 65).

²⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 46.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 66.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 66.

²⁶⁸ *The Royal Victory, Obtained (with the providence of Almighty God) against the Dutch-Fleet, June the 2d, and 3d, 1665. a Fight as bloody (for the time and number) as ever was performed upon the Narrow-Seas, giving a particular account of Seventeen Men of Warr taken; Fourteen Sunk and Fired. But forty that could escape of their whole Fleet, which at this time are botly persued by the Earl of Sandwich. Their Admiral Opdam slain by the Duke of Yorke's own Frigate. Van Trump Sunk by Capt. Holmes. The number of their kill'd Men amounts to 10000.* (1665), BL, Roxburghe 3.240, 3.241, EBBA 30889.

fish are taken (the result of a challenge to its maritime authority). In a nation that increasingly placed importance upon its 'maritime' identity, fish could provoke strong emotions. Even today, fish have become increasingly politicised in debates over UK-EU fishing quotas in Brexit negotiations.

The seeming contradiction in 'On The Signall Victory' between advocating free seas and describing the activities of other nations as rebellious is not incongruous with other contradictions in contemporary English maritime policy. England supported the freedom of trade even as it ring-fenced its Atlantic empire with the Navigation Acts, and it asserted the freedom of the seas whilst claiming to rule the waves.²⁶⁹ The poem emphasises that, following this victory, English control over the sea is complete. It states that Dutch naval officers Michiel de Ruyter and Cornelis Tromp are now 'Prisoners at home, and banisht to their coasts'.²⁷⁰ The result of the victory is that the Dutch may look out from shore and 'see our fleet besiege their land by sea'.²⁷¹ The sea surrounding them is now an extension of English power. This image is taken further at the end of the poem. In the first half, Neptune yields to Charles' power. By the end, Charles has become Neptune and his kingdom is the sea: 'Thus can he make the ocean overflown, / Deluge whole kingdoms to enlarge his own.'²⁷² These ballads and poems held a highly important function in the context of the Anglo-Dutch conflicts following the Restoration. Restoration writers, following the seismic shifts in the political landscape of civil wars and regicide, considered the possibilities of England's political future and how it might further its global status.²⁷³ In attempting to consolidate the power of the recently restored monarchy, it was vital to create a unified English consciousness. As will be seen, this was accomplished through opposition to the Dutch. Ballads called for unity in grief over Dutch crimes (creating an

²⁶⁹ Armitage, p. 105.

²⁷⁰ British Library MS Burney 390, fol 60.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Ryan Hackenbracht, 'Marvell, Dryden, and Commercial Fishing Propaganda during the Anglo-Dutch Wars', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 59:3, (2019), 485-506 (p. 486).

emotional communal moment) and rallied support through the celebration of English victories. Ballads were, therefore, finely attuned to both local and global events, and exploited these to promote English interests.

One of the most notorious outbreaks of violence between the English and the Dutch, the massacre at Amboyna, occurred in 1623. The governor of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) suspected that members of the English East India Company (EIC) were working with Japanese employees of the VOC to take over the clove trade.²⁷⁴ The Japanese were then arrested and tortured until they confessed, whereupon the VOC arrested all the EIC merchants and tortured them as well. Some of the EIC merchants were pardoned on lesser offences, but ten others were beheaded along with ten Japanese mercenaries and one Portuguese man.²⁷⁵ The extensive tortures to which the EIC merchants were subjected are depicted in the ballad *Newes out of East India: Of the cruell and bloody vseage of our English Merchants and others at Amboyna, by the Netherlandish Governour and Councill there* (see Figure 9). The ballad acknowledges that the underlying cause of the massacre was the competition for control of the maritime trade: ‘Betweene the English and the Dutch, / hath beene a long debate: / And mischiefes many hath beene wrought, / against our Merchants state.’²⁷⁶ The massacre caused a national outcry.²⁷⁷ The ballad ensures that the horrors experienced by the English merchants are fully embedded into the minds of its audience through detailed descriptions of each victim’s ordeal in turn: ‘The third they bound in Iron chaines, / Which griped him so sore, / That all his body round about, / did gush out bloody gore’ and ‘They whipt the fourth man at a post, / unjustly without fault: / And washt his bloody body ore, / with vineger and salt’.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ Games, ‘Anglo-Dutch Maritime Interactions’ pp. 171-195 (p. 172).

²⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 189.

²⁷⁶ *Newes out of East India: Of the cruell and bloody vseage of our English Merchants and others at Amboyna, by the Netherlandish Governour and Councill there*. (1624), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.94-95r, EBBA 20280.

²⁷⁷ See Alison Games, ‘Violence on the Fringes: The Virginia (1622) and Amboyna (1623) Massacres’, *History*, 99:336 (2014), 505-529. Games argues that the English publications in the wake of the massacres deployed the victimisation of violence to redefine themselves and to seize new opportunities for commercial and geopolitical prominence. Games, ‘Violence on the Fringes’, pp.505-529 (p. 507).

²⁷⁸ *Newes out of East India.*, EBBA 20280.



Figure 9: Depiction of torture on *News out of East India*. (1624), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.94-95r, EBBA 20280 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

Hostilities between the English and Dutch did not only take place on the other side of the globe, but also much closer to home in the Channel and North Sea. English victories were proclaimed and celebrated in broadside ballads. We can see the cultural memory of the ballad writers and audience in *The Royal Victory*. This ballad states that the victory at Lowestoft is revenge for the massacre at Amboyna (just over four decades earlier) with two separate references: '[God's] Justice appears / In such great Affairs, / who will for Amboyna plague [the Dutch] & their Heirs' and 'at Amboyna when / They Torturd our Men. / they lookd not to have the same paid them agen'.²⁷⁹ In this ballad, we can see an understanding and awareness of global events by those who tend not leave a record of their thoughts behind. It would be expected that those in government or naval administration would either remember or have learnt about the Amboyna massacre. However, the fact that it is referred to (twice) in a ballad shows that the

²⁷⁹ *The Royal Victory, Obtained (with the providence of Almighty God) against the Dutch-Fleet.*, EBBA 30889.

ballad's author knew that this reference would produce an emotive response in the audience (both creating an emotional communal moment and recalling an earlier one). The massacre caused a great public outcry which lingered in the cultural memory of the general public, and this can be seen by its use in a ballad four decades after the event.

Newes out of East India was geared towards eliciting sympathy and stoking national anti-Dutch sentiment. The latter aim could also be achieved through the celebration of English victories. One such example is the 1666 St James' Day Fight. This is described in the poem, 'On The Signall Victory', and also in two broadside ballads: *Holland turn'd to Tinder, Or, Englands Third Great Royal Victory* and *A New Ballad Of a famous German Prince and a renowned English Duke, who on St. James day One thousand 666 fought with a Beast with Seven Heads, call'd Provinces*. Throughout all three of these, one particular theme is prominent: the subjugation of the Dutch to English authority. The black-letter ballad *Holland turn'd to Tinder* states that 'Gods power convinces / & makes them all Servant, that aimd to be Princes'.²⁸⁰ *A New Ballad Of a famous German Prince and a renowned English Duke* contains similar themes but this is a white-letter satire written by Sir John Birkenhead. It was published in two parts, the second part particularly criticised the officers taking credit for the victory since it was ordinary sailors who 'rung the Dutch knel'.²⁸¹ The first part contains more of the themes of maritime authority. Through wordplay on the Dutch admiral's name and the repeated chorus of 'Thump, Thump, Thump, Thump, Thump, / Thump, Thump a Thump, Thump!', Birkenhead states that the English 'made him the Rere, who would be the Van- / - Van Trump, Trump, Trump, etc'.²⁸² Furthermore, the ballad states that, whilst

²⁸⁰ *Holland turn'd to Tinder, Or Englands Third Great Royal Victory. Being an exact Narrative brought by Captain Talbot Commander of the Elizabeth a forth rate Frigate of the Blew Squadron, who on wednesday night cam into Harwich, and sent an Express to the King at White-hall, of all that had past betwixt both the Fleets, before and in the Fight: Which news hath been continued since by other persons from aboard the Royal Charles, who give account of a total Rout given to the Dutch, and a great Victory obtained against them, insomuch that they are beaten and block'd in their own Harbors: All this was performed on Wednesday and Thursday 25. and 26. of July 1666.* (1666), University of Glasgow Library Euing (hereafter UGL), Euing Ballads 134, EBBA 31842.

²⁸¹ McShane Jones, "'Rime and reason.'", p. 380. *The second part of the new ballad of the late and terrible fight on St. James's day one thousand 666.* (1666), Bodleian Library, Oxford (hereafter BLO), Wood 416 (113). RI 856.

²⁸² *A New Ballad Of a famous German Prince and a renowned English Duke, who on St. James's day One thousand 666 fought with a Beast with Seven Heads, call'd Provinces; not by Land, but by Water; not to be said, but sung; not in high English or Low Dutch.* (1666), NLS, Crawford.EB.1115, EBBA 33776, RI 856.

Dutch news reports celebrated earlier victories, they did not have the authority to control the seas: ‘Their Impudent Gazette proclaims / How bravely they lock’d up the Thames! / But had no leave from Charles or James.’²⁸³ This ballad is not as obscure as some white-letter satires could be, but it was still unlikely to be seen by a large proportion of quotidian England. *Holland turn’d to Tinder*, on the other hand, was more accessible and it was also set to the same tune (‘Packington’s Pound’) as *The Royal Victory* from the year before. This may well have emphasised the association of the two ballads, each describing a naval victory. However, ‘Packington’s Pound’ was one of the most popular broadside ballad melodies and there is almost no limit to the number of subjects arising in the ballads set to this tune.²⁸⁴ Rather than creating a specific link between *Holland turn’d to Tinder* and *The Royal Victory*, the use of the tune may well have evoked memories of a heroic English past since ‘Packington’s Pound’ was in vogue during Queen Elizabeth’s lifetime (which was itself looked upon nostalgically as a time of maritime heroics).²⁸⁵ The fact that the theme of maritime authority appears in poems, white- and black-letter ballads shows that this discourse was taking place throughout England at a variety of levels, but the core message was the same: English authority was greater than that of the Dutch.

The poem, ‘On The Signall Victory’, also emphasises the theme of sovereignty and makes no small allusions as to the way in which England wanted to define its relationship with the maritime world: let ‘Neptune lay down his command, / To take new laws from this great victor’s hand: / Now must great Charles bee monarch of the sea’.²⁸⁶ The link between Charles II’s power and the ocean is made explicit through the lines, ‘Why then dares Holland ‘gainst our navies fight, / Borth arm’d with force and priviledg’d with right? / Must not those rebell states his laws obey, / Whose pow’r is made as boundless as the sea?’²⁸⁷ The description of the Dutch as ‘rebell’ states contains two meanings. By challenging the power of the ‘monarch of the sea’,

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Claude Simpson, *The Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), p. 570.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 564.

²⁸⁶ British Library MS Burney 390, fol 60.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

they are rebels by definition. However, it could well be that the concept of resisting monarchical authority also tied into the contemporary perception of the Dutch, who were customarily denigrated by the English as a republican people governed by merchants.²⁸⁸ Furthermore, the political context of the poems, ballads and songs that emphasise Charles II's authority and sovereignty is highly significant.

Following the Restoration, it was vitally important for all supporters of the Royalist cause to emphasise the strength of the restored monarchy and project an image of national power and stability to dissuade other nations from attempting to encroach on English sovereignty. Such a statement can be seen in the ballad *More News from the Fleet*, which joyfully reports Sir Robert Holmes' attack on Dutch ships anchored in the Vlie estuary and on the neighbouring town of Terschelling. The tune to which this ballad was set was the fiercely Royalist melody, 'The King enjoys his own again.'²⁸⁹ In 1643, Martin Parker wrote the ballad *The King enjoys his own again* to support Charles I and the suffering cavalier cause.²⁹⁰ After Charles I's execution, the tune became associated with the fortunes of his son, and was very much in vogue after the Restoration.²⁹¹ The use of this tune is an emphatic statement of the newly restored monarchy's might and would not have gone unnoticed by the ballad audience. These ballads and poems are not accurate depictions of England's maritime might after the Restoration. The Anglo-Dutch wars had varying swings of momentum and power (often more towards the Dutch in the second and third wars). However, the importance of ballads as tools in helping to create a unified English consciousness against the Dutch and in rallying support to a cause through the celebration of English victories should not be underestimated.

²⁸⁸ Games, 'Anglo-Dutch Maritime Interactions', pp. 171-195 (p. 178).

²⁸⁹ *More News from the Fleet. Being A brief and true Account of the late Noble, and Heroick exploit, performed against the Dutch, on the 8th. 9th. and 10th. of this present month of August; by Captain Sr. Robert Holmes, Sr. Philip Howard, and Sr. William Jennings; having under their command, about 900. Sea-men, and Souldiers, and 120. Voluntiers; The burning and destroying of at least eightscore Merchant Ships, in the Vlie of about 200 Tun a piece, the burning of the chief Town upon the Schelling, consisting of above a thousand fair built Houses. The bringing away the Plate, and Jewels, and other rich Commodities, to the great enriching of our Sea-men and Souldiers, and to the honour of our Nation, the Cabins of the ships being filled with Plate like a Goldsmiths shop.* (1666), BLO, 4o Rawl. 566(118b), Roud Number: V28359.

²⁹⁰ Simpson, *The Broadside Ballad and its Music*, p. 764.

²⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 766.

Even if the actual practicalities of enforcing authority over the sea were difficult, early modern England tried to create an image of dominance and power, imposing its supremacy whenever possible. Such rhetorical strategies in ballads might not seem enough by themselves to fully impart to the English public the importance of the sea to the nation's global standing. However, in the intertextual world in which ballads operated, they complemented wider discussions and themes present in popular and public discourse from stage dramas to alehouse conversations. Ballads singled out, played upon and emphasised certain elements of the contemporary cultural milieu and built, layer upon layer, certain associations in the pre-existing knowledge of their audience. Ballads, poems and pamphlets all claimed sovereignty through looking outwards towards the rest of the world. National imagery and references to global conflicts were utilised as England was presented as fighting for its place in a global hierarchy. The seventeenth-century global world is a constant, yet often unseen, force in ballads about sailors: a place of dangers and riches and the reason for competition between states. To achieve dominance, a nation had to defend itself and take advantage of the riches of global trade, and it was sailors that were engaged in the struggle to realise that dominance. It was sailors that had to guard the invisible boundaries that divided the world's oceans, partake to the fullest extent in economic commerce and protect monopolies wherever possible. It is to the depiction of the early modern sailor in ballads that this chapter will now turn.

Guardians of the Land

A trend of nineteenth-century historiography was to celebrate Britain's victorious naval past and tie this into the origins of the empire (by examining the exploits of Drake, Hawkins and Raleigh), thereby teleologically reading an inevitable destiny of naval dominance which would eventually culminate in the British Empire.²⁹² Unlike the overly-romanticised Elizabethan

²⁹² Armitage, p. 101.

gentlemen, the naval officers under the Stuarts have not left such a clear imprint in England's cultural memory. This is because they have no place in the 'Protestant creation epic'.²⁹³ The Restoration navy's immediate past was one of such turmoil and changing allegiances that it did not generate feelings of national pride in contemporaries. This partly explains Pepys' veneration of the Elizabethan navy.²⁹⁴ Whilst the linear narrative of Elizabethan naval heroics leading to the British Empire should rightly be looked upon critically, the image of 'the sailor' has been an important part of English, and later British, identity.

By the 1690s, ballads about sailors and the navy were framing patriotic language around the idea of England.²⁹⁵ Following the 1707 Act of Union, the navy became one of the most important national 'British' symbols, around which ideas of national character and identity collated.²⁹⁶ This became particularly prominent in the 1740s and 1750s in the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, as the navy was catapulted to the forefront of the national consciousness.²⁹⁷ There is a range of literature on the eighteenth-century growth of 'Britishness' and British national identity, some of the common themes of which can be seen in seventeenth-century ballads, most notably the patriotic language of Englishness.²⁹⁸ This national theme is particularly prominent in naval ballads, which were generally concerned with wider national interests and identities.²⁹⁹ This forms an interesting comparison to otherwise similar ballads

²⁹³ C. S. Knighton, 'A Century on: Pepys and the Elizabethan Navy', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004), 141-151 (p. 142).

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p.143; 150.

²⁹⁵ James Davey, 'Singing for the Nation: Balladry, Naval Recruitment and the Language of Patriotism in Eighteenth-century Britain', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 103:1 (2017), 43-66 (p. 51).

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 52.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 53.

²⁹⁸ See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Yale University Press, 1992; repr. 2003, 2005); *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. by David J. Barker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Stephen Conway, 'War and National Identity in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles', *The English Historical Review*, 116:46 (2001), 863-893.; J. C. D. Clark, 'Protestantism, Nationalism and National Identity, 1660-1832', *The Historical Journal*, 43:1 (2000), 249-276.; *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850*, ed. by Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms', *The Historical Journal*, 39:2 (1996), 361-382. The relationship of this national identity with sea ballads is particularly examined by Paul Gilje. In the context of wars for empire, this music 'helped define what it meant to be English on both side of the Atlantic'. Gilje, p. 149.

²⁹⁹ Davey, pp.43-66 (p. 52).

about soldiers which tended to focus on provincial and regional, rather than national, identities.³⁰⁰ However, I am not arguing that naval ballads foreshadow oceanic dominance; helped shape a proto-British identity; or were a sign of the inevitable emergence of the popular figure of Jack Tar in the eighteenth century. It is for a different reason that ballads about sailors (whilst they may lean on a glorified, heroic past which later became part of the Protestant founding myth of empire) are more invested in a concept of ‘Englishness’ and nationality than ballads about soldiers. Sailors were symbols of global movement and interaction. Soldiers, on the other hand, whilst they travelled and fought abroad, were not the agents of globalisation and did not connect various parts of the world through their activities. Naval ballads use the idea of England and nationality to situate the country within the expanding global world, framing England’s power on the international stage and reflecting the contemporary understanding of global interconnectivity. It is notable that ballads about sailors, whilst they emphasise the importance of this group, tend to be external in outlook, assessing the dangers and benefits offered by the outside world. To proclaim England’s place in international hierarchies, there could be no better event to celebrate than a victory over the contemporary global superpower: Spain.

When Elizabeth I came to power, affirming Protestantism as the national religion, England was left in a highly precarious position and in need of allies (which was one of the reasons negotiations were opened with Islamic nations).³⁰¹ The greatest danger facing England was Spain, ruled by Phillip II (who had been married to Elizabeth’s sister, Mary). England seemed to have little hope against the might and wealth of the Spanish Empire. The ballad ‘A Joyful Song of the Royall Receiving of the Queens most Excellent Majestie into her Highnesse Campe at Tilsburie, in Essex’ was published shortly before the invasion of the Spanish Armada.

³⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 52. This is not to say that military ballads failed to refer to national identities. McShane shows that military ballads urged young men to replace family, civic or communal ties with loyalty to the crown, nation or cause. See McShane ‘Recruiting Citizens’, pp.105-137 (p. 108).

³⁰¹ See Jonathan Burton, ‘Anglo-Ottoman Relations and the Image of the Turk in Tamburlaine’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 30:1 (2000), 125-156.

Whilst the ballad is a propagandistic call to arms, the reality of the peril facing England is made clear: The time being dangerous now, ye know, / That forraigne enimies to and fro / For to invade us and make a show.³⁰² The ballad ‘The Spanish Armada’ was also written just before the invasion and is an imploration to God to intervene and destroy the ‘mercillesse invaders’. It begs God to ‘Sinke deepe their potent navies, / Their strength and corage breake’.³⁰³ The ballad promotes solidarity in the Protestant identity against the invading Catholic power, vowing, ‘we will not change owre Credo / For Pope, nor boke, nor bell’.³⁰⁴

The defeat of the Armada was a highly significant moment in the English national consciousness and in the nation’s relationship with the sea. A later ballad, ‘Sir Francis Drake: or, Eighty-Eight’, celebrates the victory and warns against future attempts to invade. It describes how, ‘Our Englishmen did bourd them then, / And cast the Spaniards over’.³⁰⁵ Unlike the terrified pleas for help seen in ‘The Spanish Armada’, the England portrayed in ‘Sir Francis Drake: or, Eighty-Eight’ has full confidence in the ability of its sailors to perform the feat again: ‘But let them looke about themselves, / For if they come againe-a, / They shall be serv’d with that same sauce.’³⁰⁶ The importance of the defeat of the Armada in confirming England as a maritime power in the contemporary imagination can be seen in the 1659 musical-drama *The History of Sir Francis Drake* by William Davenant. This drama does not only demonstrate the idolisation of a national hero, but it also helps to promote the idea of a continuity of English sea domination and colonisation from the 1580s to the 1650s, as well as functioning as anti-Spanish propaganda for the Protectorate government.³⁰⁷ Drake was the ideal figure with which to embody prevalent anti-Spanish sentiment and to represent the past success of English naval

³⁰² ‘A Joyful Song of the Royall Receiving of the Queens most Excellent Majestie into her Highnesse Campe at Tilsburie, in Essex: On Thursday and Fryday the Eight and Ninth of August 1588’ in *Old Ballads From Early Printed Copies*, ed. John Payne Collier (London: Percy Society, 1840), pp. 110-117 (p. 111). RI 1328. This was entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1588. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 115).

³⁰³ ‘The Spanish Armada’, in *The Early Naval Ballads of England*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841), pp. 17-18 (p. 17).

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³⁰⁵ British Library MS Harl. 791, fol. 59

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁷ *Drama of the English Republic*, ed. by Janet Clare (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 266.

power.³⁰⁸ One of the songs within the drama has a repeating chorus line of ‘The Diegos wee’ll board to rummidge their Hould; / And drawing our Steel, they must draw out their Gold’.³⁰⁹ The achievements of the golden age of Elizabethan maritime adventure were frequently evoked in the following centuries and were central to the perception of England as a maritime power. The song had a role in reminding its audience of a history of Protestant, English heroics. Following a period of political and social turmoil, the vilification of a foreign enemy had a strong political purpose. Unlike the more regional identities celebrated in military ballads, ballads about sailors tend to emphasise a more national effort against foreign powers. They proclaimed England to be a significant power in the expanding global world of the seventeenth century.

Poems, songs and ballads all evoked a heroic and romanticised maritime past. This helped cement England as a maritime power in the consciousness of the contemporary audience. However, these portrayals often focused upon gentleman privateers and noble leaders such as Drake. The common sailor, on the other hand, did not seem to be appreciated as a valuable member of society. Contemporary plays and character sketches helped to spread stereotypes of seamen. Shakespeare’s image of the sailor was popular because he utilised much of their colourful language and nautical jargon, particularly in the *Tempest*.³¹⁰ Satirists helped to popularise the concept of seamen as outsiders (a stereotype that existed in European culture from the medieval period onwards).³¹¹ In Brathwaite’s *Whimzies, or New Cast of Characters*, the sailor’s position outside normal society is made clear as he is referred to as ‘an Amphibium that lives both on Land and Water’.³¹² In such sketches, English mariners were habitually portrayed as superstitious, irreligious and entirely uncaring about faith or obedience to God, showing only the

³⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 266.

³⁰⁹ *The History of Sr Francis Drrake. Exprest by Instrumentall and Vocall Musick, and by Art of Perspective in Scenes* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1659), p. 9. ESTC R202045.

³¹⁰ Vincent V. Patarino Jr, ‘The Religious Shipboard Culture of Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century English Sailors’, in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 141-192 (p. 142).

³¹¹ Ibid.; Richard J. Blakemore, ‘Thinking outside the gundeck: maritime history, the royal navy and the outbreak of British civil war, 1625–42’, *Historical Research*, 87:236 (2014), 251-274 (p. 252).

³¹² Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, p. 138.

outward signs of formal religion.³¹³ Brathwaite also emphasises the sailor's rough manners: 'He was never acquainted much with civilitie; the Sea has taught him other Rhetoricke. Hee is most constant to his shirt, and other his seldome wash'd linen.'³¹⁴ However, whether because the hub of the ballad trade was in London (with its substantial maritime community) or because sailors were the ideal purchasers of ballads, ballads often seem to redress this image of sailors and proclaim them as the vital, underappreciated heart of the nation. Furthermore, ballads about sailors help to create, in the minds of their audience, an image of England at the heart of the global world which was full of riches as well as dangers.

The ballad *The Jovial Marriner*, written around the 1670s-80s, is designed to promote the reputation of sailors. The reason that sailors deserve respect, it states, is because 'Our land it would invaded be if sea-men were not stout; / We let our friends come in on sea, and keep our foes without'.³¹⁵ This is the definition of maritime authority. The ballad continues this theme with the lines, 'Our privilege upon the seas we bravely do maintain, / And can enlarge it when we please in Royal Charles his reign.'³¹⁶ Instead of the uncouth and unhygienic figures described by Brathwaite, this ballad presents sailors as an elite group with courage that outstrips all others:

A cowardly spirit must not think to prove a sea-man bold,
For to be sure he may not shrink in dangers manifold;
When sea-fights happen on the main, and dreadful cannons rore,
Then all men fight, or else be slain and braggarts proud look poor.³¹⁷

The ballad ends as the ballad-singer proclaims, 'Thus, gallant sea-men, I have spread abroad your high renown, / Which shall survive when you are dead, and gain a lasting crown.'³¹⁸ It was necessary to celebrate naval valour and thereby encourage recruitment as there were several threats to English sovereignty.

³¹³ Patarino, pp. 141-192 (p. 142).

³¹⁴ Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, p. 141.

³¹⁵ *The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown.*, EBBA 32976.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

The Boatswains Call is a recruiting ballad. Its subtitle is ‘The Courageous Marriners Invitation to all his Brother Sailers, to forsake Friends and Relations, for to fight in the defence of their King and Country’.³¹⁹ The historical context of the creation of this ballad is significant. It was written shortly following the Glorious Revolution and during the Nine Years’ War. In line with the most effective forms of propaganda, the ballad provides an explicit, demonised enemy against whom to rally: ‘Lewis that Christian-TURK / makes preparation; / His Engines are at work / in Consultation, / Thinking to Ruine quite / all Christian Princes.’³²⁰ The title of ‘Christian-TURK’ is a pun on the title of the kings of France (i.e. ‘the most Christian King’).³²¹ The vilification of Louis XIV’s relationship with the Ottoman Empire, which became politically warmer after new capitulations were finally granted in 1673, is clearly evident through the use of capitalisation which makes the word ‘TURK’ stand out from the rest of the ballad.³²² This also possibly suggested to the singer of the ballad that they should add extra emphasis and venom to this part of their performance. This technique of emphasising a significant and insulting term in capitals stands as an interesting precedent to the arguments which flow freely on internet message boards today.

Referring to Louis as a Christian-Turk played on themes of untrustworthiness and even hinted at potential apostasy to Islam.³²³ The ballad informs its audience that ‘France intended / To lay a heavy Yoke, / on a free Nation’ and so calls for volunteers to join together and ‘let a fatal stroke, / prove their vexation’.³²⁴ Those who tried to avoid being enlisted are belittled in lines that work particularly effectively in the street performance environment in which ballads were sold, ‘but yet my thinks I hear, / some Cowards crying, / The Press they dread and fear, /

³¹⁹ *The Boatswains Call; Or, The Courageous Marriners Invitation to all his Brother Sailers, to forsake Friends and Relations, for to fight in the defence of their King and Country*. (1689-1696?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.206, EBBA 21868.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ingram, pp.53-80 (p. 73).

³²² Philip McCluskey, ‘Commerce before crusade? France, the Ottoman Empire and the Barbary pirates (1661-1669)’, *French History*, 23:1 (2009), 1-21 (p. 19).

³²³ The denigration of Islam and the early modern European fear of converts and renegades in ballads will be examined in chapter four – ‘Mixed Emotions’.

³²⁴ *The Boatswains Call*, EBBA 21868.

as much as dying: / And sculk like frightened Slaves.³²⁵ The audience hearing the ballad are left to consider whether they are one of the cowards who ‘can find / excuses many, / To tarry here behind’ or a ‘Right Valliant Noble Soul’ who will ‘fight against Controul / for this his Nation.’³²⁶ The ballad-monger asks the audience ‘Where are those Heroes now / those sons of thunder, / That would make Lewis vow, / and bring him under?’.³²⁷ This ballad helps its audience situate England in global power relations. The ballad is ostensibly about the conflict between England and France, calling for volunteers to address this problem. However, it does so with reference to global politics. Ballads about sailors and maritime life contribute to the contemporary imaginations of the seventeenth-century world. Seemingly distant and removed events and peoples are brought into immediate and close focus through the maritime community. Ballads not only allowed the outside world to come to England, but they also enabled English people to mentally travel and experience it themselves.

Owing to the fact that travel opportunities abroad were unavailable to most people in early modern England, ballads allowed their audience to do battle vicariously and fantasise about living a noble, heroic life.³²⁸ *The Boatswains Call* is sung in the persona of a valiant sailor who has experienced the heat of battle, and provides entertainment to any person singing this ballad as they employ role-speculation to cast themselves as the brave veteran:

In a fight fierce and hot,
once was I wounded;
We reveiv’d shows of shot
being surrounded;
Yet I again will go,
and scorn to hide me,
I’ll face the daring foe,
what e’re betide me.
He that has been in fight,
fears not another.³²⁹

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Miller, pp. 247-250 (p. 247).

³²⁹ *The Boatswains Call*, EBBA 21868.

Two woodcuts adorn this ballad: one shows a naval engagement with ships sinking and a man swimming in the sea; and the other shows a finely dressed soldier holding a halberd in one hand and the other resting on his hip, close to the pommel of his sword. Whilst not a visual likeness of a sailor, this is undoubtedly the brave hero – the persona of whom is assumed by anyone singing the ballad. The stance of this figure is highly significant in portraying him as valiant symbol of masculinity.

We utilise body language and gestures constantly, and often subconsciously (with the exception of rude gesticulations). However, it is probable that body language held far more nuanced and subtle meanings in the early modern period. The early modern English population spoke with their bodies: they knew and employed a wide variety of gestures in a range of contexts; and the giving or withholding of a gesture could play a large role in the construction and negotiation of social identities.³³⁰ Body language was a useful way of conveying meaning in the woodcuts adorning broadside ballads. The fact that the image had to be carved so that the picture was raised from the printing block meant that it was vulnerable to damage. Artists knew that to make the most durable picture that would retain as much clarity as possible, clear and simple lines were needed.³³¹ Intricate details were tricky to depict and so faces tended to appear relatively expressionless. The result was that bodily gestures took the lead in the representation of attitude.³³²

The masculinity of the figure in *The Boatswains Call* is most obviously signalled by his elbow (see Figure 10). In focusing primarily on portraiture from 1500-1650, Joaneath Spicer argues that the rise and apogee of the male elbow indicates boldness and control.³³³ The most common representation of this is of a leader giving a command, generally with one arm

³³⁰ John Walter, 'Gesturing at Authority: Deciphering the Gestural Code of Early Modern England,' in *The Politics of Gesture: Historical Perspectives*, ed. by Michael J. Braddick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 96-127 (p. 100; 101).

³³¹ Marsh, 'Best-Selling Ballads', pp.53-99 (p. 61).

³³² *Ibid*, p. 61.

³³³ Joaneath Spicer, 'The Renaissance elbow', in *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. by Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 84-128, p. 85.

outstretched (often holding a sceptre, baton or whip) and with the other arm akimbo.³³⁴ Our figure is not giving a command, but still exudes military prowess as the hand on the hip sits by his sword (a rather obvious threat display).³³⁵ This was an already accepted gesture in representations of standard-bearers in German woodcuts and engravings from the end of the fifteenth century.³³⁶ It is this tradition and contemporary awareness of gesture on which the woodcut is drawing. The fact that the image is not of a sailor is irrelevant. It was not expected that the details included in woodcuts would necessarily match those indicated by the text.³³⁷ Consumers would have filtered out the incongruities of dress, age or gender with which they were presented.³³⁸ The occupation of this man is not what the picture displays. He is the epitome of masculine bravery and confidence, and it is that which the audience was supposed to register. The frequent reuse of images meant that, over time, woodcuts tended to become associated with distinct themes and repeated messages.³³⁹ Therefore, frequent ballad consumers, even illiterate ones, would instantly recognise the characteristics of this man and know that he was the valiant seaman being celebrated.

It is always important to remember the physical context in which ballads were sung. Many ballads, with their opening addresses to the audience to gather round, highlight the street selling context. Others were obviously designed to be sung in taverns and when in convivial company. ‘A Song of the Seaman and Land Soldiers’ is one such ballad. It alternates each verse in praise of either sailors, ‘Whose musick is the canon’s noise’, or soldiers, who are the ‘sons of Mars’.³⁴⁰ The ballad was designed to be sung by members of these communities, or at least people who were closely acquainted with them. There were many heroic attributes associated

³³⁴ Ibid, p. 86.

³³⁵ Ibid, p. 93; 90.

³³⁶ Ibid, p. 90.

³³⁷ Marsh, ‘Best-Selling Ballads’, pp.53-99 (p. 93). Marsh notes that an image of Queen Elizabeth could just as easily represent a commoner as an image of a pedlar might stand in for one of the elders of Babylon.

³³⁸ Ibid, p. 93.

³³⁹ Ibid, p. 93.

³⁴⁰ ‘A Song of the Seaman and Land Soldiers’, in *The Early Naval Ballads of England*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841), pp. 36-37 (p. 36).

with the two groups, as both would fight in defence of their country, but the two were distinct. The sailors' verses list the ships which 'chas'd the Turk in a day and night, / From Scandaroon to Dover'.³⁴¹ This line is an excellent example of ballads about sailors being used to negotiate the imagination of global hierarchies. The Turks, as will be seen in chapter four, were a potent political symbol and were frequently referenced as a common danger for sailors. In this ballad, England's position is cemented by its sailors who harass the Turks across the Mediterranean, thereby placing it as the highest naval power in the region. The ballad's ending emphasises the intended performance space since the singer calls, 'Let cans a piece goe round-a' and 'lofty musick sound-a'.³⁴² However, more than just depicting sailors as the bold defenders of the nation, ballads often go further, emphasising the difference between sailors and the land-based society which underappreciates them, but is entirely indebted to them.



Figure 10: The heroic figure shown on *The Boatswains Call*. (1689-1696?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.206, EBBA 21868 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

³⁴¹ Ibid, p. 36; 37.

³⁴² Ibid, p. 37.

The Jovial Marriner makes clear the divide between sailors, who are courageous men of action, and the somnolent land-based society: ‘Sail forth, bold sea-men, plough the liquid main; / Fear neither storms nor pirats, strive for gain; / Whilst others sleep at home’ and ‘Tis known what hardships we endure abroad upon the seas, / Whilst others sleep at home secure, and spend their time in ease’.³⁴³ This theme also occurs in *Saylors for my Money*, a ballad written by the notable ballad creator Martin Parker around 1630. The ballad was then revised and republished in the late-seventeenth century under the title *Neptune’s Raging Fury; Or, The Gallant Seammans Sufferings*. Parker’s ballad begins, ‘Countrie men of England, / who live at home with ease: / And litle thinke what dangers, / Are incident o’th Seas: / Give eare unto the Saylor.’³⁴⁴ Both ballads stress that a sailor must have a ‘valiant heart’.³⁴⁵ The only difference is that, whilst *Saylors for my money* makes this comment as a general attribute of sailors, *Neptune’s Raging Fury* makes this a condition of becoming a sailor, saying, ‘All you that will be Sea-men, / must bear a valiant heart.’³⁴⁶ This valiant heart helps the mariners define their own identity and community in opposition to a land-based society which is perceived to underappreciate them. Consequently, ballads often reference the weakness of the non-maritime community in comparison to the bravery of sailors. *The Jovial Marriner* states that the sights seen by sailors ‘Would make a land-man dye with fear’.³⁴⁷

The importance of sailors in defending the nation is made clear in these ballads. *Neptune’s Raging Fury* states, ‘If enemies oppose us, / When England is at wars, / With any Foreign Nations, / we fear not wounds and scares; / Our roaring guns shall teach em / our valour for to

³⁴³ *The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown.*, EBBA 32976.

³⁴⁴ *Saylors for my money. A new Ditty composed in the praise of Saylors and Sea affaires, briefly shewing the nature of so worthy a calling, and effects of their industry.* (1630?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.420-421, EBBA 20197.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; *Neptune’s Raging Fury; Or, The Gallant Seaman’s Sufferings. Being a Relation of their Perils and Dangers, and of the extraordinary Hazards they undergo in their noble Adventures. Together with their undaunted Valour and rare Constancy in all their Extremitities: and the manner of their Rejoycing on Shore, at their return home.* (1693-1695?), BL, Roxburghe 2.543, EBBA 31143, RI 1860. This ballad was entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1678. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 162).

³⁴⁶ *Neptune’s Raging Fury; Or, The Gallant Seaman’s Sufferings.*, EBBA 31143, RI 1860.

³⁴⁷ *The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown.*, EBBA 32976.

know.³⁴⁸ The sailors in the earlier ballad, *Saylors for my Money*, are not only brave and warlike, but they are also selfless and ready to give up their lives: ‘Our enemies approaching, / When we on sea espie, / Wee must resolve incontinent / To fight, although we die.’³⁴⁹ The self-sacrifice of sailors on behalf of the nation was an important device for creating political propaganda in ballads and the heroic sailor defending the nation was a potent image to exploit. Furthermore, these ballads are all looking outwards towards the rest of the world. They promote sailors as underappreciated and vital to the nation but, crucially, do so through emphasising that the world was full of dangers and other peoples who threatened England’s political and economic power.

As has been seen, the Dutch were one of England’s greatest economic and political rivals in this period. Ballads argue that sailors are vital in the defence and support of the nation, but ballads also functioned as tools through which to raise awareness of the suffering of sailors following conflicts. Poor relief and aid for injured sailors were relatively recent concepts in this period. The first national systems of benefits for rank-and-file disabled sailors and soldiers were created in the late-sixteenth century, and only after 1653 and the First Anglo-Dutch War did parliament extend the central fund that provided hospital places and out-pensions to include ex-sailors.³⁵⁰ However, places were limited and so ex-sailors and their families would still rely very much on the charity of others. Ballads would promote their cause by appealing to the wider community who, the ballads argued, owed their lives to the sailors. The mid-seventeenth-century ballad, *The Sea-mans Compass*, states this emphatically in the verse,

Thus for rich men & poor men,
the Sea-men does good
And sometimes comes off with
loss of much blood
If they were not a guard
and defence for our land
Our enemee soon would get
the upper hand
And then in a woful case

³⁴⁸ *Neptune’s Raging Fury: Or, The Gallant Seaman’s Sufferings.*, EBBA 31143, RI 1860.

³⁴⁹ *Saylors for my money.*, EBBA 20197.

³⁵⁰ Geoffrey L. Hudson, ‘The Relief of English Disabled Ex-Sailors, c. 1590-1680’, in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 229-251 (p. 229-230).

strait we should be.³⁵¹

As well as trying to raise awareness and promote their cause with the non-maritime community, this ballad also helped unify the families directly involved with maritime life. It calls to ‘You maids, wives, and widows / that Sea-mens loves be / With hearts and with voices / Joyn Prayers with me’.³⁵² The prayer to be repeated calls upon God to bless all seamen from ‘quicksands and rocks / From loss of their blood / and from enemies knocks / From lighting and thunder / and tempests so strong / From ship wrack and drowning and all other wrong’.³⁵³ The ballad’s tone throughout is one of sympathy and respect for brave sailors, and it is this tone that helped it achieve its function of garnering support for the maritime community from outside, as well as unifying the maritime community internally. However, its final lines take on a far more threatening tone, addressed to all those who, having heard the prayer, ‘to these words / will not say, Amen. / Tis pity that they should ever speak words agen.’³⁵⁴ *The Sea-mans Compass* had clear political aims, but these pale in comparison to the notably forthright, even potentially seditious, 1691 ballad *The Sea-Martyrs; Or, The Seaman’s Sad Lamentation for their Faithful Service, Bad Pay and Cruel Usage*.

This ballad was designed to raise awareness of the plight and suffering of sailors. The ballad does not address a specific section of society as its audience, but calls to all ‘Good People, do but lend an Ear, / And a sad Story you shall shear, / A sadder you never heard, / Of due Desert and Base Reward’.³⁵⁵ This ballad coincides with a change in naval administration. Before Samuel Pepys fell from office in 1688, he was the lynchpin of the navy’s administration for

³⁵¹ *The Sea-mans Compass Or A dainty new Ditty composed and pend The deeds of brave Sea-men to praise and commend, ‘Twas made by a Maid that to Gravesend did pass, Now mark, and you quickly shall bear how it was.* (1623-1661?), UGL, Euing Ballads 325, EBBA 31990, RI 2386. This ballad was entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1657. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 206).

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ *The Sea-Martyrs; Or, The Seamen’s sad Lamentation for their Faithful Service, Bad Pay, and Cruel Usage. Being a woful Relation how some of them were unmercifully put to Death for pressing for their Pay, when their Families were like to starve. Thus our New Government does Subjects serve, And leaves them this sad choice to hang or starve.* (1691), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.375r-v, EBBA 22198.

almost the whole of the Restoration era. As secretary of the Admiralty, Pepys had tried to eliminate the worst abuses which marred the administration of the navy and he did much to bring about the spirit of general contentment which marked the three years of the last Stuart king.³⁵⁶ However, once his firm hand was removed, there was an inevitable swing back towards the old conditions.³⁵⁷ In the 1690s, the navy was in serious financial difficulty. Among the first to be affected by this were yard workmen and seamen. There was malnutrition and even starvation in dockyard ports and in 1693 (when the yard's wages were fourteen months in arrears and the naval debt had reached £1,782,587), there were riots in Plymouth.³⁵⁸ The human toll of the Nine Years' War became increasingly obvious because of the presence of so many sick and wounded sailors, particularly in communities in the South-East and London.³⁵⁹ This led to a strain on public opinion, and general complaint against naval policy was a notable feature of the 1690s. After 1689, there was an unprecedentedly and consistently high demand for seamen. The government was forced to appeal to both the political nation and to ordinary people for financial support to sustain the war effort, and the public responded by calling the regime to account.³⁶⁰

One frequent objection was to the navy's Qs and Rs policy. This policy was intended to stop sick or wounded men, who were set on shore, from abandoning the service. When an injured sailor disembarked, a 'Q' (for Query) would be placed next to their name on the ship's pay-book. As long as it remained there, they would not receive a wage ticket that could later be

³⁵⁶ Knighton, pp.141-151 (p.142).; Peter Kemp, *The British Sailor: A Social History of the Lower Deck* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1970), p. 50. Mark Knights notes that historians tend to look kindly upon Samuel Pepys, who, because of the extraordinary richness of his diary, has generally been hailed as something of a 'lovable rogue', whose foibles humanise him and can be forgiven because of his tireless work to reform the navy. Pepys' reputation is that of a reformer, rather than as someone who needed reform. However, Knights points out that we should also be aware of Pepys' own contradictory and ambiguous attitude to bribery and corruption, as he criticised others yet enlarged his own salary. Knights' study casts a light into this less-studied area of Pepys' life, and one which was not unique to Pepys, but common amongst his contemporaries. See, Mark Knights, 'Samuel Pepys and Corruption', *Parliamentary History*, 33:1 (2014), 19-35.

³⁵⁷ Kemp, p. 50.

³⁵⁸ N. A. M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain 1649-1815*, 2 vols. (London: Allen Lane, 1997-2004), II (2004), 189; 197.

³⁵⁹ Matthew Neufeld, 'Neither private contractors nor productive partners: The English fiscal-naval state and London hospitals, 1660-1715', *The International Journal of Maritime History*, 28:2 (2016), 268-290 (p. 268).

³⁶⁰ Matthew Neufeld, 'The Biopolitics of Manning the Royal Navy in Late Stuart England', *Journal of British Studies*, 56 (2017), 506-531 (p. 530).

exchanged for money.³⁶¹ If a sailor failed to report back to the vessel within thirty days (which could happen if they were transferred to hospitals, pressed from sick quarters onto other ships, or had simply not recovered), an ‘R’ (for Run) would be placed next to their name. This meant that all their pay would be forfeited – a potentially catastrophic sanction against sailors whose lifestyle revolved around long periods without pay. As a consequence, whilst trying to survive, the sailor and their family could accumulate large debts.³⁶² The Qs and Rs policy is not explicitly named in *The Sea-Martyrs*, but the ballad does highlight the problems caused by delays in pay: ‘Their starving Families at home, / Expected their slow Pay would come; / But our proud Court meant so such thing, / Not one Groat must they have till [Spring]; / To stave all Summer would not do, / They must still starve all Winter too.’³⁶³

The ballad was designed to promote the cause of the sailors, highlight the ill-treatment they were suffering and emphasise their courage and valour: ‘The roaring Canon they ne’er fear’d, / Their Lives and Bloud they never spar’d; / Through Fire and Flame their Courage flew, / No Bullets could their Hearts subdue.’³⁶⁴ It argues that the entirety of England owes the sailors a debt as ‘Our Seamen are the onely Men / That o’er the French did Vict’ry gain, / They kept the Foe from landing here, / Which would have cost the Court full dear’. The ballad goes further, stressing the pivotal role played by sailors in the struggles following the Glorious Revolution of 1688: ‘Had they in Fight but flinch at all, / King James had now been in Whitehall.’ Therefore, ‘England, and our New King too, / Their Safety to their Valour owe.’³⁶⁵ The indebtedness of the crown to sailors emphasised here has an interesting precedent in a ballad celebrating the Restoration of Charles II. *The Valiant Seamans Congratulation to his sacred Majesty King Charls the second* is addressed to Charles and celebrates how sailors enabled his return to power: ‘we did sail you over / to English ground agen: / with all your Noble men. / For

³⁶¹ Ibid, p. 511.

³⁶² Ibid, p. 511.

³⁶³ *The Sea-Martyrs; Or, The Seamen’s sad Lamentation for their Faithful Service, Bad Pay, and Cruel Usage.*, EBBA 22198.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

which we are renowned / where-ever we do go? / Honour will, tend us still.³⁶⁶ In listing sailors' heroic achievements in *The Sea-Martyrs* to ask for better pay, it is not surprising that the maritime community's role in the Restoration goes unmentioned.

The Sea-Martyrs states that the sailors 'for their Pay did hope'. However, their civil unrest has meant that 'They were rewarded with a Rope' and, whilst 'Like Men they fought, like Dogs they dye'.³⁶⁷ The ballad describes the sacrifice of the sailors and the desperate situation in which they and their families have been left: 'Thousands of them their Lives did lose / In fighting stoutly with their Foes, / And thousands [were] so maim'd in Fight, / That 'twas a sad and piteous sight.' The entire country, according to the ballad, was indebted to sailors. The sailors only protested because they were not being given their rightful wages and their 'poor Wives with Care languished, / Their Children cried for want of Bread'. However, for this, they were severely punished. The ballad's use of the word 'martyrs' for its title functions on two levels. The sailors are martyrs for sacrificing themselves in defence of their country. However, after this, their punishment for protesting about fair payment also made them martyrs: 'Thus they for Justice spent their Blood, / To do all future Seamen good.' The ballad calls upon its audience to 'bear in mind these dismal times, / When true Men suffer for false Crimes; / England ne'er knew the like till now, / Nor e'er again the like will know'.³⁶⁸ So far, the ballad has had political undertones in its highlighting of a social issue and has been primarily aimed at evoking sympathy for sailors and their families. However, the last few verses take on a far more accusatory, and potentially seditious, tone as it levels its criticisms at a hypocritical monarchy.

The ballad argues that all instances of riots or unrest by sailors should have mitigating circumstances taken into account: 'suppose [the sailors] had done ill, / In asking Pay too roughly, still / When 'twas their due, and need so preest, / They might have Pardon found at least'.³⁶⁹ The

³⁶⁶ *The Valiant Seamans Congratulation to his sacred Majesty King Charls the second. VVith their wonderfull Heroicall Atchievements, and their Fidelity, Loyalty, and Obedience.* (1660-1661?), UGL, Euing Ballads 368, EBBA 31979.

³⁶⁷ *The Sea-Martyrs; Or, The Seamen's sad Lamentation for their Faithful Service, Bad Pay, and Cruel Usage.*, EBBA 22198.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

ballad states that ‘The King and Queen some mercifull call, / But Seamen find it not at all’. This is the root of the perceived monarchical hypocrisy. The ballad describes how the king and queen ‘To Robbers, Thieves, and Felons, they / Freely grant Pardons ev’ry day’ but fail to provide the same care to those to whom they are so indebted: ‘Only poor Seamen, who alone / Do keep them in their Fathers Throne, / Must have at all no Mercy shown: / Nay, tho there wants fault, they’l find one.’³⁷⁰ Not only are the king and queen hypocritical, but they also refuse to respect the sufferings of the sailors who were ‘forc’d to fight for nought, like Slaves, / And though we do, we’re hang’d like Knaves’. This treatment leads to the highly dissident couplet, ‘This is not like Old Englands ways / New Lords, new Laws, the Proverb says.’ The ballad estimates that ‘Besides the Seamans Pay, that’s spent, / The King for Stores, Ships, and what’s lent, / Does owe Seven Millions at the least, / And ev’ry year his Debt’s encreast’. This leads the singer of the ballad to rue that ‘we may despair that we / One quarter of our Pay shall see’. The entire political stance of the ballad is laid bare in the final verse, which states, ‘God bless our noble Parliament, / And give them the whole Government, / That they may see we’re worse than ever, / And us from lawless Rule deliver.’ The nation’s relationship with the maritime world is made clear in this ballad since England is used in a metaphor for a floundering ship, and the ballad calls upon parliament for help: ‘For England’s sinking, unless they / Do take the Helm, and better sway.’³⁷¹ This ballad is a product of its historical moment, capturing the contemporary feelings of the maritime community. However, its significance is in its motivational and unifying function. It does not merely record the dissatisfaction of sailors for posterity – its purpose was immediate. It raised awareness of sailors’ plight and brought people to the cause with a view to enacting political change.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Ibid. The use of the ‘Ship of State’ image originate in the ancient Hellenic world and has been a potent tool of political observation and commentary since. See Norma Thompson, *The Ship of State: Statecraft and Politics from Ancient Greece to Democratic America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

The sea was important to early modern England. The idea of England as a maritime power emerged particularly in the wake of the Spanish Armada of 1588. It became necessary to project power and influence over the seas and claim exclusive rights to them. This was easy in theory but could be problematic in reality. The centrality of the navy in defending the country can be seen in the worry caused by the large-scale devastation wrought on the Forest of Dean by a storm in 1662. The loss of so much of this vital resource for ship construction was a graphic reminder of England's vulnerability and need to protect its liberty and trade through naval supremacy.³⁷² Ballads present English sailors as valiant heroes, who courageously defend their country and stoically accept their hardships whilst others benefit from their work but do not appreciate them. Simultaneously, naval weaknesses are glossed over and the associations of sailors with general disreputable and low-life activities are omitted. Ballads' representation of sailors is skewed with them probably in mind as potential consumers. Ballads about sailors, whilst being used for political or social comment in England, are also characteristically external in outlook. They situate England on a global hierarchy in relation to other nations. Through the image of the sailor, the ballad audience could engage with the outside world. The other significant role played by sailors in early modern ballads is the economic blood of the country, transporting global commodities and enriching all involved. This role was inextricably linked to the ability to project authority and be militarily dominant at sea. The connectedness of maritime trade with maritime might is epitomised in the sixteenth-century poem 'A Commendation of Martin Frobisher', in which Frobisher is 'A merial knight adventures, / Whose valure great was suche; / That hazard hard and light estem'd, / His countrie to enriche'.³⁷³

³⁷² Sara Morrison, 'Forests of Masts and Seas of Trees: The English Royal Forests and the Restoration', in *English Atlantics Revisited: Essays Honouring Ian K. Steele*, ed. by Nancy L. Rhoden (Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), pp. 136-173 (p. 137).

³⁷³ 'A Commendation of Martin Frobisher', in *The Early Naval Ballads of England*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841), pp. 45-46 (p. 46).

Prop of Trade

The dual role of the sailor as both guardian of the land and prop of trade were closely intertwined. To one ballad, dating from around the start of the War of Austrian Succession, the outbreak of war meant economic prosperity. It declares, ‘No more of trade let us complain; / Our antient rights we shall maintain, / Brave Britain’s isle flourish again.’³⁷⁴ It argues that war with Spain means ‘Our shops shall soon be open’d wide, / By humbling Jack Spaniard’s pride, / And our poor tradesmen full employ’d’.³⁷⁵ Similarly, the ballad ‘The English Sailor’s Resolution to Fight the Spaniards’, written in the context of the War of Jenkins’ Ear, states that ‘Our merchants have been long abus’d’ but now that war has been declared ‘Our merchants might have their own again’.³⁷⁶ The two roles of sailors supported one another – a nation could not be enriched through trade if its trade routes could not be protected and, conversely, a poor nation could not hope to equip and service a powerful navy. For this reason, the dual role often shows up simultaneously in ballads, meaning several ballads from the previous section will be mentioned again here. However, it is more illuminating to examine these two roles separately so as to fully appreciate the representation of each in ballads. Even more so than in ballads in which sailors defend the nation from threats, ballads about the economic roles of sailors are immersed in the world of seventeenth-century global commerce. By showing what riches and benefits could be brought to the nation, these ballads promote further engagement with, and exploitation of, the wider world.

In early modern England, ports were some of the more culturally and internationally diverse areas. People, goods and animals from vastly different backgrounds and cultural heritages jostled for space in the crowded port towns. The mixing pot of global commodities, cultures and influences can be seen in the ballad *A Saylor New Come Over* from the 1630s. This ballad recounts

³⁷⁴ ‘England’s Glory in the Declaration of War’, in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 174-75 (p. 174).

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 174-75.

³⁷⁶ ‘The English Sailor’s Resolution to Fight the Spaniards’, in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 172-73 (p. 172).

the people arriving off ships landing in Dover, such as a doctor who can cure ‘man or woman strucked with death’ and a magician who can make any young man fall in love with a woman with no teeth.³⁷⁷ It was through ports that foreign, luxury items entered the country. The ballad states that ‘A Jew is come from Venice, / plaies curiously at Tennis, / Has costly Jewels rich and rare, / to give or sell to Ladies faire’.³⁷⁸ Ballads were notorious for their exaggerated tales of marvels and monsters and, in awareness of this, the last verse brazenly reaffirms the veracity of what it has described:

If you will not beleeeve me,
 or right can conceave mee,
 To credit that this same is true,
 I formerly have sung to you,
 To singing I will bid adue,
 And at this time give over,
 To see these sights at Dover.³⁷⁹

Goods arrived in bulk in the port cities and slowly disseminated throughout the country. A main conduit by which these commodities were transported was the pedlar. The ballad *The Pedler opening of his Packe, To know of Maydes what tis they lacke* experiments with the identity of a pedlar crying their wares. This ballad’s variation on the popular commonplace is, ‘Faire Maydens come and see, / if here be ought will please you’.³⁸⁰ It is possible that this ballad may have been sung by pedlars trying to sell their wares, as many pedlars also doubled as ballad-mongers. However, it is more likely that this ballad’s use of the pedlar identity and commonplace call reflects the wider popularity of depicting street calls in contemporary song, music and art. What is important in this ballad is that the goods the fictitious pedlar is attempting to sell are luxurious and originate from across the globe. There are wondrous miracle cures which will ‘make a wench that’s fiftie, / For to looke more fayre / then one that wants of twenty’ and that ‘can restore / a

³⁷⁷ *A Saylor new come ouer: And in this Ship with him those of such fame The like of them, nere vnto England came, Men of such qualitie and parts most rare, Reading this Ditty, will shew you what they are.* (1631?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.396-397v, EBBA 20185, RI 2355. This ballad was entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1631. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 203).

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ *The Pedler opening of his Packe, To know of Maydes what tis they lacke.* (1620?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.238-239, EBBA 20109. This ballad may be related to RI 2053.

Mayden head that's vanisht'. However, significantly, the pedlar notes that it is from foreign lands 'doe come my cheifest Treasure'. As well as mentioning European commodities, the pedlar offers more exotic wares such as 'Sope that came from Turkey'. Sailors are not directly credited with bringing these goods to England, but the difficulties encountered are alluded to: 'Farre-fetcht Indian ware / and China hard to enter: / Which to get is rare, / costs many lives to venter.'³⁸¹ In the early modern period, gaining access to China was notoriously difficult. Foreigners were permitted to stay in China only as temporary visitors who came in diplomatic embassies.³⁸²

Trade around and between European states steadily increased across the early modern period.³⁸³ This rise in commercial shipping meant that the common trade routes were thronged with ships carrying valuable goods. 'The Fair Maid's Choice: Or, The Seaman's Renown' describes how a sailor 'ventures for traffique upon the salt seas, / To pleasure our gentry which lives at ease, / Through many dangerous places pass he'.³⁸⁴ Some of the dangers that threatened merchants came from other ships looking to steal their cargo. 'England's Glory in the Behaviour of Brave Killeygrove' describes an attack by the French navy on English war ships. What is illuminating in this ballad, when considering Mediterranean trade, is that the French 'took us to be merchant-men'.³⁸⁵ The ballad suggests possible locations from which the English fleet may have come: 'the Levant, / From Smyrna or from Scanderoon, from Venice or Mercant.'³⁸⁶ With the exception of sailors, it is unlikely that the majority of the ballad audience would ever travel to these places or encounter their native inhabitants. However, references to foreign, exotic

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Brook, p. 65. The most famous account of early modern Europeans trying to establish residency in China is that of the Jesuit missionaries led by Matteo Ricci. See Mary Laven, *Mission to China: Matteo Ricci and the Jesuit Encounter with the East* (London: Faber and Faber, 2012) and Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³⁸³ See *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade Around Europe 1300-1600*, ed. by Wim Blockmans, Mikhail Krom and Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz (Oxon: Routledge, 2017).

³⁸⁴ 'The Fair Maid's Choice: Or, The Seaman's Renown', in *The Early Naval Ballads of England*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841), pp. 42-45 (p. 43).

³⁸⁵ 'England's Glory in the Behaviour of Brave Killeygrove', in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 126-127 (p. 127).

³⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 127.

locations in ballads are common and serve to place England, in the mind of the audience, at the centre of the web of global commerce. Whilst the majority of the process would be invisible to much of the audience, ballads provide allusions to the distances which English merchants were venturing. This contributed to an imagination of global influence and power.

It is the sheer amount and value of goods transported which leads the ballad *The Valiant Seamans Congratulation to his sacred Majesty King Charls the second* to describe sailors as ‘the prop of Trading’.³⁸⁷ It states that ‘None goes beyond a Sea-man / in riches, gold, and store: / For he brings, wealth to Kings’. In this ballad, the very action of sailing is presented as generating wealth: ‘Weel bring you gold and treasure / by sailing to and fro.’³⁸⁸ An example of the treasure that sailors could bring to their monarchs can be found in ‘The Golden Voyage; Or, The Prosperous Arrival of the James and Mary’. This ballad describes the salvage of a sunken Spanish galleon in 1687. The commander of the *James and Mary*, William Phipps, had initially approached Charles II to fund the expedition but was unsuccessful. Phipps then approached a number of ‘Noble-Men and Persons of Quality’ to fund his voyage, chief amongst whom was Christopher Monck, 2nd Duke of Albemarle.³⁸⁹ The treasure recovered from the galleon, the ballad states, was worth ‘two hundred thousand pounds’.³⁹⁰ The ballad describes the danger of trying to dive to a sunken ship: the sailors were ‘with rocks so surrounded / That they did hardly know how to contrive to keep themselves from being drowned’.³⁹¹ These rocks presented so significant a threat that the news report likened them to Homeric monsters, saying, ‘for the Rocks were so numerous; that (like Scilla and Caribdis,) [the sailors] were like to be split upon one, while they

³⁸⁷ *The Valiant Seamans Congratulation to his sacred Majesty King Charls the second.*, EBBA 31979.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁹ *An Exact and Perfect Relation Of the Arrival of the Ship the James and Mary, Captain Phipps Commander, With 200000 l. in Gold and Silver, taken up in nine Fathom Water from the bottom of the Sea, being a suppos'd Wreck of a Spanish Galion, Cast-away above 43. years ago among the Bahama Islands, as it was taken from the aforesaid Captain, now riding in Graves-end Road* (London, 1687).

³⁹⁰ ‘The Golden Voyage; Or, The Prosperous Arrival of the James and Mary’, in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 95-97 (p. 95).

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

were endeavouring to avoid the other.³⁹² The ballad celebrates the successful culmination of the arduous task:

Six weeks together they work'd in the cold, still diving in nine fathom water,
Loading their Mary with silver and gold; then up to fair London they brought her,
Where they received her with delight, as you may observe by the ditty,
And they unloaded her cargo in sight of many brave men of the city.³⁹³

Additional implied meanings were added to this ballad through its choice of tune ('Ladies of London'). This tune carried connotations of sexual liaisons, thereby hinting that these newly enriched sailors were attractive to women.³⁹⁴

The arrival of the treasure-laden ship was celebrated throughout London, and commemorative medals were made by George Bower. A set adorned with busts of James II and Mary on one side, and an image of sailors hauling up treasure on the other, can be seen in Figure 11. These were presented to the ship's officers and investors in the venture (the king also gave them to his close friends and favourites). Another design was also created by Bower, which had a bust of the Duke of Albemarle on one side and a recumbent Neptune on the other.³⁹⁵



Figure 11: One of the commemorative Medals, the righthand image reads: 'Semper Tibi Pendeat Hamus' (Always let your hook hang) and 'Naufraga Reperta' (Wreck Discovered). © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, MEC2121.

³⁹² *An Exact and Perfect Relation Of the Arrival of the Ship the James and Mary*

³⁹³ 'The Golden Voyage; Or, The Prosperous Arrival of the James and Mary', pp. 95-97 (p. 96).

³⁹⁴ Miller, pp. 247-250 (p. 250).

³⁹⁵ The medals are held by the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich in the Coins and Medals collection, Commemorative Medals, MEC2121 and MEC2123.

‘The Golden Voyage’ states that, through recovery of the treasure, the ‘seamen hath purchac’d renown, no question’.³⁹⁶ It is notable that the purchasing of renown is emphasised because it must be wondered as to what purchasing power sailors actually held. The claim in *The Valiant Seamans Congratulation to his sacred Majesty King Charls the second*, that no one exceeds a sailor in riches, lies in their proximity to the expensive commodities that they transported. It might be assumed that, in reality, sailors did not gain access to any of the wealth which they handled. However, there were numerous opportunities within maritime commerce for sailors to gain income beyond their wages.³⁹⁷ Many sailors purchased commodities with their own money, or bartered for goods in exchange for their own possessions, and were allotted a small amount of space on board to transport such items (which they could then sell upon return to England).³⁹⁸ The commodities purchased by sailors varied depending on the routes they sailed: currants, oil and silk in the eastern Mediterranean; fruit in the western Mediterranean and Iberia; tar in the Baltic; tobacco from the fledgling English colonies in America; sugar from Brazil; and in West Africa, they purchased gold, ivory and (after the mid-seventeenth century) slaves.³⁹⁹ Whilst by no means guaranteed, it was possible for sailors to as much as double their wages by engaging in such additional trading.⁴⁰⁰ Furthermore, whilst war spoils were divided unequally between officers and crew, this was another route by which a soldier or sailor might make their fortune and was certainly part of the attraction of signing up. For instance, in *Voyage to Virginia*, the sailor expressly tells Betty that it is ‘for Promotion and for Honour, / that I must sail upon the

³⁹⁶ ‘The Golden Voyage; Or, The Prosperous Arrival of the James and Mary’, pp. 95-97 (p. 97).

³⁹⁷ Richard J. Blakemore, ‘Pieces of eight, pieces of eight: seamen’s earnings and the venture economy of early modern seafaring’, *Economic History Review*, 70:4 (2017), 1153-1184 (p. 1155).

³⁹⁸ This private trading by crew members on merchant ships was a recognised custom on merchant ships. Allowing seamen to engage in personal trade with local peoples may have been a method to guarantee their willingness to stay on the coast until the commander of the ship was ready to depart. The evidence of this participation in private trading can be found in the wills of the sailors. See P. E. H. Hair and J. D. Alsop, *English Seamen and Traders in Guinea 1553-1565: The New Evidence of Their Wills* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992).

³⁹⁹ Blakemore, ‘Pieces of eight’, pp.1153-1184 (p. 1175).

⁴⁰⁰ Blakemore, ‘Pieces of eight’, pp.1153-1184 (p. 1178).

Flood'.⁴⁰¹ Officers are usually depicted positively in naval ballads and, just as for the sailor talking to Betty, this was part of the aspiration being marketed by the ballad – a possibility to gain wealth and renown.⁴⁰² Unlike many working men, sailors might arrive in port with relatively large quantities of money, which could be spent on a number of entertaining pursuits, such as drinking, bear-baiting or even purchasing ballads.⁴⁰³ Sailors' lives were an unpredictable cycle of sudden wealth and then extended periods of hardship, and this variability of lifestyle is reflected in ballads.

Joy After Sorrovv; Being the Seamans return from Jamaico is a ballad which revolves around the theme of constancy. It features a woman who has become pregnant before marriage, but the sailor she loves has then sailed to Jamaica. This leads her to sing the repeated line, 'My belly is up, and my heart is down, / and my love is gone to Iamaco.'⁴⁰⁴ She recalls the way in which he wooed her with gifts, all of which were products of a thriving global trade. The first gift was 'a Beaver hat' which 'cost three pound in money'.⁴⁰⁵ Beaver hats were luxury items in this period. Following the decline of the European beaver from overhunting and loss of habitat, sixteenth-century European hat makers had to make do with sheep's wool. This was not ideal because wool tends to absorb rather than repel rain and it loses its shape when wet.⁴⁰⁶ With the discovery of a new source of beaver pelts in Canada in the 1580s, demand for Beaver hats skyrocketed. They became a marker of social status and were a part of a widening, fashion-conscious consumer culture.⁴⁰⁷ The woman was also presented with 'a silken Gown, / with silk and golden

⁴⁰¹ *Voyage to Virginia: / Or, / The Valiant Souldiers Farewel to his Love.*, EBBA 21821.

⁴⁰² A good example of the positive depiction of officers can be found in *The Caesar's Victory* which focuses on the actions of the captain and other high-ranking officers from the perspective of the crew. Miller, pp. 247-250 (p. 247). See *The Caesar's Victory. It being Account of a Ship so called, in her Voyage to the East Indies, Richly Laden, was beset with five Sail of Pirates: But the Caesar so rarely behaved her self, that she came off with Conquest, and put her foes to flight, losing no more than One Man, and but Seven wounded, one of which was Francis Stevens a Water-man, who formerly ply'd at Puddle-Dock, who lost his arm.* (1686), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.198, EBBA 21860.

⁴⁰³ Miller, pp. 247-250 (p. 250).

⁴⁰⁴ *Joy after Sorrovv; Being the Seamans return from Jamaico, Or, The lovely Lasses Late Lamentation for the absence of her dearest beloved Friend. A Voyage to Iamaico he pretends, But at his coming home makes her amends.* (1644-1680), BLO, 4o Rawl. 566(128), Roud Number: V2964, RI 1316. This ballad was entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1656. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 114).

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Brook, p. 42.

⁴⁰⁷ Brook, p. 43.

Laces' and 'a gay gold Ring, / and bracelets made of Amber'.⁴⁰⁸ However, now her partner is gone, she mourns her bleak situation of being unmarried and pregnant with no guarantee of him ever returning. She states that, if she had 'Icarus wings to flye', then she would go to 'The Indies and the wilderness, / and hollow Caves i'd seek too: / and every place both far and less, / belonging to jamaco'.⁴⁰⁹ The ballad then ends (unsurprisingly, as the title completely spoils the plot) with the newly enriched sailor returning: 'he having of money plenty: / Cast in her lap ten pounds in Gold, / and half Crown pieces twenty: / And since that time they married are, / whereby their joys are double'.⁴¹⁰

This ballad reflects part of the disparity in earnings between England and the colonies. One of the great motivations for people who indentured themselves was the possibility of higher wages overseas (a shipwright's wage in Jamaica could be twice that of one in London).⁴¹¹ This fact also finds expression in the ballad *Merry Tom of all Trades* from the late 1650s or early 1660s. It is written from the perspective of a character called 'Tom of all trades', who holds an extensive list of employments, such as weaver, tailor, shoemaker, blacksmith, brewer and baker.⁴¹² In each verse, he describes the experiences of each job. However, when work is struggling and 'all these Trades do fail me', he proclaims that 'Unto Barbados, Jamaica, or / New England will I goe. / Or to High Spaniola, / among the Golden Ore, / for there is room enough for me / and forty thousand more'.⁴¹³ This ballad highlights the interconnectivity of the seventeenth-century world. It shows an English everyman benefiting from the nation's global reach.

⁴⁰⁸ *Joy after Sorrovv; Being the Seamans return from Jamaica.*, 4o Rawl. 566(128), Roud Number: V2964, RI 1316.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ Nuala Zahedieh, 'Productivity in English Atlantic Shipping in the Seventeenth Century: Evidence from the Navigation Acts', in *Shipping and Economic Growth 1350-1850*, ed. by Richard W. Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 117-134. (p. 128).

⁴¹² *Merry Tom of all Trades. Or, A trick to get Mony at every dead lift, Made known by Tom of all trades that bravely could shift. From one place to another about he did range, And at his own pleasure his trade he could change.* (1658-1664), BLO, Wood E 25(47), Roud Number V1586, RI 1751. This ballad was entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1656. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 152).

⁴¹³ *Merry Tom of all Trades.*, Wood E 25(47), Roud Number V1586, RI 1751.

The downside of the sudden boom in sailors' wealth was that there could just as easily be a sudden bust, and some ballads warned sailors of the potential repercussions of careless spending and the danger of exploitative friends. 'The Jolly Sailor's Resolution' describes an unmarried sailor who has been abroad and has now returned home with his earnings. Before he went to sea, his landlady would kick him if he ate too much. However, now he returns with an 'abundance of gold, / And as she that beautiful sight did behold, / She said with a kiss thou art welcome'.⁴¹⁴ The sailor quickly forgets his previous mistreatment, as 'Her flattering words I was apt to believe' and they then 'feasted on dainties and drank of the best'.⁴¹⁵ The sailor revels in his new-found popularity and 'with my friends I am happily blest, / For punch, beer, and brandy, they night and day did call, / And I was honest Johnny, Johnny pay for all'.⁴¹⁶ After a month of drinking a feasting, the sailor scarce 'knew the night from the day' and his landlady arranges for him to marry her daughter, to whom he gives 'a chain of gold, and a rich and costly head'.⁴¹⁷ However, the ballad is clear in its message to its audience that such extravagance cannot last: 'This life I did lead for a month and a day, / And then all my glory begun to decay, / My mony was gone, I quite consum'd my store'.⁴¹⁸ His friends abandon him, and his landlady attempts to 'have [him] prest / Aboard of the fleet'.⁴¹⁹ After another voyage, the sailor 'replenish'd [his] stock once again', but this time is determined not to make the same mistake: 'My hostess and daughter I vow to refrain / Their company quite, and betake myself to a wife; / With whom I hope to live a sober life'.⁴²⁰ This narrative arc of learning from one's mistakes and the didactic lessons about the dangers of reckless spending would seem to support Miller's argument that ballads were particularly, or at least often, written with sailors in mind as an ideal audience. Even if not specifically aimed at sailors, the behaviour advocated in this ballad would have served as a lesson

⁴¹⁴ 'The Jolly Sailor's Resolution', in *The Early Naval Ballads of England*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841), pp. 93-96 (p. 93).

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94-95.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

to anyone hearing or singing it. This is because, whilst it carries a moral message, the ballad conveys it through a humorous narrative. The audience and singer could relish in observing the protagonist being taken for a fool and take comfort in the knowledge that they could never be so foolish. Ballads place England in the centre of an interconnected, commercial world and reflect on the ways in which this affected sailors (who were the links in the global chain which brought foreign cultures and commodities to England). Sailors were exposed to varying changes in fortunes owing to the unpredictable wealth cycle of their lives, and ballads could use this to draw moral-exemplary messages for their audience.

It has been notable throughout the ballads discussed so far, that wealth, trade and travel were all intertwined. Whilst some ballads allude to these themes vaguely, others explicitly focus on this relationship. *Sailors for my Money* describes how sailors ‘travell to the Indies, / From them we bring som spice / Here we buy rich Marchandise, / At very little prize’.⁴²¹ The ballad describes how sailors support their countrymen: ‘Into our native Country, / With wealth we doe returne: / And cheere our wives & children, / Who for our absence mourne.’⁴²² The spread of foreign commodities into English culture provoked a range of reactions from contemporaries. The spice trade, in particular, evoked a conflicted discourse of fear and desire which centred around certain goods, such as pepper, nutmeg, mace and cloves.⁴²³ One fear was of the threat of racial contamination from mixing with foreign entities.⁴²⁴ However, despite contemporary anxieties about these substances, seventeenth-century cookbooks are filled with spices, pepper, sugars and nuts, as well as substances like gold and ambergris.⁴²⁵ Such books stand as a testament to the impact of global trade and interconnectivity on cultural life in England. Ballads reflect the desire for these foreign commodities. *The Troubles of this World*, from the late-seventeenth century,

⁴²¹ *Sailors for my money.*, EBBA 20197.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Gitanjali Shahani, ‘The Spiced Indian Air in Early Modern England’, *Shakespeare Studies*, 42 (2014), 122-137 (p. 122).

⁴²⁴ Ibid. This discourse will be discussed further in chapter four with a specific focus on coffee.

⁴²⁵ Kim F. Hall, ‘Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century’, in *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects*, ed. by Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan and Dymphna Callaghan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 168-190 (p. 169).

complains that all goods ‘From forreign Lands’, such as ‘Linnen, Silks, Fruit, Sugar, Spice’, have risen ‘to a vast excessive price’.⁴²⁶ Spices were also essential ingredients in medicines. The humorous ballad, *The Skilful Doctor of Gloucester-shire*, tells of an unfaithful farmer looking for a way to hide from his wife the fact that he impregnated their maid. The farmer asks the doctor for help and so the doctor convinces the farmer’s wife that the last time she was in bed with her husband, through an eclipse of the moon, she had impregnated him. The only cure for this was to give the farmer restorative medicines and then have a young maid lie with him in bed. Through this, the foetus would then be passed on to the maid. Whilst this is a ridiculous ballad designed for entertainment, the centrality of foreign spices to contemporary medicine is shown in the doctor’s instructions to the wife: ‘make for him a Posset fine, / with Sugar and sweet Muskadine, / Commixt with Cinnamon and Mace.’⁴²⁷

Ballads also reflect a particular aspect of the discourse over the integration of foreign commodities into English life: the role of women. Kim F. Hall shows that sugar became gendered during its integration into domestic life. She states that, rather than dismissing the fact as a mere inconsistency that sugar and spices were simultaneously desirable but also treated with suspicion, we should consider women’s interaction with these commodities as the process by which their strangeness was removed.⁴²⁸ As these substances passed through the English home and were transformed from raw materials into food, they lost their foreign taint.⁴²⁹ Since women served, simultaneously, as cooks, doctors, herbalists and surgeons, they controlled how these various ingredients entered the house and family.⁴³⁰ The central role of women worried a number

⁴²⁶ *The Troubles of this World: Or, Nothing Cheap but poor Mens Labour; Concluding with a Line of Comfortable Consolation, to Chear up our Drooping Hearts, in a time of Trouble.* (1672-1702?), NLS, Crawford.EB.756, EBBA 33464.

⁴²⁷ *The Skilful Doctor of Gloucester-shire, Or, A new way to take Physicke. This Ditty doth concern a Country Farmer, Who lay with his Maid, not thinking to harm her; But the poor Wench, was by her Master vil’d, First tempt to sin, and after got with child: But by the Doctors Skill, her honest Dame, Excus’d her Husband, and sav’d her Maid from Blame: The Doctor her bath Medicines in store, To cure all sorts of Folks, both rich and poor.* (1663-1674), BL, Roxburghe 3.206-207, EBBA 30852, RI 2462 and 2463. This ballad was entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1656 and 1675. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 213).

⁴²⁸ Hall, ‘Culinary Spaces’, pp. 168-190 (p. 182).

⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 182.

⁴³⁰ Shahani, pp.122-137 (p. 128).

of contemporary authors. The spices which were stirred into cordials, sprinkled into pies, or distilled into perfumes (products which unobtrusively entered the permeable orifices of the English body) were all prepared under female supervision.⁴³¹ Gervase Merkhams's *The English Huswife*, from 1615, specifically links a housewife's moral character to her appetite for foreign commodities and, consequently, other types of quintessentially female appetites and excesses.⁴³² Ballads also generally represent sugars and spices as objects of female desire. A ballad marking the Treaty of Breda in 1667 at the culmination of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, *The Triumphs of four Nations*, announces that peace means English merchants may now 'safely passe free to all parts of the world'.⁴³³ The ballad states this free trade will allow merchants to 'please pretty Ladies and Citie wives' with 'Figs, Almonds and Spice, / With Sugar and Rice, / Which is a young Gentlewomans Paradise'.⁴³⁴ Similarly, *The maidens reply to the Young mans Resolution* lists a number of things which it sees as impossibilities, one of which is 'When women hate good sugar-sops'.⁴³⁵ Sugar-sops were pieces of bread added to a 'quantity of Beer or Ale' which was then sweetened and spiced with currants, 'large Mace, Sugar or Honey'.⁴³⁶ However, some ballads also predict that excessive female desire for foreign commodities could lead to an upset of social hierarchies and 'scolding' behaviour.

⁴³¹ Ibid, p. 124.

⁴³² Ibid, p. 125.

⁴³³ *The Triumphs of four Nations; Or, A happy Conclusion of Peace, Betwixt England, France, Denmark, and Holland. As it was confirm'd on Sunday night July the 21. at Breda; where, after four hours Conference in the Castle, the Plenipotentiaries about nine in the evening signed the Articles of Peace; which Done Mounseur Fleming, the Sweedish Mediatour, in a short Speech Congratulated the happy issue of so great a work; After which, the Plenipotentiaries saluting and complementing each other, the Conference ended: As they came out of the Castle, the Canons were thrice discharged round the Town, the Musqueteers giving their vollies from the Works, and the Horse drawn up upon the Plain, saluting them with their Trumpets, the whole Town quitting their Houses to expresse their Joy to them as they passed by; This Joyful News was brought on Friday last July 26. from Breda, by the Right Worshipful Sir John Coventry, to the King, bringing with him the Articles of Peace, as they were Signed there by the Plenipotentiaries.* (1641-1703?), UGL, Euing Ballads 351, EBBA 32048.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ *The maidens reply to the Young mans Resolution. Wherein she fits him in his kind, And lets him know her settled mind, She can as well live single and not marry As well as he without a wife can tarry.* (1670-1678?), BL, Roxburghe 2.330, EBBA 31604.

⁴³⁶ *The English and French Cook: Describing The best and newest ways of ordering and dressing all sorts of Flesh, Fish and Fowl, whether boiled, baked, stewed, roasted, broiled, friggassied, fryed, souc'd, marinnated, or pickled; with their proper Sauces and Garnishes: Together with all manner of the most approved Soops and Potages used, either in England or France.* By T. P., J. P., R. C., N. B. *And several other approved Cooks of London and Westminster* (London: Printed for Simon Miller at the Star, at the West-end of St. Pauls. 1674), p. 414. ESTC R219363.

The terms ‘scold’, ‘shrew’ and ‘shrow’ all refer to women who are entirely domineering and often physically or emotionally abusive to their husbands. Scolds were common popular stereotypes and both they and their perceived weak husbands were frequently ridiculed and derided.⁴³⁷ In *Mirth for Citizens; Or, A Comedy for the Country*, a proud husband is stunned when his new wife, as soon as they are married, becomes domineering. She tells him that ‘she would be Master, / and all the whole household guide’.⁴³⁸ He initially tries to physically force her into submission: ‘against her I took stick, / thinking she durst not come nigh’, but ‘With a cudgel my bones she did lick, / that for pardon I quickly did cry’. He now must be her servant and ‘wait on her, / with bowing on [his] Knee’. Significantly, as soon as she is dressed in the mornings, her ‘Sugar-sops must ready be’ which is her husband’s responsibility.⁴³⁹ Similar narratives, where husbands have to supply their ‘scolding’ wives with sweet treats, occur in *The Scolding Wife* and *Any thing for a quiet life*.⁴⁴⁰ The theme of female desire being linked to sweet delicacies is taken further in *Cuckolds Haven: Or, The marryd mans miserie, who must abide the penaltie of being Hornifyd*. The ballad describes the actions of women who cuckold their husbands. It states that, ‘When these good Gossips meet, / in Alley, Lane, or Street’, unseen by their husbands, ‘with Wine and Sugar sweet, / They arme themselves, and then beside / their husbands must be hornifyd’.⁴⁴¹ Notably, in criticisms of women’s relationships with sugars and spices, authors (like Gervase Markham) never paid much attention to the merchants, travellers and sailors who were actually obtaining these commodities.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁷ In ballads, scolds and shrews show no respect or reverence towards their husbands. Instead, they subject their husbands to endless nagging criticism, with verbal and physical assaults. See Elizabeth Foyster, ‘A Laughing Matter? Marital Discord and Gender Control in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Rural History*, 4:1 (1993), 5-21.

⁴³⁸ *Mirth for Citizens: Or, A Comedy for the Country. Shewing A young Farmer his unfortunate marriage, His wife is so churlish & currish in carriage He married her for beauty, for’s own delight Now he repents it both day and night. By Physiognomy adviseth youngmen that at Wenches skip, To be sure to look before that they leap, To leap at a venture, & catch a fall, Raising the forehead breake horns and all.* (1673?), NLS, Crawford.EB.507, EBBA 32851.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰ *The Scolding Wife.* (1672-1696?), NLS, Crawford.EB.1151, EBBA 33867.; *Any thing for a quiet life; Or the Married mans bondage to a curst Wife.* (1620?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.378-379, EBBA 20175.

⁴⁴¹ *Cuckolds Haven: Or, The marry’d mans miserie, who must abide The penaltie of being Hornify’d: Hee unto his Neighbours doth make his case knowne, And tels them all plainly, The case is their owne.* (1638), BL, Roxburghe 1.46-47, EBBA 30036, RI 448. This ballad was entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1638. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 46).

⁴⁴² Shahani, pp.122-137 (p. 127).

When ballads discuss sailors' role in bringing spices and commodities to England, the depiction is overwhelmingly positive. It was generally acknowledged that such trade was to the nation's health and advantage. The aim was to promote an imagination of England at the centre of a global world of trade, which it dominated and benefitted from. The rewards of profitable trade, ballads argue, were reaped by all levels of society. In *The Sea-mans Compass*, it is stated that 'To comfort poor people, / the Sea-men do strive / And brings in maintainance / to keep them alive'.⁴⁴³ *Saylors for my Money*, as well as its later version *Neptune's Raging Fury*, pinpoint the exact part of the economy to which sailors are contributing: 'For when we [the sailors] have received, / Our wages for our paynes: / The Vintners & the Tapsters, / By us have golden gaines. / We call for liquor roundly, / And pay before we goe.'⁴⁴⁴ The final verse of *Saylors for my Money* states, 'When hee that is in povertie, / May riches get o'th' seas: / Lets saile unto the Indies, / Where golden grasse doth grow.'⁴⁴⁵ The significance of this image is that wealth and riches are essentially a crop to be harvested from the economically fertile lands outside Europe. This idea is also voiced in *The Sea-mans Compass*: 'Above and beneath ground / for wealth they have sought / And when they have found it / to England tis brought.'⁴⁴⁶ The function of ballads such as these was to celebrate the growing economic benefits reaped through a global English presence. However, this opened a potentially problematic question.

Whilst sailors may have financially benefitted from transporting these goods, the majority of the profits would go to the joint-stock companies organising the voyages and the wealthier stockholders able to make significant investments. As the maritime community most likely made up a significant portion of ballad consumers, mentioning the sailors' inferior position in relation to financial gains from voyages might seem like an odd marketing choice (particularly as land-based society is usually presented as lazy and somnolent in naval ballads). However, ballads made

⁴⁴³ *The Sea-mans Compass*, EBBA 31990, RI 2386.

⁴⁴⁴ *Saylors for my money*, EBBA 20197.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid. The are two extra verses at the end of *Saylors for my Money* which were removed in *Neptune's Raging Fury*, and so this verse is only to be found in *Saylors for my Money*.

⁴⁴⁶ *The Sea-mans Compass*, EBBA 31990, RI 2386.

themselves more appealing to sailors by attributing to them the responsibility for this mercantile success from which others benefitted more obviously. Rather than presenting a critical attitude towards this discrepancy by framing sailors against big companies, ballads emphasise that, as well as being defenders of the nation, sailors support all other members of society.

The Sea-mans Compass, through frequent use of the verb ‘to bring’, emphasises the agency of sailors in enriching the nation: ‘Sea-men brings treasure / and profit to the land’; ‘The Sea-men brings Spices / and Sugar so fine’; and ‘Sea-men from beyond Seas / bring silver and gold / With Pearls and rich Jewels / most rare to behold’.⁴⁴⁷ Similarly, *The Jovial Marriner* states that ‘[Brave] England hath been much inricht / by Art of Navigation: / Great store of wealth we home have fetcht / for to adorn our Nation’.⁴⁴⁸ In seeming to target sailors, *The Jovial Marriner* plays on occupational identity. Occupational identity is a frequent feature in ballads and characters are routinely identified by occupational labels.⁴⁴⁹ In this way, ballads may have contributed to internal processes of identity formation. Professions like tinkers, tailors, shoemakers and sailors appear as social types with associated stock characteristics.⁴⁵⁰ In *The Jovial Marriner*, the ballad-monger adopts a seafaring identity and announces it clearly with the first line: ‘I am a Jovial Marriner.’ The singer then further identifies themselves with the maritime community: ‘our calling is well known, / We trade with many a Forreigner / to purchase high renown, / We serve our Country faithfully / and bring home store of Gold.’ The celebration of sailors reaches its apogee in the imperative lines, which call out to any ‘fellow’ seamen in the audience, ‘Then Sea-men cast your caps on high / we are without compare.’ The emphasis on occupational identity may have made the ballad more appealing to sailors, but it also allowed any

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ *The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown.*, EBBA 32976.

⁴⁴⁹ Hailwood, pp.187-200 (p. 188). See also, Simone Chess, ‘Drinking and Good Fellowship: Working Class or Workers’ Classes at the Alehouse?’, in *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 267-270.

⁴⁵⁰ Hailwood, pp.187-200 (p. 188). Hailwood states that historians of identity have explored the roles of religion, officeholding, marital status, wealth, education, degree of financial independence, a sense of belonging to civic or parish institutions as important foundations of individual and collective identities but have yet to integrate occupation in the same manner.

non-sailor singing it to role-speculate at being one of the romanticised jovial mariners who laugh in the face of danger and who ‘please the females well’.⁴⁵¹ These two idealised characteristics are displayed in the two woodcuts adorning the ballad: a naval engagement and a man kissing a woman seated on a bed – a commonly used woodcut in ballads about seduction or affairs (see Figure 12).



Figure 12: The two celebrated traits of sailors as shown on *The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown*. (1670-1682), NLS, Crawford.EB.544, EBBA 32976 Reproduced with permission from materials on loan to the National Library of Scotland by the Balcarres Trust.



As shown earlier in this chapter, many ballads emphasised the role of sailors in defending the nation and claimed that land-based society owed them a debt. However, in some ballads, and particularly when the concept of occupational identity is considered, this theme is taken further as the activities of sailors support and maintain the occupational identity of other social groups. Some of the commodities transported by sailors, and listed in *The Sea-mans Compass*, are ‘Silks and

⁴⁵¹ *The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown*, EBBA 32976.

rich Velvets,' without which 'you gay Ladies / could not go so brave'.⁴⁵² This might not seem overly significant, but the line highlights the link between material possessions and identity, particularly amongst those who could afford to use such possessions as markers of status. This is also evident in the verse,

[The] Sea-men brings Spices
and Sugar so fine
Which serve the brave gallants
to drink with their wine
With Lemonds and Oreniges
all of the best
To Relish their pallats
when they make a feast
Sweet Figs, Prunes & Raisons
by them brought home be.⁴⁵³

Having such luxuries is central to what sets apart wealthy gallants from the rest of society. If they could not enjoy these things, then could they really be considered gallants? *The Jovial Marriner* implies this even more forcefully. It states that sailors please ladies palates 'with Spices of the best', but that 'if Sea-men all should take their ease / and stay at home to rest: / Our Gallants they would finde a want / of silks to make them fine'.⁴⁵⁴ The important fact here is that it is the material possession of silks that makes the gallants fine. They are entirely reliant on the sailors to provide them with the commodities through which they demonstrate their own identities as those who can afford the finer things in life. This support of the rest of society does not end with the highest echelons for, whilst 'the Nobles and Gentry / of every degree' are beholden to sailors, this also extends throughout the social spectrum to the 'middling sort' and further on down to labourers.

The Sea-mans Compass explains how sailors transport the raw materials of silk and cotton wool to labourers 'to card and to spin', and it is through this that 'their livings comes in'.⁴⁵⁵ The relationship between sailors and merchants is also described (again, very much from the sailors'

⁴⁵² *The Sea-mans Compass*, EBBA 31990, RI 2386.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ *The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown.*, EBBA 32976.

⁴⁵⁵ *The Sea-mans Compass*, EBBA 31990, RI 2386.

perspective and arguing for their vital role in supporting merchants): ‘The Mercers beholding / we know well enough / For Holland, Lawn, Cambrick, / and other gay stuffe / That’s brought from beyond seas / by Sea-men so bold / The rarest that ever mens eyes did behold.’⁴⁵⁶ The ballad emphasises that if it were not for sailors, the ‘fine daughters’ of the merchants ‘must work with their hands’.⁴⁵⁷ By celebrating sailors’ labours and playing on the theme of occupational identity, these ballads were able to market themselves to sailors. Non-sailor consumers of the ballads could also participate in role-speculation to fantasise about experiencing the romantic and heroic elements of seafaring life. The ballads argued that society was supported by the actions of sailors and, without them, the items and lifestyles by which the wealthiest defined themselves would not be available. It is significant that the items brought by sailors (which merchants then sell for profit) come ‘from other strange lands’, since the concept of unlimited riches in the East was widespread in this period.⁴⁵⁸ The role of merchants in supporting national wealth is made explicitly clear in the pageants for the Lord Mayor of London from the second half of the seventeenth century.

The annual Lord Mayor’s pageants were high-profile, lavish celebrations of the inauguration of the new mayor and were at the centre of cultural life in early modern London.⁴⁵⁹ The pageants shared their heyday with that of the early modern stage and the two forms had strong connections.⁴⁶⁰ However, there are also similarities between the ways in which the seventeenth-century audience interacted with pageants and the ways in which they experienced ballads. Both were styles of performance and were public spectacles; and pageants could be attended by thousands.⁴⁶¹ In the Lord Mayor’s pageants, culture and economics were intricately intertwined since they were funded by the various Livery Companies of London.⁴⁶² The pageants

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor’s Show 1585-1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 1.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 1.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid, p. 4.

⁴⁶² Ibid, p. 7.

were grounded in the shifting reality of the sources of London's wealth (namely, the East India Company and the Merchant Adventurers) and, therefore, mercantile values were represented in a positive light as frequently as possible.⁴⁶³ Another similarity between pageants and balladry was their popularity and multimedia dissemination. The clearest indication of their popularity was that their texts were published annually and, evidently, in large quantities because copies of almost all the pageants from 1585 onwards are extant.⁴⁶⁴ That England thrived as a result of foreign trade is made explicitly clear in the pageants. Therefore, the pageants, like ballads, help their audience to imagine England's central place in a global world where a variety of peoples acknowledge England's might and willingly labour for its benefit.

One song from the 1681 pageant *London's Joy, Or, The Lord Mayors Show: Triumphantly Exhibited in Various Representations* by Thomas Jordan was sung by men and women who were blacked-up and pretending to be labourers on spice plantations. This song is a celebration of the Grocers' Company, but it also serves as propaganda as these faux inhabitants of the Indies explain how happy their lives are under English rule. The global nature of trade is a significant theme in their song:

We are jolly planters who live in the East,
And furnish the world with delights when they feast;
For by our endeavours this country presumes
To fit them with physic, food, gold and perfumes.
Our trading is whirl'd
All over the world.⁴⁶⁵

This verse highlights that, whilst the initial labours in producing the resources for global trade are performed by the planters, it is England which controls and regulates the trade. England provides the agency through which the products of the planters' is 'whirl'd / All over the world'. The song extols the benefits of investing in trading voyages (which would, of course, mean more payments to the Grocer's Company): 'France, Spain, Holland, England, have sent me to know /

⁴⁶³ Ibid, p. 292; 289.

⁴⁶⁴ Anthony Gerard Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race: The Representation of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), p. 43.

⁴⁶⁵ Thomas Jordan, *London's Joy, Or, The Lord Mayors Show: Triumphantly Exhibited in Various Representations* (London: Printed for John and Henry Playford, 1681), p. 13. ESTC R1528.

Where jewels are found, and how spices do grow; / Where voyagers with a small stock have been made, / By the wealthy returns of an East India trade.⁴⁶⁶

The plantations are portrayed, propagandistically, as beneficial to both England and to the native workers. The faux natives state, ‘From Torments or Troubles of Body or Mind, / Your Bonny brisk Planters are free as the Wind, / We eat well to labour, and labour to eat, / Our planting doth get us both stomach and meat.’⁴⁶⁷ Their lives are presented as free and easy as ‘We Sing, Dance, and trip it, as Frolick as Ranters; / Such are the sweet Lives of your bonny brave Planters’.⁴⁶⁸ It is noteworthy that this line is ‘your bonny brave Planters’, as ownership of the singers is given to the audience. Furthermore, since the English monarchy had been involved in the slave trade since 1663, this use of the genitive pronoun is more than a courteous term.⁴⁶⁹ The extraction of the natural resources by the English is justified by an image of a copious overabundance in the East: ‘Of Cinamon, nutmegs, of Mace, and of Cloves, / We have so much plenty that they grow in whole Groves.’⁴⁷⁰

Jordan wrote three mayoral pageants, those of 1672, 1678 and 1681. In both the 1678 and 1681 pageants, there is a scene in which planters sing about their toil, but never complain because they have managed to remain in a pastoral world that is as near to paradise as possible in the post-lapsarian era.⁴⁷¹ The 1678 pageant *The Triumphs of London* makes the Edenic analogy even more explicit: ‘With Cinamon, Cloves, Mace, and all other Spice, / We Planters have planted a New Paradise. / We feel no Effects of the Faults that was Adam’s.’⁴⁷² The important political ideas contained within these scenes are made to seem benign by invoking pastoral conventions.⁴⁷³ There is a significant use of the verb ‘slave’ in one of the lines from *London’s Joy*:

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 13.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 13.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 13.

⁴⁶⁹ Barthelemy, p. 53.

⁴⁷⁰ Jordan, *London’s Joy, Or, The Lord Mayors Show: Triumphantly Exhibited in Various Representations*, p. 14.

⁴⁷¹ Barthelemy, p. 52.

⁴⁷² Thomas Jordan, *The Triumphs of London* (London: Printed for John Playford at the Temple-Church, 1678), p. 13. ESTC R31679.

⁴⁷³ Barthelemy, p. 52.

‘Our weighty Endeavours have Drams of Delight, / We slave it all day, but we sleep well at night.’⁴⁷⁴ The presentation of plantation workers as content with their labours was not uncommon, as the supposed happiness of slaves – particularly African slaves – was one of the strongest defences offered by apologists for slavery.⁴⁷⁵ The purpose of the pageant was to celebrate the Grocers’ Company and the new mayor. The misrepresentation of the conditions of enslavement was of little or no consequence.⁴⁷⁶

The political use of various representations of non-Europeans will be focused on to a far greater extent in chapters three and four, and more of Thomas Jordan’s pageants will be examined. In the case of this pageant, an image is created of happy planters willingly surrendering their freedom so that London’s grocers could provide England with exotic fruits and spices.⁴⁷⁷ However, the pageants can be read as having a subtler political purpose. Amongst the audience witnessing the pageant, those who were able to afford merchandise from the Indies were able to distinguish themselves, through the acquisition of such goods, from the slaves who laboured to produce them. Furthermore, those in the audience unable to afford the spices and other luxuries were set an example by the planters who allege that they are happier than their masters and proclaim a superiority of a life uncomplicated by luxuries and comforts: ‘With Mattock, Spade, Pruning-Hook, Shovel & Sieve, / what a Life of Delight do we Labourers live?’⁴⁷⁸ This moral lesson was entirely fitting with pageant tradition. Owing a debt to medieval morality drama, almost all pageants contain references to moral struggles, and the inherent didacticism is characteristic of such civic entertainments.⁴⁷⁹ These pageants were constructed rituals, designed to justify English colonial and mercantile activities. Merchants were the conduits through which England interacted with the outside world and were at the forefront of most

⁴⁷⁴ Jordan, *London’s Joy, Or, The Lord Mayors Show: Triumphantly Exhibited in Various Representations*, p. 13.

⁴⁷⁵ Barthelemy, p. 53; 55.

⁴⁷⁶ Barthelemy, p. 58.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58; 59.; Jordan, *The Triumphs of London*, p. 13.

⁴⁷⁹ David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), p. 307; 128.

cultural encounters. They experienced more of the world than most other early modern English people. The ballad *The two Lymas Lovers, Thomas and Betty* encapsulates this in the lines stating that there is ‘nothing that can delight [sailors], / more than a prosperous Trade: / Sailing from Nation to Nation, / travelling Seamen behold, / Wonderful works of Creation, / bring home the Indian Gold’.⁴⁸⁰ The role of merchants was economic but carried political significance. This is most clearly expressed in Thomas Jordan’s opening dedication in the printed text of *The Triumphs of London*. It is addressed to Sir James Edwards, the Lord Mayor in whose honour the pageant was being held. It praises the benefits brought by merchants, starting with the mercantile, and ends on a distinctly colonial, political note:

by [the merchants’] Cost, Adventures, Diligence, and Vigilance, incognite Countries have been discovered, Royal Amity introduced and confirmed with Transmarine Estates and Princes: As also (by reason of their generous Examples, and prevalent Perswasions) very brutish Nations, with barbarous Natures, have been reduced to Meekness, Order and Civility.⁴⁸¹

England is presented as a global force, one which, through trade or military might, can dominate and restructure other nations.

Heart of the Nation?

Ordinary sailors were witnesses to, and active agents in, global economic and political interactions and changes. They were the links which encompassed the globe and the conduits through which information and goods from the outside world entered Europe. The most prominent theme in ballads about sailors is that of constancy. These ballads imparted moral lessons to sailors, promoting and celebrating constant and loving mariners, whilst warning of the disaster for all parties involved if a sailor abandoned his family. However, the wider context of these ballads should be taken into account. There was a shift from the late-sixteenth century into the seventeenth century, which saw a decline in ballads promoting travel and a rise of the

⁴⁸⁰ *The two Lymas Lovers, Thomas and Betty. Set forth in a Dialogue between them at his departure. Altho’ they part, yet still his Heart was true, he lov’d her dear, And likewise she in Loyalty did perfectly appear.* (1685-1688), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.166, EBBA 21818.

⁴⁸¹ Jordan, *The Triumphs of London*

constancy ballads tethering sailors to their homes. This shift is a product of England's changing relationship with the global world, corresponding with the shift in populationist discourse which moved from supporting emigration to the belief that labour ought to remain and be cultivated within the nation. These conflicting themes are manifestations of the wider questions facing society in an era of increasing travel and global movement.

It is notable that, more so than other ballad subjects, ballads about sailors are external in outlook. The themes present in naval ballads are steeped in global political and economic considerations. They introduce their audience, both Londoners and more rural populations (once ballads had disseminated there in the hands of pedlars), to the outside world. In these ballads, England was presented at the centre of a world of movement and interaction. This shaped how the world was imagined by the ballad audience. The added value of ballads as historical sources is that they can provide insight into how wider political and economic considerations, such as fishing rights and the policies of *Mare Liberum* and *Mare Clausum*, were understood and received by those who otherwise have left little of their thoughts to posterity. They also reflect wider cultural memory of global events; for instance, in references to the Amboyna massacre four decades after it occurred.

Ballads from the 1660s and 1670s, particularly those relating to competition with the Dutch, are ingrained within the rhetoric of the Restoration. In proclaiming England's place on the global stage, it was necessary to emphasise the strength of the reinstated monarchy and portray an image of national power and stability. Ballads played an important role in helping to create this unified English consciousness, particularly in terms of anti-Dutch propaganda. Sailors were at the heart of this discourse. Unlike many ballads about soldiers, which play on regional as well as national identities, ballads about sailors are deeply invested in a concept of Englishness. The teleological narrative of Elizabethan maritime adventures predicting a global empire and making its rise inevitable must be avoided. However, there was a link between sailors and concepts of national identity in the seventeenth century. As the mediators between England and

the outside world, it was more important that ballads about sailors included references to a fixed nation, England, which could then be situated atop of a global hierarchy through references to global politics and relations with both European and non-European powers.

Sailors in ballads defended the nation and were presented as unappreciated by land-based society. These ballads are concerned with external issues, warning wider society about the dangers facing England on the world stage. However, ballads which emphasised sailors' economic roles are completely immersed in the global nature of the seventeenth-century world. References to foreign, exotic locations introduced the audience to wider events and considerations, but ballads also allowed their audience to vicariously experience other regions and interact with other cultures. Through descriptions of the variety of goods traded and how these benefited the nation, England is placed in the centre of a world of commerce and interconnectivity. It is significant that many of the criticisms of the increased presence of foreign commodities in English society by-passed sailors and merchants, instead often focusing on women and their role in mediating between resource and product, turning commodities into consumables. The role of sailors in this process was acknowledged to be central to the wealth of the nation. This is celebrated in ballads, as well as in the Lord Mayor's pageants which were stylised rituals to flatter the economic powerhouses of London: the Livery Companies. These pageants presented visual, constructed images of England's plantations, in which faux planters acknowledged the power of England and willingly labour for its benefit. The faux planters are happy in their role of producing the resources for global trade which England then controls and directs. Songs from the pageants which describe the activities of the planters and their role in England's economy allowed the audience to reflect on how their daily lives were affected by expansion and global trade.

Ballads about sailors capture the essence of the global awareness of their contemporary moment. They position England in a global hierarchy and stress the importance of commodities produced in foreign colonies as economic lifeblood of the nation. However, these commodities

needed to be transported from the colonies to England, and this involved traversing often massive expanses of open ocean. This was inherently dangerous to early modern sailors and broadside ballads warned their consumers about such dangers, as well as provided advice on how they could be avoided. The dangers of the sea were manifold: fearsome creatures, terrible storms and bloodthirsty pirates. The next chapter will analyse the representations of these and their significance in ballads.

Chapter Two: Reaching the Outside World

Day after day, day after day,
We stuck, nor breath nor motion;
As idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean.⁴⁸²

The previous chapter argued that, in broadside ballads, sailors were figures through which the global seventeenth-century world could be processed. They were the conduits that brought the outside world to England and, in ballads, they are used to proclaim England's place in international hierarchies. Sailors connected England to the outside world. However, between the outside world and England was the sea. To traverse the oceans was, in many ways, to be held in limbo: time began to lose meaning in the months spent without sight of land; and a ship existed in its own little reality, divorced from the world – a condition encapsulated by Samuel Taylor Coleridge in his famous poem of maritime suffering. In the early modern period, as global investment in overseas trade increased, so did the sheer volume of ships and people on the ocean, as well as the average length of time spent at sea. These were the conditions essential to the process of increasing globalisation and they brought with them several dangers.

This chapter considers the presentation in broadside ballads of the dangers inherent in reaching and engaging with a global world. Despite improvements in navigational techniques and ship designs, venturing out into the open ocean was extremely risky. The sea was a mysterious abode of monsters (which eventually manifested themselves as repositories of oil in the form of whales). Storms, shipwreck and loss were social realities that were to be planned for, if not expected, by sailors and their families. Danger also had a human form. The emergence of a global world and international commercial exchange correlates with, and almost certainly influenced, the growth of piracy. The sea was a liminal space and the early modern pirate was a liminal being. The romanticised Hollywood image of pirates obscures the political and moral grey areas in which they operated. Modern filmmakers and fiction writers offer a monolithic

⁴⁸² Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (London: Sampson Low, Son & Co., 1857), p. 16.

image of the pirate, neglecting the fact that vast changes in global circumstances from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries produced many varieties of piracy.⁴⁸³ Piracy was a far more slippery concept – most was the opportunistic work of crews who, on other voyages (or even the same voyage), were lawful traders.⁴⁸⁴ It is now generally accepted that, with a few exceptions, piracy was mostly a profitable but small-scale enterprise carried out by amateurs.⁴⁸⁵ In ballads, pirates are manifestations of the chaotic nature of the outside world and represent the destruction of order that time away from shore could cause. Added to this obscure image of piracy was the difficulty in distinguishing between pirates and privateers (a distinction which occupied much of contemporary political discourse).

As seen in the previous chapter, ballads celebrated the benefits brought to the nation by global trade. However, they also lamented the dangers this brought with it and presented an image of the outside world to their audience which was wild and savage.

‘These secrets Neptune closely keeps / Within the bosome of the déeps’

The ballads emphasising that the movement of sailors enriched the nation mainly centred around the wealthiest voyages to the Americas or the Indies. However, many members of the maritime community also worked on fishing and whaling ships in the North Sea, Greenland Sea and North Atlantic. There are far fewer ballads describing fishing and whaling voyages than those which describe the trade in foreign exotica. This is because these voyages did not offer the same connotations of wealth and luxury. However, such ballads are still symptomatic of the commercial attitude towards an expanding world. The development of Arctic whaling should be understood in the context of European attempts to discover a northeast passage to Asia. In England, in the later-sixteenth century, the whaling trade grew out of the Muscovy Company’s

⁴⁸³ Mark G. Hanna, ‘Well-Behaved Pirates Seldom Make History: A Reevaluation of the Golden Age of English Piracy’, in *Governing the Sea in the Early Modern Era: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Ritchie*, ed. by Peter C. Mancall and Carole Shammas (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 2015), pp. 129-168 (p. 129).

⁴⁸⁴ Loades, pp. 5-26 (p. 14).

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

efforts to chart a route to Cathay; and in Europe more generally, Arctic exploration was underwritten by commercial and fishing enterprises.⁴⁸⁶ The rich fishing and whaling seas around Spitsbergen (part of the Svalbard archipelago, but also often referred to as Greenland in the early modern period) were discovered and exploited by the Muscovy Company in 1601. However, in under two decades, the Dutch had gained supremacy over the Spitsbergen fishery and the industry as a whole.⁴⁸⁷ Whilst not given equal representation in ballads as more exotic trade, fishing and whaling were highly important to the early modern English identity of being a seafaring people. These themes are prominent in literary works (including ballads) written during the context of the Anglo-Dutch wars.⁴⁸⁸ The wealth of these fishing grounds meant that it was worth enduring the extreme conditions that such northerly sailing entailed.

The ballad *Cordial Advice: To all rash young Men who seek to Advance their decaying Fortunes by Navigation*, from the late-seventeenth century, is set to the tune 'I'll no more to Greenland sail' and this forms the basis of the two repeated lines at the end of each verse: 'I'll no more to Greenland sail, / no, no, no.'⁴⁸⁹ The ballad encapsulates the physical difficulties of trying to man a ship when in the grip of the elements: 'To face the cold north eastern winds, / whilst shrowds and tackle roar: / And man our wracking pinnace, / which mountain high is bore: / To laboard, starboard tack we trail, / our joynts benumb'd with snow.'⁴⁹⁰ The inhospitable nature of

⁴⁸⁶ John C. Appleby, 'Conflict, cooperation and competition: The rise and fall of the Hull whaling trade during the seventeenth century', *The Northern Mariner/ le marin du nord*, 18:2 (2008), 23-59 (p.23; 29).

⁴⁸⁷ Chesley W. Sanger, 'The Origins of British Whaling: Pre-1750 English and Scottish Involvement in the Northern Whale Fishery', *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord*, 5:3 (1995), 15-32 (p. 15). Part of the reason for Dutch supremacy was their adherence to free enterprise whilst the English depended on monopolistic franchises. Royal charters were awarded primarily to London-based companies, such as the Muscovy Company, which hindered other initiatives in England and Scotland. Rather than solely resisting Dutch encroachment, the Muscovy Company devoted effort and capital to deny merchants from Hull, York, Yarmouth and Leith access to the industry. This, combined with the disruption caused by the Civil War, aided the Dutch rises to prominence in the Spitsbergen whale fishery. See Sanger, 'The Origins of British Whaling', pp.15-32.

⁴⁸⁸ See Hackenbracht, 'Marvell, Dryden, and Commercial Fishing Propaganda', pp.485-506.

⁴⁸⁹ *Cordial Advice: To all rash young Men, who think to Advance their decaying Fortunes by Navigation; Shewing the many Dangers and Hardships that Sailors endure. All you whose rambling Thoughts are bent to please Themselves by sailing on the briny Seas: How much you are mistaken, here you'll see, What Dangers there, and what their Hardships be: When thundering Storms with testy Neptune Rage, Seas, Winds and Fire, at once with Ships ingage: Besides the small Allowance that they share, What Stripes and Labour they are forc'd to bear: These weigh'd together, and considered well, You need more, although I worse cou'd tell.* (1695-1707), BLO, Douce Ballads 1(37b), Roud Number: V2112.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

Greenland meant that it was a less appealing setting for ballad narratives than the prosperous plantations and trading spheres in the Americas or Indies (probably explaining the infrequency of ballad references to it). However, a significant portion of the maritime community was involved in these voyages which were just as much of a product of increasing exploration and desire to access resources. Whilst seemingly of less interest to the contemporary imagination than stories of exotic lands, some narratives set in Greenland were popular. Stories of sailors' survival against the odds were of great interest to the ballad audience and could be used to illustrate the saving power of God, as well as the ability of civilised Englishmen to withstand a savage wilderness.

On 1 May 1630, a Muscovy Company whaling ship (the *Salutation*) departed for Spitsbergen. A narrative was published on their return by Edward Pellham. When they had reached Spitsbergen, eight men (including Pellham) were sent ashore to hunt. However, the weather turned, and their ship was forced to retreat to open seas to escape the ice forming in the coastal waters. Having lost sight of their ship, the men hurried to an alternate rendezvous but lost their way and failed to meet up with their crew. They were forced to spend the winter in 'those desolate and untemperate Clymates' and survive until ships returned in the next hunting season – a feat not known to have been achieved before.⁴⁹¹ Pellham's narrative was entered into the Stationers' Company Register on 30 September 1631 and then soon followed by a ballad which was entered into the Register on 2 January 1632.⁴⁹²

This ballad, called *A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preservation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another*, begins by establishing Spitsbergen as a 'barren land' where nothing for

⁴⁹¹ Edward Pellham, *Gods Power and Providence: Shewed in the Miraculous Preservation and Deliverance of eight Englishmen, left by mischance in Green-land Anno 1630. nine months and twelve dayes* (London: Printed by R. Y. for Iohn Partridge, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Sunne in Pauls Church-yard, 1631), p. 9. (ESTC S114323). I cannot know for certain, but I like to think that the experiences of the marooned sailors on Spitsbergen are referred to by Herman Melville in *Moby Dick* when discussing the consumption of whales: 'And this reminds me that certain Englishmen, who long ago were accidentally left in Greenland by a whaling vessel – that these men actually lived for several months on the mouldy scraps of whales which had been left ashore after trying out the blubber.' See Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick or The Whale* (Ware: Wordsworth Classics, 1993), p. 249.

⁴⁹² See ESTC S114323 and RI 3015.

‘sustenance, / most part o’th yeare doth grow’.⁴⁹³ It also emphasises the savagery of nature with which the sailors had to contend: ‘White Beares and Foxes monstrous, / and other savage beasts, / Within that Barren wilderness, / upon each other feasts.’ The ballad is primarily a gripping narrative of survival with a comforting message of God’s care. It is clearly stated that ‘no man could there live long’, but that these men managed only because God ‘Did shew his wondrous power’. The religious message is clear: even when the men felt they had been abandoned to die alone in terrible conditions, they did not lose their faith. The ballad states that ‘the Sabbath day they observed, / and spent it piously’, even claiming that the men were not able to observe it as zealously ‘as they desired’. This encouragement to maintain religious faith in the face of suffering is in keeping with the wider tradition of religious pamphlets and street literature, and the ballad ends on a statement reinforcing the role of God in determining human affairs: ‘this was the Lords owne doing, / to him be given praise / For this strange wonder shewing, / admired in our dayes.’⁴⁹⁴ However, it is noteworthy that this ballad might have offered more to its audience than a reinforcing statement of religious faith.

As well as a manifestation of godly power, the rescue of the accidental castaways on Spitsbergen also underlined the endurance, hardihood and community among English whalemens.⁴⁹⁵ This theme is prominent in the ballad and, for any sailors in the audience, it may have resonated just as strongly as the religious motif of God’s deliverance. The ballad argues that, whilst God is responsible for their salvation, the sailors proved worthy of this by never abandoning civilised behaviour and succumbing to the savage nature of the land on which they were stranded. When the men initially discover that ‘the ship was gone, / Alasse their hearts then

⁴⁹³ *A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preservation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another, the like neuer knowne or heard of before, which eight men are come all safely from thence in this last Fleet, 1631. whose names are these, William Fakeley Gunner, Edward Pellham Gunners Mate, Iohn Wise Robert Goodfellow Seamen, Thomas Ayers Whalecutter, Henry Rett Cooper, Iohn Daves, Richard Kellet Land men.* (1635?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.74-75, EBBA 20271, RI 3015. This ballad is dated as c.1635 on EBBA but was entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1632. See Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 258).

⁴⁹⁴ *A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preservation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another.*, EBBA 20271, RI 3015.

⁴⁹⁵ Appleby, ‘Conflict, cooperation and competition’, pp.23-59 (p. 29).

burned, / with woe they [were] forlone'.⁴⁹⁶ However, they do not lose heart, for 'one man best experience'd / in policy and cunning' managed to motivate his fellows: 'Let's doe our best with hearty cheare, / the rest leave to Gods grace.' The men dug a cave 'to shrowd them from the cold, / Wherein they lived sound men'. The significant point here is they were 'sound' men – they never lost their mental or physical fortitude and it was this that enabled them to survive.

The rest of the ballad describes how the men survived in as close a way as possible to the expectation of normal life in England by substituting what was available to them on Spitsbergen: 'Their Venson they dry baked, / which served them for bread, / For Drinke their thirst they slaked / with Snow water, in stead / Of English Beere and French Wine' and 'the flesh of Beares they boyled, / in stead of powdered Beefe'.⁴⁹⁷ The killing of the native bears epitomises civility conquering savageness and barbarity. Pellham's 1631 published account was accompanied by a map of Spitsbergen (labelled 'Greneland'). This map was made by Thomas Edge and published in Samuel Purchas' *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, in 1625.⁴⁹⁸ The map is surrounded by vignettes of the Arctic whale fishery and these depict the process of killing whales and harvesting blubber.⁴⁹⁹ One of the other vignettes is labelled, 'The manner of killing Beares', and shows three hunters opposing three bears on the shoreline (see Figure 13). The fact that this confrontation between man and beast is set on the shore (the boundary between sea and land) creates a powerful image. The third bear is standing on its hind legs with its back towards the hunters, looking over its shoulder. This bear appears to be in the act of fleeing the conflict, and the image takes on connotations of an invading force (the men) driving back the savage native inhabitants (the

⁴⁹⁶ *A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preseration of eight men in Greenland from one season to another.*, EBBA 20271, RI 3015.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁸ Chet Van Duzer, *Sea Monsters on Medieval and Renaissance Maps* (London: The British Library, 2013), p. 117.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

bears). The stylised arrangement of this image is reminiscent of those which depicted early contacts between Europeans and Native Americans (see Figure 14).



Figure 13: The manner of killing Beares shown on the map of Greneland in Edward Pellham's, *Gods Power and Providence: Shewed in the Miracvlous Preservation and Deliverance of eight Englishmen, left by mischance in Green-land Anno 1630. nine months and twelve dayes* (London: Printed by R. Y. for Iohn Partridge, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Sunne in Pauls Church-yard, 1631) © British Library Board Cartographic Items C.59.g.17. Cartographic Items Maps * 35240.(2.)



Figure 14: Theodore de Bry's engraving 'Columbus in India primo appellens, magnis excipitur muneribus ab Incolis' in *Americae pars quarta. Sive, Insignis & admiranda historia de reperta primùm Occidentali India à Christophoro Columbo anno M CCCCXCII* by Girolamo Benzoni (Francofurti ad Moenum: Typis Ioannis Feyrabend, ompensis Theodori de Bry, 1594) Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library.

In Theodore de Bry's representation of Columbus' arrival (Figure 14), the civilised Spanish accept gifts from the savage, naked natives. In the background, a large crucifix is being erected and, further in the background, other indigenous people flee in fear – several of them look back over their shoulders like the third bear in Figure 13. All the elements of this image proclaim that the land has been given, or abandoned, by the locals to the civilising and Christianising Spanish.

A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preservation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another celebrates the Englishmen's rationalism and pragmatism (the aspects which define them as intelligent, civilised beings): 'when their food was neare spent', they began to ration themselves and 'feed but once a day, / thus spare they did their meate'.⁵⁰⁰ The ballad states that the men also observed 'fasting dayes' on 'which they naught did eate'. It is not clear whether these were prescribed religious fasting days or simply days when the men elected to extend their food supplies. Regardless, a comparison between the men's suffering in a bleak landscape and Jesus' fast in the desert would have been obvious to the audience (particularly in light of the ballad's prominent religious theme). The constant struggle for life took a toll, not only on the men, but also on their clothes. The ballad states, 'by time, and their toying / their clothes were worne bare, / And torne, that they could not / keepe out the piercing ayre.' The solution to this problem was to be found through ingenuity, and the spark that fanned the flame of intellect was their suffering: 'But misery that makes men / industrious, was so kinde, / To furnish them with a tricke.' They untwisted the ropes they had with them and, with needles fashioned from whalebone, 'They sow'd their clothes, & handsomely / their bodies covered.'⁵⁰¹

Human ingenuity in the face of adversity and an emphasis on maintaining discipline are what kept the men alive. They slept and kept watch in shifts: four men on guard and four resting. The ballad states that 'constantly and truly / their hours they did keep' and emphasises that this is the reason for their survival: 'Els't had beene impossible, / they should themselves sustaine.'

⁵⁰⁰ *A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preservation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another.*, EBBA 20271, RI 3015.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

Their eventual rescue allows the ballad to frame a moment of tension between survivors and rescuers. When the English ships finally returned and saw the castaways ‘clad with the skinnes of Beares, / The Captaine hardly knew them, / his heart was full of feares’.⁵⁰² Visually, there was no evidence that the survivors had maintained civilised behaviour and rationality. The fact that they were clothed in animal skins may well have evoked mental comparisons with Native Americans, whom Europeans saw to be primitive and savage.⁵⁰³ To have survived in such a barren and savage wilderness, it was assumed that the men must have succumbed to this way of being. However, the captain found them ‘so unexpectedly, / To be all perfect sound men’.⁵⁰⁴

The description of them as sound men is repeated here at the end of the ballad and the captain’s surprise that they have managed to remain sound is emphasised. The captain found men ‘whom he thought to be starved / with hunger and with cold’, but the ballad’s message is that they had managed to avoid this fate through maintaining civilised rationality and intelligence. The implicit assumption is that living in such a wild landscape, untouched by humanity, would have a polluting and degrading effect upon the men’s own rational, civilised spirits. If they had not maintained their civilised behaviours and customs, they would have become as savage as their environment. This ballad marks the line between civilised England and a savage outside world in a similar way to that of classical mythology (which delineated civilised humanity by contrasting urban humans with the spirits, hybrid creatures and beasts that lived in nature).⁵⁰⁵ Sailors were presented in ballads as working for the good of the nation, but they faced many dangers in the wider world. The barren and unpopulated Arctic regions threatened to erode the sailors’ humanity, but this was kept at bay by their ability to maintain civilised, ordered behaviour

⁵⁰² Ibid

⁵⁰³ In early modern England, clothing was directly related to status and a lack of one equated to a lack of the other. See Matthieu Chapman, *Anti-Black Racism in Early Modern English Drama: The Other “Other”* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 87.

⁵⁰⁴ *A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preservation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another.*, EBBA 20271, RI 3015.

⁵⁰⁵ The classical interest in transformations and transgressions can most clearly be seen in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. Classical mythology also abounds with half-human, half-beast beings such as satyrs and centaurs, which show how close humanity can be to falling into disordered anarchy.

and approach problems rationally. This was then all supported by the more obvious theme of faith in the providential hand of God. Through creating an emotional moment in which the audience can celebrate the heroic and civilised Englishmen, the ballad helps shape an imagination of England as a refuge of civility and piousness in a savage world. It emphasises that these traits need to be cherished and nurtured when away from England's shores.

Sailors mostly ventured towards Greenland for the rich fishing and whaling grounds, but these animals, which were ostensibly 'prey' for humans, also epitomised the danger and fear of death at sea. One ballad laments that, when at sea, 'Each minute threatens silent Graves, / for fishes to devour; / Or be intomb'd by some vast whale.'⁵⁰⁶ Whales were both enthralling and terrifying in the early modern imagination. Examining their presentation in ballads and street literature reveals a shift from seeing them as monsters to a resource which could be commercially exploited. Timothy Granger's 1568 text *A Moste true and marveilous straunge wonder, the lyke hath seldom ben seene* describes seventeen 'Monstrous fisshes' which were beached near Ipswich.⁵⁰⁷ Based on Ganger's description and the fearsome looking woodcut shown in Figure 15, we can assume that this was a pod of killer whales. In graphic and sanguinary language, Granger describes how several butchers set about the still living animals and, consequently, 'The river wherin they weare taken was coloured red.' Afterwards, the whales were cut up and 'geven away to divers in the towne that did eate of it'. However, what most seems to interest Granger is the size and power of these animals. The whales were of such 'marveyulous great strength' that, when some men 'tyed one of these fysshes to a boat, to brynge hit to Ipswich wharfe', it 'swam away with the boat & all the men that weare in it, toward the sea [at] a marvayulous swyft pace'.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁶ *Cordial Advice: To all rash young Men, who think to Advance their decaying Fortunes by Navigation.*, Douce Ballads 1(37b), Roud Number: V2112.

⁵⁰⁷ *A Moste true and marueilous straunge wonder, the lyke hath seldom ben seene, of. XVII. Monstrous fishes, taken in Suffolke, at Downham brydge, within a myle of Ipswiche. The .XI. daye of October. In the yeare of our Lorde God. M.D.LX.VIII.* (1568), Huntington Library, Britwell (hereafter HTL), HEH 18306, EBBA 32270.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

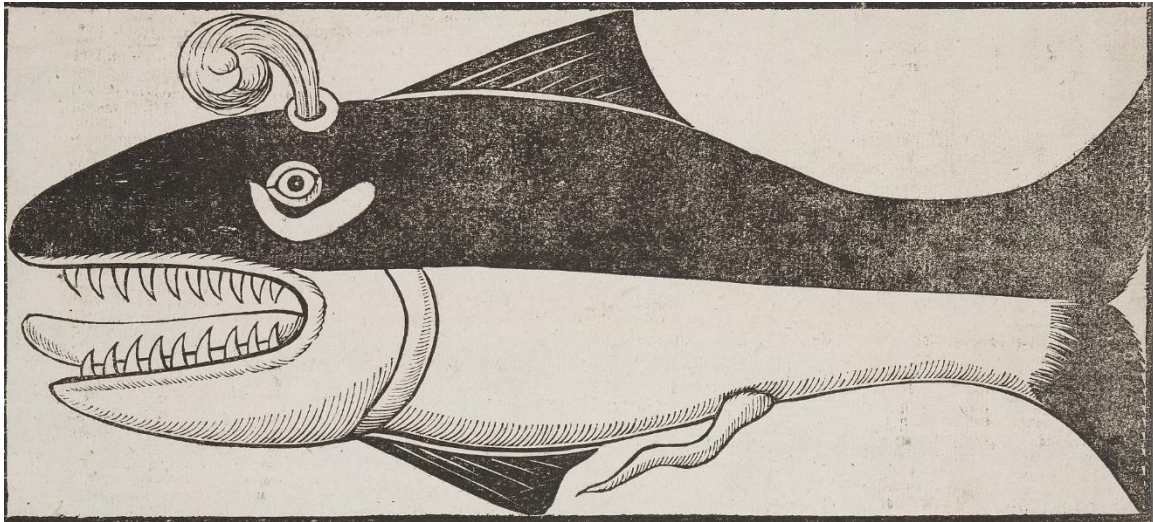


Figure 15: The whale seen on Timothy Granger, *A moste true and marueilous straunge wonder, the lyke hath seldom ben seene, of XVII. monstrous fishes, taken in Suffolke, at Downham brydge, within a myle of Ipswiche. The .XI. daye of October. in the yere of our Lorde God. M.D.LX.VIII* (Imprynted at London: In Fleetestreate, at the signe of S. Iohn Euangelist by Thomas Colwell, [1568]). RB 18306, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Early modern street literature was obsessed with stories of monsters and ‘monstrous births’ (either human, animal or hybrid) – stories which formed a significant portion of news literature and were treated with the utmost seriousness by sixteenth-century authorities.⁵⁰⁹ Such tales held clear purposes. Contemporary broadsides used monsters to reflect the dark, and otherwise hidden, recesses of human desire and behaviour.⁵¹⁰ In the early Christian tradition, developing from classical sources such as Cicero, monstrous births were perceived as signs of impending calamity. This was particularly strong in the medieval chronicle tradition.⁵¹¹ This shifted in the late-fifteenth century as monsters became interpreted less as portents of general misfortune and increasingly as signs of particular crimes and impending divine retribution.⁵¹² Most broadsides which focus on a monstrous animal make a connection between the shape of

⁵⁰⁹ Surekha Davies, ‘The Unlucky, the Bad and the Ugly: Categories of Monstrosity from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. by Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 49-75 (p. 53).; Pettegree, p. 254.

⁵¹⁰ Megan E. Palmer, ‘Great Fishes and Monstrous Men (Shoreline)’, in *Sea Monsters*, ed. by Asa Simon Mittman and Thea Tomaini (Tiny Collections, 2017), pp. 9-17 (p. 12).

⁵¹¹ Davies, pp. 49-75 (p. 50).

⁵¹² Davies, pp. 49-75 (p. 52).

the monster and a specific sin committed by mankind.⁵¹³ However, what is notable in the description of the whales in Granger's text is that they are not simply monstrous. The depiction of monstrosity in this text diverges from that of other contemporary literature since the creatures are described in admiring terms, particularly in terms of their size and strength.⁵¹⁴ Granger's appreciation of the creatures means that they are not just monsters but marvels; they are not just frightening but awe-inspiring. Furthermore, Granger's monsters differ in an even more startling aspect to other street literature monsters because they come without a moral: the discovery of the whales portends nothing; there is no allegory drawn to the degradation of human values; and no change in human behaviour is demanded.⁵¹⁵

The appreciation of these creatures' unfamiliar nature and sheer power, I believe, is inextricably linked to the fact that they have come from the sea. Both the sea and the whales were alien, mysterious and dangerous. Granger's description captures some of the otherworldly qualities of the whales. Firstly, they were able to withstand being out of water and being hacked at by butchers: 'som of them laye upon the wharfe ii. dayes and a nyght before they weare dead.'⁵¹⁶ Secondly, a whale's blowhole was a seemingly biological oddity: 'Upon theyr heds were holes, as big that a man might put in both his fistes at once, out of the which they did spoute a great quantitie of water.'⁵¹⁷ Not just terrifying monsters, these whales are symbols of the power and mysterious nature of the sea. They represented the unknown dangers of the outside world and were a statement of the fact that there was an element which mankind could not control.

The medieval European cartographic tradition frequently produced maps decorated with horrific sea monsters and giant fish. The shift in the cartographic tradition from decorating the

⁵¹³ Palmer, pp. 9-17 (p. 16). The discourse on monstrous births was soon taken up by the polemical conflict of the Reformation as both Protestants and Catholics would produce prints, pamphlets and broadsheets that interpreted monstrous births as proof of the errors of their opponents. See Surekha Davies, 'The Unlucky, the Bad and the Ugly: Categories of Monstrosity from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. by Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 49-75 (p. 53).

⁵¹⁴ Palmer, pp. 9-17 (p. 17).

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ *A Moste true and marueilous straunge wonder, the lyke bath seldom ben seene.*, EBBA 32270.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

blank spaces of the ocean with terrifying creatures to more realistic depictions of whales, which were often being hunted, captures the change in the ways these creatures were imagined: unknown, fearsome monsters became an exploited resource.⁵¹⁸ At the end of the sixteenth century, cartographers were incorporating the latest available information and images concerning sea creatures.⁵¹⁹ By the early-seventeenth century, the period of the widest use of sea monsters on maps had come to an end and new, more lifelike images of sea creatures dominated.⁵²⁰ Map depictions of whales reflected the increased control over these animals and their monstrous element was removed.⁵²¹ Thomas Edge's map of 'Greneland' (reproduced in Pellham's narrative) is a particularly clear example of this change.⁵²² The vignette illustrations on Edge's map were among the first accurate representations of Arctic whaling available and were copied many times – Edge transformed whales from monsters to natural marine storehouses.⁵²³ One of the ways in which maps attested to the symbolic triumph of human technology was by depicting the killing and harvesting of whales.⁵²⁴

This shift of whales from marvel to economic resource can be seen in the ballad *A description of a strange (and miraculous) Fish*. This is a mid-seventeenth-century reprint of Martin Parker's 1635 ballad. The title and woodcut evoke the literature of marvels and monsters, but again the ballad does not use the monstrous fish to outline moral instruction. Instead, its sheer size and alien nature are to be marvelled at and are only proof of God's power: 'O mark what

⁵¹⁸ Chet van Duzer argues that the end of the career of sea monsters on maps should be considered in relation with that of another maritime iconographic motif, namely ships on maps. Both motifs decorated western maps for almost a thousand years. But the two motifs are actually antithetical: while sea monsters on maps discourage human sea travel by indicating its grave dangers and uncertainties, most images of ships on maps boldly affirm the ability of humans to traverse the watery element, encouraging new voyages and even affirming political control over the seas. The presence together on maps of these two antithetical elements reflects a long period of transition during which navigational ambitions were increasing and techniques were improving, but dangers still remained. See van Duzer, *Sea Monsters on Medieval and Renaissance Maps*, p. 118-119.

⁵¹⁹ Duzer, p. 114.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 116.

⁵²¹ *Ibid*, p. 116-117.

⁵²² *Ibid*, p. 117.

⁵²³ *Ibid*, p. 118.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 119.

maruels to our sight / our Potent Lord can bring.⁵²⁵ Like Granger, Parker describes the physical proportions (which should be taken with a generous pinch of salt) of what were almost certainly whales: ‘Full twenty one yards and one foot / this fish extends in length.’⁵²⁶ The woodcut was probably created specifically to accompany the ballad as it reflects certain details given, such as the creatures lacking teeth in their upper jaw and their mouths being large enough to contain a horseman (see Figure 16).

The ballad conforms to the standards and expectations of news reporting in early modern Europe, such as an emphasis on veracity and eyewitness accounts, and it draws on the street literature tradition of reporting monsters. However, it also captures the significant change in attitudes towards whales (from monster to resource).⁵²⁷ Whilst most of the ballad is devoted to the physical description of the whale, one verse instead focuses on what can be extracted from it: ‘Already sixtéene tuns of Oyle / is from this fish extracted, / And yet continually they boyle, / no season is protracted: / It cannot be imagin’d how much / ‘Twill yéeld, the vastnesse on’t is such.’⁵²⁸ In both Granger’s broadside and Parker’s ballad, the early modern fascination with marvels and wonders can clearly be seen. The notable difference between them is the presentation of the whale as a resource. In Granger’s text, the whales are butchered and eaten, but this is more a case of not letting things go to waste than commercial exploitation; whereas Parker’s ballad notes the unimaginable quantity of oil being produced by a single whale. This commercial mindset is what would drive the whaling industry in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the exploitation of Arctic whaling and fishing grounds was both a result of attempts to open international trade with Asia and a financial support to maintain that goal.

⁵²⁵ *A description of a strange (and miraculous) Fish, cast upon the sands in the meads, in the Hundred of Worwell, in the County Palattine of Chester, or Chesshiere. The certainty whereof is here related concerning the said most monstrous Fish.* (c.1635), BLO, Wood 401(127), Edition Bod690.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Andrew Pettegree notes that the medieval tradition did not place more trust in the written word over the spoken. In fact, the contrary was true and a news report gained credence from the reputation of the person who delivered it. This old tradition had an enduring influence over early modern attitudes to news reporting. See Pettegree, *The Invention of News*, p. 2.

⁵²⁸ *A description of a strange (and miraculous) Fish.*, Wood 401(127).

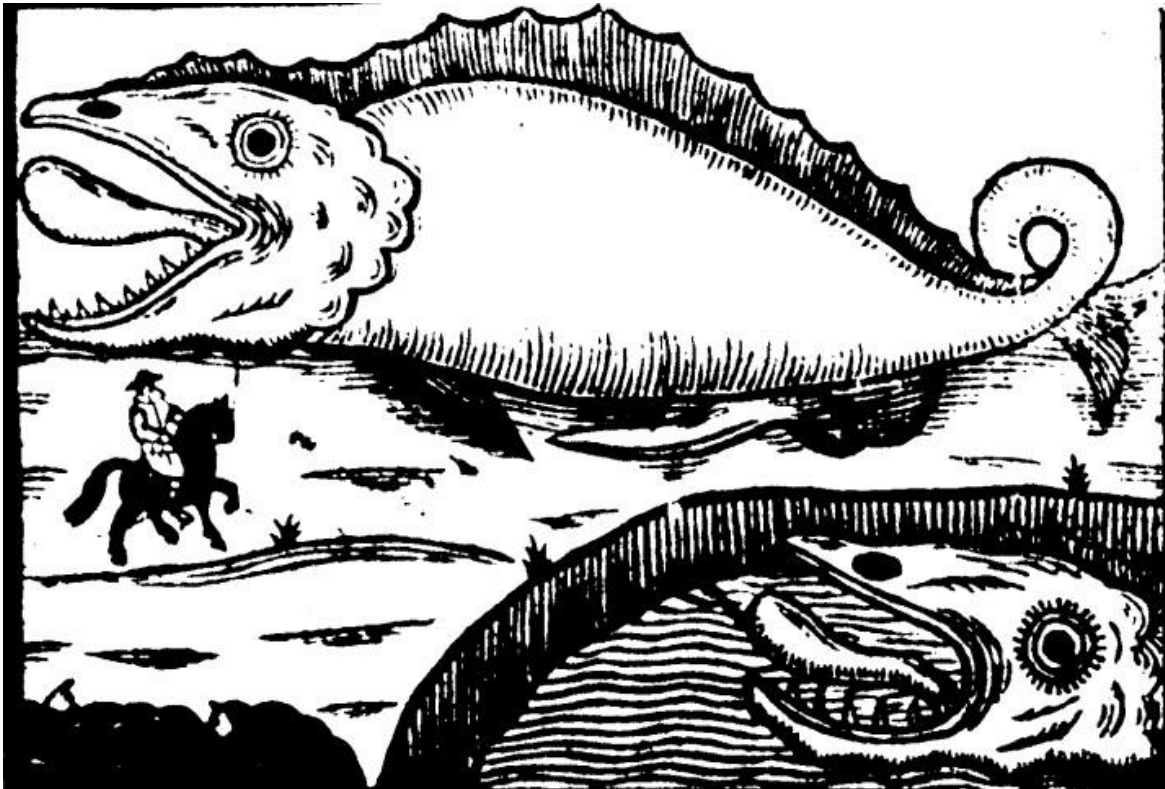


Figure 16: Woodcut from *A description of a strange (and miraculous) Fish, cast upon the sands in the meads, in the Hundred of Worwell, in the County Palattine of Chester, or Chesshire. The certainty whereof is here related concerning the said most monstrous Fish.* The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Wood 401(127).

A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preservation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another was preoccupied by showing the tenacity and endurance of English sailors and never actually mentioned the whales which they would hunt. However, the ballad ‘The Greenland Voyage: or, the Whale-Fisher’s Delight’, which was written either in the late-seventeenth century or in the first decades of the eighteenth, graphically describes a whale hunt. The whales in this ballad are not Granger’s monster-marvels but, like their poor, pursued cartographic counterparts, they are sources of wealth to be exploited and their capture is representative of man’s control over nature. Like Granger’s broadside, ‘The Greenland Voyage’ acknowledges the power of whales, but only to further credit the bravery of the men who conquer them: ‘Such Heroes as these’ who, ‘with Might, void of Fright, / With Delight, boldly fight / Mighty Whales, as if they

were but Sprats'.⁵²⁹ The ballad then describes a hunt in detail, focusing on the conflict between the brave men and the whale. Once the whale has been killed, the whalers' minds instantly turn to the next part of the process: monetisation of the whale. The last verse reminds the whalers that tomorrow they must not 'lie a-bed like a Lubber; / But begin with the Sun, / To have done before Noon, / That the Carts may come down for the Blubber'.⁵³⁰



Figure 17: Image of a whale hunt from 'The Greenland Voyage: or, the Whale-Fisher's Delight', in *A Collection of Old Ballads Collected from the best and most Ancient Copies Extant*, 3 vols (London: printed for J. Roberts, 1727-38), III (1738) © British Library Board General Reference Collection C.108.bb.33 p. 172.

As the seventeenth century wore on and sailors travelled more, they became increasingly proficient in their craft. Concurrently, we can see a shift as the mysterious dangers of the sea (such as whales) were no longer terrifying monsters but another commodity to be exploited. For England, whaling was inextricably linked to attempts to connect with the global world. Whales, and the Arctic regions in which they were hunted, were a less popular ballad topic than rich

⁵²⁹ 'The Greenland Voyage: or, the Whale-Fisher's Delight', in *A Collection of Old Ballads Collected from the best and most Ancient Copies Extant*, 3 vols (London: printed for J. Roberts, 1727-38), III (1738), pp. 172-175 (p. 173).

⁵³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 175.

merchant voyages. Nevertheless, they were used in ballads as representations of the savagery and wildness of the outside world, which could then be conquered by civilised Englishmen.

However, there were some dangers which could not be so easily overcome.

‘Nothing to shew for his Tomb but a Wave’

Storms have been, and still are, a great threat to anyone at sea. Even if sailors managed to survive a storm, they could be left shipwrecked (which could itself result in death by starvation and dehydration). The sheer terror of experiencing a shipwreck is powerfully conveyed in a woodcut adorning the ballad *The She-Mariner’s Misfortune*. The woodcut depicts a ship in distress whilst the sailors, desperately trying to survive, are frantically scrambling to reach the castle-like structure high on the rocks. The panic felt by the crew is conveyed by the fact that no figure is stationary (with the exception of one clinging to driftwood in the sea). They all climb the steep rocks or, in the case of one sailor, plummet headfirst back into the sea. Their heads are upturned, looking at the potential refuge in front of them, whilst the Latin word ‘*SPE*’ (hope) floats eerily in the clouds above them (see Figure 18).

The ballad tells the story of a sailor and his sweetheart. Not wanting to be separated from him, she dresses up as a man to join him on his next voyage.⁵³¹ However, their voyage is interrupted by a storm: ‘For blustering wind, too oft we find / do work poor Seamans overthrow.’⁵³² The use of the word ‘overthrow’ is powerful as it highlights the physical

⁵³¹ Cross-dressing women, displaying what Pauline Greenhill refers to as a ‘transgender imagination’, joining their military or maritime sweethearts are common in ballads. This is not to suggest that the ballad singers and writers were actively trying to introduce a transgender imagination to their audience. There are a range of competing interpretations to the cross-dressing ballads. For women, these ballads may pertain to heterosexual contemporary life and thus allow women to vicariously experience adventure and escape; they may also refer to traditional life, implicating women’s control over their own reproduction; or they may indicate a lesbian or bisexual reality that existed despite common perceptions. For men, if sung in the all-male environment of a ship, these ballads may allow them to imagine that female sexuality is near, if not actually available; or the ballads may facilitate a homoerotic fantasy. For further interpretations of cross-dressing ballads, see A. L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1967), p. 226.; Pauline Greenhill, “‘Neither a Man nor a Maid’: Sexualities and Gendered Meanings in Cross-Dressing Ballads’, *The Journal of American Folklore*, 108:428 (1995), 156-177.; and Valentina Bold and Pauline Greenhill, ‘Frenchman’s Creek and the Female Sailor: Transgendering Daphne du Maurier’, *Western Folklore*, 71:1 (2012), 47-67.

⁵³² *The She-Mariners Misfortune. Being an Account of a faithful Seaman, who going to take his farewell of his Sweetheart, she resolved come Life, or come Death, to Sail with him; and putting her self into mans Apparel went the voyage with him, but by distress of*

helplessness of anyone caught in a storm, as does the description that ‘Surging Seas did wash them over / they on mighty Waves were tost’.⁵³³ Many other ballads play on the imagery of the ship being physically thrown and broken. *The Jovial Marriner* describes how, ‘When angry Billows brush the Skye, / most hideous to behold, / Then up our Ships are tost on hye, / and with the waves are rould; / When tempests fierce our sails doth tear /and rends the Masts a sunder.’⁵³⁴

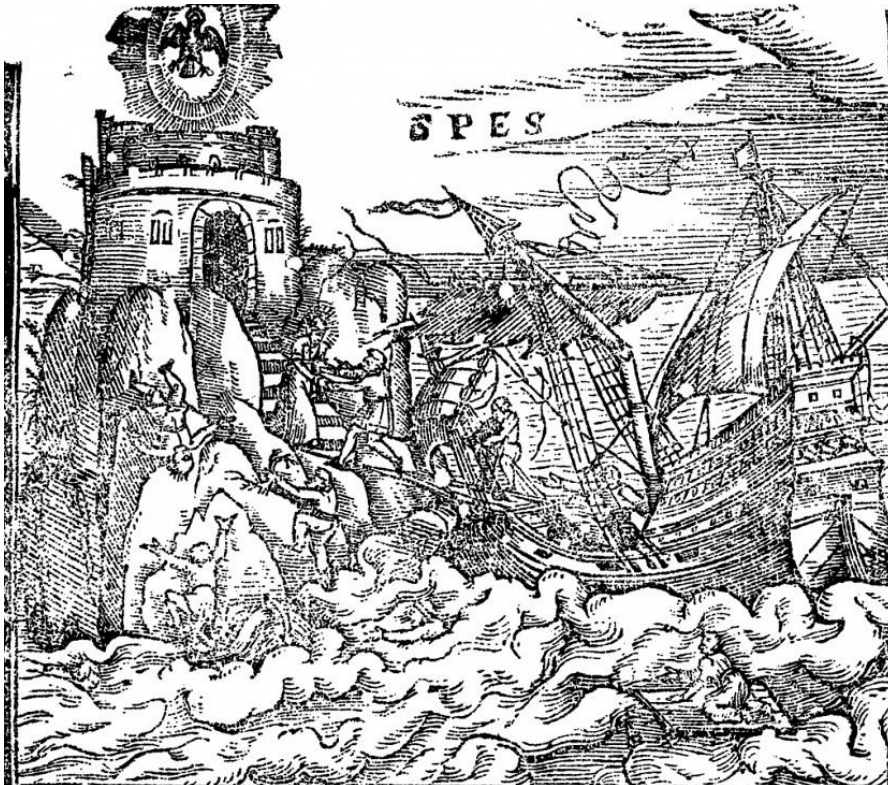


Figure 18: Woodcut showing the horrors of shipwreck from *The She-Mariners Misfortune*. (1664-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.187, EBBA 21849 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

Helplessness and powerlessness in the face of a storm are prominent themes in the 1585 manuscript ballad ‘Another of Seafardingers’. The opening verse states, ‘To pas the werie winters nighte / With stromie cloudes wissinge for daie, / With waves that toss them to and fro, / [sailors?] pore estate is hard to show.’⁵³⁵ This portrays the unease and sense of impending disaster

weather, coming home were case away, the constant Seaman having no other help, betook himself to swimming, and having got his Sweetheart upon his back, swam til he was almost tyred, but was at last taken up by an Algerine, who carried them to Algiers, where being brought before the Governour, she confessed her self to be a Female, which so astonished the Governour, that he in requital of her constancy set them both free, who are happily Arrived in England again. (1664-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.187, EBBA 21849.
⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ *The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown.*, EBBA 32976.

⁵³⁵ British Library MS Sloane 2497, fol. 48.

that precedes a storm through the imagery of clouded vision: ‘the foggie mysts soe dimes the shore, / The rocks and sandes we maie not see.’⁵³⁶ These were the most potent dangers in storms, as fog could lead either helpless or unknowing ships onto rocks or sandbanks. This is reflected in *The Jovial Marriner* which laments the ‘Great Rocks which lye amongst the waves / doth threaten us with death. / And many Sea-men finde their Graves / In the Sands which are beneath’.⁵³⁷ Even when the danger is visible, sometimes the power of a storm is such that there is nothing that can be done: ‘When shauldes and sandie bankes appears, / What pilot can direct his course? / When fominge tides draueth us so nere, / Alas! what fortune can be worse?’⁵³⁸ A similar statement of helplessness can be found in *Neptune’s Raging Fury; Or, The Gallant Seaman’s Sufferings*, the very title of which evokes thoughts of Odysseus’ suffering at the hands of Poseidon (Neptune’s Greek equivalent), as the God of the sea imposes a series of misfortunes and tribulations on the hero and his crew. In a manner similar to ‘Another of Seafardingers’, this ballad presents the theme of darkness and loss of visibility as a cause of disaster: ‘In claps of roaring thunder, / Which darkness do enforce, / We often find out ship to stray, / Beyond our wonted course.’⁵³⁹ The only recourse for sailors in the face of such power, as ‘Another of Seafardingers’ states, is to ‘praie to God and yeld to die’.⁵⁴⁰

There has been considerable debate over the religious aspect of sailors’ lives and the extent to which they were irreligious (a view famously espoused by Marcus Rediker).⁵⁴¹ Sailors’ use of profane language, as well as associations with riotous drinking and sexual licence, were all supposed indicators of an irreligious nature.⁵⁴² However, for the most part, sailors’ religious attitudes were like those of the general English population, spanning from lukewarm religious

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ *The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown.*, EBBA 32976.

⁵³⁸ British Library MS Sloane 2497, fol. 48.

⁵³⁹ *Neptune’s Raging Fury; Or, The Gallant Seaman’s Sufferings.*, EBBA 31143, RI 1860.

⁵⁴⁰ British Library MS Sloane 2497, fol. 48.

⁵⁴¹ Patarino, pp. 141-192 (p. 144). Rediker stated that, whilst seamen had a wide range of religious affiliations and their tolerance of diverse and heterodox beliefs did not preclude strong belief, for the majority of them, religion was in almost all respects a secondary matter and few religious beliefs were central to their identities. See Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, p. 172-3.

⁵⁴² Patarino, pp. 141-192 (p. 143).

faith to strong expressions of Catholic or Protestant piety.⁵⁴³ Sailors mostly accepted the theology laid out for them by the Church of England and very few were attracted to militant brands of religious reform.⁵⁴⁴ Vincent V. Patarino Jr. states that most surviving expressions of sailors' religious feelings, such as those within journals, diaries, narratives and ballads, were simple but very direct, and he specifically references the powerful faith displayed in the ballad *Saylors for my Money*.⁵⁴⁵ There is no surviving evidence to suggest that Martin Parker, who wrote *Saylors for my Money*, was a sailor, but this does not necessarily mean that the expression of religious feeling in his ballad had no relation to the maritime community. It is possible that *Saylors for my Money* is a revision of an earlier ballad, as there are entries in the Stationers' Registers from 1579 and 1581-2 of ballads entitled *the perilous paynes of poore maryners* and *the danger of Sailers and their troubles turnmoile and paine*.⁵⁴⁶ Furthermore, even if Parker's ballad is a completely original creation, it almost certainly would have been targeted at sailors. Therefore, it would not attribute to them religious feelings with which they would not in some way identify. In this instance, the representation of seventeenth-century life offered to us by ballads allows historians to examine realities of the past such as the religious inclination of sailors, which is partially obscured by the many other sources and character sketches that portray them as irreligious outsiders.

Saylors for my Money also uses the imagery of a ship being thrown by the sea and the terror that this could inspire: 'Our ship is tost with waves / And every minite we expect, / The sea must be our graves / Sometimes on high she mounteth, / Then falls againe as low.'⁵⁴⁷ The response of sailors, the ballad states, is to 'turne unto the Lord of hosts' and 'To him we flee for succour'.⁵⁴⁸ In *Neptune's Raging Fury* (the later adaptation of Parker's ballad), the religious dimension is slightly reduced, but the ballad still emphasises that when a ship is out of control

⁵⁴³ Ibid, p. 168.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 168; 171.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 172; 173.

⁵⁴⁶ Hyder E. Rollins, 'Martin Parker, Ballad-Monger', *Modern Philology*, 16:9 (1919), 449-474 (p. 455). See Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324, p. 48. (RI 483).

⁵⁴⁷ *Saylors for my money*, EBBA 20197.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

men must recourse to prayer and hope for salvation. This ballad, however, incorporates the action of praying into the pitching motion of the ship. After the verse about expecting the sea to be their graves, the stomach-churning motion of the ship is described: ‘Then up aloft she mounteth, And down again so low, / ’Tis with waves, O with waves, / When the stormy winds do blow.’⁵⁴⁹ The next verse then continues the rising and falling motion, but incorporates it into the plea to God for help: ‘Then down again we fall to prayer, / With all our might and thought.’⁵⁵⁰ Whilst historians can often be uncertain as to the authorship of ballads and whether their descriptions of storms at sea portray real sailors’ experiences, ballads do contain many similar details as found in published accounts.

A compilation of narratives, called *Memorable Accidents and Unheard of Transactions, Containing an Account of Several Strange Events* and published in 1693, contains the account of P. Quirini (a Venetian). His account describes how the ship he was on set sail from Crete with ‘above seven hundred Buts of Wine, Spices and other Merchandizes of great value’.⁵⁵¹ Near Flanders, they were hit by a fierce storm which ‘broke five of the Hinges off our Rudder’ and drove them ‘two hundred Miles against our wills’.⁵⁵² The narrative then describes the seeming insignificance of the ship compared to the might and size of the ocean (a highly powerful, dynamic image that is also frequently played on in ballads): ‘the Sea began to swell so high, that the Waves seem’d Mountains, and our Terror was augmented by the darkness of the extream long Nights, so that we seem’d to be swallow’d up in the bottomless Depths of the Abyss.’⁵⁵³ Being in the midst of a violent storm must have felt otherworldly as the power of the elements thundered around them and, as in *Neptune’s Raging Fury*, the rising and falling of the ship evokes

⁵⁴⁹ *Neptune’s Raging Fury: Or, The Gallant Seaman’s Sufferings.*, EBBA 31143, RI 1860.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵¹ R. Burton, *Memorable Accidents and Unheard of Transactions, Containing an Account of Several Strange Events: As the Depositing of Tyrants, Lamentable Shipwrecks, Dismal Misfortunes, Stratagems of War, Perilous Adventures, Happy Deliverances, with other remarkable Occurrences, and Select Historical Events, which have happened in several countries in this last Age. Translated from the French, Printed at Brussels in 1691 and Dedicated to His present Majesty William King of England, &c. Published in English by R. Burton* (London, Printed for Nath. Crouch, at the Bell in the Poultry near Cheapside, 1693), p. 103. ESTC R217274.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

thoughts of salvation and damnation: 'In the middle of this horrible darkness, we sometimes saw the Heavens as it were open'd with sudden flashes of dazzling Lightning. Sometimes we seem'd to touch the Stars, and at other times saw our selves buried in Hell.'⁵⁵⁴

Some ballads may have been written by those who actually experienced the horrors of storms at sea; others may have been written by people simply familiar with published narrative accounts. However, the claim to true experience is in many ways irrelevant. Ballads encapsulate the terror and feeling of helplessness when in the grip of the elements and emphasise a faith in the saving hand of God. Their entertainment value comes from the awe-inspiring, yet terrifying, events they describe. Nevertheless, we still must question why storms appear so often in balladry. There is an element of commercial exploitation on the part of ballad authors and publishers, as sailors might be tempted to purchase ballads which in some way speak to the realities of their life and the dangers they face. Members of the non-maritime community might also purchase ballads describing storms at sea in order to enjoy imaginative speculation of facing such extremes. However, I believe that storms are such a common feature of balladry because of their impact on everyday life for so many people.

In the global world of the seventeenth-century, storms were a significant risk to the expanding commercial economy and the sailors that transported goods. Storms were not just a danger to those at sea, but they also held ramifications for English society as a whole. Storms could cause family destitution if a husband died at sea; they could disrupt essential mercantile activities that were central to the lifestyle of so many Londoners; and they could even shape the political landscape if an invading fleet was scattered or destroyed. Just as Miller argues that it is significant in terms of the identity of ballad consumers that 'the Sea' is one of Pepys' ballad categories, the role of maritime life in supporting and underpinning the lives of many people (otherwise seemingly without a connection to the maritime community) means there would have

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 104.

been a significant market for stories and news of the sea.⁵⁵⁵ Trade with the outside world was important for maintaining the lifestyle of so many people: rich, poor, sailors and landmen alike. Ballads describing storms at sea reflect the helplessness of sailors confronted by the force of nature and speak to the uncertainty of maritime life. This then also served as a further celebration of sailors because they faced these conditions to serve the nation. Storm ballads were popular not only since they allowed for imaginative experience of intense situations (adding to the imagination of the outside world as a savage and wild place), but also because so much of English life was supported by trade with the outside world. These ballads reminded the audience of how fragile this connection could be.

Narratives of shipwrecks record moments of crisis in which social conventions are tested in isolation from the conditions that normally support them. They are moments in which assumptions about divine providence, national character, gender roles and civilised behaviour are thrown into sharp definition.⁵⁵⁶ In ballads, these ordeals demonstrate that the sea (the gateway to the outside world) was violent and unpredictable and that, as with the whalers marooned on Spitsbergen, sailors had to hold on to rationality, order and civilised behaviour to survive. There is also some evidence that prospective travellers may have read published accounts of shipwrecks, hoping to find some practical guidance in case they should find themselves in similar circumstances.⁵⁵⁷ The subtitle of the 1670s ballad *The Benjamins Lamentation for their sad loss at Sea, by Storms and Tempests* states that it is a 'Narrative of one of his Majesties Ships, called the Benjamin, that was drove into Harbour at Plymouth, and received no small harm by this Tempest'.⁵⁵⁸ However, much to the chagrin of folklorists, enthusiasts and PhD candidates, there

⁵⁵⁵ See Miller, 'Sea: Transporting England', pp. 247-250 (p. 247).

⁵⁵⁶ Margarette Lincoln, 'Shipwreck Narratives of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century: Indicators of Culture and Identity', *British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, 20:2 (1997), 155-172 (p. 155).

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 158-9.

⁵⁵⁸ *The Benjamin's Lamentation for their sad loss at Sea, by Storms and Tempests. Being a brief Narrative of one of his Majesties Ships, called the Benjamin, that was drove into Harbour at Plymouth, and received no small harm by this Tempest.* (1681-1684), BL, Roxburghe 4.33, EBBA 30997. ESTC estimates the date for the original publication of this ballad to be 1674-79. See ESTC R232485.

is no surviving evidence about any royal ship called the *Benjamin* or record of its presence in Plymouth.⁵⁵⁹ If this event really did occur then it was well-known enough to have a tune named after it, as the title of the ballad tune is ‘The poor Benjamin’. Even without concrete historical facts to which we can connect this ballad, it offers much that can be assessed on its own terms.

The ballad begins by describing the departure of the *Benjamin* for Venice, but then the singer, in the persona of a crew member, recounts to the audience the way in which conditions on a ship can quickly worsen. The problems begin with the wind: ‘We had more wind then we could bear’ which meant ‘Our Masts and Sails did tear’.⁵⁶⁰ The ballad then narrates a series of ‘harms’ that befell the ship: ‘The first harm that we had / We lost our fore-mast head’ and the ‘next harm that we spyd’ was the falling of ‘our Main-mast head’. The sea washes over the deck and ‘We lost four men from the Yard’. More men perish and the ship is left helpless in the hands of the elements: ‘Disabled as I name, / I boys, O boys, / We were drove on the Main.’ Then, like the sailors in *Neptune’s Raging Fury*, ‘we fell all to Prayer’, hoping that ‘the Lord our lives would spare’. The ballad then thanks the intervening hand of God: ‘The Lord our Ship did steer, I, / Our Prayers so frevent were, / That we had passage clear.’⁵⁶¹ Ballads such as this may have offered some practical guidance to members of their audience through a preview of a shipwreck. However, storm and shipwreck ballads reveal more about contemporary imaginations of maritime travel and national character when they are analysed in terms of sailors’ order and rationality being tested by the wild, savage and unpredictable power of the sea.

The ballad *The praise of Saylor here set forth* is sung from the perspective of a landsman who is recounting to the audience how, as ‘I lay musing in my bed, / full warm and well at ease, / I thought upon the lodging hard / poor Saylor had at Seas’.⁵⁶² Landsmen in bed juxtaposed by

⁵⁵⁹ There is record of a ship called the *Benjamin* belonging to the East India Company which was active from the late 1680s to 1700. See British Library IOR/L/MAR/A/XCVII ff.3-75; ff.18-124 and *Proposals For Settling the East-India Trade* (London: Printed, and are to be Sold by E. Whitlock, near Stationers-Hall, 1696), p. 13. ESTC R212949.

⁵⁶⁰ *The Benjamin’s Lamentation for their sad loss at Sea.*, EBBA 30997.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶² *The praise of Saylor here set forth, With the hard Fortunes which do befall the, on the Seas, when Landmen sheep [sic] safe on their beds.* (1658-1664?), UGL, Euing Ballads 267, EBBA 31876.

sailors struggling at sea is a frequent motif in ballads. As well as being a statement of the superiority of sailors in terms of bravery and their role in supporting land-based society, this also creates the image of England as a haven in the middle of a chaotic world. The first four verses describe the dangers faced by sailors at sea and emphasise that, when things are at their worst, difficult decisions must be made for the good of the ship: '[sailors] bide it out with hunger and cold, / and many a bitter blast, / And many times constrained they are / for to cut down their Mast.'⁵⁶³ Cutting down a mast was a drastic but often necessary decision. If a mast had been damaged in a storm yet had not fully detached from the ship, it was important to cut it away to prevent it damaging the ship's hull.⁵⁶⁴ Furthermore, if a ship capsized, cutting the masts away sometimes enabled it to be righted.⁵⁶⁵ P. Quirini describes how his ship capsized and it was on the verge of sinking when the crew 'cut down the Main-mast, and threw it over-board, together with the Main-yard and Tackling, which eased the Ship very much'.⁵⁶⁶ The ballad singer in *The Praise of Saylor's here set forth* (still in landsmen persona) describes how, in storms, sailors often have to seize 'Their victuals and their Ordinance, / and ought else that they have, / They throw it over board with speed, / and seek their lives to save'.⁵⁶⁷ When a ship was in mortal peril, sometimes all cannons and cargo, despite their value, had to be flung overboard to lighten the ship. Alternatively, if the ship was being abandoned, it was good practice to throw crates of food into the sea itself (where they would float and could hopefully be collected later) rather than dropping them from the ship into a wooden boat and potentially sinking it. In the same manner as the whalers stranded on Spitsbergen, by being pragmatic and rational, sailors increased their chances of survival.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ John Harland, *Seamanship in the Age of Sail: An account of the Shiphandling of the Sailing Man-of-War 1600-1860, Based on Contemporary Sources*, rev edn. (London: Conway, 2015), p. 300.

⁵⁶⁵ A. W. Brian Simpson, *Cannibalism and the Common Law: A Victorian Yachting Tragedy* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), p. 130.

⁵⁶⁶ Burton, p. 105.

⁵⁶⁷ *The praise of Saylor's here set forth.*, EBBA 31876.

The theme of sailors working together to preserve order in the face of chaos is prominent in this ballad. The actions of each crew member are described, and each has a role in preserving the ship.

Our Masters Mate takes Helm in hand,
his Course he steers full well,
When as the lofty winds doe blow,
and raging Seas doe swell.

Our Master to his Compass goes,
so well he plyes his charge:
He sends a Youth unto them amaine,
for to unslung the Yard.

The Boatson hes under the Deck,
a man of courage bold;
To th top, to th top my lively Lads,
hold fast my hearts of gold.⁵⁶⁸

Rediker argues that the division of labour and responsibility on board a ship linked crews in a hierarchical and functional way.⁵⁶⁹ The ballad makes the life-saving power of this division of labour abundantly clear. The next role described is that of the pilot. He ‘stands on the Clain, / with Line and Lead to sound, / To see how far and near they are / from any dangerous ground’.⁵⁷⁰ A pilot’s role was potentially the most important and, without them, a ship could be completely lost. This is conveyed simply and starkly in the 1680s ballad *Love without blemish*. This is a romantic ballad of a sailor and his partner who promise to remain constant to one another when he has to go to sea. The disaster that strikes the ship is seemingly small, but it emphasises the centrality of the pilot to the safety of a ship: ‘But mark what cruel Fate befell / As he was outward bound / The Pilot he not being well / The Seamen all were drown.’⁵⁷¹ Pilots were the expert navigators on board ships. Their job was to chart courses through difficult or congested waters. In this ballad, without the pilot (who was the symbol of order) the sailors are without hope of survival in the chaotic outside world.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ Rediker, p. 155.

⁵⁷⁰ *The praise of Saylor here set forth.*, EBBA 31876.

⁵⁷¹ *Love without blemish. Or, The Unfortunate Couple. See here the pattern of True-love, Which nothing could estrange, Till death they both did constant prove, And ne’r approv’d of change.* (1681-1684), PL, Pepys Ballads 3.331, EBBA 21346.

The pilot's role in ensuring the safety of the ship and those on board was crucial. In *The Praise of Saylor's, here set forth*, once the pilot has sounded the depth of the water, the singer states that 'It is a testimonial good, / we are not far from land'.⁵⁷² However, this is then immediately followed by a line which emphasises the danger they are still in: 'There sits a Mermaid on the Rock, / with Comb and Glass in hand.'⁵⁷³ Mermaids were common portents of disaster at sea and their association with bad luck has a history that extends from classical sirens to medieval bestiaries and into the early modern world.⁵⁷⁴ In mythology and folklore, hybrid creatures like mermaids can function as a way of defining essential human characteristics. By crossing, or at least challenging boundaries, hybrid creatures provide a means to consider our own customs and moral codes. When the bestial aspect predominates, mermaids embody both natural and moral destructive forces (storms and promiscuity, respectively).⁵⁷⁵ Mermaids were frequently depicted as beautiful women, naked from the waist up with long hair, and holding a comb in one hand and a mirror in the other. This representation had become a general convention for sculptors and artists by the Middle Ages.⁵⁷⁶ Mermaids were seen as overtly sexual beings whose ultimate goal was to lure sailors into the icy depths. Therefore, the presence of one in the proximity of a ship was never a good omen.⁵⁷⁷

This is a crucial point in the context of this ballad since this ship is not wrecked by the storm, and the mermaid is never mentioned again. She is only there to serve as a sign of potential death and disaster. The fact that the main portion of the ballad describes the various actions undertaken by the crew to save the ship is highly significant. The ballad argues that a well-manned ship with a disciplined crew (where everyone fulfils their role and maintains order and rationality) has the best chance of survival in a storm. The mermaid, signifying the wild, savage

⁵⁷² *The praise of Saylor's here set forth.*, EBBA 31876.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Juliette Wood, *Fantastic Creatures in Mythology and Folklore: From Medieval Times to the Present Day* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), p. 50-54.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 50.

⁵⁷⁶ Vaughn Scribner, 'Diving Into Mysterious Waters', *History Today*, 68:5 (2018), 50-59 (p. 54).

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 54.

nature of the outside world, is close-by and the ship appears to be in greater difficulties after her appearance, with the sea being described with the animalistic imagery of a hungry predator. However, this ravenous beast is opposed by the authority of the ship's captain: 'Our Captain he is on the Poop, / a man of might and power, / And looks when raging Seas do gape / our bodies to devour.'⁵⁷⁸ The singer then tells the audience '[Our] Ship that was before so good, / and eke likewise so trim, / Is now with raging Seas grown leakt / and water fast comes in'. This appears to be the end of the ship but, again, disaster is combatted by mariners pulling together and following commands: 'The Quarter-Master is a man, / so well his charge plyes he, / He calls them to the Pomp amaine, / to keep their leakt ship free.' *The Praise of Saylor's here set forth* presents a contrast between the wild chaos of the sea and the structure and order of the sailors trying to save the ship. Ballads contribute to an imagination of the early modern world in which England was at the heart of a global network of trade and conflict. They present sailors as constantly in battle with the chaotic nature of the outside world and emphasise that order must be maintained to preserve ship and crew.

The outside world was wild and dangerous. Ballads about seafaring, as well as extolling the benefits of international trade and dominance, demonstrate its cost. Whilst the constancy ballads highlight the tenuous links between sailors and their families on shore, the theme of involuntary separation as ships are lost is also significant. These ballads attest to an association between seafaring and tragedy. This link was cemented in the imaginations of the contemporary ballad audience as the price of England's global activities. This is epitomised by the ballad title *Love in Despair: Or, The Virgin's Lamentation for her Love, Who Was unfortunately Drowned near the English-shore, on his Return from the West-Indies*.⁵⁷⁹ In the ballad *The Constant Seaman And his Faithful Love*, a sailor's partner begs him to stay and not venture out to sea: 'The dangers of the Seas /

⁵⁷⁸ *The praise of Saylor's here set forth.*, EBBA 31876.

⁵⁷⁹ See *Love in Despair: Or, The Virgin's Lamentation for her Love, Who Was unfortunately Drowned near the English-shore, on his Return from the West-Indies*. (1672-1696?), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.313, EBBA 22150.

torment my mind full sore; / Methinks it might thee please / to live upon the shore.⁵⁸⁰ His is a commercial voyage, but she knows what the price of the profitable trading might be. She implores him to remain, saying, ‘Thy company I more do prize / than all the Indian Store’ and ‘What care I for the golden Mines, / thou treasure art to me’.⁵⁸¹ The link between seafaring and tragedy is also emphasised by the ballads *The Two Faithful Lovers* and *The Fair and Loyal Maid of Bristow*. In *The Two Faithful Lovers*, a woman is asking not to be left behind and says to the sailor that, ‘tho seas do threaten death’, she will dress as a sailor and join him on board.⁵⁸² They sail to Venice but the ship is sunk and, whilst he manages to swim to shore, she drowns. He then curses the ‘cruel seas’ and ‘rocks unkind’, begging any couples hearing the ballad to ‘lament my fall’. The ballad then ends: ‘In Venice he did dye, / And there his corpse doth lye, / And left his friends to cry.’⁵⁸³ Similarly, *The Fair and Loyal Maid of Bristow* draws a clear link between global travel and the impact of loss on domestic life. A sailor leaves in order to provide for himself and his partner by participating in global trade: ‘And to Virginia he must go, / his fortune to advance, Which did procure their overthrow.’⁵⁸⁴ His sweetheart is nervous as his departure ‘did in her much trouble breed, / and causd her discontent’. Her trepidation is proved not to have been unfounded, for ‘ere he to Virginia came, / he lost his dearest life, / And ner returnd to her again’.⁵⁸⁵ For all the benefits that a global presence brought to the nation, it was at the expense of sailors and their families who could be ruined by the loss of a ship in storms at sea.

For those members of the maritime community who lost loved ones, ballads may also have played a part in the mourning process through role-speculation. In *Love without blemish*, when news of her lover’s death at sea reaches London, the young woman weeps and speaks to

⁵⁸⁰ *The Constant Seaman And his Faithful love. See here the Pattern of true Love, the life of constancy; And e’re they would disloyal prove, they both resolv’d to dye.* (1662-1692?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.189, EBBA 21851.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² *The Two Faithful Lovers.* (1693-1695?), UGL, Euing Ballads 361, EBBA 31972, RI 583. Originally entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1656. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 56).

⁵⁸³ *The Two Faithful Lovers.*, EBBA 31972, RI 583.

⁵⁸⁴ *The Fair and Loyal Maid of Bristow. Dame Fortune on this Maiden frown’d, That once on her did smile, She was in tears of sorrow drown’d, That death did her beguile.* (1672-1696?), BL, Roxburghe 4.46, EBBA 31278, RI 825. Originally entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1625. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 76).

⁵⁸⁵ *The Fair and Loyal Maid of Bristow.*, EBBA 31278, RI 825.

her dead partner: ‘Ah my dear Love this Damsel said / Art thou thus snatcht from me.’⁵⁸⁶ The role-speculation of anyone singing this ballad is that of someone mourning the death of a loved one. Margarette Lincoln argues that published accounts of shipwrecks appear to have formed part of the process of public mourning in the eighteenth century.⁵⁸⁷ In the same manner, role-speculation in ballads could have aided the grieving process. In *Love without blemish*, the young woman pledges to drown herself ‘to seek my Lovers Tomb’.⁵⁸⁸ However, presumably to stop any associations with suicide (which would have been frowned upon by the contemporary audience), she appears to die of a broken heart and cries out ‘my dearest now I come / Prepare to welcome me / Where thou lyeest in thy watry tomb / Ile come to visit thee’. Whilst not advocating suicide, the ballad allows someone to address a lost partner or family member and console themselves that they will see them again after death: ‘And now my joy I come I come / To meet with thee my dear.’⁵⁸⁹ A similar narrative is found in *The Seamans adieu to his pritty Betty*, from the last decades of the seventeenth century. A ship is caught by a storm at sea and all on board die, with the exception of three sailors. When they eventually make it back to London, they bring Betty the news of the wreck and her partner’s death. She weeps and also speaks to her lost sailor: ‘O my dearest Love, she cryed, / Would I for thy sake had dyed.’⁵⁹⁰ The singer, as Betty, turns to the audience and calls out to other couples, ‘Hear my Ditty, Lovers pittie, / can you now for bear to weep?’ She then voices her grief at the elements: ‘O ye Rocks and Waves so cruel, / You have robd me of my Jewel, / you have got my hearts delight.’⁵⁹¹ This ballad allows its singer to talk to a lost loved one. However, through its creation of an emotional communal moment, it may also have helped share grief through bonding with others who held the experience in common. In all these ballads, whether facilitating conversations with lost loved ones or describing wrecks at sea,

⁵⁸⁶ *Love without blemish. Or, The Unfortunate Couple.*, EBBA 21346.

⁵⁸⁷ Lincoln, ‘Shipwreck Narratives’, pp.155-172 (p. 155).

⁵⁸⁸ *Love without blemish. Or, The Unfortunate Couple.*, EBBA 21346.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁰ *The Seaman’s adieu to his pritty Betty: Living near Wapping; Or, A Pattern of true Love, &c. Sweet William to the Seas was prest, and left his Love behind; Whilst she her sorrows oft exprest and blam’d the fates unkind.* (1671-1702?), BL, Roxburghe 4.69, EBBA 31384.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

global travel is firmly linked to loss and separation. The ballad audience knew of the importance of trade in supporting the nation, but were also aware of the human cost and how their lives could be irreparably altered by a storm at sea.

The sea held several conflicting characteristics for early modern sailors. The ability to traverse the globe was the enabling condition for the globalising process, but the mysterious and seemingly boundless ocean world also represented a myriad of dangers. A dark, watery grave was a constant fear. The possibility of disappearing into the unknown depths of the sea meant that it was often portrayed as a ravenous beast waiting to devour sailors. The creatures that inhabited the sea were also threatening presences, lurking beneath the surface. However, as people began to exert more control over the sea and its resources, the depiction of creatures such as whales changed from monsters to commodities to be exploited and monetised. Other dangers of the sea could not be so easily overcome. The raw power of the ocean meant that ships were often helpless when caught in the grip of a storm. Ballads present a world of turmoil and savagery waiting outside England's shores, threatening either to reduce the whalers on Spitsbergen to savages, or to destroy the nation's ships. These forces of chaos could only be kept at bay by a determination to maintain order and rationality. There was a clear link between global travel and the human cost of lost sailors and their bereaved families, which can be seen in ballads. Ballads may also have allowed sailors and their families to employ role-speculation to aid the mourning process and bond with others over shared grief.

The dangers of the sea were manifold, but they were not exclusively meteorological or cetacean – there were also human threats to early modern sailors. Foreign states battled one another in naval encounters, but more interesting, in terms of their representation in broadside ballads, are the pirates that plagued the expanding commercial shipping of the early modern world.

Proud Pyrat or Hostis Humani Generis

When reading historical documents, pirates appear as an ever-present threat. In the account of the 1630 Spitsbergen whaling voyage, Edward Pellham records that the captain wanted all ships to return in convoy so as ‘to make the Fleete so much strong for the defence of the Merchants goods’.⁵⁹² This was because the pirates operating out of Dunkirk were ‘strong and rife at sea in those dayes’.⁵⁹³ There were several factors contributing to the growth of piracy. In the early-seventeenth century, pirates and smugglers thrived because of the expansion of the new, poorly policed settlements in Ireland and the Americas.⁵⁹⁴ However, possibly more significant was the peace agreement with Spain made by James I in 1604. Piracy generally flourished more in times of peace (when maritime labour was left idle), than in times of war (when work was more readily available).⁵⁹⁵ The peace agreement led to a swift expansion of English piracy. Thousands of men were rapidly demobilised, creating a short-term crisis in maritime unemployment as increasing numbers of unsettled men drifted between the ports (particularly in south-west England) in search of work.⁵⁹⁶ Therefore, the turn of these men to piracy was an improvised and urgent response to economic and social conditions, fuelled by grievances over employment, pay and working conditions. This turn to piracy was also justified by popular patriotism and a lingering hostility towards Spain.⁵⁹⁷

However, we should not see a clearly defined dynamic of English pirates preying on Spanish shipping. Piracy was far less clearly delineated than might be expected. Should a trader who committed one act of robbery at sea be referred to with the same term as the infamous Henry Every? In 1668, in London, Judge Leoline Jenkins defined pirates as the enemies of all

⁵⁹² Pellham, p. 3.

⁵⁹³ Ibid, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁴ Keith Plummers, ‘“Pirates” and the Problems of Plantation in Seventeenth-Century Ireland’, in *Governing the Sea in the Early Modern Era: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Ritchie*, ed. by Peter C. Mancall and Carole Shammas (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 2015), pp. 79-107 (p. 79).

⁵⁹⁵ Hanna, pp. 129-168 (p. 145).

⁵⁹⁶ John C. Appleby, ‘Jacobean Piracy: English Maritime Depredation in Transition, 1603-1625’, in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 277-299 (p. 278-9).

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 279.

people (*Hostis Humani Generis*), but this definition was completely out of touch with the complex realities of places such as the West Indies.⁵⁹⁸ Pirates were not universally demonised figures. In Ireland, many people implicated in piracy later became respectable members of plantation communities.⁵⁹⁹ For English colonists in Ireland and the Americas, trade with pirates provided a useful means of circumventing restrictions such as monopolies.⁶⁰⁰ The image of the pirate only becomes more clouded when the notion of the privateer is thrown into the mix. These were ostensibly heroic men working in the national interest, but often privateers took on commissions from other nation states and appeared to be self-serving pirates acting under a cloak of legality. Other privateers, such as Edmund Cooke and Woodes Rogers, used their writings to try to distance themselves from being tarnished with the reputation of buccaneers.⁶⁰¹ This section of the chapter will examine the ways in which acts of piracy and privateering are presented in ballads, and how representations of pirates shaped the audience's perception of global events. It will then consider the punishment of pirates and the ballads recording their 'last dying speeches', as the public spectacle of their punishments demonstrated England's judicial power over lawless global waters.

The pirate was a contradictory character for the ballad audience.⁶⁰² As many ballad consumers would have been sailors, or closely connected with the maritime community, pirates represented a danger of economic hardship (if not death). The ballad *The Green-sickness grief, Or a Maidens moan, Complaining because her Sweet-heart was gone* voices the lament of a woman whose partner has gone to sea. This is a constancy ballad; however, one line shows the awareness of the threat of pirates to early modern sailors. During her lament, the young woman prays, 'From

⁵⁹⁸ Hanna, pp. 129-168 (p. 140).

⁵⁹⁹ Pluyms, pp. 79-107 (p. 85).

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁶⁰¹ See Richard Frohock, *Buccaneers and Privateers: The Story of the English Sea Rover, 1675-1725* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2012), especially chapter six.

⁶⁰² Gilje argues that early pirate songs tend to have mixed messages. He suggests that this either reflects the hazy boundary between licit and illicit maritime raiding, or that the more positive portrayals of piracy suggest some common seamen found sympathy with characters who flouted authority whilst negative portrayals addressed the common sailor's fear of violent raiders. Gilje, p. 141.

Sands and Rocks, / And Pyrats knocks, / Sweet Jove defend him still.⁶⁰³ A similar prayer against the most common dangers at sea can be seen in *The Gallant Seaman's Resolution*. Here, another sailor's partner prays for his safety, saying, 'From Pyrates knocks, and bloody blows, / great Mars protect thee still, / Nor may Quick-sands or stony Rocks, have power to do thee any ill.'⁶⁰⁴ Piracy is not a pressing theme in either of these ballads which, instead, focus on the romantic relationship between the two main characters. However, the fact that both encapsulate the dangers of maritime life in single line references to pirates (specifically the physical violence they inflict) shows that they were a constant presence in the cultural background, casting a long shadow over the contemporary imagination. Also, occurring in tandem with the natural dangers of rocks and sandbanks, pirates are portrayed as a natural manifestation of maritime peril and are symbols for the chaotic and dangerous nature of the outside world.

A notable theme in ballads about pirates is that of autonomy. The ballad *Gallantry All-a-Mode: Or, The Bully to the Life*, from the 1670s, is a convivial drinking song that would probably not be out of place being sung in a modern rugby club setting. The gallant 'Hectors' who sing this ballad live a hedonistic lifestyle, based around alcohol and women: 'Our sole joys are Kisses, / Bestowd by brisk Misses, / We Lavish and wallow in Pleasure.'⁶⁰⁵ This ballad allows any group singing it to inhabit the personas of these epitomes of jovial masculinity. However, it is notable that they use references to pirates to encapsulate their boisterous attitude; their articulation of masculinity through aggression; and their autonomy through a disregard for public authority. This is displayed in the verse,

Then oftimes the Watch

⁶⁰³ *The Green-sickness grief, Or a Maidens moan, Complaining because her Sweet-heart was gone.* (1663-1674?), UGL, Euing Ballads 125, EBBA 31833, RI 1048. Originally entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1629. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 93).

⁶⁰⁴ *The Gallant Seaman's Resolution; Whose full Intent was, To try his Fortune at Sea, and at his Return marry his Lanlady If Heaven be pleas'd to bless him with his life, None but his Lanlady shall be his Wife: She being a Widow, as tis understood, Of Carriage and Behaviour very good.* (1684-1695?), Houghton Library (hereafter HL), Huth EBB65H, EBBA 35208, RI 940. Originally entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1656. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 85).

⁶⁰⁵ *Gallantry All-a-Mode: Or, The Bully to the Life Here Fops & Boistrous Bully-Rocks are shown, The Gallant Feats they Practice in the Town; They pass their Golden hours away in pleasure, Destest those doting Fools that live by measure.* (1674-1679), BL, Roxburghe 4.16, EBBA 30917.

Us Hectors does catch,
And nabs us in this late Rencounter,
With Swords and with stones,
We break the Loons bones,
And so flye the Cage or the Compter:
Thus like Pyrates oth town,
We roam up and down,
And scowre the main Sea of the City.⁶⁰⁶

Gallantry All-a-Mode: Or, The Bully to the Life admires piracy as an ideal aggressively masculine, hedonistic and autonomous lifestyle free from repercussions. The view that a life of piracy was one of freedom is reinforced in several ballads. This popular opinion has endured. Many historians generally accept the notion that men (and sometimes women) turned to piracy because they sought isolation from 'normal' society on land. The assumption is that a pirate opted for a life of freedom over a system of maritime work which bordered on slavery.⁶⁰⁷ Mark Hanna challenges this paradigm which is ingrained in both popular culture and scholarly work. Many pirates were treated as privateers in the colonies and, whilst they may have been social bandits, they did not have the ideologies attributed to them by Rediker.⁶⁰⁸ Furthermore, there is little evidence that pirates were race-blind. Henry Morgan, for instance, easily transformed into a plantation owner and slave trader.⁶⁰⁹ Many pirates were conservative in their political and ideological affiliations, and most espoused deep anti-Catholic and anti-Muslim sentiments.⁶¹⁰ When Henry Morgan claimed to have found religion, it was that of the state. This was also part of his attempt to connect with the metropolis in London and appear less peripheral.⁶¹¹

This desire to conform was common amongst pirates. They knew that their survival and reputation depended on how they were understood by their social betters on land, and they took steps to ensure that they were well-received: William Dampier and Lionel Wafer had their journals printed to appeal to members of the Royal Society; and the South Sea pirates named

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Hanna, pp. 129-168 (p. 131).

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 146.; See Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, especially chapters five and six.

⁶⁰⁹ Hanna, pp. 129-168 (p. 146-7).

⁶¹⁰ However, it should also be noted that some pirates, such as John Ward, converted to Islam and worked for Moorish rulers. These figures will be examined in chapter four.

⁶¹¹ Hanna, pp. 129-168 (p. 147).

islands in the Galapagos after English royalty and Samuel Pepys.⁶¹² Pirates should not be considered outlaws who completely rejected the constraints of contemporary society and who formed their own egalitarian polities. Therefore, the question then remains as to why autonomy and freedom are such pressing themes in ballads about piracy. These ballads allowed their singers and audience to vicariously (and safe from subsequent punishment) experience the ‘deviant lives’ of pirates.⁶¹³

Of the ballads that give voice to pirates, most are ‘last dying speech’ ballads (also called ‘farewells to the world’ or ‘good-night’ ballads). In these, condemned pirates confess their sins before execution and warn others not to emulate their actions. This style of ballad had become well-established in England before the end of the sixteenth century and they seem to be simple in message, urging compliance with the law and stating that failure to do so will result in punishment.⁶¹⁴ However, they allow those singing them to participate in role-speculation and live the free, autonomous lifestyle of a pirate. The condemned pirates in ‘last dying speech’ ballads endorse public justice and denounce their own crimes, but they also sympathetically reveal their own deepest soul. Descriptions of weeping, and references in the speeches to bleeding hearts, confirm the genuineness of their repentance – tears were thought to betoken a sanctifying emotion, true regret and an abhorrence of former sin.⁶¹⁵ Therefore, whilst the numerable ‘last dying speech’ ballads seem to conform to a promise of sin being punished (and identification with the sufferer could provide a warning of one’s own susceptibility to sin and punishment), these ballads also offered enjoyable deviance.⁶¹⁶

The ballad *Villany Rewarded; Or, The Pirates Last Farewel To the World* is sung from the perspective of some members of Henry Every’s crew before their execution in 1696. It states

⁶¹² Ibid, p. 147-8.

⁶¹³ Wiltenburg, pp. 173-186 (p. 174).

⁶¹⁴ Ibid, p. 173. Even if a prisoner did not confess, ‘moral fakements’ were often produced by writers who encouraged by members of the clergy (themselves anxious to gain credit for saving souls). Such recantations were sometimes printed before the convicted individual was sent to the gallows. Carleton Sprague Smith, ‘Broad-sides and Their Music in Colonial America’ in *Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 53 (2012), 157-367 (p. 333).

⁶¹⁵ Wiltenburg, pp. 173-186 (p. 177).

⁶¹⁶ Ibid, p. 186.

that the world may ‘against us cry, / for these our Deeds most base, / For which, alas! we now must dye’.⁶¹⁷ They recite their crimes, but there is an element of boastfulness in their achievements. This is then countered by the warning repeated at the end of each verse: ‘let Pyrates then take care.’⁶¹⁸ This ballad was set to the tune ‘Russell’s Farewell’, which gained its name through ‘good-night’ ballads written upon the execution of Lord William Russell (one of those implicated in the Rye House Plot).⁶¹⁹ The theme of execution was recurrent in the ballads set to this tune.⁶²⁰ These warnings were essential, as the autonomous lifestyle of a pirate offered the temptation of power and riches: ‘Thus for some time we liv’d, and Reign’d / as masters of the Sea.’⁶²¹ The sailors describe how they robbed a ship and ‘in it was Gold and Silver store, / of which all had a share, / Each man 600 pounds and more’. The pirates are presented as working entirely for themselves and without allegiance to any nation. They emphasise that there was ‘no Ship that we did spare’ and also that ‘no Nation did we spare’. Their status as pirates gave them power and control as they sunk the ships of any people that ‘would not unto us submit’. The repeating theme of the ballad is that the pirates know that they sinned and acknowledge that their actions warrant punishment: ‘For we on no one mercy took, / nor any did we spare, / How can we then for mercy look.’⁶²² The message of inevitable punishment is made abundantly clear in the ballad’s three woodcuts: a naval battle; two men being executed in the sea by hanging; and a man cutting out a woman’s heart whilst, behind him, a city displays the detached limbs and head of an executed man (see Figures 19a and 19b).

Particularly noteworthy is the audience depicted in Figure 19a. They are just visible (mostly as the tops of black hats, a couple of faces and pointing hands) and are gazing at the execution. As public spectacles, early modern executions deterred others from following the

⁶¹⁷ *Villany Rewarded; Or, The Pirates Last Farewel to the VVorld: Who was Executed at Execution Dock, on Wednesday the 25th. of November, 1696. Being of Every’s Crew. Together with their free Confession of their most Horrid Crimes.* (1696), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.199, EBBA 20813.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

⁶¹⁹ Simpson, *The Broadside Ballad and its Music*, p. 621.

⁶²⁰ Ibid, p. 622.

⁶²¹ *Villany Rewarded; Or, The Pirates Last Farewel to the VVorld.*, EBBA 20813.

⁶²² Ibid.

actions of the condemned and demonstrated the effectiveness of the judicial system. ‘Last dying speech’ ballads were part of this public display. They circulated the supposed words of the condemned men, who warn others not to emulate them. The visual iconography of execution is sensational and stereotyped, as well as didactic and normative. The representation of spectators reiterates the importance of witnesses at public executions – a significance which is extended to the viewers of the woodcut, who are given a privileged vantage point above the crowd.⁶²³ The woodcut of the naval battle is placed next to the image of the hanged pirates as a visual establishment of causality. It was common for one woodcut to display the crime whilst its fellow would show the punishment, thereby underpinning the ideological and propagandistic function of the ballad.⁶²⁴ The public display of executions and the tendency of the condemned to recite their sins had another effect in ‘last dying speech’ ballads. Just like tragedy and loss, piracy was an inevitable side effect of increased global trade. The public punishment of pirates, for crimes committed half a world away, provided a tangible and visual link to global events. Therefore, ‘last dying speeches’ would have significantly informed audience imaginations of the outside world.

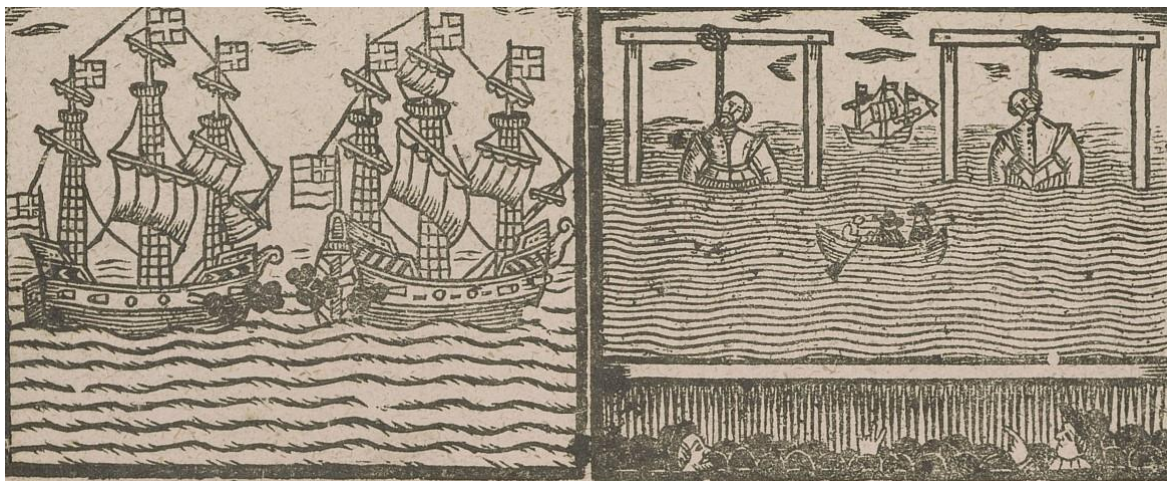


Figure 19a: The crime and its punishment, significantly placed next to each other, shown on *Villany Rewarded; Or, The Pirates Last Farewel to the VVorld*. (1696), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.199, EBBA 20813 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

⁶²³ Tara Burk, “A Battleground Around the Crime”: The Visuality of Execution Ephemera and its Cultural Significances in Late Seventeenth-Century England’, in *Eighteenth-Century British Writing*, in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. by Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), pp. 195-218 (p. 202).

⁶²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 205.



Figure 19b: Image of murder, with the results of being hung, drawn and quartered in the background on *Villany Rewarded; Or, The Pirates Last Farewel to the VVorld*. (1696), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.199, EBBA 20813 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

Villany Rewarded; Or, The Pirates Last Farewel To the World was one of the many ballads collected by Samuel Pepys and was included his 'Tragedy' category. These ballads provided examples of what not to do and how not to live.⁶²⁵ 'Last dying speeches' had an immediacy in these messages because of the speed at which justice moved in early modern England – readers often heard of a crime at the same time as they learnt what punishment was going to be exacted upon the criminal.⁶²⁶ The 'Tragedy' ballads reinforce the social system of order stemming from civic authorities, since normality is restored once a transgressor has been charged. These ballads emphasise the inability of sinners to escape justice.⁶²⁷ The theory behind this was that increasing the predictability of future punishment also increases the 'cost' of a crime, thereby lowering its

⁶²⁵ Tassie Gniady, 'Tragedy: Wounds and Ulcers', in *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 95-99 (p. 95).

⁶²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 98.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 97.

incidence.⁶²⁸ Pirates were figures who inhabited the savage and wild outside world. The common themes of autonomy are part of the wider perception of everything outside England being unstructured and chaotic. When at sea, distance from England made the lure of autonomy and possibility of riches offered by piracy more enticing. However, public punishments and ‘last dying speech’ ballads were evidence of the nation’s power and ability to extend authority over this wild region and punish transgressions.

Another ‘last dying speech’ ballad is *Captain Kidd’s Farewel to the Seas, or the Famous Pirate’s Lament*. This gives voice to the enigmatic Captain Kidd (a former pirate and privateer, who manned his vessel with former pirates from the colonies to capture pirates operating in the Indian Ocean).⁶²⁹ Kidd famously captured an Armenian vessel flying a French flag and carrying a cargo worth £70,000. However, he later discovered that this ship actually belonged to the East India Company and had been sailing under false colours. This resulted in the East India Company accusing Kidd of piracy and issuing a warrant for his arrest. Kidd had no means of contesting this charge since the admiralty had confiscated the captain’s papers which showed the captured vessel had flown a French flag.⁶³⁰ Kidd’s protestations of innocence did not sway the authors of ballads and the rapidly produced ‘moral fakement’ confession became world famous.⁶³¹ His story entered the public sphere and was discussed in courtrooms and coffee houses in America, England and India; and it forced people to consider the uncomfortable relationship between privateers and pirates as well as their links to land-based communities.⁶³² This discourse is reflected in the significant line in the ballad *Dialogue between the ghost of Captain*

⁶²⁸ Matthew Norton, ‘Temporality, Isolation, and Violence in the Early Modern English Maritime World’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 48:1 (2014), 37-66 (p. 39).

⁶²⁹ Hanna, pp. 129-168 (p. 149). For more information on Kidd and the political interests that shaped his fate, see Smith, ‘Broad-sides and Their Music’, pp.157-367.

⁶³⁰ Smith, ‘Broad-sides and Their Music’, pp.157-367 (p.356-357).

⁶³¹ *Ibid*, p. 357.

⁶³² Hanna, pp. 129-168 (p. 150). See Robert C. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

Kidd, and the napper in the Strand, napt when Kidd warns, ‘I hope you took warning by my woful Condition, // / To take care how you acted beyond your Commission.’⁶³³

Whilst historians have long debated Kidd’s guilt or innocence, to his contemporaries, the debates surrounding his actions helped pin down definitions and distinctions that had been unfixed for centuries.⁶³⁴ In *Captain Kid’s Farewel to the Seas*, Kidd promises the audience that ‘My Faults I will display, / Committed day by day’.⁶³⁵ Again, however, many of these confessions come off as a boast of everything he achieved. The middle section of the ballad is a list of successful acts of piracy and, significantly, the global nature of his crimes is emphasised: his crew attacked ‘A Banker’s Ship of France’; a ‘Moorish Ship we found, / Her Men we stript and bound’; a ‘war like Portuguese, / In short, did us displeas’; they ‘rob’d the Natives’ at Malabar; and they took ‘a Rich Armenian, grac’d, / With Wealth which we embrac’d’. As in *Villany Rewarded; Or, The Pirates Last Farewel To the World*, the ballad alludes to the wealth that can be gained through piracy: ‘Two hundred Bars of Gold / And Rix Dollars manifold, / We seized uncontroul’d’.⁶³⁶

Just as *Villany Rewarded* acknowledged the public spectacle of execution through its woodcut, this ballad also references the visual nature of their punishment: ‘Some thousands they will flock / To Execution [Dock] / Where we must stand the shock, and must die.’⁶³⁷ For the audience hearing this ballad, an image is created of the sea teeming with the wealth of the innumerable nations that sail upon it. The ballad presents a powerful pirate, who terrorised all these nations, being brought to heel by England and then he and his crew confess their guilt and remind the audience that they deserve their fate – ‘With sad and heavy hearts, / To have our due Deserts we must go.’⁶³⁸ However, it was not possible to include such examples of remorse and

⁶³³ Hanna, pp. 129-168 (p. 150).; *Dialogue between the ghost of Captain Kidd, and the napper in the Strand, napt* (London, 1702).

⁶³⁴ Hanna, pp. 129-168 (p. 150).

⁶³⁵ *Captain Kid’s Farewel to the Seas, or the Famous Pirate’s Lament.* (?), NLS, Crawford.EB.843, EBBA 33482.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*

punishment if a pirate was never caught. One of the most notorious pirates to escape justice (although his crew were not so fortunate) was Henry Every.

Henry Every was a pirate who caught the public imagination and his actions were supported by many. The ballad *A Copy of Verses, Composed by Captain Henry Every, Lately Gone to Sea to Seek his Fortune* captures some of the romance associated with him. This ballad accurately records many details about Every's mutiny (location; name of leader; name of the ship seized and its readiness for a long voyage; and the destination of the newly made pirates).⁶³⁹ Whilst the ballad does misdate the events by a year and nearly doubles the number of mutineers, it correctly attributes the rebellion to Every and his crew's feelings of betrayal.⁶⁴⁰ Joel Baer believes this indicates that the ballad writer had a source who was very close to the events, or at least, they sensed in the sailor's rebellion a response to social conditions that would be understood and applauded by the ballad audience.⁶⁴¹ This ballad is also written in the persona of the pirate and has many of the common themes of autonomy and riches, but without the dire warning of punishment. The ballad begins by calling out to 'all you brave Boys, whose Courage is bold, / Will you venture with me, I'll glut you with Gold?'.⁶⁴² The ballad is framed so that Every is as supportable a character as possible. His aim is to plunder 'French, Spaniard and Portuguese, the Heathen likewise, / He has made a War with them until that he dies'. This declaration of war against the great Catholic and Muslim powers is more than a device to underline his martial qualities. These lines cast Every, in the eyes of the audience, as the enemy of political and religious despotism.⁶⁴³ Presenting Every as an opponent of tyranny ties in with the themes of autonomy and freedom that run through many of the pirate ballads.

⁶³⁹ Joel H. Baer, 'Bold Captain Avery in the Privy Council: Early Variants of a Broadside Ballad from the Pepys Collection', *Folk Music Journal*, 7:1 (1995), 4-26 (p. 8).

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 8.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 8.

⁶⁴² *A Copy of Verses, Composed By Captain Henry Every, Lately Gone to Sea to seek his Fortune*. (1696?), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.384, EBBA 22206.

⁶⁴³ Baer, pp.4-26 (p. 11).

In addition to autonomy, the global nature of Every's activities is a prominent theme. Every proclaims that he will abandon England, saying, 'away from this Climate and temperate Zone, / To one that's more torrid, you'll hear I am gone.'⁶⁴⁴ The reason for this is financial: 'These Northern Parts are not thrift for me.' Therefore, he will travel to the exotic, wealthy areas of the world and he shall gain fame through his deeds, transcending the achievements of other Europeans: 'I am not afraid to let the World know, / That to the South-Seas and to Persia I'll go' and 'Our Names shall be blazed and spread in the Sky, / Any many brave Places I hope to descry, / Where never a French man e'er yet has been, / Nor any proud Dut[c]h man can say he has seen'. This ballad places Every into the context of global exploration and has him participate in a European race to discover and profit from unknown lands. It is significant that this is encapsulated in a reference to competition with the French and Dutch, who, across the course of the seventeenth century, were England's two biggest competitors. The ballad, therefore, is claiming Every as a representative of England, and his achievements are celebrated as national victories over other European powers.

This national theme is elaborated upon in the ballad, as Every is cast as a proud Englishman: 'I Honour St. George, and his Colours I were, / Good Quarters I give, but no Nation I spare.'⁶⁴⁵ He promises that 'He that strikes to St. George the better shall fare; / But he that refuses, shall suddenly spy / Strange Colour abroad of my Fancy to fly'. References to the flag, as well as a shield and sword, combine with the mention of St. George to incline the audience to a chivalric reading of the ballad. Every is presented as an honourable warrior, rather than a pirate.⁶⁴⁶ The depiction of Every as a gallant rogue, 'disown'd' by his country, made him more of a romantic, swashbuckling figure: 'My false-hearted Nation, to you I declare, / I have done thee no wrong, though must me forgive, / The Sword shall maintain me as long as I live.'⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁴ *A Copy of Verses, Composed By Captain Henry Every.*, EBBA 22206.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁶ Baer, pp.4-26 (p. 17).

⁶⁴⁷ *A Copy of Verses, Composed By Captain Henry Every.*, EBBA 22206.

In an inversion of the common ‘last dying speech’ ballads, this ballad celebrates the narrator as a man liberated from, rather than restrained by, the laws and stereotypes of his age.⁶⁴⁸ Every continued to be a popular figure, and the ballad both contributed to this and profited from it: the ballad was so popular that, by 1696, it had run into three revised editions; and it continued in print well into the eighteenth century, eventually becoming one of the most famous sea ballads of all time.⁶⁴⁹ Whilst others in the audience may have been shocked (and perhaps thrilled) by the ballad, sailors and their families may have found an expression of the same grievances they held against a faithless nation and naval administration.⁶⁵⁰ They then may have been moved to imagine a life of independence, fellowship and adventure – these were the people most in need of the liberating myth expressed by the ballad.⁶⁵¹ Ballads about pirates significantly contributed towards the popular understanding and imagination of the outside world. Pirates were a testament to the wealth that was transported globally; they were intertwined with the ballad audience’s perception of a chaotic and unstructured outside world; and their public punishments served to proclaim England’s power to exercise authority over this lawless space. Ballads cast some pirates, like Every, as representatives of the nation. He was used to further proclaim England’s might as a naval power and this ballad is significant when understood in the context of competition with the Dutch and French.

The idea of nationality and competition between European states is at the heart of the pirate-privateer distinction, since one nation’s celebrated privateer was another nation’s hated pirate. Edward Hall’s chronicle, originally published in 1548, records a message being brought to Henry VIII in the summer of 1511. The report said that ‘Andrew Barton A Scottishe manne, and a pirate of the sea’ was making war against the Portuguese on behalf of the king of Scotland.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁸ Baer, pp.4-26 (p. 15).

⁶⁴⁹ See Douglas R. Burgess ‘Piracy in the Public Sphere: The Henry Every Trials and the Battle for Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Print Culture’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48:4 (2009), 887-913, particularly pages 907-910.

⁶⁵⁰ Baer, pp.4-26 (p. 18).

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 18.

⁶⁵² *Hall’s Chronicle; Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in Which are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of those Period. Carefully*

However, Barton was robbing ‘euery nacion & so stopped the kynges stremes, that no merchauntes almost could passe’.⁶⁵³ Barton was seizing English goods, claiming that they belonged to Portugal. This highlights part of the problem posed by early modern piracy. Was it possible to distinguish between a rogue pirate and a privateer conducting a nation’s military policies against its enemies? In this instance, the problem is simplified because Andrew Barton was reportedly attacking neutral English shipping – his actions are piratical. Henry VIII sent ships to intercept the pirate and Barton was killed in the ensuing engagement. This led to tension between Henry VIII and James IV of Scotland. Holinshed’s chronicle records that the argument revolved around Barton’s status as a pirate: ‘the king of England denied, that the slaughter of a pirate (as he tooke Andrew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace.’⁶⁵⁴

Despite these events taking place in the early-sixteenth century, Barton proved an enduring figure. There are several extant copies of the ballad *A True Relation of the Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton, a Pyrate and Rover on the Seas* from the late-seventeenth century, and it continued to be printed into the eighteenth century. Examining the presentation of Barton in this ballad allows for a consideration of the complex ways in which piracy and privateering were understood and interpreted by the early modern audience. The ballad was published in London and reflects an English perception of events. In fact, Barton does not actually appear in the ballad, in more than name, until the second half. The ballad begins with merchants complaining to Henry VIII that they could not sail to France because ‘Sir Andrew Barton makes us quail / and Robs us of our Merchant Ware’.⁶⁵⁵ This ballad is set before the era of seventeenth-century

Collated with the Editions of 1548 and 1550 (London: Printed for J. Johnson; F. C. and J. Rivington; T. Payne; Wilkie and Robinson; Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme; Cadell and Davies; and J. Mawman, 1809), p. 525.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 525.

⁶⁵⁴ *Holinshed’s Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland. In Six Volumes. Vol V. Scotland* (London: Printed for J. Johnson; F. C. and J. Rivington; T. Payne; Wilkie and Robinson; Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme; Cadell and Davies; and J. Mawman, 1808), p. 471.

⁶⁵⁵ *A True Relation of the Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton, a Pyrate and Rover on the Seas*. (1681-1684), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.484-485, EBBA 20227, RI 2731. Originally entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1675. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 236). The Andrew Barton ballads seem to have moved through a few editions and remained popular. There are also entries for ballads about Barton in the Stationers’ Company Register dated 1629 (RI 2454) and 1656 (RI 2255). Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 195; 213).

global interconnectivity, but the effect of piracy on trade (and the consequences of this for the nation) are still clear. One merchant states that he cannot now payback the many debts he owes and is facing unsympathetic creditors. Therefore, he is ‘bound to London now, / of our gracious King to beg a boon’.⁶⁵⁶ A similar statement of the impact of piracy on merchants can be found in the 1686 ballad *The Caesar’s Victory*. This ballad is a triumphant celebration of the crew of the *Caesar* who repulsed an attack from five pirate ships. The ballad states that, if the crew had not been able to defend the ship, the pirates’ ‘booty then had not been small, / Two Hundred thousand pound in all; / this would have spoil’ our Trading’.⁶⁵⁷

The terms by which Barton is referred to in *A True Relation of the Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton* are noteworthy to examine, as they carry seemingly contradictory connotations. The merchants refer to him as ‘Sir’ Andrew Barton; King Henry calls him a ‘Traytor’; and the English Lord Howard proclaims, ‘The Scottish Knight I vow to seek.’⁶⁵⁸ Barton is both pirate and gentleman-knight. In fact, the more positive terms – or at least the terms that recognise a man of status – such as ‘sir’ and ‘knight’, appear far more frequently in the ballad when referencing Barton than more negative terms. In total, there are twenty positive reference to Barton (‘Sir’ is used fourteen times and ‘knight’ is used six), and only eight negative references (‘Traytor’ is used twice, ‘Villain’ is used once and ‘Pyrate’ is used five times). These two elements to Barton’s character are not mutually exclusive: as a rover on the high seas who takes plunder by force, he is a pirate; but also as a gentleman working for his king and nation’s interests, he is honourable and deserving of respect. This is encapsulated by Howard’s lines upon first catching sight of Barton: ‘by Troth, / I think he is a Worthy Knight.’ Lord Howard’s recognition of Barton as a worthy knight, and his pledge to seek Barton and bring him to justice, mean that the narrative is framed as a duel between two gentlemen. Throughout the ballad, Barton is never vilified or denigrated through insulting terms – his behaviour is presented as brave and valiant. Even when he is being

⁶⁵⁶ *A True Relation of the Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton, a Pyrate and Rover on the Seas.*, EBBA 20227, RI 2731.

⁶⁵⁷ *The Caesar’s Victory.*, EBBA 21860.

⁶⁵⁸ *A True Relation of the Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton, a Pyrate and Rover on the Seas.*, EBBA 20227, RI 2731.

referred to as a 'Pirate', it is often as a 'proud Pirate' or 'Pirate stout', suggesting his bravery. Barton, just like Howard, is a gentleman and can recognise nobleness in his opponent. When the battle begins, Barton states, 'I am in danger now I see, / This is some Lord I greatly doubt, / that is set on to conquer me.' Even in the face of defeat, Barton continues to demonstrate noble and valiant qualities. Seeing his men being slain, 'this proud Pirate' led his men from the front. Barton is eventually struck by an arrow to the heart, but is given a final heroic speech where he tries to rouse his men one last time: 'Fight on, Fight on, my merry Men all, / a little I am hurt, yet not slain, / I'll but lie down and bleed a while, / and come and fight with you again.'⁶⁵⁹

Despite his noble qualities, Andrew Barton is still a pirate who is adversely affecting people's lives and, therefore, must be stopped and punished. In the ballad, this punishment comes in the humiliating act of decapitation by Howard. However, Barton is still mostly recognised throughout the ballad as a valiant gentleman worthy of respect. This is shown when the triumphant Howard and his men return home to King Henry. Henry greets them, but does not know that they have not captured Barton alive, and asks 'Where is the Knight and Pirate gay? / that I my self may give the doom'.⁶⁶⁰ This is an English ballad about a Scottish pirate and so it might be expected to be a clear-cut division between English Lord Howard and the Scottish pirate, Andrew Barton. However, the nuances surrounding piracy and privateering can be discerned. The conflict between Howard and Barton is presented as a duel between two gentleman-knights and there is a recognition, throughout the ballad, of Barton's noble characteristics. Popular opinion of pirates and piracy was heavily influenced by a number of factors: the status of the pirate involved; the supposed legality of their actions; and their nationality or national allegiance. It is, therefore, interesting to compare this English ballad about Barton to Scottish ballads about an alleged English pirate.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

The English captain, Thomas Green, was executed in Scotland by hanging in April 1705, on a charge of piracy. His guilt was fiercely debated and the case became a focal point for contemporary politics surrounding the Anglo-Scottish union, with unionists attesting to Green's innocence and Scottish nationalists advocating his guilt. Green's ship, the *Worcester*, stopped in Leith on its way back from a trading voyage to the East Indies.⁶⁶¹ It was seized by the Darien Company as a reprisal for the arrest of a Scottish East India ship, the *Annamdale*, in London.⁶⁶² In *The History of the Union Between England and Scotland*, Daniel Defoe claims to provide an impartial voice on the matter:

I shall not take upon me here either to condemn or acquit either side; I know the world is divided on the subject; some will have Green and his crew to be guilty of all that is charged on them; other say, the [Darien] company carried all against them, that they might have a good pretence for confiscating the ship.⁶⁶³

The case became somewhat of a *cause célèbre* and there was widespread popular engagement with it.⁶⁶⁴ Ballads were not far from the heart of this discussion. As with other piracy ballads, such as *Villany Rewarded* and *Captain Kid's Farewel to the Seas*, the crimes for which Green is being punished took place far away from Europe. Therefore, the ballads directly contribute to their audience's imagination of these regions. There are a number of Scottish ballads which describe Green's crimes and rally support through anti-English sentiment. The ballad *The Horrid Murther Committed by Captain Green and his Cruel* is an announcement of Green's crimes and carries a warning to the members of its audience. The ballad's subtitle states that, after taking a ship belonging to a Captain Drummond, Green and his crew betrayed Drummond and his men by 'cutting off their Heads, and tying them back to back, and throwing them into the Sea, and sold

⁶⁶¹ Karin Bowie, 'Newspapers, the Early Modern Public Sphere and the 1704-5 Worcester Affair', in *Before Blackwood's: Scottish Journalism in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. by Alex Benchimol, Rhona Brown and David Shuttleton (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2015), pp. 9-20 (p. 10).

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶⁶³ Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Union Between England and Scotland, with a Collection of Original Papers Relating Thereto* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1786), p. 78.

⁶⁶⁴ A vehement English response to Green's execution can be found in *An elegy on the much lamented death of Captain Thomas Green; who was executed with others of his crew, under the pretence of being a pirate, &c. in Scotland, April the 11th 1705* (London: printed and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1705) ESTC T32540. See James Kelly, 'The Review of English Studies Prize Essay: The Worcester Affair', *The Review of English Studies*, 51:201 (2000), 1-23.

their Ship unto the Indians'.⁶⁶⁵ As well as making the inhabitants of the Malabar coast complicit in the act, the ballad contributes to the imagination of the outside world as being lawless and dangerous. One of the other Scottish ballads about Green, *The Merites of Piracie Or, a new Song on Captain Green and his bloody Crue*, locates the crimes geographically: 'We should never known what did Drummond betid / As he was from Indies returning home, / Whom Green basly murdered when to Malabra come.'⁶⁶⁶ *The Horrid Murther Committed by Captain Green and his Crue* also locates the crimes geographically (stating that this deed occurred 'upon the Indian shoar'). However, more significantly, it locates the crimes ethnographically by emphasising the cruelty of Green and his men through comparisons to perceived uncivilised and non-Christian peoples. The ballad proclaims that 'More Barbarous deed was never done, even by the Blackamoor' and that 'No heathen, Turk, did nere the like; / nor yet Barbarian'.⁶⁶⁷ With these cultural markers of savagery, the ballad shows that, away from civilisation and order, Green fully embraced the freedom licenced by being at sea and devolved into the worst form of savagery.

The ballads about Green demonstrated the lawlessness enabled by being far from home, but they should also be understood very much in a domestic political context. The ballads are intertwined with the tensions surrounding the Anglo-Scottish union and provide a useful lens through which to analyse contemporary perceptions of piracy. *The Horrid Murther Committed by Captain Green and his Crue* calls out to nationalist sympathies, promoting Scottish unity and warning about trusting their violent southern neighbours: 'Scots Men may take care, / of cruel Neighbour hate. / Who Spitefully us treats we see, / by Muderer Policie.'⁶⁶⁸ Green's alleged piracy is not the act which most disgusts the author of this ballad. Instead, it is the violence and murder. These are put to use in furthering political aims and appealing to populism. It could be

⁶⁶⁵ *The Horrid Murther Committed by Captain Green and his Crue, on Captain Drummond and his whole Men, under design of Friendship by cutting off their Heads, and tying them back to back, and throwing them into the Sea, and sold their Ship unto the Indians.* (1705?), BL, Roxburghe 3.398, EBBA 31097.

⁶⁶⁶ *The Merites of Piracie Or, a new Song on Captain Green and his bloody Crue.*, (?), BL, Roxburghe 3.609, EBBA 31311.

⁶⁶⁷ *The Horrid Murther Committed by Captain Green and his Crue.*, EBBA 31097. Foreign nations, particularly the Ottoman Turks, were frequently used in ballads as benchmarks of savagery and violence against which actions could be compared. This will be examined in greater detail in chapter four.

⁶⁶⁸ *The Horrid Murther Committed by Captain Green and his Crue.*, EBBA 31097.

argued that this ballad contributes to an association of early modern pirates with gratuitous violence. However, the purpose of this ballad is to highlight how horrific Green's deeds were (even more than the most savage and violent ethnographic comparisons available). The ballad is actually uninterested in Green's status as a pirate, a term which is never used at all. Green and his crew are, instead, murderers (the term 'Murther' occurs six times in various conjugations). This highlights the ambivalence that many contemporaries felt towards pirates. When attempting to demonise someone, referring to them as a pirate was simply not powerful enough.

This point is reinforced by *The Merites of Piracie Or, a new Song on Captain Green and his bloody Crue*. It is more direct in its branding of Green as a pirate: 'Of all the pirates Ive heard or seen, / The basest and Bloodiest is Captain Green.'⁶⁶⁹ The ballad calls for the harshest possible punishments for the crew ('Hanging is too little') and two of the crew in particular 'should be hangd, drawn, quarterd, hung in chains!'. Even though this ballad is clearer in its castigation of Green for piracy, it is also more preoccupied with the crime of murder. The last verse states that it has been the practice of Green and his crew 'to live by Piracie, / and Murther'.⁶⁷⁰ In the context of the conflicting and contradictory representations of pirates, I think it is significant that these two crimes are treated separately. Green's trial was inextricable from the wider political climate of the union of England and Scotland. Ballads that wished to denigrate the English focused upon the alleged violent murder and tended to only mention piracy in passing. The contemporary ballad audience, whom these ballads wanted to politically agitate, did not see the pirate as enough of a hate-figure for it to be an effective term by itself. A murderer, on the other hand, was far easier to stigmatise.

Another demonisation of Green occurs in *A Seasonable Advice, to all who encline to go in Pirrating*. This ballad is written from the perspective of Green and it is ostensibly addressed to

⁶⁶⁹ *The Merites of Piracie Or, a new Song on Captain Green and his bloody Crue.*, EBBA 31311.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Englishmen since it begins, ‘My Countrymen who do intend / on Pirrating to go.’⁶⁷¹ However, the ballad is clearly aimed at Scottish nationalists and it should also be understood in light of the conflict surrounding the union. Again, this ballad is not concerned with the actual act of piracy, simply the political use to which an act of violence can be put. It is a self-congratulatory celebration of Scottish autonomy. The singer, in the persona of Green, does acknowledge that he has sinned and deserves punishment: ‘I certainly must die, / And nought will my offence atone / but Hanging on a Tree.’ However, repentance for piracy is not the main theme of the ballad. The message that Green is trying to impart to his imagined ‘English’ audience is not to underestimate the Scottish. Green’s crime in this ballad appears more to be English arrogance than piracy or murder as, after the first verse, no other crime is ever mentioned. Conventional ‘last dying speech’ ballads would usually recite the major sins committed by the person about to die, ask for forgiveness and warn the audience from behaving in a similar manner. This ballad roughly conforms to this, but the sin is in failing to take Scottish power seriously. The singer states that it was thought (presumably by the English) that ‘the SCOTS would never [dare], / An English to Sentence’.⁶⁷² The history of the relationship between England and Scotland is then referenced to warn Englishmen of the power that lies within Scotland: ‘and tho’ it’s true, WALLACE is dead, / Yet take no Hope from that. / For sure there are some in his stead, / Who some way fill his Hat.’ It is notable that the words ‘SCOTS’, ‘WALLACE’ and ‘GOD’ are capitalised throughout the ballad for both visual and performative emphasis. The final verse, in which Green concludes the message to his fellow Englishmen, encapsulates the matter which preoccupies the ballad, and the crime mentioned in the final line should be understood as unwisely belittling the Scots rather than piracy:

Therefore my Country Men, I pray,
 be war ye wrong the SCOTS.
 For GOD ‘mongst them doth open Lay.
 whats done ‘gainst them in Plots,

⁶⁷¹ *A Seasonable Advice, to all who encline to go in Pirrating; Drawn from what has happ’ned to Captain Green, as it were from his own mouth, one of that Rank.* (1705), NLS, Ry.III.a.10(105), EBBA 34337.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*

And tho' smale Faults they oft Remit,
of their great Clemencie,
Yet surely Medes, themselves they'l quite,
in Crimes of this Degree.⁶⁷³

Captain Thomas Green's Last farewell to the Ocean and all the World is also written in his persona and is a 'last dying speech' ballad. However, unlike the previous ballads, this one proclaims Green's innocence. The singer, in Green's voice, states that the charges against him come from 'false Accusers'.⁶⁷⁴ As in the previous ballad, it is notable that the full title proclaims that Green is being punished for 'Piracie and Murder'. What is significant is that, in this ballad, piracy is never mentioned at all. The only crime which Green mentions is the murder of which he has been accused: 'before GOD and the World I can, / Truly protest I never knew the Man, / Whose Murderer I was said to be.' Analysis of the ballads about the trial of Captain Green suggest that a murderer was a clear figure of evil to be decried, but that this was not the case for a pirate. There were certainly negative connotations around them, but there appears to have been more apathy towards their actions. For those who wished to condemn Green, they emphasised his status as a murderer rather than a pirate; and for the ballad seeking to defend him, piracy is unimportant and unmentioned. Instead, the most important point on which to protest innocence is 'the gross Crime of Murder is known, / To all Spectators at my Death I disown'.⁶⁷⁵ The ballads about Green demonstrate contemporary perceptions towards piracy, but more importantly, they use global events to try to shape Anglo-Scottish relations. Once at sea, it was easy to fall prey to the desire to act as an autonomous pirate free from control and consequence. The trial of Green was highly public and people on both sides of the political spectrum were significantly invested in its outcome. Punishing crimes committed at sea was difficult, and this case had nationally important implications. The ballads speak to the audience's immediate political concerns through

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁴ *Captain Thomas Green's Last farewell to the Ocean and all the World, who was Executed with two more of his Crew at Leith within the Flood-Mark, 11 April 1705, for Piracie and Murder.* (1705), NLS, Ry.III.a.10(104), EBBA 33346.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

a global frame and, therefore, inform their audience's perception of international trade and crime.

There are notable differences between the presentation of Andrew Barton and Thomas Green in the ballads discussed. In both instances, the ballads are from England or Scotland and describe a pirate belonging to the other nation. Barton's piracy is criticised for its impact upon trade, but he is recognised as a valiant gentleman with noble qualities. The same cannot be said for the treatment of Green. One reason for this is certainly the immediacy of the subject matter. Barton lived in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries and (whilst the ballad describing him may potentially have been transmitted in the oral tradition from that point until it was printed in the late-seventeenth century) the contemporary audience would not feel so emotionally invested in the subject matter. The ballads about Green, on the other hand, were published in the heat of the political moment and had clear aims of stirring up popular support for either his guilt or innocence. The representations of piracy in the ballads are mixed. Barton was a gentleman and pirate; and Green's alleged position as a pirate was not an emotive enough status to illicit the passionate response called for by the ballads. The contemporary perception of pirates seems to have been ultimately decided by whose interests they served – Green became a symbol of the English East India Company in a political climate fraught with Anglo-Scottish tensions. This perception of piracy (being shaped by national interests) is particularly notable in ballads about privateers.

Distinguishing between pirates and privateers was a constant source of difficulty for early modern statesmen. They had to both control the actions of their own privateers (who often exercised a little too much autonomy in their choice of targets) and complain of the piratical behaviour of foreign privateers. The terms for pirates, rovers and privateers were flexible because, in many cases, these marauders had only recently served in a state navy and they continued as a quasi-legal arm of national maritime defence, or in private navies such as that of

the Earl of Warwick.⁶⁷⁶ By the 1670s, nearly every captain who committed acts of piracy described himself as a privateer.⁶⁷⁷ How these men described themselves is important, and they diligently crafted their personas because they cared so deeply about their reputations on land.⁶⁷⁸ As they ostensibly acted under state control and in the national interest, it was possible for people to rally behind privateers and support them as national heroes. The celebrated Elizabethan sea dogs acted under the banner of privateers, but they did not shy away from pursuing their own aims. The ballad *Love and Loyalty; Or, A Letter from a Young-Man, on Board of an English Privateer, to his beloved Susan in the City of London* is a ‘transcription’ of a fictional letter addressed to the privateer’s partner. This privateer tells Susan that his ship is off the coast of France and ‘Since we London have forsaken, / Five Rich Prizes have we taken’.⁶⁷⁹ The actions of this man are no different to those of Andrew Barton. This privateer is not attacking foreign military ships, instead aiming to take the cargo of foreign merchants. This privateer crew are, like Green (allegedly), not averse to using extreme violence: ‘The first Merchants Ship we Boarded, / Which great store of Wealth afforded; / we fell on most eagerly; / Search and Plunder, burst in sunder, / making Chests and Cabins fly’ and ‘Though we gain’d it, and obtain’d it, / yet our Guns was forc’d to Roar’.

Whilst there is no difference in the behaviour of this man compared with Barton and Green, he can be celebrated and admired because of the motivations for his privateering which, given in the title of the ballad, are ‘love and loyalty’. The man is a romantic and, like many noble sailors in ballads, is constant to his love: ‘Dearest, when I first did leave thee, / Parting with thy Love did grieve thee, / But I vow’d I’d Letters send, / To improve thee, for I love thee, / as a true intire Friend.’ He demonstrates his love through the gifts he sends her – ‘A rich Chain and

⁶⁷⁶ Hanna, pp. 129-168 (p. 139).

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 141.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 142. For instance, the former pirates William Dampier, Lionel Wafer, Bartholomew Sharp and Basil Ringrose all had their journals printed for popular consumption. In addition to being a pirate, Dampier was a naturalist, hydrographer, travel writer and navigator.

⁶⁷⁹ *Love and Loyalty; Or, A Letter from a Young-Man, on Board of an English Privateer, to his beloved Susan in the City of London*. (1688-1692), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.173, EBBA 21835.

Diamond Ring, / and ten times more I have in store, / which I to thee in time will bring.’ His loyalty to his country is linked to his desire to provide for Susan, and serving the national interest is what allows him to do this. He states that when he has given her his gifts ‘the world shall now admire, / When they see thy rich attire’, but acknowledges where the riches have come from: ‘I declare it, thou shalt wear it, / yet proud France for it shall pay.’⁶⁸⁰ The man is a romantic, national hero – an ideal figure to be celebrated. He is working ‘for to raise great Britains Glory’ and the way to do this (demonstrating the political stance of the author) is to ‘plunder French and Tory’. The privateer states that, through doing this, and pulling ‘proud Lewis down; / Each great spirit then will merit, / double honour and renown’.⁶⁸¹ This man’s actions are piratical, but, when framed as a romantic and loyal privateer, he is not to be castigated but instead celebrated and admired.

The pirate-privateer distinction was created by the national interests of the contemporary viewer. If a pirate was seen to be working for the nation to which one belonged, they were celebrated; if not, they were vilified. In fact, serving a country as a privateer could even redeem past transgressions. In 1562, an English pirate-come-privateer, Henry Strangeways, died in France. His death is commemorated in a 1563 ballad by William Birch, *A new balade of the worthy service of late doen by Maister Strangwige in Fraunce, and of his death*. Birch draws a moral narrative from Strangeways’ life. Birch describes the errors of Strangeways’ past so as to further emphasise service under Elizabeth as the safe haven of official sanction finally found after years of criminality.⁶⁸² This ballad is significant in demonstrating how a privateer, acting in the national interest, was a figure to be celebrated in spite of past actions. Strangeways had a volatile career. In 1549, he was part of John Thompson’s pirate crew in Cork and, as his piratical reputation grew, in 1553, the Irish Council was ordered to apprehend him. He fled to France, returning in

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

⁶⁸² Tricia Bracher, ‘Partners-in-crime: A Reading of Gerlach Flicke’s 1554 Prison Diptych’, *Word & Image*, 23:2 (2007), 195-210 (p. 208).

1554 in search of a royal pardon but he was imprisoned.⁶⁸³ Upon being released, he continued piratical activities and was captured again and sentenced to execution. However, the execution was reprieved by Elizabeth I, and Strangeways had the opportunity to earn redemption through royal service. He was given the command of a vessel with seventy men and was wounded and died at Rouen in the Newhaven campaign of 1562.⁶⁸⁴

Strangeways' life was not that of a model patriot and national hero, which brings us to the depiction of him in Birch's panegyric. It begins by stating that England 'hath lost a Soldiour of late / Who Strangwige was to name: / Although he was of meane estate / His deedes deserved fame'.⁶⁸⁵ The reason that he should be lauded is that he 'sought a deadly wound / For Brittain where he was borne'. The ballad excuses the misdemeanours of his youth where 'in his yong years he walked wyde / And wandred oft a stray: / For why, blynd Cupid did him guyde / To walke that wyldsom way'. It acknowledges that 'by legal lawes he was condemd' but emphasises his change in character as 'in respect he wold amend / He found a Princes grace'. His resolution to change his ways is linked to a devotion to Protestantism and the English nation: 'And in that state he vowed to GOD / And to his righteous Queene: / He wold no more deserve such rod / Nor at Justice barre be seene.' From this point on, the ballad celebrates his bravery and heroic qualities, for when it was called for soldiers to go to France, 'He vaunced himself with valiaunt lust / to go he did not grudge'.⁶⁸⁶ He is presented as a courageous figure since, when they 'passed by a warlike towne', he 'spoyld and cut their chaynes a down'. Even when mortally wounded, 'his courage never quayed' and 'style he did his men coumfort / and courage did them geve'. His status as an important and heroic figure is confirmed in the ballad, as his death comes from one of the *Moirai* (the Fates) of Greek mythology: "Then Atropos did

⁶⁸³ Whilst in prison, Strangeways had his portrait painted by fellow prisoner Gerlach Flicke. For more information on this portrait, see Bracher, 'Partners-in-crime', pp.195-210.

⁶⁸⁴ See John C. Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag: Pirates of the Tudor Age* (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2011).

⁶⁸⁵ *A new balade of the worthy service of late doen by Maister Strangwige in Fraunce, and of his death.* (1563?), HTL, HEH 18270, EBBA 32089, RI 2546. Entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1562-3 under *The Newe Ballett of Strangwyshe*. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 220).

⁶⁸⁶ *A new balade of the worthy service of late doen by Maister Strangwige.*, EBBA 32089, RI 2546.

him assaile.’ His death is noble and for a national cause (‘I came with heart for that entent / To spend in my Queenes quarell’) and, therefore, he is a figure to be celebrated despite the transgressions and piratical acts carried out earlier in life.⁶⁸⁷ Strangeways is an excellent example of the political usefulness of pirates and how it could be expedient to then label them as privateers. The English government deployed Strangeways’ nautical skills when convenient and imprisoned him when his actions were politically damaging. The reprieve of the sentence of execution was almost certainly as a result of Strangeways’ knowledge of sea warfare and the Normandy coast (which could be highly beneficial to Elizabeth’s territorial designs in France).⁶⁸⁸

On the other end of the spectrum of admiration were foreign privateers or, worse, an English mariner sailing under a foreign flag. Captain Thomas Smith was executed for treason in 1707. He had been an officer in the Royal Navy under James II but, according to John Charnock’s extensive *Biographia Navalis* published at the end of the eighteenth century, as a ‘consequence of his known attachment to king James, [Smith] was dismissed from this command on the 17th of March 1688’.⁶⁸⁹ Charnock notes that ‘we should think ourselves happy would historical truth permit us to close our account here’.⁶⁹⁰ However, he regrets that ‘we must now prepare to behold [Smith] as an object of our contempt and detestation’.⁶⁹¹ This is because, after Smith had been ‘compelled to quit the service of his native country, he shamefully entered into that of France, and had the command of the *Nightingale*, a ship of twenty guns formerly taken from the English’.⁶⁹² Smith is the subject, and first-person narrator, of the ballad ‘The Sailor’s Tragedy; Or, The Last Farewel of Captain Smith’. The ballad is a ‘last dying speech’ and the singer, in the persona of Smith, confesses his ‘treason’ as he ‘oppos’d our gracious Queen’ and

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁸ Bracher, pp.195-210 (p. 209).; Christopher Benfey, ‘Strange Ways: Exile, Prison, Portraiture’, *Raritan*, 38:4 (2019), 15-29 (p. 15).

⁶⁸⁹ John Charnock, *Biographia Navalis; Or, Impartial Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of Officers of the Navy of Great Britain, from the Year 1660 to the Present Time; Drawn from the Most Authentic Sources, and Disposed in a Chronological Arrangement* (London: Printed for R. Faulder, Bond-Street, 1795), II, 192.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 192.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid, p. 193.

⁶⁹² Ibid, p. 193.

states, 'Let my ruine be a warning evermore to all mankind.'⁶⁹³ The ballad makes it explicitly clear that Smith is aware of the public reception that will greet him as a traitor commanding a foreign privateer vessel: 'When I pass along the city towards Execution Dock / I shall meet with little pity, every one at me will mock.'⁶⁹⁴

Pirates and privateers epitomised the duality of the sea in the early modern imagination. They were symptomatic of the increased commercial expansion and global trade which characterised the seventeenth century. They threatened national prosperity and the domestic lives of sailors, and represented the danger and lawlessness of the outside world which lacked structure and civilised order.

The Blue Planet

As a child, repeatedly watching the BBC series *The Blue Planet*, it was impossible not to internalise Sir David Attenborough's message that ours is a blue planet – nearly three quarters of it is covered in water. For the early modern attempts to establish long-distance global trade, this meant extended periods at sea without sight of land and having to face the myriad of dangers posed by such voyages. Although under-represented in terms of ballad subject matter, a significant proportion of the maritime community were involved in the fishing and whaling voyages which helped fund the eastward exploration of the Muscovy Company. Voyages into the freezing seas of Greenland and Svalbard tested the hardiness of sailors. The ballad reporting the feat of survival and endurance accomplished by Edward Pellham and his crew mates emphasises the providential hand of God in their survival. However, the theme of retaining civilised behaviour in the face of the anarchic Svalbard wilderness is highly significant. The outside world lacked the structure, order and safety of English society. Lengthy sojourns away from the native

⁶⁹³ 'The Sailor's Tragedy; Or, The Last Farewel of Captain Smith', in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 154-5 (p. 155; 154).

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 155.

shores threatened to erode the rationality of sailors and reduce them to the same level as the savage beasts that roamed Spitsbergen.

The power and ferocity of the sea is most easily encapsulated in popular culture by references to monsters hiding in the depths. Whales are thought to be at the heart of many such myths and legends, and the general change in attitude towards the natural world (and these animals in particular) which took place across the early modern period is encapsulated in ballads. In cartographic depictions and ballads, whales changed from fearsome monsters attacking ships to hunted quarry. Early modern Europeans were driven by a commercial mindset, which led them to extract what was useful in a bountiful world believed to be given to man by God. The focus of Granger's 1586 text is the physical immensity and marvel of the whale's existence. This is very similar to Parker's early seventeenth-century ballad. However, in Parker's work, there is an awareness of the commercial product that can be extracted from the whale. In the late-seventeenth century or in the first decades of the eighteenth, 'The Greenland Voyage' highlights the endpoint of the change in attitude towards whales – whilst still dangerous, they are now simply a crop to be harvested. This change came from the increasing exploitation of the seas, which was both a product and an enabling condition of global expansion and trade.

The inescapable danger for sailors, which dictated their lives at sea, was the weather. Sailors were helpless when confronted by the sheer power of nature. This is reflected in ballads in which classical Gods (such as Neptune) are evoked as they try to express the ferocity of this unconquerable element. The prominence of storms at sea as a theme in balladry is significant. Underpinning the lives of so many people, fluctuations in maritime trade could have drastic consequences. Ballads about storms, and the inability of people to combat them, attest to the uncertainties of maritime life. Sailors, bringing foreign wealth and exotica to England's shores, had to cross a savage and wild environment where structure and order must be preserved in order to survive. There was a clear link between seafaring and tragedy in the popular imagination and, for all the economic benefits of global trade, ballads demonstrate its human cost.

The chaotic and unstructured outside world is intertwined with the early modern imagination of pirates. It is significant that, in many ballads where piracy is not a major theme, the dangers of maritime life are encapsulated in single line references to pirates, showing their presence in the contemporary consciousness of sailors. The autonomous lifestyle offered by piracy is acknowledged as tempting, and it was facilitated by the global nature of their voyages. They could travel where they wanted, seemingly free from all jurisdiction and punishment. Early modern punishments were designed to be public spectacles, but this was even more important in terms of piracy. Not only was England's justice system shown to be effective by the punishment of pirates, but the ability to capture and rein in these global rovers also attests to the nation's naval might. The public display of condemned pirates was a visual link to global events for the audience. Pirates existed because of trade. Therefore, their words and 'last dying speeches' (even if fictitious) significantly shaped the audience's imaginations of the outside world. As seen through comparing Andrew Barton to Thomas Green, the reception of a pirate very much depended on their status and national allegiance. Green was damned because of the political context in which his alleged piracy occurred. As a symbol of the East India Company and, therefore, English power, ballads present Green as having succumbed to the desire to act as an autonomous pirate free from control once at sea. The ballads about Green frame the audience's immediate political concerns in a global context. The dangers of international trade are shown by the ease with which Green supposedly committed his crimes (all that was required was to be free from oversight and witnesses). The barbarity of Green's crimes is emphasised in reference to the perceived savage cultures which populated the outside world. For the early modern ballad audience, piracy was in the eye of the beholder. The fictitious privateer in the ballad *Love and Loyalty* is committing almost the same crime of which Green was charged. However, as a romantic national hero, this privateer is to be celebrated not vilified. Piracy was a crime which was secondary to national and political concerns.

So far, this thesis has examined the ways in which the global world of the seventeenth century was imagined by focusing on the representations of sailors (who brought the outside world to England) and the dangers they faced on the journeys between various colonies, plantations and their home ports. The second half of this thesis will focus on the representation of these colonies and non-European spaces in ballads, as well as the indigenous societies with which England invariably came into contact.

Chapter Three: Establishing a Foothold



Figure 20: Man astride the world from *An Invitation to Lubberland*. (1685?), NLS, Crawford.EB.1116, EBBA 33778. Reproduced with permission from materials on loan to the National Library of Scotland by the Balcarres Trust.

The Athenian philosopher Plato introduced the story of the Island of Atlantis in the fourth century BC. Whilst the story garnered relatively little attention in the Hellenistic, Roman and early medieval periods, it was revitalised in the late medieval and early modern eras.⁶⁹⁵ The story of Atlantis did not influence Christopher Columbus' westward expedition, but his discoveries radically altered the way Plato's story was received.⁶⁹⁶ The American continent was not mentioned in the Bible or in the works of classical antiquity. Therefore, the fact that Plato's *Timaeus* and *Critias* had spoken of a great, lost land in the western sea was helpful to many scholars trying to reconcile the existence of the continent with their established knowledge

⁶⁹⁵ The story of Atlantis has proved enduringly popular and throughout history has been co-opted to support a range of nationalist and extreme ideologies. See Stephen P. Kershaw, *A Brief History of Atlantis: Plato's Ideal State* (London: Robinson, 2017).

⁶⁹⁶ Kershaw, p. 163.

base.⁶⁹⁷ Atlantis was by no means the only possible island waiting in the Atlantic Ocean. Brasil Island, better known as Hy Brasil, was a phantom island thought to exist to the west of Ireland. It appears on over three hundred nautical charts and several expeditions were undertaken in search of it.⁶⁹⁸ Other such islands were Frisland (a semi-imagined land near Greenland) and ‘Phantom Island’ (an island referred to by Gerald of Wales in the twelfth century).⁶⁹⁹ With the discovery of America, these tales of mythical and imagined lands became conflated and overlapped with accounts that were returning from the new continent.

One particularly persistent imaginary space was the land of Cockaigne – a place of excess in all forms.⁷⁰⁰ The myth was widely disseminated across western Europe and first appears in English in the Anglo-Irish *Land of Cokaygne* (c.1300). It also later appears in Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) and the 1685 ballad *An Invitation to Lubberland*.⁷⁰¹ *An Invitation to Lubberland* plays on many of the Cockaigne tradition’s themes, such as sexual freedom and gluttony. However, being written in the late-seventeenth century, it was influenced by the increasing contact with the outside world and its depictions of bounty and riches reflect contemporary imaginations about what such foreign lands could contain. The ballad describes a ship, recently arrived from Lubberland, ‘now riding in the River’; and Lubberland is located as not being more than ‘two thousand Leagues from Dover’.⁷⁰² Figure 20 shows a man standing proudly astride the world, praising Lubberland. This is an excellent visual representation of the global dominance which could enrich England, and Lubberland is represented as containing all of the riches of the world. As well as every rock being ‘refined Gold’, all the people wear garments of ‘Silver, silk, and Satten’. They also live in buildings whose walls are made of ‘Nutmegs, pepper, Cloves &

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 165.

⁶⁹⁸ Barbara Freitag, *Hy Brasil: The Metamorphosis of an Island – From Cartographic Error to Celtic Elysium* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), p. xii.

⁶⁹⁹ See Donald S. Johnson, *Phantom Islands of the Atlantic: The Legends of Seven Lands that Never Were*, rev. edn (London: Walker and Company, 1996); Freitag, p. 55.

⁷⁰⁰ Ben Parsons, ‘Fantasy and Fallacy in the Old French Cokaingne’, *Viator*, 46:3 (2015), 173-194 (p. 173).

⁷⁰¹ Ibid, p. 173.

⁷⁰² *An Invitation to Lubberland, With an Account of the great Plenty of that Fruitful Country. There is all sorts of Fowl and Fish, with Wine, and store of Brandy; Ye have there what your hearts can wish, the Hills are Sugar-Candy.* (1685?), NLS, Crawford.EB.1116, EBBA 33778. Lubberland is also referenced in *A Cart Load of Cuckolds* (RI 263).

Mace'.⁷⁰³ Lubberland is not an English plantation, or even geographically fixed. However, the descriptions of abundance and plenty mirror many of the early accounts, found in ballads, news reports and travel literature, of travels in America and the Caribbean.

This chapter examines English activity in North America and the Caribbean, and it aims to demonstrate the different and conflicting ways in which the area and its inhabitants were represented in ballads. Whilst there were strong religious motivations behind migration and colonial expansion, especially for dissenting groups, this chapter will mainly examine ballads advocating colonialism's political and economic benefit.⁷⁰⁴ The first section will focus upon ballads supporting the Virginia Company's attempt to establish a colony in America and which extol the virtues of trade. These will then be compared to a similar ballad, from nearly a century later, written in support of the ill-fated Darien Scheme. America was depicted as an empty, virgin land of bounty and economic potential, from which colonists would extract the natural riches of the land and promote trade. One of the largest economic exports of the Virginia colony was tobacco, and ballads demonstrate the conflicting discourses surrounding the cultural practice of smoking. In ballads, the colonies are also depicted as places of hard labour and indentured servitude, where innocent citizens could be taken against their will. The threat of kidnap and indentured servitude hung over many of the people living in English port cities, contributing to an imagination of the English colonies as places of punishment and cruelty for those that had to work there. The colonisation of the American continent also represents a major moment of intercultural contact between Europeans and indigenous societies. The final part of this chapter will examine the representation of Native Americans in ballads. These are few and far between, and any accuracy in their depiction is subordinate to political interests of furthering various colonial agendas – either to fight the indigenous people, ally with them or convert them.

⁷⁰³ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁴ Ballads describing the migration of dissenting Christian sects are generally satirical and mocking in nature. See, for instance, *The Quakers farewel to England, or their voyage to New Jersey, scituate on the continent of Virginia, and bordering upon New England* (London: printed for J.G., 1675) ESTC R6302.

‘It is to plant a Kingdome sure, / where sauadge people dwell’

English colonial activity in America was driven by the exploitation of economic opportunities. Possibly the strongest manifestation of the link between commerce and political authority (a connection already discussed in the previous chapters) was the Virginia Company of London. This joint-stock company, until its dissolution in 1624, orchestrated the burgeoning English Empire. Therefore, the Company had a vested interest in promoting particular representations of the Virginia colony. The ballad *Londons Lotterie*, written in 1612, was published to promote the Virginia Company’s first lotteries, which helped to fund its voyages.⁷⁰⁵ In this ballad, the Virginia Company disseminated a carefully constructed image of Virginia. Unlike other black-letter ballads, this was a commissioned product and, therefore, not driven by ballad market concerns. The Virginia Company produced a range of literature to advertise its lotteries to a broad spectrum of society. A prose pamphlet was published around the same time as *Londons Lotterie*, but this is no longer extant.⁷⁰⁶ Catherine Armstrong states that ‘the most significant and lasting achievement’ of the Elizabethans was ‘to encourage ordinary English men and women to believe that there were fortunes to be had by everyone’ in America.⁷⁰⁷ *Londons Lotterie* did not need to cater to popular taste in the same manner as other black-letter ballads. However, it uses a number of rhetorical techniques, playing upon contemporary feelings of patriotism, heroism, religious faith and material desire, to encourage investment.⁷⁰⁸

After establishing the settlement at Jamestown, the Virginia Company did not have sufficient funds or resources to maintain and expand the colony.⁷⁰⁹ The lotteries were set up to

⁷⁰⁵ Misha Ewen, ‘Women Investors and the Virginia Company in the Early Seventeenth Century’, *The Historical Journal*, (2019), 1-22 (p. 2).

⁷⁰⁶ Firth, *An American Garland*, p. xxi.

⁷⁰⁷ Armstrong, p. 7.

⁷⁰⁸ Such a rhetorical strategy was also applied in more expensive literature targeted at an educated audience. George Peckham, influenced by classical rhetoricians, united the motivations of honour, philanthropy and profit in his tract to encourage colonial settlement. Armstrong, p. 13.

⁷⁰⁹ Emily Rose, ‘The End of the Gamble: The Termination of the Virginia Lotteries in March 1621’, *Parliamentary History*, 27:2 (2008), 175-197 (p. 175).

attract investments for the colony and to replenish the Virginia Company's finances.⁷¹⁰ The idea was that people would invest varying amounts of money, depending on their means, and be entered into a lottery. This provided an incentive for entrance into a lottery. People could make a sizeable profit on the returns, whilst the steady cash flow for the Company was used to finance voyages to Virginia.⁷¹¹ This was not an entirely new economic model. In the later middle ages, individual merchants formed partnerships by pooling resources for short-term objectives, such as a single voyage.⁷¹² The uniqueness of the historical moment captured by *Londons Lotterie* is that it coincided with the rise of the chartered trading companies (which was linked to the expansion of foreign trade).⁷¹³ There were two main forms of chartered companies: regulated and joint-stock. Both were incorporated by royal charter, monopolistic in nature and designed to promote the interests of the monarchy at home and abroad.⁷¹⁴ The main difference was that joint-stock companies traded on behalf of their shareholders, whilst regulated companies were associations of merchants that set out regulations for trade – leaving individual members free to make their own investment decisions.⁷¹⁵ Joint-stock companies increased during this period for four reasons:

- 1) An increase in shipping volume and the distance travelled meant that large sums of capital (beyond the means of individuals or partnerships) needed to be amassed.
- 2) The distance of colonies from their imperial home country demanded the ability to finance and coordinate defences without governmental control and diplomatic influence.

⁷¹⁰ John Wareing, *Indentured Migration and the Servant Trade from London to America, 1618-1718: 'There is a Great Want of Servants'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 21.

⁷¹¹ Rose, pp.175-197 (p. 175).

⁷¹² K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957), p. 27.

⁷¹³ Ann M. Carlos and Stephen Nicholas, 'Agency Problems in Early Chartered Companies: The Case of the Hudson's Bay Company', *Journal of Economic History*, 50:4 (1990), 853-875 (p. 853-854).

⁷¹⁴ K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company 1600-1640*, The Emergence of International Business 1200-1800, IV (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 24-25.; William A. Pettigrew and Tristan Stein, 'The Public Rivalry Between Regulated and Joint Stock Corporations and the Development of Seventeenth-century Corporate Constitutions', *Historical Research*, 90:248 (2017), 341-362 (p. 344-345).

⁷¹⁵ Chaudhuri, p. 25.

3) Joint-stock companies were more suited to thrive off a high number of small investments (meaning a wider span of the population could invest) rather than having to rely on a few significant investments.

4) In order to obtain a chartered monopoly, a company was required to be incorporated.⁷¹⁶

The joint-stock company model, which developed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, became a powerful force in the early modern world and was inextricably linked to colonial expansion. Two of the most famous joint-stock companies, which have left long legacies of colonial exploitation, are the English East India Company (EIC) and the Dutch East India Company (VOC).⁷¹⁷ In the seventeenth century, the English and the Dutch took primacy in world trade at the expense of other European countries.⁷¹⁸ The Dutch and English were so successful that, by 1622, of the total 7 million pounds of pepper that was brought into Europe, they transported 5.6 million.⁷¹⁹ The main difference between the two companies was that the EIC was a private firm with no direct government involvement, whereas the VOC's charter reduced the power of shareholders and gave the government the power to change the strategic aims of the Company.⁷²⁰ With governmental backing, the VOC became the most powerful trading corporation in the seventeenth century. It was a unique politico-commercial institution that could only exist in the United Provinces (the world's only federal republic), where a collection of towns and governments, committed to encouraging trade, held military and naval power.⁷²¹ Regulated and joint-stock companies, with their monopolistic charters, were central to commercial life in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. The joint-stock model led to the

⁷¹⁶ Davies, *The Royal African Company*, p. 37.

⁷¹⁷ Timothy Brook states that the Dutch East India Company is to corporate capitalism what Benjamin Franklin's kite is to electronics: the beginning of something momentous that could not have been predicted at the time. See Brook, *Vermeer's Hat*, p. 15.

⁷¹⁸ Douglas A. Irwin, 'Mercantilism as Strategic Trade Policy: The Anglo-Dutch Rivalry for the East India Trade', *Journal of Political Economy*, 99:6 (1991), 1296-1314 (p. 1301). France did not form an East India Company until 1644; whilst Spain and Portugal, although navally dominant in the sixteenth century, were limited to different spheres of activity by the 1493 papal decree; and Portugal in particular 'only distinguished itself by its rate of decline' in the face of Dutch opposition. See Irwin, pp.1296-1314 (p. 1301).

⁷¹⁹ Chaudhuri, p. 144.

⁷²⁰ Irwin, pp.1296-1314 (p. 1306; 1307).

⁷²¹ Brook, p. 16.; Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 71.

rise of highly powerful institutions, such as the EIC, the Bank of England and the South Sea Company.⁷²² The significance of the development of joint-stock companies for European and global history cannot be understated. Their development was both a product of, and a contributing factor to, the increasingly global nature of the seventeenth-century world. Ballads capture this shift in many ways, but few do so as directly as *Londons Lotterie*.

The need of joint-stock companies to appeal to a wide-ranging audience (so as to maintain a high number of small investments) can be seen in *Londons Lottierie*. It addresses a socially extensive audience, from gallants and gentlemen to maids, widows, wives, farmers and countrymen.⁷²³ The ballad presents three benefits for those that invest in the Virginia Company's lotteries: they will have contributed to 'the good of Virginia'; aided their 'natiue Countrie'; and they will have taken action to improve their lives, as 'Good lucke standes now in readiness' to advance their fortunes. The potential prizes to be won are not specifically named in the ballad. The audience is only told that there is an abundance of them and that they are highly valuable: 'Heere pryzes are of great account, / not simple, plaine, and poore; / But unto Thousands doe surmount.'⁷²⁴ Captain John Smith reported that the prizes were to be paid in 'Mony, Plate, or other goods reasonably rated'.⁷²⁵ Whilst depicting investment in the Company as a noble and gentlemanly pursuit, the ballad is strikingly inclusive in nature, making sure people from all levels of society saw the benefits of contributing. The ballad claims that a man who lives plainly and 'knowes no joyes of Gold, / For one small Crowne may get a share, / of twice two Thousand told'.⁷²⁶ The lotteries themselves were designed to be inclusive as well, with many prizes awarded.

⁷²² Philip Stern, 'Corporate Virtue: The Languages of Empire in Early Modern British Asia', *Renaissance Studies*, 26:4 (2012), 510-530 (p. 511).; Davies, p. 37.

⁷²³ *Londons Lotterie: With an encouragement to the furtherance thereof, for the good of Virginia, and the benefite of this out natiue Countrie; wishing good fortune to all that venture in the same.* (1612), PL, Pepys Ballads, 1.190-191, EBBA 20085, RI 1520. Entered into the Stationers' Company Register as *Londons Lottry* on 30 July 1612. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 133).

⁷²⁴ 'Londons Lotterie.', EBBA 20085, RI 1520.

⁷²⁵ 'Generall Historie of Virginia by Captain John Smith, 1624; The Fourth Booke', in *Narratives of Early Virginia 1606-1625*, ed. by Lyon G. Tyler (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907; repr. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1959), pp. 289-408 (p. 320).

⁷²⁶ *Londons Lotterie.*, EBBA 20085, RI 1520.

The largest of the possible winnings was a single prize worth 4,500 crowns. This was then followed by two prizes each worth 2,000 crowns; four prizes each worth 1,000 crowns; and 1,000 prizes each worth two crowns.⁷²⁷ The high number of prizes on offer meant that people were more likely to invest since the probability of returns, which would cover the cost of small investments, was high – not to mention the chance of a significant financial return from the larger prizes.

The ballad contains repeated imperative lines urging the audience to participate in the lotteries, each time promising that rewards would follow. The ballad depicts investment as not only brave, but also chivalrous. It evokes imagery of epic quests and romances as it calls to gallants and knights to invest their money, with emotive language such as ‘take currence, and be bold’ and ‘let nothing daunt your willing mindes’.⁷²⁸ People hearing this ballad were challenged to compare themselves to a chivalric hero and act nobly. The implication being that, if they invested money, they would be acting like gentlemen and knights – becoming nobler by association. This idea is reinforced by the line stating that those who receive winnings from a lottery ‘may spend their dayes like Gentlemen, / in credite and good name’.⁷²⁹ The portrayal of those who partook in lotteries as noble gentlemen, as well as encouraging investment, may have helped combat the often negative perception of lotteries. Many contemporaries felt that lotteries conned people out of their money. Other critics questioned the costs of running a lottery; complained about the delay in the delivery of prizes; mistrusted the fees paid to managers and local sponsors; and frequently demanded a full and open accounting of the process.⁷³⁰ Therefore, the ways in which lotteries were advertised were highly important. Lotteries frequently appeared in commercial

⁷²⁷ ‘Generall Historie of Virginia by Captain John Smith, 1624; The Fourth Booke’, pp. 289-408 (p. 319).

⁷²⁸ *Londons Lotterie.*, EBBA 20085, RI 1520.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁰ Rose, pp.175-197 (p. 176).

business advertisements and the English press provided easy access to information about private and state lotteries.⁷³¹

By emphasising the link between investing in the lotteries and the perceived qualities of nobility, *Londons Lotterie* seems to be playing on the drive of middling and lower classes to emulate their social superiors. This has been one of the most persuasive and powerful theories in most accounts of the increasing consumption of goods.⁷³² This is an important factor, but it should not be overstated. There was a social dimension to the ownership of goods, but those higher up the hierarchy did not necessarily own socially distinctive goods most often.⁷³³ If social emulation was a simple explanation, then we would expect larger proportions of the social elite to own the majority of such goods and to be the first to own new commodities. However, a higher proportion of tradesmen and professionals owned the goods associated with the ‘frontstage’ areas of the house (with the exception of clocks).⁷³⁴ Furthermore, whilst the gentry were among the earliest to own china and consume hot drinks, they were not in advance of the dealers and the craftsmen.⁷³⁵ This is not to state that the drive of social emulation had no impact upon desires to enter the lotteries. It is important to bear in mind that social factors are varied and the desire for emulation is itself more complex than the manner in which it is often presented. In this ballad, I believe that the themes of personal betterment and independence are more significant than emulation. This becomes particularly noteworthy when considering the women hearing this ballad.

The ballad suggests that, amongst the varied groups it addresses, women of all ages have a duty to invest their money. It proposes that unwedded girls can increase their dowries through the lotteries and also speaks to wives and widows saying that, with investments, ‘you may

⁷³¹ Amy M. Froide, *Silent Partners: Women as Public Investors during Britain's Financial Revolution, 1690-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 33.

⁷³² Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 194.

⁷³³ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

advance both you and yours.⁷³⁶ In this way, the lotteries are presented as paths to financial independence where women could provide for their families in difficult economic circumstances. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fictional portrayals of English lotteries in pamphlets and other literature often focused upon single and widowed women, arguing that winning a lottery prize would allow them to marry or economically maintain themselves.⁷³⁷ That popular print was advising women how to invest their money is notable for this period. The interweaving of women, work and money was mostly represented by early modern writers in an ambivalent and often simply negative manner.⁷³⁸ However, women were a crucial part of London's growth. They filled a variety of roles: widows continuing their husbands' trades; married women with independent livelihoods; and single women in the service industry.⁷³⁹ In spite of the patriarchal systems in place, this provided women with active economic agency.⁷⁴⁰ Female shopkeepers were hidden by a property law that defined a husband's ownership of his wife's property; and women's roles in consumption were obscured by the contemporary practice of shopkeepers maintaining customer accounts under the names of the male head of a household.⁷⁴¹ *Londons Lotterie* is significant because it describes a moment when women were shaping the fortunes of English overseas expansion as investors as well as just colonists.⁷⁴² One of the most striking features of *Londons Lotterie* is that it aims to attract female investors, and this demonstrates that the Virginia Company recognised the wider contribution which women could make to colonisation.⁷⁴³ Furthermore, *Londons Lotterie* is noteworthy as it pre-empted the portrayals of women participating in lotteries to secure a marriage portion or increase their personal wealth,

⁷³⁶ *Londons Lotterie.*, EBBA 20085, RI 1520.

⁷³⁷ Froide, p. 37. For more information on women's participation in lotteries, see Froide, *Silent Partners*, especially chapter two.

⁷³⁸ Ann Christensen, 'Merchant Wives, Agency, and Ambivalence in Early Modern Studies', *Early Modern Women*, 3 (2008), 217-223 (p. 217).

⁷³⁹ Kate Kelsey Staples, 'Identifying Women Proprietors in Wills from Fifteenth-Century London', *Early Modern Women*, 3 (2008), 239-243 (p. 239).

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁷⁴¹ Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, 'Consumers, identities, and consumption spaces in early-modern England', *Environment and Planning A*, 28:1 (1996), 25-45 (p. 34).

⁷⁴² Ewen, pp.1-22 (p. 4).

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

which were common in printed literature after 1660.⁷⁴⁴ The ballad provides an insight into the attempts of an early joint-stock company to fund itself from all possible sources, including by appealing to the personal finances of women (whose economic agency has often been obscured or underestimated).

Women were also integral to the long-term success of the Virginia colony in another respect. The early, male colonists resented the harsh military-style regime to which they were subjected. Seeing themselves as the first generation of settlers rather than a garrison, they expected the comforts of family life.⁷⁴⁵ The records of the Virginia Company show that its members were concerned about the number of men who were working and making money in Virginia and then returning to England. Consequently, it was suggested that the Company should send ‘one hundredth young Maides to become wives; that wives, children and familie might make [the men] lesse moueable and settle them, together with their Posteritie in that Soile’.⁷⁴⁶ In early 1620, ninety women sailed to Virginia. The Company announced its intention to send another hundred women; but no more were sent until 1621, when fifty-seven departed to become wives for the settlers.⁷⁴⁷ The women represented various societal groupings. Alongside criminals and waifs from the streets of London were daughters of the gentry or of artisans and tradesmen.⁷⁴⁸ These women were recommended by neighbours, pastors and churchwardens and they were selected carefully regarding the skills they brought with them.⁷⁴⁹ Establishing a successful colony was essential to the Virginia Company and ensuring that there were a sufficient number of

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 2.

⁷⁴⁵ David R. Ransome, ‘Wives for Virginia, 1621’, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 48:1 (1991), 3-18 (p. 4).

⁷⁴⁶ ‘At a Great and Generall Quarter Court Houlden for Virginia on Wednesday the 17th of Nouemb 1619’, in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols, ed. by Susan M. Kingsbury (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), I (1906), pp. 265-274 (p. 269).

⁷⁴⁷ Ransome, pp.3-18 (p. 5; 3). The women were sent in three ships throughout the summer: the *Marmaduke*, the *Warwick*, and the *Tiger*.

⁷⁴⁸ Ransome, pp.3-18 (p. 18).

⁷⁴⁹ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ‘The Founding Years of Virginia: And the United States’, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 104:1 (1996), 103-112 (p. 106). The work of David R. Ransome and Karen Ordahl Kupperman has rectified the earlier error of Charles Firth, who believed this emigration to be entirely forced rather than voluntary and to only concern criminals and ‘suspected evil livers’. See Firth, *An American Garland*, p. xxviii.

women was vital. There is a ballad which seems to call to women, advertising such a voyage to populate a colony.

The ballad, called *The Maydens of Londons brave adventures*, was written by Laurence Price. The ballad is addressed to ‘all you very merry London Girls’.⁷⁵⁰ It states that there is ‘a Voyage now at hand’ and that the women will be following in the footsteps of others who ‘are already gone before now’. It promises wealth and an easy life in a land where ‘there are Gold and Silver Mines / and treasures much abounding’, and states that the reason the maidens are sent is ‘to inhabit that fair Land / and make a new plantation’.⁷⁵¹ At an initial glance, the ballad appears to be a specific advertisement – just like *Londons Lotterie*. With no other information, it would seem logical to date the publication of this ballad as late 1620 or early 1621 (after the initial voyage, but before the second). Yet this ballad was actually entered into the Stationers’ Company Register by Francis Grove in March 1656.⁷⁵² Jennifer Potter believes that the impressive sight of the women’s departure may have lingered in people’s imaginations, re-emerging as a folk memory to inspire works like Price’s ballad.⁷⁵³ However, there is a far more significant and immediate reason for its publication in the mid-1650s, rather than it just being a coincidental expression of cultural memory.

Under Oliver Cromwell, the Interregnum government launched an attack on the Spanish West Indies, hoping to bring these colonies under English control (the first time the English assaulted another European power’s colonial plantation).⁷⁵⁴ This was the Western Design of 1654-55, the motivations for which were manifold and overlapping. Anti-Hispanic feeling partially lingered over from the Elizabethan era; but, in addition, Spain was a global Catholic

⁷⁵⁰ *The Maydens of Londons brave adventures, Or, A Boon Voyage intended for the Sea, Some gone before, and some to follow: Their Sweet-hearts are resolv’d also This noble Voyage for to go. Because they hold their Love so dear, As in this Ditty you shall hear.* (1623-1661?), BL, Roxburghe 3.224-225, EBBA 30869, RI 1652.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

⁷⁵² Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 143). (RI 1652).

⁷⁵³ Jennifer Potter, *The Jamestown Brides: The Story of England’s “Maids for Virginia”* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 35.

⁷⁵⁴ Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (London: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 177.

power which Cromwell regarded as England's providential enemy.⁷⁵⁵ By weakening Spain's economy, through attacking its colonies, England would become financially stronger and its Atlantic and Caribbean interests would be furthered. When the English fleet was dispatched under the joint command of Generals William Penn and Robert Venables in December 1654, an emphatic victory, underlining the godly truth of English Protestantism, was anticipated.⁷⁵⁶ However, the English were completely defeated at Hispaniola and only managed to conquer Jamaica very slowly and at great cost.⁷⁵⁷ This was a severe shock to the English and undermined deeply rooted assumptions about religion and national character.⁷⁵⁸

The English were so confident of success in the Western Design of 1654-55 that, in an unprecedented move, women accompanied the expeditionary force to contribute to the colonisation effort which was expected to quickly follow.⁷⁵⁹ When the Spanish proved surprisingly formidable, General Venables claimed that the women were brought to be nurses to the troops. However, they had clearly come as members of the households of various men in the expeditionary force.⁷⁶⁰ I am not proposing that the ballad is about the departure of women as part of the Western Design fleet, but rather that it should be read in light of a general expectation of military success and imminent colonial expansion. Cromwell was eager for godly colonists to migrate to Jamaica, but he encountered significant difficulties in trying to persuade other English colonists in America and the Caribbean to contribute to the scheme.⁷⁶¹

Ballads were used to promote some of Cromwell's other enterprises, such as his campaign to raise money to help Protestants who had survived massacres in Lorraine and

⁷⁵⁵ David Smith, 'The Western Design and the spiritual geopolitics of Cromwellian foreign policy', *Itinerario*, 40:2 (2016), 279-292 (p. 281).

⁷⁵⁶ Nicole Greenspan, 'News and the Politics of Information in the Mid Seventeenth Century: the Western Design and the Conquest of Jamaica', *History Workshop Journal*, 69 (2010), 1-26 (p. 1).; Carla Gardina Pestana, 'English Character and the Fiasco of the Western Design', *Early American Studies*, 3:1 (2005), 1-31 (p. 3).

⁷⁵⁷ Smith, 'The Western Design', pp.279-292 (p. 283). This acquisition would eventually be seen as beneficial to England, but the campaign was deemed a failure in Cromwell's time. See Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, p. 180.

⁷⁵⁸ See Smith, 'The Western Design', pp.279-292 and Pestana, 'English Character', pp.1-31.

⁷⁵⁹ Pestana, 'English Character', pp.1-31 (p. 27; 28).

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 28.

⁷⁶¹ See Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, p. 178-180.

Poland.⁷⁶² Whilst far from an ardent supporter of the Protectorate, Laurence Price ‘learned to live’ with the governments that succeeded Charles I’s execution.⁷⁶³ Therefore, the popular expectation of colonial conquest may have inspired Price to think back on recent history and to write a ballad about the departure of women going to ensure colonial longevity. References to a hostile Spain can be found in the final three verses of the ballad. These gain political significance when understood in the context of potential new plantations being opened in the wake of war with Spain: ‘great Mars such Fortune send us, / That no false Spaniard may betray’; ‘Take courage now my noble hearts, / let not Jack Spaniard Jeer us’; and ‘Our forraign foes we do not fear / [...] / wele venture far and near / [...] / Through old America or Spain’.⁷⁶⁴ Potter compares the lifestyle promised in the ballad to that which the women who sailed to Virginia in 1621 actually experienced.⁷⁶⁵ To do this is to lose the ballad’s immediate political context. Acknowledging this context highlights the ballad’s descriptions of foreign wealth as enticements to support Cromwell’s expansionist aims and seize these riches from Spain.

Whilst *The Maydens of Londons brave adventures* is more concerned with promoting future colonial settlement than a romantic re-imagining of the Virginia Company’s colonial efforts, religious motivations were prominent in both enterprises. In the 1650s, Cromwell framed the conflict with Spain as a religious duty. Similarly, a religious obligation to contribute to colonial endeavours in Virginia can be found in *Londons Lotterie*. The purpose of the colony, according to *Londons Lotterie*, is ‘to plant a Kingdome sure, / where sauadge people dwell: / God will favour Christians still’.⁷⁶⁶ This forms a comparison showing that, as the early modern Christian audience would expect, God will favour Christians over ‘savages’. The motif of God granting favour to

⁷⁶² McShane Jones, “‘Rime and reason.’”, p. 181.

⁷⁶³ Angela McShane, *Price, Laurence* [online]. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, updated 11 June 2020 [cited 09 January 2021]. Available from: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22759>>. McShane challenges the prior held belief that Price was guilty of ‘trimming’ politically or morally. She states that, in fact, Price maintained a ‘consistent political and religious outlook’, remaining loyal to the Church of England and then an unequivocally Protestant monarchy. He also attacked the rise of sects and lamented the decline of the Church.

⁷⁶⁴ *The Maydens of Londons brave adventures.*, EBBA 30869, RI 1652.

⁷⁶⁵ Potter, p. 36.

⁷⁶⁶ *Londons Lotterie.*, EBBA 20085, RI 1520.

those who invest in the Company is emphasised: ‘Cast in your Lottes with willing hand, / God may good fortune send.’ This is particularly evident in the encouragement to farmers, whom the ballad states that God has already blessed. It states that, if they ‘to this good worke set helping hand’, then God will send more blessings. God is shown to support the Virginia colony to such a great extent, that it is suggested in the ballad that the lotteries will benefit everyone, regardless of whether they win a prize or not:

Let no man thinke that he shall loose,
though he no Prize possesse:
His substance to Virginia goes,
which God, no doubt will blesse:
And in short time send from that land,
much rich commoditie;
So shall we thinke all well bestowd,
upon this Latterie.⁷⁶⁷

A religious dimension, to what is essentially a gambling advertisement (even if framed as being in the national interest), may seem surprising.⁷⁶⁸ However, there was a significant link between the Virginia Company and the Church of England. The clergy had always been prominent in the promotion of English colonial projects, and the Virginia Company was no exception (sermons were employed as the principle means of promoting the colony from the Company’s foundation in 1606 until its dissolution in 1624).⁷⁶⁹ The Virginia Company was astute in its choice of promotional mediums. Print and sermons were major forms of news dissemination in the early modern period; and, like ballads, sermons did not rely on the literacy

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁸ The sociologist Max Webber famously argued that there was a relationship between Protestantism and a capitalist drive. He argued that, for Protestants, wealth and its acquisition was only suspect when it tempted the devout towards laziness and a sinful enjoyment of life. Striving for riches was not necessarily sinful in and of itself. In fact, it was seen as morally reprehensible not to be performing one’s vocational calling to the best of one’s ability or failing to make the most of the providential opportunities offered by God. Webber’s work has been highly influential and sparked tremendous debate. He is most often criticised for misunderstanding the nature of the Catholic Counter Reformation; representing entrepreneurs as emotionally detached; and switching between seeing Protestantism as encouraging economic rationalisation, causing the motivational apparatus of capitalism or being responsible for capitalism itself. However, despite this, Webber’s contribution to our intellectual heritage is enormous and *The Protestant Ethic* is still a main text in university sociology courses. See Max Weber, *Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* [*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: The Revised 1920 Edition*], trans. by Stephen Kalberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) and Jack Barbalet, *Webber, Passion and Profits: ‘The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism’ in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁷⁶⁹ Andrew Fitzmaurice, ‘Every man, that prints, adventures’: The Rhetoric of the Virginia Company Sermons’, in *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 24-42 (p. 26; 24).

of their audience. For the Virginia Company, these two mediums were crucial to the success of their endeavour.⁷⁷⁰ In *Londons Lotterie*, religious duty and the potential for personal profit are married by the lines, 'Heere profite doth with pleasure joyne, / and bids each cheerful heart, / To this high prayesd enterprise, / performe a Christian part.'⁷⁷¹ The Virginia Company utilised all means at their disposal to encourage investment in the colony and disseminate positive representations of life there. This was necessary as their image of a bountiful paradise was being undermined by reports of hardship, suffering, starvation and even cannibalism.⁷⁷²

One ballad which brazenly contradicts rumours of the colonists' suffering is *Newes from Virginia, Of the Happy Ariuall of that famous & worthy knight Sir Thomas Gates and well reputed and valiant Captaine Newport into England*, written by Richard Rich (a Virginia colonist) and printed in his 1610 pamphlet *Newes from Virginia. The Lost Flocke Triumphant*. Rich wrote this ballad a few months after he safely arrived in Jamestown.⁷⁷³ It tells the story of the *Sea Venture*, which was caught in a storm whilst sailing to Virginia and ran aground on Bermuda. The colonists spent forty-two weeks on Bermuda, and they constructed two new ships in which they successfully completed the voyage. This story proved an excellent advertisement for the Virginia Company and colony, as it could be presented as the accomplishments of brave English men and women who struggled against the forces of nature, survived and arrived in Virginia to rejuvenate the colony.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 24.

⁷⁷¹ *Londons Lotterie*, EBBA 20085, RI 1520.

⁷⁷² The alleged cannibalism took place in the 'Starving Time' of the winter of 1609-10. Morgan writes that there were 500 people in the colony and by the spring only 60 remained – providing the only authentic examples of cannibalism in Virginia. See Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*, 2nd edn (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), chapter four. However, Rachel B. Herrmann argues that the existence of cannibalism in Virginia is not easily verifiable and should not be stated as a bare fact in the chronology of early Jamestown. She continues that there is evidence on both sides but that, of the five principal authors of this period, only one was present during the winter of 1609-10 and he did not claim to witness cannibalism. Furthermore, she notes there was a vested interest in the case of the early colonial leaders to defend themselves from blame and explain their failures to sustain the colony. The narrative of cannibalism allowed these men to assure colonial investors that the Starving Time was a freak disaster that would not occur again. See Rachel B. Herrmann, 'The "Tragicall historie": Cannibalism and Abundance in Colonial Jamestown', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 68:1 (2011), 47-74. For more on the ways in which the Virginia company balanced glorifying the 'heroic sufferings' of settlers and still maintaining that America was a land of opportunity, see Armstrong, *Writing North America*.

⁷⁷³ Peter Martin, *The Pleasure Gardens of Virginia: From Jamestown to Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 3.

The ballad was central to this presentation of the colony. Rich takes time in the pamphlet's preface to emphasise the impartiality of his account, emphatically rejecting any inclination of the reader to imagine that he was hired to present a flattering account of the colony: 'No, I disclaime it.'⁷⁷⁴ He stresses his role as a simple man ('I am a Soldier, blunt and plaine') who was a witness to the events described: 'I haue knowne the Voyage, past the danger, seene that honorable work of Virginia.'⁷⁷⁵ However, these protestations of impartiality and disinterested observation should not be taken at face value. The representation of Virginia in Rich's ballad has many of the same themes as other writings of colonial promoters, and his description highlights his vested interest in the enterprise. The ability of the English to survive and thrive (a trait beneficial to the Company and its investors) is emphasised. The ballad describes how, with only one dog to help them, the colonists survived on the hogs, fowl and tortoises that populated Bermuda: 'A thousand hogges that dogge did kill, / their hunger to sustaine.'⁷⁷⁶ Rich maintains that it is a testament to the hardiness and strength of the English that, in all the time they were stranded on Bermuda, only two men died. Even this loss of life is negated by the promised fecundity of the colonists: 'And for the losse of those two soules, / which were accounted deere: / A Sonne and Daughter then was borne / and were Baptized there.'

After having constructed two new ships, these colonists sail to Virginia. The ballad does not omit references to the dire situation they encountered there, noting that they found 'The

⁷⁷⁴ R. Rich, *Newes from Virginia. The Lost Flocke Triumphant. With the happy Arriuell of that famous and worthy Knight Sr. Thomas Gates: and the well reputed & valiant Captaine Mr. Christopher Newporte, and others, into England. With the maner of their distresse in the Iland of Deuils (otherwise called Bermoothawes) where they remained 42. weekes, & builded two Pynaces, in which they returned into Virginia.* By R. Rich, *Gent. one of the Voyage* (London: Printed by Edward Allde, and are to be solde by John Wright at Christ-Church dore. 1610).

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁶ Richard Rich, 'Newes from Virginia Of The Happy Ariuall of that famous & worthy knight Sir Thomas Gates and well reputed and valiant Captaine Newport into England', in *Newes from Virginia. The Lost Flocke Triumphant. With the happy Arriuell of that famous and worthy Knight Sr. Thomas Gates: and the well reputed & valiant Captaine Mr. Christopher Newporte, and others, into England. With the maner of their distresse in the Iland of Deuils (otherwise called Bermoothawes) where they remained 42. weekes, & builded two Pynaces, in which they returned into Virginia.* By R. Rich, *Gent. one of the Voyage* (London: Printed by Edward Allde, and are to be solde by John Wright at Christ-Church dore. 1610).

English-men opprest with greife / and discontent in minde'.⁷⁷⁷ However, it is significant that the ballad mentions these conditions in one verse, and then quickly moves on to assure its audience of the reforms and rejuvenation brought by the new colonists and their leaders:

And in the mid'st of discontent,
came noble Delaware:
He heard the greifes on either part,
and sett them free from care.
He comforts them and cheeres their hearts,
that they abound with [joy]:
He feeds them full and feeds their soules,
with Gods word euery day.

The ballad then is a shining advert for the Virginia Company and emigration to the colony. It describes how 'foure hundred able men' will 'vnto their labour fall, / as men that meane to thriue'.⁷⁷⁸ Furthermore, it states that the governor is writing letters to all the investors and promoters of the colony, encouraging them not to be 'dismayd at all: / For scandal cannot doe vs wrong' and that 'Wee hope to plant a Nation, / where none before hath stood'. Like *Londons Lotterie*, this ballad intertwines the colonial enterprise with religious devotion: 'To glorifie the Lord tis done, / and to no other end: / He that would crosse so good a worke, / to God can be no friend'.⁷⁷⁹ The strategic representation of the Virginia colony lies in the assertions of plenty and abundance, which did not match the physical realities of starvation and hardship: 'There is no feare of hunger here, / for Corne much store here growes, / Much fish the gallant Riuers yield.' This was essential both to encourage more of the much-needed labourers to travel to Virginia and also to shield the Virginia Company from accusations of ineptitude. The ballad dismisses criticisms of the colonial enterprise as malicious sedition, saying, 'but some condiciond ill, / That wish the worke should not goe on, / with words to seeme to kill.' It reports that, to quash the rumours, Lord De La Warre has sent a gift 'to testfie his care'. The gift was two ships, whose contents demonstrated the abundance present in Virginia: 'Furres, Sturgeon, Caiiare, /

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid. This ballad, too, is in-keeping with contemporary discourse claiming that no government or nation existed in America before the arrival of Europeans.

Blacke-walnut-tree, and some deale-boords'; as well as 'Some Pearle, some Wainscot and clapbords, / with some Sassafras wood: / And Iron promist, for tis true, / their Mynes are very good'.⁷⁸⁰

In the same manner as Thomas Jordan's mayoral pageants, the ballad plays on the themes of Edenic paradise in its representation of Virginia: 'Great store of Fowle, or Venison, / of Grapes, and Mulberries, / Of Chesnuts, Walnuts, and such like, / of fruits and Strawberries, / There is indeed no want at all.'⁷⁸¹ Casting Virginia as a new Eden had important implications, as it echoed the biblical edict in Genesis that the land was made for humans to dominate it and put it to proper use. The vision of prelapsarian Eden is accompanied by prominent descriptions in many writings (such as Rich's) of the copious amounts of food which people can pluck from the earth without toil.⁷⁸² Reports that people were starving in Virginia challenged the official Virginia Company representation of the land as an Eden abounding with food, and Rich's ballad was a means to dismiss these accusations.⁷⁸³ Virginia is not presented in Rich's ballad as an egalitarian utopia, but there is significant emphasis on a community in which all contribute and reap its benefits. The ballad states that, when new settlers travel to Virginia, 'each man shall haue his share.' Furthermore, each person 'A house and garden plot shall haue'. The Company is portrayed as a benevolent authority, ensuring fairness as 'euery man shall haue a part, / and not thereof denaid', and the ballad argues that no man shall have 'cause to grieue' since it is the 'generall will and wish [of the governors] / that euery man should liue'.⁷⁸⁴

In his preface, Rich pre-empts a potential question from his readers about why his narrative is in ballad form: 'If thou aske why I put it in Verse? I prethee knowe, it was onely to

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid. Comparisons to Eden were common in the early depictions of Virginia and these were often combined with classical concepts such as the Golden Age. See Stephen Adams, *The Best and Worst Country in the World: Perspectives on the Early Virginia Landscape* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001).

⁷⁸² Adams, *The Best and Worst Country*, p. 117. Adams wryly notes that food is so greatly emphasised in early Virginia literature that it is almost as if these texts were written by hungry people.

⁷⁸³ Adams, *The Best and Worst Country*, p. 119.

⁷⁸⁴ Rich, 'Newes from Virginia Of The Happy Ariuall of that famous & worthy knight Sir Thomas Gates and well reputed and valiant Captaine Newport into England'.

feede mine owne humour.’ He continues that he could have made his task easier and provided his readers with better content had he chosen prose, and promises that ‘before many daies expire, I will promise thee the same worke more at large’.⁷⁸⁵ It is possible that Rich decided to write a ballad on a whim or to amuse himself during the tedious boredom of a long voyage. However, I believe that this explanation should be taken with a similar amount of scepticism as his claim of impartiality. The two are interlinked. Rich had a vested interest in promoting the emigration of labourers to the colony. It is notable that, of all the possible occupations that settlers could have, the only one mentioned by Rich is that of a labourer (whom he states shall receive the ‘Day wages’ he deserves). Therefore, it is logical that Rich would adopt a form of literature that would most easily reach his intended audience. As a ballad, his strategic representation of the Virginia colony would circulate more easily amongst the street audience and reach those, such as the less literate or illiterate, who would face obstacles trying to engage with a longer, published account in prose. This approach aligns with that of the broadsides published by the Virginia Company, which were addressed to certain groups of working men who were thought to be useful in building a colony.⁷⁸⁶ Such broadsides were issued in 1609, 1611 and 1612 to advertise the voyage of the ship *The Hercules*. The cost of passage was explained, along with the provisions needed and the types of labourers and craftsmen most useful to the colony.⁷⁸⁷

Using all means at their disposal to promote the colony, the Virginia Company reinforced the religious motivation for support and investment with national and royal pride. In *Londons Lotterie*, the audience is told that the king and queen ‘hath granted grace and favours both’.⁷⁸⁸ Together with Prince Henry, they persuade ‘The Peeres and Barrons of the land’ to invest. The sense of national unity and purpose is created by the inclusion of men and women,

⁷⁸⁵ Rich, *Neves from Virginia. The Lost Flocke Triumphant*.

⁷⁸⁶ Armstrong, p. 39.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 39.

⁷⁸⁸ *Londons Lotterie*, EBBA 20085, RI 1520.

from every level of society, contributing towards a cause which ‘pleaseth God’ and ‘contents the King’. This unity is a central theme of the ballad – a fact indicated by the insertion of the ballad-monger’s voice. The inclusion of this voice grounds the ballad in its street performance context. The singer calls out to the audience, saying, ‘Mee thinks I see great numbers flocke, / and bring in fast their Coyne: / And Tradesmen how in louing sort, / their Moneys all doe joine.’⁷⁸⁹ This ballad would have been sung in a number of locations, but these lines would have been particularly resonant to passers-by if performed (and sold) near where payments for lotteries could be taken. The overall effect is that the early modern audience were left to question whether they wished to invest in the Virginia Company and become like the idealised, patriotic figures presented in the ballad.

The final element in the creation of a sense of national unity and purpose is the intertwining of the nation’s history and the possibility of Virginia’s future:

We ought not live heere, for our selves,
but for our Countries good:
And Countries good, it is well knowne,
long hath this purpose stood:
For first, when Queene Elizabeth
heere livd, so much renownd,
This Land now call’d Viginia [sic],
by English-men was found.⁷⁹⁰

As seen in the previous chapters, Queen Elizabeth’s reign was looked upon as a heroic past and the ballad credits ‘Sir Gilbert, Drake and others more’ for giving the English first sight of Virginia.⁷⁹¹ The tune to which the ballad was sung strengthened the feelings of a heroic, Protestant past. The tune is ‘Lusty Gallant’ – a popular dance and ballad tune written during the

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.; The intertwining of English history and Virginia’s future is similar to a discourse that runs throughout many English works (both in cheap print and ‘higher brow’ literature) on America: combining the theme of ‘place’, i.e., landscape, climate, flora and fauna, with the theme of ‘potential’, i.e., the expansion of commerce and empire. Armstrong page 17.

⁷⁹¹ *Londons Lotterie.*, EBBA 20085, RI 1520. Walter Raleigh, who invested in Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s enterprise and was the one who continued the efforts to form a colony, is notably not mentioned in the ballad. This is possibly because he had been imprisoned in 1603, having been implicated in a treasonous plot, and so was out of royal favour. See *Sir Walter Raleigh: In Life and Legend*, ed. by Mark Nicholls and Penry Williams (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011).

early years of Elizabeth I's reign.⁷⁹² This tune was a natural choice for a ballad which idolises the golden past of Elizabethan explorers and promises glory and success to England. Furthermore, it was a tune with a recent history of being used to encourage support for English activities on foreign shores. During the 1580s, there was an expansion of the news market, particularly foreign news.⁷⁹³ News of English involvement in the wars between France, Spain and the Netherlands was particularly appealing given the implications for the future of Protestantism, and many 'relations', 'discourses', 'true reports' and 'descriptions' were published in pamphlet and ballad form.⁷⁹⁴ An example of this is the ballad *Newes from Flaunders*, which reports the successes of Maurice of Nassau and Francis Vere at the Battle of Nieuwpoort.⁷⁹⁵ The ballad is a celebration of transnational Protestant unity and its aim of amplifying religious and patriotic sentiment in its report of the battle is aided by its use of the tune 'Lusty Gallant'.

The aim of the final section of *Londons Lotterie* is to illustrate England's noble and heroic past, but also to point out that England was once 'a Wildernesse and sauage place, / Till gouernment and use of men, / that wildernesse did deface'.⁷⁹⁶ The ultimate message is that 'Virginia may in time, / be made like England now', but this must be achieved through unity and national cohesion. Investment in the Virginia Company and expansion of the colony (a cause supported by God and the monarchy) was, simultaneously, an individual investment; a chance for national economic growth; and a Christian and civilising mission as the Virginia Company aimed 'to plant that land in government which never was before'.⁷⁹⁷ This line is one of only two

⁷⁹² Simpson, *The Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, p. 476. See Sally Harper, 'An Elizabethan Tune List from Llewenni Hall, North Wales', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 38 (2005), 45-98.

⁷⁹³ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 103.

⁷⁹⁴ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 105.

⁷⁹⁵ See *A New Ballad of the great ouerthrow that the valliant Captaine Graue Maurice, Sir Frances Veer, and other of the Queene of Englands friends: gaue to the Archduke, and his Army of Spaniards, vpon Sunday being the 22 of Iune last past, 1600* (London, 1600) ESTC S118137. A prose report of the battle, translated out of Dutch, is included in Rollins' analytical index. See *A True Relation of the famous & renowned Victorie latelie atchieued by the Counte Maurice of Nassau, neere to Newport in Flaunders against the Arch-Duke Albertus: with the names of such noblemen & others of account, as haue bin eyther slaine or taken Prisoners in this seruice late-done and y performed. Truly translated out of the Duch copie* (London: Printed by Ralph Blower, for C.B., 1600). RI 2732, ESTC S113158.

⁷⁹⁶ *Londons Lotterie.*, EBBA 20085, RI 1520.

⁷⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

acknowledgements that the Virginia colonists were encountering indigenous people already inhabiting the region (the other being, 'It is to plant a Kingdome sure, / where sauadge people dwell'). The descriptions of the Native Americans as savage and the claim that they lacked government or society were common in European discourse. The presence of these themes in balladry will be examined later in this chapter.

The foundation of the Virginia colony was a significant moment in English colonial history and was both a product of, and contributing factor to, the increasing global interconnectivity of the seventeenth century. Ballads such as *Londons Lotterie* and *Newes from Virginia* were essential to constructing a representation of Virginia that encouraged migration to the colony and supported the burgeoning joint-stock economic model of the Virginia Company. In *Londons Lotterie*, the Virginia Company attempted to encourage its audience to invest money by appealing to them through a romantic, chivalric concept of nobility; the possibility of social betterment; nationalistic pride in the monarchy; and a religious obligation to spread their faith.

Many of the same themes present in *Londons Lotterie* can be seen in the ballad *Trade's Release: Or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company*, printed in Edinburgh between 1699 and 1700. Despite being separated by nearly a century, there are several parallels between the ballads: both are calling for investment or participation in joint-stock companies, which are in the process of establishing colonies in America; both play on religious imagery; and both depict supporting their respective enterprises as a matter of national pride. However, the fates of each scheme were radically different. The Virginia colony (despite all its problems) endured and became a foundation for the colonisation of America. On the other hand, the attempt by the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (now better known as the Darien Company) to establish a plantation on the isthmus of Panama was a resounding failure, and became a factor in the Anglo-Scottish union.⁷⁹⁸ The Darien Company was created in 1695 as a serious attempt at

⁷⁹⁸ Douglas Watt, 'The Dutch and the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies', *Dutch Crossing*, 29:1 (2005), 125-143 (p. 126).; Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 159.

Scottish economic rehabilitation. Its main promoter was William Paterson, a founder of the Bank of England, and it was formed to oversee the establishment of a Scottish colony in Panama – a key location to manage overland trade between the Atlantic and Pacific.⁷⁹⁹ In 1695, there were grounds for economic optimism, as Scotland tried to emulate the Dutch and English by competing against them directly with its own joint-stock company.⁸⁰⁰ However, the Company faced a number of difficulties, including almost going bankrupt in 1697, and staked everything on its colonial attempt.⁸⁰¹ The chosen location at Darien proved poor as the swampy marshland was an ideal breeding ground for disease carrying mosquitoes.⁸⁰² The settlement was harassed by hostile indigenous communities, abandoned in June 1699 and then (after a second expedition) eventually capitulated to the Spanish in April 1700.⁸⁰³

The successful landing of the first expedition at Darien was widely celebrated in Scotland (now an imperial power in its own right), when the news arrived in March 1699.⁸⁰⁴ This was probably the reason for the creation of this ballad. In *Trade's Release*, which was also complemented by similar commissioned publications in other print formats, we can see the opportunity that the Darien colony represented to Scotland.⁸⁰⁵ Just like *Londons Lotterie*, the ballad is grounded in the street performance context and, with its address to the audience to 'rouse up your Heads, Come rouse up anon!', it would have functioned very well if performed around the locations where people could invest.⁸⁰⁶ For instance, Mrs Purdie's coffee-house was crowded with investors and, therefore, it would not seem unreasonable to imagine the ballad being

⁷⁹⁹ Kelly, pp.1-23 (p. 12).; Sophie Jorrand, 'The Sea, Scottish Colonization, and the Darien Scheme, 1696-1700', *Études écossaises*, 19 (2017), 1-14 (p. 2).

⁸⁰⁰ Watt, 'The Dutch and the Company of Scotland', pp.125-143 (p. 126).

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁸⁰² Jorrand, pp.1-14 (p. 6).

⁸⁰³ Kelly, pp.1-23 (p. 12).; Watt, 'The Dutch and the Company of Scotland', pp.125-143 (p. 137).

⁸⁰⁴ Watt, 'The Dutch and the Company of Scotland', pp.125-143 (p. 135).

⁸⁰⁵ See, for instance, *An express from the African and Indian Scots Company's fleet, landed in New-Edinburgh in Caledonia* (Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid, 1699) ESTC R176896. This piece boldly proclaims how the indigenous people willingly offered up not only uninhabited lands to the newcomers, but even their own lands.

⁸⁰⁶ *Trade's Release: Or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company. Being an Excellent New Ballad.* (1699-1700?), NLS, Ry.III.a.10(83), EBBA 34315.

performed in the street outside.⁸⁰⁷ The theme of a communal effort to enrich the country is as clear in this ballad as it was in *Londons Lotterie*: ‘heartily Joyn with our own Paterson, / To fetch Home Indian Treasures.’⁸⁰⁸ The ballad praises the Scottish parliament which has, ‘together with th’ Royal Assent’, decided ‘To free Trade from Taxation’.⁸⁰⁹ This was significant as pre-Union Scotland did not enjoy free trade with either England or its colonies, or have independence at sea.⁸¹⁰ In its attempt to stem the drain of cash out of the country and narrow the economic gap between itself and the Dutch and English, the Darien Company modelled itself closely after the VOC and particularly admired the Dutch government’s protection of free trade.⁸¹¹ The ballad proclaims that, now trade is free, ‘We’ll quickly visit the Indian-Shoar, / And thence return with such Cargoes of Ore / As must enrich this Nation.’⁸¹² This ballad encapsulates the imagination of the Indies (both East and West) as repositories of wealth and riches to be extracted. The effectiveness of this ballad, in advertising to potential investors, is that it reinforces the audiences’ preconception that the Indies could provide vast quantities of wealth to support Scotland’s struggling economy.

Londons Lotterie acknowledged the existence of indigenous people in a transitory and tangential manner. *Trade’s Release* is more direct in its approach, explaining that the Darien Company will also be serving a religious purpose. The ballad states that the Company will be ‘extending the bounds of Christendom’. However, it emphasises that this will differ from previous missionary activities in the area, since they will not preach ‘By Jesuits-Guile, nor vain pompous State, / Nor bloody Inquisition’.⁸¹³ The Darien Company was hoping for help from the Native Americans and the settlement’s hallmark was to be religious toleration.⁸¹⁴ The ballad

⁸⁰⁷ Jorrand, pp.1-14 (p. 4). As McShane notes, ballads were unlikely to be sung inside coffeehouses. As their rules usually precluded noisy behaviour, coffeehouses encouraged reasoned conversation rather than a crowd of rowdy singers. See McShane Jones, “‘Rime and reason.’”, p. 47.

⁸⁰⁸ *Trade’s Release: Or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company*, EBBA 34315.

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁸¹⁰ Jorrand, pp.1-14 (p. 3.)

⁸¹¹ Watt, ‘The Dutch and the Company of Scotland’, pp.125-143 (p. 127; 126).

⁸¹² *Trade’s Release: Or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company*, EBBA 34315.

⁸¹³ Ibid.

⁸¹⁴ Jorrand, pp.1-14 (p. 1; 5).

predicts such good relations with the local people and success in missionary efforts that, within three years, ‘God Bless The Scottish-Company / Shall be the Indian-Chorus.’⁸¹⁵ Whilst it discusses indigenous people, the ballad only does so briefly and they are not its main concern. The aim of this ballad is to prophesy the arrival of riches in Scotland and proclaim the new position of power on the world stage that this colony will provide.

This nationalistic element is emphasised, as it was for the English in *Londons Lotterie*. However, it is possibly even more significant in this ballad. In the context of Scotland’s economic struggles and desire to compete with the English and Dutch on the world stage, the Darien Company became intertwined with concepts of nation, freedom and authority. Douglas Watt states that the Darien Company is an early example of a financial mania.⁸¹⁶ Financial mania is marked by the focus of speculation spilling out from narrow financial culture into the broader national or international context.⁸¹⁷ This can be clearly seen in the case of the Darien Company through several factors: the large number of shareholders relative to the population, tax yield and money supply of Scotland; the large size of the capital raising relative to the coinage; the songs and poems composed about the Company and William Paterson; and the sermons of ministers and theses of university students in defence of the Company’s rights.⁸¹⁸ Watt does not refer to *Trade’s Release*, but the ballad is a perfect example of the way in which the Company’s colonial enterprise and trading ambitions became a central element of national culture.⁸¹⁹ *Trade’s Release* proclaims to its audience that the Darien Company is Scotland’s key to global power. It states that ‘Saint-Andrews Flag then without delay / We’ll over all the World display’.⁸²⁰ The imminent strength of Scotland is promised by the line, ‘We’ll make both the Indies pay Tribute to Clyde.’

⁸¹⁵ *Trade’s Release: Or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company*, EBBA 34315.

⁸¹⁶ Financial mania is generally associated with the expansion phase of the business cycle because the euphoria associated with the mania leads to increases in spending. See *Manias, Panics and Crashes: A History of Financial Crises*, ed. by Charles P. Kindleberger and Robert Z. Aliber, 5th edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 8.

⁸¹⁷ Watt, ‘The Dutch and the Company of Scotland’, pp.125-143 (p. 136).

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 136.

⁸¹⁹ Watt’s example of such a cultural expression of this nationalist feeling is the cantata by John Clerk of Penicuik *Leo Scotire Irritatus* (The Scottish Lion Angered). See Watt, ‘The Dutch and the Company of Scotland’, pp.125-143 (p. 136).

⁸²⁰ *Trade’s Release: Or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company*, EBBA 34315.

This will bring power and dominance for the Company, the global nature of which is demonstrated by capitalised words: ‘To Scotland’s just and never-dying Fame, / We’ll in ASIA, AFRICA and AMERICA proclame.’ The ballad subordinates all other nations, both European and non-European, in relation to Scotland: ‘the Trade of all EUROPE to us we enhance; / Then adieu to the blust’ring Grandeur of FRANCE / Or any imperious Nation.’ The capitalisation of ‘Europe’ further underlines the Company’s global ambition, as now all four continents are represented. The ballad argues that ‘The Muscovite, Tartar, Turk, and the Pope, / The Sophi, Mogul, and Morocco’ must give up their ‘absolute Sway and Dominions’. Such a show of dominance over some of the most significant global powers of the seventeenth-century world will proclaim Scotland’s new position to the European powers who have underestimated them: ‘Then the [Spaniards], and French, and Portugueze, / Venetians and Dutch, and Genoese, / And th’ English themselves perhaps may please / To alter their narrow Opinions.’⁸²¹

Despite being separated by nearly a century, both *Trade’s Release* and *Londons Lotterie* are fascinating examples of early modern joint-stock companies using ballads to encourage investments into their enterprises through popular national and religious feelings. They attempt to create emotional moments that would unite people in the national community. In this manner, they adopt many of the same strategies as military recruitment ballads which promoted a military identity and ethos, encouraging volunteers by emphasising the worthiness of the national cause and ‘patriotic, political, or religious loyalty’.⁸²² Both *Trade’s Release* and *Londons Lotterie* refer (if a little vaguely in the case of the latter) to the existence of indigenous people in the areas in which they will settle, and *Londons Lotterie* also reflects the contemporary discourse of dismissing concepts of Native American self-governance. This is not present in *Trade’s Release* but, whilst it does voice a resolve to live amicably with the Native Americans, they only feature in the ballad as

⁸²¹ Ibid.

⁸²² McShane, ‘Recruiting Citizens’, pp.105-137 (p. 131). Through her close investigation of these recruiting ballads, McShane argues that ‘military volunteerism among the lower sorts appears less surprising and more sophisticated than historians have previously imagined’. McShane, ‘Recruiting Citizens’, pp.105-137 (p. 108).

people to be converted to Christianity. Their intended status is revealed in the line about both Indies paying tribute to Scotland. Both ballads predict the bountiful returns that their respective colonies will grant their nation. In *Trade's Release*, this is more explicitly linked to global dominance and competition with other nations. However, the Darien Company's attempt at establishing a colony ended in disaster. On the other hand, whilst plagued with difficulties, the Virginia Company was successful – especially with regard to producing and exporting one particular commodity.

'Oh this is a smoking Age, / Oh this is a fiery Age'

Londons Lotterie, as part of the Virginia Company's wider strategy to gather investment, represents Virginia as a source of major economic potential to England. The possibilities offered by an English colony were noted by many, particularly in relation to challenging Spanish dominance in America. One of the first Jamestown settlers, George Percy, believed that Virginia was 'so fruitfull, it would be as great a profit to the Realme of England, as the Indies to the King of Spaine'.⁸²³ Similarly, in 1613, Don Diego De Molina (a Spanish captive of the Jamestown authorities) warned of the danger to Spain of the English cementing themselves in the region. He wrote forebodingly of the 'new Algiers of America, which is coming into existence here'. It was essential, for the good of Spain, to 'stop the progress of a hydra in its infancy' as the 'advantages of this place make it very suitable for a gathering-place of all the pirates of Europe'.⁸²⁴ Contrary to De Molina's predictions, however, the main economic advantage of Virginia was not piracy but tobacco.

The Virginia colony shipped its first tobacco cargo to England in 1617.⁸²⁵ The production of tobacco in the colonies meant that England became more self-reliant in the

⁸²³ 'Observations by Master George Percy, 1607', in *Narratives of Early Virginia 1606-1625*, ed. by Lyon G. Tyler (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907; repr. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1959), pp. 1-24 (p. 20).

⁸²⁴ 'Letter of Don Diego De Molina, 1613', in *Narratives of Early Virginia 1606-1625*, ed. by Lyon G. Tyler (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907; repr. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1959), pp. 215-224 (p. 218).

⁸²⁵ Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, p. 90.

tobacco trade, rather than relying on foreign imports. The Virginia colony needed a large work force to help grow tobacco because the process was highly labour-intensive.⁸²⁶ Tobacco farming could result in large profits. However, it was also a risky enterprise since prices were highly unpredictable due to the hazards of transportation, as well as the fact that tobacco is a highly perishable crop.⁸²⁷ Despite this, people in Virginia often did little else but grow tobacco – much to the chagrin of the Virginia Company, who felt that a colony could not run effectively if every colonist was only growing one crop.⁸²⁸ The food shortages, caused by the fixation on growing tobacco, meant that the colonists were often starving and the mortality rate was increased even further by the colonists' vulnerability to disease. Yet none of this could assuage the fixation on growing tobacco which became a widely consumed commodity in English society, a fact which is reflected in ballads and led the ballad *The Golden Age: Or, An Age of plaine-dealing* (c.1632) to state, 'Oh this is a smoking Age, / Oh this is a fiery Age.'⁸²⁹

It is notable that many of the ballads mentioning tobacco come from the early-seventeenth century, when smoking was starting to grow as a cultural practice. The ballad *Dice, Wine and Women Or The vnfortunate Gallant gull'd at London* is a humorous narrative of a simple Cornishman, who inherits a large sum of money and comes to London to sample the fashions of the capital. He spends the day being tricked out of all his money. However, significantly, his first view of London culture is that of smoking: at 'Charing-crosse, / Where was such smoking none could passe, / Brave Gallants there my sight opposes, / Fum'd hospitalitie from their noses'.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁶ Joan Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), p. 266. Tobacco leaves had to be picked individually and for each acre of land there were 10,000 tobacco plants to be harvested. See Thirsk, p. 279.

⁸²⁷ Thirsk, p. 271.; Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, p. 174.

⁸²⁸ A common complaint in the records of the Company was that tobacco was being substituted for money amongst the colonists.

⁸²⁹ *The Golden Age: Or, An Age of plaine-dealing*. (1625-1635?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.152-153, EBBA 20066. The publication date for this ballad can be assumed to be around 1632 since it falls into place with a number of so called 'Age' ballads. The ballad *The Honest Age* (RI 1134), entered into the Stationer's Register on 24 May 1632, was set to the tune 'The Golden Age' which takes its title from the ballad of the same name. See Susan Aileen Newman, *The Broadside Ballads of Martin Parker: A Bibliographical and Critical Study* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 1975), p. 56; 64; 165; 233.

⁸³⁰ *Dice, Wine and Women Or The vnfortunate Gallant gull'd at London*. (1623?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.200-201, EBBA 20089, RI 598. Originally entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1578. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 57). Also see RI 1974 and RI 1976. For more information on ballads describing dissimulation, trickery, deceit and rural people being exploited in seventeenth-century London, see Duncan Frost, "'One Neighbour will

Tobacco's associations were contradictory. It was a fashionable product with a rapidly expanding market, and so many people (like the unfortunate Cornishman) wanted to participate in the cultural phenomenon. However, tobacco retained links to its perceived savage and heathen origins. In Brathwaite's satirical depiction of ballad-mongers, he describes how they will go to an alehouse and smoke with 'two naked Virginians'.⁸³¹ This association of tobacco with a primitive, savage culture is encapsulated in one of the woodcuts adorning the ballad *A merry Progresse to London to see Fashions, by a young Country Gallant, that had more Money then Witte* (see Figure 21).

The woodcut shows a black man, wearing only a loincloth, holding a spear and smoking. Whilst an inaccurate portrayal of tobacco's origins, as it was adopted from indigenous practices in the Americas rather than Africa, this is arguably irrelevant since anyone seeing the woodcut would have just registered a representative of a primitive and savage culture. The man in Figure 22 portrays tobacco's non-European cultural origins by the colour of his skin and, particularly, by his nakedness (which was seen as a hallmark of primitive, savage peoples). His stance should also be noted. In contemporary woodcut iconography, virile men stood with their feet unnecessarily far apart or with their pelvises thrust forward.⁸³² On the other hand, feet closer together (which is the posture adopted by this man) suggested male weakness.⁸³³ The iconography of this woodcut is an emphatic statement of tobacco's cultural origin and a castigation of those in England who chose to consume it (since they were bringing themselves closer to a primitive, savage figure of lesser masculinity). Furthermore, the image is a demonstration of how a man's circumstances can decline. The man, who has spent all his money on tobacco, has had to pawn his clothes. His fall from riches to rags is emphasised by the naked woodcut figure, but the figure's obvious racial connotations demonstrate a parallel fall from civilised Englishman to primitive savage through the consumption of tobacco. However, if

strive to wrong another": The Dangers of London Presented in Seventeenth-Century Broadside Ballads', *The Seventeenth Century*, (2020) <https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2020.1825991>.

⁸³¹ Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, p. 10.

⁸³² Marsh, 'Best-Selling Ballads', pp.53-99 (p. 68).

⁸³³ *Ibid*, p. 73.

tobacco could be removed from its heathen origins, it could become a symbol of a man's masculinity and status. It is interesting to compare the man in Figure 21 to a similar image, but one which displays highly contrasting characteristics (see Figure 22). It is notable that the man in Figure 22 would have been perceived as more masculine due to his more prominent elbow and wider stance.



Figure 21: The primitive associations of tobacco on *A merry Progresse to London to see Fashions, by a young Country Gallant, that had more Money then Witte.* (1615?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.198-199, EBBA 20088 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.



Figure 22: The masculine smoker on *A Mad Crue; Or, That shall be tryde.* (1625?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.444-445, EBBA 20209 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

As well as being a fashionable product, tobacco became associated with boisterous tavern culture, and several ballads warn against its excessive consumption and the lifestyle that it encourages. There is a notably high incidence in ballads of tobacco, alcohol and deceitful women (or, at least, women as temptresses). Keeping such company, many ballads argue, was a path towards sin and resulted in the neglect of family commitments. *A Looking-Glass for all true Christians*, set to the tune 'Aim not to High' (an alternative title for 'Fortune my Foe' and,

therefore, carrying dire warnings of punishment), states that some people ‘do not think upon the world to come; / And therefore still a wicked course do run’.⁸³⁴ One such person is the drunkard who thinks only of ‘his Tobacco and Beer’.⁸³⁵ Similarly, the aptly named ballad *A Caveat for Tiplers* describes the habits of those people who ‘sit in an Ale-house from morning to night, / Both drinking and smoaking the Devil’s delight; / There funking Tobacco, set forth such a smell, / As if they had been on the borders of Hell’.⁸³⁶ Finally, another ‘caveat ballad’, *A Caveat for Young Men*, includes the lament of a wife whose husband spends his time away from home, drinking and smoking: ‘My Children and I must sit, / until we starve and pine, / Whilst you your guts full get, / of Tobacco, Beer, and Wine.’⁸³⁷

In the case of tobacco, ballads can be seen to be responding to the spread of a new commodity through English society. Historians can discern some of the many, varying responses to it: vilified as a vice of heathens; desired as a symbol of social status; and highlighted as a contributing factor to social tensions in everyday life. Towards the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, representations of tobacco in ballads also started to reflect the growing discourse on tobacco as a medicinal crop. The ballad ‘The Triumph of Tobacco over Sack and Ale’ details tobacco’s many medicinal properties, saying that it is more effective ‘than many Physicians’.⁸³⁸ It claims that tobacco can ‘helpeth Digestion’ as well as ease gout and toothache. It can warm cold bodies as well as cool ‘them that do sweat’. It is also proclaimed to

⁸³⁴ *A Looking-Glass for all true Christians. Very useful and necessary for all people of what degree soever, to look upon in these troublesome times of sorrow.* (1681-1684), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.47, EBBA 20671, RI 1534 and RI 1535. Entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1656 and 1675. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 134).

⁸³⁵ *A Looking-Glass for all true Christians.*, EBBA 20671, RI 1534 and RI 1535.

⁸³⁶ *A Caveat for Tiplers: Or, A Pious and Religious Reformation, Appointed by His Sacred Majesty, for the due Observance of the Sabbath, to the Honour of God, the Good of the Kingdom, that Peace and Plenty may flourish upon a long and lasting Foundation.* (1664-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.139, EBBA 22406.

⁸³⁷ *A Caveat for Young Men. Or, The Bad Husband turnd Thrifty. This Caveat may serve both for Old and yong, For to remember that Old Age will come; If you these Verses do minde and read, I hope hereafter you will take better heed: This Song it was set forth and pennd, To teach Bad Husbands to amend. Therefore bad Husbands mend your lives, And be more kinder to your Wives.* (1678-1688?), BL, Roxburghe 2.54-55, EBBA 30461. This ballad is possibly RI 273, *A Caveat to all Yonge men*, entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1582. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 32).

⁸³⁸ ‘The Triumph of Tobacco over Sack and Ale’, in *A Collection of Old Ballads Collected from the best and most Ancient Copies Extant*, 3 vols (London: printed for J. Roberts, 1727-38), III (1738), 154-156 (p. 155).

be a slimming food as well as good sustenance for the hungry. Finally, it can also be used ‘For purging and killing of Lice’ and healing ‘Cuts and Slashes’.⁸³⁹

The establishment of a colony in Virginia had far-reaching political and economic consequences, and it was a significant moment in terms of early modern England’s involvement in the global world. *Londons Lotterie*, as well as other ballads which promoted colonial endeavours (such as *Trade’s Release*), supported and helped create certain imaginations of the outside world and the riches it contained. They played on national and religious feelings to argue that establishing a global presence would allow their nation to rise to geopolitical prominence. Whilst the Darien Company’s colonial effort came to nothing, the Virginia Company thrived, owing much to the tobacco trade. This foreign cultural product quickly infiltrated English society and ballads allow historians to see the ways in which it was received: treated with suspicion because of its cultural origins; fully naturalised as a fashionable product; or seen as a vice of drunkards who neglected their family. The establishment of the Virginia colony, the expansion of the plantation and the development of the tobacco trade required a large workforce. This was at the heart of another ballad representation of the Virginia colony: a harsh land where people were sent to work as indentured servants, having been kidnapped in English port cities.

‘The times are very hard, / I le sell my wife for money’

The abduction of English men and women, who were then sent to Virginia as indentured servants (a process known as spiriting), is a common trope in broadside ballads. The term spiriting does not distinguish between tricking people into servitude and physical kidnap, but the logistics often involved a combination of the two (once someone was enticed aboard a ship, they were generally held by force).⁸⁴⁰ Spiriting was a complex and varied process. Some spirits appeared to be legitimate colonial promoters, promising great wages and providing advances in

⁸³⁹ Ibid, p. 155.

⁸⁴⁰ John Wareing, ““Violently taken away or cheatingly duckoyed”: The illicit recruitment in London of indentured servants for the American colonies, 1645–1718”, *The London Journal*, 26:2 (2001), 1-22 (p. 5; 6).

money. Those who accepted these offers then often found themselves bound as indentured servants or apprenticed as sailors.⁸⁴¹ The process of migration to the colonies, whether forced or voluntary, was closely linked to contemporary social conditions in England.

In the seventeenth century, England was facing a growing social problem: overpopulation. Between 1485 and 1660, the population rose from around 2.2 million to 5.5 million. London's population alone grew at a substantial rate, rising from 40,000 in 1500 to over 200,000 by 1600, and by the end of the seventeenth century it may have been as high as 600,000.⁸⁴² However, this was not matched by an according economic expansion. The population increase meant that prices rose and whilst wages also increased, they did not do so to anywhere near the same extent. The outcome was that the Tudor and Stuart eras witnessed a sustained period of inflation.⁸⁴³ Overpopulation was widely discussed in contemporary discourse. In 1609, Robert Gray wrote 'there is nothing more dangerous' than overpopulation as it leads to 'mutinies, sedition, commotion and rebellion, scarcity, dearth, poverty, and sundry sorts of calamities'.⁸⁴⁴ He mentioned that other countries, when facing population crises, 'sent their overflowing multitudes abroad' to preserve themselves.⁸⁴⁵ It was this logic that caused emigration on a massive scale (voluntary, persuaded and forced) from Britain to Ireland and Virginia. This benefitted the Virginia colony, which required a large influx of workers due to the labour-intensive nature of tobacco farming coupled with an alarmingly high mortality rate. In 1624, after seventeen years of being under the control of the Virginia Company, the colony was taken over by the crown. Between 6,000 and 7,300 people had migrated to Virginia in this period and, by 1625, only around 1,200 were still living.⁸⁴⁶ Before its dissolution, aware of the issues facing the

⁸⁴¹ Rediker, p. 82.

⁸⁴² Peter C. Herman, *A Short History of Early Modern England: British Literature in Context* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), p. 3. The figure for the population of England includes that of Wales.

⁸⁴³ Herman, p. 17.

⁸⁴⁴ 'Problems of Overpopulation, 1609', in *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*, ed. by Joan Thirsk and J. P. Cooper (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 757-758 (p. 757).

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 758.

⁸⁴⁶ Adams, *The Best and Worst Country*, p. 177. Across the years 1619-21, the Company records show that around 3570 people were transported to Virginia, but the colony lost 3000 people in the same time span. See 'Mr Wroth. Notes From Lists Showing Total Number of Emigrants to Virginia. 1622', in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4

colony, the Company depicted it in as favourable a light as possible. This was both to stave off criticism and to encourage the migration of labourers that was essential for the colony's survival. This can be seen in *Londons Lotterie*, which promises the benefits that a productive colony will bring.

It would be a mistake to conclude that every indentured servant was kidnapped or forced into a contract against their will. Indentured servitude was an established method for workers, who could not necessarily afford to pay for passage, to migrate overseas. The workers would be contracted by an indenture to work for a set period of time to cover the cost of their fare, provisions and other benefits.⁸⁴⁷ The system enabled people to migrate, created a local business in recruiting bound labour in English port cities and was a vital method for raising a colonial workforce.⁸⁴⁸ Indentured servitude was a cheap form of labour, particularly in the early period of high mortality in Virginia when slaves were risky and expensive investments.⁸⁴⁹ Indentured servitude began to decline towards the end of the seventeenth century as the black population rose, white immigration slowed and planters began to see imported black slaves as a more profitable investment.⁸⁵⁰ However, it must be noted that indentured servants were bought and sold as property, often treated like slaves and beaten.⁸⁵¹ The high mortality rate and boom of tobacco farming meant that the Virginia colony greatly needed an influx of workers and, whilst the Virginia Company tried to encourage this through ballads (such as *Londons Lotterie* or Rich's *Newes from Virginia*), this labour shortage enabled enterprising criminals to turn a profit by selling people as indentured servants to colonial merchants. The significance of spiriting ballads is that they capture this key moment in English colonial expansion before slavery became more

vols, ed. by Susan M. Kingsbury (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), III (1933), pp. 536-537 (p. 537).

⁸⁴⁷ Wareing, *Indentured Migration*, p. 2.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 2.

⁸⁴⁹ Adams, *The Best and Worst Country*, p. 185.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 186.

⁸⁵¹ Wareing, *Indentured Migration*, p. 43.; Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, p. 133.

common, and they reflect contemporary awareness of the process and its role in England's global activities.

In most spiriting ballads, the act of kidnapping a person to Virginia is the action that provides dramatic tension or narrative conflict, rather than necessarily being the ballad's focus. However, as with the pirates that lurked in the background of ballads in the previous chapter, the presence of spiriting in ballad narratives underlines its significance to the contemporary audience. *A Net for a Night-Raven* (and its later variation, *The Woman Outwitted*) describes a husband who sells his 'scolding', unfaithful wife to be an indentured servant.⁸⁵² The fact that the woman in *A Net for a Night-Raven* is a scolding wife might have been discernible to the ballad audience through the ballad's woodcuts. The most prominent of the two female characters shown on the ballad can be seen in Figure 23. This woman, who is holding a small fan, appeared on many ballads. Marsh notes that, whilst on some ballads the fan serves as a signifier of romantically receptive femininity, it could also represent a combination of modesty, suspicion or even hostility.⁸⁵³ As well as often being presented as an exemplary lover, this woman also featured repeatedly as a domineering or scolding wife and it is in this vein in which she appears on *A Net for a Night-Raven*.⁸⁵⁴

Whilst designed to be humorous and entertaining, the casual discussion of human trafficking in this ballad reveals that this was not an infrequent practice, or particularly shocking to the early modern audience. In fact, humorous or not, the subtitle of the ballad does suggest selling someone as an indentured servant to Virginia as a legitimate method 'to get money now in these hard times'.⁸⁵⁵ Spiriting was so closely associated with the Virginia colony that, having tricked his wife and sold her, the husband is now referred to as 'a Merchant of Virginnny'. This

⁸⁵² See *A Net for a Night-Raven; Or, A Trap for a Scold. My Honest friends, if you the way would know, How to be quiet from a scolding Shrow; And to get money now in these hard times Then pray give ear, & listen to these lines.* (1663-1674), BLO, 4o Rawl. 566(165), Roud Number: 2579.; and *The Woman Outwitted: Or, The Weaver's Wife cunningly catch'd in a Trap, by her Husband, who sold her for ten Pounds, and sent her to Virginnny.* (1688-1709?), NLS, Crawford.EB.881, EBBA 33746.

⁸⁵³ Marsh, 'Best-Selling Ballads', pp.53-99 (p. 76).

⁸⁵⁴ Marsh, "'The Blazing Torch'", pp.95-116 (p. 106).

⁸⁵⁵ *A Net for a Night-Raven.*, 4o Rawl. 566(165), Roud Number: 2579.

period is well-known for the prominence of slavery being imposed by colonial powers on indigenous peoples, or between warring powers for political or religious ideologies. This ballad allows historians a view of a single step in a much smaller process of trade in human cargo, which occurred for very different reasons to the large-scale variation. The fate of the scolding wife is that she was sold ‘for fifty pound in money, / And she another husband got, when she came to Virginy’.⁸⁵⁶ Whilst the ballad is a work of popular fiction, it describes a common form of kidnap and sale of a human being. The matter-of-fact way in which it is stated indicates that this was not particularly shocking to the early modern audience, who were supposed to find more humour in the narrative than tragedy.⁸⁵⁷ However, humorous ballads could often convey serious warnings.



Figure 23: The Scolding Wife from *A Net for a Night-Raven; Or, A Trap for a Scold. My Honest friends, if you the way would know, How to be quiet from a scolding Shron; And to get money now in these hard times Then pray give ear, & listen to these lines.* The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, 4o Rawl. 566(165).

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ The ballad singer apologises in the final verse for the subject matter but jokes that other scolding wives should take care how they treat their husbands, lest they too be sent to Virginia.

Wit Out-witted tells the story of John, who has impregnated Jone. He promises to take her to a friend to ‘hide [her] foul disgrace’.⁸⁵⁸ However, he actually takes her on board a ship bound for Virginia and tries to sell her as an indentured servant. Luckily, the ship’s master takes pity on her and helps her enact revenge on John. Convincing him to board the ship to collect a receipt of debt (so that he can claim the money for himself), they ply him with alcohol. Jone is then quickly taken to shore and the ship departs for Virginia with John aboard. The ballad ends with an acknowledgement of its humorous narrative and a question for the audience: ‘No jest like a true one all men will allow, / and was not he very well fitted now.’⁸⁵⁹ It is significant that this is a ‘true jest’ and the ballad’s warning message lies in this fact. The assertion that this narrative is, at least, broadly related to reality acts as an implicit warning to any young women in the audience not to allow themselves to be flattered and seduced by men. For, whilst a sexual partner might not necessarily sell them as an indentured servant, they could be easily abandoned if they became pregnant.

The actions of a professional spirit, rather than a simply opportunistic one, can be seen in the ballad *The Trappan’d Welsh-man*. In it, a Welshman comes to London, ‘some pritty Fashions for to see’, and meets a beautiful girl who offers to show him around since he is obviously a stranger to the city.⁸⁶⁰ A Welshman was one of the stock joke-characters of the period and, therefore, when the audience encountered one in a ballad, they would have been expecting the character’s ultimate humiliation.⁸⁶¹ Even an illiterate ballad consumer looking at this ballad would

⁸⁵⁸ *Wit Out-witted, Or, The Cheater Cheated. It being an Account of John who got Jone with Child, and then would have sent her away to Virginia; he having gotten her aboard: But by the help of the Master, he himself was trappan’d and Jone set on Shore.* (1672-1696), BLO, Douce Ballads 2(255a), Edition Bod23948.

⁸⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁰ *The Trappan’d Welsh-man, Sold to Virginia. Showing how a Welsh man came to London, and went to see the Royal Exchange, where he met a Handsom Lass, with whom he was Enamoured; who pretending to shew him the Ships, carried him aboard a Virginia Man and Sold him, having first got the Welsh-mans Gold, to his great grief and sorrow.* (1685-1688), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.31, EBBA 21697.

⁸⁶¹ Marsh, “‘The Blazing Torch’”, pp.95-116 (p. 100). Welsh characters were stereotyped as stupid, cowardly and obsessed with social status. The stock ‘Welshman’ is usually called Jenkin or Shinkin (partially a joke about paucity of Welsh names but also showing the intertextuality of print as one piece fed off another). The Welsh accent was commonly imitated in print and the Welshman was emasculated by repeatedly referring to himself as ‘her’. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 220.

know that it concerned a Welshman as he is prominently displayed in one of the woodcuts (see Figure 24). His nationality is clearly indicated by the leek attached to his hat and is suggested by the rural, hilly background populated by sheep or goats. The woman leads the Welshman around the city, takes him on board a ship and ‘call’d for Punch and other Liquor / which made the Welshman almost blind’.⁸⁶² Then, taking his money and leaving him trapped, she flees. This ballad held a specific didactic purpose for its audience. It allowed them to vicariously experience the deception of a spirit, and it is part of a wider genre of deceit and dissimulation ballads which particularly attest to the dangers of exploitation faced by rural people visiting London.⁸⁶³



Figure 24: The eponymous Welshman from *The Trappan'd Welsh-man, Sold to Virginia*. (1685-1688), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.31, EBBA 21697 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

The Trappan'd Welsh-man seems to typify a common spiring narrative since certain elements, such as the mixture of false promises, drink and deception, are prominent.⁸⁶⁴ This is

⁸⁶² *The Trappan'd Welsh-man, Sold to Virginia*, EBBA 21697.

⁸⁶³ For more information on ballads describing dissimulation, trickery, deceit and rural people being exploited in seventeenth-century London, see Frost, “One Neighbour will strive to wrong another”.

⁸⁶⁴ Wareing, “Violently taken away”, pp.1-22 (p. 7).

certainly reflected in spiring ballads, and the similarities between them show that people were aware of the pervasiveness of spiring and recognised the forms it took. The function of *The Trappan'd Welsh-man* was to allow safe, vicarious participation in spiring. Whilst humorous and entertaining for the contemporary audience, ballads such as this highlight a formula for the kidnap of individuals and remind people about its presence in daily life. The ballads demonstrate an understanding of the processes of spiring by early modern people, but they also function as a mass warning (whilst ensuring that they sold themselves by enclosing the allegorical warning within a humorous narrative). The representations of spiring in ballads attest to the common incidence of spiring cases and support the commonly accepted view that persuasion and deceit, rather than force, were the common methods of recruitment used by spirits.⁸⁶⁵

So far, the ballads describing spiring and indentured servitude have been written from the perspective of those in England. The late seventeenth-century ballad, *The Trappan'd Maiden*, differs in that it is written from the perspective of a young woman who has already been spirited away and is describing her life of hardship as an indentured servant in Virginia. Its appeal as a ballad is that it is a tragedy that could be sung to elicit an emotional response from an audience. However, it also functions as an allegory and contains a moral message to young women to beware of the possible dangers of being spirited away. Whilst the details of this maiden's actual kidnap are lacking, the ballad can be read like the story of Little Red Riding Hood: a general warning to young women to be cautious of unknown men. In the penultimate verse, the maiden addresses all young women in the audience: 'Then let Maids beware, / All by my ill-fare, / In the Land of Virginny, O; / Be sure thou stay at home, / For if you do here come, / You will all be weary.'⁸⁶⁶ In this way, it is like the humorous ballads already mentioned, except that it is more specific to young women and paints a desperate picture of indentured servitude, to act as a

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 10.

⁸⁶⁶ *The Trappan'd Maiden: Or, The Distressed Damsel. The Girl was cunningly trappan'd, Sent to Virginny from England: Where she doth Hardship under go, There is no Cure, it must be so: But if she lives to cross the Main, She vows she'll ne'r go there again.* (1689-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.286, EBBA 21947.

deterrent. With the exception of two lines from the persona of the ballad-monger at the very start of the ballad, it is sung from the perspective of the maiden so as to generate more of an emotional response from the audience when hearing of her dreadful conditions of life.

The maiden states that her five years as a servant in Virginia ‘made [her] for to know, / Sorrow, Grief and Woe’. She describes the terrible conditions that she endures: when her mistress ‘sits at Meat, / Then I have none to eat’; and ‘instead of drinking Beer, / I drink the Water clear’.⁸⁶⁷ The latter line is particularly significant when the importance of beer in the pre-modern diet is considered. Beer was a source of carbohydrates and was one of the three basic foodstuffs, along with bread and gruel.⁸⁶⁸ The result of her diet is that she is severely malnourished and she has become ‘pale and wan’.⁸⁶⁹ She describes the demanding manual labour that she must complete in her day, which begins at dawn: ‘So soon as it is day, / To work I must away.’ She also performs a myriad of other jobs, from fetching water (‘The Water from the Spring, / Upon my head I bring’) to making mortar in the mill and nursing a child. The imagery contained within the ballad is designed to emphasise the strain she is under by comparing her to a carthorse or an ox: ‘I have play’d my part, / Both at Plow and at Cart.’ The overall effect of all her labours is summarised by the lines, ‘the Axe and the Hoe, / Have wrought my Overthrow.’

Her terrible lifestyle is highlighted by her lack of basic necessities: ‘the Cloaths that I brought in, / They are worn very thin’; and ‘Instead of Beds of Ease, / To lye down when I please, / In the Land of Virginy, O, / Upon a Bed of Straw, / I lay down full of Woe’. She later bluntly states that, ‘No rest that I can have, / Whilst I am here a Slave’.⁸⁷⁰ This is emotive language used to provoke a sympathetic reaction from the audience, but there were many similarities between conditions of life for indentured servants and the horrors of slavery.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁸ Kathy Pearson, ‘Nutrition and the Early Medieval Diet’, *Speculum*, 72:1 (1997), 1-32 (p. 12; 3). Beer also would have contributed essential vitamins to the diet as all grains contain vitamins K, B1, B2, niacin, B6, folic acid, potassium, phosphorus, and magnesium. See Pearson, pp.1-32 (p. 5).

⁸⁶⁹ *The Trappan’d Maiden: Or, The Distressed Damsel.*, EBBA 21947.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid.

Indentured servants were severely exploited. One letter written to the Virginia Company stated that servants in the colony were used in ‘more slavery than if they were vnder the Turke’.⁸⁷¹ Further evidence of the desperate conditions faced by indentured servants can be found in a poem written in the 1670s or 1680s by James Revel, himself an indentured servant.⁸⁷² Revel describes the market for indentured servants, where potential buyers viewed them as livestock: ‘Some view’d our limbs; and others turn’d us round / Examening like Horses, if we’re sound.’⁸⁷³ Once an owner had selected him, he was provided with minimum clothing: ‘No shoes nor stockings had I for to wear, / Nor hat, nor cap, both head and feet were bare.’ At one point, he describes the kindness shown by the black slaves working with him, saying, ‘more pity the poor Negroe slaves bestowed / Than my inhuman brutal master showed.’⁸⁷⁴ The description of the English master as inhuman stands out in the context of contemporary European ethnography, which ascribed inhuman or beastlike qualities to non-European cultures. *The Trappan’d Maiden* is a tragic ballad but still a form of entertainment. Through this, the audience are informed as to the conditions in which the indentured servants worked and are warned about the dangers of being spirited away.

No mention is made in the *Trappan’d Maiden* of Native Americans, but this is not unexpected. The indigenous people of America are rarely depicted in broadside ballads. This is partially because they were not that interesting to the ballad audience, but also because, as will be seen, promoters of the colonial enterprise liked to depict America as an empty, virgin land waiting to be settled. However, although quickly abandoned, initial plans for the colony had involved intercultural integration. On the rare occasions that they make more than fleeting

⁸⁷¹ ‘An Vnperfect Courte Helde for Virginia att S^r Edwin Sandys Howse Ye VIIJth of Aprill 1620’, in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols, ed. by Susan M. Kingsbury (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), I (1906), pp. 334-337 (p. 335). This perception of the Turks as cruel slavers is discussed in the next chapter.

⁸⁷² *Amazing Grace: An Anthology of Poems about Slavery 1660-1810*, ed. by James G. Basker (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 22.

⁸⁷³ James Revel, ‘The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon’s Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation, at Virginia in America’, in *Amazing Grace: An Anthology of Poems about Slavery 1660-1810*, ed. by James G. Basker (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 22-24 (p. 22).

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

appearances in ballads, Native Americans are represented with many conflicting and overlapping traits.

‘Heathen foes’ or ‘Monarchs of Worth’?

Against the king Opukingunow,
against this sauage foe:
Did he with many an English heart
for iust reuenge thus goe.⁸⁷⁵

This verse comes from a ballad called *Good Neues from Virginia* (not to be confused with Rich’s *Newes from Virginia*), written in 1623. This ballad, composed by a Virginia resident in direct response to the 1622 massacre, celebrates the retaliation of the colonists against the indigenous Powhatan who had attacked them.⁸⁷⁶ On 22 March 1622, chief Opechancanough led an attack against the scattered English settlements along the James River, killing one third of the colonists.⁸⁷⁷ The ballad captures the drastic change of English policy, following the attack, towards the indigenous people. There had been early attempts at mutual cohabitation, and governor George Yeardley (the ‘he’ referred to in the above verse) had actually arranged with Opechancanough to bring local families into the English plantations and provide them with houses, clothes, cattle and cornfields.⁸⁷⁸ The intent was that adults would slowly acquire English manners and customs through exposure, whilst children would receive religious and secular instruction from an early age.⁸⁷⁹ Whilst it would be naïve to view this as a utopia of racial harmony, for there were many underlying tensions, the possibility for cultural integration did exist at the start of the 1620s.⁸⁸⁰ After the massacre, however, the colonists undertook a policy of genocide and apartheid, persecuting all Powhatan regardless of whether or not they had been

⁸⁷⁵ *Good Neues from Virginia, Sent from Iames his Towne this present Moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman in that Country.* (1623), BLO, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

⁸⁷⁶ Games, ‘Violence on the Fringes’, pp.505-529 (p. 520).

⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 511.

⁸⁷⁸ Alden T. Vaughan, “‘Expulsion of the Salvages’: English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622”, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 35:1 (1978), 57-84 (p. 70).

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 70.

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 71.

complicit in the massacre.⁸⁸¹ However, the massacre did not change how the English conceptualised the indigenous people – they were thought of as primitive savages from the moment of encounter onwards. The claim that the massacre interrupted a period of tranquillity and that the Powhatan perfidiously betrayed the trust of the English was self-serving propaganda.⁸⁸² The eventual peace treaty resulted in segregation, as the two sides kept to their respective areas.⁸⁸³

The history of the impact of European colonialism on the indigenous population of North America is a broad and nuanced topic, but one which is significantly under-represented in ballad form. Unlike the Ottoman Empire, which (as will be seen in the next chapter) exerted a tremendous amount of influence over the cultural consciousness of European society, Native Americans were neither militarily threatening enough to Europe nor perceived to hold any civilizational achievements to make them interesting topics to feature in ballads at great length. Therefore, most ballad representations of America's indigenous people are either throw away references, such as in *Trade's Release*, or coincide with particularly noteworthy events. Unfortunately, as accounts of the first encounters between European and Native American culture are almost entirely written by Europeans, history is lacking in contemporary accounts of indigenous responses to Europeans on their own terms, unadulterated by a European intermediary voice.⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁸¹ Adams, *The Best and Worst Country*, p. 52.; Vaughan, pp.57-84 (p. 58). The colonists drove the indigenous people from the land, hunting them with bloodhounds. Villages and crop were burnt, and the colonists also ensured that any remaining Native Americans would starve by destroying fishing-weirs and taking stores of corn to Jamestown. See Smith, 'Broadside and Their Music', pp.157-367 (p.180).

⁸⁸² Bernard W. Sheehan, *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 173.

⁸⁸³ Vaughan, pp.57-84 (p. 58).

⁸⁸⁴ Many attempts have been made to transcribe traditional Iroquoian oral history and these narratives do provide one of the few roads to understanding the conceptual world of the indigenous inhabitants of the northeast of America. However, it is not the unmediated voice of these people. The antiquity of any specific story cannot be assumed, and these stories could well have altered in the years of their telling before they were transcribed. At the start of the research for this thesis, I had hoped to compare Native American oral history to English balladry to a greater extent. However, such a complex topic, presenting problems of teleology as well as unknown origins and dissemination records of oral history demands a fully devoted study, and is beyond the scope of what can be attempted here. Anthony Wonderley states that Iroquois oral culture is badly neglected and so hopefully historians will, through increased attention on these narratives and appropriate scholarly rigor, yield useful analysis. See Brian Rice, *The Rotinoshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History Through the Eyes of Tebaronhia:wako and Sawiskera* (New York:

This section of the chapter will examine two significant events in the history of English encounters with Native Americans, as well as some wider, more passing, depictions of them in ballads and other street literature. The ballads provide very little information about the specific identities of the indigenous people, as the most common descriptive term is ‘Indian’. This term is a white conception since the original inhabitants of America never referred to themselves through an all-encompassing term, nor saw themselves as a single people.⁸⁸⁵ However, the early modern printing presses in Europe distributed representations in print and image at such a rate that there quickly developed an idea of the Native American (a representative of every indigenous culture, which were considered to be all essentially the same), which was intrinsically different from the European.⁸⁸⁶

Before examining how cultural relations deteriorated to the point that the systematic erasure of the indigenous population could be described as ‘a deed of worth’, it should be noted how the initial perceptions of Native Americans were formed.⁸⁸⁷ Since the first arrival of Europeans in the Americas, the local populations had been described in detail in ethnographic accounts. Many of these accounts are very similar. There is usually a focus on religious practice, the possibility of conversion to Christianity and a discussion of the human or bestial nature of the locals. This discussion is most often framed in regard to their civilisation, social structure and capacity to reason. Some of the earliest European imaginations of the inhabitants of America were shaped by the images contained in the works of Théodore De Bry. The first volume of De Bry’s *Admiranda Narratio* was published in 1590 and supplied images to Thomas Hariot’s *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*.⁸⁸⁸

Syracuse University Press, 2013) and Anthony Wonderley, *At the Font of the Marvelous: Exploring Oral Narrative and Mythic Imagery of the Iroquois and Their Neighbors* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2009).

⁸⁸⁵ Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), p. 3.

⁸⁸⁶ Berkhofer, p. 10.

⁸⁸⁷ *Good News from Virginia*, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

⁸⁸⁸ Michèle Duchet, ‘Le Texte Gravé de Théodore De Bry’, in *L’Amérique de Théodore De Bry: Une collection de voyages protestante du XVI^e siècle, Quatre études d’iconographie*, ed. by Michèle Duchet (Paris: CNRS, 1987), pp. 9-46 (p. 15).

Hariot had been part of the early expeditions to Virginia, led by Richard Grenville, and he published his report in 1587. It was a piece of promotional literature presenting the Algonquian people as not to be feared, and acknowledging that they had customs, lawful government, religious beliefs and some admirable skills.⁸⁸⁹ De Bry's engravings to accompany Hariot's work were not products of his imagination. He adapted the watercolour paintings of John White, which were made in America and represented the flora, fauna and indigenous people White saw.⁸⁹⁰ The detailed portrayal of indigenous lifestyles in John White's paintings could hardly be more different to the representation of Native Americans in *Good Neues from Virginia*. It is true that two different indigenous groups are depicted in the paintings and ballad. However, the subtle differences would have been invisible to the English colonists.⁸⁹¹ Whilst *Good Neues from Virginia* refers to 'sauage murderers', White's paintings demonstrate that there was nothing inherent in these people that should cause alarm.⁸⁹² The earliest images of the indigenous Virginians seen by Europeans were, by the standards of the time, highly ethnographically sensitive, depicting culturally sophisticated people living in an organised society.⁸⁹³ It is, therefore, worth investigating why the image presented in *Good Neues from Virginia* is the total antithesis of this, and what the motivations are behind the image it presents.

The ballad is constructed in a language of opposition. This was not only common for contemporary polemical writing, but particularly in reports of massacres in cheap print. Joad Raymond notes that common details and tone appear in descriptions of massacres of Protestants

⁸⁸⁹ Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'New Worlds and Renaissance Ethnology', *History and Anthropology*, 6:2-3 (1993), 157-197 (p. 186).

⁸⁹⁰ Duchet, pp. 9-46 (p. 15).

⁸⁹¹ White's paintings were of the Secotan (a group Carolina Algonquians) who lived on the mainland southwest of Roanoke island. The Secotan were a distinct group from the Powhatan peoples encountered by the English further north in Jamestown – it is the Powhatan who are described in *Good Neues from Virginia*. However, these two groups were closely related in language and culture. See Paul Hulton, *America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White* (London: British Museum Publications: 1984).

⁸⁹² *Good Neues from Virginia*, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.; Kim Sloan, 'First Images of the New World: "Lost Colony" Governor John White's Early Paintings Colored European Views for Centuries', *American Heritage*, 58:5 (2008), 46-53 (p. 48).

⁸⁹³ Sloan, pp.46-53 (p. 48).

by Catholics (for instance, 1572 in Paris, 1641 in Ireland and 1655 in Piedmont).⁸⁹⁴ This discourse revolved around painting the aggressors (Catholics) as violent and cruel. A significant text upon which this tradition of massacre reporting drew was John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563).⁸⁹⁵ This was the second most popular book in early modern England and it had widespread impact on Protestant culture – a central theme of the book is the Catholic propensity for graphic violence.⁸⁹⁶ This theme can be clearly seen in the 1572 ballad *Ane new ballet set out be ane fugitiue Scottisman that fled out of Paris at this lait murthber* by Robert Sempill. The ballad, published in St. Andrews, was aimed at both Scottish and English audiences. The ballad opposes the cruel and wicked Mary Stuart and Catherine de Medici on the one side, with the virtuous Elizabeth I on the other.⁸⁹⁷ Sempill 'divides the world into persecutors and martyrs', emphasising the Catholics' delight in cruelty which is evident through their 'lowd lauchter'.⁸⁹⁸

The language of binary opposites in *Good Newes from Virginia* is steeped in the tradition of massacre reporting in cheap print, helping to create a highly emotive response in the audience. However, the ballad integrates another discourse which, whilst it serves the same purpose of dividing the actors into two groups (the evil aggressors and the virtuous persecuted party), was not present in narratives of Catholic-Protestant massacres. In *Good Newes from Virginia*, the Englishmen are diametrically opposed to their 'foes' in two key respects. The most common words used to describe the Native Americans in this ballad are 'heathen' and 'savage', thereby forming an obvious juxtaposition with the colonists, whom the ballad implicitly shows to be Christian and civilised. The first European accounts of the exploration of America almost all emphasise the perceived fact that its inhabitants lacked basic humanity. The claims varied in specific details, but common themes were that the Native Americans held no law, arts, sciences,

⁸⁹⁴ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 103.

⁸⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 103.

⁸⁹⁶ Ethan Howard Shagan, 'Constructing Discord: Ideology, Propaganda, and English Responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1641', *Journal of British Studies*, 36:1 (1997), pp. 4-34 (p. 9).

⁸⁹⁷ John D. Staines, *The Tragic Histories of Mary Queen of Scots, 1560-1690* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), p. 81.

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 82.; Robert Sempill, *Ane new ballet set out be ane fugitiue Scottisman that fled out of Paris at this lait murthber* (Imprentit at Sanctandros be Robert Lekpriuik, Anno. Do. 1572) ESTC S124250.

religion, family or society, and that they practiced incest, bestiality, cannibalism and human sacrifice.⁸⁹⁹ The common theme emerging from this corpus of early modern ethnographic writing was the idea of civility versus barbarism. The primary function of the word ‘barbarian’ in early modern ethnographies was to distinguish between people who belonged to the observer’s own society, and those who did not.⁹⁰⁰ From the European perspective, most non-Europeans, and practically all non-Christians – including civilisationally advanced cultures such as the Ottomans – were classified as barbarians.⁹⁰¹ The term barbarian and the civilisation-barbarism paradigm were applied to many different groups, but all usages were linked by the implication of inferiority.⁹⁰²

The language used to refer to the natives in *Good Newes from Virginia* carries connotations of the civilisation-barbarism paradigm, but it is also shown in another comparison between the two cultures. The ballad describes a skirmish between the colonists and the Powhatan warriors who ‘shot with Arowes manfully, till bullets answered them’.⁹⁰³ This line highlights to the contemporary audience the vast technological difference between the two sides. The civilised English colonists were proficient in the use of gun powder, whilst the Powhatan – a definite sign of their primitivism in the eyes of the ballad audience – fought with bows and arrows. Another example of the perceived primitivism of Native Americans being encapsulated by the choice of

⁸⁹⁹ Alan S. Rome, ‘Being Human in Early Virginia’, *Renaissance Studies*, 29:5 (2015), 701-719 (p. 707). Rome notes that it is interesting that, whilst the concept of cannibalism had become inextricably linked with America in the early modern mindset, the indigenous Virginians were never burdened with this association. It is possible that English, embarrassed about their alleged own cannibalistic practices in the Starving Time of 1609-1610, did not want to level such a hypocritical attack on others. This could be the case, regardless of whether or not Herrmann’s argument that the cannibalism narrative was an invention of colonial leaders to defend themselves from blame and assure investors that the Starving Time was a freak disaster that would not occur again. See Herrmann, “Tragicall historie”, pp.47-74.

⁹⁰⁰ Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 15.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 13-14.

⁹⁰² *Ibid*, p. 15. An example of the way the civilisation-barbarism paradigm manifested itself in European dealings with the outside world was the debate of Valladolid in 1550. The debate took place after Charles V ordered the cessation of further conquests and the expansion of Spanish territory in South and Central America until a council determined whether it was legitimate to forcefully subjugate the natives before attempting evangelisation. See Orlando Bentancor, *The Matter of Empire: Metaphysics and Mining in Colonial Peru* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017).

⁹⁰³ *Good Newes from Virginia.*, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

weaponry can be found in a speech from Thomas Jordan's 1672 pageant. The personification of America states that she was invaded and 'became a Prey / To divers Nations, who did rob and slay / My naked Natives, such as knew no Art / In War-like Weapons, but the Bow and Dart'.⁹⁰⁴ However, the military primitivism in *Good Newes from Virginia* may be overemphasised in order to paint the English as victims of the savage, uncivilised Native Americans which existed in the European consciousness. One of Opechancanough's conditions for allowing indigenous children to live in Jamestown, or other English settlements, was that the colonists had to provide the Powhatan with muskets and instructions on how to use them.⁹⁰⁵ The ballad attempts to justify the attacks upon the Powhatan by emphasising their savage primitivism and the danger they pose to the colony. To further state the difference between the two cultures, it encapsulates the conflict between them in the image of musket against bow and arrow.

The motivations behind the massacre are not covered in *Good Newes from Virginia*. The history of the uneasy peace held together by the aggressive style of diplomacy by Captain Smith is also absent.⁹⁰⁶ The ballad assumes the audience has already heard of the events from its opening line, 'No English heart, but heard with grieffe, / the massacre here done', and provides no information on the actual massacre.⁹⁰⁷ Instead, its value in terms of its description of historical events is in reflecting the change in the behaviour of the English colonists towards the indigenous people. Before 1622, it had been assumed that some local tribes would live in close proximity to the colony with economic, social and perhaps even biological integration occurring.⁹⁰⁸ This view was shattered by the 1622 massacre which was seen, not only as violent

⁹⁰⁴ Thomas Jordan, *London Triumphant: The City in Jollity and Splendour: Expressed in Various Pageants, Shapes, Scenes, Speeches and Songs* (London: Printed by W. G. for Nath. Brook and John Playford, 1672), p. 10. ESTC R229430.

⁹⁰⁵ Games, 'Violence on the Fringes', pp.505-529 (p. 511).

⁹⁰⁶ Smith's diplomacy involved dragging Opechancanough around by the hair, nearly drowning another chief in a river and taking Pocahontas prisoner to secure a peace treaty. See Vaughan, pp.57-84 (p. 65; 67). It seems logical to agree with the conclusion that the massacre was as a result of increased English encroachment and impingement on native life, and that it was a key part of a strategy devised by Opechancanough with the intention of reinstating Powhatan dominance, discouraging further English settlement, and keep the English confined within Jamestown in a tributary status. See Games, 'Violence on the Fringes', pp.505-529 (p. 512).

⁹⁰⁷ *Good Newes from Virginia.*, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

⁹⁰⁸ Vaughan, pp.57-84 (p. 82).

and brutal, but also as a clear case of Native American treachery and betrayal of English trust.

The official Virginia Company response to the event was Edward Waterhouse's *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affairs in Virginia*, produced in 1622.⁹⁰⁹ This describes how houses were 'generally set open to the Sauages, who were alwaies friendly entertained at the tables of the English, and commonly lodged in their bed-chambers'.⁹¹⁰ The ballad refers to the 'sauage treacheries' of the Native Americans.⁹¹¹ These are elaborated upon in Waterhouse's pamphlet:

They came vnarmed into our houses, without Bowes or arrows, or other weapons, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Durrres, and other prouisions, to sell, and trucke with vs, for glasse, beades, and other trifles: yea in some places, sate down at Breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their owne tooles and weapons, eyther laid down, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murdered, not sparing eyther age or sexe, man, woman or childe.⁹¹²

The result of the events of 1622 was an outpouring of English vitriol.⁹¹³ The colonists considered themselves culturally superior to the Powhatan and, therefore, such an effective, violent attack shook them to their collective core. This is reflected by the theme of victimisation and unfairness which runs through *Good Neues from Virginia*. The Powhatan are described as those 'who English did abuse' (meaning those who abused the English) and are referred to as having 'vs'd vs thus vnkind'.⁹¹⁴ The ballad audience were meant to pity the English, who are portrayed as defenceless, and to revile the savage heathens 'that massacred our men'.⁹¹⁵ The theme of victimisation occurs in both the account of the 1622 massacre in Virginia and in the account of the 1623 Amboyna massacre. Alison Games argues that, although there is no link between the two events, the response to both in contemporary news and popular culture mirrored each other significantly. In the ballads, pamphlets, letters, formal reports and word of mouth generated by these two events, each incident is labelled as a massacre and the English

⁹⁰⁹ Games, 'Violence on the Fringes', pp.505-529 (p. 519).

⁹¹⁰ Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the state of the Colonie and Affairs in Virginia. With a Relation of the barbarous Massacre in the time of peace and League, treacherously executed vpon the English by the natie Infidels, 22 march last* (London, 1622), p. 12.

⁹¹¹ *Good Neues from Virginia.*, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

⁹¹² Waterhouse, p. 13-14.

⁹¹³ Rome, pp.701-719 (p. 719).

⁹¹⁴ *Good Neues from Virginia.*, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid.

painted as victims.⁹¹⁶ Victimisation proved a useful tool because it could incite further violence as the English asserted their claim to different territories and seized new opportunities for commercial and geopolitical prominence.⁹¹⁷ Casting the Powhatan as traitors, who cruelly attacked unprepared colonists, provided a retaliatory motive for the English and it allowed them to glory in the bloody revenge they would inflict on their enemies. Representing the indigenous people as uncivilised heathens, the ballad enables its audience to more easily pity the English dead and find the massacre to be horrific. Simultaneously, the audience could celebrate the fact that ‘Captaine Hamour plaid his part, / in seuerall riuers by: / in shedding many Indianes bloodes’, without any hypocrisy.⁹¹⁸ The theme of victimisation makes this ballad all the more powerful for its audience in terms of creating an emotional communal moment. It facilitates a form of emotional closure on the massacre itself by celebrating the restoration of the ‘proper’ cultural hierarchy as the civilised English take revenge upon the savage Native Americans.

It was vital to the Virginia Company to be able to explain the damage inflicted by the massacre in order to protect their mission and their investment.⁹¹⁹ Waterhouse stated that the colonists believed themselves to be safe from attack because it was

aduantagious to both parts; to the Sauages as the weaker, vnder which they were safely sheltered and defended; to vs, as being the easiest way then thought to pursue and aduance our proiects of buildings, plantings and effecting their conuersion by peaceable and fayre meanes.⁹²⁰

The texts produced by the Virginia Company, or through its patronage, were essential to the attempts in explaining the massacre. In addition to Waterhouse’s pamphlet and *Good Newes from Virginia*, there were several other texts: *A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia*, a poem by Christopher Brooke; *Mourning Virginia*, a non-extant ballad; and a play, *The Plantation of Virginia*, that has also been lost.⁹²¹ The plays, ballads and pamphlets demonstrate the techniques

⁹¹⁶ Games, ‘Violence on the Fringes’, pp.505-529 (p. 507).

⁹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 507.

⁹¹⁸ *Good Newes from Virginia*, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

⁹¹⁹ Games, ‘Violence on the Fringes’, pp.505-529 (p. 517).

⁹²⁰ Waterhouse, p. 12.

⁹²¹ Games, ‘Violence on the Fringes’, pp.505-529 (p. 519).

developed in England to interpret and to respond to the violence faced by the colonists.⁹²²

However, for the Virginia Company, the massacre had more terminal effects. By 1624, investigations following the massacre had revealed that the English population was much lower than it should have been (even when the Powhatan attacks were taken into account), having not risen above pre-massacre levels despite the arrival of over 1,000 settlers in the intervening two years.⁹²³ The Company never recovered and was eventually dissolved, coming under royal control in 1624.⁹²⁴

The Virginia Company had tried to survive in the face of criticism about its effectiveness, and the representation of Native Americans was part of this survival strategy. By labelling the attack as a massacre, and portraying themselves as victims, the English could exploit the event for rhetorical purposes and use it to justify an expansionist colonial policy. The popular print produced after the massacre sought to explain it and to excuse the Virginia Company from blame. An example of such an excuse is in the line, ‘for many reasons long, we lay, and no reuenge did take.’⁹²⁵ *Good Newes from Virginia* admits that the colony suffered from starvation, but it argues that an aggressive policy will solve this. It states that, once the massacre has been revenged, then ‘Great store will be of euery thing, / that we so long haue wanted’.⁹²⁶ As with many of the writings published in the wake of the massacre, the ballad explains the poor state of the colony by displacing blame entirely onto the Powhatan, rather than facing the harder reality of problems with the land itself or the governance of the colony.⁹²⁷ *Good Newes from Virginia*, just like Rich’s *Newes from Virginia*, typifies the common propaganda ballads that attempted to turn tragic events into premonitions of a promising future.⁹²⁸

⁹²² Ibid, p. 520.

⁹²³ See Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, chapter five.; Carville V. Earle, ‘Environment, Disease, and Mortality in Early Virginia’, in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, ed. by Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), pp. 96-125.; and Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan’s World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), p. 163.

⁹²⁴ Fitzmaurice, pp. 24-42 (p. 24).; Games, ‘Violence on the Fringes’, pp.505-529 (p. 523).

⁹²⁵ *Good Newes from Virginia.*, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

⁹²⁶ Ibid.

⁹²⁷ Adams, *The Best and Worst Country*, p. 133.

⁹²⁸ Kevin J. Hayes, *A History of Virginia Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 56.

Blaming the Native Americans also helped to support colonial expansion. The line that describes the Powhatan fleeing from the colonists, 'leaving both land and corne to vs, / which stood vs in great stead', acknowledges the food supply problems that the colonists faced and states how this will now help their recovery.⁹²⁹ However, more significantly, this can be read as an argument in support of expanding English colonialism since the indigenous people are leaving the land free to be taken. Contrary to the contemporary European myth, Europeans arriving in Virginia did not land in a pristine landscape unaffected by humans. The locals had been modifying the land, for many years, to grow crops and facilitate travel.⁹³⁰ However, because indigenous cultivation practices differed drastically from European styles, if the land was not obviously under cultivation, the English assumed it to be vacant.⁹³¹ Furthermore, Europeans acted under the assumption that, if land was vacant of human occupancy, any nation could claim both the land and political jurisdiction over it. Yet what appeared empty or underutilised to Europeans was owned and fully utilised according to tribal customs and economy.⁹³² This is a prime example of how the civilisation-barbarism paradigm functioned. The land did not match the English expectation of civilised cultivation and, consequently, the possibility of any use of it by the indigenous people was dismissed. Having been named after the Virgin Queen, there are repeated references to Virginia as a 'virgin land'. This discourse carried the double meaning of an untouched land, but also suggested that it contained much for the settlers to take 'as a husband would take his virgin bride'.⁹³³ The representation of Virginia as being empty and belonging to no one can be seen in both *Londons Lotterie* and Rich's *Newes from Virginia* in the similar lines, 'to plant a Kingdome sure, / where sauadge people dwell' and 'Wee hope to plant a Nation, / where none before hath stood'.⁹³⁴

⁹²⁹ *Good Newes from Virginia.*, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

⁹³⁰ Adams, *The Best and Worst Country*, p. 33.

⁹³¹ *Ibid*, p. 48. Adams also notes that, ironically, the colonists would have starved to death if the natives had been the nomadic savages of European myth rather than an agricultural people.

⁹³² Berkhofer, p. 120.

⁹³³ Armstrong, p. 68.

⁹³⁴ *Londons Lotterie.*, EBBA 20085, RI 1520.; Rich, 'Newes from Virginia Of The Happy Ariuall of that famous & worthy knight Sir Thomas Gates and well reputed and valiant Captaine Newport into England'.

These ballads convey contemporary attitudes towards Native American sovereignty and rights to land, playing on themes of introducing civilisation through planting and cultivation (arts of which the colonists did not believe the locals to be capable). In Virginia, the English tried to ignore the indigenous people by underestimating their total population and misinterpreting their use of the land, before engaging in a policy designed to remove them completely from the area.⁹³⁵ By stating that the land and food had been abandoned, the ballad implicitly leaves the English colonists as the rightful owners. Colonialist imagery, such as this, can be seen in other points throughout the ballad. The arrival of 1,000 people from England is described as '[terrifying] the Indians, / to heare this trumpet of fame'.⁹³⁶ The connotations of trumpets heralding processions suggests that the English have arrived to take control of an empty Virginia, which is celebrated in the line, 'four thousand gallant English hearts, / Virginia ouerspreds'.⁹³⁷ This military theme is also emphasised by the ballad's tune, 'All those that be good fellows'. This was a 'militant melody' (an antecedent of 'British Grenadiers') and was used a number of times for military ballads.⁹³⁸ The use of this tune proclaims not only the success of the English revenge, but also helps promise a period of English dominance and security.

Propaganda was a necessary tool to stave off growing criticism. The Virginia Company used various forms of print to inform English society that any problems within the colony were the fault of the Powhatan and, now that the threat had been resolved, the way was clear for additional immigration to Jamestown under even better circumstances than had previously existed.⁹³⁹ The dominance of the English, following the retaliation, is made abundantly clear by the woodcut depicting a heroic soldier (elbow prominently displayed), standing triumphantly over dead bodies (see Figure 25). Following the 1622 massacre, the reputations of the Native Americans in English representations suffered. The noble qualities that had occasionally been

⁹³⁵ Adams, *The Best and Worst Country*, p. 133.

⁹³⁶ *Good News from Virginia*, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

⁹³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹³⁸ Smith, 'Broadside and Their Music', pp.157-367 (p.181).

⁹³⁹ Adams, *The Best and Worst Country*, p. 133.

attributed to them were gone and, more significantly, so too was any recognition of their rights to land and freedom.⁹⁴⁰ The statistics showing the population of indigenous people in the Jamestown area paint a startling picture: there were 22,000 in 1607; this fell to 4,000 by the mid-1600s; and, by 1697, there were fewer than 1,450 remaining and they were confined in a small coastal population.⁹⁴¹



Figure 25: The victorious figure shown on *Good Neues from Virginia, Sent from James his Towne this present Moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman in that Country*. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Harding B 39(220).

Good Neues from Virginia marks a clear departure from the possibility of peaceful cooperation between Europeans and the indigenous population, which blossomed briefly and can be seen surviving in White's paintings. However, the people depicted by White did not align with the early modern imagined Native American. *Good Neues from Virginia* did not change or challenge public opinion in its depiction of Native Americans, who were not expected to be anything but savage. The indigenous Americans were assumed to all be broadly the same. Since 1492, a corpus of ethnographical literature, focusing on themes of European civility and native

⁹⁴⁰ Vaughan, pp.57-84 (p. 78).

⁹⁴¹ Adams, *The Best and Worst Country*, p. 54.

barbarism, had permeated the European mind. A sudden, savage and unprovoked attack was not out of character for the Native American that existed in European consciousness. *Good News from Virginia*, therefore, plays on this representation of Native Americans to deflect criticism of the colony's failings and shift responsibility onto these savage figures. It is illuminating to compare the representation of Native Americans in *Good News from Virginia* to those found in a set of ballads from nearly a century later. Upon first examination, there appears to have been a substantial change in their representation. However, many of the underlying paradigms are the same and the representation is still strategically framed to suit political interests.

Four Kings, each God's Vicegerent,
With Right divine inherent,
Have lately cross'd the Main, Sir
An Audience to gain, Sir
Of Britain's empress Anne.⁹⁴²

This is the opening verse to one ballad printed in London in 1710. The ballad is called 'The Royal Embassy' and it describes the visit of four Native Americans to England. They presented themselves on 19 April 1710 to Queen Anne and asked for aid against the French in Canada. They said that, without help, they must 'forsake [their] Country, and seek other Habitations, or stand Neuter [in Britain's war against the French]'.⁹⁴³ In addition to this, they asked for missionaries to be sent over as, through contact with the English, they 'had some Knowledge of the Saviour of the World'. Furthermore, the French had been trying to buy their support 'by the Insinuations of their Priests'.⁹⁴⁴ An alliance with the Iroquois could be highly favourable to the British because the power relations in North America between the British, the

⁹⁴² 'The Royal Embassy: Or, A ballad on the Progress of the four Indian Kings, that have come so many thousand Leagues to see her present majesty', in *Have at you blind Harpers: Three Ballads Concerning the Times* (London: printed by J. Baker, 1710), pp. 3-5 (p. 3). The printer, John Baker, accounted for a significant proportion of the earliest broadsides and pamphlets relating to the visit. He appears to have printed the first four editions of the speech, the first of the accounts of the speech in longer texts, the *Have at you blind Harpers* chapbook, and the first two editions of the ballad 'The Four Indian Kings' which was the most enduring cultural artefact of the visit. Eric Hinderaker, 'The "Four Indian Kings" and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 53:3 (1996), 487-526 (p. 500).

⁹⁴³ *The Four Indian Kings Speech To Her Majesty. London, April 20. 1710* (London: Printed, and sold by John Baker, at the Black Boy in Pater-Noster-Row, 1710) ESTC T5943.

⁹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Iroquois and the French were shifting, but no single party held the upper hand.⁹⁴⁵ The speech by the four visitors was not just heard by Queen Anne and her court. The visitors made a huge impact on London and people eagerly consumed the literature printed in connection with their visit. Not only was their speech published repeatedly as a broadside (in verse in one edition), but the four were also portrayed in ballads, verses and newspapers.⁹⁴⁶ Furthermore, the epilogue spoken to them at the performance of *Macbeth* they attended was issued separately as a broadside, and handbills advertising a performance in their honour at Punch's Theatre were sold widely with a woodcut image of the four 'kings' quite literally centre stage.⁹⁴⁷

This delegation is significant for many reasons. Firstly, it represented official contact between the monarch of Great Britain and leaders of the Iroquois Confederacy – although it must be noted that, in reality, none of the 'Four Kings' were the equivalent of royalty or even held particularly special status among the Iroquois.⁹⁴⁸ Secondly, the visit resulted in the first major mission of the English Church to the Iroquois people.⁹⁴⁹ Finally, and most importantly for this study, the four visitors made a significant impression on the people of London, who thronged to see them, and a large volume of literature was produced connected with their visit.⁹⁵⁰ In these popular contexts, the kings were ambiguous and contradictory. Ballads, and other popular literature, record the complicated responses Londoners had to these ambassadors, and

⁹⁴⁵ Kevin R. Muller, 'From Palace to Longhouse: Portraits of the Four Indian Kings in a Transatlantic Context', *American Art*, 22:3 (2008), 26-49 (p. 30).

⁹⁴⁶ Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 499-500). Richard Steele devoted part of a number of the *Tatler* to the visit and Joseph Addison devoted an entire number of the *Spectator* to the 'kings'. See Firth, *An American Garland*, p. xxxvi-ii.

⁹⁴⁷ Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 500). For the handbill with the woodcut image of the four 'kings' standing on stage, see *At Punch's Theatre. For the entertainment of the four Indian kings, viz: (A) The Emperor Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row. (B) King Sa Ga Yean Qua Rah Tow. (C) King E Tow oh Koam. (D) King Oh Nee Yeath Tow no Riow. This present Munday, May 1. at seven a-clock* (London: [s.n.], 1710) ESTC T8272. The 'kings' were highly visible during their visit. They did not only interact with London's elite. They stayed in Covent Garden, amongst the theatres. Here, and in places like Leadenhall market, bearbaiting venues and even Bedlam Hospital, they met the city's poor and middling classes. Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 77.

⁹⁴⁸ 'The Royal Embassy'; Muller, pp.26-49 (p. 33).

⁹⁴⁹ Richmond Bond, *Queen Anne's American Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 63. The visit even caused a fundamental change in the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel's approach to missionary activity. When the Society was created in 1701, its focus had been on the establishment of churches for English colonists in America, the conversion of the indigenous population was a secondary and neglected concern. The visit of 1710 reversed these priorities. See Hinderaker, 'The "Four Indian Kings"', pp.487-526.

⁹⁵⁰ Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 497).; John Garratt, *The Four Indian Kings* (Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1985), p. 36.

show how the indigenous inhabitants of North America were imagined during this period.⁹⁵¹ In this section, instead of examining the ballads individually, I will pick out three major themes that shaped the manner in which the audience viewed the four kings (and Native Americans more generally): the notion of indigenous Americans being savage and primitive; concepts of Native American sovereignty over their land; and the religious divide separating the two cultures.

The notion of the four visitors as kings is a complete inaccuracy, as only one could really be described as a sachem or chief. This was Theyanoguin, who belonged to the council of the Mohawk tribe but not to that of the Iroquois Confederacy as a whole (and, even among the Mohawks, he was a minor figure).⁹⁵² Another of the visitors was not even Iroquois but, instead, was Mahican; and the last two were simply pro-English Mohawks who had no formal claim to leadership status.⁹⁵³ In reality, these Iroquois ‘chieftains’ were young, relatively powerless anglophiles, and only one of whom represented one of the five tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy.⁹⁵⁴ Their status as royalty was a carefully constructed representation by their British handlers, designed to further the British imperial effort in North America. The Iroquois themselves were actually divided into pro-French and pro-British factions and, whilst the Iroquois League adopted a policy of neutrality, various groups ignored this and made ties with the colonial Europeans (hoping that final peace would benefit them at the expense of their internal enemies).⁹⁵⁵

The first theme to be examined in the ballads is that of the visitors being savage or primitive. It makes sense to start with this theme because it was so dominant in *Good Newses from Virginia*. This will provide a point of comparison to see how this concept continued across the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth. In the first verse of the white-letter ballad *The Royal*

⁹⁵¹ Noelle Chao, ‘Music and Indians in John Gay’s Polly’, in *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 297-316 (p. 305).

⁹⁵² Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 490).

⁹⁵³ Ibid, p. 490.

⁹⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 491.

⁹⁵⁵ Muller, pp.26-49 (p. 33).

Strangers Ramble, it is stated that 'Four Monarchs of Worth, / From their Kingdoms set forth, / Without Hose or Shoes to their Feet'.⁹⁵⁶ This instantly forms a juxtaposition between the concept of monarchy and poverty. This line clearly displays to the audience that, whilst these strangers may be monarchs, they are completely unlike the model of European monarchy. This reflects negatively upon the culture of the four visitors and the early modern audience would be left to wonder, if the Native American kings have no shoes, how primitive and poverty-ridden must the rest of their society be? The difference between these visitors and European monarchs is further reinforced by the statement that 'Belts made of Beads', one of the main gifts of the visitors to Queen Anne, 'are to mean for Crown'd Heads'.⁹⁵⁷ Just as in *Good News from Virginia*, in which the two cultures were represented by two cultural artefacts (bow and musket), the two cultures are here represented by wampum belts and crowns.⁹⁵⁸ The ballad clearly scorns the status of wampum belts, seeing them as the equivalent of European crowns in announcing the status of their wearer to Native American society, but falling far short of deserving the respect of civilised Europeans.

The four visitors were not enemies of the British crown, so the ballad does not have the blood thirsty call for revenge which is prominent in *Good News from Virginia*. However, it is clear that, even if the visitors were perceived as Native American royalty, this was not considered to be of comparable status to European monarchy. The main reason for this was their lack of civilisation and inherent primitivism. The ballad emphasises that they were too impressed by the grandeur of London (showing that civilisation was novel to them), saying, 'Heav'ns! how they star'd, / To see how the Cits far'd' and that they would take an opportunity to own Leadenhall 'In lieu of the Realms they controul'.⁹⁵⁹ This lack of familiarity with civilisation is linked to the

⁹⁵⁶ *The Royal Strangers Ramble, Or, The Remarkable Lives, Customs, and Character of the Four Indian Kings: With the manner of their Daily Pastimes, Humours and Behaviours since their first Landing in England. Render'd into Pleasant and Familiar Verse.* (1710), NLS, Crawford.EB.399, EBBA 33206.

⁹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁸ Wampum belts, made of rows of beads woven together, were used for ritual purposes and were a fundamental sign of Iroquois diplomacy, which centred on the exchange of symbolic objects between parties. See Muller, 'From Palace to Longhouse', pp.26-49 (p. 30).

⁹⁵⁹ *The Royal Strangers Ramble.*, EBBA 33206.

concept of primitivism. Again, in the same manner as *Good News from Virginia*, their techniques of warfare encapsulate this notion.

The ballad ‘The Royal Embassy’ was printed in a small chapbook collection of three topical ballads. It describes one of the visitors and, even though it attributes martial valour to him, his weapons are still ‘Poll-Ax, Sword and Spear’.⁹⁶⁰ The primitivism of the visitors is reinforced by another line from ‘The Royal Embassy’, which depicts them in a child-like way: ‘To give these Iroquois, Sir, / Some Baubles and some Toys, sir, / Their Majesties lik’d best.’⁹⁶¹ The notion of Native Americans as children who need guidance will be returned to when examining native sovereignty. It is noteworthy that, although this ballad differs greatly from *Good News from Virginia*, there are many similarities in the ways in which material objects are used to represent each culture when being compared and that the indigenous people are portrayed as savage and uncivilised.

In addition to the concepts of primitivism, *The Royal Strangers Ramble* is also notable for bestial imagery. The visitors are defined by the line, ‘this Irroquois Breed’, which carries non-human connotations; and one section of the ballad ties in ideas of primitivism with animalistic imagery: ‘Where they Tippled and Roar’d, / ‘Till like Hogs they all Snor’d, / And laid down and Kennel’d together.’⁹⁶² In their public appearances, the four visitors would not have been expected to speak eloquently, if at all. Therefore, like European monarchs, they were judged by characteristics such as their bearing (for which the English elite held very high standards).⁹⁶³ Eric Hinderaker states that the surviving evidence indicates that the four visitors performed their roles admirably.⁹⁶⁴ However, an analysis of ballads and other street literature would seem to contradict this view. Not only does *The Royal Strangers Ramble* describe the unrefined, boisterous nature of the visitors with animalistic imagery of pigsties and kennels, but a pamphlet called *The*

⁹⁶⁰ ‘The Royal Embassy’.

⁹⁶¹ Ibid.

⁹⁶² *The Royal Strangers Ramble*, EBBA 33206.

⁹⁶³ Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 495).

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 494.

Four Kings of Canada also noted the crude behaviour of the visitors. An aspect of the visitors' behaviour which particularly displeased the author (who attributed this behaviour to all of the Iroquois) was the fact that, when they 'eat Fat Meat they rub their Hands upon their Face and Hair to clean them, and are perpetually Belching'.⁹⁶⁵ Furthermore, the visitors never 'sit on Chairs or Benches, but on their Heels'.⁹⁶⁶ Squatting down on one's haunches was common Native American behaviour but, to the British audience, it revealed that the supposed kings did not know the rules of refined male comportment: a gentleman or king should always stand in elegant positions, thereby displaying their fine form.⁹⁶⁷ The lack of civilisation and refined behaviour of the visitors was particularly highlighted by the act of squatting, which instantly suggested that they were unaccustomed to sitting on chairs. However, more significantly (and calling into question their status as kings), they were unfamiliar with the ultimate symbol of European kingship: the throne.⁹⁶⁸

Possibly the most famous artefacts surviving from the visit are the portraits of the visitors painted by John Verelst. These unique portraits are among the first painted portraits of Native Americans from the colonial period.⁹⁶⁹ These are extensively analysed by Muller, who states that the format and imagery of the Verelst portraits are remarkably like the conventions of the European state portrait.⁹⁷⁰ Queen Anne and her court provided a level of authenticity to the visit by adhering to established rituals and protocols associated with visiting heads of state, and the main aim of Verelst's portraits was to underscore the visitors purported status and authority.⁹⁷¹ Whilst some ballads and street literature may have taken a sardonic approach to the status of the visitors, Queen Anne (or at least her counsel) projected the official stance that these men were kings and deserving of portraits befitting their status. However, Verelst knew that

⁹⁶⁵ *The Four Kings of Canada. Being A Succinct Account of the Four Indian Princes lately arriv'd from North America* (London: Printed by John Baker, 1710), p. 29. ESTC N18536.

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 7.

⁹⁶⁷ Muller, pp.26-49 (p. 35).

⁹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 35.

⁹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 27.

⁹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 31.

⁹⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 35.

Native Americans could not be represented with exactly the same conventions as genuine European royals.⁹⁷² The civilisational gap was simply seen as too vast. Verelst, therefore, blended this style of portraiture with the conventions of painting Irish and Scottish subjects. This portraiture was another way of painting cultural difference, as both these groups emphasised their Gaelic heritage whilst rejecting English culture.⁹⁷³ By painting with these conventions, Verelst stopped just short of granting full monarchical status to the four visitors and still displayed the elements of cultural foreignness. The unwillingness to grant the visiting Native Americans a status equal to that of European royalty is reflected in the ballads as well.

Many Londoners, despite the efforts of the visitors' handlers, did not believe that these men were any form of royalty.⁹⁷⁴ This is well-illustrated by different sections from *The Royal Strangers Ramble* and 'The Royal Embassy'. Monarchs are heads of state and reflect the glory and sophistication of their respective states. With this in mind, the final verse of *The Royal Strangers Ramble* reveals a denigrating perception of Native American society: 'Since no one brought less / of Wealth, Knowledge and Dress, / Than these who from India are come, / And no one before / Return'd from our Shore / With so little Advantages Home.'⁹⁷⁵ The four visitors (and, therefore, their culture and society) are lacking in wealth, knowledge and – further evidence of their primitivism – dress. Even nearly a century after the 1622 massacre, ballads and street literature still represented Native Americans as a primitive people, and the savage and bestial qualities attributed to them had not disappeared. All the theatre of a state visit could not mask, from the early modern audience, the unfavourable comparison of the civilisational achievements of Britain to the conditions of indigenous life in America ('With so little Advantages Home'). This is most neatly summed up in a line from 'The Royal Embassy': 'They were but what they were, Sir, / For all this Embassade.'⁹⁷⁶ The royal status of the visitors was not universally

⁹⁷² Ibid. p. 32.

⁹⁷³ Ibid, p. 39.

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 35.

⁹⁷⁵ *The Royal Strangers Ramble*, EBBA 33206.

⁹⁷⁶ 'The Royal Embassy'.

believed or, at least, was not held to be the equal of European kingship. This had ramifications for the concepts of Native American sovereignty and independence. The presentation of these themes in ballads justified British colonial activities. At times, both 'The Royal Embassy' and *The Royal Strangers Ramble* seem to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Native Americans and support their rights to their land. The first lines of 'The Royal Embassy' are 'Four Kings, each God's Vicegerent, / With Right divine inherent'.⁹⁷⁷ However, this is satirical and would not have been taken seriously by the ballad audience. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 broke the principle of hereditary succession, in order to install a Protestant ruler, and legislation was passed in 1701 to abandon the Stuart family and the potential for Catholic rule altogether. Therefore, the concept of a mandate from heaven had been disregarded by most Britons and only held sway for a minority of Jacobites.⁹⁷⁸

The instances in *The Royal Strangers Ramble* which indicate a concept of Native American sovereignty are in the context of conflict with the French: 'Should the French Man but dare, / Attack 'em in War, / Or insult 'em by way of Invasion', then the British 'Wou'd but joyn with their Race, / To recover their Birth-Rights from France'.⁹⁷⁹ This seems unusual since it stands in contrast to the traditional view of Native Americans as primitive people living in weak, stateless societies. However, projecting political sovereignty onto indigenous leaders was consistent with the desire to extend British imperial authority in America.⁹⁸⁰ The effect of this was to propose the existence of indigenous people who were capable of serving Britain as effective allies and agents in the empire-building process.⁹⁸¹ This is manifested in ballads through the theme of Britain as a protector or parent to the Iroquois. Early modern European discourse about the capability of Native Americans had, since some of the earliest intercultural contacts, been based

⁹⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁸ Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 501). Native American political systems were often used as a tool of comparison in European discourses about monarchy. The indigenous people of eastern North America, in particular, seemed to be 'the antithesis of absolute monarchy'. Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 46.

⁹⁷⁹ *The Royal Strangers Ramble*, EBBA 33206.

⁹⁸⁰ Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 488).

⁹⁸¹ Ibid, p. 488.

on the theory of natural slavery. This was challenged in the early-sixteenth century by Francisco de Vitoria in *De Indis*, which undermined the credibility of the theory of natural slavery.⁹⁸² In *De Indis*, de Vitoria dismissed the claim that Native Americans were a third species of animal (between man and monkeys). Instead, he saw them as fully-grown children whose rational faculties were complete and full of potential, but which had not been realised.⁹⁸³ The relationship between the locals and European masters was paternalistic. The Native Americans would one day grow into free and independent citizens but, until that point, must remain under European rule for their own benefit.⁹⁸⁴

Ballads referencing British interactions with the Iroquois and other peoples in this period reflect a conceptualisation of Native Americans as child-like and needing British guidance. Their military valour could be appreciated: one ballad recounts that one of the four visitors had ‘often sav’d his Nation’. However, this is deemed ‘a wond’rous Thing, Sir, / In any Heathen King, sir, / And of an Indian Race’.⁹⁸⁵ This man had natural valour, but it could be more efficiently channelled by the British imperialists, through careful guidance and instruction, in order to further British interests. *The Royal Strangers Ramble* mentions providing the Iroquois with muskets and telling them that ‘all those Arms / Were to keep ‘em from Harms, / Of which they would soon have a Tryal’.⁹⁸⁶ Through the presentation of the British as protectors and guides, the implication is that they are the intellectual superiors of the Native Americans. This then provided them with a justification for helping the locals govern the land, or to take it from them, so that it could be governed properly. Colonel Schuler, who was instrumental in arranging the visit, is described in ‘The Royal Embassy’ as ‘their Brother and Co-Ruler’ and the ballad states that he

⁹⁸² Pagden, p. 104.

⁹⁸³ Ibid. This concurred with the position adopted by many missionaries working in the Spanish colonies, who saw their task as primarily one of instruction. The indigenous people of those areas were not Jewish or Muslim – groups who, from the early modern Christian viewpoint, had to be forced to accept a religion which their own beliefs held in contempt – but merely ignorant, misguided people who could be shown the Christian truth. See Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*.

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 104.

⁹⁸⁵ ‘The Royal Embassy’.

⁹⁸⁶ *The Royal Strangers Ramble.*, EBBA 33206.

‘was made their Prince and Leadeer’.⁹⁸⁷ This line is a piece of propaganda that makes the visitors complicit in the loss of their own land and justifies British dominance. This can also be seen in the visitors’ printed speech, in which they (or at least their fictitious voices) refer to Anne as ‘our Great Queen’.⁹⁸⁸

A similar representation of Native Americans welcoming English authority, passing ownership and rights to land over to them, can be seen in Jordan’s *London Triumphant*. A personification of America addresses the Lord Mayor, misrepresenting her history to justify and legitimise English actions. She states that ‘When first Columbus found [her] out’ she lived at ease but, when Europeans learnt of ‘The ‘Treasures of Peru and Mexico’, she ‘became a Prey / To divers Nations who did rob and slay / [her] naked Natives’.⁹⁸⁹ She then complains about the actions of these nations: they ‘Ransack’d my Riches, over-ran my Land, / Ruin’d my Princes’. She describes how the ‘haughty Spaniard and the cruel Dutch’ brought over missionaries ‘To teach Religion’, but they only ‘stole [her] Goods’. Of all the European nations with which America has had dealings, she claims that only England was ‘peaceable and kind, / Full of Humanity, who did perswade / Me to a generous and fair way of Trade’.⁹⁹⁰ America is presented as having willingly chosen to be ruled by the English. The economic aspects of the relationship are again evident. The casting of America as complicit in agreeing to trade with the English allowed the audience to pride themselves that theirs was a benevolent, parental nation, far superior to its European rivals. In visits of various Native American ‘kings’ to Europe, it was Europe itself that was ‘the real show.’⁹⁹¹ They were treated to the greatest spectacle of European monarchy and their own political role was to serve as ‘symbolic personifications of their

⁹⁸⁷ ‘The Royal Embassy’.

⁹⁸⁸ *The Four Indian Kings Speech To Her Majesty*. London, April 20. 1710

⁹⁸⁹ Jordan, *London Triumphant*, p. 10.

⁹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁹⁹¹ Shoemaker, p. 38.

nations'.⁹⁹² However, Native Americans were also a tool through which English people could define themselves and reflect on their own society – the visit of the four 'kings' was no different.

There were several visits of Native Americans to England throughout the eighteenth century.⁹⁹³ In a variety of forms, day-by-day accounts of their doings and actions were printed and circulated. These representations were a way for Londoners to make sense of their own world, particularly focusing on violence, the consumption of alcohol and the changing roles of women.⁹⁹⁴ Notably, Joseph Addison claimed to have found a bundle of papers left by one of the visitors. In the guise of one of the visitors, Addison satirised English politics and manners.⁹⁹⁵ In both 'The Royal Embassy' and *The Royal Strangers Ramble*, there are references to the four visitors drinking with their hosts. The former describes the visitors 'with Blue-coat Boys a supping' whilst the latter states that 'the Blew Coat Boys came / In Respect to their Fame, / To invite the Four Warriours to Supper'.⁹⁹⁶ These lines are significant in terms of revealing how the visitors were used as not only political tools for international relations, but also for domestic political purposes.

At this time, and in the context of the War of the Spanish Succession, Tories were advocating a 'Blue Water' policy. This policy 'rose to a position of primacy in England' following the civil wars.⁹⁹⁷ Its focus was upon naval and colonial expansion, rather than the more expensive and exhausting continental campaigns favoured by Whigs.⁹⁹⁸ The four visitors were used as part of Tory strategy. They met with prominent Blue-Water Tories such as the Duke of Ormonde, and naval officials and facilities (which were central to the Blue-Water policy) were prominent in

⁹⁹² Ibid, p. 38.

⁹⁹³ See Thrush, *Indigenous London*.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 71.

⁹⁹⁵ Firth, *An American Garland*, p. xxxvii.

⁹⁹⁶ 'The Royal Embassy'; *The Royal Strangers Ramble*, EBBA 33206.

⁹⁹⁷ Daniel A. Baugh, 'Great Britain's "Blue-Water" Policy, 1689-1815', *The International History Review*, 1:10 (1988), 33-58 (p. 37).

⁹⁹⁸ Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 490).

the visitors' agenda.⁹⁹⁹ 'The Royal Embassy' and *The Royal Strangers Ramble* are Whig ballads that use association with Native Americans to criticise Tories. The verse stating that the Tories invited the 'Warriours to Supper' appears later than the verse which describes the visitors tipping and roaring and comparing them to hogs and dogs. The Tories are thereby denigrated since they wish to dine with these people in, presumably, a similar manner. This ties into a wider discourse in ballads which used bestial language for excessive drinkers (Tories were famous for their drinking of a 'loyal' health).¹⁰⁰⁰ There was also a popular woodcut that showed drinkers turning into animals.¹⁰⁰¹

The four visitors were political tools. They were used by Tories to advance the Blue Water political agenda at court and used by the opposing Whigs as a means of damning the Tories through mere association. Outside of the party-political context, the visitors were also used as political tools as they symbolically acknowledged Britain's superiority, seen in the repeated theme of the parental, guiding relationship. This then raises the question of how Native Americans would integrate into English society once they were 'grown up'. From the English perspective, this required two closely-related developments: becoming civilised and becoming Christian.¹⁰⁰² *The Royal Strangers Ramble* comments on the visitors' lack of Christianity, saying that they heard 'the Church Litany read: / But tho' it appears / It might strike on their Ears, / It never struck into their Head' and, afterwards, 'they return'd just as Wise as they were.'¹⁰⁰³ A

⁹⁹⁹ The 'kings' dined with the Duke of Ormonde at his estate and met with him twice more during their visit. They also toured Greenwich and dined with some of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty on board one of the Queen's yachts. Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 492-3).

¹⁰⁰⁰ See McShane Jones, 'Roaring Royalists', pp. 69-87.; and Angela McShane, 'Drink, Song and Politics in Early Modern England', *Popular Music*, 35:2 (2016), 166-190.

¹⁰⁰¹ See for instance, *Looking-Glass for Drunkards. Or, / The Good-Fellows Folly. / Moderately Depriving all such as practise the Beastly Sin of Inordinate and Excessive Tippling: / With an Admonition for the future to forbear the same.* (1674-1679), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.258, EBBA 21918.

¹⁰⁰² The capacity of Native Americans to become 'civilised' was widely discussed in seventeenth-century literature. Thomas Hobbes firmly believed that Native Americas would make the transition from savagery to civilisation, based on his assertion that they had a sort of government (one more like that of a large family than a state). He also believed that, whilst it would not happen during his lifetime, Native Americas had the necessary moral and intellectual predispositions to mature from hunter-gathers into civil nations. For more information of these wide-ranging debates that took place in the seventeenth century, see Springborg, 'Hobbes, Donne and the Virginia Company', pp.113-164.

¹⁰⁰³ *The Royal Strangers Ramble.*, EBBA 33206.

speculative depiction of cultural integration between Native Americans and Europeans, with conversion as a prominent factor, can be found in the ballad *The Four Indian Kings*. This was the most popular of the ballads connected with the visit of the Iroquois and, since its popularity endured throughout the eighteenth century, several slightly different versions exist.¹⁰⁰⁴ However, it is not a report of their stay, rather a fictitious, romantic narrative inspired by their visit. In the ballad, one of the visitors catches sight of a beautiful young lady in the court and sends a messenger to woo her for him. This ballad can be seen as an instructional piece, exemplifying how Christian women should behave. The visitor in this ballad is presented as a noble and tragic figure ‘catch’d in Cupid’s snare’.¹⁰⁰⁵ In his attempt to woo the lady, the visitor promises that he ‘is able to advance her / In our fine America’ and sends her lavish gifts like a ‘ring of gold / Set with diamonds’.¹⁰⁰⁶ The young visitor is presented as rich and noble, and if this was a ballad about any other visiting prince, it would be expected that she would consent to marriage. The problem, however, is his religion. The lady answers, ‘Tis against all true discretion, / To comply with what I scorn: / He’s a Heathen by profession, / I a Christian bred and born.’ She tells the servant, sent to woo her on the visitor’s behalf, that

Was he king of many nations,
Crowns and royal dignity,
And I born of mean relations,
You may tell him that from me
As long as I have life and breathing
My true God I will adore,
Nor will ever wed a Heathen,
For the richest Indian store.

The servant then beseeches the lady, saying, ‘be not cruel, / His unhappy state condole; / Q[u]ench the flame, abate the fuel, / Spare his life, and seve his soul.’¹⁰⁰⁷ Unlike in the previous

¹⁰⁰⁴ Chao, pp. 297-316 (p. 304).

¹⁰⁰⁵ *The Four Indian Kings. Part The First. How a beautiful Lady conquered on of the Indian Kings.* (1797-1846), BLO, Harding B 1(45), Roud Number: V653. The *Bon Sauvage* or Noble Savage tradition had long accompanied the Golden Age mythology of Western Europe. The *Bon Sauvage* was just one of several different forms, such as the *Bon Ethiopien*, *Bon Oriental* and *Bon Negre*. These were all used as conventions by early modern writers for voicing their hopes and desires, or criticising the institutions and custom of their own society. The use of the Noble Savage to criticise existing social institutions and propose reform reached its height with the philosophers of the Enlightenment. See Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian*.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *The Four Indian Kings.*, Harding B 1(45), Roud Number: V653.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

ballads discussed in this chapter, there is no civilisational divide presented between the visitor and the lady: he is wealthy, behaves nobly and exhibits no savage tendencies. For early modern Christians, the savage barbarian was a specific cultural type characterised by the polar opposites of the inherent features of civilised society. Christians lived in (supposed) harmony with one another and ruled by an established code of law. Barbarians, on the other hand, were believed to spend their days in ceaseless aggression and live without any recognition of laws.¹⁰⁰⁸ However, this visitor does not meet these criteria. The wider statement is that, if Christianity can be brought to the indigenous inhabitants of America, there is nothing to stop them integrating into British society.

This is the lady's ultimate response. If she is to marry the visitor, 'let him first be turned / From his gross Idolatry.'¹⁰⁰⁹ The servant replies that this should not present a problem, for the visitors had all said 'how well they lik'd this place; / And declared themselves right willing / To receive the light of grace'.¹⁰¹⁰ This is a classic imperial fantasy in which a heathen, colonised culture can be redeemed by the love of a civilised woman.¹⁰¹¹ This is seen in the servant's clear statement that her love will 'Spare [the visitor's] life, and seve his soul'.¹⁰¹² In Jacobean plays (which often vilify interracial couplings), women's bodies are frequently a site of struggle between the desire for clearly established boundaries between Self and Other, and the need for colonial trade and cultural assimilation.¹⁰¹³ In reality, this religious conversion aspect of the ballad relies on a misrepresentation of the religious affiliations of the visitors, who actually were already baptised when they arrived. Only by casting the prince as a heathen could he then be redeemed, and colonial expansion could then be justified.¹⁰¹⁴ The ballad then ends with the open possibility

¹⁰⁰⁸ Pagden, p. 20.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *The Four Indian Kings.*, Harding B 1(45), Roud Number: V653.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹¹ Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 504).

¹⁰¹² *The Four Indian Kings.*, Harding B 1(45), Roud Number: V653.

¹⁰¹³ Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 125.

¹⁰¹⁴ Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 504). As they had been influenced by Dutch and English colonists, the four visitors were, unlike most Iroquois Christians, Protestant rather than Catholic. Thrush, p. 76.

of conversion and marriage. However, a later version of the ballad includes an extra three verses where the visitor converts and weds ‘the charming Lady gay. / In a most splendid Manner, / Usherd by a glorious Train; / Honour’d with the Royal Presence / Of our late most gracious Queen’.¹⁰¹⁵ The four Iroquois visitors’ embassy made a lasting impression on the British public, and for a century after their appearance in London, the visitors were continually represented in woodcuts that adorned the many editions of *The Four Indian Kings*.¹⁰¹⁶ In many of these woodcuts they look like European monarchs, with crowns, sceptres and fur-lined coats (see Figure 26).¹⁰¹⁷

Even if their status as ‘kings’ was a misrepresentation, the presence of the four Native Americans in London, forming an embassy to the queen, is highly significant. Their presence was a result of the geopolitical manoeuvring for dominance between European and indigenous powers in North America. Popular literature, such as ballads and cheap print, provided a contested ground in which concepts, such as Native American nobility and sovereignty, were contrasted by prevailing paradigms of inherent barbarism, primitivism and religious simplicity.



Figure 26: The very European looking Native Americans shown on *The Four Indian Kings. Part The First. How a beautiful Lady conquered on of the Indian Kings*. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Harding B 1(45).

¹⁰¹⁵ *The Three Indian Kings’ Garland. Being a faithful and true Account how the powerful Charms of a Beautiful Lady conquered the Heart of one of the Three Indian Kings*. (1792?), BLO, Harding B 3(87), Roud Number V9913.

¹⁰¹⁶ Hinderaker, pp.487-526 (p. 518).

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid. There was a curious evolution in the depictions of the visitors as the eighteenth century progressed. With increasing frequency, the visitors were listed as three instead of four. Some ballads retain the title of *The Four Indian Kings* but the accompanying woodcuts only depict three figures. Hinderaker suggests a possible explanation might be a shift in the collective memory of the visit and the association of four kings with the three kings who attended the birth of Christ. There is a version of *The Four Kings* which carries a woodcut of three kings with a very bright star, and so he believes that this was a woodcut mostly used to illustrate a familiar Christmas story, pressed into service in another context.

‘The planting of this New-found Land, / with cares, with cost, and paines’

The early modern period was marked by increasing global connections and interactions. For England, its colonial activities in America brought it into further encounters and conflict with other European powers, as well as the Native Americans who already inhabited the lands in which the English settled. Ballads capture some of the most significant moments of colonial foundations and encounters, and they represented the new territories and indigenous peoples in strategically advantageous ways. *Londons Lotterie* provides insight into several elements of early modern life. The rise of the joint-stock business model was a significant development of the early modern period and, in ballads, we can see how they advertised to potential investors. *Londons Lotterie* is notable in its appeals to female investors and highlights their economic agency, which is often obscured. It is interesting to compare *Londons Lotterie* to *Trade’s Release*, as they both rely on very similar emotive techniques to encourage investment, particularly playing on religious and national pride. These ballads show the economic potential that colonies in the Americas were expected to yield. This can also be seen in *The Maydens of Londons brave adventures* which, read as anticipating colonial acquisitions following the Western Design of 1654-55, calls for migration and settlement to help England exploit the riches of foreign plantations to the greatest possible extent. Ballads resoundingly proclaim the benefits of colonial expansion. However, this was problematic when the colonies seemed to be suffering or underperforming. In ballads like *Good Newes from Virginia* and Richard Rich’s *Newes from Virginia*, we can see the efforts made to draw attention away from the Virginia colony’s failings, to displace blame and to promise that economic abundance would soon follow.

One source of economic stimulus came from the tobacco trade that started booming after the establishment of the colony in Virginia. The widespread adoption of smoking signified the scale of England’s oceanic trade. However, this was not just the transport of a foreign crop to England’s shores, but the transport of a foreign cultural practice into English society. This provoked a wide variety of responses which can be charted in ballads. Tobacco’s connotations

with savage, primitive peoples were castigated, and smoking was represented as a vice of drunkards and fools (my favourite ballad woodcut of tobacco consumption depicts a man smoking a pipe, with a chicken perched on his head).¹⁰¹⁸ However, the popularity of smoking and the widespread use of tobacco meant that its cultural origins could often be forgotten. In ballads, we can see that smoking was also seen as a fashionable habit, particularly among London's 'gallants'.

To keep the Virginia colony functioning, meet the labour-intensive demands of growing tobacco and combat the high mortality rate, it was necessary to maintain a high level of migration. Indentured servitude offered an appealing way to pay for passage to America for many people. However, many were taken against their will, having been tricked or forced by the spirits that preyed on people in port cities. The development of spiriting marks a moment in English colonial history before slavery became common in Virginia. The ballads about spiriting reflect a contemporary awareness of the problem, and its prominence in ballad narratives demonstrates the real danger which it presented. Ballads treated spiriting as both a humorous and a serious topic. However, it is significant that in both cases, the ballads were clear in their warnings of the fate that could await the unwary. Ballads, providing a vicarious preview of spiriting, instruct men and women to be suspicious of flatterers and seducers who profited from trickery. *The Trappan'd Maiden* ballad is particularly noteworthy amongst spiriting ballads, as it is set in Virginia and informs the audiences of the hardships faced by indentured servants.

The representation of Native Americans in ballads, when they appear, varied due to political and propagandistic motives. The 1622 massacre was an embarrassment for the Virginia Company and highlighted the many failings of their colonial enterprise. Therefore, the indigenous Powhatan of Virginia, whilst responsible for the massacre, were portrayed as the ultimate cause of all the colony's problems. *Good News from Virginia* assures its audience that,

¹⁰¹⁸ See *A New Ballad, Called The Husbandmans Delight: Or, A Song in the praise of Strawv.* (1688), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.317r, EBBA 21979.

now they have been dealt with, the colony will thrive. In its castigation of the Native Americans, the ballad describes them in the language of the civilisation-barbarism paradigm. The ballads about the visit of the four Iroquois in 1710 seem to suggest that the ways in which Native Americans were represented and viewed had significantly changed over the seventeenth century, as the ballads raise concepts such as indigenous sovereignty. However, closer inspection reveals that such notions were treated sceptically, and that the civilisation-barbarism paradigm still dominated. The seemingly more positive representations of Native Americans in 1710 are because of the need to legitimise British colonial expansion. In ballads and pageants, indigenous peoples are willingly complicit in the loss of their autonomy. These ballads relied on more subtle presentations of Native Americans rather than simply castigating them as savages. Whilst this theme, along with their lack of civilisation, was still evident, the emphasis turned towards them being child-like and needing guidance. The final stage in legitimising the British assuming control over indigenous lands was to present Native Americans as attracted to British culture and religion. This was most easily achieved by distilling the concept down to a romantic narrative in which the representative of a primitive culture is pacified, civilised and converted by a Christian woman.

There are many similarities, as well as significant differences, in the representation of Native Americans in ballads to the representations of another cultural group with which the English came into increasing contact during the global seventeenth century. However, this culture posed a threat to European society in many ways, and ballads played an important role in the ways in which it was received and understood. The next chapter will examine the ballad representations of English interactions with the Islamic world.

Chapter Four: Mixed Emotions

Early modern Europe had a long and complex history with the Islamic world, which represented both a military and theological threat. In dealing with the history of the relations between Christian Europe and the Muslim world, these two factors cannot be fully separated because they were inextricably linked in the contemporary mindset. Having come into significant contact with Islam in the early medieval period, the culture and conditions of life in the Islamic world were not a blank space on the early modern mental map, and western Europe possessed quite a detailed picture of Islamic life and practice.¹⁰¹⁹ However, this knowledge did not necessarily permeate down the social scale. Whilst many intellectuals in early modern Europe engaged with Islamic culture and the Qur'an in varied ways, actual knowledge amongst the majority of Europeans about the specific beliefs of Islam was rudimentary and, even then, often based on fundamental errors.¹⁰²⁰ Understanding that it recognised the existence of Jesus and the veracity of the Virgin birth, but also knowing that it rejected the notion of the Incarnation and the Trinity, many Europeans saw Islam purely as a heretical sect of Christianity.¹⁰²¹ The fundamental misunderstandings and lack of knowledge about Islam dictated much of the popular attitude towards it. John Mandeville's widely-read travel account reported that

¹⁰¹⁹ Noel Malcolm, 'The Study of Islam in Early Modern Europe: Obstacles and Missed Opportunities', in *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China 1500-1800*, ed. by Peter N. Miller and François Louis (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2012), pp. 265-288 (p. 278).

¹⁰²⁰ Scholarly involvement with the language and culture of the Arabs, and more particularly with Islam and the Qur'an, required justification. Most apologists for the study of Arabic writings between 1500 and 1800 emphasised the scientific and scholarly achievements of the Arabs and referred to the hidden treasure of knowledge and learning in the East waiting to be explored and exploited by Christian scholars. Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 3. For the early modern engagement with Islam, and the Qur'an in particular, see Jan Loop, 'Divine Poetry? Early Modern European Orientalists on the Beauty of the Koran', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 84:9 (2009), 455-488.; Alastair Hamilton, 'After Marracci: The Reception of Ludovico Marracci's Edition of The Qur'an in Northern Europe from the Late Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 20:3 (2018), 175-192.; Pier Mattia Tommasino, 'Bulghaith al-Darawi and Barthélemy d'Herbelot: Readers of the Qur'an in Seventeenth-Century Tuscany', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 20:3 (2018), 94-120.; and Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*.

¹⁰²¹ John Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 9. This view had its roots in seventh- and eighth-century treatises on Islam. John of Damascus wrote the theological compendium *The Fount of Knowledge* in 743. In this, there is a list of one hundred heresies of which the final one is Islam. Not a new religion, to John of Damascus, Islam was the most recent in a long line of deviant Christianities. See Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 51.

Muhammad had been a drunkard and explained that Muslims abstain from eating pork because the Prophet fell into a dung heap and was eaten by pigs – such ignorance legitimated prejudice, and prejudice turned into exclusion, derision and hostility.¹⁰²²

In the early modern period, the shadow of the Ottoman Empire loomed large over the European consciousness. The Ottomans had risen rapidly: defeating a Byzantine army in 1302; sending shockwaves through Europe by conquering Constantinople in 1453; and besieging Vienna in 1529 and 1683. They terrified early modern Europeans. Not only was this an expansionist power poised to sweep through Europe but, professing a religion which claimed to be the fulfilment of the Judaic tradition, it also posed a theological threat. This called into question fundamental beliefs. If Christianity were the true religion and Islam either a heretical branch of it or a separate, false religion, why was it spreading so quickly? Information about the Islamic world came to the majority of Europeans from the many contrasting and conflicting viewpoints of diplomats, merchants, theologians, artists, poets, pilgrims and slaves.¹⁰²³ These people relayed tales of wonder and disgust which mixed with preconceived ideas, and spread throughout Europe as stories, poems, folktales, sermons and oral news. Through these mediums, a set of notions was formed from which all Europeans drew their collective perceptions of Islam.¹⁰²⁴ Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar state that, in early modern England, most people formed their image of Muslims in theatres and churches.¹⁰²⁵ These were some of the most accessible and widely-known representations. However, ballads, which often feature Muslims (particularly Turks) in varying degrees of prominence, also played an essential role in furthering the dissemination of what were perceived to be set Muslim tropes.

¹⁰²² Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 32.

¹⁰²³ David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, 'Introduction', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. by David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 1-9 (p. 2).

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁰²⁵ MacLean and Matar, p. 26. Many of these opinions of Muslims lagged behind the more scholarly 'informed' views, and perpetuated medieval attitudes. See David R. Blanks, 'Western Views of Islam in the Premodern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. by David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 11-53 (p. 36).

It might be expected that early modern popular culture would have nothing but contempt for the Islamic world. However, whilst in many instances this is the case, ballads reflect a complex attitude towards Muslim culture. Muslims are referred to by a number of overlapping terms in ballads and popular literature, all of which evoke similar characteristics of violence and savagery (perceived characteristics of Muslims inherited from Europe's medieval polemical tradition). Yet a distinction can be drawn between the presentation of North African Moors and Ottoman Turks. The first part of this chapter will examine the presentation of Moors, considering the concepts of savagery and the perception of skin colour. The term 'Moor' did not refer to a clearly defined group. Moors were generally associated with the inhabitants of North Africa, but the term itself only referenced an identification with Islam (it was one of a number of terms that were bound together, in the early modern European mind, by the worship of Muhammad).¹⁰²⁶ The term 'Moor' derives from dual meanings of a Greek root: the first referring to an inhabitant of Mauretania (the Maghreb); and the second was an adjective meaning dark or dim.¹⁰²⁷ This term gained a more ethnographic sense of 'blackness' during the Middle Ages and, following the Islamic conquest of North Africa, became a synonym for Muslim.¹⁰²⁸ Whilst Moors and Turks were seen as violent and dangerous, there is greater similarity between the presentation of Moors to Native Americans (primitive and savage). The Ottoman Turks, on the other hand, whilst vilified for being savage heathens, could not be dismissed as primitive since they constituted a sophisticated military threat to mainland Europe. This difference in the awareness of the sophistication of Turks helps to explain that, even though (militarily) England encountered Moroccan forces and corsairs far more frequently, the Muslim threat which is most often invoked in ballads is the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁰²⁶ Daniel J. Vitkus, 'Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. by David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 207-230 (p. 225).

¹⁰²⁷ Brotton, p. 167.

¹⁰²⁸ Ibid, p. 167.

As well as being threatening, Islam held an inherent allure and many Christians converted when held captive by the Barbary Corsairs (either attracted by Islam's teachings or hoping for freedom). This led to the fear of renegade Christians infiltrating Europe to upset political and religious norms. These were not the only manifestations of Islam entering Europe. The boom of coffeehouse culture in Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century engendered fierce debate over people's participation in an Islamic cultural practice. Coffeehouses were seen as places of political sedition and rumour-mongering, and writers who wished to vilify coffee would focus on its foreign cultural origins. The allure of the Islamic world was not only due to an economic interest in their commodities. The final section of this chapter will examine the representation of romantic interactions between Christian men and Muslim women. In fictional romance ballad narratives, some Muslims are portrayed as deceitful, untrustworthy and evil, whilst others are admirable or heroic. Mostly, these more admirable Muslims were women, who would marry Christian heroes. In this way, these romance stories played out imaginative conquests of Muslim lands and people, both militarily and sexually. The political reality of the relationship between England and the Islamic world meant that these imperialist dreams could only really be expressed in fictional stories.

Blackness and Savagery

Early modern England was possibly never in closer contact with the Islamic world than under Elizabeth I. Her diplomatic isolation from mainland Europe meant that she had to seek trade agreements and military assistance against the Spanish from Morocco, as well as entering into talks with the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰²⁹ This period is also renowned for the plays produced for the Elizabethan stage. Many of these dramas feature Muslim characters and even Muhammad. Of all non-Christian figures known to the contemporary audience, Muhammad was by far the

¹⁰²⁹ Ibid, p. 1.

most familiar and the story of his life was continuously told and retold.¹⁰³⁰ Muhammad was mostly referred to as ‘Mahomet’ by medieval and early modern Europeans and we should be aware of the difference between these two characters: the latter is a Christian construct of the former, and is significantly burdened with polemical discourse.¹⁰³¹ The stage representations of Muslims and Muhammad have been widely studied, but it is worth noting that many of the stories of these plays were adapted into ballad form.¹⁰³² These ballads, due to their small size, had to condense the plot of a play and so it is unavoidable that characters do not have the same level of complexity. However, this does not remove the value of studying them. As argued in the introduction, ballads are reductive – they simplify and reduce meaning. In them, the complexities of the global world and its cultures are boiled down to stock traits, and these would be at the forefront of the mind of the ballad audience when considering other places and cultures. In terms of Muslim characters described by ballads, as well as other forms of popular culture, these traits are violence, cruelty and a lack of remorse for evil actions. By the sixteenth century, because the general understanding of Islam’s theological dimensions was vague and contradictory, there were a number of terms used to denote Muslims.¹⁰³³ The most common terms were ethnically charged: Mahometans, Ottomites, Saracens, Persians, Moors, Pagans and Turks (the latter being a catch-all term for any Muslim).¹⁰³⁴ All of the collective nouns for Muslims in this period were ambiguous and ideologically loaded.¹⁰³⁵ However, as will be

¹⁰³⁰ Matthew Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. xii.

¹⁰³¹ Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. xiii.

¹⁰³² For studies on the many varying representations of the Prophet, see Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad* and John Tolan, *Faces of Muhammad: Western Perceptions of the Prophet of Islam from the Middle Ages to Today* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).

¹⁰³³ Brotton, p. 9.

¹⁰³⁴ Other names for Muslims were taken from the biblical tradition: ‘Ishmaelites’ labelled them as descendants of Ishmael, whilst ‘Hagarenes’ was a reference to Ishmael’s mother Hagar. The term ‘Muslim’ itself was not used in England until 1615 and ‘Islam’ first mentioned in 1625. See Tolan, *Saracens* and Brotton, *This Orient Isle*.

¹⁰³⁵ Johanna Tóth, ‘Topography of a Society: Muslims, Dwellers, and Customs of Algiers in Antonio de Sosa’s Topographia, e Historia General de Argel’, in *Practices of Coexistence: Constructions of the Other in Early Modern Perceptions*, ed. by Marianna Birnbaum and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2017), pp. 103-141 (p. 122).

presently argued, some differences between the representations of Turks and Moors can be highlighted.

One of the most violent and, for the modern audience, uncomfortable to watch of Shakespeare's plays is *Titus Andronicus*. The ballad version is called *The Lamentable and Tragical History Of Titus Andronicus* (in addition to its title, anyone unfamiliar with the play would have been instantly tipped off to its cheeriness by the ballad's use of the tune 'Fortune my Foe'). The antagonist in this ballad, just as in Shakespeare's play, is a Moor. The narrative, which involves murder, rape, mutilation and cannibalism, features a Moor who is notable for committing 'such Murders like were none before'.¹⁰³⁶ The Moor is described as delighting 'in villany'. He demands that Titus cut off his own hand to secure his sons' release from prison. Titus does so willingly ('I grieved not to see it bleed'), but the Moor does not honour the agreement.¹⁰³⁷ The potential for Muslims to be violent and untrustworthy are themes that occur throughout many ballads.

A Lamentable Ballad of the Tragical end of a Gallant Lord and a Vertuous Lady was published between 1658 and 1664, but its roots lay in the earlier ballad *A strange petyfull novell Discourynge of a noble Lorde and his Lady with thayre tregicall ende of them and thayre ij children executed by a blacke morryon*, which was entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1569-70.¹⁰³⁸ Also set in Rome, *A Lamentable Ballad of the Tragical end of a Gallant Lord and a Vertuous Lady* tells the story of a lord who has a 'blackamoor' servant. When this servant behaves in a manner of which the lord does not approve, the lord would 'him then correct, / in hopes he would amend'.¹⁰³⁹ As revenge for this, the Blackamoor waits until the lord has gone hunting and takes the lord's wife and children

¹⁰³⁶ *The Lamentable and Tragical History Of Titus Andronicus With The fall of his Sons in the Wars with the Goths, with the Manner of the Ravishment of his Daughter Lavinia, by the Emperres two Sons, through the means of a bloody Moor, taken by the Sword of Titus, in the War: with his Revenge upon their cruel and inhumane Act.* (1686-1693?), BL, Roxburghe 1.392-393, EBBA 30266, RI 1420. This ballad was entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1675 but ballad appears a few times throughout, also having been registered in 1656 and 1594. In the latter, a book and ballad were entered into the register together. See RI 1123 and RI 2643. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 99; 124; 229).

¹⁰³⁷ *The Lamentable and Tragical History Of Titus Andronicus.*, EBBA 30266, RI 1420.

¹⁰³⁸ Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 220). (RI 2542).

¹⁰³⁹ *A Lamentable ballad of the tragical end of a Gallant Lord, and a Vertuous Lady, with the untimely end of their two children, wickedly performed by a Heathenish Blackamoor their servant, the like never heard of before.* (1658-1664?), UGL, Euing Ballads 197, EBBA 31955, RI 2677. This ballad was entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1675. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 232).

hostage. When the lord is alerted, he returns to the castle and begs the Blackamoor not to harm them. The Blackamoor then takes one child by both heels and ‘dasht his brains against the wall’; and he beheads the other child and ‘threw [the head] down the Wall, / into the Mote so deep’.¹⁰⁴⁰ If the narrative was not gruesome enough, a graphic woodcut adorns the ballad which emphasises the Blackamoor’s violence and savagery (see Figure 27). The woodcut freezes a frenzied moment of action into a dramatic tableau, in which it is notable that the Blackamoor’s savagery and primitivism are displayed by his lack of clothing. In a scene reminiscent of *The Lamentable and Tragical History Of Titus Andronicus*, the Blackamoor says to the Lord, ‘cut off thy Nose, and not one drop / of [your wife’s] blood shall be spilt.’¹⁰⁴¹ The lord instantly complies and calls to the Blackamoor to let her go, which he does, dropping her off the side of the castle. The lord then dies of a broken heart. The Blackamoor, laughing and taunting onlookers, shows himself to be completely unrepentant for his cruelty before committing suicide: ‘I know you’l torture me, / if that you can me get, / But all your threats I do not fear, / nor yet regard one whit.’¹⁰⁴²

In both *The Lamentable and Tragical History Of Titus Andronicus* and *A Lamentable Ballad of the Tragical end of a Gallant Lord and a Vertuous Lady*, there is no discussion of Islam and it is only the terms Moor and Blackamoor which indicate these characters’ beliefs. No more information was needed, these terms sufficiently carried connotations of violence and cruelty. It is a notable trait in ballads that Muslims are frequently used as a yardstick for measuring acts of cruelty. *The Horrid Murther Committed by Captain Green and his Crue* (discussed in chapter two) states that a ‘More Barbarous deed was never done, / even by the Blackamoor’.¹⁰⁴³ This scale of cruelty is also reflected in ballads by the use of the term ‘Moor’ as well as other collective nouns. In ‘Callis his wofull lamentation for her haplesse spoyle’ (c.1596) and *Monmouth Routed* (1685), Turks are used

¹⁰⁴⁰ *A Lamentable ballad of the tragical end of a Gallant Lord, and a Vertuous Lady.*, EBBA 31955, RI 2677.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴² Ibid.

¹⁰⁴³ *The Horrid Murther Committed by Captain Green and his Crue.*, EBBA 31097.

as a point of comparison for cruelty. ‘Callis his wofull lamentation for her haplesse spoyle’ was written in response to the fall of Calais to the Spanish in 1596. It compares Spain’s treatment of Calais to its treatment of its colonies in South America, saying, ‘Lyke these wretched men, / in the Indyes conquered, / dogd ech daye to death, / and with dogs devourd, / So is Callis nowe.’¹⁰⁴⁴ However, to fully emphasise the cruelty of the Spanish, the ballad introduces the Turks: ‘If faythlesse Turkes had wonne / what prowde Spaine hath done / mercye more they would extende.’¹⁰⁴⁵ Similarly, *Monmouth Routed* (a Whig ballad fiercely in support of Monmouth’s failed 1685 rebellion) describes the horrific actions of the king’s men in killing the rebels and states, ‘Sure the very Turk or Tartar, / could not act more Cruelty.’¹⁰⁴⁶ These ballads show that, as with ‘Moor’, ‘Turk’ was another term used to describe violent and bloodthirsty Muslims.



Figure 27: The violent and savage Moor shown on *A Lamentable ballad of the tragical end of a Gallant Lord, and a Vertuous Lady*. (1658-1664?), UGL, Euing Ballads 197, EBBA 31955 by permission of University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections.

¹⁰⁴⁴ ‘Callis his wofull lamentation for her haplesse spoyle’ in *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585-1616. Edited from the MS. by Andrew Clark [1851]* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), p. 241. For the manuscript see British Library Add MS 82932.

¹⁰⁴⁵ ‘Callis his wofull lamentation for her haplesse spoyle’, p. 241.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Monmouth Routed. Together, with his Promise and Resolution to Return again, a little before he left the Land*. (1685), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.239, EBBA 20853. The use of an Other in a point of comparison of evil actions is examined by Katie Sue Sisneros who shows how the image of the Turk in ballads was twisted to fill many different roles and served as a tool for political criticism. See Sisneros, “The Abhorred Name of Turk”.

Between the reigns of Queen Elizabeth I and Queen Anne, English society viewed Islam and Muslims through the twin prisms of the expansionist Ottoman Empire and the North African Pirates who threatened British shores and shipping.¹⁰⁴⁷ This is significant as there are some key differences in the representations of Turks and Moors in ballads. Both were vilified as heathen enemies, and all the nomenclature relating to Muslims overlapped and held similar associations. However, it is notable that, in ballads, the term ‘Moor’ seems to be most often used to discuss the perceived savage, bestial or primitive nature of Muslims. The term ‘Turk’, on the other hand, refers to a more militarily advanced and technologically sophisticated (but still equally violent and cruel) enemy. England’s main military conflict with North African Moors was in Tangier. England was granted control over Tangier in 1661 as part of the dowry of the Portuguese Princess Catherine of Braganza before her marriage to Charles II.¹⁰⁴⁸ English colonial expansion into Tangier raised many competing issues. A military presence in the Mediterranean was justified in the minds of hard-line Protestants as an attack on, or at least a threatening gesture towards, Catholic Spain.¹⁰⁴⁹ Furthermore, a base in North Africa promised access to the economic bounty of the Barbary coast: wax, hides, oil, almonds and silver mines.¹⁰⁵⁰ One English pamphlet referred to the ‘infinite Treasure’ of the African continent that might soon be England’s.¹⁰⁵¹ The Tangier project attracted significant investment and, with this, came pressure to fulfil economic and military expectations. However, the benefits failed to materialise.¹⁰⁵²

¹⁰⁴⁷ MacLean and Matar, p. 26.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Margarette Lincoln, ‘Samuel Pepys and Tangier, 1662-1684’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77:4 (2014), 417-434 (p. 417). Bombay was also part of Catherine’s dowry, but at the time Tangier was considered the greater prize as Bombay was thought to be too far distant.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Gabriel Glickman, ‘Empire, “Popery,” and the Fall of English Tangier, 1662-1684’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 87:2 (2015), 247-280 (p. 258).

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 252.

¹⁰⁵¹ *A Description of Tangier, the country and people adjoining with an account of the person and government of Gayland, the present usurper of the kingdome of Fez, and a short narrative of the proceedings of the English in those parts: whereunto is added, the copy of a letter from the King of Fez to the King of England, for assistance against his rebellious subjects, and another from Grayland to His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second: with divers letters and passages worthy of note, translated from the Spanish into English, and published by authority* (London: Printed for Samuel Speed, at the Rainbow in Fleet-street, near the Inner Temple-Gate, 1664), p. 18. ESTC R12756.

¹⁰⁵² Glickman, pp.247-280 (p. 261).

Militarily, the colony was threatened at sea by corsairs and Dutch fleets, it did not gain significant naval value as its port was unable to accommodate larger English warships and the land garrison struggled to repel the attacks of local warlords. The forces of the Moroccan leader, Elkhadir Ghailan, twice ambushed and massacred large contingents of English troops.¹⁰⁵³ Another factor which significantly undermined the colony was religion. Charles II's marriage to a Catholic concerned many Protestants in England, but the fact that the Tangier project was anchored upon an alliance with a Catholic power threw the court of Charles II into a world distinctly foreign to English Protestant culture.¹⁰⁵⁴ The growing closeness between Charles II and Catholicism set alarm bells ringing and it was a common complaint that Tangier was an avenue for Catholics to rise through public offices.¹⁰⁵⁵ Charles II used commissions in Tangier as a reward for ex-Royalist soldiers and, by 1666, it was reported that half of the serving officers (including two of the first three governors) were Catholic.¹⁰⁵⁶ The issue of Tangier also reared its head during the Exclusion Crisis. By raising troops to defend the English colony at Tangier, Charles II found himself accused of trying to create a standing army, which many Whigs feared might lead to the tyrannical imposition of Catholicism.¹⁰⁵⁷ Public opinion was drastically divided on the subject and Tories tried to encourage popular support for the colony. The ballad *The Norwich Loyal Litany* criticises 'a House of Commons, that / Will give the King no Money' and castigates 'those that did design and laugh, / At Tangier in Distress', as forcefully as possible, saying they were 'Mahometans worse by half, / Then all the Moors of Fez'.¹⁰⁵⁸

The white-letter ballad *An Elegie Upon the much lamented Death of that Noble and Valiant Commander; the Right honourable the Earl of Tiveot, Governour of Tangiers. Slain by the Moors* was written

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid, p. 261.; Adam R. Beach, 'Restoration Poetry and the Failure of English Tangier', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 48:3 (2008), 547-567 (p. 548).; Adam R. Beach, 'Baffled Colonial Discourse: Representing the First Decade of English Tangier', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, 31:2 (2007), 21-41 (p. 21).

¹⁰⁵⁴ Glickman, pp.247-280 (p. 258).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 265.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 265.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ingram, pp.53-80 (p. 75).

¹⁰⁵⁸ *The Norwich Loyal Litany*. (1682), HL, EB65 A100 682n4, EBBA 34531. Another version of this ballad is *A New Song, Being The Tories Imploration For Protection against the Whiggs*. (1682), HNL, HEH 480410, EBBA 32572.

in 1664 by John Crouch, one of the nine known authors of the Royalist newsbooks.¹⁰⁵⁹ This ballad mourns the death of the Earl of Teviot (Andrew Rutherford), who was killed in battle in 1664, and relies on many of the common representations of Moors: violent, savage and bestial. The violence of the Moroccan leader, Ghailan, is demonstrated by the line, ‘Villain, thou dost not fight, but massacre.’¹⁰⁶⁰ Ghailan and his men are compared to cowardly serpents who lurk ‘in the woods and grass, but dares not hiss / ‘Gainst a just foe; save when your Treachery can / Oppose a thousand to each single man!’. Through these lines, Crouch suggests that only by numerical inferiority were the English defeated. He then shows the Moors to be not only violent but unchivalrous too, with the line, ‘So Butchers conquer feeble lambs.’

The use of animalistic imagery is significant as this is one of the differences in the representations found in ballads between Moors and Turks. This is not to say that Turks are never dehumanised with animalistic imagery (references to Turks as dogs are common), but the theme is much more noticeable in relation to Moors and accompanies comments emphasising their primitivism. Animalistic imagery is central to Crouch’s *Elegie*. As well as the reference to serpents, the ballad contains a wish that ‘Lyons, Panthers and all natures Evils / Joyn in Battalio to destroy these Devils’.¹⁰⁶¹ The ballad states that, if this were to happen, ‘The Combat would appear more equal, when / Beasts fight with beasts, not beasts with civil men.’ As with the ballad descriptions of Native Americans, the influence of the civilisation-barbarism paradigm is clear in these lines. This is the root cause of the varying representations of Moors and Turks. Moors could be labelled uncivilised and, therefore, dehumanised for their perceived primitivism, as in the line, ‘Thou Africk Monster.’ It was far harder for ballads to do the same to the Ottoman Turks, whose civilisational and military sophistication could not be dismissed out of hand. To

¹⁰⁵⁹ Jason McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 93. The eight other men are: John Berkenhead, John Cleveland, John Hackluyt, Marchamont Nedham, Martin Parker, Samuel Sheppard, John Taylor and George Wharton. None of these men confined themselves solely to writing newsbooks; they also produced other forms of Royalist propaganda such as almanacs, pamphlets, plays, poems and ballads.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *An Elegie Upon the much lamented Death of that Noble and Valiant Commander; the Right honourable the Earl of Tiveot, Governour of Tangiers. Slain by the Moors.* (1664), NLS, Crawford.EB.363, EBBA 33068.

¹⁰⁶¹ *Ibid.*

further play on Royalist sympathies, the ballad reports that Ghailan 'In scorn has borrowed our grand Rebell's Name', referring to himself as Cromwell. As well as being characteristic post-Restoration, anti-Cromwellian rhetoric designed to generate a strong emotional response, this association of Ghailan with the 'grand Rebell' has implications for the way in which Tangier and the local people are represented. After the line about butchers conquering feeble lambs, the ballad compares this to the actions of Cromwell during the Interregnum, saying, 'thus, /Our Cromwel play'd the Cannibal with us.' Equating Cromwell with a cannibal demonises him as a savage and evokes the idea that he consumed and destroyed England and its people. However, more significantly, this is then followed by the hope that 'Hence-forth may every 'Tree, on hills or plains, / Make gallowses for Rebel-Africans'. The ballad equates Ghailan and his forces with Cromwell and the parliamentarians. This representation means that the Moors are rebelling against their rightful king, implicitly emphasising Charles II's claim over Tangier at the expense of the claim of the local Moroccans. The Moors' right to the land is removed by representing them as animals and as parliamentary rebels.

Continuing the animalistic imagery, the ballad calls for complete annihilation of the Moors, whom it refers to as 'Lyons Whelps', saying, 'both beast and den' must be destroyed.¹⁰⁶² To the audience, particularly those who (like Crouch) supported an English presence in Tangier, the Moors were a threat to the colony's productivity. Therefore, the ballad relies on animalistic imagery, along with the traditional depictions of the savagery and violence of Moors, to dehumanise them. As the antithesis of their savage opponents, the English are cast as noble and civilised (colonial identity is often constructed through such opposition). Again, as with the representation of Native Americans, dehumanising the Moors removes their claim to ownership of the land, leaving it free for English settlement. This particular view is explicitly reflected in *An Excellent New Ballad. He's or'e the Hills and far away*. This is a soldier's lament as he is separated

¹⁰⁶² Ibid.

from the woman he loves. He passes through one land ‘Where Savage Moors make their abode, / and Humane foot have never trode’.¹⁰⁶³ This colonial theme, which was also present in *Good News from Virginia* and the ballads about the visit of the four Iroquois, shows the land to be ripe for colonisation. This theme occurs at the end of Crouch’s ballad and frames the colonial desire within a religious motivation. It calls upon the audience, saying, ‘Now fight, now plant, and conquerours remain, / ‘Till Africa be Christian once again.’¹⁰⁶⁴ Crouch’s ballad justifies English colonial claims and encourages further financial and military aid to be sent to the colony through dehumanising Moors with animalistic imagery; belittling their political claims to sovereignty by equating them with Cromwell; and providing a religious motivation for colonial expansion. The ballad’s final line promises English victory, which is ensured by England’s past, for ‘Fate will not let a Cromwel hang alive’.¹⁰⁶⁵

The Tangier colony struggled on for nearly another two decades after Teviot’s death, but was finally abandoned in 1683. Self-interest had crippled the colony and, when it was besieged by Moors in 1680, accounts presented a shameful picture of a garrison barely able to defend the settlement.¹⁰⁶⁶ Reinforcements were sent, who did succeed in breaking the siege. When this news reached England, there was a wave of popular celebration.¹⁰⁶⁷ *A Proper New Ballad, Entituled, The Granadeers Rant* is a simple call-and-response ballad, but it firmly predicts that the grenadiers will comprehensively rout the Moors, through lines such as ‘Now we do see Tangier, / Wele make these proud Mores to fear’, ‘Wele make these proud Mores to yeeld’ and ‘Wele make these proud Mores to fall’.¹⁰⁶⁸ The repeated reference to the Moors being proud is significant when considered in light of theories of early modern masculinity. One of the most important characteristics of masculine behaviour was self-mastery, which then had implications for

¹⁰⁶³ *An Excellent New Ballad. He’s or’e the Hills and far away.* (1702-1712?), NLS, Ry.III.a.10(18), EBBA 34243.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *An Elegie Upon the much lamented Death of that Noble and Valiant Commander; the Right honourable the Earl of Tiveot.*, EBBA 33068.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁶ Lincoln, ‘Samuel Pepys and Tangier’, pp.417-434 (p. 422).

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *A Proper New Ballad, Entituled, The Granadeers Rant.* (1681?), BL, Roxburghe 2.582, EBBA 31201.

concepts of authority.¹⁰⁶⁹ Pride was a vice for which young men were excoriated.¹⁰⁷⁰ Therefore, the repeated reference to pride serves to lessen the Moors' masculine status – they are not full men. This then implies that they have no claim to competence or authority.¹⁰⁷¹

Another ballad written around the time of the siege is *The English Courage Undaunted: Or, Advice to those Brave Valliant Blades now going to Tangier, To Maintain the Old English Courage against the Moors*. The ballad proclaims English military valour, stating that they have never been cowards and 'Right Sons of Mars they ever prov'd, / against French, Dutch, and Spaniard too'.¹⁰⁷² The ballad's woodcuts show English troops marching and being led by a general with a very manly elbow (see Figure 28). The ballad encourages the soldiers to avenge Teviot's murder, saying, 'when you fall on them, brave Boys, / do not forget Lord Rutterford' and 'Revenge his Cause, brave Valiant Lads, / do not forget those English-men, / That suffer'd with him in that Treachery'.¹⁰⁷³ However, despite the military and propaganda efforts, the colony was eventually abandoned. Tangier never lived up to the hopes that it could rival other port-cities of the Mediterranean and, separated from England's main Atlantic trade and facing storms and Moroccan attacks, the colony never attracted a sizeable merchant community.¹⁰⁷⁴ Its supporters continued to proclaim Tangier's importance (with its strategic location at the mouth of the Mediterranean), but it proved ever more costly, unprofitable and politically divisive.¹⁰⁷⁵ Therefore, the decision was made to abandon the colony and destroy the mole which had been

¹⁰⁶⁹ See Jennifer Jordan, "'To Make a Man Without Reason": Examining Manhood and Manliness in Early Modern England', in *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. by J. H. Arnold and S. Brady (Basingstoke: Palgrave: 2011), pp. 247-62; Ann Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2012); Tim Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England', *History Compass*, 12:9 (2014), 685-693; and Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹⁰⁷⁰ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹⁰⁷² *The English Courage Undaunted: Or, Advice to those Brave Valiant Blades now going to Tangier, To Maintain the Old English Courage against the Moors. They that the English Courage have, Let them all march Tangier to save: For Courage contemneeth perils, at nothing is dismay'd But Cowardize indeed, is at any thing afraid.* (1680), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.214, EBBA 20825.

¹⁰⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁴ Tristan Stein, 'Tangier in the Restoration Empire', *The Historical Journal*, 54:4 (2011), 985-1011 (p. 1005). The Tangier colony's population consisted almost entirely of the soldiers stationed there and the merchants, whose trade was primarily geared around provisioning the garrison.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1005.

constructed in the harbour to protect ships, and could not be left as a gift to the North African corsairs.¹⁰⁷⁶



Figure 28: Brave soldiers going on Tangier on *The English Courage Undaunted: Or, Advice to those Brave Valiant Blades now going to Tangier*. (1680), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.214, EBBA 20825 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

The destruction of Tangier is decried in the Tory ballad ‘Tangiers Lamentation on the Demolishing and Blowing up of the Town, Castle and Citadel’. This ballad was included in *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs, All of them written since the Two late Plots*, printed in 1684. The ballad laments the abandonment of the colony which had received so much investment: ‘Now, alas Tangier! / That cost so dear / In Money, Lives, and Fortunes.’¹⁰⁷⁷ To reclaim some small victory, the ballad frames the destruction of the settlement as a wise tactical move as their enemy could not now use it: ‘Let the Moors Repine, / Their hopes resign, / Now the Pagan Troops are

¹⁰⁷⁶ Lincoln, ‘Samuel Pepys and Tangier’, pp.417-434 (p. 428).

¹⁰⁷⁷ ‘Tangiers Lamentation on the Demolishing and Blowing up of the Town, Castle and Citadel’, in *A Choice Collection Of 120 Loyal Songs, All of them written since the Two late Plots, (viz.) The Horrid Salamanca Plot in 1678. And The Fanatical Conspiracy in 1683. Intermixt with some New Love Songs With a Table to find every Song To which is added, An Anagram, and an Accrostick On The Salamanca Doctor* (London: Printed by N. T. at the entrance to the Old Spring Garden near Charing Cross, 1684). pp. 119-121 (p. 119). ESTC R221730.

cheated.¹⁰⁷⁸ It is staunchly in support of Charles II and James, Duke of York, arguing that the choice to abandon the colony was because Charles ‘values more / His subjects Lives and Pleasure, / Than all the Wealth of Africks shoar, / And Tangiers buried Treasure’.¹⁰⁷⁹ However, this buried treasure, which has been lost, cannot go unmourned. The ballad states, ‘It would grieve your heart, / Should I impart / The Gold and precious Matter / That lies opprest / In every Chest / Drown’d underneath the Water.’¹⁰⁸⁰ The ballad argues that, had the decision to destroy and abandon the colony ‘been done some years ago’, then ‘Of Horsemen and Postillions, / That sav’d some thou and Lives the blow, / And sav’d besides some Millions’.¹⁰⁸¹ As it is, the ballad questions ‘Of how many Souls, / And large Punch-bowls, / Has this been the undoing? / How many Tun / Of precious Coyn / Lie buried in the Ruine?’.¹⁰⁸² The decision to abandon the colony is presented as taken by the king to preserve the lives of his beloved subjects, at the expense of the wealth and possibility offered by the colony. Destroying the town and the mole was strategically wise, but the ballad laments what was lost. Animalistic imagery is also present in the ballad as it states that, now the settlement has been deserted, ‘to the Foe is left a Nest / For Serpents to engender.’¹⁰⁸³ The Moors are depicted as animals thriving in the ruins of a civilised settlement. In the ballads about Tangier, animalistic imagery was used to dehumanise the Moors, and to remove their authority and claim to sovereignty over the land. Such invectives were also often accompanied by references to skin colour.

In *The English Courage Undaunted*, there is a line which describes Moors (or Ghailan specifically) as ‘this black insulting foe’.¹⁰⁸⁴ This line is noted by Adam Beach, who argues that the ballad struggles to repress certain contradictions as it attempts to celebrate a long tradition of

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 119.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 121.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 120.

¹⁰⁸¹ Ibid, p. 120-121.

¹⁰⁸² Ibid, p. 120.

¹⁰⁸³ Ibid, p. 120.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *The English Courage Undaunted*, EBBA 20825.

English courage.¹⁰⁸⁵ He states that the ballad is only too accurate in its description of the Moors as an ‘insulting foe’, since the Moors certainly had much over which to gloat (the ambush that killed Teviot in 1664 also killed nearly 400 English soldiers).¹⁰⁸⁶ However, I believe that there is an additional layer of meaning within the reference to a ‘black insulting foe’, which ties into the theme of Moors as animalistic or dehumanised. The line can also be read to mean physically insulting, i.e. repulsive to look at. This reading complements the imagery present in the ballad, which focuses upon the physical appearance of Moors as ‘sordid Devils’ and ‘Swarthy men’.¹⁰⁸⁷ These lines play on medieval discourses which associate black or dark skin colour with sin and un-Christian behaviour. The interest in skin colour and its relationship to contemporary perceptions of beauty are reflected in early modern ballads.

Impossibilities. Or, A matter of no thing lists all the things that will occur before the ‘old world now is turned a-new’.¹⁰⁸⁸ These criteria are wondrous events, such as when ‘coaches doe the horses draw’ and when ‘Snailles surpass the arrows flight’. One of the criteria is ‘when the Moore has washt him cleane’.¹⁰⁸⁹ This is the only mention of Moors in the ballad, but it highlights the prevailing associations of Moors with uncleanness (both physically and religiously). The proverb, ‘to wash an Ethiopian white is to labour in vain’, was so frequently repeated in Renaissance English texts that it was even understood when either half of the sentence was omitted, and the ballad is probably adapting this phrase.¹⁰⁹⁰ When modern

¹⁰⁸⁵ Beach, ‘Restoration Poetry’, pp.547-567 (p. 557). In order to praise English courage, it requires its audience to be amnesiac about the military history of the previous twenty years. It references English prowess over the French and Dutch but given the public reaction to the frustrating failures of the naval battles of the Third Dutch War, it can be assumed that few members of the metropolitan London audience were likely to find much solace in the ballad’s baseless assertions. See Beach, ‘Restoration Poetry’, pp.547-567.

¹⁰⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 557.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *The English Courage Undaunted.*, EBBA 20825.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Impossibilities. Or, A matter of no thing, yet some thing youle find I know in the reading, will pleasure your minde, Then heare it I pray, and when you have done, You’le say that the thread is handsomely spunne.* (1611-1656?), BL, Roxburghe 1.164-165, EBBA 30102. Another such impossibility listed in this ballad is ‘When Turkes doe leave their Mahomet, / And all day long in churches set.’ The misidentification of Muhammad as the Muslim God will be examined later in this chapter.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹⁰ Anu Korhonen, ‘Washing the Ethiopian white: conceptualising black skin in Renaissance England’, in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. by T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 94-112 (p. 94).

historians come across references to skin colour in historical texts, it is all too easy to see them as direct antecedents to the racist discourses of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, this should be avoided. Historical ethnographies and cultural stereotypes certainly contributed towards the growth of modern racism but, in the early modern period, race had not yet emerged as a labelling device.¹⁰⁹¹ Instead, skin colour was central to the construction of identity.¹⁰⁹²

In the early modern period, colour was associated with emotions and morals and, consequently, treated allegorically.¹⁰⁹³ Understood in terms of the four colour-coded humours (blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile), emotions represented by the colour black (such as cholera and melancholy) were seen as needing to be cured, purged or mastered.¹⁰⁹⁴ These emotions occupied the most unstable and base positions in the colour hierarchy.¹⁰⁹⁵ When colour theory combined with contemporary beliefs about the effects of heat, it gave rise to the belief that inhabitants of warm environments were predisposed to madness and an abundance of black bile. They were seen as unable to manage or control their emotions, and vulnerable to temptations of evil actions.¹⁰⁹⁶ It was assumed that inner human characteristics were mirrored on the outside and that the surface of the body reflected the nature of the soul. Black skin was also associated with ugliness or, rather, with deformity.¹⁰⁹⁷ Early modern ugliness is a different concept to modern ugliness. Black skin could be perceived as ugly, but this did not mean that it could not incite lust.¹⁰⁹⁸ It was assumed that Englishmen carried the image of God in their bodies and faces, and so black skin revealed a lack of the clear, pure and white physical reflections of

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid, p. 95.

¹⁰⁹² Ibid, p. 95.

¹⁰⁹³ Margaux Deroux, 'The Blackness Within: Early Modern Color-Concept, Physiology and Aaron the Moor in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*', *Mediterranean Studies*, 19:1 (2010), 86-101 (p. 86).

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 88; 86.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 89.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 89.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Korhonen, pp. 94-112 (p. 96).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 102.

divine presence.¹⁰⁹⁹ The crucial difference was that love was thought to only be produced by white skin, but that black skin could provoke lust.¹¹⁰⁰

A peerelesse Paragon is a romantic ballad and, in the first half of the ballad, the narrator compares the beauty of the woman he loves to beautiful women from classical history. However, in the second part of the ballad, in a manner similar to Shakespeare's *Sonnet 130*, the narrator acknowledges his over-exaggerated flattery and describes his love in plain words, noting her physical imperfections: 'Her oven mouth, wide open stands, / her teeth like rotten pease.'¹¹⁰¹ There are references to Muslims as ugly and physically undesirable in both halves of the ballad. In the first half, the narrator references Helen of Troy (the most beautiful woman in the classical world), saying, 'The Grecian Helen was a Moore, / compar'd with my deare Saint' and, in the second half, the narrator states that his love's 'nose is of the Sarazens size'.¹¹⁰² Whilst these lines do not specifically reference skin colour, the terms 'Moor' and 'Saracen' alone would have been enough to conjure the required mental image of a dark-skinned heathen. In these ballads, descriptions of Muslims and Moors are not the main focus, but through minor lines they demonstrate the assumed characteristics of Muslims: violent, unclean and ugly. These themes were often used to associate Muslims with evil.

The Devils Oak tells the story of the Devil sheltering from a storm under an oak tree conversing with different travellers that pass him on the road, all of whom were of 'his own Colour and Complexion'.¹¹⁰³ The Devil calls to a collier, saying, 'Now I find by thy smell, that thou camest from hell.' In this ballad, everyone that the Devil encounters, with one exception, is defined by their profession and it is this that makes them physically darker or dirtier in some way

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 97.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 102.

¹¹⁰¹ *A peerelesse Paragon, Or, Few so chast so beautious or so faire, for with my love I think none can compare.* (1633-1669?), BL, Roxburghe 1.314-315, EBBA 30216, RI 2056. This ballad was entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1633. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 178).; See William Shakespeare, 'Sonnet 130', in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Sonnets and Poems*, ed. Collin Burrow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 640-641.

¹¹⁰² *A peerelesse Paragon, Or, Few so chast so beautious or so faire, for with my love I think none can compare.*, EBBA 30216, RI 2056.

¹¹⁰³ *The Devils Oak: Or, his ramble in a Tempestuous Night, where he happened to Discourse with men of several Callings, of his own Colour and Complexion.* (1683-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.364, EBBA 22028.

(such as the ‘Chimney-sweeper’ or ‘Gun Powder-man’). The exception to this is the ‘Tawny-Moor’, who is given no profession or any other description aside from being a Moor. Seeing him, the Devil ‘lleered on his tawny skin / crying friend art thou any Kin to me? / For sure your skin, doth resemble our Kin’.¹¹⁰⁴ These lines emphasise the link between dark skin and evil. In addition, they contribute to the view of Islam as Christian heresy, or Muhammad as the Antichrist, by suggesting that Muslims might be related to the Devil. Furthermore, the demonisation of black skin was helped by a longstanding Christian tradition of depicting demons and the Devil as black.¹¹⁰⁵ Figure 29 shows a common woodcut of a demon or the Devil, who is black, has bestial limbs and a protruding phallus. This prominent organ links the concept of sexual lust as a sin to the belief that black people were sexually unrestrained.

Playing on the physical appearances of the Moors, branding them all as fierce and ugly, helped to dehumanise them. It was in the interest of the proponents of the Tangier colony to encourage such depictions of Moors, so as to more easily call for their subjugation and destruction. The language in *The English Courage Undaunted* holds strong connotations of subjugation and slavery, calling for English men to overthrow ‘this black insulting foe, / And make him bow and bend to all, / that ever shall to Tangier go’.¹¹⁰⁶ The image of making enemies ‘bow and bend’, which refers to many historical forms of submission and acknowledgements of defeat, occurs elsewhere in poems and balladry. Edmund Waller’s *Instructions to a Painter For The Drawing of a Picture of the state and posture Of The English Forces at Sea, Under the Command of his Royal Highness in the Conclusion of the year 1664* directs the artist to extend the domain of English dominance to the African coast ‘and make the Moor before the English bend; / Those barb’rous Pyrats, willingly receive / Conditions, such as we are pleas’d to give’.¹¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, *The English Courage Undaunted* states that by pursuing the Moors, and making ‘the swarthy Devils run’, the

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁵ Korhonen, pp. 94-112 (p. 106).

¹¹⁰⁶ *The English Courage Undaunted*, EBBA 20825.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Instructions to a Painter For The Drawing of a Picture of the state and posture Of The English Forces at Sea, Under the Command of his Royal Highness in the Conclusion of the year 1664*. (1665), HL, EC65 W1563 665i, EBBA 34456.

English can make them ‘stoop and yield to all’ and ‘make them come and creep to [the English]’.¹¹⁰⁸ Like the representation of Native Americans, the Moors’ perceived savagery means that their lands can be claimed by the English, and their subjugation and annihilation can be celebrated:

Bring thousands of them to the ground
and let them sprawling lye,
No pity on them ever take,
but a pox on ‘um, let them dye.

Fill up their Fields with them, brave boys,
disable them from rising more,
Then quietness you shall enjoy,
when they lye sleeping in their gore.

It will be a terror to them that lives,
and make them ever stand in fear,
Of English-men, that shall be sent,
ever hereafter to Tangier.¹¹⁰⁹

Moors were perceived to be violent and savage, and their activities as pirates (which will be examined shortly) certainly posed a threat to European shipping in the Mediterranean. Yet they did not have the capability to pose a serious military threat to European society. They were seen as barbaric raiders, and so could be dehumanised and represented as savage and uncivilised. However, this same paradigm of depicting Muslims could not be applied to the Ottoman Turks, and herein lies the subtle differences in ballad representations of the Moor and the Turk. Appreciating these differences helps to navigate the many overlapping and intersecting terms that were used to refer to non-European groups.

¹¹⁰⁸ *The English Courage Undaunted*, EBBA 20825.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*



Figure 29: The Black-skinned Devil on *The Devils Oak: Or, his ramble in a Tempestuous Night*. (1683-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.364, EBBA 22028 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

Sophisticated Barbarians with a False God

In the seventeenth century, the Ottomans did not constitute a direct threat to English sovereignty, but the extent of their power cast a shadow over the early modern European mind. Turks appear in ballads more frequently than any other non-European culture. The fact that these are often only single line references (the main topic of the ballad being something entirely different) demonstrates the constant awareness of a distant threat that was, nevertheless, very real. The ballad *The Constant Seaman And his Faithful Love* is a romantic conversation between a man about to go to sea and the sweetheart that he leaves behind. She laments over the many dangers at sea and then mentions ‘the Turk / our mortal Enemies / Who up and down do Lurk’.¹¹¹⁰ Such was the fear of an Ottoman invasion of Europe, that their defeat at the landmark

¹¹¹⁰ *The Constant Seaman And his Faithful love.*, EBBA 21851.

1683 siege of Vienna was celebrated widely throughout Europe by Catholics and Protestants alike. Many ballads revel in the defeat and slaughter of the Ottoman soldiers but also demonstrate how the victory was perceived as a sure sign of God's support of Christianity over Islam.

The Christian Conquest, from 1683, is an account of the siege. The first verse states that 'the Infidels and Turks / Had raised mighty works / Before Viennas stately walls'.¹¹¹¹ This description of the Ottoman siege engines emphasises how great the Christian victory was by showing the strength of the Ottoman force. However, it is also a recognition of the Ottomans as a technologically advanced power. This theme is even more prevalent in *The Bloody Siege of Vienna*. This ballad plays on the bloodthirsty image of all Muslims, saying that the attack was launched by 'Three Hundred Thousand Turks in a Rage, / Who never spared Sex or Age'.¹¹¹²

The siege equipment employed by the Ottomans is also described:

They raised Batteries round the Town,
Which did Command the highest Towers;
Candy, nor Rhoads, nor Christian Crown,
Was never assaulted by such Powers.

Then all the Skies in Black did Mourn,
As if the Town like TROY might Burn:
Then just as JOVE doth shake the World,
With Thunder-Claps their Balls here hurl'd
Against our Walls, the Gates, and Forts,
Each shot Two Hundred Pound in weight.¹¹¹³

The reference to the destruction of Troy is notable, as many European intellectuals had ascribed ethnographic origins of Trojans to the Ottoman Turks. However, this view had undergone a significant shift during the Renaissance and, instead of emphasising the linguistic links between *Turcae* (Turks) and *Teuceri* (Trojians), Turks became regarded as descendants of primitive

¹¹¹¹ *The Christian Conquest. Being an Account of the great overthrow of the Turks before the Imperial City of Vienna, in Germany, who, by Gods Blessing and the happy Conduct of the King of Poland, the Duke of Lorain, &c were totally routed; having lost near One hundred thousand Men in the Field, Sixty thousand Tents, and two Millions of Money in the Grand Visiers Tent.* (1683), BL, Roxburghe 4.34, EBBA 31145.

¹¹¹² *The Bloody Siege of Vienna: A Song, Wherein the Turks have lost One Hundred and Sixty Thousand Men; being the greatest Victory that ever was obtained over the Turks, since the Foundation of the Ottoman Empire. Written by an English Gentleman Volunteer, that was at the Garrison during the Siege.* (1679-1685?), HL, EBB65, EBBA 34767.

¹¹¹³ *Ibid.*

Scythians.¹¹¹⁴ A few verses later, the ballad describes another siege technique the Ottomans brought to bear against Vienna: mining under fortifications to then blow them up – ‘A Hundred Mines at least they sprung, / Our Works blown up, both small and strong, / Quartered Men blown in the Air, / Kill, Kill, was all the Language there.’¹¹¹⁵ The Ottoman attack on Vienna was technologically advanced and reflected the might of a powerful state. Muslims are depicted as savage and violent in these ballads, but the ballads admit Islamic military sophistication. This admission would not have been granted to a ballad describing an attack by a force of Moors.

Contemporary popular attitudes and opinions are often revealed in passing allusions to people and places. Ballads provide excellent examples of this as, in them, conceptions and characteristics have to be reduced and expressed in the most basic possible format. Many ballads, whose subject is nothing to do with Turks or Islam, reveal a respect or at least an admission of Ottoman military prowess, valour and even technical and mechanical sophistication. For instance, heroic and valiant fighters are described as having ‘fought like a Turk’; an excellent sword used to slay a dragon was as good ‘as ever Turk or Spaniard made’; and a great victory is encapsulated in the line, ‘We triumphed like the Turk.’¹¹¹⁶ Such references are reminiscent of the medieval *Chanson de Geste*. In *The Song of Roland* (a classic of the genre), the Muslim adversary was as a fearsome but valiant opponent, who was as well-versed in chivalric ways as any Christian knight.¹¹¹⁷ Admittedly, this figure was an Arab rather than an Ottoman, but the cultural and civilisational accomplishments of the Arabs were appreciated throughout medieval and

¹¹¹⁴ Malcolm, ‘The Study of Islam’, pp. 265-288 (p. 277). For more information on Renaissance discussions on the origins of the Turks see Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), especially chapter two.

¹¹¹⁵ *The Bloody Siege of Vienna.*, EBBA 34767.

¹¹¹⁶ *A New Ballad Of a famous German Prince and a renowned English Duke.*, EBBA 33776.; *Courage Crowned with Conquest; Or, A brief Relation, how that Valiant Knight, and Heroick Champion Sir Eglamore, bravely fought with, and manfully slew, a terrible, huge great Monstrous Dragon.* (1672), BL, Roxburghe 2.81, EBBA 30554.; *A Turn-Coat of the Times. Who doth by experience profess and protest; That of all professions, A Turn-Coat’s the best.* (1675?), BL, Roxburghe 2.478, EBBA 30960.

¹¹¹⁷ Donald J. Kagay, ‘The Essential Enemy: The Image of the Muslim as Adversary and Vassal in the Law and Literature of the Medieval Crown of Aragon’, in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. by David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1999), pp. 119-136 (p. 121).

Renaissance Europe and so this figure, too, could be granted valiant qualities.¹¹¹⁸ Therefore, whilst all Muslims in ballads were perceived to have negative characteristics, the level of civilizational achievements dictated the specifics of their representations. Whilst scholarly Renaissance literature had a long history of depicting the Turks as uncivilised savages that destroyed learning, even these early polemics noted their military skills and strategic cunning.¹¹¹⁹ Similarly, ballads could not dismiss the Ottomans as primitive (as they did with Moors) and this respect of cultural advancement, manifested as military might, is revealed in minor references.

The Christian Conquest, as the title suggests, frames the siege of Vienna as a conflict between Islam and Christianity. The ballad contains no hint of Protestant-Catholic animosity and presents a unified Christendom united against an Islamic invader. This omission of the divided nature of Christian Europe may somewhat reveal the political persuasion of the ballad author. In England, the tensions between Tories and Whigs (and their respective associations with Catholic sympathies and hard-line Protestantism) were growing in the late-seventeenth century, peaking in the Exclusion Crisis and in the Glorious Revolution. It is notable that *The Christian Conquest* and *The Bloody Siege of Vienna* are Tory, anti-Whig ballads. This fact is demonstrated by their choice of tunes. *The Christian Conquest* was set to the Royalist anthem ‘When the King Enjoys His Own Again’, whilst *The Bloody Siege of Vienna* was accompanied by the tune ‘The Devil Assist the Plotting Whigs’. A similarly united Christendom was presented as under threat in the ballad *The Great Turkes terrible Challenge*. This ballad, published in 1640, marks the ascension of Sultan Ibrahim following the death of Murad IV. It states that Murad, ‘who doth all Christians hate’ and who ‘would devoure, / Each Christian kingdome by his power’, has declared war ‘Gainst Romes

¹¹¹⁸ Nina Dulin-Mallory, “‘Seven trewe bataylis for Jesus sake’: The Long-suffering Saracen Palomides”, in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. by David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1999), pp. 165-172 (p. 167-8). Nina Dulin-Mallory states that Palomides, the Saracen in Thomas Mallory’s *Le Morte D’Arthur*, is notable for sitting at the Round Table as fourth best knight in the world, following Lancelot, Tristram and Lamorak.

¹¹¹⁹ For more information on Renaissance attitudes towards the Ottomans, see Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); and Bisaha, *Creating East and West*.

Imperiall Majesty, / And King of Poland joyning nigh'.¹¹²⁰ However, even after his death, 'their Turkish hate, / Gainst Christian kings doth naught abate.' The ballad calls upon God to 'deliver Christians all' whilst Islamic powers move against Europe: 'The Turkes of Tunnis and Argier / To aggravate the peoples feare / With sixty saile of galleys goes / The Christian kingdoms to oppose.'¹¹²¹ One of the woodcuts adorning this ballad displays a Muslim soldier. His cultural identity is clear from his turban, moustache, clothing, scimitar (mostly lost from the woodcut) and the crescent moon hanging in the air above him (see Figure 30). The ballads presenting a Europe united against an Islamic threat would have appealed to Tories (who included Catholics, Catholic sympathisers and those who disagreed with the fanatical anti-Catholicism of some Whigs). *The Great Turkes terrible Challenge* predates the partisan conflicts of Whigs and Tories but, like the later ballads, depicts a great external power threatening a European way of life (regardless of Protestant/Catholic affiliation). These ballads argue that the persecution of Catholics and their allies should be set aside to concentrate on the true religious danger.

The Christian Conquest demonstrates a common misconception of Islam that proliferated in early modern Europe: that Muhammad was the Islamic God. Early modern Europe inherited many stories about Muhammad's life, which were constructs to undermine Islam's claim to fulfil the Judaic tradition. One popular rumour was that Muhammad spent time with Bahira (a renegade Christian monk) and, with him, altered Christian doctrine to create Islam. Bahira is mentioned in the *Hadīth*, but has no hand in the creation of Islam and instead recognises the future Prophet in the young Muhammad.¹¹²² It was also widely reported that Muhammad taught a dove to alight on his shoulder by hiding grain in his ear, thereby allowing him to claim that the Holy Spirit was speaking to him.¹¹²³ This myth was a clear attempt to argue Islam's status as

¹¹²⁰ *The Great Turkes terrible Challenge, this yeare 1640. Pronounced against the Emperour of Germany and the King of Poland by Soloma Hometh who lately deceased, but continued by his brother Ibraim, the first of that name.* (1640), Manchester Central Library – Blackletter Ballads (hereafter MCL), BR f 821.04 B49, EBBA 36010.

¹¹²¹ Ibid.

¹¹²² Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 139.

¹¹²³ Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 28.

heretical Christianity and to present Muhammad as perverting Christian doctrine. The image of the dove on his shoulder entered popular culture and became an allegory for useless religious prattle.¹¹²⁴ The ballad *Love lies a Bleeding* states that ‘now every Widgeon / talks of Religion, / But doth as little good as Mahomet and’s Pigeon’.¹¹²⁵ Similarly, the ballad *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) Drinks good Sack and is free from Treason* propagates this myth and another popular one that Muhammad was an epileptic, passing his fits off as divine revelation: ‘[Mahomet] was no Divine, / but a senseless Widgeon / [...] / Fall-sickness was his shame, / And his Throne shall have the blame, / for all his whispering Pidgeon.’¹¹²⁶



Figure 30: The vicious Turk threatening all of Christendom on *The Great Turks terrible Challenge, this year 1640*. (1640), MCL, BR f 821.04 B49, EBBA 36010 courtesy of Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives.

¹¹²⁴ Katie Sisneros, ‘Turk Ballads’, in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 8: Northern and Eastern Europe (1600-1700)*, ed. by David Thomas and John A. Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 535-549 (p. 539).

¹¹²⁵ *Love lies a Bleeding. By whose mortal wounds you may soon understand, What sorrows wee suffer since Love left the Land*. (1653-1659?), UGL, Euing Ballads 174, EBBA 31929.

¹¹²⁶ Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 31.; *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) Drinks good Sack and is free from Treason*. (1649-1675?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.243, EBBA 21903.

The vast majority of people in early modern Europe would have subscribed to the belief that Muhammad was the Islamic God and that he faked his miracles, being unaware that the Qur'an attributes no miracles to him.¹¹²⁷ This representation of Muhammad as the Muslim God is common in ballads. *The Christian Conquest* states that God defended Vienna's walls against the Ottomans and compares this to the role of Muhammad in the battle: 'Sure Mahomet was fast asleep / When Christians Canon made [the Turks] weep.'¹¹²⁸ This theme is dealt with further in the ballads *The Christians new Victory over the Turks in Hungaria near the Drave* and *Vienna's Triumph; With The Whigg's Lamentation For the Overthrow of the Turks*. In *The Christians new Victory*, the Ottomans are derided for how 'in Mahomet they vainly plac'd / Their trust, in vain his Shrines embrac'd, / He lets 'em still be slain and chas'd'.¹¹²⁹ *Vienna's Triumph* states, 'Their Mahomets aid, / they in vain did implore, / And they swear they'l not trust / the dull God any more.'¹¹³⁰ The ballad plays on the contemporary Tory criticism that Whigs supported the Ottomans since they were so vehemently anti-Catholic that they believed it better to ally with an Islamic power. Following the Whig embarrassment of Titus Oates and the Popish Plot, Tory ballads further mocked the Whigs by connecting them to Islam. The ballad *Dr Oats last Farewell to England* reports that Oates is travelling to Turkey to become a mufti to the sultan. It is performed in the persona of Oates, who refers to 'My God Mahomet'.¹¹³¹ In another ballad, Oates is lambasted by being accused of being 'Mahomets Saint'.¹¹³²

The assertion that their opponents were linked with, or supported, the Ottoman Empire was used by Whigs and Tories alike. Tories focused on the comparisons between the Whigs' desire to pass the Exclusion Bill and the rebellious Hungarian leader, Thököly, who sought to

¹¹²⁷ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 141.

¹¹²⁸ *The Christian Conquest*, EBBA 31145

¹¹²⁹ *The Christians new Victory Over the Turks in Hungaria neerer the Drave. In this Famous Battle the Christians kill'd near Twenty Thousand, took 120 Guns, the Grand Vizier's Tents and Baggage, to an inestimable value, of Gold, Silver and Jewels: a greater Victory was hardly ever known in Europe.* (1687), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.138, EBBA 20758.

¹¹³⁰ *Vienna's Triumph; With The Whigg's Lamentation For the Overthrow of the Turks.* (1683), BL, Roxburghe 3.912, EBBA 31240.

¹¹³¹ *Dr Oates Last Farewell to England He went on Ship-board upon Sunday last, with fourscore Bums to Attend his Sir-Reverence to Stom-Bola; where he's a going to be Mufty to the Grand Turk.* (1679-1685?), HL, EB65 A100 683d, EBBA 34532.

¹¹³² *The Granadiers Loyal Health. A Song.* (1683), HL, EBB65, EBBA 34789.

protect his country's Protestant constitution by allying with the Ottomans. This was used as evidence for a conspiracy between radical Protestants and Muslims, believed to be intent on overthrowing Christendom, renewing the English Civil Wars and welcoming an Ottoman invasion.¹¹³³ This mindset explains the presentation of a united Christendom against the Ottoman Empire that can be seen in Tory ballads, such as *The Christian Conquest* and *The Bloody Siege of Vienna*. This latter ballad states that German Whigs acted against 'God, the Emperour, and their Laws, / Yet still pretend Religion; / At the same time brought in the Turk'.¹¹³⁴ It believes that this is tantamount to apostasy and equates it with the attempts by English Whigs to exclude James, Duke of York, from the throne: 'They are all turn'd Mahometan, / Like ours, against the Duke of York.'¹¹³⁵ On the other side, Whigs castigated the growing closeness between the Ottoman Empire and England's nearest Catholic neighbour, France.

An alliance between a Catholic monarch and the Ottoman Empire was not surprising to many in England. This was because polemical Protestant discourse had, for years, described the Pope, the Roman Catholic church more generally, Muhammad and the Ottoman Empire as the Antichrist.¹¹³⁶ This manner of thinking was a development of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century discourse of *Turcopapismus* (a rhetorical identification of Roman Catholicism with Islam).¹¹³⁷ Therefore, to the contemporary Protestant observer, the cooperation of France and the Ottoman Empire confirmed Catholicism and Islam as heresies, and also confirmed the truth of Protestantism. This reaction is demonstrated in the ballad *The Boatswains Call*, discussed in chapter one, by its naming of Louis XIV as a 'Christian-Turk'.

The French-Ottoman connection appears in two ballads from 1689 (when the Whigs were enjoying their dominance following the Glorious Revolution). In *The French King's Vision*,

¹¹³³ Humberto Garcia, 'A Hungarian Revolution in Restoration England: Henry Stubbe, Radical Islam and the Rye House Plot', *The Eighteenth Century*, 51:1/2 (2010), 1-25 (p. 2).

¹¹³⁴ *The Bloody Siege of Vienna.*, EBBA 34767.

¹¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹³⁶ Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 55.

¹¹³⁷ Malcolm, 'The Study of Islam', pp. 265-288, p. 276. For more information on the *Turcopapismus* discourse see Noel Malcolm, *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), especially chapter four.

Louis XIV has a dream in a drunken state. A voice speaks to him, saying, ‘Lewis be humble, / and let the Protestant Princes alone, / Or the Crown from your Noddle shall tumble.’¹¹³⁸ A line of Protestant martyrs appears before him, bearing a banner with an inscription in ‘Protestant Gore’, saying that ‘innocent Bloud do’s for fearful Vengeance cry’. However, Louis does not heed his vision, and ‘The Throne he disgrac’d, the Turk he embrac’d’.¹¹³⁹ The ballad *The Great Bastard Protector of Little One* further emphasises the untrustworthiness of Catholics, and Louis’ links with Islam. It begins, in the voice of Louis, proclaiming, ‘I Am a Bastard, by my Birth, / Of Popish Generation.’ His mistreatment of Protestants is shown: ‘The Protestants of France did bring / Me to my Coronation’, but ‘I have them requited well, / By killing and by burning, / Their Children I have forc’d to die’.¹¹⁴⁰ The most powerful line, for the contemporary Protestant audience, is Louis’ confession that ‘With Mahomet, I am Brother sworn’.¹¹⁴¹ Other ballads responded to the Franco-Ottoman threat by calling upon soldiers and sailors to be brave and prepare to repel an invasion. The ballad *The Boatswains Call* has already been discussed, but it was not alone in its call-to-arms. *The Seaman’s Loyal Love* states that, if France were to invade, the English and Dutch navies would give him ‘a bloody Touch’ and ‘make France cry Peccavi’.¹¹⁴² The use of Latin in a black-letter ballad is unusual and, when it does occur, it is usually a well-known phrase from the classics (such as Virgil’s famous dictum *Omnia vincit Amor*). Here, *peccavi* (I have sinned) suggests that Louis XIV’s sin is not in attacking England, but rather in allying himself with a Muslim power. The ballad states that England’s navy shall ‘grieve him, / And drive him to his friend the Turk’.¹¹⁴³

¹¹³⁸ *The French King’s Vision: Or, An Account of those fearfull Apparitions which disturb’d him in his Sleep, when he had been laying his Senses in soke in a prodigious Quantity of Claret.* (1689), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.275, EBBA 21936.

¹¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴⁰ *The Great Bastard, Protector of Little One. Or, the Sighs of the French King under the Power of the German Empire; Giving an Account of his Cruelty against the Prince of Condy and the French Protestants; His League with Mahomet the Great Turk; Of his breaking the League with Germany; of his Design with the Supposed Prince of Wales, and of his being Pox’d with several Whores.* (1689), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.118, EBBA 22381.

¹¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴² *The Seaman’s Loyal Love: Or, The Courageous Damsels Generous Spirit, In freely parting with her Love to enter on Board that he might Fight for K. William and Q. Mary, and pull down the growing Pride of France.* (1692), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.217, EBBA 21879.

¹¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

In ballads, Muslims are characterised with certain attributes, such as violence and savagery. However, whilst these characteristics were assumed to apply to all Muslims, other characteristics varied between different Muslim groups. Moors tended to be depicted in a very similar manner to Native Americans in balladry: primitive, savage and bestial. This representation in ballads might lead to the conclusion that relationships and dynamics between Moors and the English were similar to those between Native Americans and the English. However, this was not the case. In America, the colonists did not bother to learn the indigenous languages since the Native Americans learnt English and often thoroughly adopted English identity. This stands as a startling contrast to the many English people in North Africa who learnt Arabic and Turkish (and also often converted to Islam).¹¹⁴⁴ Moors could be denigrated, like Native Americans, as barbarians but England did not enjoy the same level of cultural dominance over Islam as it did over Native American cultures. It, therefore, had to approach the Islamic cultures largely on their own terms (Cromwell sent letters to North Africa using the dating system of the Muslim calendar).¹¹⁴⁵ When ballads came to depict the technologically sophisticated and powerful Ottoman Empire, they could not fall back on primitivism and animalistic imagery in the same manner. Nowhere in *The Bloody Siege of Vienna*, *The Christian Conquest* or *Vienna's Triumph* is there any animalistic imagery in the representation of the Turks. Instead, they are a formidable and sophisticated military threat whose defeat is celebrated precisely because of the significant danger they posed: 'And the Turks though so mighty / are put to the run.'¹¹⁴⁶

Unable to dehumanise the Ottomans as primitives, ballads relied on an emphasis of the cruelty of the Turks, which could then suggest a savage and barbarous nature. However, as well as their perceived cruelty, the Ottoman's military prowess meant that they were also used as a comparison for martial valour. As a military threat to sovereign power, it seems that the Turks

¹¹⁴⁴ Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 103-104.

¹¹⁴⁵ Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 103.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Vienna's Triumph*, EBBA 31240.

were feared more than Moors. However, the Moors still constituted a significant threat to English shipping, both commercial and military. The coast of North Africa was famous for its piracy and slave trading, the fear of which is evident in wider contemporary literature as well as ballads. In the early modern period, a sub-genre of literature on Islam which gained popularity was captivity narratives, which described the sufferings of Christians taken prisoner and enslaved.¹¹⁴⁷ Captivity brought another danger, one that entranced early modern European popular discourse: conversion to Islam.

Captives and Renegades

But then then is the Turk
our mortal Enemies
Who up and down do lurk
Christians to make their prize:
If they should light upon my Love
'twould be the worst of all:
For rather I
Had thou shouldst dye
Than in their hands to fall.¹¹⁴⁸

These lines come from the ballad *The Constant Seaman And his Faithful love* and are spoken by the sailor's sweetheart. They reveal the threat that Muslim pirates represented to early modern sailors and, furthermore, how unbearable it was perceived to be if one was taken prisoner by them. It is this that leads the woman to wish that her partner would die rather than be captured, not just because of the stories of cruelty, but also because slavery and imprisonment held a spiritual threat. Many Christian captives converted to Islam and so, the woman's wish that her partner die would also have, in her eyes and in the eyes of the audience, potentially been saving his immortal soul. Possibly the most feared pirates in the Mediterranean, during the early modern period, were the Barbary corsairs. These pirates operated out of the so-called 'Barbary States' and were highly effective and successful. Their slave trade was not a state enterprise in the manner of

¹¹⁴⁷ Vitkus, pp. 207-230 (p. 215).

¹¹⁴⁸ *The Constant Seaman And his Faithful love.*, EBBA 21851.

the early modern European model. Whilst Europeans mostly left the actual capturing of black slaves to warring African states, simply purchasing the prisoners, the Barbary corsairs captured their slaves themselves and were self-funded: there would be no pay unless a prize was taken.¹¹⁴⁹ They were so successful that, even when Dutch shipping was in the midst of its golden age, it was still under constant threat from pirates from the North African ports.¹¹⁵⁰

Slavery was rife throughout the early modern Mediterranean and was carried out by Christians and Muslims alike (the major slave markets were run by the Barbary corsairs, the knights of Malta and Christian converts).¹¹⁵¹ It is estimated that, at any given time between 1580 and 1680, there were about 35,000 white slaves in Barbary.¹¹⁵² The number of corsairs rose dramatically in the early-seventeenth century as a result of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609. They mostly travelled to North Africa, taking with them new skills and a deep hatred of Christians (they were not always able, or inclined, to distinguish between Catholic and Protestant).¹¹⁵³ Whilst Europeans may have experienced contempt, pity or disgust for their human cargo, it made no more sense to them to despise black slaves than it did to despise horses or oxen – all were bought and sold for the work they could do. On the other hand, there was an element of revenge in the actions of the Barbary corsairs.¹¹⁵⁴ Some of this vehemence, which would have operated both ways, can also be attributed to religion. Both Christianity and Islam saw, in the other, a competitor to religious truth, but neither would have seen the religious beliefs and customs held by the indigenous people of the African continent in this manner.

¹¹⁴⁹ Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 30.

¹¹⁵⁰ Milja Van Tielhof and Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Productivity Changes in Shipping in the Dutch Republic: The Evidence from Freight Rates, 1550-1800', in *Shipping and Economic Growth 1350-1850*, ed. by Richard W. Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 47-80 (p. 55).

¹¹⁵¹ Virginia West Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 80.

¹¹⁵² Davis, p. 15.

¹¹⁵³ Nabil Matar, 'English Accounts of Captivity in North African and the Middle East: 1577-1625', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54:2 (2001), 553-572 (p. 560-561).

¹¹⁵⁴ Davis, p. xxv.

Tales of slavery and imprisonment were, quite literally, captivating for European audiences – a fact reflected particularly by Elizabethan theatre.¹¹⁵⁵ The galley became a symbol in the European understanding of Mediterranean slavery, as it was the most widely shared slave experience. Most captives were set to row on galleys if they had no other talents to make themselves useful, whereas skilled artisans (such as carpenters and sail makers) were highly prized and taken to Algerian shipyards.¹¹⁵⁶ Captivity narratives have a special place in early modern ballads, for it was certain members of the ballad audience (such as sailors or merchants) that were the ones most likely to suffer captivity.¹¹⁵⁷ This problem was discussed widely in popular culture. Un-ransomed captives, held by the Barbary corsairs, played an important role in compounding the conflict between Charles I and the London merchants of the Levant and East India Companies. Furthermore, seamen’s families cried out against Charles’ apathy towards captives in North Africa (there were hundreds when he ascended the throne in 1625 and thousands by 1640). Many of the disaffected critics of Charles, a significant portion of whom were linked to the maritime community, gravitated to London. Here, they found eager supporters amongst the various members of the Commons spearheading the opposition to the Personal Rule.¹¹⁵⁸

The ballad audience were aware of the terrible conditions that existed on galleys. This knowledge partly came from word of mouth and published accounts, but also from ballads. The ballad ‘The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1,500 Christians: Most of them Being Englishmen (Now Prisoners in Algiers Under the ‘Turks)’, printed in 1624, was written to be deliberately emotive and elicit sympathy.¹¹⁵⁹ It describes the sufferings of Christian galley slaves as they are beaten and tortured, and then calls upon the audience, saying, ‘You, who at home in golden

¹¹⁵⁵ See Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005).

¹¹⁵⁶ Davis, p. 50.

¹¹⁵⁷ Sisneros, “‘The Abhorred Name of Turk’”, p. 121.

¹¹⁵⁸ Nabil Matar, ‘The Barbary Corsairs, King Charles I and the Civil War’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 16:2 (2001), 239-258 (p. 239).

¹¹⁵⁹ *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. by Daniel J. Vitkus and Nabil I. Matar (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 344.

pleasures dance, / Wasting both noones and nights in dalliance, / O when these groanes of Christians pierce [y]our eares / To free them, give your charity, and your teares.¹¹⁶⁰ It then turns to speak to ‘Christian Princes’, calling upon them to unite and ‘into the field with one knit army come, / To kill this lyon that thus teares Christendome’.¹¹⁶¹ The powerful image of the Islamic lion tearing at a united Christendom, threatening to rip it to shreds, falls into place with animalistic imagery used in ballads to describe Muslims.

It is notable that this ballad utilises bestial imagery when describing both Muslims and Christians. However, it does so to vilify one side and evoke sympathy for the other. The first animalistic image used to describe Muslims, in this ballad, was common to general contemporary polemics and denigrations of Islam. The ballad describes how, once the Christians are captured, they are tied onto ‘chaines, and drag’d t’ Argiers, to feede the pride / Of a Mahumetan dog’.¹¹⁶² The canine metaphor here conjures condescending feelings of superiority over a feral animal. It is utilised in this same manner later in the ballad, however, this time in reverse: the ballad provides a voice to one of the Turkish galley masters who beats a Christian slave, shouting, ‘Worke, Worke, dog’.¹¹⁶³ It is significant that the line referring to a Christian as a ‘dog’ is in the voice of a Muslim. The ballad audience is supposed to lament the abuse of a Christian, but also to feel outraged that the inhuman label is being applied (in their eyes) in the wrong direction. Representing someone as an animal removed their claims to human rationality and authority. Therefore, for the early modern audience, the references to Christians as animals are only meant to emphasise the cruelty of the Muslim slave masters – their brutality threatens to reduce Christians to the level of animals. The implicit threat is that Muslim rule would also destroy

¹¹⁶⁰ ‘The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1500 Christians: Most of Them Being Englishmen (Now Prisoners in Argiers Under the Turks) Begging at God’s Hand That He Would Open the Eyes of All Christian Kings and Princes to Commiserate the Wretched Estate of So Many Captives: and Withal to Free Them from That Turkish Slavery, in Which Both Bodies and Souls Are in Danger: with a Petition to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty and All Christian Princes.’, in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 31-33 (p. 33).

¹¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

European society in the same manner. It is important that the majority of the animalistic imagery in this ballad is used to describe Christians. Another line states that, if the Christians faint and ‘at th’ oare th[e]y dye’, they are ‘cast (like dogs) over-boord’.¹¹⁶⁴

Dehumanising Christians seems uncharacteristic for most representations of Christian-Muslim interactions in European polemical discourse. However, it highlights the perceived dangers of Christians being ruled by Muslims, who destroy their possessions through brutality. The ballad describes the Christian slaves being led to the market:

‘like beasts sold by the head,
Their masters having liberty by law
To strike, kick, starve them, yet to make them draw
In yoakes, like oxen, and if dead they beate them,
Out are they throwne for beasts and ravens to eate them.’¹¹⁶⁵

For modern observers, aware of England’s significant involvement in the Atlantic slave trade, it seems like blatant hypocrisy for the ballad to complain of brutal treatment and the indignity of being sold as animals. However, to the early modern audience, this was an inversion of the perceived cultural hierarchy. This ballad created a powerful, emotional communal moment for its audience. Seeing themselves as intellectually, culturally and religiously superior to Islamic powers (particularly the Moors of North Africa where the Barbary corsairs operated), the reality of widespread Christian captivity was humiliating and chastening to English pride. Muslim pirates threatened the way of life and world structure that Europeans held dear. Therefore, they had to be represented as a malevolent, cruel power that destroyed all under its control. This representation also helped to address the spiritual threat that captivity held and the fact that many Christians converted to Islam.

That many captives converted to Islam was well-known. Some were attracted by its teachings and some converted in hopes of earning their freedom, thereby creating a better life for themselves in the Islamic world. It was a source of concern for many Europeans that a steady

¹¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 33.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 32.

stream of Christians converted to Islam (both free people and captives), whilst very few Muslims converted to Christianity. This can be seen in *The English Courage Undaunted*, as one line instructs the soldiers not to be deterred ‘from being English-men’. This line brings to the surface the fact of high desertion and conversion rates, and calls upon the soldiers to resist the lure of Islam.¹¹⁶⁶ The fear was that passive apostasy might occur just through time in captivity spent around Muslims and distance from the Christian faith.¹¹⁶⁷ Therefore, many Europeans found captives returning from imprisonment disconcerting. The question was not simply whether they had remained Christian or converted, but how to tell what kind of conversion, if any, had occurred: was it undertaken willingly to embrace the truth of Islam; willingly but only as a means of gaining freedom and acquiring wealth; or forcibly imposed upon the captive? An added difficulty was that even physical signs (such as circumcision) did not actually help to answer any of these questions.¹¹⁶⁸

Awareness of apostasy to Islam manifested itself in many ways in popular culture. The poet Robert Wilde referenced apostasy in his scathing verse on Richard Lee who, in 1663, was forced to deliver a public confession for supporting the execution of Charles I.¹¹⁶⁹ This ballad, called *The Recantation Of a Penitent Proteus Or the Changling*, refers to Lee as a ‘Changling’ for his political and religious mis-allegiance. It is notable that the tune for this ballad was ‘Doctor Faustus’. This was the same melody as ‘Fortune my Foe’ and ‘Aim not to High’, which were the more popular tune titles in broadsides. Giving the tune its lesser-used title linked it more strongly to Marlowe’s eponymous, religiously deviant character.¹¹⁷⁰ In the ballad, Lee confesses his lack of

¹¹⁶⁶ Beach, ‘Restoration Poetry’, pp.547-567 (p. 558).

¹¹⁶⁷ Sisneros, ‘The Abhorred Name of Turk’, p. 81.

¹¹⁶⁸ Joshua Mabie, ‘The Problem of the Prodigal in The Fair Maid of the West, A Christian Turned Turk, and The Renegado’, *Renascence*, 64:4 (2012), 299-319 (p. 300). Captives knew that their home communities had heard many narratives about renegades and apostates and were often suspicious of captives returning home. Some people were even stripped naked to check for circumcision. See Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 72.

¹¹⁶⁹ Matthew Smith, *Performance and Religion in Early Modern England: Stage, Cathedral, Wagon, Street* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2019), p. 279.

¹¹⁷⁰ Smith, *Performance and Religion*, p. 280-281.

loyalty and many switches of allegiance. Amongst these is a switch from Parliamentary to Royalist, and the readiness to convert to Islam if necessary:

If the great Turk to England come, I can
Make Gospel truckle to the Alchoran;
And if their Turkish Saboaths should take place,
I have in readiness my Friday Face.
If lockt in Iron Chest (as we are told)
A Loadstone their great Mahomet can hold:
The Loadstone of preferment (I presage)
To Mahomet may draw this Iron Age.¹¹⁷¹

These last lines play on the magnetic qualities of a lodestone and the appeal of Islam to ‘changelings’ such as Lee. It was widely believed in medieval Europe that Muhammad’s body was suspended in mid-air through the use of lodestone magnets. This also reflected the larger tendency to view Muhammad as a charlatan (falling into line with the myth about the dove), whose power was in trickery rather than divinity.¹¹⁷²

Possibly the most feared figure in contemporary writings concerning piracy and captivity was the renegade.¹¹⁷³ One of the dangers posed by renegades to Christendom was the knowledge, particularly of artillery and weaponry, that they could provide to Islamic powers. It was reported that Ghailan ‘learned all his skill in Fortifications and Guns’ from renegades.¹¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, John Ward helped to introduce the use of well-armed, square-rigged ships of northern Europe to the Barbary corsairs, which they then used to terrorise the Mediterranean.¹¹⁷⁵ The renegade was, to Christian eyes, a soul that was lost from eternal salvation since they had been seduced away by Islam or not remained true enough in their faith to withstand torture.

Torture and captivity were seen by many as a divine test of faith. *The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1,500 Christians* asks ‘Why are the Turkes thus cruell, but to draw / Christians from Christ

¹¹⁷¹ *The Recantation Of a Penitent Proteus Or the Changeling, As It was Acted with good Applause in St. Maries in Cambridge, and St. Pauls in London, 1663.* (1663), HL, EB65 W6437 663r, EBBA 34622.

¹¹⁷² Kathryn Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 159.

¹¹⁷³ The term ‘renegade’ comes from the Latin *renegare* meaning ‘to deny, reject or renounce’. See Tobias P. Graf, *The Sultan’s Renegades: Christian-European Converts to Islam and the Making of the Ottoman Elite, 1575-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹¹⁷⁴ *A Discription of Tangier, the country and people adjoining with an account of the person and government of Gayland, the present usurper of the kingdome of Fez*, p. 14.

¹¹⁷⁵ Christopher Lloyd, ‘Captain John Ward: Pirate’, *History Today*, 29:11 (1979), 751-755 (p. 751).

to their Mahumetan law?'.¹¹⁷⁶ As many renegades either served in the Ottoman military-administrative elite or became pirates, their apostasy was not only spiritually repulsive to contemporary Christians but also politically and militarily dangerous – this explains why renegades are stereotyped as even crueller than Turks in Christian-European writings.¹¹⁷⁷ Just as there was a Faustian, Machiavellian and Moorish villain in early modern literature, the renegade became an important dramatic type. Their difference to these other types comes from that fact that they were the enemy from within: they were no swarthy Moor, contorted Papist or necromancer, but an average English sailor, trader or traveller who wilfully renounced God and monarch.¹¹⁷⁸ The dramatic renegade was an invention representing the villain in England's conflict with the Antichrist.¹¹⁷⁹ Therefore, the narratives published by those returning from captivity also functioned as evidence of their valiant resistance to piratical adversaries and emphasised their differences from those whom imprisoned them. This further stated their commitment to remain Christian and not become terrifying renegades.¹¹⁸⁰

An example of the renegade's greater propensity for cruelty can be seen in *An Answer To The Geneva Ballad*, which states that 'Renogades always are / More fierce then native Turkes by far'.¹¹⁸¹ *The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1,500 Christians* describes 'those halfe-Turkes and halfe Christians' and their deadly efficacy as pirates:

Those renegadoes, who (their Christ denying)
Are worse than Turkes, Turkes them in heart defying;
These, these are they, that have from Christians torne,
Of ships, sixescore but one, and the men borne
(To th' number of a thousand) to th' Turkes shore,
All they being slaves now tugging at the oare.¹¹⁸²

¹¹⁷⁶ 'The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1500 Christians.', pp. 31-33 (p. 33).

¹¹⁷⁷ Graf, p. 32.

¹¹⁷⁸ Nabil Matar, 'The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 33:3 (1993), 489-505 (p. 490).

¹¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 492. Matar argues that, just as the Faustian necromancer represented the atheist of the new science; the Machiavellian villain embodied all that Protestant Englishmen feared in Catholicism; and the Moor was all that was Oriental and alien to England, the renegade was the internal evil that would bring about the collapse of Christendom.

¹¹⁸⁰ Matar 'English Accounts of Captivity', pp.553-572 (p. 568).; Tóth, pp. 103-141 (p. 118).

¹¹⁸¹ *An Answer To The Geneva Ballad*. (1674), HL, EB65 A100 674a, EBBA 34423.

¹¹⁸² 'The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1500 Christians.', pp. 31-33 (p. 32).

The ballad also states that, when the Turks ‘boord English ships’, then the Englishmen ‘Like Lyons fight’. However, when ‘numbers of big-boan’d runnagates so swarme, / That not one man of ours dare lift an arme’. Whilst Turks were a dangerous enemy, the danger of the renegade was more insidious. Not necessarily distinguishable from any other European, renegades represented the potential for any Christian, even the ballad audience, to succumb to Islam. For this reason, published accounts, pamphlets and ballads all held up exemplars of Christian fortitude, who maintained their faith despite their conditions and were then rewarded.

The Algier Slaves Releasment: Or, The Unchangeable Boat-wain tells the story of a slave working on a Turkish galley, who withstands his circumstances by thinking of the woman he loves. The allegory is drawn between his physical captivity and his enslavement to love, of which, the latter is the harder to bear: ‘No Prison like the Jayl of Love, / nor no such torments found.’¹¹⁸³ Whenever he is forced to row and is exhausted from ‘this Labour and Pain; / The thoughts of [his] Love / doth revive [him] again’.¹¹⁸⁴ The first-person narrator describes the attempts to convert him: ‘a Renegado / to make me they strive; / Ile never consent tot, / whilst I am alive: / But will a Couragious / true Protestant be: / Ile be true to my faith, / and be constant to thee.’¹¹⁸⁵ This ballad combines the tropes of constancy ballads with religious context (his sweetheart standing in for his religious faith). Matar presumes that the ballad was written by a captive to assure his partner that he was still true to her, and that the thought of her commitment to him sustained him during his captivity.¹¹⁸⁶ Whether or not the ballad was written by someone with real-life experience of captivity, it is a manifestation of the common view that the longer captives remained in North Africa, the more likely they were to apostatise. It refutes these fears

¹¹⁸³ *The Algier Slaves Releasment: Or, The Unchangeable Boat-wain. No Prison like the Jayl of Love, nor no such torments found; To those that loyal mean to prove, whose loves are firm and sound; This loyal person ne’r would change, like a true Lover he; Indur’d his Fetters and his Chains, and Betty’s Captive be.* (1671-1702), BL, Roxburghe 4.30, EBBA 30948.; Sisneros, “The Abhorred Name of Turk”, p. 190.

¹¹⁸⁴ *The Algier Slaves Releasment: Or, The Unchangeable Boat-wain.*, EBBA 30948.

¹¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸⁶ Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), p. 79.

and emphasises, both to sailors (who may be captured in the future) and to women, that love would and should keep them focused on their national and religious identity.¹¹⁸⁷

In the ballad, the slave states that ‘No Torture nor Prison / shall make me forsake, / Nor flye from my Reason, / for my Betty’s sake: / I do slight all the torments / bestowd by the Turk’.¹¹⁸⁸ After surviving his trials, he succeeds in going home as ‘now thorough Providence, / I am returnd; / By Shipwrack I scapd, / for our Ship it was burnd’.¹¹⁸⁹ The fact that his escape was through providence suggests God’s hand in his freedom – he passed a test of faith. *The Algier Slaves Releasment: Or, The Unchangeable Boat-wain* allows the ballad audience to participate in role-speculation. For sailors, who were most likely to face captivity, this ballad allowed them to anticipate and safely experience captivity. Furthermore, by having the hero stay constant and true to his love and his faith, the ballad provides a role model to these sailors and challenges its audience to compare themselves to this admirable figure and wonder whether they could have done the same: ‘To those that loyal mean to prove, / whose loves are firm and sound; / This loyal person ner would change, / like a true Lover he; / Indurd his Fetters and his Chains.’¹¹⁹⁰ Renegades threatened to bring invisible Islam into England and, for this reason, they were widely denigrated and feared. However, they could occasionally provoke conflicting emotions within the early modern broadside ballad audience. Many Renaissance Britons entered Muslim military service and were often celebrated in contemporary biographies and dramas as great English heroes.¹¹⁹¹ Other renegades could also be admired if they were a member of that often-romanticised group: autonomous pirates.

Many renegades willingly became part of the privateering communities in Algiers and other North African ports.¹¹⁹² Two of the most famous pirate renegades were the Englishman,

¹¹⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 79.

¹¹⁸⁸ *The Algier Slaves Releasment: Or, The Unchangeable Boat-wain.*, EBBA 30948.

¹¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁹¹ Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 45.

¹¹⁹² Vitkus, pp. 207-230 (p. 216).

John Ward, and the Dutchman, Simon Daneskar. Like many pirates, these two were drawn towards the opportunities that raiding Mediterranean shipping offered. Ward had been born in Faversham and had hoped to become a privateer in the last years of Elizabeth I's war with Spain. However, with the accession of James I and peace with Spain, Ward had to find other employment.¹¹⁹³ James I desperately tried to curb the activity of pirates and, after his coronation, a link was drawn between piracy and apostasy to Islam, in an attempt to discourage others from turning to piracy.¹¹⁹⁴ For soldiers and mercenaries in the early modern period, times of peace presented economic difficulties. Therefore, like many privateers, Ward's move to piracy was simple and logical. Many European pirates made their bases along the Barbary Coast and lived among the local inhabitants, some converting to Islam. Their crews, therefore, were commonly ethnically diverse: Ward's crew (whilst mostly English) did sometimes contain Turks.¹¹⁹⁵ Renegade pirates lived extravagant lives. When Ward died in Tunis, in 1622, he had amassed a fortune, lived in a luxurious palace, and was the most notorious renegade of his age.¹¹⁹⁶

The ballad *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward the famous Pyrate of the world, and an English man born* reflects the conflicting emotions such characters could evoke. It begins by noting his early life in Faversham as a fisherman, before proceeding to celebrate him and his crew, saying that he sailed 'with many more of courage and of might' of such like 'Christian Princes have but few'.¹¹⁹⁷ In the first half of the ballad, Ward is depicted as a dashing, maverick privateer and the ballad laments the fact that he does not fight for his king and country. He is represented as a maritime power that attacks anyone indiscriminately and causes nations to tremble:

Lusty Ward adventrously,
In the straits of Barbary
did make the Turkish Gaillies sore to shake

¹¹⁹³ Lloyd, 'Captain John Ward', pp.751-755 (p. 752).

¹¹⁹⁴ Sisneros, "The Abhorred Name of Turk", p. 42.

¹¹⁹⁵ Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 61. Virginia West Lunsford discusses the ambiguous cultural identities aboard pirate ships with special reference to Dutch pirates such as Claes Compaen, Grote Piet and Jan Janszoon (known as Murad Reys, who became an admiral there and served as a liaison between North Africans and Dutch merchants and government representatives). See Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering*, especially chapter five.

¹¹⁹⁶ Lloyd, 'Captain John Ward', pp.751-755 (p. 755).

¹¹⁹⁷ *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward the famous Pyrate of the world, and an English man born*. (1658-1664?), UGL, Euing Ballads 327, EBBA 31994.

Bouncing Canons firey hot,
Spared not the Turks one jot,
but of their lives great slaughter he did make.

Furthermore, 'The wealthy ships of Venice, / Afforded him great riches / both gold & silver', whilst 'Stately Spain and Portugal / Against him dare not bare up sail, / but gave him all the title of a Lord'. In a sudden shift, the ballad's tone then changes, and lambasts Ward and his crew for its remainder. It states that his riches 'may well suffice for to maintain a King' and that his 'fellows all are valiant Wights / Fit to be made Princes Knights / but that their lives do base dishonours bring'.¹¹⁹⁸ The ballad was printed in 1609, which was a year prior to Ward's conversion, but it accurately presents him as a figure on the brink of apostasy.¹¹⁹⁹ The ballad vilifies Ward for keeping company with 'Turks that are not of a good belief'.¹²⁰⁰ This line is not saying that some Turks are of good belief, but rather commenting on Islam in general. In fact, many of the criticisms aimed at Ward are the same as those that were often levelled at Muslims. Islam was associated with polygamy and legal concubinage, and so Muslims (Moors in particular) were seen as having unrestrained sexual impulses.¹²⁰¹ The ballad states that Ward and his crew waste their 'evill gotten Goods' through 'drunkenesse and lechery' and the 'Flthy sins of Sodomy'.¹²⁰² Ward is also associated with sensual pleasures and a luxurious lifestyle, a trait commonly associated with the Ottomans in particular: 'At Tunis in Barbary / Now he buildeth stately, / a gallant Palace and a Royal place, / Decked with delights most trim.'¹²⁰³

However, it also worth noting that some of Ward's characteristics in the ballad transcend that of a simple Muslim renegade. If we compare this ballad's representation of Ward to the eponymous Tamburlane in Christopher Marlowe's play, we see that, just like Tamburlane, Ward eschews affiliation to any single religion and views himself as omnipotent. He 'denies to pay unto

¹¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁹ Sisneros, 'Turk Ballads', pp. 535-549 (p. 545).

¹²⁰⁰ *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward*, EBBA 31994.

¹²⁰¹ Jack D'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama* (Tampa: University of South Florida Press, 1991), p. 65.

¹²⁰² *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward*, EBBA 31994.

¹²⁰³ Ibid; For the associations between Ottoman culture and luxury, see Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer, 'Turquerie: Culture in motion, 1650-1750', *Past and Present*, 221:1 (2013), 75-118.

the Lord / He feareth neither God nor the Divil, / His deeds are bad his thoughts are evil; / his only trust is still upon his sword'.¹²⁰⁴ Furthermore, Ward is presented as a violent, dangerous man who holds allegiance to no country or person, and is ruled only by wickedness: when 'drunk amongst his Drabs / His nearest friends he sometimes stabs'. If he captures Englishmen 'some back to back are cast into the waves / Some are hewen in pieces small, / Some are shot against a wall, / a slender number of their lies he saves'. Having succumbed to what was seen as the sensual and hedonistic allure of Islam, Ward has discarded structure and order. Pirates were symbols of the chaotic and lawless nature of the outside world. Ward encapsulates this, but his violence and wicked behaviours are linked to the religion and culture in which he was embedded. The ballad warns that Ward's notoriety and legacy will shortly be 'blown up with the wind, / or prove like letters written in the sand'.¹²⁰⁵

Simon Dansekar (also referred to as Danziger or Dansker) is given a similar treatment in the ballad *The Seamans Song of Dansekar the Dutchman, his robberies done at Sea*. This ballad and *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward the famous Pyrate of the world, and an English man born* seem to have been sold together. At the beginning, the ballad states that 'Sing we (Seamen) now and than / Of Dansekar the Dutchman, / whose gallant mind hath won him great re-nown'.¹²⁰⁶ It continues that 'All the world have heard / Of Dansekar and English Ward. / and their proud adventures every day'. Just like in the first half of *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward the famous Pyrate of the world, and an English man born*, both pirates are portrayed as mavericks with no allegiances to anyone but themselves: 'There is not a Kingdom / In Turkey or in Christendom, / but by these Pyrates have received loss / Merchant men of every Land, / Do daily in great danger stand / and fear do much the Ocean main to cross.' The military and naval prowess of both Ward and Dansekar are recognised, and the ballad wishes that their allegiances lay on the same side as the Christians:

¹²⁰⁴ *The Seamans Song of Captain Ward*, EBBA 31994.

¹²⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁶ *The Seamans Song of Dansekar the Dutchman, his robberies done at Sea*. (1658-1664?), UGL, Euing Ballads 327, EBBA 32614.

‘Their glories would be at the highest’ if they would ‘fight against the foes of Christ / and such as do our Christian faith deny’. This ballad raises interesting questions as to the relationship between these two pirates and the Ottomans. They are not explicitly portrayed as Muslim or renegades, but it is stated that their ‘cursed Villanies, / And their bloody Pyracies. / are chiefly bent against our Christian friends’. The lines, ‘Some Christians so delight in evils, / That they become the sons of Divels’, suggest that they work for the Ottomans (the ‘Divels’), but they are still denoted by the term Christian.¹²⁰⁷ However, the ballad can also be read as Ward and Dansekar being too powerful for the Ottomans to challenge. It states that ‘the Turks have bought their goods, / being all too weak their power to withstand’. Similarly, the line, ‘Ward doth onely promise / To keep about rich Tunis, / and be Commander of those Turkish Seas’, raises the question as to whether Ward is now a commander of a Turkish navy, or whether he now rules the sea nominally controlled by Turkey.¹²⁰⁸ The ambiguities in meaning allow Ward and Dansekar to either be celebrated as maverick pirates or vilified as dangerous Muslim renegades.

Ward appears in a later ballad, *The Famous Sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow*, published around 1650.¹²⁰⁹ This ballad is a fictional narrative of an engagement between Ward and the *Rainbow*, a ship sent by James I to bring Ward to heel. Significantly, even though Ward’s apostasy took place four decades before and would have been well-known, there is no discussion of cultural or religious affiliations in the ballad – it is merely a rousing naval battle. In a slightly later reprint of the ballad, Ward’s affiliations are hinted at by the added presence of a woodcut of a ship flying flags with a crescent moon and crewed by turbaned men brandishing scimitars (see Figures 31a and 31b). The lack of denigration of Ward is due to the historical context of the ballad’s production. In the ballad, Ward declares to the *Rainbow* that ‘I never wronged an English ship, / but the Turk and King of Spain’.¹²¹⁰ This makes Ward an easier hero to support in what

¹²⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁹ *The Famous Sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow. To the tune of, Captain Ward* (London: printed for F. Coles, in Vine-street, near Hatton-Garden, [1650?]) ESTC R216020.

¹²¹⁰ *The Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rain-bow*. (1624-1680?), UGL, Euing Ballads 108, EBBA 31815.

the ballad sees as the important conflict: opposition to an over-bearing monarchy. In the mid-seventeenth century, Ward posthumously became a champion of free trade and his name was kept alive through political use by Whigs.¹²¹¹ Ballads celebrating Ward as the entrepreneurial hero of old England were in constant production between 1655 and 1774, and then again between 1780 and 1885.¹²¹² Published at the very start of the Interregnum, this ballad presents a gallant hero who rejects the attempts of a Stuart monarch to control his activities, defeats the royal ship and tells the king to stay in his place, saying, 'If he Raign King of all the Land, / I will raign King at Sea.'¹²¹³ Ward's Islamic faith was of no importance to this ballad and, instead of the complex figure in the ballad of 1609, he is more akin to the romanticised autonomous pirates discussed in chapter two.

Narratives of distant renegades and captives were thrilling for the early modern ballad audience. However, the dangers of apostasy to Islam and the anxiety of Christians becoming renegades did not only happen far from England's shores. There was also a more insidious threat, and many people feared the growing prominence of Islamic culture in England.



Figure 31a: Comparison of *The Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow*. (1624-1680?), BL, Roxburghe 3.56-57, EBBA 30403 (without reference to Ward's faith) © British Library Board C.20.f.9.56-57 and *The Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow*. (1624-1680?), UGL, Euing Ballads 108, EBBA 31815 (with Muslim ship woodcut added) by permission of University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections.

¹²¹¹ Gerald MacLean, 'On Turning Turk, Or Trying to: National Identity in Robert Daborne's A Christian Turn'd Turke', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 29:2 (2003), 225-252 (p. 232).

¹²¹² MacLean, pp.225-252 (p. 231-232).

¹²¹³ *The Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow*, EBBA 31815.

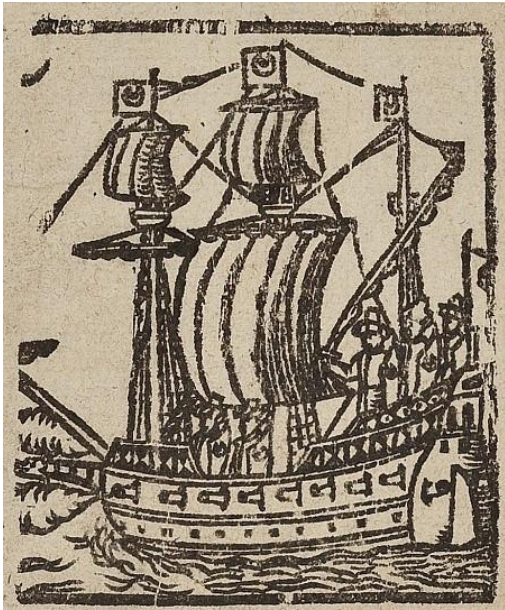


Figure 31b: Close-up of the Muslim ship added onto *The Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rain-bow*. (1624-1680?), UGL, Euing Ballads 108, EBBA 31815 by permission of University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections.

The 'Arabian Berry'

Europe's fascination with elements of Islamic culture (particularly Ottoman), such as music, fashion and furniture, has been well documented.¹²¹⁴ One element of Ottoman culture that infiltrated across societal levels was coffee. Coffee is treated in conflicting ways in ballads. Contemporaries variously denigrated it as an invading Muslim presence, discussed its sobering properties and, whether it was praised or vilified, saw it as inextricably linked to the culture of news and gossip. The narrative of coffee's introduction to England, which emphasises its quick proliferation into society, is widely held. However, recent evidence has challenged some of these assumptions.

Coffee offered a new social beverage which could be consumed in a similar manner and setting to alcohol, but without fear of intoxication.¹²¹⁵ This led to circumstances in which debates around social, political and scientific issues could thrive, and the first coffeehouse in Britain opened in Oxford in 1650. With its unique combination of Orientalist scholarship and

¹²¹⁴ See Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, 'Turquerie', pp.75-118.

¹²¹⁵ Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 32. Cowan notes that the intoxicant of choice for most early modern Britons was alcohol and it held such a high status in contemporary notions of mind-altering drugs that writers often used the verb 'to drink' to describe the practice of smoking.

experimental scientific community, Oxford provided a viable place for the introduction of coffee consumption to England.¹²¹⁶ Coffeeshouses were often referred to as penny universities due to the price of entry and the knowledge that could be gained through socialising with those inside.¹²¹⁷ This is acknowledged in the ballad *News from the Coffe-House; In which is shewn their several sorts of Passions, Containing Newes from all our Neighbour Nations* which states that, in a coffeeshouse, ‘you may a Scholar be / For spending of a Penny.’¹²¹⁸

It is taken as axiomatic that, after its introduction in the 1650s, a culture of coffee consumption quickly took root and flourished. Markman Ellis argues that, by the end of the 1660s, coffeeshouses were firmly established as a British institution and were celebrated locations in urban culture.¹²¹⁹ Similarly, Steve Pincus states that London quickly became host to hundreds of coffeeshouses (in May 1663 there were over eighty coffeeshouses in the city alone).¹²²⁰ He notes that, in a society known for its conservative tastes, the institution of the coffeeshouse was remarkably popular and efflorescent, and that coffee drinking became all the rage after its introduction.¹²²¹ Both Ellis and Pincus highlight the importance of sociability in helping to explain the popularity of coffeeshouses and the fixation on news as well as political and learned discussions between those, such as Robert Boyle, Robert Hooke and Henry Oldenburg, who frequented coffeeshouses.¹²²² The standard narrative of coffee in England is that it was prominent in English diets after the 1650s (becoming established in the cities and quickly spreading to provincial areas); lost ground after the 1720s; and was then replaced by tea as the popular drink

¹²¹⁶ Cowan, p. 25.

¹²¹⁷ Anthony Wild, *Coffee: A Dark History* (London: Fourth Estate, 2004), p. 85.

¹²¹⁸ *News from the Coffe-House; In which is shewn their several sorts of Passions, Containing Newes from all our Neighbour Nations. A Poem.* (1667), BL, Luttrell Ballads 2.146, EBBA 36533.

¹²¹⁹ See Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London: Hachette UK, 2011) and Markman Ellis, ‘Pasqua Rosee’s Coffee-House, 1652-1666’, *The London Journal*, 29:1 (2004), 1-24.

¹²²⁰ Steve Pincus, ‘“Coffee Politicians Does Create”: Coffeeshouses and Restoration Political Culture’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 67:4 (1995), 807-834 (p. 812).

¹²²¹ Pincus, pp.807-834 (p. 818; 811).

¹²²² See Ellis, ‘Pasqua Rosee’s Coffee-House’, pp.1-24.; Markman Ellis, ‘An Introduction to the Coffee-House: A Discursive Model’, *Language and Communication*, 28 (2008), 156-164.; Pincus, ‘“Coffee Politicians Does Create”’, pp.807-834 (p. 820).

of choice.¹²²³ However, Phil Withington challenges this narrative, stating that English historiography has uncritically conflated the commodity (coffee) with its institution (the coffeehouse).¹²²⁴ He criticises the conclusions of Pincus and Ellis that coffee became widely consumed during this period since they assume that participation in the institution and taste for the beverage, ostensibly sold there, are synonymous.¹²²⁵ The amount of coffee imported into London, before 1700, was comparatively small and would have struggled to sustain the national levels of consumption invoked in historiography.¹²²⁶

The rapid proliferation of coffeehouses is not in doubt. However, the assumption that they were defined by the taste for a single commodity and its attendant set of values is to be questioned.¹²²⁷ Withington examines dietary habits of Samuel Pepys and Robert Hooke, and their relationship with coffeehouses and coffee. Pepys was a regular patron of London coffeehouses and his diary overflows with accounts of what he ate and drank in public and private settings. It is notable that, whilst Pepys recorded more than seventy visits to coffeehouses between 1660 and 1666, he only once recalls consuming coffee. Furthermore, on the few occasions he refers to coffeehouse consumption, it seems he was drinking other beverages.¹²²⁸ Ellis, Pincus and Withington all agree that the main draw of coffeehouses was sociability and the polite art of conversation.¹²²⁹ Coffeehouses were the places to debate politics, to read subscription journals and to spread and hear seditious libels.¹²³⁰ Fox states that the implications of the availability of pamphlets and libels, which covered coffee sellers' tables and walls, for the levels of 'general

¹²²³ See Simon Smith, 'Accounting for Taste: British Coffee Consumption in Historical Perspective', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 27:2 (1996), 183-214.

¹²²⁴ Phil Withington, 'Where Was the Coffee in Early Modern England?', *The Journal of Modern History*, 92 (2020), 40-75 (p. 45).

¹²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹²²⁹ Ellis, 'Pasqua Rosee's Coffee-House', pp.1-24 (p. 4).; Pincus, pp.807-834 (p. 815).; Withington, 'Where Was the Coffee', pp.40-75 (p. 50).

¹²³⁰ Withington, 'Where Was the Coffee', pp.40-75 (p. 57).

awareness, political sophistication, and popular involvement in the affairs of the realm' were enormous.¹²³¹

It is notable that both Muslim and Christian states had concerns about coffeehouses. Coffeehouses were widely regarded as potential places of sedition as they became meeting places for urban males whose conversations could not be easily monitored by state officials.¹²³² There was a concern about coffeehouses which stayed open too late and many royal and civic proclamations ordered a set closing time for coffeehouses.¹²³³ In 1675, Charles II suppressed coffeehouses because of the 'very evil and dangerous effects' they produced. The royal proclamation complained that 'many Tradesmen' spent too much of their time in coffeehouses rather than being 'employed in and about their Lawful Callings and Affairs', and also that, when people meet in coffeehouses, 'divers false, Malitious and Scandalous Reports are devised and spread abroad, to the Defamation of his Majesties Government, and to the Disturbance of the Peace and Quiet of the Realm.'¹²³⁴

The sociability offered by coffeehouses, and the news and gossip culture they facilitated, formed a central part of the way in which they gained patrons. It did not make sense to advertise coffee itself. This was because the supply of coffee was low and erratic, and its physical qualities were not to everyone's taste. Therefore, other enticements were needed. In addition to sociability, the range and novelty of other beverages on offer was a significant draw.¹²³⁵ What historians are left with is the fact that, whilst coffee culture in Restoration London grew rapidly,

¹²³¹ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 405.

¹²³² Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), p. 217.

¹²³³ Cowan, p. 86.

¹²³⁴ *By The King. A Proclamation for the Suppression of Coffee-Houses* (London: Printed by the Assigns of John Bill, and Christopher Barker, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1675). The suppression of the coffeehouses did not endure. Following petitions of complaint by owners of coffeehouses, another proclamation was issued stating that coffeehouses could remain open until June 1676, so that the owners could sell of their existing stocks. Another extension was later granted. Then in September 1677, the king called twenty to thirty London coffeehouse-keepers before the privy council to publicly chastise them and order that their licenses must not be renewed after they had expired. However, unlike previously, no attempt was made to revoke their licenses outright – Charles had tacitly recognised that there was a limit to his royal prerogative. See Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, pp. 198-200.

¹²³⁵ Withington, 'Where Was the Coffee', pp.40-75 (p. 60; 50).

it did not rely upon coffee to do so. People did not necessarily, or even usually, visit coffeehouses to drink coffee (instead, going for news and discourse) and coffeehouse proprietors developed a mixed economy of consumables to attract custom.¹²³⁶ If the volume of coffee was comparatively low in early modern England, this was not the case with its representation in literature. A significant feature of Restoration coffee literature was the speed with which it proliferated. This means that people encountered coffee in print before they necessarily would have consumed it or visited a coffeehouse. Therefore, the meanings of coffee and the coffeehouse were often contested and assembled in advance of actual consumption.¹²³⁷ Ballads display a range of attitudes towards coffee but the majority of references to coffee and coffeehouses concern their relationship with politics and news. Therefore, as coffee was not necessarily a staple consumable in coffeehouses, it became naturalised into English culture since the discourse about it focused more on its institution than the commodity itself.

Representations in ballads, pamphlets and other street literature helped bring the outside world to people in early modern England, and the coffeehouse was one such area in which these representations could be found. The coffeehouse was a space with varying uses. In an era before offices, commerce mostly took place in the Exchange or in markets. The new coffeehouses satisfied the functions of mailrooms, boardrooms, desk spaces and cafeterias.¹²³⁸ These settings engendered free-flowing and open-ended discussion, which contributed to the rapid (if inaccurate) dissemination of information.¹²³⁹ The practice of coffeehouse politics was quickly established in the 1650s and 1660s, and the rise of the coffeehouse coincided with partisan conflict and ‘the rage of party’.¹²⁴⁰ However, whilst Tories, Whigs, republicans and radicals had their favourite coffeehouses, these institutions were not politically exclusive.¹²⁴¹ Coffeehouses

¹²³⁶ Ibid, p. 60; 74.

¹²³⁷ Ibid, p. 49.

¹²³⁸ Lawrence E. Klein, ‘Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 59:1 (1996), 30-51 (p. 31).

¹²³⁹ Ibid, p. 37.

¹²⁴⁰ Cowan, p. 223; 193.

¹²⁴¹ Pincus, pp.807-834 (p. 816).

were the setting for a range of political discussions, and their tables were covered in pamphlets and mercury newspapers.¹²⁴²

Coffeehouses were a place of such politically-current discussion, concerning national, European and global affairs, that politicians and journalists frequented them to collect news and opinions.¹²⁴³ The global nature of the news which could be found in coffeehouses is made clear in *News from the Coffe-House*: 'You that delight in Wit and Mirth, / And long to hear such News, / As comes from all Parts of the Earth, / Dutch, Danes, and Turks, and Jews, / Ple send yee to a Rendezvouz, / Where it is smoaking new; / Go hear it at a Coffe-house.'¹²⁴⁴ Describing the news as 'smoaking new' also plays on the fact that, among the many consumables that coffeehouses offered to their patrons, tobacco was seen as a natural complement to drinking coffee (judging by the presence of pipes in nearly every representation of early coffeehouses).¹²⁴⁵ This relationship is lambasted in *A New Satyricall Ballad of the Licentiousness of the Times*, which scoffs at the fact that 'each man writes what seems good in his Eyes, / And tells in bald Rimes his Inventions and Lies'.¹²⁴⁶ It describes one such person who, having taken his seat in the coffeehouse, 'His Pipe being lighted begins for to prate, / And wisely discourses the affairs of the State.'¹²⁴⁷

Anxieties concerning the political role of coffeehouses were particularly notable in the wake of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis.¹²⁴⁸ *The Cabal: Or, A Voice of the Politicks* states, 'Now England grows mad, / with strange Faction divided' and that 'Each Fop would be counted / a Grave Politician' as he sits 'smoaking his Nose, / o're fumes of dull Coffee'.¹²⁴⁹ In the

¹²⁴² Ibid, p. 821; 819.

¹²⁴³ Ibid, p. 821.

¹²⁴⁴ *News from the Coffe-House*, EBBA 36533.

¹²⁴⁵ Cowan, p. 82. Coffee and tobacco complemented each other so naturally that tobacco smoking was picked up by Ottoman janissaries on the Hungarian frontier. These janissaries took tobacco smoking back to Turkey just as Europeans transported the coffee drinking ritual back to their own cities. See Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, p. 217.

¹²⁴⁶ *A New Satyricall Ballad Of The Licentiousness of the Times*. (1679), HTL, HEH 479689, EBBA 32564.

¹²⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁸ Cowan, p. 202.

¹²⁴⁹ *The Cabal: Or, A Voice of the Politics. A most pleasant New Play Song. Here take a view of such as fain wou'd be Counted State-Wits, but want their Policy; And yet go clad in Cloaks of Knavery. Here's all the smoaking, sneaking, dribbling Crew, Painted,*

seventeenth century, one's choice of drink was a political statement, and ballads often contain opposing contemporary imagery of Royalist wine and popular ale and beer.¹²⁵⁰ Coffee was not exempt from these political associations. Supporters of the monarchy (which was spearheading the attempt to curb the rumour-mongering taking place in coffeehouses) framed coffeehouses as competitors to traditional English recreations, as they drew people away from alehouses and taverns.¹²⁵¹ This sentiment finds expression in a number of ballads from both before and after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. *The City Cheat discovered: Or, A New Coffe-house Song*, from 1691, depicts coffeehouses as places of theft, trickery, lies and debauchery, and ends by calling to 'honest good Fellows', saying, 'when you are dry' you will 'have more Content at an Ale-house'.¹²⁵² Such criticisms could be taken further, and some ballads argue that coffee engendered sedition and political arguments, whereas frequenting alehouses was more honest behaviour. McShane shows that many contemporaries, particularly Cavaliers and, subsequently, Tories, felt that consuming too little or no alcohol led to sedition. They criticised 'Jewish' dissenters and Whiggish 'Turks' because they did not drink like loyal subjects.¹²⁵³ *The Pot-Companions: Or, Drinking and Smoaking prefer'd before Caballing and Plotting*, whilst expressing loyalty to the crown, distances itself from political factionalism, stating, 'here let us sit like honest brave Fellows, / That neither are Tories nor Whigs in an Alehouse.'¹²⁵⁴ The ballad plays on the image of post-inebriation vomiting, arguing that coffee leads one to disgorge sedition:

Let Politick Statesmen Grave Coffee Espouse,
 While we in more general Liquors Carouse;
 Let Lews-Letters, Libels, and Banter fill up
 The Paper-skull'd Fops, while we Tipple the Cup:
 Our Heads are more solid, our Hearts are more true,

and set before the Readers view; Who wou'd be something that you never knew. (1681-1684?), BRBML, 2000 Folio 6 76, EBBA 35750.

¹²⁵⁰ See McShane Jones, 'Roaring Royalists', pp. 69-87 (p. 74).

¹²⁵¹ Pincus, pp.807-834 (p. 823). Whilst the attempts to curb coffeehouses was led by the monarchy, people of all political affiliations could rally behind the desire to stop the dissemination of false news. See Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*.

¹²⁵² *The City Cheat discovered: Or, A New Coffe-house Song. Perswading all civil and sober Men not to frequent the Coffe-houses so much, wether in London, Wapping, Westminster, or Common-Garden.* (1691), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.102, EBBA 22363.

¹²⁵³ Angela McShane, 'Material Culture and "Political Drinking" in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 222:9 (2014), 247-276 (p. 271). See McShane Jones, 'Roaring Royalists', pp. 69-87.

¹²⁵⁴ *The Pot-Companions: Or, Drinking and Smoaking prefer'd before Caballing and Plotting.* (1682-1692?), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.98, EBBA 22319.

Each Man has his load, yet no 'Treason we spue.

Emetics were a trope of pamphlet literature and vomiting became a powerful metaphor in the polemical writings of the 1640s. Emetics were prescribed for humoural imbalances, thereby making an easy analogy with the body politic.¹²⁵⁵ The ballad argues that traditional alcoholic pastimes are to be preferred to fashionable, political discourse: 'For better it is to be honestly Sotting, / Than soberly Hang for Caballing and Plotting.'¹²⁵⁶

The sobriety offered by coffee was often contrasted, both favourably and unfavourably, to the complex set of social skills and attributes (known as 'wit') offered by alcohol. This was seen as particularly produced by drinking wine, which was associated with Royalists and Tories.¹²⁵⁷ Advocates of coffee, in print, usually had a commercial interest in its sale (or, at least, in the volume of people frequenting coffeehouses). They emphasised the power of coffee to enliven the mind without intoxicating it, as well as its medicinal properties.¹²⁵⁸ Ballads like *Rebellions Antidote: Or, A Dialogue Between Coffee and Tea* argue that intoxication leads to unrest and strife: 'Rapes, Murders, Thefts, and thousand Crimes / Are gender'd by foul Ale and Wines' and 'from these do daily spring / Rebellion, 'Treason, and Sham-ploting Sin'.¹²⁵⁹ However, this was ineffective for several reasons. Alcohol was perceived to be a catalyst, rather than a cause, of drunkenness since it allowed the passions and humours free rein. Therefore, drunkenness was a social and physiological condition, and moralists did not seek to vilify alcohol but, instead, sought to reform the manner and context of its consumption.¹²⁶⁰ Furthermore, in the context of Restoration politics, to set sober coffee drinking against the merriness of alcohol was to evoke the conformist against the puritan, and the Royalist against the Parliamentarian: it was to set loyalty against rebellion.¹²⁶¹ Tories appropriated the popular character of the loyal 'good fellow',

¹²⁵⁵ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 219.

¹²⁵⁶ *The Pot-Companions.*, EBBA 22319.

¹²⁵⁷ Phil Withington, 'Intoxicants and Society in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 54:3 (2011), 631-657 (p. 632).

¹²⁵⁸ Klein, pp.30-51 (p. 41).

¹²⁵⁹ *Rebellions Antidote: Or A Dialogue Between Coffee and Tea.* (1685), NLS, Crawford.EB.29., EBBA 32671.

¹²⁶⁰ Withington, 'Intoxicants and Society', pp.631-657 (p. 636).

¹²⁶¹ Klein, pp.30-51 (p. 41-42).

whose excessive drinking made him incapable of sedition. This meant that suspicion could only be focused upon sober coffee drinkers (which their own discourse equated with Whigs).¹²⁶² As Withington argues, coffee was not necessarily an obvious commodity within coffeehouses. Coffee and coffeehouses may well also have been encountered in print before they were encountered corporeally. Due to these facts, coffeehouses were famous for the culture of news and political discussion rather than the commodity itself, and its foreign origins were often seemingly forgotten or, at least, unremarked upon. However, writers who wished to criticise coffee or coffeehouses, went out of their way to remind the audience of its Islamic associations.

A Broad-Side Against Coffee: Or, The Marriage of the Turk describes the infiltration of coffee into society and its degrading effects upon English morality: ‘Coffee, a kind of Turkish Renegade, / Has late a match with Christian water made.’¹²⁶³ This ballad utilises many of the common tropes of ballad descriptions of Muslims in its depiction of coffee, such as being dark and ugly. The ballad states that coffee is ‘too swarthy’ a husband for the fair nymph water, and complains that ‘such a Dwarf should rise to such a stature!’.¹²⁶⁴ The image of a Turkish encroachment is shown by the personification of coffee: ‘his sails he did for England hoist.’¹²⁶⁵ *A Broad-Side Against Coffee* draws a parallel between coffee and the character of Othello. Coffee’s relationship with water is compared to that of Othello and Desdemona: ‘Sure he suspects, and shuns her as a Whore, / And loves, and kills, like the Venetian Moor.’¹²⁶⁶ The implication of this line is that coffee can suppress its true nature so as to successfully invade, rape and kill innocent England.¹²⁶⁷ The ballad warns its audience against the mixing of English and Turkish culture by addressing the ‘Bold Asian Brat’ (coffee), and saying that ‘water, though common, is too good for thee’.¹²⁶⁸ This message is most clear in the line, ‘No faith is to be kept with Infidels.’ In this

¹²⁶² McShane, ‘Drink, Song and Politics’, pp.166-190 (p. 178).

¹²⁶³ ‘A Broad-Side Against Coffee: Or, The Marriage of the Turk’, in *Two Broad-Sides Against Tobacco: The First given by King James Of Famous Memory* (London: printed by J. H., 1672), pp. 58-60 (p. 58).

¹²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 59; 60.

¹²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 59.

¹²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 59.

¹²⁶⁷ Sisneros, ‘The Abhorred Name of Turk’, p. 210.

¹²⁶⁸ ‘A Broad-Side Against Coffee: Or, The Marriage of the Turk’, pp. 58-60 (p. 59).

context, coffee is equated with Islam. The marriage of English water and Turkish coffee poses the threat of Islam permeating into English society, and its potency is clear in the ballad: coffee has ‘both the Water and the Men bewicht’.¹²⁶⁹ Just as the strength of coffee grounds overpowers and alters water when mixed, Islam was seen to have the same effect on the minds of coffee drinkers. A further statement of coffee’s ability to induce passive apostasy, in those that drink it, can be found in *A Cup of Coffee: Or Coffee in its Colours*: ‘For Men and Christians to turn Turks, and think / T’excuse the Crime because ‘tis in their drink, / Is more then Magick, and does plainly tell / Coffee’s extraction has its heats from Hell.’¹²⁷⁰

A Carrouse To The Emperor, the Royal Pole, And the much-wong’d Duke Of Lorraine conforms to the contemporary use of drink as a signifier of political affiliation by contrasting Christian and Muslim drinks. The ballad ascribes the Christian victory in the 1683 siege of Vienna to wine, and ascribes the Ottoman defeat to the Islamic prohibition of alcohol and the consumption of coffee.¹²⁷¹ Like in so many other descriptions of Muslims, the ballad uses animalistic imagery in describing Muhammad as a ‘sencless Dog’.¹²⁷² The Prophet is defined by his choice of drink as ‘A Coffe-drinking drousie rogue’.¹²⁷³ The ballad argues in favour of wine and alcohol over coffee by saying that, if Muhammad had allowed his followers ‘the Fruits of the Vine, / And gave them leave to carrouse in Wine / They had freely past the Rhine, / and conquer’d all before them’.¹²⁷⁴ In early modern literature, Muslims were often portrayed as cowardly and this ballad claims that the cause is coffee.¹²⁷⁵ It is stated that ‘Coffee Rallys no retreat, / Wine can only do the feat’.¹²⁷⁶ In a similar manner to the ballads describing Native Americans (where the conflict between the

¹²⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 59.

¹²⁷⁰ *A Cup of Coffee: Or, Coffee in its Colours* (London: [s.n.], printed in the year 1663) ESTC R33428.

¹²⁷¹ Ingram, pp.53-80 (p. 73).

¹²⁷² *A Carrouse To The Emperor, the Royal Pole, And the much-wong’d Duke Of Lorraine*. (1683), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.250, EBBA 20864.

¹²⁷³ Ibid. Not that it would have been known to the early modern ballad audience, but one of the main religious concerns about coffee among early modern Muslims was the fact that coffee could not be proven to have existed during Muhammad’s lifetime. See Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, p. 217.

¹²⁷⁴ *A Carrouse To The Emperor, the Royal Pole, And the much-wong’d Duke Of Lorraine*., EBBA 20864.

¹²⁷⁵ Blanks and Frassetto, pp. 1-9 (p. 3).

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid.

two cultures was epitomised by the image of musket against bow), in the context of conflict between Europe and Islam, a predominant image is wine against coffee. The importance of alcohol in aiding the victory at Vienna is stressed in the ballad's woodcuts, which show three figures: two bold, masculine soldiers (wide stances and prominent elbows); and a bartender holding a pitcher and a glass (see Figure 32).



Figure 32: The importance of alcohol in helping soldiers break the Ottoman siege of Vienna, on *A Carrouse To The Emperor, the Royal Pole, And the much-wong'd Duke Of Lorraine*. (1683), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.250, EBBA 20864 by permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge.

News from the Coffe-House notes the Turkish associations of coffeehouses, and the related foreign commodities that could be bought within them. Many coffeehouses also served tea and chocolate (as a drink), and these too carried certain preconceptions with them.¹²⁷⁷ The ballad states that, in a coffeehouse, ‘the Drinking there of Chockalat, / Can make a Fool of a Sophie.’¹²⁷⁸ ‘Sophie’ was a common term for the Shah of Persia, who, whilst denigrated for his Islamic faith, was recognised to be a powerful leader of an ancient civilisation. As chocolate was a habit acquired amongst the perceived savage indigenous people of South America, the ballad suggests that the people who drink it, despite their wealth and power, become more savage and

¹²⁷⁷ Cowan, p. 80.

¹²⁷⁸ *News from the Coffe-House.*, EBBA 36533.

less civilised by association.¹²⁷⁹ The ballad then turns to coffee, and the growth of coffee drinking is again linked to the spread of Islam: ‘Tis thought that the Turkish Mahomet / Was first Inspir’d with Coffe, / By which his Powers did Over-flow / The Land of Palestine.’¹²⁸⁰

The 1679 white-letter ballad, *A Satyr Against Coffee*, encapsulates nearly every protest against coffee present in contemporary discourse. The culture of gossip and rumour is attacked by a description of coffee as ‘Midwife to all false Intelligence’, as well as the assertion that it is through coffee that ‘the Devils Children (Lies) are nurst’.¹²⁸¹ The ballad further links the spreading of lies to seditious behaviour, arguing that coffee was the ‘third device of him who first begot / The Printing Libels, and the Powder-plot’.¹²⁸² As well as potentially inviting conspiracy, the ballad claims that coffee is economically harmful and not even a proper drink. It addresses coffee as ‘Thou Murtherer of Farthings, and of Pence’ and states that, through the attention to this ‘Arabian Berry, / Comes the Neglect of Malago and Sherry’.¹²⁸³ By spending money on foreign imports, the ballad accuses its listeners of helping that which ‘Robs the Vintner, and undoes the Brewer’. The complete pointlessness of coffee, from the ballad’s perspective, is summarised by the fact that it does not even fulfil the basic requirements of a drink: ‘For God no liquor doth to man impart, / But that which quenches Thirst, or chears the Heart.’ Coffee’s links to heathens and moral reprobates are emphasised by the reference to it as a ‘Satanic Tipple’, before being labelled ‘the Sister of the common Sewer’. The ballad tries to dissuade its audience from consuming coffee by reinforcing its foreign origins and giving the drink the disgusting

¹²⁷⁹ Marcy Norton notes that the very adoption of chocolate consumption by Europeans challenges the colonial assumption that Europeans brought civilisation to barbarians rather than the other way around. She demonstrates that Europeans inadvertently internalised Mesoamerican aesthetics and did not modify chocolate to meet their existing tastes, but rather they acquired new ones – a reality at odds with colonial ideology. See Marcy Norton, ‘Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics’, *The American Historical Review*, 111:3 (2006) 660-691.; and Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

¹²⁸⁰ *News from the Coffe-House.*, EBBA 36533.

¹²⁸¹ *A Satyr Against Coffee.* (1679), BL, Roxburghe 3.831, EBBA 31407.

¹²⁸² *Ibid*; For more information on the printing of Libels see Fox, ‘Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule’, pp.47-83.

¹²⁸³ *A Satyr Against Coffee.*, EBBA 31407.

connotation of bodily fluids, as well as connecting it to sexual licentiousness, saying, coffee is ‘The Sweat of Negroes, Blood of Moores’ and ‘the last Shift of Publicans and Whores’.¹²⁸⁴

The decadent, foreign world of the coffeehouse is demonstrated in the 1672 woodcut from *Two Broad-Sides Against Tobacco: The First given by King James Of Famous Memory* (see Figure 33). First (and most obvious) in this image is the mix of cultures: a black servant or slave is serving coffee to three smoking customers, one of whom is dressed in Turkish style with a turban. This was frequent in woodcut depictions of coffeehouses.¹²⁸⁵ In addition to the paraphernalia of coffee pots and tobacco pipes, this woodcut also features the image of a dark-skinned head with two tobacco pipes protruding from its mouth, mounted on the wall behind the customers. Many English coffeehouses did not shy away from the drink’s foreign origins. They took names like ‘the Turk’s head’, used images of turbaned Turks on their signs and some even offered Turkish baths.¹²⁸⁶

Coffeehouses were contested spaces, both physically and in print. They were sites of political disagreement, news circulation and sociability. Whilst historiography has tended to conflate the proliferation of coffeehouses with the spread of the drink itself, we should be more critical and note that the draw of coffeehouses was not necessarily the commodity after which they are named. As discourse about coffee and coffeehouses focused on rumour-mongering, political sedition and caballing behaviour, the commodity became naturalised into English culture, and the institution became a place for socialising and conducting business. Ballads were used as part of this discourse and aided the naturalisation of coffeehouses, but they could also be used to protest the growing presence of Islamic culture in English society. To many

¹²⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁵ Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 116.

¹²⁸⁶ Cowan, p. 115. Matar argues that this was a manner of exerting control over the dangerous ‘Other’. He argues that Christians returning from campaigning against Muslims in the Levant would display a grotesque and fearsome face of the Saracen which later transformed into the Turk’s head, thereby sustaining the ominous evocations of a powerful and dangerous adversary. Therefore, to install a Turk’s head on a coffeehouse or tavern sign served to recall that adversary whilst ensuring a sense of control over him. See Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 115.

contemporary commentators, this was necessary as there was a feeling that England was entering into a love-affair with Islamic culture, seduced by its decadence and luxury.



Figure 33: Woodcut image of a Coffee House, with all its Oriental associations in *Two Broad-Sides Against Tobacco: The First given by King James Of Famous Memory* (London: printed by J. H., 1672) © British Library Board General Reference Collection 236.k.34. p. 63.

Romance with the East

There would seem to be an insurmountable divide between Christianity and Islam in the early modern period: competing claims to religious veracity; military campaigns attempting to expand the territories of one at the expense of the other; and (for Europe) inherited religious and classical discourse describing savage barbarians and the tribes of Gog and Magog in the East. However, Europe was fascinated with Islamic culture, and associated it with wonders, marvels, wealth, decadence and luxury. This section will investigate the allure of the Islamic world in ballads; its depiction as a place of luxury and sexual freedom; and the implications of its use as a

setting for the stories of romantic ballads. In these romantic ballads, a Christian hero performs some feat of strength or courage to win the heart of an Islamic princess. The ballads, therefore, carry out an imagined imperial conquest, as the union of the Christian man and Muslim woman suggests the dominance of Christianity and its eventual spread through the Islamic world.

Ottoman culture offered an attractive vocabulary in which Europeans could articulate new conceptions of leisure, refinement and the body.¹²⁸⁷ Turquerie was the pan-European interest in, and emulation of, Ottoman culture between 1650 and 1750.¹²⁸⁸ European representations of the Ottoman Empire (plays, pamphlets, paintings, literary fiction and ballads) were suffused with splendour and magnificence.¹²⁸⁹ In the expanding commercial world of early modern Europe (where exotic goods became signifiers of wealth and status), commodities from the Middle and, especially, Far East were considered luxuries. The ballad *A Bill of Fare: For, A Saturday nights Supper, A Sunday morning Breakfast, and A Munday Dinner, Described in a pleasant new merry Ditie* describes a series of extravagant meals, many of which feature exotic dishes: ‘six Birds of Paradise, brave meat I thinke, / A couple of Phenix, a Cocke and a Hen, / That late from Arabia had tane their flight. / I thinke such a Banquet was nere made for men.’¹²⁹⁰

One particular fascination was with the imperial harem, for which popular European literature laid the foundation of fantastic and eroticised descriptions. However, authors of these works never personally witnessed the interior of the harem and their accounts were, therefore, based on fantasy and a practice of mutual citation.¹²⁹¹ The imperial harem was used as the setting for plots and intrigues in European dramas, to represent the moral corruption of its inhabitants.¹²⁹² The belief that Islam was a religion that promoted carnal pleasures was

¹²⁸⁷ Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, pp.75-118 (p. 76).

¹²⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 75.

¹²⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 102.

¹²⁹⁰ *A Bill of Fare: For, A Saturday nights Supper, A Sunday morning Breakfast, and A Munday Dinner, Described in a pleasant new merry Ditie*. (1624-1663), BL, Roxburghe 1.18-19, EBBA 30021, RI 198. This ballad was entered into the Stationers’ Company Register in 1637. Rollins, ‘An Analytical Index’, pp.1-324 (p. 25).

¹²⁹¹ Irvin Cemil Schick, ‘The Women of Turkey as Sexual Personae: Images from Western Literature’, in *Deconstructing Images of “The Turkish Woman”*, ed. by Zehra F. Arat (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998), pp. 83-100 (p. 87).

¹²⁹² Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, pp.75-118 (p. 108).

commonplace in medieval anti-Islamic texts and persisted into the early modern period.¹²⁹³ The curiosity about the sexual practices and inhibitions of the sultan's harem is well illustrated in the humorous and ridiculous ballad *A New Miracle Or Dr. Nomans safe Return From the Grand Turkes Court at Constantinople*. This is another ballad ridiculing Titus Oates (here named Dr Noman). In the ballad, Dr Noman claims to have travelled from London to Turkey, and 'with the Grand Turk did dispute'.¹²⁹⁴ Dr Noman insults the sultan, fights off his guards and enjoys the pleasures of his harem: 'I fell o'th' bones of his boys, / My Bums full tilt at his Whores.'¹²⁹⁵ Then, interrupted in 'the midst of our game', Dr Noman enacts his escape by vanishing through forty keyholes and making it back to London the very same day. In the final verse, Dr Noman swears that 'All this is Truth by Mahomet'.¹²⁹⁶ This line follows the ballad tradition of representing post-Popish Plot Oates as a renegade.¹²⁹⁷ However, more significantly, following such a ridiculous story, this line encourages the ballad audience to make a comparison between the truth of Dr Noman's story and the truth of Islam. This ballad, designed for entertainment, plays on the internal lascivious desires of its audience, who could simultaneously enjoy a sexually titillating narrative and hold Ottoman culture in contempt for its perceived promiscuity. The fascination with the harem and Turkish women, demonstrated by travel writers, parallels Christian characters' attraction to Turkish women in early modern drama.¹²⁹⁸

¹²⁹³ F. Özden Merçan, 'Constructing a Self-Image in the Image of the Other: Pope Pius II's Letter to Sultan Mehmed II', in *Practices of Coexistence: Constructions of the Other in Early Modern Perceptions*, ed. by Marianna Birnbaum and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2017), pp. 71-102 (p. 93). Such was the perceived allure of Islam as a religion of pleasure and sin that some strict Protestants argued that actors playing Muslims on the stage could become corrupted as imitation led to identification. They believed that the demonstration of carnal delight acted out in front of impressionable playgoers could lure others into damnation. See Jonathan Burton, 'English Anxiety and the Muslim Power of Conversion: Five Perspectives on "Turning Turk" in Early Modern Texts', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 2:1 (2002), 35-67 (p. 46).

¹²⁹⁴ *A New Miracle Or Dr. Nomans safe Return From the Grand Turkes Court at Constantinople.*, (1684), BLO, Wood 276b(104), Roud Number: V30328.

¹²⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁷ Sisneros, 'Turk Ballads', pp. 535-549 (p. 545).

¹²⁹⁸ Bindu Maleickal, 'Slavery, Sex, and the Seraglio: "Turkish" Women and Early Modern Texts', in *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*, ed. by Helen Ostovich, Mary V. Silcox, and Graham Roebuck (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 58-73 (p. 66). John Fletcher's *The Knight of Malta*, Phillip Massinger's *The Renegado* and William Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* all contain a beautiful Turkish woman who persuades a Christian man to apostatise.

Another way in which desire for the East manifested itself was through romance stories that are set in, often vague, eastern locations. These stories were popular in folklore, medieval written manuscripts, popular literature, stage plays and ballads. A common plot features a Muslim princess who falls in love with a Christian knight. The princess often opens the castle of her father (the sultan), so that the Christian knight can capture it. She then converts, marries the knight and the sultan either converts or is killed.¹²⁹⁹ Early modern ballads contain many variations on this narrative. The ballad *Lord Bateman* is generally known in its nineteenth-century variant (still popularly sung today in folk clubs). However, a version of this ballad was registered with the Stationers' Company in 1624.¹³⁰⁰ This ballad features an English nobleman, who travels to Turkey and is imprisoned. The sultan's daughter then falls in love with Lord Bateman and releases him. Then, seven years later, she arrives at Lord Bateman's castle, just as he is about to get married. The wedding is swiftly rearranged, and Lord Bateman marries the princess.¹³⁰¹ Other ballads feature a marriage between an Eastern princess and a Christian but also set up the possibility of the spread of Christianity in the region. These ballads involve the establishment of European-Christian power in the East, through love and marriage, and vary in their depictions of Muslims depending on whether the Muslim being portrayed is the female object of desire or her father (or another male authority figure). A perennial figure of English pride and chivalric valour, both in early modern ballads and today, is St. George.¹³⁰²

St. George was particularly popular with the Jacobean court, which marked St. George's day with tilts and challenges.¹³⁰³ The popularity of St. George can be seen in the ballads *A Brave*

¹²⁹⁹ Vitkus, pp. 207-230 (p. 216).

¹³⁰⁰ See Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad*.

¹³⁰¹ *Lord Bateman*. (1815), BLO, Johnson Ballads 1687, Roud Number: 40.

¹³⁰² The story of St. George and the dragon has been interpreted in various ways. Depictions of dragons are relatively common in medieval churches, often symbolising earlier pagan religions and beliefs, and their subjugation by the Christian Church. In certain images the dragon is shown to have female sexual organs, suggesting a need for Christianity to control sexual lust. Other interpretations of the symbolism reference the suppression of heretical movements and the ultimate victory of Christ over the Devil. See Giles Morgan, *St George* (Harpden: Pocket Essentials, 2006).

¹³⁰³ David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 21.

warlike Song (influenced by Richard Johnson's *Seven Champions of Christendom*) and *A New Ballad of St. George and the Dragon*, and the latter asks, 'Why should we boast of Arthur and his Knights' and 'why should we speak of Sir Launcelot du Lake? / Or Sir Tristram du Leon, that fought for ladies sake?'.¹³⁰⁴ The ballad instead instructs its audience to 'Read old stories, and there you will see / How St. George, St. George, he made the Dragon flee'.¹³⁰⁵ The ballad *A most Excellent Ballad of St. George for England, and the Kings Daughter of Egypt, whom he delivere from death, and how he slew a mighty Dragon* also seems to be based on Johnson's work, as St. George marries the king of Egypt's daughter (they marry in Coventry which Johnson claims as St. George's home instead of the Middle Eastern origin he is usually assigned in hagiographies).¹³⁰⁶ This version of the story reflects the values of the period, emphasising the importance of family: St. George is no longer the traditional symbol of chastity but a masculine patriarch.¹³⁰⁷ The ballad begins by confirming St. George's status as a Christian knight who combats Islam: 'Against the Sarazens full rude, / fought he full long and many a day, / Where many a Gyant he subdu'd, / in honour of the Christian way.'¹³⁰⁸ The Saracen giant was a common archetype and functioned as an anti-knight:

¹³⁰⁴ *A brave warlike Song. Containing a briefe rehearsal of the deeds of Chivalry, performed by the Nine VVorthies of the world, the seaven Champions of Christendome, with many other remarkable Warriours.* (1626?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.88-89, EBBA 20277.; *A New Ballad of St. George and the Dragon.* (1700?), NLS, Crawford.EB.1349, EBBA 34079, RI 2364. This ballad was entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1675. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 204).

¹³⁰⁵ *A New Ballad of St. George and the Dragon.*, EBBA 34079, RI 2364.

¹³⁰⁶ Naomi Conn Liebler, 'Bully St. George: Richard Johnson's *Seven Champions of Christendom* and the creation of the bourgeoisie national hero', in *Early Modern Prose Fiction: The Cultural Politics of Reading*, ed. by Naomi Conn Liebler (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 115-129 (p. 121). St. George is a significant example for illustrating how far Christian and Islamic traditions were entangled. Not an exclusively Christian saint, St. George appears in the Islamic tradition. In Christian iconography, St. George is a resurrected martyr who slays the heretical dragon of Islamic militarism. However, in Islam he is associated with Al Khidr (a servant of God who meets Moses), and in Sufism he is known as The Verdant One, a mystical warrior whom some sources claim to have been an officer in Alexander the Great's army. See Brotton, *This Orient Isle*, p. 219.

¹³⁰⁷ Morgan, *St George*, p. 104.

¹³⁰⁸ *A most Excellent Ballad of St. George for England, and the Kings Daughter of Egypt, whom he delivere from death, and how he slew a mighty Dragon.* (1684-1686), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.526-527, EBBA 20251, RI 2365 and RI 2366. This ballad was entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1657 and 1675. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 204). The giant is a mythical archetype which often appears in medieval literature as the Green Knight or Wild Man who embodies supernatural powers and an organic strength. This force of nature threatens and terrifies the precarious order of civilised man. Composers of Saracen romances drew on this tradition to heighten the fearsomeness of the Muslim adversary whom the Christian hero had to overcome. Conflict with giants also evoked the story of David and Goliath, a biblical example of the grace of God and the victory of the true faith against the fearsome might of unbelievers. Giants in the East were verifiable phenomena in medieval anthropology, largely thanks to marvellous travel accounts such as that of John Mandeville. Unlike the mythical giants of fairy tales, the Saracen giant was grounded in contemporary reality. The depiction of fearsome giants seems to have come from the observation of tall, black Africans in Saracen armies. See Dorothee Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 192.

a concrete embodiment of a profoundly alien and terrifying enemy that threatened Christian survival.¹³⁰⁹

In the ballad, St. George comes to Egypt, to a city oppressed by a dragon. No one was able to rid the city of the dragon and the only way to appease him was to sacrifice ‘a Virgin pure and kind, / whereby he might his fury swage: / Each day he should a Maiden eat’.¹³¹⁰ Eventually, all of the virgins in the city were consumed, with the exception of the king’s daughter, Sabine. Officers come to relay this news to the king, who cries out that she is ‘my Kingdoms heir. / O let us all be poisoned here, / E’re she should dye that is my dear’.¹³¹¹ This is a depiction of a Muslim father caring for his daughter and lacks any of the violent or savage themes that are present in other ballads. It is worth noting, at this point, that the ballad never makes any mention of the religion of the king of Egypt or his daughter. As the dates of St. George’s life (if he is presumed to have existed) preceded the creation of Islam, it might be assumed that these characters are just identified as non-Christian rather than belonging to any specific religion. However, the seventeenth-century ballad audience was clearly supposed to understand the story in the context of their contemporary geopolitical reality. Later references in the ballad, to the king of Morocco and the ‘Sophy’ of Persia, confirm that the world in which this version of St. George operated was decidedly early modern. Therefore, the ballad audience would assume that the rulers of Morocco, Persia and Egypt, presented in the ballad, were Muslim. Whilst noting the human depiction of the king of Egypt at this point, it is also important that he announces that Sabine is his heir. The later implication of this, when she marries St. George, is that any children of theirs (who would be Christian), would have a legitimate claim to the rule of Egypt.

In the ballad, the king begs his people not to make him sacrifice his daughter, but then ‘fell fair Sabine on her knee’ and says, ‘let me be the Dragons prey’.¹³¹² She states that it might

¹³⁰⁹ Metlitzki, p. 192.

¹³¹⁰ *A most Excellent Ballad of St. George for England.*, EBBA 20251, RI 2365 and RI 2366.

¹³¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹³¹² *Ibid.*

be for her sake that the dragon has been visited upon them and it is 'better I should dye (she said) / then all your Subjects perish'. She argues that, perhaps, once the Dragon has 'suckt my Gore, / Your Land shall feel the grief no more'. This sets Sabine up as a noble character (one fitting to marry St. George) with Christian qualities. Whilst it would be a stretch to say that Sabine is Christ-like, it is important to note that she is prepared to sacrifice herself and claim punishment in order to save a great many people. Sabine is left tied to a stake, at which point St. George comes riding past and asks, 'What person thus abused thee?', swearing, 'loe by Christ his cross I vow / [...] / I will revenge it on his brow, / and break my Launce upon his Crest.' It is at this moment that the dragon appears, and St. George achieves what no other had in slaying the dragon. This feat is linked to his faith: the 'savour of [the dragon's] poysoned breath, / could do this Christian Knight no harm'.¹³¹³ The defeat of the dragon is the turning point of the ballad. Up to this point, the audience has been presented with a heroic Christian, a humanised Muslim ruler and a Muslim princess who is ascribed Christian qualities. After this point in the ballad, the representation of Muslims becomes negative as three Muslim rulers conspire to betray and kill the good Christian knight.

After she is saved by St. George, Sabine falls in love with him. Their love is discovered by the visiting king of Morocco, who then informs Sabine's father. These kings then 'together did devise, / to make this Christian Knight away'.¹³¹⁴ They sent a letter to Persia to ask the 'Sophy' to kill St. George. In this section of the ballad, the Muslim characters have been established to be untrustworthy and evil through the descriptions of them planning 'treacherously his blood to spill'; rewarding St. George's good deed 'with Evil'; and by 'vile means they did devise, / to work his death most cruelly'. St. George is captured whilst in Persia where, whenever he discovered one, he 'straight destroy'd each Idol God'.¹³¹⁵ The irony of an iconoclastic Christian knight, riding around an Islamic country, destroying idols would have been

¹³¹³ Ibid.

¹³¹⁴ Ibid.

¹³¹⁵ Ibid.

entirely lost on the early modern ballad audience. However, this is a continuation of the medieval perception of Muslims as idolaters. St. George's punishment for destroying these images is to be imprisoned in 'a Dungeon dark and deep'. However, he eventually escapes, stealing the Sophy's best horse, and returns to Christendom (killing another giant along the way). In Christendom (which is again presented, like in many ballads of the 1680s, as an entirely unified place), St. George musters up an army 'Vowing upon that Heathen Land, / to work revenge'.¹³¹⁶ In his crusade, St. George only spares Egypt for the sake of Sabrine. He kills the king of Morocco and takes Sabrine back to England to be his wife. Once in England, St. George has a final adventure where they are accosted by a pair of lions, which do not attack Sabrine, thereby proving her virginity. They are then married in Coventry.

A most Excellent Ballad of St. George for England places an iconic Christian hero into Muslim lands, where he behaves with chivalry and valour. The ballad's presentation of the three Muslim rulers is the usual contemporary condemnation of untrustworthy cowards. Sabrine, on the other hand, is portrayed as having Christian qualities and her marriage to St. George is the expression of an imperial dream to subjugate Islam. This can also be seen in *The honour of a London Prentice*. This ballad, set during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, features a merchant's apprentice going to Turkey to gain trading experience. After one year of being in Turkey, he participates in a jousting competition 'Ere he by tilt maintained / the honour of his Queen' whom he proclaimed 'To be the Phenix of the world'.¹³¹⁷ In this jousting tournament, it is noteworthy that the untrained apprentice, 'One score of knights most hardy, / one day he made to bleed.; / And brought them

¹³¹⁶ Ibid.

¹³¹⁷ *The honour of a London Prentice. Being an account of his matchless Manhood and brave Adventures done in Turkey, and by what means he married the Kings Daughter.* (1696-1709), BL, Roxburghe 3.747, EBBA 31456, RI 1139. This ballad was entered into the Stationers' Company Register in 1675. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', pp.1-324 (p. 100). Elizabeth was associated with the phoenix (also the pelican) and courtiers often presented her with jewels in the shape of these birds. The phoenix was a popular symbol for Elizabeth as it had long represented hereditary rule as, like the institution of monarchy, the generality of the phoenix lives on when the individual dies, and also (like a ruler) only one of its kind is ever alive at any time. See Susan Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power: The Portraits of Elizabeth I', in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 171-199 (p. 178).

all to ground.¹³¹⁸ The sultan, referred to in the ballad as the king, is enraged to see a simple merchant's apprentice defeating his best knights and sends his son to defeat the apprentice. The prince insults the apprentice, who then vows to be revenged upon the prince: 'A London Prentice still, / shall prove as good a man, / As any of your Turkish Knights.'¹³¹⁹ This ballad presents Muslims, in keeping with tradition, as violent and quick to anger. Furthermore, they are cast as pathetic enemies, the best of whom are beaten by an untrained, bourgeois English boy (leading to the conclusion that his feats are divinely aided, demonstrating the veracity and power of his religion over theirs).

It is worth remarking here, that unlike Lord Bateman (a gentleman) and unlike St. George (a martyred, knightly Christian saint), the hero of *The honour of a London Prentice* is simply a bourgeois / 'middling sort' worker, with no other claim to an extraordinary life. The burgeoning middle class of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, in England, used literature such as matrimonial conduct books to promote certain moral values for managing emotional and sexual life.¹³²⁰ Prose romance stories, particularly those of travel and heroic adventures, offered competitive versions of love, desire, courtship and matrimony.¹³²¹ These stories construct narratives of young men's lives as they mature into husbands and masters of the household, by imagining their lives as a series of cultural and personal rites of passage.¹³²² A successful life, in romance stories, was one of romantic and territorial conquest and virtuous actions.¹³²³ A young man's passage through life towards these cultural goals was, therefore, of particular interest to the bourgeoisie and its civic ideals of social accomplishment.¹³²⁴ This seems to be the reason that the hero of this ballad is a merchant's apprentice. It is also notable that, whilst in medieval romance stories the Muslim princess would fall in love with a Christian knight, ballads from the

¹³¹⁸ *The honour of a London Prentice.*, EBBA 31456, RI 1139.

¹³¹⁹ Ibid.

¹³²⁰ Goran V. Stanivukovic, 'English renaissance romances as conduct books for young men', in *Early Modern Prose Fiction: The Cultural Politics of Reading*, ed. by Naomi Conn Liebler (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 60-78 (p. 60).

¹³²¹ Ibid, p. 61.

¹³²² Ibid, p. 63; 67.

¹³²³ Ibid, p. 64; 77.

¹³²⁴ Ibid, p. 64.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries replaced the knightly lord with a mercantile bourgeois figure. This attests to the growing prominence of global merchandise but also proclaims the triumph of English trade in reaching and dominating all parts of the world.

A similar narrative of English merchants gaining power over the Islamic world can be found in the late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century ballad, 'The Factor's Garland'. This factor (a commercial agent) is in Turkey, discovers a dead body lying on the ground and asks a passer-by why the man is left there. The passer-by explains, 'That Man was a Christian, Sir, when he drew Breath, / The Duties not being paid he lies above Earth.'¹³²⁵ The factor pays for the body to be buried and then sees a beautiful woman being led away to be executed. The man pays for her life and takes her back to London with him to be his housekeeper. He is then called away on another voyage to an unnamed eastern country, ruled (it transpires) by the father of his housekeeper. As a reward for saving his daughter, the king says that the factor can marry her and, if he brings her home, the king will make him very wealthy. The factor experiences a series of misadventures, including a sailor attempting to kill him (throwing him overboard) in order to claim the money and marry the daughter himself. The factor is then saved by the spirit of the Christian man whom he paid for to be buried and the story resolves with the factor, the princess and their son living happily ever after, one day to become Christian rulers of the kingdom.

In *The honour of a London Prentice*, as retaliation for the Turkish prince's words, the apprentice punches him on the side of the head 'Which broke his neck asunder'.¹³²⁶ The feats of strength and martial valour, performed by the apprentice, become more impressive throughout the ballad, whilst the sultan steadily becomes more angry and violent (see Figure 34). In revenge for the death of his son, the sultan swears that the apprentice will die 'The cruelst death that ever man / beheld with mortal eye'. Two starving lions are released into an arena with the apprentice. These lions represent the wild savagery of Islam, an interpretation reinforced by the fact that

¹³²⁵ 'The Factor's Garland, in *A Collection Of Old Ballads. Corrected from the best and most Ancient Copies Extant. With Introductions Historical and Critical*, Vol. III (London: printed by J. Roberts, 1725), pp. 221-228 (p. 221).

¹³²⁶ *The honour of a London Prentice.*, EBBA 31456, RI 1139.

God now enters the ballad as a controlling force (attesting to the truth of Christianity over Islam). Being divinely assisted, and becoming more Herculean by the minute, the apprentice thrusts his arms into the lions' mouths and 'From thence by manly valour / their hearts he tore in sunder'.¹³²⁷



Figure 34: The feats performed by the apprentice shown on *The honour of a London Prentice*. (1696-1709), BL, Roxburghe 3.747, EBBA 31456 © British Library Board C.20.f.9.747.

The defeat of the lions is the turning point of the ballad. After this, the sultan is terrified and 'turned all his hate, into remorse and love'. The sultan asks whether the apprentice is an angel and the apprentice replies that he is just a man from England 'Assisted by the heavens'.¹³²⁸ All the feats performed by the apprentice are attributed to God giving the apprentice power over the forces of Islam. It is at this point in the ballad that the sultan seems to convert, as he lifted 'up his eyes to heaven, / And for his foul offences, / did crave to be forgiven'.¹³²⁹ The fact that it

¹³²⁷ Ibid.

¹³²⁸ Ibid.

¹³²⁹ Ibid.

is after defeat that the sultan forsakes his faith and asks to be forgiven suggests that his crime was not in trying to kill the apprentice, but simply being Muslim.¹³³⁰ The ballad ends with the sultan pardoning the apprentice and giving him the princess to marry. Unlike in *A most Excellent Ballad of St. George for England*, the apprentice does not take the princess back to England with him but remains in Turkey. Therefore, in this ballad, the Christian conquest of Islam is more complete: the Muslim son and heir to the sultan is killed; the sultan renounces Islam; and the Christian hero marries the princess to presumably father a line of Christian sultans.

In all these romance ballads, it is a Christian man marrying a Muslim (or unidentified 'Eastern') woman. The religion of the offspring of these marriages is of great importance as this would dictate the religion of the kingdom they will eventually rule. In these ballads, the Christian religion, held by the male, takes priority over the Islamic religion of the female. These ballads, therefore, form an illuminating comparison to *The Four Indian Kings* ballad (mentioned in the previous chapter), where the Christian woman civilises the savage Native American heathen through marriage. The difference here is in the allure of the cultures. Native American culture was not deemed appealing by early modern Europeans, their women were not objects of desire and their culture was not associated with comfort and luxury. In *The Four Indian Kings*, it is the Native American lured in by English culture, whereas Islam and the East were seductive and enticing for English culture. This is shown by the fact that a greater number of works were published about the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period than about the Americas.¹³³¹

In ballads, heroic Christian men could marry Muslim princesses (thereby asserting dominance over Islam) and good Christian women could civilise Native American men. These couplings were highly unlikely to be formulated the other way around. In fact, *A merry Ballad of a rich Maid that had 18. severall Suitors of severall Countries* actively tries to dissuade women from being attracted towards Muslim men. The ballad tells the story of a woman who is courted by men

¹³³⁰ Sisneros, "The Abhorred Name of Turk", p. 256.

¹³³¹ Charlotte Colding Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453-1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), p. 32.

from different countries, all of whom she dismisses. One of the fastest to be rejected is the Turk, about whom the woman states, 'I scornd his believe, and so to be briefe, / He did returne home offended.'¹³³² The only way this Turk could have married her is if she converted.¹³³³ Historically, mixed marriages between Christians and Muslims only really existed in the Islamic world (in Ottoman Candia, modern Crete, they were not uncommon).¹³³⁴ Islamic law permits the marriage of a Muslim man with a Christian woman (but not the reverse) since, in Islamic law, it is the father's religion that determines the religion of the child. Therefore, all mixed marriages in the Muslim world theoretically produced Muslim children.¹³³⁵ The Muslim princesses in these ballads, enamoured with various Christian heroes, represent an imagined world where Christianity attracted Muslim converts. These ballads are cultural responses to the stories of Christian renegades enchanted away by Islam, and are manifestations of the fact which troubled many contemporary Christian thinkers: why so few Muslims converted to Christianity.

A Love-Hate Relationship

Throughout the seventeenth century, England's global activities increased. This brought it into contact and conflict with a number of cultures. The most frequent site of contact with the Islamic world was the North African coast, which saw the ill-fated Tangier colony as well as the piracy and slave trade of the Barbary Corsairs. However, more prominent in the cultural imagination of the outside world were the Ottoman Turks. Through ballads, which distil and reduce concepts to their core characteristics and traits, we can see the many overlapping and conflicting attitudes towards the Islamic world.

¹³³² *A merry Ballad of a rich Maid that had 18. seuerall Suitors of seuerall Countries: otherwise called the scorefull Maid.* (1620?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.248-249, EBBA 20114.

¹³³³ Sisneros notes that one of the Turk's defining characteristics in early modern representations was his fierce commitment to his religion. See Sisneros, 'Turk Ballads', pp. 535-549.

¹³³⁴ Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 105.

¹³³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 105-106.

All terms used to denote Muslims carried connotations of violence and savagery, and Muslims were frequently used as a measurement of cruelty, against which the actions of others could be compared. In ballads, the representations of Moors and Blackamoors has many parallels with the depictions of Native Americans, and the term 'Moor' particularly evoked an image of a savage, primitive and bestial figure. This was significant in the context of the Tangier colony, as dehumanising the local Moroccans through animalistic imagery, primitivism, lack of authority, and equating Ghailan with Oliver Cromwell removed all political claims to sovereignty over the land, leaving it to the 'rightful' English owners. Ballads about Moors refer to skin colour more often than those concerning Turks. Playing on concepts of physical and spiritual uncleanness and associations with the Devil, ballads could dehumanise Moors and challenge the legitimacy of Islam.

The Ottoman Turks are the most frequently referred to non-European people in balladry. These mentions are often contained within a single line, whilst the topic of the ballad is something entirely different. This demonstrates the significance of Ottoman power in English perceptions of the outside world. The sophisticated and powerful Ottomans could not be dismissed as uncultured savages by the same paradigm that was applied to North African Moors. The failed siege of Vienna in 1683 was momentous and was celebrated as a providential sign of the truth of Christianity. However, the fact that the Ottomans had presented such a threat emphasised their military achievements. Many ballads from this period depict a united Christendom facing the threat of the Ottoman Empire. These ballads are manifestations of the political concerns that the Ottomans could come to conquer the entirety of Europe. They argue that the persecution of Catholics and their allies should be abandoned to devote everything to combating the religious threat.

Whilst England was never in danger of being conquered by an Islamic power, there were English citizens who were ruled by Muslims. Narratives of captivity were particularly important for the ballad audience as it was many of them who were most likely to experience slavery.

Ballads speak of the horrors of slavery at the hands of the Barbary pirates and represent them as vicious masters that dehumanise and destroy their prisoners through their cruelty. The added implication is that Islamic rule over Europe would similarly destroy it. These ballads helped to address the worrying concern for early modern England about the number of Christians that turned renegade and converted to Islam. As captivity was seen as a test of divine faith, many ballads provide a safe, fictitious experience of slavery, holding up exemplars of Christians who stayed constant to their religion and partner, and who are then rewarded at the end of the ballad.

As well as the danger of English people turning renegade in captivity, there was a concern about the dangers of passive apostasy as Islamic culture became a visible presence in early modern England. Coffeehouses and coffeehouse culture are notable developments of the mid-seventeenth century. However, contrary to the often-accepted narrative, coffee itself was not notably prominent or frequently consumed. Ballads display a range of attitudes towards coffee but, as discourse focused on the role of the coffeehouse as a breeding ground for sedition and rumour, the commodity itself became naturalised into English culture. Coffeehouses were particularly notable for the political arguments between Whigs and Tories and, whilst some ballads celebrate the sobering influences of coffee, others denigrate this as a vehicle for agitation and political subversion. Critics of coffeehouses stressed how they took business away from traditional English drinking venues and, when writers really wanted to castigate the drink, they would also expose its foreign origins and Islamic associations. In these ballads, coffee was presented as an invasive force that would take over the minds of coffee drinkers, and was given the connotations of bodily fluids of cultures that were perceived to be unclean. Coffee was used as a symbol of Islamic culture and, particularly in the ballads about the siege of Vienna, it was contrasted with fortifying Christian wine.

Despite the many criticisms levelled at it, Islamic culture was fascinating for early modern Europe. The life of luxury lived by the Ottoman sultans (particularly with regards to the imperial harem) was prominent in European fiction and dramas. Ballads set there could feature the

humiliation of the sultan and insult the Islamic religion, but they also allowed for an exciting narrative of a sexual lifestyle that did not formally exist in Europe. The sexual interest in the Islamic world is manifested in several ballads where a Christian knight (or, later on, a merchant) defeats Islamic foes and marries an Islamic princess, to then spread Christianity through the land. The presence of a representative of 'middling sort' commerce and mercantile activities, in these ballads, would have appealed to the ballad audience, but also declares the power of English merchants in accessing exotic areas of the world. The theological dimension of Islam is often missing from ballads (which generally display contemporary polemical views towards Muhammad and Muslims). However, this is not unexpected, and this very lack of engagement with Islamic religious beliefs means that ballads provide historians with a window into the ways in which the outside world was imagined through such representations.

The Conclusion, Or, The Ballad Audience's Guide to the World

The *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* is an indispensable companion to all those who are keen to make sense of life in an infinitely complex and confusing Universe, for though it cannot hope to be useful or informative on all matters, it does at least make the reassuring claim, that where it is inaccurate it is at least definitively inaccurate. In cases of major discrepancy it's always reality that's got it wrong. This was the gist of the notice. It said 'The *Guide* is definitive. Reality is frequently inaccurate.'¹³³⁶

If one was to create a guide to the global world of the seventeenth century using broadside ballads, the caveat in small print would be remarkably akin to that expressed in the above quote. To try to determine and comment definitively upon the accuracy and realism of the depictions of the outside world, in early modern broadside ballads, is in many ways a fruitless task. Furthermore, this kind of approach severely limits the ways in which these sources can be of use to historians. Ballads were subject to a number of influences. Most ballads, particularly black-letter, were geared towards market viability and popular consumption. These can be analysed with a broad assumption that the audience agreed or sympathised with the views found within them. However, this was not the case for all ballads and not even all black-letter ballads. Commissioned products like *Londons Lotterie* should not be approached with the same methodological framework as *The Trappan'd Maiden*, for instance.¹³³⁷ Being aware of the differences in production and sale of such ballads, and negotiating between views being imposed and those appealing to popular taste, means that we can assess the ways in which their consumers imagined the wider world.

Whether commissioned or written for the general market, the representation of the global world in ballads was shaped by prevailing cultural assumptions and vested political interests. Furthermore, their presentation of foreign peoples and places relied upon set tropes and conventions. Ballads tell of bountiful riches and an Edenic paradise of spices and herbs in the East Indies; but they do not provide their audience with a sensitive or nuanced ethnography

¹³³⁶ Douglas Adams, *The Restaurant at the End of the Universe* (London: Pan Books, 1980), p. 35.

¹³³⁷ See chapter 3 'Establishing a Foothold'.

of indigenous social customs and culture. Their selective choice of subjects, repetition of themes and their need to reduce and distil concepts and characters to their core associations mean that these ephemeral documents provide historians with an insight into how the early modern world was understood by a wide variety of people – including those who have left very little other record of their lives to posterity. Similarly, seemingly unimportant references to people and places in ballads, mentioned in one line and then never reappearing, carry significant historical importance. In ballads about sailors where neither piracy nor Ottomans are the main topic, these figures are still present in the cultural background, casting long shadows over contemporary perceptions of the outside world.

Ballads operated in a teeming world of print. They complemented other cheap print products and the audience would have engaged with a range of cultural forms besides ballads. The power of ballads in influencing the audience's imagination of the outside world, over that of these other forms, was in the emotional communal moments they could create. The aim of ballads was to 'raise emotions'.¹³³⁸ Through the possibilities of audience participation, group entertainment and the added cultural meanings of tunes and woodcuts, ballads could manipulate the emotional responses of their audience, thereby adding a force to their representations of the wider world. Ballads concerning non-European cultures make up a tiny proportion of the total corpus of broadside ballads, and have often been overlooked by scholars in favour of those which can be used to chart the tumultuous domestic political developments of seventeenth-century England. However, these ballads, which are external in outlook, would have created highly emotive and vivid images of the outside world (such as the terrors of the sea and the savagery of Moors and Native Americans). These powerful representations in ballads, complementing the information provided by the wider culture of cheap print and news, would have significantly shaped the audience's imaginations of foreign people and places. This thesis

¹³³⁸ McShane, 'Ballads and Broad-sides', pp. 339-62 (p. 361).

has intertwined several different historiographical discourses and has examined English participation in global history through the lens of a source type which is mostly used by historians in the analysis of domestic English culture and politics. It shows the importance of broadside ballads' representations of the wider world in informing the street audience's imagination of the increasingly global seventeenth century.

Transient and ephemeral, ballads were products of their historical context. They were frequently written in response to a particular event and often became irrelevant within a short time span (a fact which did not help their chances of survival in the face of the ravages of time). The ballads about Captain Green, for instance, lose their political significance out of the context of the union between England and Scotland, becoming simple descriptions of a murderous pirate. As a major form of entertainment that extended beyond the bounds of social strata, and even literacy, ballads were instrumental in shaping their audience's perception of the outside world. The glimpses of Ottomans or Native Americans, offered by ballads, were as close as many within the ballad audience would get to encountering these peoples. The audience's perception was constructed through the ballads' representations. Throughout this thesis, I have demonstrated the ways in which broadside ballads reflect the increasingly global world of the seventeenth century in their choice of subject matter and how they shaped their audience's perceptions of the wider world, its peoples, its riches and its dangers.

Imagining the outside world and other cultures was an 'active process of engaging with cultural knowledge'.¹³³⁹ Ballads complemented a vast quantity of other forms of print and oral discourse which provided the audience with this cultural knowledge. The uniqueness of ballads is in the sheer number of ways in which people could engage with them. Oral elements, such as the ballad-monger's performance and the tune to which the ballad was set, could attract an audience in the noisy early modern street. Tunes could emphasise the messages of a ballad. In the post-

¹³³⁹ Holmberg, p. 6.

Restoration ballads proclaiming English maritime might, we see a revival of the earlier tune ‘The King enjoys his own again’. Similarly, *Londons Lotterie* took full advantage of the ‘Lusty Gallant’ tune’s associations with heroic Elizabethan adventures and Protestant valour to promote an Atlantic colonial enterprise.

The visual elements of ballads were the texts (assuming audience literacy) and the woodcuts (which were accessible to all). The arrangement of text and woodcuts could be manipulated to encourage particular responses from the audience. The woodcuts of a naval engagement and criminals being hung in the sea (Figure 19a) demonstrate a direct causal link between crime and punishment. Likewise, the common framing of a man facing a woman, used to indicate an ideal romantic relationship, was subverted by the placement of the woodcut depicting a single woman raising a child alone (Figure 8). The lyrics, performance contexts and conative elements of woodcuts and tunes all intertwined to produce and alter meanings. Untangling these webs of associations provides a glimpse into how the global world was imagined by contemporaries.

The heyday of the broadside ballad was the seventeenth century, and this coincides with increasing contact between England and the outside world. Through the figure of the sailor, ballads attest to the importance of the expanding world. The majority of ballads are internally focused, dealing with national and regional concerns. This is not the case with ballads about sailors. As sailors were agents of the globalising process, they are used in ballads as a means to comment upon and assess the outside world. They functioned as vehicles by which information about the outside world, and England’s place within it, could be brought to the audience. In ballads discussing sailors, nationalist themes are prominent and were used to claim power and dominance by looking back to the glories of the Elizabethan era. This romanticised and heroic past, invoked in ballads, helped to cement the concept that England was a maritime power in the minds of the audience. The image of England as a maritime power, which could claim sovereignty over the sea, was a frequent presence in ballads, poems and pamphlets. This is

particularly noticeable in ballads published following the Restoration and in the political context of *Mare Clausum* or *Mare Liberum* policies, as the newly reinstated monarchy wanted definitive statements of its power and authority. The highly celebratory ballads about England and the sea, full of national pride in the monarchy, fade slightly towards the end of the seventeenth century. Later ballads, such as *The Sea-Martyrs*, coincide with a change in naval administration after the Glorious Revolution, reflecting discontentment with the new monarchy's treatment of sailors and unpopular policies such as the Qs and Rs. The representation of the world, provided to the ballad audience, is one of dynamism and one in which England is a global maritime power facing-down Catholic powers and connecting England with distant, bountiful lands.

Ballads celebrating sailors emphasised their dual role in supporting the nation: military protection and enrichment through trade. These two roles supported one another and frequently occur in tandem in ballads. It is significant that the presentation of sailors in ballads is often contradictory to their presentation in other contemporary literature. Plays and character sketches (such as Richard Brathwaite's) depicted them as rude, irreligious outsiders.¹³⁴⁰ Ballads' attempts to redress this can be attributed to the view of the sailor being an ideal ballad consumer.¹³⁴¹ Ballads provided their audience with many representations of the outside world. Their significance lies in the selective view of the world they offered: for instance, the highly biased depiction of sailors as amongst the bravest and most valiant figures in early modern England, who enabled its global supremacy. From the snapshot views offered by ballads, particularly black-letter, historians gain an insight into how contemporaries perceived global trade. The vast majority of ballads describing the activities of sailors focus on the wealthy commercial voyages bringing back foreign exotica, with caveats that sailors could pay heavy prices to enrich the nation. However, this is by no means representative of all English voyages. References to the whaling and fishing voyages in the North Sea or North Atlantic are notably scarce in balladry

¹³⁴⁰ See Brathwaite, *Whimsies*; and Patarino, pp. 141-192.

¹³⁴¹ See Miller, 'Sea: Transporting England', pp. 247-250.

and, when they are present (such as in *A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preservation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another*), it is not the area nor its commodities that made it worthy of mention. Rather, it was the compelling narrative of survival, with the possibility for emphasising moral and religious messages, that made it interesting to the contemporary audience. These ballads are just as much products of the historical context of global trade and expansion as those describing the Americas or East Indies. The Arctic whaling fisheries grew out of, and provided the funding for, the Muscovy Company's attempts to find a northeast passage to Asia. Ballads about sailors demonstrate the contemporary awareness of the wider world. By emphasising the debt owed by land-based society to sailors' activities (mostly appearing in ballads in the motif of sailors in peril whilst, on shore, people sleep safely in bed), ballads highlight the importance of global trade and mercantile activities to England's prosperity.

This statement of the maritime community's importance to the entire nation can also be found in storm ballads. That so many ballads describe storms in which precious cargoes are lost, and sailors participating in global trade perish (whilst their partners wait at home), speaks to the fragile connection which linked England with the outside world. Storm ballads were popular with the ballad audience because, in a time of increasing awareness of global commerce and economic investments, they highlighted the human cost of international trade. This international trade was proclaimed by ballads as the root of England's global might and storm ballads demonstrate how easily the web of commerce could be broken. As the sea was the enabling factor in the globalising process, the dangers that it held were significant. Ballads capture the shifting attitude towards whales (from monstrous manifestations of the mysteries of the sea, to exploitable commodities). However, one of the most prominent dangers facing sailors, one which could not be tamed and exploited, was the wild and chaotic nature of the sea.

At the start of my research for this thesis, my first interpretation of shipwreck ballads was that they may have offered practical advice to sailors, through role-speculation, on surviving storms or shipwrecks. However, these ballads turned out to be far more significant when

analysed in terms of their representation of national character and the need to maintain rationality in the disordered wider world. This is most succinctly summarised in the lines from *Love without blemish*: ‘The Pilot he not being well / The Seamen all were drown.’¹³⁴² As the expert navigators who charted courses through the most difficult stretches of water, pilots were the symbol of human rationality and control in the chaotic outside world. The loss of this symbol spelt doom for those on board. Whether ballads about storms were written by sailors who had actually experienced the horrors of the open ocean or by those who had never left dry land is in many ways irrelevant. The ballad audience is presented with a wild and unpredictable world which degrades English hardiness and humanity. The message of the ballads is to maintain rationality and order. Ballads such as *A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preservation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another* showed the power of faith in the face of adversity, using a story of survival to illustrate how human ingenuity, and an emphasis on maintaining discipline, could be lifesaving in the chaotic outside world. This ballad highlights the contemporary perception that inhabiting a savage land would reduce those stranded there to similar levels of savagery. This can be seen by the surprise of the captain of the rescuing ship, who was stunned that (a year later) the marooned whalers were found ‘so unexpectedly, / To be all perfect sound men’.¹³⁴³

The chaotic, unstructured nature of the outside world finds particular articulation in the form of the pirate. In ballads, pirates represent the temptation to succumb to the autonomous lifestyle that life at sea, and distance from land-based governments and systems of justice, could facilitate. Ballads communicated to their audiences on many levels and they also conveyed images of the world which were themselves multi-faceted or even contradictory. The realities of piracy differ much from modern oversimplifications and stock associations. For the broadside ballad audience (many of whom were members of, or connected with, the maritime community),

¹³⁴² *Love without blemish. Or, The Unfortunate Couple.*, EBBA 21346.

¹³⁴³ *A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preservation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another.*, EBBA 20271, RI 3015.

pirates represented physical threat and economic hardship. However, the people who suffered at the hands of piracy may have engaged in piratical acts themselves: in response to a piratical act against them, as privateers in war or as a practical business side-line when the opportunity presented itself. The fact that piracy was common and mostly a small-scale enterprise (participated in freely, by many) meant that it was always going to have contradictory associations. The perceived lifestyle of pirates (aggressively masculine, hedonistic and autonomous) was appealing to many. The desire to join this group was also encouraged by accounts of heroic gentlemanly pirates, such as Henry Strangeways, who toed the line of romantic rogue and national hero. The contradictory aspects of pirates in ballads were further complicated by the figure of the privateer, and popular opinion of piratical acts seems to have been heavily influenced by the status of the pirate/privateer (as well as the ostensible legality of their actions). Privateers working in the national interest, such as the young man in *Love and Loyalty; Or, A Letter from a Young-Man, on Board of an English Privateer, to his beloved Susan in the City of London*, were to be celebrated and admired. Whereas, foreign privateers, who were a threat to merchants and to national security, were figures to be disparaged and ridiculed.

One of the most significant aspects of ballads about pirates is that their activities were global. Ballads relate, to their audience, narratives of oceans teeming with treasure-loaded ships sailing across the globe from one exotic location to another. Just as ballads emphasise the human cost of global commerce, piracy is also presented as an inevitable side effect of this. Since 'last dying speech' ballads tend to list the crimes committed by pirates in exotic locations, the audience were introduced to these places. For example, *A Copy of Verses, Composed By Captain Henry Every* places Every's activities in the context of global exploration and discoveries. Global marauding pirates epitomise the chaotic world outside England's shores. 'Last dying speech' ballads always contain the warning that falling into the temptation of an autonomous lifestyle would be inevitably punished. However, they also had another more significant function. By rehearsing the successful acts of piracy, the ballads demonstrate the pirates' power. That the

pirates were then captured and are now apologising for their sins, in the very public spectacle of punishment and execution, is a political statement to England's global maritime power. The might of the pirates is emphasised, but the message of such ballads is that England was strong enough to bring them to heel.

Ballads informed their audience that England's power and political authority on the global stage were inexorably intertwined with commerce. The representations of the outside world appearing in ballads which promote and celebrate the Grocers' Company, the Virginia Company and the Darien Company are some of the most inaccurate, yet illuminating. The growth of England as a colonial power is significant as it was this which led to greater interaction with, and expansion into, the global world. Ballads celebrate England's colonial activities and emphasise the economic benefits, for all levels of society, being reaped as a result. The outer world is represented as a fertile source of profit to be harvested. A notable development in European history, at this point, was the appearance of joint-stock companies, which were a key tool in colonial expansion. At either end of the seventeenth century, ballads and street literature celebrated the Virginia Company, the Grocers' Company and the Darien Company for their role in enlarging their respective nation's dominion. The link between commerce and global political power is made clear in these ballads, as well as in those which praise sailors as the unappreciated prop of trade to whom land-based society is indebted. In the early-seventeenth century, the Virginia Company funded itself through lotteries and produced propaganda and advertisements to encourage investments from as many people as possible. The specific address to women in *Londons Lotterie* is notable for the period and highlights the often-overlooked agency of women in furthering the colonial enterprise. Towards the end of the century, the Lord Mayor's pageants were visual celebrations of the wealth brought from the outside world to England by various merchant companies. Their added emphasis on the indigenous peoples' apparent willingness to be subjugated only strengthened the connection between economic might and empire, in the mind of the contemporary audience. The belief that having global plantations led to economic

prosperity and, consequently, political power is emphatically expressed in *Trade's Release* as the colony in Panama is seen as Scotland's ticket to claim dominance over non-European and European nations alike and make them all 'alter their narrow Opinions'.¹³⁴⁴

All of these colonial ventures run by joint-stock companies needed to be successful, and so ballads and street literature went to great lengths to reassure everyone that the new lands in America were bountiful Edenic paradises, in which everything would flourish. For the Virginia colony, the crop that flourished the most was tobacco. In ballads, historians can trace the contested discourse over tobacco's introduction to England. It could be condemned as the cultural practice of savage primitives which served to lessen the civility and masculinity of its consumers. Furthermore, as tobacco became associated with tavern culture, there is a notable incidence in ballads of tobacco, trickery, deceit, drunkenness and the neglect of family. However, framed in certain contexts, tobacco was a desirable commodity, associated with gallant figures. Towards the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, ballads also begin to reflect the growing discourse over the medicinal use of tobacco. Ballads were sung and heard, they were a prominent feature of seventeenth-century life and they were not the dry documents that are left to historians in archives. Therefore, they enabled engagement with contemporary discourse. Through the varying representations in ballads, the street audience could be included in, and participate in, debates over tobacco's role in English society.

The boom of tobacco in Virginia and the high demand for labour that it generated, combined with the high mortality rates for the colony and contemporary perceptions of overpopulation in England, formed the ideal conditions for a thriving trade in kidnapped people working as indentured servants. The frequent presence of kidnap in ballad narratives attests to the acceptance of this as a fact of life with which the audience were familiar. Ballads allowing their audience to vicariously experience spiriting are part of a wider genre of deceit and

¹³⁴⁴ *Trade's Release: Or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company.*, EBBA 34315.

dissimulation ballads, which notably speak to the dangers of exploitation faced by rural people visiting the urban metropolis. To ensure their commercial sale, spiring ballads generally embed their serious warnings within humorous narratives. For historians, these depictions of trickery and kidnap form insightful comparisons to the narratives of abduction in the large-scale colonial slave market, which drove so much of European imperial expansion. The exception to the warnings enclosed within a humorous narrative paradigm for spiring ballads is *The Trappan'd Maiden*, which is written from the perspective of a young woman describing her life of hardship as an indentured servant in Virginia. The ballad still contains a warning of the dangers of spiring, but this one encases the message within a tragic, rather than a humorous, narrative. This ballad is also significant because of the actual representation of the day-to-day life of indentured servitude which it provides to the audience.

Ballads describing English colonial activity in America often skirt around the presence of indigenous people in these areas, either presenting the land as empty or as ungoverned. In the context of the retaliation against Native Americans for the 1622 massacre, the indigenous people are simplified and reduced to European stereotypes of savages, by encapsulating the conflict between the two cultures in the image of musket against bow and arrow. In reality, the colonists had actually been instructing the local people on the use of muskets.¹³⁴⁵ Representing a comparison between two cultures in such an image was not uncommon in balladry. In many of the ballads about Islam and the Ottoman Empire, a comparison is set up by a drink representing each culture (wine or beer for Europe and coffee for the Ottoman Empire). In the ballads about the four Native American visitors to Queen Anne, a comparison is set up between wampum belts and European crowns. A significant, politically-charged representation in ballads was that of Native American agency and claims to land, which were used to justify and encourage further colonisation. In *Good News from Virginia* the fleeing Natives leave the land to 'us' (and similar

¹³⁴⁵ See Games, 'Violence on the Fringes', pp.505-529.

dehumanisation of the local people, in order to claim control of the land, can be seen in the ballads about Tangier). This depiction of the local people not only encouraged the colonial enterprise, but it was also a useful tool to stave off criticism of the Virginia Company. Through ballads and other propaganda pieces, the Virginia Company could depict all the colony's problems (bad management, poor preparation and lack of food) as being the fault of the Native Americans. Also used to promote the spread of empire, although with a contrasting image, was the representation of the four Iroquois on their visit to London in 1710. They were proclaimed as royalty as this gave them the 'authority' to declare themselves subjects to Queen Anne. At the time, the power balance between the Iroquois, the British and the French was roughly in equilibrium.¹³⁴⁶ Therefore, the visitors were represented as child-like and in need of wise guidance from the British, thereby legitimising the implication that the British could govern the land more efficiently and appropriately than the indigenous people.

In trying to understand the contemporary audience's perceptions of the outside world, contradictions within ballads seem to present a problem. However, ballads were not homogenous in the views they espoused, and people could subscribe to contradictory beliefs about the same thing without any difficulty (a fact that remains true today). The question for historians is how to engage with the contradictions presented and what they reveal about contemporary beliefs. The Virginia colony is presented as both a place of miserable hardship and an idealised place of employment and wealth. This contradiction reflects a contemporary reality: some people willingly indentured themselves to go and work there in hope of a better life and some were taken against their will. The aim of the historian is to assess in whose interest a ballad was published. For example, *Londons Lotterie*, with its celebration of and vested interest in the colonial cause, would never undermine its own agenda with an unflattering depiction of the colony. Similar contradictions, with particular interests driving them, can be found in the ballads

¹³⁴⁶ See Muller, 'From Palace to Longhouse', pp.26-49 (p. 30).

about Native Americans. *Good Newses from Virginia* emphasises the untrustworthiness, savagery and lack of civilisation of the indigenous people to justify colonial expansion. *The Four Indian Kings* serves exactly the same purpose in a romantic imagination of the Noble Savage converted to Christianity. However, the most telling fact about the representations of Native Americans in ballads and how they were imagined by the early modern ballad audience is that they very rarely appear. More detailed descriptions would be fascinating for historians, but indigenous Americans were simply not interesting enough to the contemporary audience (excluding the context of an important event like the 1622 massacre or the visit of 1710) to make it worth publishing a ballad describing them. They are mostly relegated to no more than single-line references to dangerous savages.

Whilst Native Americans are notable for their underrepresentation in balladry, it is almost the opposite with inhabitants of Islamic lands. Of all the ballads describing non-European peoples, ballads about Muslims (particularly Turks) are the most numerous. Given the religious tension and frequent military conflicts between the two, it could be assumed that there would be fewer contradictions in the representations of Muslims in English ballads and that they would be uniformly negative. However, nuanced and occasionally even positive portrayals of Muslims can be found in ballads amongst the more general anti-Islamic polemic. There were many terms used to describe Muslims, and all had negative connotations. However, it is notable that whilst Muslims were perceived to be savage and violent, the term 'Moor' seems to have had more savage and animalistic qualities (akin to the representation of Native Americans), whilst the term 'Turk' acknowledged a more technologically sophisticated military threat. The other figure to be castigated was the renegade. This figure brought on conflicting emotions for the ballad audience who were encouraged to sympathise with the pitiable captives held by the Barbary Corsairs, but were also warned about the frequency with which these people turned renegade and converted to Islam. Renegades were presented as far more violent and dangerous than

Turks.¹³⁴⁷ Turks were a recognisable enemy, but the renegade was a more insidious threat and represented the potential for any Christian to succumb to Islam. References to skin colour can mostly be found in ballads featuring Moors and functioned as another means to dehumanise them and remove their claims to land. This is most prominent in the Tangier ballads, where a number of different discourses combine. Animalistic imagery and the invectives about skin colour all serve to reduce the Moors to an inhuman status. In the context of the Restoration, depicting them as rebels (particularly equating them with Cromwell) implicitly legitimises Charles II's claim to Tangier. Added to this were religious motivations for colonial expansion and a repeated motif of destroying the Moors and making them 'bow and bend.' These calls for subjugation are based on the Moors' perceived inherent primitivism, and further support English claims to govern the land.

The Ottoman Turks were also vilified as being savage and violent, but ballads do not play on the same discourse of primitivism as they adopt when discussing Moors. The Ottoman attack on Vienna is extensively covered in a number of ballads, as it represented a great victory against a foe which seemed poised to sweep into Europe. Nowhere in these ballads is there any animalistic representation of the Turks. These ballads emphasise the danger posed and often present a united Christendom that everyone on each side of the confessional divide should defend. It is also mostly these ballads which introduced their audience to the figure of Muhammad. They reflect the widely-held belief that Muhammad was the Islamic God and they continue the medieval polemical discourse of describing him as a trickster and faker of miracles. Whilst the terms referring to Muslims were overlapping and generalised, those about Turks tended to depict a more dangerous military threat and discuss the Islamic religion at greater length.

The Turks were also an essential tool in English politics. They were used by both Tories and Whigs alike to denounce the other. Tories maintained that Whigs were so blindly anti-

¹³⁴⁷ See Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades*, p. 32.

Catholic that they would ally with Muslims in order to keep Catholics at bay. This was part of a wider held belief that radical Protestants were intent on renewing the English Civil Wars with Ottoman aid. Whigs, on the other hand, cried out against the growing threat to English Protestantism represented by the Franco-Ottoman alliance – an alliance which fitted into earlier Reformation polemics of *Turropapismus*, and views of both Catholicism and Islam as heresies. Through ballads, particularly those which referenced Muslims, the street audience could participate in political debates and crises, such as the controversy over the Tangier colony (and its links with Royalist Catholics), the development of coffeehouse culture, the Exclusion Crisis and the Rye House and Popish Plots. As Muslims were such powerful cultural figures in the contemporary imagination, they could be used to politically motivate an audience and sway it to particular points of view.

Another widely-held debate surrounded coffee and coffeehouses. It was believed that time spent in captivity with Muslims could lead to conversion, and, therefore, the increasing presence of Muslim culture in English society provoked strong reactions. Coffeehouses were contested spaces where people sampled Ottoman commodities (as well as chocolate or tobacco from America) and, by doing so, brought themselves potentially closely to a departure from ‘civilised’ Christian behaviour. Coffeehouses became focal points for political conflict as they were seen as breeding grounds of sedition and, in the strongest condemnations of the institution, the Islamic origin of the beverage was emphasised. However, as there was actually a lack of coffee served in coffeehouses, and most people first heard of the commodity in newsprint, it became naturalised as contemporary discourse focused on its political effects, rather than its cultural origins.¹³⁴⁸ This is not the only example where Islamic associations could either be emphasised or ignored for political reasons. It is notable that *The Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rain-bow*, despite being published long after John Ward’s conversion to Islam, does

¹³⁴⁸ See Withington, ‘Where Was the Coffee’, 40-75.

not mention it or vilify him because of it. This was because, in the political context of the ballad, Ward becomes an Interregnum hero who rejects an overbearing Stuart monarch.

The most likely danger posed by an Islamic power to English people was that of captivity at the hands of the Barbary Corsairs. Slavery was rife in the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century, and narratives of captivity have a special place in early modern ballads as it was particular members of the ballad audience (such as sailors or merchants) that were the ones most likely to suffer captivity.¹³⁴⁹ In the face of so many dangers, ballads offered their consumers exemplars of good Christian behaviour. Ballads allow their audience to speculate at being paragons of Christian virtue and implicitly ask the audience whether they could match the faith displayed by captives in ballad narratives. In *The Algier Slaves Releasment: Or, The Unchangeable Boat-wain*, the young man undergoes a test of his faith at the hands of his captors and is then rewarded with a providential escape and reunion with his partner. The audience could safely experience the horrors of Barbary slavery and play at being the heroic Protestant who was true to his faith and literally ‘unchangeable’.¹³⁵⁰ However, more significantly, ballads about captivity at the hands of Muslims warn their audience about the effects of Muslim rule over Christians. It is notable that *The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1,500 Christians: Most of them Being Englishmen (Now Prisoners in Algiers Under the Turks)* includes animalistic imagery and dehumanising discourse aimed at Christians rather than Muslims. It demonstrates that Islamic rule disrupts what was, to the early modern ballad audience, the natural order of the English as intellectually, culturally and religiously superior to Islamic powers (particularly North African Moors). This representation challenged the spiritual threat of apostasy that captivity posed. Proclaiming the negative effects of Muslim rule was necessary because of the high number of Christians who converted to Islam.

It is notable that, whilst Mediterranean slavery was a wide-spread phenomenon with both sides being highly active participants, there are numerous ballads about Christians being enslaved

¹³⁴⁹ Sisneros, “The Abhorred Name of Turk”, p. 121.

¹³⁵⁰ *The Algier Slaves Releasment: Or, The Unchangeable Boat-wain.*, EBBA 30948.

by the Turks, but practically none about Christians enslaving Muslims. This was likely a commercial choice about what was most likely to appeal to the ballad audience, as information about Muslim slaves may not have been widely-known, or probably it was simply not relevant or interesting enough to the audience. However, the absence of ballads about Muslims in captivity at the hands of Christians may have also been a taciturn acknowledgement that, whilst many Christians converted to Islam during their captivity, scarcely any Muslims converted to Christianity. This fact might be behind the number of fictitious, romantic ballad narratives in which a brave English knight (*A most excellent Ballad of S. George for England*) or a bourgeois / 'middling sort' youth (*The honour of a London Prentice* and 'The Factor's Garland') travels to a Muslim country, marries the king's daughter and implicitly brings Christianity to the region. These ballads would have been popular for their 'missionary' aspect, as Christianity is spread and 'returned' to its homeland. However, it is significant to note the development of this genre from the protagonist as a heroic knight to a member of the mercantile classes. This reflects an awareness of growing international commerce but also creates a stronger link between commercial activity and political power, and proclaims the power of English trade in conquering foreign lands.

Islamic culture was exotic, luxurious and highly alluring, both economically and sexually (the sultan's harem was a particular object of fascination). Simultaneously, the common traits ascribed to Muslims in ballads, as well as in wider popular literature, were cruelty and ugliness (both physical and spiritual). Almost all Muslims appearing in ballads are male and exhibit these negative traits. In the romantic ballad narratives, the Muslim princess who marries the Christian hero (implying conversion) is an object of desire and is willingly subordinate to the will (and religion) of her husband. The Muslim king or sultan, on the other hand, as an authoritative male, is described with the usual unsympathetic characteristics. The romantic ballad narratives of a Christian man marrying a Muslim woman make a significant comparison to *The Four Indian Kings*, in which it is implied (or in one version actually occurs) that a Christian woman marries one of

the Native American chieftains. The essential difference between these two examples is the allure of each culture. To the early modern European, the Islamic world was luxurious, decadent and exotic. Furthermore, as it contained the birthplace of Christianity, there was a religious motivation to reclaim it. Therefore, in these ballad narratives, a heroic Christian male takes and converts the region. Native American culture, on the other hand, was not alluring, wealthy or blessed with civilisational achievements. There was a desire to spread Christianity to the ‘savages’ but, in terms of its entertainment value to the ballad audience, the narrative is far more compelling if the highest representative of that culture (a ‘king’) is attracted to European culture and religion. Of all non-European cultures, the Islamic world was certainly of the most interest to the early modern ballad audience and is, by a long margin, the most frequently referenced. Through the figure of the Muslim (whether Turk or Moor), the ballad audience were presented with a terrifying, cruel character with a heretical and fraudulent religion. However, the culture from which this character originated was mysterious, sensual and alluring. These two seemingly contradictory associations intertwined and were actually at the heart of why the Islamic world was of such interest.

The benefit of examining the presentation of the outside world in a single cultural medium, from the late-sixteenth century to the early-eighteenth century, is that it allows for a consideration of the changes and continuities in the representation of people and places. In the late-sixteenth century, the sailor was idealised as a heroic and bold figure, and ballads encouraged sailors to leave home and travel abroad, thereby aiding the early colonial efforts. The image of a heroic and bold sailor continued throughout the seventeenth century, being particularly noteworthy in the latter half, and coinciding with conflicts with France and the three Anglo-Dutch wars. The notable change was the shift from encouragements to leave home to the theme of constancy (one of the most prominent themes found in seventeenth-century balladry). Ballads attempted to address the unsettled life of sailors and to promote a reliable figure upon which a family could depend. Another highly notable shift in presentation, which is particularly relevant

in the context of the processes of globalisation in the seventeenth century, is that of whales. Mirroring the changes undergone by their cartographic counterparts, whales went from horrific sea monsters, to impressive yet less terrifying animals and finally to another resource which could be exploited and plundered. There appears to be little change in the presentation of pirates, as they were always liminal and contradictory figures. The only possible area of change is a loss of the celebrated, roguish gentleman pirate of the sixteenth century, such as Francis Drake, Henry Strangeways or Andrew Barton. However, these figures endured in popularity and other high-status admirals and privateers continued to be celebrated.

In terms of the presentation of ethnic groups in ballads, studying change over a long period of time can be difficult due to the infrequency with which they appear. In terms of Native Americans, there are only spasmodic depictions of them across the century. The continuity in their presentation is the civilisation-barbarism paradigm which can be seen in varying levels of prominence in *Londons Lotterie* (1612), *Good Newes from Virginia* (1623), Thomas Jordan's mayoral pageants (1670s-80s) and the ballads about the 'four kings' (1710). The most notable change was the emergence of the Noble Savage stereotype (or at least these characteristics, as ballads do not use this term). The Lord Mayor's pageants, by playing on images of Edenic paradises, attribute to their fictitious indigenous labourers a spirit which is wise but also child-like in its innocence. The ballads describing the four visitors to Queen Anne in 1710 depict them as kings with noble qualities (particularly in the romantic ballads) and there is an indication that, with British guidance and the promise of conversion to Christianity, there is no reason the Native Americans cannot join 'civilised' society. However, such recognitions of Native American autonomy were politically framed so that the visitors could hand over power to the British by asking for their help, and the ballads reveal that the civilisation-barbarism paradigm still held sway for the ways in which these men were perceived. *Good Newes from Virginia*, in response to the 1622 massacre, vindicates the change in English policy towards the indigenous people (from attempts at mutual cohabitation to genocide). The ballads about the visit of 1710 promote and help to justify a more

peaceable change in policy. The Society of the Propagation of the Gospel had originally focused its efforts upon the colonists but, after the visit of 1710, the new priority was the conversion of the Native Americans.¹³⁵¹ However, both these representations are shaped by political concerns. In 1622, the Virginia Company needed to divert attention away from the failings of the colony, and the presence of a savage enemy undermining them was perfect propaganda. Whereas, in 1710, to promote British colonial expansion, it was more politically expedient to have child-like indigenous people asking for the British to enter their lands, and pledging allegiance to Queen Anne.

There appears to be little change in the presentations of Muslim peoples in ballads. The Barbary Corsairs were an ever-present threat throughout the seventeenth century and stories of slavery and violent renegades were pervasive in street literature. The Ottoman Turks were vilified as a religious and military threat to Protestant society, particularly when they were in league with Catholic France. One notable change, however, is the emergence of the coffee ballads in the second half of the seventeenth century. This can be linked with a widening cultural discourse about Ottoman products and the phenomenon of *Turquerie*, which occurred in Europe after 1650 and particularly after the failed Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683.¹³⁵² The discourse of coffeehouse ballads mainly focuses on the role of the coffeehouse as a breeding ground for sedition and rumour. People got used to participating, actively and passionately, in discourse about coffee but with hardly any reference to its foreign origin and cultural context. This allowed the commodity to become naturalised into English culture.

Broadside ballads capture the growth and development of the global world and the interconnectedness of the seventeenth century. The view that ballads present is not complete and is often highly selective, relying on strategic representations. However, it is this fact that gives them their value. By critically assessing the contexts of a ballad's production and sale,

¹³⁵¹ See Hinderaker, "The "Four Indian Kings"", pp.487-526 (p. 494).

¹³⁵² See Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, "Turquerie", pp.75-118.

historians can assess how much a view resonated with the ballad audience since the commercial nature of most ballads meant that they had to appeal to popular tastes. However, this was not the case for all ballads, and the form should not be reduced to a purely reflective function. All ballads sought to comment, pass judgment and sway opinion. Their efficacy in this regard is due to the emotional communal moments they could create, aided by their ability to engage with a wide audience in a myriad of ways. If the power of ballads in influencing popular opinion was not widely recognised, then they would not have been commissioned by institutions such as the Virginia Company. Ballads helped create and shape their audience's perception of the outside world. They played upon aspirational desires, national and religious feelings and conveyed their messages through entertaining narratives (both in the form of tragedy and humour).

At the start of my PhD research, I was hoping to find descriptions of interactions with foreign peoples and stories of intercultural encounters. However, these are few and far between and are always framed in particular ways. There are very few depictions of Native Americans in ballads – they are a background to the colonial enterprise which was of more interest to the contemporary audience. Encounters with Native Americans are generally either hostile conflicts or paternalistic conversions. Muslims, whether they are North African or Ottoman, are more frequent in ballads, but their depictions are not detailed or accurate: ballads reflect military fears of the Ottoman Empire, wider fears of the savagery of Islam and there is no theological engagement with the actual beliefs held by Muslims. However, the very absence of many of the aspects I was hoping to find is itself significant. Ballads would not provide detailed points on Islamic doctrine or Native American cultural customs. These were not entertaining or particularly interesting to the audience and would be difficult to turn to a political purpose. Ballads were reductive, relying on simplification and clear messages. Their imperfections are what make them useful. They do not give a perfect picture of the seventeenth century, but instead provide an insight into a dynamic world in which people consumed an ever-increasing volume of news and information about the outside world. Ballads played a significant role in this

intertextual world, and, through their simple and direct messages, they produced powerful images of the outside world and its inhabitants. Even if their representations did not often (if ever) match political and social realities, the contradictory and reductive early modern broadside ballads, shaped as they were by vested political and commercial interests, were a valuable guide to those in the audience keen to understand their life and the place of their nation within an increasingly interconnected and global world.

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A Net for a Night-Raven; Or, A Trap for a Scold. My Honest friends, if you the way would know, How to be quiet from a scolding Shrow; And to get money now in these hard times Then pray give ear, & listen to these lines. (1663-1674), BLO, 4o Rawl. 566(165), Roud Number: 2579.

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A True Relation of the Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton, a Pyrate and Rover on the Seas. (1681-1684), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.484-485, EBBA 20227, RI 2731.

A Turn-Coat of the Times. Who doth by experience profess and protest; That of all professions, A Turn-Coat's the best. (1675?), BL, Roxburghe 2.478, EBBA 30960.

A wonder beyond mans expectation, In the preseruation of eight men in Greenland from one season to another, the like neuer knowne or heard of before, which eight men are come all safely from thence in this last Fleet, 1631. whose names are these, William Fakeley Gunner, Edward Pellham Gunners Mate, Iohn Wise Robert Goodfellow Seamen, Thomas Ayers Whalecutter, Henry Rett Cooper, Iohn Dawes, Richard Kellet Land men. (1635?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.74-75, EBBA 20271, RI 3015.

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Good Newes from Virginia, Sent from Iames his Towne this present Moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman in that Country. (1623), BLO, Harding B 39(220), Roud Number: V6778.

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Loves fierce desire, and hopes of Recovery Or, A true and brief Discription of two resolved Lovers, whose excellent wits, sutable minds, and faithful hearts one to another, shall heedfully be spoken of in this following new made paper of Verses. (1644-1680?), BL, Roxburghe 3.130-131, EBBA 30440, RI 1565.

Merry Tom of all Trades. Or, A trick to get Mony at every dead lift, Made known by Tom of all trades that bravely could shift. From one place to another about he did range, And at his own pleasure his trade he could change. (1658-1664), BLO, Wood E 25(47), Roud Number V1586, RI 1751.

Mirth for Citizens: Or, A Comedy for the Country. Shewing A young Farmer his unfortunate marriage, His wife is so churlish & currish in carriage He married her for beauty, for's own delight Now he repents it both day and night. By Physiognomy adviseth youngmen that at Wenches skēp, To be sure to look before that they leap, To leap at a venture, & catch a fall, Raising the forehead breake horns and all. (1673?), NLS, Crawford.EB.507, EBBA 32851.

Monmouth Routed. Together, with his Promise and Resolution to Return again, a little before he left the Land. (1685), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.239, EBBA 20853.

More News from the Fleet. Being A brief and true Account of the late Noble, and Heroick exploit, performed against the Dutch, on the 8th. 9th. and 10th. of this present month of August; by Captain Sr. Robert Holmes, Sr. Philip Howard, and Sr. William Jennings; having under their command, about 900. Sea-men, and Souldiers, and 120. Voluntiers; The burning and destroying of at least eightscore Merchant Ships, in the Vlie of about 200 Tun a piece, the burning of the chief Town upon the Schelling, consisting of above a thousand fair built Houses. The bringing away the Plate, and Jewels, and other rich Commodities, to the great enriching of our Sea-men and Souldiers, and to the honour of our Nation, the Cabins of the ships being filled with Plate like a Goldsmiths shop. (1666), BLO, 4o Rawl. 566(118b), Roud Number: V28359.

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(London: Printed by Edward Allde, and are to be solde by John Wright at Christ-Church dore. 1610).

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The Algier Slaves Releasment: Or, The Unchangeable Boat-wain. No Prison like the Jayl of Love, nor no such torments found; To those that loyal mean to prove, whose loves are firm and sound; This loyal person ne'r would change, like a true Lover he; Indur'd his Fetters and his Chains, and Betty's Captive be. (1671-1702), BL, Roxburghe 4.30, EBBA 30948.

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The Cabal: Or, A Voice of the Politics. A most pleasant New Play Song. Here take a view of such as fain wou'd be Counted State-Wits, but want their Policy; And yet go clad in Cloaks of Knavery. Here's all the smoaking, sneaking, dribling Crew, Painted, and set before the Readers view; Who wou'd be something that you never knew. (1681-1684?), BRBML, 2000 Folio 6 76, EBBA 35750.

The Caesar's Victory. It being Account of a Ship so called, in her Voyage to the East Indies, Richly Laden, was beset with five Sail of Pirates: But the Caesar so rarely behaved her self, that she came off with Conquest, and put her foes to flight, losing no more than One Man, and but Seven wounded, one of which was Francis Stevens a Water-man, who formerly ply'd at Puddle-Dock, who lost his arm. (1686), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.198, EBBA 21860.

The City Cheat discovered: Or, A New Coffe-house Song. Perswading all civil and sober Men not to frequent the Coffe-houses so much, whether in London, Wapping, Westminster, or Common-Garden. (1691), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.102, EBBA 22363.

The Christian Conquest. Being an Account of the great overthrow of the Turks before the Imperial City of Vienna, in Germany, who, by Gods Blessing and the happy Conduct of the King of Poland, the Duke of Lorain,

etc were totally routed; having lost near One hundred thousand Men in the Field, Sixty thousand Tents, and two Millions of Money in the Grand Visiers Tent. (1683), BL, Roxburghe 4.34, EBBA 31145.

The Christians new Victory Over the Turks in Hungaria neaer the Drave. In this Famous Battle the Christians kill'd near Twenty Thousand, took 120 Guns, the Grand Vizier's Tents and Baggage, to an inestimable value, of Gold, Silver and Jewels: a greater Victory was hardly ever known in Europe. (1687), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.138, EBBA 20758.

The Constant Seaman And his Faithful love. See here the Pattern of true Love, the life of constancy; And e're they would disloyal prove, they both resolv'd to dye. (1662-1692?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.189, EBBA 21851.

The country Maidens Lamentation For the Loss of her Taylor: Who after pretence of a great deal of Love, ran way with her Clothes, and left her destitute both of Cloathes and Sweetheart Maidens beware, who have not known The Tricks and Humours of the Town: For you will find that there are many, Who of a Maid will make a penny. (1685-1688), PL, Pepys Ballads 3.343.

The Crafty Barber of Debtford, You Debtford Women all beware of this same Crafty Barber: For when he gets between your Arms There he takes up his barbour. (1651-1686?), BRBML, 2000 Folio 6 10, EBBA 35668.

The Devils Oak: Or, his ramble in a Tempestuous Night, where he happened to Discourse with men of several Callings, of his own Colour and Complexion. (1683-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.364, EBBA 22028.

The English Courage Undaunted: Or, Advice to those Brave Valiant Blades now going to Tangier, To Maintain the Old English Courage against the Moors. They that the English Courage have, Let them all march Tangier to save: For Courage contemneth perils, at nothing is dismay'd But Cowardize indeed, is at any thing afraid. (1680), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.214, EBBA 20825.

'The English Sailor's Resolution to Fight the Spaniards', in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 172-73.

'The Factor's Garland, in *A Collection Of Old Ballads. Corrected from the best and most Ancient Copies Extant. With Introductions Historical and Critical*, Vol. III (London: printed by J. Roberts, 1725), pp. 221-228.

The Fair and Loyal Maid of Bristow. Dame Fortune on this Maiden frown'd, That once on her did smile, She was in tears of sorrow drown'd, That death did her beguile. (1672-1696?), BL, Roxburghe 4.46, EBBA 31278, RI 825.

'The Fair Maid's Choice: Or, The Seaman's Renown', in *The Early Naval Ballads of England*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841), pp. 42-45.

The Famous Sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow. (1624-1680?), BL, Roxburghe 3.56-57, EBBA 30403.

The Famous Sea-Fight between Captain Ward and the Rain-bow. (1624-1680?), UGL, Euing Ballads 108, EBBA 31815.

The Four Indian Kings. Part The First. How a beautiful Lady conquered on of the Indian Kings. (1797-1846), BLO, Harding B 1(45), Roud Number: V653.

The French King's Vision: Or, An Account of those fearfull Apparitions which disturb'd him in his Sleep, when he had been laying his Senses in soke in a prodigious Quantity of Claret. (1689), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.275, EBBA 21936.

The French Monstrous Beast, Which Devours all before it; Overthrowing Houses and devouring Fryers alive, the sight of which frightened Lewis into a Confession of his Evils. (1692), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.371r, EBBA 20991.

The Gallant Seaman's Resolution; Whose full Intent was, To try his Fortune at Sea, and at his Return marry his Lanlady If Heaven be pleas'd to bless him with his life, None but his Lanlady shall be his Wife: She being a Widow, as tis understood, Of Carriage and Behaviour very good. (1684-1695?), HL, Huth EBB65H, EBBA 35208, RI 940.

The Golden Age: Or, An Age of plaine-dealing. (1625-1635?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.152-153, EBBA 20066.

'The Golden Voyage; Or, The Prosperous Arrival of the James and Mary', in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 95-97.

The Granadiers Loyal Health. A Song. (1683), HL, EBB65, EBBA 34789.

The Great Bastad, Protector of Little One. Or, the Sighs of the French King under the Power of the German Empire; Giving an Account of his Cruelty against the Prince of Condy and the French Protestants; His League with Mahomet the Great Turk; Of his breaking the League with Germany; of his Design with the Supposed Prince of Wales, and of his being Pox'f with several Whores. (1689), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.118, EBBA 22381.

The Great Turkes terrible Challenge, this yeare 1640. Pronounced against the Emperour of Germany and the King of Poland by Soloma Hometh who lately deceased, but continued by his brother Ibraim, the first of that name. (1640), MCL, BR f 821.04 B49, EBBA 36010.

'The Greenland Voyage: or, the Whale-Fisher's Delight', in *A Collection of Old Ballads Collected from the best and most Ancient Copies Extant*, 3 vols (London: printed for J. Roberts, 1727-38), III (1738), pp. 172-175.

The Green-sickness grief, Or a Maidens moan, Complaining because her Sweet-heart was gone. (1663-1674?), UGL, Euing Ballads 125, EBBA 31833, RI 1048.

The honour of a London Prentice. Being an account of his matchless Manhood and brave Adventures done in Turkey, and by what means he married the Kings Daughter. (1696-1709), BL, Roxburghe 3.747, EBBA 31456, RI 1139.

The Horrid Murther Committed by Captain Green and his Cruel, on Captain Drummond and his whole Men, under design of Friendship by cutting off their Heads, and tying them back to back, and throwing them into the Sea, and sold their Ship unto the Indians. (1705?), BL, Roxburghe 3.398, EBBA 31097.

'The Jolly Sailor's Resolution', in *The Early Naval Ballads of England*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841), pp. 93-96.

The Jovial Marriner; Or, The Sea-mans Renown. Sail forth bold Sea-men, plough the Liquid Main, Fear neither storms nor Pirats, strive for gain. Whilst others sleep at home in a whole skin, Your brave adventures shall great honour win. (1670-1682), NLS, Crawford.EB.544, EBBA 32976.

The Lamentable and Tragical History Of Titus Andronicus With The fall of his Sons in the Wars with the Goths, with the Manner of the Ravishment of his Daughter Lavinia, by the Empresses two Sons, through the means of a bloody Moor, taken by the Sword of Titus, in the War: with his Revenge upon their cruel and inhumane Act. (1686-1693?), BL, Roxburghe 1.392-393, EBBA 30266, RI 1420.

‘The Lamentable Cries of at Least 1500 Christians: Most of Them Being Englishmen (Now Prisoners in Argiers Under the Turks) Begging at God’s Hand That He Would Open the Eyes of All Christian Kings and Princes to Commiserate the Wretched Estate of So Many Captives: and Withal to Free Them from That Turkish Slavery, in Which Both Bodies and Souls Are in Danger: with a Petition to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty and All Christian Princes.’, in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 31-33.

The Laundry-Maid’s Lamentation for the loss of her Seaman. The Seaman made a mighty shew of Love, And vow’d & swore that he would constant prove. He brought her presents from the Golden shore, And thus unlockt her Heart and Chamber-door: But when he’d gain’d his will he march’d away, And left his Mistris with a Kid to play. Now she laments, and tears her flaxen Hair; He’s shipwrackt, and she’s ready to despair. (1672-1696), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.164, EBBA 21826.

The Loving Chamber-Maid, Or, Vindication of a departed Maidenhead. Being the Art to lye with a Man and yet be a Virgin. Maidens ---- but Ah what is maid I pray An infant Female that scarce views the day, For e’re the things we Virgins call aspire To 13 years, they feel a strange desire: Longing for what themselves can scarcely tell, Which strange desire of make their bellies swell, And then what ‘tis they know too fatal well. (1672-1696?), NLS, Crawford.EB.1053, EBBA 33650.

The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) Drinks good Sack and is free from Treason. (1649-1675?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.243, EBBA 21903.

The maidens reply to the Young mans Resolution. Wherein she fits him in his kind, And lets him know her settled mind, She can as well live single and not marry As well as he without a wife can tarry. (1670-1678?), BL, Roxburghe 2.330, EBBA 31604.

The Mariner’s Delight, Or, The Seaman’s Seaven Wives. Being a pleasant new Song; shewing how a Seaman call’d Anthony courted a young Maid whose Name is Susan, in London: and (with great difficulty) gain’d her affection; Notwith-standing he had seaven Wives, all alive at that time: and at last was discovered, to the great advantage and satisfaction of the Vertuous Maid and all her Relations. From which every Woman, Wi-dow and Maid may learn how to be wary, and cautious in their Courting. (1662-1692?), BL, Roxburghe 2.355, EBBA 30795.

The Maydens of Londons brave adventures, Or, A Boon Voyage intended for the Sea, Some gone before, and some to follow: Their Sweet-hearts are resolv’d also This noble Voyage for to go. Because they hold their Love so dear, As in this Ditty you shall hear. (1623-1661?), BL, Roxburghe 3.224-225, EBBA 30869, RI 1652.

The Merites of Piracie Or, a new Song on Captain Green and his bloody Crue., (?), BL, Roxburghe 3.609, EBBA 31311.

The Norwich Loyal Litany. (1682), HL, EB65 A100 682n4, EBBA 34531.

The Pedler opening of his Packe, To know of Maydes what tis they lacke. (1620?), PL, Pepys Ballads 1.238-239, EBBA 20109.

The Pot-Companions: Or, Drinking and Smoaking prefer'd before Caballing and Plotting. (1682-1692?), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.98, EBBA 22319.

The praise of Saylor's here set forth, With the hard Fortunes which do befall the, on the Seas, when Landmen sheep [sic] safe on their beds. (1658-1664?), UGL, Euing Ballads 267, EBBA 31876.

The Quakers farewel to England, or their voyage to New Jersey, scituate on the continent of Virginia, and bordering upon New England (London: printed for J.G., 1675) ESTC R6302.

The Recantation Of a Penitent Proteus Or the Changling, As It was Acted with good Applause in St. Maries in Cambridge, and St. Pauls in London, 1663. (1663), HL, EB65 W6437 663r, EBBA 34622.

'The Royal Embassy: Or, A ballad on the Progress of the four Indian Kings, that have come so many thousand Leagues to see her present majesty', in *Have at you blind Harpers: Three Ballads Concerning the Times* (London: printed by J. Baker, 1710), pp. 3-5.

The Royal Strangers Ramble, Or, The Remarkable Lives, Customs, and Character of the Four Indian Kings: With the manner of their Daily Pastimes, Humours and Behaviours since their first Landing in England. Render'd into Pleasant and Familiar Verse. (1710), NLS, Crawford.EB.399, EBBA 33206.

The Royal Victory, Obtained (with the providence of Almighty God) against the Dutch-Fleet, June the 2d, and 3d, 1665. a Fight as bloody (for the time and number) as ever was performed upon the Narrow-Seas, giving a particular accompt of Seventeen Men of Warr taken; Fourteen Sunk and Fired. But forty that could escape of their whole Fleet, which at this time are hotly persued by the Earl of Sandwich. Their Admiral Opdam slain by the Duke of Yorkes own Frigat. Van Trump Sunk by Capt. Holmes. The number of their kill'd Men amounts to 10000. (1665), BL, Roxburghe 3.240, 3.241, EBBA 30889.

'The Sailor's Tragedy; Or, The Last Farewel of Captain Smith', in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by Charles H. Firth (London: Publications of the Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. 154-5.

The Scolding Wife. (1672-1696?), NLS, Crawford.EB.1151, EBBA 33867.

The Seaman's adieu to his pritty Betty: Living near Wapping; Or, A Pattern of true Love, &c. Sweet William to the Seas was prest, and left his Love behind; Whilst she her sorrows oft exprest and blam'd the fates unkind. (1671-1702?), BL, Roxburghe 4.69, EBBA 31384.

The Sea-mans Compass Or A dainty new Ditty composed and pend The deeds of brave Sea-men to praise and commend, 'Twas made by a Maid that to Gravesend did pass, Now mark, and you quickly shall hear how it was. (1623-1661?), UGL, Euing Ballads 325, EBBA 31990.

The Seaman's Loyal Love: Or, The Courageous Damsels Generous Spirit, In freely parting with her Love to enter on Board that he might Fight for K. William and Q. Mary, and pull down the growing Pride of France. (1692), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.217, EBBA 21879.

The Seamans Song of Captain Ward the famous Pyrate of the world, and an English man born. (1658-1664?), UGL, Euing Ballads 327, EBBA 31994.

The Seamans Song of Dansekar the Dutchman, his robberies done at Sea. (1658-1664?), UGL, Euing Ballads 327, EBBA 32614.

The Sea-Martyrs; Or, The Seamen's sad Lamentation for their Faithful Service, Bad Pay, and Cruel Usage. Being a woful Relation how some of them were unmercifully put to Death for pressing for their Pay, when their Families were like to starve. Thus our New Government does Subjects serve, And leaves them this sad choice to hang or starve. (1691), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.375r-v, EBBA 22198.

The second part of the new ballad of the late and terrible fight on St. James's day one thousand 666. (1666), BLO, Wood 416 (113). RI 856.

The She-Mariners Misfortune. Being an Account of a faithful Seaman, who going to take his farewell of his Sweetheart, she resolved come Life, or come Death, to Sail with him; and putting her self into mans Apparel went the voyage with him, but by distress of weather, coming home were case away, the constant Seaman having no other help, betook himself to swimming, and having got his Sweetheart upon his back, swam til he was almost tyred, but was at last taken up by an Algerine, who carried them to Algiers, where being brought before the Governour, she confessed her self to be a Female, which so astonished the Governour, that he in requital of her constancy set them both free, who are happily Arrived in England again. (1664-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.187, EBBA 21849.

The Skilful Doctor of Gloucester-shire, Or, A new way to take Physick. This Ditty doth concern a Country Farmer, Who lay with his Maid, not thinking to harm her; But the poor Wench, was by her Master vil'd, First tempt to sin, and after got with child: But by the Doctors Skill, her honest Dame, Excus'd her Husband, and sav'd her Maid from Blame: The Doctor her bath Medicines in store, To cure all sorts of Folks, both rich and poor. (1663-1674), BL, Roxburghe 3.206-207, EBBA 30852, RI 2462 and RI 2463.

'The Spanish Armada', in *The Early Naval Ballads of England*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841), pp. 17-18.

The Three Indian Kings' Garland. Being a faithful and true Account how the powerful Charms of a Beautiful Lady conquered the Heart of one of the Three Indian Kings. (1792?), BLO, Harding B 3(87), Roud Number V9913.

The Trappan'd Maiden: Or, The Distressed Damsel. The Girl was cunningly trappan'd, Sent to Virginny from England: Where she doth Hardship under go, There is no Cure, it must be so: But if she lives to cross the Main, She vows she'll ne'r go there again. (1689-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.286, EBBA 21947.

The Trappan'd Welsh-man, Sold to Virginia. Showing how a Welsh man came to London, and went to see the Royal Exchange, where he met a Handsom Lass, with whom he was Enamoured; who pretending to shew him the Ships, carried him aboard a Virginia Man and Sold him, having first got the Welsh-mans Gold, to his great grief and sorrow. (1685-1688), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.31, EBBA 21697.

'The Triumph of Tobacco over Sack and Ale', in *A Collection of Old Ballads Collected from the best and most Ancient Copies Extant*, 3 vols (London: printed for J. Roberts, 1727-38), III (1738), 154-156.

The Triumphs of four Nations; Or, A happy Conclusion of Peace, Betwixt England, France, Denmark, and Holland. As it was confirm'd on Sunday night July the 21. at Breda; where, after four hours Conference in the Castle, the Plenipotentiaries about nine in the evening signed the Articles of Peace; which Done Mounsieur Fleming, the Sweedish Mediatour, in a short Speech Congratulated the happy issue of so great a work; After which, the Plenipotentiaries saluting and complementing each other, the Conference ended: As they came out of the Castle, the Canons were thrice discharged round the Town, the Musqueteers giving their vollies from the Works,

and the Horse drawn up upon the Plain, saluting them with their Trumpets, the whole Town quitting their Houses to expresse their Joy to them as they passed by; This Joyful News was brought on Friday last July 26. from Breda, by the Right Worshipful Sir John Coventry, to the King, bringing with him the Articles of Peace, as they were Signed there by the Plenipotentiaries. (1641-1703?), UGL, Euing Ballads 351, EBBA 32048.

The Troubles of this World: Or, Nothing Cheap but poor Mens Labour; Concluding with a Line of Comfortable Consolation, to Chear up our Drooping Hearts, in a time of Trouble. (1672-1702?), NLS, Crawford.EB.756, EBBA 33464.

The Two Faithful Lovers. (1693-1695?), UGL, Euing Ballads 361, EBBA 31972, RI 583.

The two Lymas Lovers, Thomas and Betty. Set forth in a Dialogue between them at his departure. Altho' they part, yet still his Heart was true, he lov'd her dear, And likewise she in Loyalty did perfectly appear. (1685-1688), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.166, EBBA 21818.

The Undaunted Marriner; Or, The Stout Seaman's Valliant Resolution, In A Dialogue Between Him and Nancy his Love, at his going on Board. (1664-1703?), PL, Pepys Ballads 5.364, EBBA 22188.

The Valiant Seamans Congratulation to his sacred Majesty King Charls the second. VVith their wonderfull Heroicall Atchievements, and their Fidelity, Loyalty, and Obedience. (1660-1661?), UGL, Euing Ballads 368, EBBA 31979.

The Woful Complaint, and Lamentable Death of a forsaken Lover. (1663-1674), UGL, Euing Ballads 391, EBBA 32015.

The Woman Outwitted: Or, The Weaver's Wife cunningly catch'd in a Trap, by her Husband, who sold her for ten Pounds, and sent her to Virginy. (1688-1709?), NLS, Crawford.EB.881, EBBA 33746.

Tobias Observation; A Youngman came unto a fair, by chance he met his true Love there Said he, sweetheart though art welcome here, invited her to drink some Beer, But in the end prov'd ne'r the near, as in this Song it will appear. (1687), PL, Pepys 3.155, EBBA 21167.

Trade's Release: Or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company. Being an Excellent New Ballad. (1699-1700?), NLS, Ry.III.a.10(83), EBBA 34315.

Unfortunate Jockey, And mournful Jenny. Jockey was by Sanny slain, Which troubled Jenny sore, In sorrow now she doth remain, And vows to love no more. (1681-1684), BL, Roxburghe 4.83, EBBA 31509.

Vienna's Triumph; With The Whigg's Lamentation For the Overthrow of the Turks. (1683), BL, Roxburghe 3.912, EBBA 31240.

Villany Rewarded; Or, The Pirates Last Farewel to the VVorld: Who was Executed at Execution Dock, on Wednesday the 25th. of November, 1696. Being of Every's Crew. Together with their free Confession of their most Horrid Crimes. (1696), PL, Pepys Ballads 2.199, EBBA 20813.

Voyage to Virginia: / Or, / The Valiant Souldiers Farewel to his Love; / Unto Virginia he's resolv'd to go, / She begs of him, that he would not do so; / But her intreaties they are all in vain, / For he must Plow the curled Ocean Main; / At length (with sorrow) he doth take his leave, / And leaves his dearest Love at home to grieve. (1685), PL, Pepys Ballads 4.159, EBBA 21821.

Wit Out-witted, Or, The Cheater Cheated. It being an Account of John who got Jone with Child, and then would have sent her away to Virginia; he having gotten her aboard: But by the help of the Master, he himself was trappan'd and Jone set on Shore. (1672-1696), BLO, Douce Ballads 2(255a), Edition Bod23948.

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A Discription of Tangier, the country and people adjoining with an account of the person and government of Gayland, the present usurper of the kingdome of Fez, and a short narrative of the proceedings of the English in those parts: whereunto is added, the copy of a letter from the King of Fez to the King of England, for assistance against his rebellious subjects, and another from Grayland to His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second: with divers letters and passages worthy of note, translated from the Spanish into English, and published by authority (London: Printed for Samuel Speed, at the Rainbow in Fleet-street, near the Inner Temple-Gate, 1664) ESTC R12756.

A Moste true and marueilous straunge wonder, the lyke hath seldom ben seene, of. XVII. Monstrous fishes, taken in Suffolke, at Downbam brydge, within a myle of Ipswicke. The .XI. daye of October. In the yeare of our Lorde God. M.D.LX.VIII. (1568), HTL, HEH 18306, EBBA 32270.

Adams, Douglas, *The Restaurant at the End of the Universe* (London: Pan Books, 1980).

An elegy on the much lamented death of Captain Thomas Green; who was executed with others of his crew, under the pretence of being a pirate, &c. in Scotland, April the 11th 1705 (London: printed and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1705).

An Exact and Perfect Relation Of the Arrival of the Ship the James and Mary, Captain Phipps Commander, With 200000 l. in Gold and Silver, taken up in nine Fathom Water from the bottom of the Sea, being a suppos'd Wreck of a Spanish Galion, Cast-away above 43. years ago among the Bahama Islands, as it was taken from the aforesaid Captain, now riding in Graves-end Road (London, 1687).

An express from the African and Indian Scots Company's fleet, landed in New-Edinburgh in Caledonia (Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid, 1699) ESTC R176896.

'An Vnperfect Courte Helde for Virginia att S^r Edwin Sandys Howse Ye VIIJth of Aprill 1620', in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols, ed. by Susan M. Kingsbury (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), I (1906), pp. 334-337.

‘At a Great and Generall Quarter Court Houlden for Virginia on Wednesday the 17th of Nouemb 1619’, in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols, ed. by Susan M. Kingsbury (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906-35), I (1906), pp. 265-274.

At Punch’s Theatre. For the entertainment of the four Indian kings, viz. (A) The Emperor Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row. (B) King Sa Ga Yean Qua Rah Tow. (C) King E Tow oh Koam. (D) King Oh Nee Yeath Tow no Riow. This present Munday, May 1. at seven a-clock (London: [s.n.], 1710) ESTC T8272.

Benzoni, Girolamo, *Americae pars quarta. Sive, Insignis & admiranda historia de reperta primùm Occidentali India à Christophoro Columbo anno M CCCCXCII* (Francofurti ad Moenum: Typis Ioannis Feyrabend, ompensis Theodori de Bry, 1594).

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By The King. A Proclamation for the Suppression of Coffee-Houses (London: Printed by the Assigns of John Bill, and Christopher Barker, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1675).

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Dialogue between the ghost of Captain Kidd, and the napper in the Strand, napt (London, 1702).

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