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**Lives Lived ‘at such a distance’: How Distance Shaped
Masculinity and Femininity in the British Atlantic, c.1660-
1760**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy (History)**

**School of History
College of Arts
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the role distance played in shaping British masculinity and femininity in the early modern British Atlantic world. Focusing on gender as a foundation of individual identity, this research outlines the powerful effects of Atlantic crossings, maritime trade networks, and encounters with new landscapes and nations. It covers a century of colonial expansion across North America and the Caribbean, from the Restoration to the Seven Years' War. Building on an earlier study of Anglo-Virginian planter William Byrd II (1674-1744), this thesis uses a series of interconnected individuals as case studies. It explores these individuals' experiences through five key dynamics: credit, seafaring, communication and emotions, settler-Indigenous encounters, and race. This approach builds on prosopography, the 'serial microhistory' approach developed by Kristen Block, and Atlantic history more widely. Responding to historiographical questions posed by Susan Amussen, Allyson Poska, and Julie Hardwick, it draws on diverse fields of study. These include geography, maritime history, the spatial turn, studies of emotion, intersectional analysis, Indigenous scholarship, and gender studies. This thesis explores how distance and interaction created 'Atlantic masculinities' in Britain and its colonies. Furthermore, it asks if complementary or divergent 'Atlantic femininities' can be found in this period. In summary, this research shows how the 'New World' produced new identities over a century of British imperial expansion.

CONTENTS

FRONT MATTER

Dramatis Personae	5
Acknowledgements	13
Author's Declaration	14
Abbreviations	16
Conventions	17

INTRODUCTION

1. Distance, Space and Scope	20
2. Gender and Political Context	30
3. Research Subjects and Outline	36

CREDIT

1. Introduction	44
2. Masculinity, Merchants, and Credit	47
3. Scotland's Merchant Networks and 'National Credit'	57
4. William Byrd II and the Planter's Perspective	67
5. Femininity and Virtue	76
6. Conclusion	89

MARINERS

1. Introduction	92
2. Economic Volatility and Aspiration	94
3. Crewmen and Passengers	107
4. Unrestrained Sexuality and Transing Gender	116
5. Maritime Femininity	128
6. Conclusion	136

EMOTIONS

1. Introduction	138
2. Emotions, Letters, 'Emotives'	139
3. Mail, Distance, and Cadwallader Colden	147
4. William Byrd's Masculine Anxieties	157
5. Women's Correspondence and Emotions	167
6. Conclusion	180

SETTLER-INDIGENOUS ENCOUNTERS

1. Introduction & Colonial Legacies	182
2. Land, Surveying, and Agriculture	187

3. William Byrd II and Appropriated Identity	197
4. Intermarriage and Sexualisation	207
5. Indigenous Men and British Women	218
6. Conclusion	229

SLAVERY AND RACE

1. Introduction	232
2. The Economic and Maritime Bases of Slavery	236
3. Matrilineal Ethnicity, Demography, and Racial Stability	244
4. Colonial Masculinity and Enslaved Women	255
5. Colonial Femininity and Maternity	267
6. Conclusion	277

CONCLUSION

1. Theory and Methodology	282
2. Atlantic Masculinities and Femininities	286
3. Future Directions	293

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary Sources	295
2. Secondary Sources	302

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

This dataset represents the key individuals used to construct this ‘serial microhistory’, divided into **Principal Sources** and **Minor Sources**. Each person’s name, lifespan and primary nation and/or colony are listed for reference. The initials used when repeatedly citing letters are listed here, both for reference and due to potential clashes. The gender of each individual is recorded as **M** (male), **F** (female), or **X** (non-conforming / non-binary).

Of 49 principal sources, 33 are men and fourteen are women in a near two to one ratio. Two are non-binary or non-conforming. Twenty-three are English, fourteen Scottish, representing roughly three-quarters of the total in a near two to one ratio. Of the remainder, five are from Massachusetts and three from Ireland. The Netherlands, Jamaica, Wales, and the Saponi nation represent one source each.

Of 95 other named individuals, 68 are men and 25 are women, representing an approximate three to one ratio. Two are non-binary or non-conforming. 41 are English, 26 are Scottish, representing roughly 41% and 26% of the total respectively. The remainder include six people from Indigenous nations and federations, six from Ireland, four from Jamaica, three each from Wales and Virginia, and small numbers from the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Germany, and Barbados.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

Name	Initials	Lifespan	Nation	Colony	G
Barlow, Edward	-	1642-1706	England	-	M
Bearskin, Ned	-	-	Saponi	-	M
Beverley, Robert	RB	1667-1722	England	Virginia	M
Bowen, Ashley	-	1728-1813	-	Mass.	M

Burd, Edward (Jr.)	EBJ	-	Scotland	Jamaica	M
Byrd I, William	WBI	1652-1704	England	Virginia	M
Byrd II, William	WBII	1674-1744	England	Virginia	M
Campbell (Shawfield), Daniel	DCS	1671-1753	Scotland	-	M
Campbell, Duncan	DC	-	Scotland	Jamaica	M
Carstares, Sarah	SC	1650-1733	Scotland	Carolina	F
Chrystie, James	JC	-	Scotland	-	M
Colden, Cadwallader	CC	1688-1776	Scotland	New York	M
Coram, Thomas	-	1668-1751	England	Mass.	M
Cremer, John 'Ramblin' Jack'	-	1700-1774	England	Mass.	M
Cromwell, Elizabeth 'Betty'	BC	1674-1709	Ireland	-	F
Dunlop, William	WD	1654-1700	Scotland	Carolina	M
Franklin, Benjamin	-	1706-1790	-	Mass.	M
Fuller, Rose	RF	1708-1777	England	Jamaica	M
Glanville, Frances	FG	1719-1805	England	-	F
Hamilton, Alexander	AH	1712-1756	Scotland	Maryland	M
Hanson, Elizabeth	-	1684-c.1737	-	Mass.	F
Kemble Knight, Sarah	-	1666-1727	-	Mass.	F
Knight, John	JK	-	Scotland	-	M
Lacy, Mary	-	1740-1801	England	-	F
Ligon, Richard	-	1585-1662	England	Barbados	M
Lawson, John	-	1674-1711	England	Carolina	M

Livingston, Robert	RL	1654-1728	Scotland	New York	M
Lucas (Pinckney), Eliza	EL	1722-1793	England	Antigua	F
Mather, Cotton	CM	1663-1728	-	Mass.	M
Matthews, Elizabeth	EM	-	Wales	-	F
Mure, Elizabeth 'Betti'	EBM	c.1620-1667	Scotland	-	F
Mountier, Alexander	AM	-	Scotland	Jamaica	M
Newton, John	-	1725-1807	England	-	M
Nisbet, James	JN	1688-1738	Scotland	Barbados	M
Parke, Lucy	LP	1685-1716	England	Virginia	F
Paul, Sarah	-	-	England	-	X
Pepys, Samuel	-	1633-1703	England	-	M
Perceval (Earl Egmont), John	JP	1683-1748	Ireland	Georgia	M
Perry, Micajah	MP	1694-1753	England	Virginia	M
Petty, William	-	1623-1687	England	-	M
Rogers, Woodes	WR	1679-1732	England	Bahamas	M
Rose, Mary	MR	d.1783	-	Jamaica	F
Rowlandson, Mary	-	c.1637-1711	England	Mass.	F
Schuyler, Alida	AS	1656-1727	Netherlands	New York	F
Snell, Hannah	-	1723-1792	England	-	X
Sloane, Hans	HS	1660-1753	Ireland	-	M
Stewart, John	JS	-	Scotland	Carolina	M
Taylor, Maria	MT	1698-1771	England	Virginia	F

Thistlewood, Thomas	TT	1721-1786	England	Jamaica	M
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OTHER NAMED INDIVIDUALS

Name	Initials	Lifespan	Nation	Colony	Gender
Addison, Joseph	-	1672-1719	England	-	M
Altamaha	-	-	Yamasee	-	M
Anaka	-	-	(unknown Indigenous)	Virginia	F
Anniwatta	-	-	Carib	-	M
Beckford, Peter Jr.	-	1673-1735	-	Jamaica	M
Boscawen, Edward	EB	1711-1761	England	-	M
Boyle, Charles (4th Earl Orrery)	CB	1674-1731	England	-	M
Boyle, John (5th Earl Orrery)	JB	1707-1762	Ireland	-	M
Calderwood, Margaret	-	1715-1774	Scotland	-	F
Campbell, Colin	-	1673-1740	Scotland		M
John Campbell (2nd Duke Argyll)	-	1680-1743	Scotland	-	M
Campbell, Matthew (of Orgaig)	-	-	Scotland	-	M
Canassatego	-	c.1684-1750	Onondaga	-	M
Carter, Landon	-	1710-1778	-	Virginia	M

Carter, Robert King	-	1663-1732	-	Virginia	M
Catesby, Mark	-	1683-1749	England	-	M
Chrystie, Alice	AC	-	Scotland	-	F
Chrystie, Andrew	-	-	Scotland	-	M
Clarke, George	-	1676-1760	England	New York	M
Colden, Jane	-	1724-1766	Scotland	New York	F
Collinson, Peter		1694-1768	England	-	M
Coosaponakeesa	-	c.1700-1765	Muscogee	Georgia	F
Custis, John	JCS	1678-1749	England	Virginia	M
Defoe, Daniel	-	1660-1731	England	-	M
Dehhewānis (Mary Jemison)	-	1743-1833	Ireland	Seneca	F
Denholm, Katharine	-	c.1675-1752	Scotland	-	F
Dormer, Anne	-	1648-1695	England	-	F
Douglass, William	WDS	1691-1752	Scotland	Mass.	M
Dulany, Daniel the Elder	-	1685-1753	Ireland	Maryland	M
Dunlop, Margaret	MD	-	Scotland	-	F
Eliot, John	-	1604-1690	England	Mass.	M
Ellis, John	JE	1705-1776	England	-	M
Freke, Elizabeth	-	1642-1714	England	-	F
Gibson, Walter	-	c.1645-1723	Scotland	Carolina	M
Gwynn, Richard	RG	-	Wales	-	M
Hall, Thomas/ina	-	b. c.1603	England	Virginia	X

Hamilton, Archibald	-	b.1673	Scotland	-	M
Hamilton, Charles	-	b. c.1721-4	Scotland	Mass.	X
Hamilton, James (of Barns)	JHB	c.1695-1745	Scotland	-	M
Hardie, John	JH	-	Scotland	Jamaica	M
Hill, Elizabeth	EH	-	Scotland	Penn.	F
Hughes, Griffith	-	1707-1758	Wales	Barbados	M
Kilpatrick, James	-	1692-1770	Ireland	Carolina	M
Jurin, James	-	1684-1750	England	-	M
Kennedy, Archibald	-	1685-1763	Scotland	New York	M
Kidd, William	-	1655-1701	Scotland	-	M
Leckie, Margaret	-	b. 1711	Scotland	-	F
Linnaeus, Carl	CL	1707-1778	Sweden	-	M
Locke, John		1632-1704	England	Carolina	M
Logan, James	-	1674-1751	Ireland	Penn.	M
Long, Edward	-	1734-1813	-	Jamaica	M
Lynde, Benjamin Sr.	-	1666-1749	England	Mass.	M
Majoe	-	-	-	Virginia	F
Matamaha	-	-	Yamasee	-	M
Montagu, Mary Wortley	-	1689-1762	England	-	F
Montgomery, James (of Skelmorlie)	JSK	d.1694	Scotland	Carolina	M
Morris, Susanna	SM	1682-1755	England	-	F

Mundy, Peter	-	1597-1667	England	-	M
Nairne, Thomas	-	(d.1715)	Scotland	Carolina	M
Nanny	-	c.1686-1733	-	Jamaica	F
Newton, Isaac	-	1643-1727	England	-	M
Nicholson, Francis	-	1655-1728	England	Virginia	M
Nisbet, William (of Dirleton)	WND	c.1666-1724	Scotland	-	M
Nurse	-	-	-	Virginia	F
Ogilby, John	-	1600-1676	Scotland	-	M
Oglethorpe, James	-	1696-1785	England	Georgia	M
Oldenburg, Henry	-	1618-1677	Germany	-	M
Page Byrd, Jane	-	1729-1774	-	Virginia	F
Parke, Daniel	DP	1664-1710	England	Antigua	M
Penn, William	WP	1644-1718	England	Penn.	M
Petiver, James	-	1665-1718	England	-	M
Phibbah	-	-	-	Jamaica	F
Pratt Taylor, Jane	JPT	-	England	-	F
Prue	-	-	-	Virginia	F
Rand, Nordest	NR	-	England	-	M
Randolph, Edward	-	1632-1703	England	-	M
Roberts, Bartholomew	-	1682-1722	Wales	-	M
Rothead, John	JR	-	Scotland	-	M
Salisbury	-	-	-	Barbados	M

Sharp, Jane	-	c.1641-1671	England	-	F
Smith, Mary (‘Sabina’)	MS	-	England	-	F
Southwell, Edward	ES	1671-1730	Ireland	-	M
Southwell, Robert	RS	1635-1702	Ireland	-	M
Spotswood, Alexander	-	1676-1740	England	Virginia	M
Sydenham, Thomas	-	1624-1689	England	-	M
Symons, Mary	-	-	England	-	F
Teach, Edward	-	1680-1718	England	-	M
Teonge, Henry	-	1621-1690	England	-	M
Van Corlandt, Stephanus	SVC	1643-1700	Neth.s	New York	M
Von Graffenried, Christoph	-	1661-1743	Switzerland	Carolina	M
Van Leeuwenhoek, Antonie	-	1632-1723	Neth.s	-	M
Wager, Charles	-	1666-1743	England	Rhode Isl.	M
Ward, Ned	-	1667-1731	England	-	M
Wodrow, Robert	RW	1679-1734	Scotland	-	M
Woolley, Hannah	-	1622-c.1675	England	-	F

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Signed Harry Brennan

ABBREVIATIONS

American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia PA, USA)	APS
Daniel Dulany Papers (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore MD, USA)	DDP
Early American Studies	EAS
East Sussex Record Office (Brighton, UK)	ESRO
Glasgow City Archives (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, UK)	GCA
History Compass	HC
History Workshop Journal	HWJ
John Knight Papers (National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK)	JKP
Library of Congress (Washington DC, USA)	LOC
Livingston Family Papers (FDR Presidential Library, Hyde Park NY, USA)	LFP
National Archives of Scotland (Edinburgh, UK)	NAS
National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh, UK)	NLS
National Maritime Museum (London, UK)	NMM
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography	ODNB
Oxford English Dictionary	OED
Past & Present	PP
Royal Society (London, UK)	RS
The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine	SCHM
Scottish Historical Review	SHR
The National Archives (Richmond, UK)	TNA
William and Mary Quarterly	WMQ
Yale University Library (New Haven CT, USA)	YUL

CONVENTIONS

DATES

In text, all dates are written in full, e.g., '16th October 1703'. In footnotes, dates are abbreviated to a DD/MM/YYYY format, e.g., 16/10/1703. Dates can be easily searched for using this format. All dates are given in 'New Style'. Though the shift from 'Old Style' only took place in England in 1752 (near the end of the period of study), New Style dates are easier to understand (and therefore more accessible) for modern readers.

NAMES

After first mention, all men and women named in this thesis are referred to by their original surname. Cotton Mather becomes 'Mather', while Lucy Parke becomes 'Parke' even after her marriage to William Byrd II (when her name was formally 'Lucy Parke Byrd'). This is intended to reinforce the individual identities of married women, and avoid the condescending trope of using men's surnames and women's first names. When multiple members of the same family are mentioned together (such as William Byrd I and William Byrd II), full names are used to avoid confusion. When citing letters, each correspondent is abbreviated to initials after first mention. Locations are standardised to modern spelling, e.g., 'Charlstone' and 'Charles Town' become 'Charleston'.

TERMINOLOGY

By definition, this thesis centres white British subjects amid an analysis of violent settler colonialism. It therefore cannot fully centre Indigenous nations and captive Africans disenfranchised and brutalised by British colonialism from 1660 to 1760. Regarding Indigenous nations of the American continent, specific nations and individuals are named wherever possible and their sovereignty is emphasised. 'Native American' centres the European term "America", but is widely recognised and used by Indigenous groups today.¹ It is therefore used where relevant, its familiarity hopefully also improving searchability, as is the equally Eurocentric term 'American Indian' for the

¹ The Haudenosaunee and Lenape term for the American continent, Turtle Island, is avoided as it was not used universally across the nations referenced in this thesis.

same reasons.² The abbreviation ‘Amerinidan’ is avoided.³ In particular, ‘enslaved’ and ‘captive’ replace ‘slave’; ‘enslaver’ and ‘planter’ replace ‘master’, ‘slaveholder’, and ‘slaveowner’. Again, specific African and Black individuals and ethnicities are named wherever possible.

Men and women are mostly discussed in binary terms, both for simplicity’s sake and due to the legacy of surviving sources. Where possible, aspects of gender and sex outside this binary are acknowledged and interrogated. Inspired by Jen Manion’s analysis of ‘female husbands’, *they/them* pronouns are used wherever gender identity and sex are unclear in the historical record. This is intended to account for the contingency of gendered practices and the historical unsuitability of many modern identity labels.⁴

² ‘Indigenous Ally Toolkit (2018/19)’, *Reseau MTL* <https://segalcentre.org/common/sitemedia/201819_Shows/ENG_AllyToolkit.pdf> [accessed 20/07/21].

³ P. Gabrielle Foreman et al. (community-sourced document), ‘Writing about Slavery/Teaching About Slavery: This Might Help’, *NAACP Culpeper #7058* <<https://naacpculpeper.org/resources/writing-about-slavery-this-might-help>> [accessed 01/08/2021].

⁴ Jen Manion, *Female Husbands: A Trans History* (Cambridge, 2020), 11-4.

Introduction

I have most pleasure and satisfaction... to wit, conversse with thee tho' it be **at a very uncomfortable distance** which adds to all my other greifs.⁵

Sarah Carstares writing from Glasgow to Stuartstown (SC), 29/06/1686

It is impossible for me to take pleasure in any thing in the world when **at such a distance** from y[ou].⁶

Sarah Carstares writing from Glasgow to Charleston, 23/07/1687

Privateering **at so great a distance** is but an indifferent Life at best⁷

Woodes Rogers, 1712

It is... the great loss we are at being **at such a great distance**... we may be in despair of ever seeing one another.⁸

David Chrystie writing from London to New York, 27/11/1721

May you not forget [me] tho' **at this unmercifull distance**⁹

William Byrd II writing from Virginia to Ireland, 02/02/1727

I find by your letters y^t **y^e distance** from your co[u]ntry & fri[e]nds affects you much... I simpathis w^t you, having some experience at London, we was but a small distance & amongst a few kind frinds, yet... the best we can make of it now **at so great a distance**.¹⁰

Mary Hamilton writing from Edinburgh to Annapolis, 23/07/1739

Tho' I live **at this distance**... the idea of never seeing [Sister Janet] again... sinks deep into my spirits¹¹

Dr. Alexander Hamilton writing from Annapolis to Innerwick (Scotland), 1743

Distance played a critical role in social relations and cultural change in the early modern British Atlantic. The quotations above speak to its persistence across the period of study, from 1660 to 1760. Over this century, English, Scottish, and ultimately British

⁵ NLS, MS.9250/25-6, Letter from SC to WD (Scotland to Carolina), 29/06/1686.

⁶ NLS, MS.9250/52-3, Letter from SC to WD, 23/07/1687.

⁷ Woodes Rogers, *A cruising voyage around the world* (London, 1712), p.xix.

⁸ Letter from DC to CC, 27/11/1721 in Cadwallader Colden (ed.), *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden vol.1: 1711-1729* (New York, 1917), p.118.

⁹ Marion Tinling (ed.), *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776 vol. 1* (Charlottesville VA, 1977), pp.359-61.

¹⁰ DDP, Box 3, Letter from Mary Hamilton to AH (Edinburgh to Maryland), 23/07/1739.

¹¹ DDP, Box 3, Letter from AH to David Smith (Annapolis to Innerwick), n/d (after 27/04/1743).

Atlantic colonies expanded. They transformed from marginal coastal enclaves reliant on the metropole to self-determined societies with entire generations of settlers born and raised locally. Throughout this process of colonial development, British identities were challenged and altered. Gender, a key aspect of those identities, is the subject of this thesis. It responds to a question asked by Susan Amussen and Allyson Poska in 2014. Finding existing histories of gender in the early modern Atlantic wanting, they asked ‘how did Atlantic encounters influence, shape, or change European gender norms and realities?’¹² To address this in the “British Atlantic” from 1660 to 1760, this study combines and builds on existing frameworks and approaches: Atlantic history, spatial analysis, the study of emotions, intersectional analysis, microhistory, and of course, gender history. It also expands on earlier research which explored the ‘transatlantic masculinity’ of Anglo-Virginian planter William Byrd II.¹³ The work below explores how masculine identities were reshaped by distance; how they were altered by the distinct stresses and strains of the Atlantic world. It asks if a complementary or divergent ‘Atlantic femininity’ can be traced through the 1660-1760 period. The unfamiliar climates, nations, landscapes, and customs of the Atlantic basin had the power to re-shape metropolitan identities and gender norms. Regarding gender, this thesis asks if this ‘New World’ produced new identities.

1. Distance, Space and Scope

Atlantic “distance” took many forms. These are examined through British perceptions and experiences of Atlantic ‘spaces’, meaning ‘practiced places’ given meaning by repeated interaction. These meanings are socially constructed and constantly shifting. Just as people shape spaces, those same spaces can influence people in turn. Gender roles were (and are) often grounded in spatial practices, with early modern families structured around gendered, domestic spaces and patriarchal authority.¹⁴ In the

¹² Susan Amussen and Allyson Poska, ‘Shifting the Frame: Trans-imperial Approaches to Gender in the Atlantic World’, *Early Modern Women*, 9:1 (2014), 3-24 (4).

¹³ Harry Brennan, *Transatlantic Masculinity and William Byrd II (1674-1744)*. Unpublished MA thesis (Cardiff University, 2017).

¹⁴ Amanda Flather, ‘Early Modern Gender and Space: A Methodological Framework’, *La casa en la Edad Moderna* (2017), 23-44 (pp.31-2); Kathryn Beebe, Angela Davis and Kathryn Gleadle, ‘Introduction: Space, Place and Gendered Identities: feminist history and the spatial turn’, *Women’s History Review*, 21:4 (Sept. 2012), 523–532 (p.524).

unfamiliar spaces of Atlantic colonies, British patriarchy was forced to adapt, demonstrating its flexible, 'spatially fluid' nature.¹⁵ These ideas come from the "spatial turn" in history, which Fiona Williamson describes as "rediscovering" how space shapes identity.¹⁶ Initiated by Henri Lefebvre, analyses of historical space grew in tandem with the emergence of transnational history which included Atlantic history.¹⁷ Analysing historical mobility across the early modern Atlantic in terms of space is therefore well-established. However, the effect of early modern "Atlantic spaces" on British identities has gone under-researched. More specifically, how Atlantic spaces produced distinct experiences of *distance* - and how that distance shaped individual identities with regard to gender - has been neglected. As well as addressing a lacuna within Atlantic histories of gender, this study also addresses these unanswered questions of distance and space.

Distance and space are approached in two ways. Firstly, they are something physical and material. This dimension has been explored in insightful work on early modern Britain, but it remains unconnected to the Atlantic world. In particular, Leonie Hannan's study of early modern women's letters shows domestic space shaping feminine identity at a distance, but only *within* metropolitan Britain.¹⁸ Throughout this thesis, the subjective experience of physical space is considered a core dimension of how "distance" was perceived. This includes the unavoidable, immediate sensations of physical space such as the tight confines of ship-decks and port streets, or the vast expanses of sea and continental forest. British men and women overseas were surrounded by new foods, flora, and fauna; new climates, cultures, and contacts. These experiences of new space frequently included discomfort or outright danger, taking a toll on colonial bodies and minds.

¹⁵ Joanne Begiato, 'Beyond the Rule of Thumb: The Materiality of Marital Violence in England c.1700–1857', *Cultural and Social History*, 15:1 (2018), 39-59 (p.42).

¹⁶ Fiona Williamson, 'The Spatial Turn of Social and Cultural History: A Review of the Current Field', *European History Quarterly*, 44:4 (2014), 703–717 (p.706).

¹⁷ Eric Storm, 'The Spatial Turn and the History of Nationalism: Nationalism between Regionalism and Transnational Approaches' in *Writing the History of Nationalism*, ed. by Stefan Berger and Eric Storm (London, 2019), pp.215-239 (p.218); Mimi Sheller, 'From spatial turn to mobilities turn', *Current Sociology*, 65:4 (2017), 623–639 (pp.626-30).

¹⁸ Leonie Hannan, *Women of Letters: Gender, Writing and the Life of the Mind in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2016).

Atlantic mobility was therefore an emotionally potent experience, easily capable of reshaping personal identity. Even those imagining such spaces from afar were influenced by stories and letters from relatives, news print, and increasingly available colonial commodities. As John-Paul Ghobrial suggests, ‘transformations of identity’ created by mobility can affect those who do not travel/migrate themselves.¹⁹ The effects of distance could therefore influence wider British culture, travelling between distant Atlantic spaces via trade, migration, correspondence, newspapers, periodicals, and coffeehouse discussion. For instance, the expansion of slavery reshaped the relationship between femininity and labour in Britain’s overseas colonies, a shift (explored in chapter five) which influenced metropolitan women in turn. From coffee and cotton to rum and furs, the colonial commodities produced using slavery had gendered connotations, though these shifted over time.²⁰ Furthermore, the wives of sailors and colonists discovered that their status and identity could change without them ever leaving home. Women provided vital metropolitan anchors for husbands and families overseas, as traders, creditors, mothers, and producers of goods. The influence of Atlantic spaces thus extended to the metropole.

Above all, the material experience of distance was determined by the Atlantic ocean itself. It was dangerous, exposing colonists to violent storms and the threat of attack from pirates and privateers. It separated Britain from its colonies, forcing news, mail, and passengers to move slowly. Chapter three highlights the sense of distance this delay to transoceanic communication created. Even after reaching America, moving around the colonies required further sailing which repeated the experience of voyaging. In 1750, Mary Weston wrote home to London about the endless coastal ferries she needed to travel from Philadelphia to New York: [t]here is abundance of ym in America’.²¹ Finding this ‘very disagreeable’, Weston complained she was ‘like[ly] to have enough of [the] Sea before I return’. On land, social relations relied on proximity: corresponding across Atlantic distances strained social ties.

¹⁹ John-Paul A. Ghobrial, ‘Moving Stories and What They Tell Us: Early Modern Mobility Between Microhistory and Global History’, *PP*, 242 (Nov. 2019), 243–280 (pp.246-50).

²⁰ Amussen and Poska, ‘Shifting the Frame’, pp.10-14.

²¹ Society of Friends Library, *Journal of Mary Weston*, MS VOL 312 (1735-1752), p.45.

The ports where Britons like Weston left the shore were themselves strongly gendered spaces. Port and maritime economies were shaped both by female majorities (with many men away at sea) and large, transitory concentrations of male seafarers. As Guy Chet writes, 'lives lived at the water's edge are partially of the sea'.²² The shores of America and the Caribbean were the sites of British settlers' first encounters with unfamiliar landscapes and Indigenous peoples. Since approximately 2010, 'Coastal history' has emerged as a distinct field exploring these 'littoral' spaces.²³ However, this historiography is so new that its coverage of the British Atlantic from 1660 to 1760 remains sparse.²⁴ To explore this crucial interaction between maritime space and identity - the shaping of identities in distinctly 'Atlantic' ways by maritime space - this thesis therefore covers both sea and shore, particularly in chapter two.

However, Atlantic distance was not purely physical. It also had non-material dimensions, comprising social and cultural kinds of "distance". Though intangible, these socio-cultural constructions of distance were keenly felt, separating people by rank, wealth, and status. These social divisions are not unique to the early modern Atlantic, but they were distinctly altered by interaction with Atlantic spaces. Boarding 'unstable, rickety ships' crossing the Atlantic, Britons entered highly stratified *social* spaces whose distinct 'social geography' shaped gendered authority and identity.²⁵ Though they shared a physical space, poorer male mariners, officers, and wealthy passengers were separated by a vast social distance, sometimes challenged by conditions at sea. This thesis dissects the effect of passing through such unfamiliar space on early modern Britons.

²² Guy Chet, *The Ocean is a Wilderness: Atlantic Piracy and the Limits of State Authority, 1688-1856* (Amherst MA, 2014), p.66.

²³ Isaac Land, 'The Urban Amphibious' in *The New Coastal History*, ed. by David Worthington (London, 2017), pp.31-48 (pp.31-3).

²⁴ The closest existing study to this topic is Stephen Berry, *A Path in the Mighty Waters: Shipboard Life & Atlantic Crossings to the New World* (New Haven CT, 2015). Though useful, this study is isolated, wholly focused on crossings themselves, and centres religion more than gender in its analysis of personal identity.

²⁵ Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge MA, 2007), p.21; Quintin Colville, Elin Jones & Katherine Parker, 'Gendering the maritime world', *Journal for Maritime Research*, 17:2 (2015), 97-101 (p.98); Johan Heinsen, 'Dissonance in the Danish Atlantic: speech, violence and mutiny, 1672-1683', *Atlantic Studies*, 13:2 (2016), 187-205 (pp.187-90).

Many colonists both referred to Britain as their true home while also distancing themselves from its ills, viewing the “New World” as attractive and repellent in equal measure. William Byrd II comments on this duality in a letter sent from Virginia to London in 1727. Though ‘comforted’ by Virginia’s physical distance from more ‘dangerous’ parts of the Atlantic world, Byrd still feels the influence of metropolitan ‘action’:

... it tortures one’s curiosity to live so far from the scene of action: but then our comfort is that we are also far removed from the scene of danger.²⁶

As these experiences of distance are closely tied to geography, it is important to define the scope of the ‘British Atlantic’. Just as flat maps inherently distort the globe, the language used to describe a historical space inherently frames it. As Lara Putnam notes, the search for perfectly accurate ‘spatial labeling’ can produce ‘unwieldy’ results such as the ‘Atlantic Archipelago’.²⁷ The ‘British Atlantic’ therefore requires careful, explicit definition as a unit of analysis. It is a modern geographical label, not one used during the 1660-1760 period. The term “British” largely referred to James VI’s empire-building *within* Britain and Ireland or to the Welsh (‘Britons’) and their history. Few used it to describe themselves. However, ‘British’ is a simple and recognisable term. It emphasises the multinational nature of imperial expansion by subjects of the combined English, Irish and Scottish Crowns. In 1700, England’s population was around 5,200,000; Ireland, 2,800,000; Scotland, 1,000,000; Wales, 420,000.²⁸ The term “Britain” is sometimes used uncritically as a synonym for England, minimising the historical presence of these other nations. England was demographically, politically, and economically dominant, but Scotland was also a principal partner in Atlantic colonisation. It was a distinct state for nearly half the period (from 1660 to 1707) and the only other British nation to create its own colonies. Politically, Ireland and (to a greater extent) Wales could not act independently of England. The ‘British Atlantic’

²⁶ Letter from WBII to JB, 29/06/1727 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.362-4.

²⁷ Lara Putnam, ‘To Study the Fragments/Whole: Microhistory and the Atlantic World’, *Journal of Social History*, 39:3 (Spring 2006), 615-30 (pp.620-1).

²⁸ John M. MacKenzie, ‘Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire’, *HC*, 6:5 (2008), 1244–1263 (p.1246).

world studied here therefore centres on English and Scottish colonists, and their political and cultural institutions.

This limits the British Atlantic to Great Britain and the settler colonies of the British Crown on America's eastern shore and in the Caribbean.²⁹ It is important to state that this British Atlantic is a useful but artificial modern framing, projected backward onto the period. The term 'Atlantic world' itself would have confused contemporaries, who saw maritime horizons expanding omnidirectionally.³⁰ Though not all destinations were the same, the Atlantic connected London to Biafra and Boston alike. As the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans are interconnected, the "early modern Atlantic" is not a self-evident geographical space. Moreover, the term 'Atlantic' was not widespread. Prior to c.1750, English colonists called it 'the Western Ocean', situating the colonies as peripheries of England rather than as centres in themselves.³¹ Beyond the territories of the British Crown, the early modern Atlantic basin was a disunited, 'kaleidoscopic' entanglement of climates, cultures, and geographies.³² As Alison Games and Karin Wulf warn, it is therefore important to avoid over-unifying and 'invent[ing] the region' through ahistorical framing.³³ The 'British Atlantic' studied here relied on private funds, corporations, and proprietors: it was not politically cohesive or state-run.³⁴ That said, this study focuses on gender and identity, not political infrastructure. The British Atlantic is a modern label, but it can accurately describe an area in which many gender norms and ideals were shared. What matters is precisely defining this label and accounting for any national differences in masculinity and femininity within the British Atlantic.

This attention to Britain's internal divisions matters because these were reflected across the Atlantic world, persisting through the period of study and into the present.

²⁹ There is insufficient space in this study to include Tangier (which England departed in 1684) and the possessions of the English East India Company.

³⁰ Karin Wulf, 'Women and Families in Early (North) America and the Wider (Atlantic) World', *HC*, 8:3 (2010), 238–247 (p.239).

³¹ Joyce E. Chaplin, 'The British Atlantic' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World: 1450-1850* ed. by Nicholas Canny and Philip Morgan (Oxford, 2011), pp.219-33 (p.222, p.231).

³² Martin Ingram, 'Review: Men and Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Times', *English Historical Review*, 487 (June 2005), p.733; Kristen Block, *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean* (Athens GA, 2012), p.203.

³³ Alison Games, 'Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities', *The American Historical Review*, 111:3 (June 2006), 741-757 (pp.742-4).

³⁴ Chaplin, 'The British Atlantic', pp.219-20.

The Royal Exchange in London contained distinct areas for each Atlantic colony but also for Irish and Scottish traders.³⁵ Departing for Jamaica in 1746, Thomas Thistlewood remarked that 'at our Leaving England we were of these different Nations... English, Welch, Scotch, Irish'.³⁶ While migration to Britain's American colonies was predominantly English (and Welsh) in the seventeenth century, the number of Scottish and English migrants from 1701 to 1780 were similar: around 80,000 each.³⁷ Scotland's smaller population therefore became disproportionately represented in the colonies, where Anglo-Scottish antagonism (often expressed in gendered insults and stereotypes) persisted.³⁸ Scottish settlers were also key parts of other imperial Atlantic spheres, overlapping with the Dutch in New York and the Portuguese in Madeira. Though increasing historical attention has been paid to Scotland's role in British colonisation since c.2010, this has produced few gender histories of Scottish colonists.³⁹

Ireland and Wales' more nuanced position within the British Atlantic has seen even less scholarship, particularly regarding gender. Both the Welsh and Irish were present in the Caribbean colonies, where English planters remarked on their ethnic differences. In 1673, leading St Kitts planter Christopher Jeaffreson remarked that 'Welshmen we esteem the best servants' alongside Scots, whereas 'the Irish [were] the worst... good for nothing but mischief'.⁴⁰ Despite the strong presence of Welsh colonists in Pennsylvania (where Welsh-language texts were published) and the prominent trade

³⁵ Nuala Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic economy 1660-1700* (Cambridge, 2010), p.100.

³⁶ YUL, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, OSB MSS 176, *Thomas Thistlewood papers*, 1748-50, p.112.

³⁷ Tim Worth, 'Transatlantic Scotophobia: Nation, Empire and Anti-Scottish Sentiment in England and America, 1760-1783, *PhD Thesis* (2016), pp.35-6; Sarah Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2010), p.30.

³⁸ Keith M. Brown, Allan Kennedy, and Siobhan Talbott, 'Scots and Scabs from North-by-Tweed', *SHR* (2019), 98:2, 241-65 (p.252); Worth, 'Transatlantic Scotophobia', p.47; Stephen Conway, 'War and National Identity in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles', *English Historical Review*, 468 (Sept. 2001), 863-93 (p.875).

³⁹ T. M. Devine, *Recovering Scotland's slavery past: the Caribbean connection* (Edinburgh, 2015); Esther Mijers, 'Between Empires and Cultures: Scots in New Netherland and New York', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 33:2 (2013), pp.165-195; Stephen Mullen, 'Scots in the West Indies in the Colonial Period: A View from the Archives', *Scottish Archives*, 22 (2016), pp.7-16.

⁴⁰ Hilary McD. Beckles, 'A "riotous and unruly lot": Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713', *WMQ*, 47:4 (Oct. 1990), 503-522 (p.511).

in 'Welsh plains', they were hidden and assimilated among larger English populations.⁴¹ Swansea and Cardiff only became significant Atlantic ports *after* 1760. By comparison, Edinburgh's legal, publishing, and scientific institutions resembled those of smaller European capitals or the provincial capitals of France by 1740.⁴² The Welsh lacked similar institutional power, and have generally been left out of British Atlantic histories.⁴³

Dublin and Cork also gave Ireland a greater profile in the 'British Atlantic' than Wales, and some studies of Irish colonists (particularly in Montserrat) exist.⁴⁴ A significant Irish population was 'barbadosed' - forcibly transported to the Caribbean - in the 1650s.⁴⁵ Besides Barbados itself, they went to Jamaica and (by 1677) comprised one-tenth of St Kitts' colonial population, one-quarter of Nevis' and Antigua's, and approximately seventy per-cent of Montserrat's.⁴⁶

Extensive migration *within* Britain and Ireland further blended the ethnic character (and masked the origins) of British Atlantic colonists. 80,000 Scots migrated to Ireland from 1650 to 1700, as did approximately 110,000 people from England and Wales.⁴⁷ Allyson Poska has shown how similar processes took place within Spain: many Atlantic migrants departing from Andalusia had first migrated from northern areas such as Asturias.⁴⁸

⁴¹ MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds?', p.1252; Chris Evans, *Slave Wales: the Welsh and Atlantic slavery, 1660-1850* (Cardiff, 2010).

⁴² Roger L. Emerson, *Essays on David Hume, medical men, and the Scottish Enlightenment: industry, knowledge, and humanity* (Aldershot, 2008), p.20.

⁴³ Boyd Stanley Schlenther, "'The English Is Swallowing up Their Language': Welsh Ethnic Ambivalence in Colonial Pennsylvania and the Experience of David Evans", *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 114:2 (April 1990), 201-228 (pp.201-2, pp.223-7); Ellis Pugh, *A Salutation to Britons* (Philadelphia, 1721).

⁴⁴ Donald Harman Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730* (Montreal, 1997); Krysta Ryzewski and John F. Cherry, 'Struggles of a Sugar Society: Surveying Plantation-Era Montserrat, 1650-1850', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 19 (2015), pp.356-383.

⁴⁵ Kristen Block and Jenny Shaw, 'Subjects without an Empire: The Irish in the Early Modern Caribbean', *PP*, 210 (Feb. 2011), pp.33-60.

⁴⁶ Beckles, 'A "riotous and unruly lot"', p.508; Nini Rodgers, 'The Irish in the Caribbean 1641-1837: An Overview', *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, 5:3 (Nov. 2007), 145-156 (p.146).

⁴⁷ Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History 1607-2007* (Basingstoke, 2008), p.95.

⁴⁸ Allyson Poska, *Gendered Crossings: Women and Migration in the Spanish Empire* (Albuquerque NM, 2016), p.10.

There are also hints of Scotland and England's regional subdivisions crossing the Atlantic. In 1727, William Byrd II described a woman in Virginia 'talk[ing] the northern dialect... in all it's purity'.⁴⁹ Though surely even more enmeshed in maritime life, Cornish, Manx, and Channel Islander colonists remain vanishingly rare in Atlantic historiography.⁵⁰ However, this thesis is limited by time and space. It therefore focuses most closely on England and Scotland as the two major constitutional and demographic units of the "British Atlantic". The more nuanced aspects of British geography discussed here require - and should be a target for - further expansion of this study in future.

The periodisation of this study is also shaped by this geographic definition of the 'British Atlantic'. My earlier research on William Byrd II was defined by his lifespan: 1674 to 1744. Expanding this period backward to 1660 and forward to 1760 better contextualises this shift, allowing this larger study to trace the wider development of Britain's Atlantic colonies. 1660 marks both the cultural and political shift of the Restoration and an acceleration in British colonialism. The 1660s saw the colonial population of Virginia exceed the area's Indigenous population for the first time and the first English voyages explicitly dedicated to enslaving Africans.⁵¹ Kathleen Brown cites Bacon's Rebellion (1675-6) as the genesis of a distinct political culture which 'publicly celebrated and affirmed white masculinity' in an Anglo-American context.⁵² In 1660, England's settler colonies (New England, Virginia, Bermuda, Barbados, and Jamaica) were liminal societies with small populations, clinging to the coast. The subsequent expansion of these colonies saw the value of English plantation commodities double from 1660 to 1700, representing a fifth of London's total imports.⁵³ The Restoration also saw the Royal Navy begin a prolonged expansion, slowly transitioning into the full-time

⁴⁹ Letter from WBII to John Boyle, 02/02/1727 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.359-61.

⁵⁰ For existing work of this kind, see A. G. Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea: The Maritime History of the Channel Islands* (New York, 1986); David W. Moore, *The Other British Isles: A History of Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides, Isle of Man, Anglesey, Scilly, Isle of Wight and the Channel Islands* (Jefferson NC, 2005); Frances Wilkins, *2000 Manx Mariners* (Kidderminster, 1999); Philip Payton, Alston Kennedy and Helen Doe (eds.), *The Maritime History of Cornwall* (Exeter, 2014).

⁵¹ John Salmon, 'Tsenacomoco (Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom)', *Encyclopedia Virginia* <www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Tsenacomoco_Powhatan_Paramount_Chiefdom> [accessed 10/02/2021]; Kathleen Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales during the Period of the British Slave Trade, c.1660-1807* (Manchester, 2009), p.12.

⁵² Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1996), pp.3-4.

⁵³ Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, p.184.

standing force which underpinned British imperialism. 1660 therefore marks a clear shift in colonial expansion and a logical start point for this study.

In turn, the 1760s saw another set of distinct shifts in British colonialism. American colonial institutions began to replicate and supplant their metropolitan counterparts. This included colonial newspapers, colleges (which more than doubled between 1754 and 1769), and the American Philosophical Society.⁵⁴ The term 'American' became increasingly widespread among British colonists around this point.⁵⁵ In 1760, Thomas Jefferson began studying at the College of William and Mary, the surveying of the Mason-Dixon Line began, and British colonial expansion reached the Appalachian watershed.⁵⁶ The end of the Seven Years' War (1756-63) and the subsequent Stamp Act (1764) marked a transition into the distinct dynamics of the American revolutionary period. Early developments of Britain's Industrial Revolution also appeared around 1760: James Watt's separate condenser, the Spinning Jenny, and the Sankey Canal (the first modern British canal, opened in 1757). The 1760s also saw the advent of the marine chronometer, and James Cook's first circumnavigation which proved the ascorbic properties of citrus fruit, setting the stage for Australian colonisation. Though still arduous and expensive, deep-water voyages thus became increasingly reliable and survivable.⁵⁷ In the wake of these developments, the Indian and Pacific Oceans begin to 'loom equally large in the consciousness of Britons' as the Atlantic.⁵⁸

Focusing on the period 1660 to 1760 both allows shifts in gender to be traced beyond individual lifetimes (such as William Byrd II's) and closer comparison with existing studies. Kathleen Brown's study of gender in colonial Virginia focuses most closely on c.1670 to 1750; Daniel Richter and James Merrell's study of the Haudenosaunee covers c.1670 to 1760.⁵⁹ As explored in chapter five, the construction of slavery as

⁵⁴ Sterns, 'Colonial Fellows of the Royal Society', p.221.

⁵⁵ Chaplin, 'The British Atlantic', p.228; Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in early America: Maps, literacy, and national identity* (Chapel Hill NC, 2006), pp.51-3; Brown, *Good Wives*, pp.3-4.

⁵⁶ J. David Hoeveler, *Creating the American Mind: Intellect and Politics in the Colonial Colleges* (Lanham MD, 2002), p.95.

⁵⁷ Berry, *A Path*, p.57.

⁵⁸ Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, p.30.

⁵⁹ Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell (eds.), *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800* (Philadelphia PA, 2011), pp.2-3.

matrilineal and heritable first appeared in colonial law during the 1660s. From 1700 to 1775, approximately 300,000 Africans were enslaved and forcibly resettled in Britain's Atlantic colonies.⁶⁰ By 1760, race in colonial society was fully engrained in ways pre-1660 Britons would only partially have understood.⁶¹ When Richard Ligon was exiled to Barbados in the 1640s, he described a small colony where indentured white servants outnumbered enslaved African workers three to one.⁶² By 1760, racial slavery had matured in the British Atlantic; challenges to it likewise became increasingly concrete around this time. By 1740, Britain had made peace with Jamaican maroons who had escaped slavery and threatened Britain's most profitable colony.⁶³ The first freedom suits challenging the legality of slavery in Britain took place in 1755 (*Montgomery v. Sheddan*) and 1769 (*Spens v. Dalrymple*).

2. Gender and Political Context

Within this framework of distance and the "British Atlantic", this thesis focuses on gender, a cornerstone of identity defined by Quintin Colville, Elin Jones, and Katherine Parker as

the socially constructed and contingent negotiations of power embedded in femininities and masculinities, which intermingle with other categories of identity formation...⁶⁴

Amid the constant international contact of the early modern Atlantic, gender was a key point of cultural difference. Its varied forms were immediately recognisable as a key part of personal identity and status. Gendered identity and authority were produced by complex social and cultural negotiations. Masculinity and femininity were not produced in isolation by individuals, and they could be reinforced or rejected by others.⁶⁵ Gender norms often transcended Europe's national boundaries and varied subtly within

⁶⁰ Berry, *A Path*, p.2.

⁶¹ Brown, *Good Wives*, pp.3-4.

⁶² Susan Scott Parrish, 'Richard Ligon and the Atlantic Science of Commonwealths' in *WMQ*, 67:2 (April 2010), 209-248 (pp.210-9); Brown, *Good Wives*, p.367.

⁶³ Chaplin, 'The British Atlantic', p.232.

⁶⁴ Colville, Jones, and Parker, 'Gendering the maritime world', p.97.

⁶⁵ Ghobrial, 'Moving Stories', p.248.

nations. Imperialism created an interplay of what Amussen and Poska describe as 'circum-Atlantic gender cultures', in which the limits of European power and influence were exposed.⁶⁶ Liminal settler colonies were forced to negotiate gender norms with Africans and Indigenous Americans, reshaping those they inherited from Europe.⁶⁷ Gender is therefore an analytical lens ideally suited to exploring the impact of distance in an entangled Atlantic world, moving past the limitations of national frameworks.

Gender has become central to many histories of the early modern Atlantic, particularly the innovative work of Kathleen Brown and Sarah Pearsall.⁶⁸ Bodies and physical differences have been thoroughly investigated as sites where masculinity, social status, and racial ideology were formed and shaped.⁶⁹ Extending these ideas across the Atlantic, British colonists framed African and Indigenous American women as 'aesthetic and sexual objects'.⁷⁰ Atlantic colonies were shaped by patriarchal control, omnipresent gendered violence, and the 'perils [of] transatlantic matrimony'.⁷¹ The American continent itself was depicted by male colonists as a woman's body, controlled and

⁶⁶ Amussen and Poska, 'Shifting the Frame', p.3; Susan Amussen and Allyson Poska, 'Restoring Miranda: Gender and the limits of European patriarchy in the early modern Atlantic world', *Journal of Global History*, 7:3 (Nov. 2012), 342-363 (pp.359-63).

⁶⁷ Richard Godbeer, 'Your Wife Will Be Your Biggest Accuser': Reinforcing Codes of Manhood at New England Witch Trials', *EAS*, 15:3 (July 2017), pp.474-504; Richard Godbeer, 'Eroticizing the Middle Ground: Anglo-Indian Sexual Relations along the Eighteenth Century Frontier' in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, ed. by Martha Hodes (New York, 1999), 91-111 (p.92).

⁶⁸ Kathleen M. Brown, 'Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History', *WMQ*, 50:2 (April 1993), 311-328; Brown, *Good Wives*; Sarah Pearsall, 'Native American Men and Women at Home in Plural Marriages in Seventeenth-Century New France', *Gender & History*, 27:3 (November 2015), 591-610; Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*.

⁶⁹ Karen Harvey, 'Men of Parts: Masculine Embodiment and the Male Leg in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 54:4 (2015), 797-821; Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity', pp.865-6; Bernard Capp, 'Jesus Wept' But Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *PP*, 224:1 (Aug. 2014), 75-108 (p.86); Kathleen M. Brown, '"Strength of the Lion... Arms Like Polished Iron": Embodying Black Masculinity in an Age of Slavery and Propertied Manhood' in *New Men: Manliness in Early America* ed. by Thomas A. Foster (London, 2011), pp.172-194; Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the world, 1550-1800* (Cambridge, 2008), pp.147-8; Jonathan Eacott, 'The Cultural History of Commerce in the Atlantic World' in *The Atlantic World*, ed. by William O'Reilly, Adrian Leonard and D'Maris Coffman (Abingdon, 2015), pp.546-572.

⁷⁰ Godbeer, 'Eroticizing the Middle Ground', p.95.

⁷¹ Toby L. Ditz, 'The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History', *Gender & History*, 16:1 (April 2004), 1-35 (p.16); John Smolenski, 'Violence in the Atlantic World' in *The Atlantic World*, ed. by William O'Reilly, Adrian Leonard and D'Maris Coffman (Abingdon, 2015), pp.245-263 (pp.245-6); Sarah Barber, '"Not worth one Groat": The Status, Gentility and Credit of Lawrence and Sarah Crabb of Antigua', *Journal of Early American History*, 1 (2011), 26-61 (pp.32-4).

measured by surveying as an extension of patriarchy.⁷² Several studies have mined what Gordon DesBrisay describes as a 'deep seam of individual stories' to study gender in the British Atlantic.⁷³ For example, Mary Beth Norton has used Boston midwife Alice Tilly to explore colonial women's informal political power.⁷⁴

However, as Hardwick and Poska noted in their critiques, this illuminating scholarship needs further development. In-depth individual studies remain largely isolated from each other. A dedicated analysis of distance and gendered identity in the early modern Atlantic has yet to appear. As well as addressing this specific need, my research contributes to ongoing debates about how gender and early modern identities can be classified and described. There is insufficient space here to attempt a universalising overview, and this study is not intended to produce a rigid classification of "Atlantic" and "non-Atlantic" masculine and feminine identities. Instead, I outline distinctly Atlantic influences upon British masculinity and femininity in the 1660-1760 period. It traces the impact of distance on individual identities, describing how these are inflected by the experience of Atlantic spaces, connections and contacts. This is accomplished by building an analysis of gender and identity around two key frameworks: 'gender damage', and 'gender hegemony'.

Mary Louise Roberts first outlined the concept of 'gender damage' in 2016. Earlier work on early modern British masculinity often framed challenges to platonic patriarchal ideals as 'moments of painful confusion' and crisis.⁷⁵ In the words of Toby Ditz, these analyses of 'anxious masculinity' and 'gender crisis' became 'overworked to the point of semantic collapse', losing all 'analytic purchase'.⁷⁶ A masculine crisis can only exist in contrast to masculine stability; a crisis cannot be permanent. As Alexandra Shepard

⁷² Silvia Sebastani, *The Scottish Enlightenment Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress* (New York, 2013), p.16; Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution*, p.16.

⁷³ Gordon DesBrisay, 'Aberdeen and the Dutch Atlantic: Women and Woolens in the Seventeenth Century' in *Women in Port: Gendering Communities, Economies, and Social Networks in Atlantic Port Cities, 1500-1800* ed. by Douglas Catterall and Jodi Campbell (Leiden, 2012), 69-102 (pp.71-2).

⁷⁴ Mary Beth Norton, "'The Ablest Midwife That Wee Knowe in the Land": Mistress Alice Tilly and the Women of Boston and Dorchester, 1649-1650', *WMQ*, 55:1 (Jan. 1998), 105-134 (pp.105-7).

⁷⁵ Mark Breitenberg, 'Anxious Masculinity: Sexual Jealousy in Early Modern England', *Feminist Studies*, 19:2 (Summer, 1993), 377-398; Michael S. Kimmel, *The History of Men: Essays on the History of American and British Masculinities* (Albany, 2005), p.125.

⁷⁶ Mary Louise Roberts, 'Beyond 'Crisis' in Understanding Gender Transformation', *Gender & History*, 28:2 (Aug. 2016), 358-366 (pp.358-60); Ditz, 'The New Men's History', p.6.

notes, depictions of ‘perpetually anxious’ men, ‘fragile... and self-divided to the point of pathology’ mask the persistence and reality of historical patriarchy.⁷⁷ Despite some notable changes, 1660 to 1760 also saw significant continuity of gender norms. From masculine social spaces to marriage customs and gendered language, such continuity reinforces the durability of patriarchy described by Shepard.⁷⁸ Analyses of early modern gender need to acknowledge this omnipresence of patriarchy while also exploring varied challenges to masculine status. They must avoid assumptions of ‘crisis’ while also exploring the identity-shaping ‘negotiations of power’ described by Colville, Jones, and Parker. ‘Gender damage’ refers to actions which undermine, destabilise, and demote an individual’s masculine status, ‘damaging’ their masculinity without erasing their position in a patriarchal society.⁷⁹ This allows a range of masculine identities to be explored as well as changes to them over time and space. Gender damage can also be applied to femininity, as it does not focus on the fall from patriarchal status implied by “crisis”. Masculinity and femininity were not “achieved” or “lost”, but progressively reinforced or undermined over time by countless interactions.

Changes in an individual’s masculine or feminine identity are discussed in these terms throughout this thesis. The ‘gender damage’ framework accounts for the constant shifting of identity, and the varied performance of gender from moment to moment.⁸⁰ It acknowledges the gulf between idealised gender roles and lived experiences; what Laura Gowing calls the space between ‘precept and practice’.⁸¹ Masculine ideals were not the same as masculine realities.⁸² Ideals were argued over, and all men behaved in ‘unmanly’ ways at some point. Indeed, one advantage patriarchy afforded to early modern men was a more flexible range of masculine identities. Though masculinity was “vulnerable” in some ways, men never stopped receiving a ‘patriarchal dividend’.⁸³

⁷⁷ Alexandra Shepard, ‘From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500–1700’, *Journal of British Studies*, 44:2 (April 2005), 281–295 (pp.281–2, pp.290–1).

⁷⁸ Rosalind Carr, *Gender and enlightenment in eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2014), pp.120–1; Shepard, “From Anxious Patriarchs”, pp.293–4; Capp, “Jesus Wept”, p.106.

⁷⁹ Roberts, ‘Beyond ‘Crisis’, p.361.

⁸⁰ Allyson M. Poska, ‘The Case for Agentic Gender Norms for Women in Early Modern Europe’ in *Gender & History*, 30:2 (July 2018), 354–365 (p.354); Ditz, ‘The New Men’s History’, p.4.

⁸¹ Laura Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England* (Harlow, 2012), p.4.

⁸² Ben Griffin, ‘Hegemonic Masculinity as a Historical Problem’, *Gender & History*, 30:2 (July 2018), 377–400 (pp.383–4).

⁸³ Shepard, “From Anxious Patriarchs”, p.283.

Women had less leeway for acting outside feminine ideals. They could easily be deemed 'undesirable and contaminating to social life'.⁸⁴ While feminine men were 'womanly', masculine women and those who thoroughly 'counterfeited' masculinity (such as Hannah Snell and Thomas/ina Hall) were not 'manly'.⁸⁵ In the early modern British Atlantic, masculinity and femininity were opposed but not symmetrical.

This asymmetry is a key concern of this study, and the reason why a model of 'gender hegemony' is outlined. Just as gender damage is used in place of earlier 'gender crisis' models, 'gender hegemony' replaces an earlier model of 'hegemonic masculinity', first defined by Raewyn Connell.⁸⁶ Gender hegemony recognises the mutually constitutive masculine and feminine dimensions of the dominant cultural ideals - of cultural hegemony - in early modern Britain. This model has several advantages. It incorporates the compulsory heterosexuality which underpins patriarchal society and recognises how masculinity and femininity were partly constructed in relation to the other: each provided 'hegemonic scaffolding' for the other.⁸⁷ This model generally includes women and femininity better than a focus on 'hegemonic masculinity'. It accounts for the degree of independent authority early modern women *were* expected to exercise under patriarchy; what Allyson Poska calls 'agentic gender expectations' for women.⁸⁸ 'Gender hegemony' brings masculinity and femininity together while incorporating the asymmetrical power of patriarchy. The term 'gender hegemony' is rarely applicable directly to individual letters or journals in this thesis, but this conceptualisation guides the wider analysis. For example, it helps to situate Sarah Carstares femininity as something shaped by the Atlantic but also constructed in tandem with her husband (William Dunlop)'s masculinity.

While gender damage and gender hegemony frame this analysis, there is also another framing to consider. The audience and political context in which this work appears are

⁸⁴ Schippers, "Recovering the Feminine Other", pp.95-6.

⁸⁵ Laura E. Hedrick, "Male and Female He Created Them': Counterfeit Masculinity and Gender Presentation as Social Structure in Scotland and England, c.1560-1707', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, 6:2 (2013), 115-36; Ditz, 'The New Men's History', p.25.

⁸⁶ Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge, 2005); Griffin, 'Hegemonic Masculinity', p.379.

⁸⁷ Ditz, 'The New Men's History', pp.10-16; Schippers, "Recovering the Feminine Other", pp.89-94; Carr, *Gender and enlightenment*, pp.2-5.

⁸⁸ Poska, "Agentic Gender Norms", pp.354-9.

also relevant to how it approaches the topic of early modern identities in Britain's colonies. Reconstructing intimate historical lives and identities implicitly creates empathy, which has some benefits. This narrative intimacy effectively illuminates the clear, vibrant links connecting this period to the present and colonists' experiences to our own. Despite a technological gulf separating the eighteenth and twenty-first centuries, gender, identity, and distance are still keenly felt. Social and racial distance have not disappeared - we inherit the latter from this historical period. The COVID-19 pandemic has forced the world to confront distance in all its forms; to rely on remote communication and see travelling as a significant undertaking. 'Social distance' has entered the lexicon with its own modern meaning.

However, the emotional familiarity of British colonists' experiences should be as unsettling as it is approachable. Harmful racial ideology, destructive fossil-fuel dependence and unsustainable industrial capitalism all have roots in this period, and in the actions of those studied below. The events of 1660-1760 are not detached from the present, but an increasingly studied, prominent part of Britain's modern cultural discourse.⁸⁹ The political weight of this history was underlined in 2020. While this thesis was being written, the statue of merchant and enslaver Edward Colston (1636-1721) was thrown into Bristol harbour. Though not included in this study, Colston was a direct contemporary of other individuals studied here and would have made a suitable case study. Many subjects of this thesis were wealthy men comparable to Colston; all were white Britons connected to (or directly carrying out) colonial violence. One case study from this thesis, Thomas Thistlewood (1721-86), has prompted discussion among historians along these lines. Dissecting Thistlewood's life as a 'foot soldier of imperialism', Trevor Burnard makes 'no apologies' for his approach but also admits that 'to understand is in some ways to forgive'.⁹⁰ This 'forgiveness' shows how intimate empathy with historical subjects can become an implicit sympathy.

This sympathy must be rejected, both for analytical accuracy and to avoid legitimising the perspectives of men like Colston and Thistlewood. Failure to incorporate the

⁸⁹ Joyce E. Chaplin, 'The Other Revolution', *EAS*, 13:2 (Spring 2015), 285-308; Nick Estes, *Our History is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline* (Old Saybrook CT, 2019).

⁹⁰ Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill NC, 2004), p.7.

feminist underpinnings of gender history into this research risks reproducing a harmful historical legacy. Specifically, it risks reifying the aspirations of colonists who enjoyed cultural hegemony and protected it with violence. As Toby Ditz warns, historians must avoid reassigning the role of ‘spokesmen for universal human aspirations’ to white, male elites.⁹¹ In their call for more histories of gender in the Atlantic, Amussen and Poska also assert that this research must ‘by nature [be] a feminist endeavor’.⁹² Burnard insists that Thistlewood is ‘on the wrong side of history’ as ‘a brutal slave owner, an occasional rapist and torturer, and a believer in the inherent inferiority of Africans’. However, this well-intentioned disclaimer (which precedes a valuable historical analysis) still shows how the status men like Thistlewood aspired to must be consciously challenged. The term ‘slave owner’ reinforces Thistlewood’s dehumanisation of those he enslaved, and the rape he committed was repeated and systematic, not ‘occasional’. Later, Burnard assumes that Phibbah (a woman enslaved by Thistlewood) could consent to sex. As Heather Vermeulen writes in her own analysis of Thistlewood, the power he assumed must be disrupted.⁹³ While this thesis studies British identities, it therefore attempts to decenter and challenge the power assumed by colonists. It explicitly outlines their violent actions and assumptions, and includes chapters on settler-Indigenous encounters and race giving further space to question colonial perspectives.

3. Research Subjects and Outline

The subjects of this research are built outwards from the example of William Byrd II. In previous work, I used Byrd as a microhistorical case study of English colonial masculinity, looking at his surviving ‘ego-documents’: correspondence, diaries, and other personal writings. These followed Byrd’s struggle to fulfil masculine expectations across Atlantic distances and his development of a distinctly ‘transatlantic’ masculine identity. To explore this Atlantic reshaping of gendered identity more broadly, this study uses a wider range of case studies, all interconnected contemporaries (and near contemporaries) of Byrd. The broadest possible range of sources is used (within time and archival constraints) to better illuminate gender in the British Atlantic, beyond

⁹¹ Ditz, ‘The New Men’s History’, pp.1-3.

⁹² Amussen and Poska, ‘Shifting the Frame’, p.23.

⁹³ Heather V. Vermeulen, ‘Thomas Thistlewood’s Libidinal Linnaean Project: Slavery, Ecology, and Knowledge Production’, *Small Axe*, 22:1 (2018), 18-38 (pp.37-8).

Byrd's individual experiences. Despite an archival bias toward elite, wealthy men, these sources are still diverse and interconnected. Sources produced by early modern women are used to bring early modern British femininity into focus. The most significant of these rare but illuminating sources is the as-yet-unstudied transatlantic correspondence of Sarah Carstares, discussed across multiple chapters. Beyond these letters, the comparative rarity of female-authored sources in this period forces this analysis of femininity to rely on a range of smaller case studies and brief snippets of evidence. Some of the sources in this thesis are well studied; some are only referenced briefly or in passing; others have never been cited in published work. All inform a broad cultural analysis of gender while retaining a close focus on individual lives and restricting the study to a manageable scope.

This study is divided into five chapters, each exploring a distinct aspect of how distance shaped gendered identity in the British Atlantic. The first explores 'credit', 'virtue' and 'worth'. These interconnected terms describe strongly gendered forms of social-financial status. They were foundations of masculine and feminine identity easily eroded (or inflated) by the influence of Atlantic distances. This chapter compares Byrd's difficulties in this regard to those of wealthy Scottish planters in New York and middling sojourners in Jamaica. I explore the feminine credit or 'virtue' of colonists and wives like Sarah Carstares left behind. Credit was also perceived both on a wider social scale, and this chapter addresses Scotland's sense of national credit in the period. Chapter two turns to the economic and masculine status of mariners, the poorer men whose labour underpinned all Atlantic mobility. The individuals studied include both English and Scottish sailors, such as (respectively) John Cremer and James Nisbet. I explore the effects of Atlantic seafaring on men and women (such as Hannah Snell and Mary Lacy) at sea, as well as on women on shore. This includes questions of sexuality and maritime space.

Building on this maritime focus, chapter three asks how distance shaped identities through emotional experiences and the material exchange of letters. The emotive impact of letters are explored through correspondence from Cadwallader Colden and William Byrd II. I show how Atlantic identities and social networks were knitted together by unreliable shipborne post. Chapter four explores the influence of Indigenous nations

and colonial landscapes on British settler identities, introducing John Lawson and Dr. Alexander Hamilton. I explore conflicts between British and Indigenous masculinities, along with the role women and reproduction played in colonial settlement. These settler-Indigenous interactions are built on in chapter five, which examines the influence of racial ideology and slavery on British colonial masculinity and femininity. Including the rarely-analysed letters of Alexander Mountier, this chapter explores how sex, reproduction, nursing and maternity were shaped by the development of race.

The sources used to approach individual lives in this thesis include journals, diaries and above all, letters. When communicating across vast Atlantic distances and tying remote lives together, correspondence was a vital tool. In early modern Britain, letters were ritualised productions, personal for both the writer and reader (or readers). As they compressed experience and emotion into written form, letters constrained and sometimes misrepresented emotions. William Merrill Decker describes the profound effects of epistolary exchange across the early modern Atlantic world as ‘a religious experience’.⁹⁴ As Decker’s term suggests, transatlantic correspondence could profoundly re-shape identity. As Katie Barclay has noted, letters are performances through which ‘a person *creates an identity* that is personal to her or him’ (my italics).⁹⁵ However, Barclay also warns that the historical letter must ‘never be taken at its word’. Her analysis of gender and elite Scottish families from 1650 to 1850, built on thousands of letters, is methodologically one of the closest studies to this one. It shows that even rushed and spontaneous letters must be questioned: they are not ‘plain’ records of identity. This thesis therefore interrogates each letter, asking how each was used to perform masculinity and femininity and how each reflects the gendered context in which it was sent and received. The analytical challenges presented by such ‘ego-documents’ are explored in more depth in chapter three.

My analysis combines microhistorical methods with an Atlantic history framework. These approaches are complementary, and well established within gender history. Microhistory traces intricate detail to produce narratives of individual events and lives.

⁹⁴ William Merrill Decker, *Epistolary Practices: Letter Writing in America before Telecommunications* (Chapel Hill NC, 1998), p.74.

⁹⁵ Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester, 2011), pp.26-8.

These can challenge or inform the understanding of wider processes and dynamics, such as those influencing masculine and feminine identity. As Lisa Wynne Smith writes regarding Hans Sloane (a case study in this thesis), 'the individual becomes much easier to find... through the lens of gender'.⁹⁶ Though an intensely individual aspect of personal identity, gender is also a broader socio-cultural phenomenon. Atlantic history emphasises omnidirectional connections and ocean-going mobility, important factors when following the lives of peripatetic colonists across geographic, social, and cultural boundaries. Lara Putnam describes microhistory as particularly useful for uncovering 'unsuspected social networks and flows of information' in the Atlantic world.⁹⁷ The combination of microhistorical methods and an "Atlantic" framework is therefore ideally suited to this analysis of gender. It also helps to connect individual lifespans (a natural periodisation for microhistory) with the longer century of change from 1660 to 1760.

More specifically, this thesis adapts the 'serial microhistory' framework outlined by Kristen Block in *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean*.⁹⁸ This brings together a 'series' of individuals, each analysed using a microhistory approach, into an integrated study of broader subjects. My study adapts this framework by spreading each case study across multiple chapters. This better highlights the common themes of gendered interaction between case studies, and avoids repeating biographical information about each subject. With a larger number of individual case studies, my analysis cannot be so thoroughly detailed as a true microhistory. I therefore blend Block's approach with elements of prosopography, aiming to better trace commonalities between the interconnected people of the British Atlantic world.⁹⁹ Miles Ogborn demonstrates the utility of such an approach in *Global Lives: Britain and the world, 1550-1800*, which uses 'tools of biography' to trace wider 'constellations' of early modern people.¹⁰⁰ My aim is to combine Block's microhistorical focus with Ogborn's emphasis on interconnected 'constellations' of people. This allows a broad analysis of gender to be built on individual

⁹⁶ Lisa Wynne Smith, 'Remembering Dr Sloane: Masculinity and the Making of an Eighteenth-Century Physician', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42:4, (2019), 433-453 (p.444).

⁹⁷ Putnam, 'To Study the Fragments/Whole', pp.615-18.

⁹⁸ Block, *Ordinary Lives*.

⁹⁹ Putnam, 'To Study the Fragments/Whole', p.619.

¹⁰⁰ Ogborn, *Global Lives*, pp.3-7 and pp.10-12.

case studies, while minimising the risk of over-extrapolating from individual case studies.

As this last point suggests, there are risks to this approach. The majority of available sources come from cosmopolitan, privileged individuals. These sources could produce a distorted image of greater-than-average wealth and mobility. Most Britons never crossed the Atlantic, and most transatlantic migrants were poor, indentured servants. Making more than one crossing was possible but rare for anyone who was not a full-time sailor. For reference, Benjamin Franklin and William Byrd II were exceptional: each crossed the Atlantic eight times over their entire lives. While approximately 2000 Quaker women crossed the Atlantic to preach in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, their experiences were likewise unfamiliar to most Britons.¹⁰¹ Most lives remained highly localised, with individual identity rooted in what John-Paul Ghobrial calls 'concrete, local processes'.¹⁰² However, this dominance of locality is precisely what made the expansion of mobility from 1660 to 1760 so significant. Atlantic distance seemed all the greater when contrasted with metropolitan life.

More broadly, my approach could encourage an overly narrow, biographical focus, or the application of modern identity labels to historical individuals. This is particularly relevant when discussing homosexuality and non-binary gender, where well-intentioned enquiry can lapse into 'painfully inaccurate' anachronism.¹⁰³ Even evidently applicable terms must be questioned. While 'masculinity' and 'femininity' first appeared in print during the mid-sixteenth century, these terms were only used with any frequency after the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Even then, 'femininity' was less common until the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁵ Ghobrial also warns that 'moving stories' and 'emotive storytelling' must not pull historical narratives away from consideration of evidence and terminology.¹⁰⁶ As Wendy Warren writes, historians 'are not scientists; we cannot test

¹⁰¹ Naomi Pullin, 'Sustaining "the Household of Faith": Female Hospitality in the Early Transatlantic Quaker Community', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 22 (2018) 96-119 (pp.96-7).

¹⁰² Ghobrial, 'Moving Stories', pp.246-50.

¹⁰³ Ditz, "The New Men's History", 26; Hedrick, "'Male and Female He Created Them'", 116.

¹⁰⁴ 'Masculinity, n.' in *OED* <www.oed.com/view/Entry/114566> [accessed 04/10/2021]; Shepard, "From Anxious Patriarchs", p.288.

¹⁰⁵ 'Femininity, n.' in *OED* <www.oed.com/view/Entry/69190> [accessed 04/10/2021].

¹⁰⁶ Ghobrial, 'Moving Stories', pp.277-8.

our hypotheses'.¹⁰⁷ The individual identities being studied here must be appropriately contextualised, which I accomplish using the model of 'communication communities'.¹⁰⁸ This refers to an individual's immediate network of social connections. As well as their family, someone's communication community could include a small village or a group of transatlantic correspondents. For example, wealthy planters could build a more widespread "communication community" than economically struggling husbandmen. Adjusting the context around each case study based on their resources and social connections should accurately contextualise each individual's performance and perception of gender.

While this research addresses both masculinity and femininity, it remains weighted toward the former due to several factors. The masters thesis which inspired this work had a masculine focus, some of which has persisted into this research. From 1660 to 1760, the sailors, merchants, writers, scientists and social elites of the British Atlantic were overwhelmingly male: the archival record remains male-dominated. The historiography of gender in the early modern Atlantic also remains heavily slanted toward men. In 2018 (the year this research began), Thomas Foster observed that only eight percent of American history articles published in 2000 focused on women, of which only a tenth were "early modern".¹⁰⁹ More histories of women have since appeared, and the term "early modern women" became approximately twice as common in published work between 2011 and 2019. However, the term 'early modern masculinity' has remained an order of magnitude more popular than 'early modern femininity' in published work.¹¹⁰ Though historiography is not purely quantifiable, these figures illustrate the wider issue. By citing work from this historiography, this research inevitably reflects this imbalance to some extent.

¹⁰⁷ Wendy Warren, "'The Cause of Her Grief': The Rape of a Slave in Early New England", *The Journal of American History*, 93 (March 2007), p.4.

¹⁰⁸ Griffin, "Hegemonic Masculinity", pp.385-6.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Foster, 'Introduction' in *Women in Early America*, ed. by Thomas Foster (New York, 2018), pp.1-6 (p.3).

¹¹⁰ Frequency of terms taken from Google Books NGrams in September 2021 using data from 2000 to 2019. "Early modern women" increased from 0.00000300% to 0.00000600%. As of 2018-19, NGrams reported 0.00000020% for 'early modern femininity', 0.000000200% for 'early modern masculinity'.

This study was formed partly in response to calls from within the field for better analyses of gender in the early modern Atlantic world. In 2010, Julie Hardwick denounced the ‘elision of family and gender’ from Atlantic history, calling this lacuna a ‘powerful myopia’.¹¹¹ Four years later, the historiographical survey by Amussen and Poska cited above described the issue in more detail. Studies of gender in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British Atlantic existed but remained sparse.¹¹² Amussen and Poska found little research showing how ‘empire reconfigured gendered power dynamics in Europe’ and how ‘Atlantic contacts affect[ed] European sexual ideals and realities’.¹¹³ Gender had not been ignored, but the role of ‘Atlantic contacts’ created by British imperialism and colonialism had not been sufficiently addressed. Few have asked how distance affected the identities of men and women who migrated or sojourned across the Atlantic (sometimes as family units). Amussen and Poska concluded there was ‘a gendered impact in Europe that remains to be fully uncovered’.

As Amussen and Poska’s emphasis on ‘Europe’ suggests, the purely British focus of this thesis is significant. Their critique includes a call for historiographical collaboration ‘beyond the national and linguistic boundaries with which we have become so comfortable’.¹¹⁴ Hardwick also noted that many gender norms and structures were shared *across* early modern (western) Europe.¹¹⁵ In other words, they straddled the same national and linguistic barriers which now obstruct research. Most histories in this field are published in the language of the colonial empire being discussed: English, French, Dutch, Spanish, or Portuguese. Reinforced by the frequent use of English as an academic *lingua franca*, the “British Atlantic” largely remains an Anglophone field of study and vice versa. Douglas Catterall and Jodi Campbell’s edited collection *Women in Port* (2012) brings many nationally bounded histories of gender together, but few others have imitated this.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Julie Hardwick, ‘Family Matters: The Early Modern Atlantic from the European Side’, *HC*, 8:3 (2010), 248-57 (pp.253-4).

¹¹² Key examples from before 2014 include Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*; Sheryllyne Haggerty, “Miss Fan can tun her han!” Female traders in eighteenth-century British-American Atlantic port cities’, *Atlantic Studies*, 6:1 (2009).

¹¹³ Amussen and Poska, ‘Shifting the Frame’, pp.20-2.

¹¹⁴ Amussen and Poska, ‘Shifting the Frame’, p.23.

¹¹⁵ Hardwick, ‘Family Matters’, p.250.

¹¹⁶ Alexandra Parma Cook, ‘The Women of Early Modern Triana: Life, Death and Survival Strategies in Seville’s Maritime District’ in *Women in Port: Gendering Communities, Economies, and Social Networks*

The few extant Anglophone studies of other imperial Atlantics in this period strongly suggest these collaborations are worth pursuing. Historians of the French Atlantic have shed new light on the settler-Indigenous “gender frontier” in colonial America, including studies of Frenchmen marrying Timucua and Haudenosaunee women.¹¹⁷ This highlights the distinct demography of French Atlantic colonies while also inviting discussion similar to that in chapter four of this thesis. In the Iberian Atlantic, a ‘strong undercurrent’ of women’s ‘success and survival’ has been uncovered in Spanish ports like Seville with female majorities similar to British Portsmouth.¹¹⁸ Most notably, Allyson Poska has shown how ‘Galician society came to rely on and revolve around women [who] lived on the periphery of Spain, but... were not unique’.¹¹⁹ Poska demonstrates how colonisation shaped Galician femininity and how this influence in turn spread across Spain’s Atlantic colonies. However, no similar study of the British Atlantic exists, hence this thesis attempts to break new ground along these lines. Responding to the calls of Hardwick, Amussen and Poska, it shows how Atlantic distance and contacts shaped British masculinity and femininity.

in Atlantic Port Cities, 1500-1800 ed. by Douglas Catterall and Jodi Campbell (Leiden, 2012), pp.41-44; Kim Todt and Martha Dickinson Shattuck, ‘Capable Entrepreneurs: The Women Merchants and Traders of New Netherland’ in *Women in Port: Gendering Communities, Economies, and Social Networks in Atlantic Port cities, 1500-1800* ed. by Douglas Catterall and Jodi Campbell (Leiden, 2012), pp.183–214; Júnia Ferreira Furtado, ‘Lives on the Seas: Women’s Trajectories in Port Cities of the Portuguese Overseas Empire’ in *Women in Port: Gendering Communities, Economies, and Social Networks in Atlantic Port cities, 1500-1800* ed. by Douglas Catterall and Jodi Campbell (Leiden, 2012), pp.251-286.

¹¹⁷ Pearsall, ‘Native American Men and Women’; Heather E. Martel, ‘Timucua in deer clothing: friendship, resistance, and Protestant identity in sixteenth-century Florida’, *Atlantic Studies*, 10:1 (2013), pp.14-15 and p.23; Jordan Kellman, ‘Beyond center and periphery: new currents in French and francophone Atlantic studies’, *Atlantic Studies*, 10:1, (2013), p.7; Gordon Sayre, ‘How to succeed in exploration without really discovering anything: four French travelers in colonial Louisiana, 1714–63’, *Atlantic Studies*, 10:1 (2013), pp.51-2.

¹¹⁸ Catterall and Campbell (eds.), *Women in Port*, p.14; Jenny Warner and Allison Lunny, ‘Marital Violence in a Martial Town: Husbands and Wives in Early Modern Portsmouth, 1653-1781’, *Journal of Family History*, 28:2 (2003), 258-276.

¹¹⁹ Allyson M. Poska, *Women and Authority in Early Modern Spain: The Peasants of Galicia* (Oxford, 2005), p.139 and p.244.

Chapter 1 Credit

1. Introduction

In the early modern British Atlantic, 'credit' referred to each person's measure of wealth and worth. It was simultaneously a social and financial assessment, a complex social exercise strongly influenced by gender and marital status.¹ It connected material wealth to each person's record of behaviour in terms of dress, speech, manners, honesty, sexuality, and business nous. A bankrupt man's financial failure was therefore comparable to a cuckold's sexual failure; his loss of patriarchal control was a loss of masculine credit.² As this suggests, 'credit' did not mean the same thing to men and women, nor was it applied to them equally.³ Overlapping or adjacent ideas of 'virtue' and 'oeconomy' were also present. However, the gendering of credit is still an emergent field of scholarship.⁴ Furthermore, it largely focuses on metropolitan Britain alone. Within a wider analysis of gender and distance, this chapter therefore explores two aspects of early modern credit: how distance impacted its assessment across the Atlantic, and how it applied differently to men and women.

Credit was vital to getting by in a world where reputation was key to social survival and cash was unreliable. As one contemporary proverb read, 'take away my good name and take away my life'.⁵ In 1700, nine in ten transactions across England and Wales did not involve cash; court depositions almost never cited cash as part of a person's wealth.⁶ Sterling coinage was poorly regarded everywhere. Though Isaac Newton

¹ Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2015), pp.53-6.

² Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (New York, 2009), pp.165-174.

³ The Oxford English Dictionary includes no mention of 'credit' (as a verb or noun) being masculine or feminine in this period. 'Credit, n.' in OED Online <www.oed.com/view/Entry/44113> [accessed 04/10/2021]; 'Credit, v.' in OED Online <www.oed.com/view/Entry/44114> [accessed 04/10/2021].

⁴ Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*; Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (London, 1996); K. Tawny Paul, 'Accounting for Men's Work: Multiple Employments and Occupational Identities in Early Modern England' in *HWJ*, 85 (2018), 26-46; Peter Mathias, 'Risk, Credit, and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise' in *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, ed. by John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (New York, 2000), pp.15-35; Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*.

⁵ Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.163.

⁶ Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p.41.

improved the workings of the Royal Mint in the late 1720s, there was never sufficient coinage to meet the demands of commercial exchange.⁷ The problem was even worse in the colonies than in Britain itself.⁸ Bills of credit were preferred to cash, so much that in 1730 the *London Journal* declared 'we deal by Ink altogether'.⁹ Across the British Atlantic world, credit was a far better currency than cash even into the nineteenth century.¹⁰

The nature of 'credit' changed from 1660 to 1760. The flow of commodities into London and other British ports, the size and complexity of overseas colonies, and the number of British mariners increased dramatically. The networks of reputation and trust on which credit was founded - 'credit networks' - became increasingly dense and fluid.¹¹ An ever-growing variety of colonial commodities such as tobacco flooded metropolitan and colonial markets. Trading and consuming these commodities inflated personal status, with many goods 'made as much to impress as to last'.¹² This expanding social currency made assessments of personal and material wealth more complex, creating a strain under which existing 'credit regimes' collapsed.¹³ Individuals with good credit had more ways than ever to signify their social and cultural capital through dress, speech, and sociability via new institutions such as coffeehouses. While urban middle classes and merchants in lowland England and Scotland spearheaded this cosmopolitan shift, more and more sailors also brought personal cargoes of commodities home as a 'micro enterprise'.¹⁴ While this expansion of trade and markets

⁷ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, p.30.

⁸ T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (Princeton NJ, 2009), p.95 and p.120.

⁹ Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, p.24.

¹⁰ Margot Finn, *The Character of Credit*, p.320.

¹¹ Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.176; Paul, 'Accounting for Men's Work', p.28; Alexandra Shepard, 'Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy', *HWJ*, 79 (2015), 1-24 (p.15); Christine Walker, 'Pursuing Her Profits: Women in Jamaica, Atlantic Slavery and a Globalising Market, 1700-60' in *Women in Early America*, ed. by Thomas A. Foster (New York, 2015), pp.89-114 (p.485).

¹² Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p.61, pp.278-9, p.295.

¹³ Toby L. Ditz, 'Shipwrecked; or, Masculinity Imperilled: Mercantile Representations of Failure and the Gendered Self in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia', *The Journal of American History*, 81:1 (June 1994), 51-80.

¹⁴ Beverly Lemire, 'A Question of Trousers: Seafarers, Masculinity and Empire in the Shaping of British Male Dress, c.1600-1800', *Cultural and Social History*, 13:1 (2016), 1-22 (p.6); Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, pp.299-301.

created economic opportunities for Britons, it also destabilised the foundations of their credit.

While the countless conversations and personal interactions which informed credit assessments are lost to the archive, many snapshots are recorded in writing. This is particularly important for an analysis of distance, as correspondence was vital in establishing credit at a distance. Letters knitted credit networks together, acting as powerful tools for displaying intellect and sociability.¹⁵ Private diaries also allowed written claims to personal credit to be rehearsed, turning diary-keeping into credit-boosting work. Reinforcing credit through writing was often framed as a masculine concern due to the 'intensely masculine' nature of merchant trading, maritime mobility, and the "republic of letters".¹⁶ At a distance, such writing might be all a man's credit could be judged on. As John Locke insisted in 1693, there was 'no greater Defect in a Gentleman' than writing poorly.¹⁷ Correspondence therefore provides an opportunity to study how men pursued credit at a distance, reinforcing their masculine identities across the Atlantic.

Women have often been regulated to the role of 'shadowy bystanders' in the early modern economy, yet they were also expected to exercise economic agency.¹⁸ They were rarely advised to pursue credit in the same ways as men.¹⁹ However, men and women used similar language to describe their personal creditworthiness in court depositions: 'hard labour', 'handiwork', 'painstaking', and 'industry'.²⁰ All women were responsible for managing household assets, practicing 'housewifery' parallel to men's 'husbandry'.²¹ This suggests that women were concerned with similar forms of personal status and identity, even as credit was supposedly a masculine domain. This chapter

¹⁵ Wynne Smith, 'Remembering Dr Sloane', p.442.

¹⁶ Paul, 'Accounting for Men's Work', p.28.

¹⁷ Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National identity and language in the eighteenth century* (London, 1997), p.26.

¹⁸ Poska, "Agentic Gender Norms", pp.358-9; Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, pp.53-6.

¹⁹ Susan Whyman, 'Gentle Companions: Single Women and their Letters in Late Stuart England' in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, ed. by James Daybell (Basingstoke, 2001), 177-193 (p.177).

²⁰ Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.99; Shepard, 'Crediting Women', pp.1-9.

²¹ Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, pp.16-7 and pp.307-8.

asks whether women laid claim to 'credit' or other gendered measures of status, investigating how distance affected them compared to British men.

This chapter first outlines the masculine credit negotiated by transatlantic merchants, examining Daniel Defoe's writing alongside the correspondence of Cadwallader Colden and Daniel Campbell. The forging of mercantile networks through correspondence, particularly between Scots, provides a further opportunity to examine credit in an Atlantic context. The fallout from the failed Darien colony exposes how individual men aligned with 'national credit' within the British Atlantic. The correspondence of Alexander Mountier and Edward Burd shows both the potential and vulnerability of masculine credit stretched across the Atlantic. William Byrd II provides a particularly in-depth case study of how the Atlantic disrupted efforts to build patriarchal status and connect colonial wealth to the metropole. Women's interactions with 'credit' and other forms of gendered status are analysed using the rarely-examined marital correspondence of Alida Schuyler, Frances Glanville, and Sarah Carstares. These sources provide a unique opportunity to explore how feminine identity was strained when maintaining marriages across Atlantic distances. The letterbook of Eliza Lucas, a gentlewoman and planter in Carolina, further illuminates the issues women faced in comparison to the male sources above.

2. Masculinity, Merchants, and Credit

Credit played an important role in smoothing out complex and sporadic sources of income in early modern Britain. While skilled tradesmen relied on a single occupation, most men experienced 'occupational fluidity'.²² Lower and middling men performed a range of temporary or part-time jobs, and wealthy men derived income from diverse sources. Credit served to aggregate income over time, representing each person's accumulated financial record. This made credit durable but slow to accumulate, acting as a kind of social inertia. This effect was even more crucial in the context of transatlantic trade. British merchants struggled to communicate across Atlantic

²² Paul, 'Accounting for Men's Work', pp.26-7.

distances throughout the period, regardless of age or experience.²³ In this environment, credit was as good as material wares and cash. As English writer Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) outlined his *Complete English Tradesman* (London, 1726),

Credit is so much a tradesman's blessing that it is the choicest ware he deals in... it is a stock to his warehouse, it is current money in his cash-chest, it accepts all his bills.²⁴

Defoe's definition highlights the implicitly masculine nature of 'credit' in this period. Merchants' negotiations were underlaid with assumptions of "appropriate" masculine behaviour. In 1755, Rose Fuller (an English planter in Jamaica) withdrew credit from a merchant who had defaulted on debts worth £15,000. 'Such considerable summs' were 'really great disappointments', worth 'more Credit than any house in [London] will give to any Correspondent'.²⁵ Fuller's brother Thomas reasoned that despite the harm withdrawing credit would do, 'he can't be angry... if he is a reasonable Man'. Even after 'disappointments' in trade, men were still expected to behave 'reasonably'. As a young man, Scottish planter and writer Cadwallader Colden (1688-1776) worked as a merchant in Philadelphia. When he caused one such 'disappointment' in 1714, Colden stressed the personal nature of this mutual loss of credit. Their 'great deal of Trouble' was also 'my own loss' - both men had a mutual interest in establishing good credit.²⁶ Colden emphasised his contact's 'good sense' and their shared 'interest', laying out the challenge of establishing mercantile credit at a distance:

The greatest difficulty in trade is... a good beginning... If I had come to a good Market their had been no need of any of these excuses... no body doubts of your good sense... I assure you I study your Interest.²⁷

²³ John Appleby, 'Daniel [De]Foe's Virginia venture: Mutiny and indiscipline at sea during the 1680s and 1690s', *The International Journal of Maritime History*, 29:1 (2017), 3-25 (p.10).

²⁴ Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* (London, 1726), p.15

²⁵ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/33, Letter from Thomas Fuller to RF (London), 09/10/1755.

²⁶ Letters from CC to Benjamin Bartlette, 01/11/1714 and 15/11/1714 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, pp.21-3.

²⁷ Letter from CC to Benjamin Bartlette, 12/07/1714 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, pp.17-18.

When Colden began working as a merchant, he focused on evading storms and privateers; on running 'little risque ei[the]r of ye sea or Enemy'.²⁸ However, he found that markets themselves were a 'risque'. In May 1712, he found trade at Philadelphia was 'so uncertain', the city's shopkeepers experiencing 'a glut of goods'.²⁹ Merchants were 'so much P[er]plext' with a 'supabundance of Goods' that they would not extend Colden credit: they would not 'p[ar]t w[ith] Cash on any acct'.³⁰ Due to the slow and unreliable nature of transatlantic communication at the time, many colonial markets were alternately starved or overwhelmed with goods. This issue was especially pronounced on Caribbean islands due to their small relative size. In Barbados, one large beef shipment in 1688 halved the price of meat overnight.³¹ Colden also experienced this later in 1712, arriving in Barbados to 'as sorry a Market as ever was known'.³² As 'vast quantities of goods' arrived simultaneously from London, Bristol, Virginia, and Maryland, Colden complained that he had 'not receiv'd one pennie for anything'. He thus found it 'impossible... to comply with the Demands of Creditors'.³³ Atlantic trade forced merchants like Colden to confront many factors they could not control.

The implicitly masculine nature of credit linked these economic issues created by Atlantic distance to diminished masculinity. Men who failed in business could be denounced as 'harpies' liable to 'easily raised... passions'.³⁴ Rather than improving their manly status, Colden saw mercantile life eroding the credit of men around him. He wrote to one Scottish acquaintance in 1718 that 'every Man is affraid of his own shadow, poor unhappy creatures more fit to be laughed at than pitied'.³⁵ Trying to 'mentain the Character of an honest man', Colden's reputation was damaged by men

²⁸ Letter from CC to Alexander Arbuthnotte, 18/12/1711 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.2.

²⁹ Letter from CC to JR (Philadelphia to New York), 07/05/1712 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.7.

³⁰ Letter from CC to JR, 15/05/1712 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.8.

³¹ Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, pp.254-6.

³² Letter from CC to Thomas Bruce, 25/05/1712 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.9.

³³ Letters from CC to William Dry (Philadelphia to Charlestown), 01/04/1713 and from CC to Thomas Bruce, 25/05/1712 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.9.

³⁴ Ditz, 'Shipwrecked', p.60.

³⁵ Letter from William Keith to CC, 27/11/1718 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.88.

insulting him behind his back, despite 'many opportunitys of doing it to my face'.³⁶ Distance eroded trust and disrupted employment hierarchies, even as slow, unreliable communications made trust all the more important. At the mercy of misunderstandings and 'miscarried' letters, British planters were kept on a 'short credit leash', with no banks outside London and Edinburgh until the mid-eighteenth century.³⁷ David Hume reinforced the masculine perception of credit in 1741, showing how this dynamic persisted throughout the period. In arguing that the concept of 'public credit' was unworkable, he framed the British public as a feminine counterpart to masculine credit:

The public is a debtor whom *no man* can oblige to pay. The only check which the creditors have upon *her* is the interest of preserving credit...³⁸
(my italics)

While men pursued credit as an implicitly masculine attribute, distance directly interfered with the social proximity and connections needed to accumulate it. As Defoe elaborated, a man guarding his credit was advised 'in some degree to have the same care of his neighbour's'.³⁹ Status was relational, an idea applied to some extent across all levels of British society. In 1705, Byrd's brother-in-law Robert Beverley (1667-1722) asked that his credit not be 'condemn'd for the Sins of my Company'.⁴⁰ In 1760, struggling Londoner Sarah Paul met a mollyhouse bawd who guarded their 'reputation' like that of 'a great statesman'.⁴¹ This person defended Paul's reputation 'that she might not be in question for her own', alluding to the associative quality of personal credit. The masculine credit of British Atlantic merchants was thus interdependent, relying on reputation conveyed at a distance. This was frustratingly inferior to connections maintained in person. Being unable to thank his patron (Rose Fuller) for 'Constant Friendship and Patronage' in person caused Jamaican colonist Walter Grant the

³⁶ Letter from CC to Elizabeth Hill, 19/01/1734 in Cadwallader Colden (ed.), *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden*, vol. 2: 1730-1742 (New York, 1918), pp.102-3; Letter from CC to Dr. Moncktone, 11/08/1718 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers* vol. 1, p.41.

³⁷ Mathias, 'Risk, Credit, and Kinship', p.23.

³⁸ David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political and Literary* (Edinburgh, 1741), pp.28-31.

³⁹ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.15.

⁴⁰ Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia* (London, 1705), p.vii.

⁴¹ Sarah Paul, *The Life and Imaginations of Sarah Paul* (1760), p.34.

'greatest Vexation' in 1755.⁴² 'At this Distance', Grant relied on a letter to persuade Fuller not to 'forget an Old Friend... of a pretty long standing'. Distance interfered with the cultivation of masculine credit, yet this credit was the currency of Atlantic trade networks. As this trade expanded throughout the 1660-1760 period, reshaping mercantile networks in the process, this suggests that merchants' masculine credit was also reshaped to some extent.

These men responded to the obstructive effects of distance by constructing resilient transatlantic trade networks, drawing credit from them rather than individuals. These social networks emerged organically in response to the needs of 'long-distance, preindustrial, precorporate' trading.⁴³ Men drew credit from the decentralised network's collective 'memory' of their debts, honesty and judgement.⁴⁴ This process had begun earlier in the seventeenth century with Dutch traders reacting to the greater risk of Atlantic trade.⁴⁵ These networks allowed information to flow more reliably and rapidly across social boundaries, but having so many independent actors involved created some contradictions and duplications of effort.⁴⁶ Constant renegotiation via a flow of correspondence (itself vulnerable to the flaws of transatlantic shipping) was needed to maintain these networks. Though Defoe used the term 'network' in this modern sense, few contemporaries imitated him: most referred to their 'correspondence'. For example, William Byrd II asked one man to 'please... favour me with your correspondence' in 1728.⁴⁷ In 1743, Benjamin Franklin wrote to Cadwallader Colden, believing their

⁴² ESRO, SAS/RF 21/14, Letter from Walter Grant to RF (Kingston to London), 04/07/1755.

⁴³ David Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade', *The Business History Review*, 79:3 (Autumn 2005), 467-491 (pp.484-9).

⁴⁴ Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks', p.479 and pp.485-7.

⁴⁵ Christopher Ebert, 'Early Modern Atlantic Trade and the Development of Maritime Insurance to 1630', *PP*, 213:1 (Nov. 2011), 87-114 (p.99 and p.113); Karwan Fatah-Black, 'A Swiss Village in the Dutch Tropics: The Limitations of Empire-Centred Approaches to the Early Modern Atlantic World', *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review*, 128:1 (2013), 31-52 (p.52).

⁴⁶ Daniel Z. Levin and Rob Cross, 'The Strength of Weak Ties You Can Trust: The Mediating Role of Trust in Effective Knowledge Transfer' in *Management Science*, 50:11 (2004), 1477-1490; M. Baer, 'The strength-of-weak-ties perspective on creativity: A comprehensive examination and extension', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95:3 (2010), 592-601; David S. Lux and Harold J. Cook, 'Closed Circles or Open Networks?: Communicating at a Distance during the Scientific Revolution', *History of Science*, 36 (1998), 179-211 (pp.181-3).

⁴⁷ Letter from WBII to John Warner (Virginia to England), 15/07/1728 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.381.

correspondence would be 'so advantageous'.⁴⁸ Another of Colden's contacts found his correspondence 'soe agreeable that... I shall undoubtedly reap both pleasure & profit from it'.⁴⁹ Each trader acted as a 'node' of the network, with a flow of letters tying these nodes together.⁵⁰

Each merchant had to consciously situate themselves within these networks, cultivating connections from which to draw their credit. Some men had wealthy, genteel patrons: William Byrd II had Robert Southwell. Though patronage was useful, it was important to avoid a single point of failure for one's reputation. Cultivating a wider range of less intimate connections created a strength of 'weak' ties, mitigating and spreading the risk of trade.⁵¹ Any single bankruptcy, for example, would have a smaller impact on the credit of each correspondent within a wider network. However, each 'weak' tie was less supportive than a close acquaintance or patron. When Scottish Quaker Richard Hill moved from Maryland to Madeira in the 1730s following bankruptcy, all his requests for support were politely denied.⁵² Support from these connections was often conditional, while 'strong' ties of friendship and kinship were more likely to be unconditional.⁵³

The records of Scottish trader and politician Daniel 'Great' Campbell (1671-1753) show how individual merchants negotiated these ties of credit at a distance. Campbell began trading from Scotland to Boston in the 1690s via family connections, gaining political power and mercantile wealth in Glasgow over subsequent decades. He had both a wealthy patron (the Earl of Argyll) and sufficient resources to cultivate a wide range of correspondents. One letter from 1701 referred to Campbell as 'soe worthy a person' to know; his reputation preceeded him.⁵⁴ In 1708, Campbell offered 'advice as a welle

⁴⁸ Letter from Benjamin Franklin to Cadwallader Colden, 04/11/1743 in Cadwallader Colden, *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden*, vol. 3: 1743-1747 (New York, 1919), p.35.

⁴⁹ Letter from John Rutherford to Cadwallader Colden, 10/01/1743 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers* vol. 3, pp.2-3.

⁵⁰ Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks', p.472.

⁵¹ David Hancock, *Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Emergence of American Trade and Taste* (New Haven, 2009); Jordan Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic World: The Creation of an Early Modern Community* (Basingstoke, 2015), p.8 and pp.166-70.

⁵² Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks', p.481.

⁵³ Mark Granovetter, 'The strength of weak ties: A network theory revisited', *Sociological Theory* (1983), 201-233 (p.212).

⁵⁴ GCA, TD1619/208, Letter from Jacob Brent... 10/12/1701.

wisher that... might be assisting' to an acquaintance emigrating to Barbados.⁵⁵ The same year, he told fellow Scot Archibald McPheders that his support as a trader was conditional: only 'if I finde you Serviceable [can] you [-] depend on my friendship.'⁵⁶

Despite his success, Campbell's credit remained at the mercy of others outside his control, across the Atlantic. In 1695, his cousin Duncan Campbell drew money on him in Barbados without warning. When Duncan's failure to repay this money reached Campbell in Scotland, it damaged his credit. Across the Atlantic, Campbell had been unable to control this. He wrote four letters to his cousin, taking offense at the 'unkinde... troubell' he had caused. The fourth letter shows how Campbell was obligated to help Duncan by ties of kinship, despite the issue being Duncan's 'owen faltt':

I doe Not Intend yow Should be a Looser... I shall thankfully Pay the mony or Send yow... peper or books or Lin[en] Cloath: I Can Send them out therr as che[a]p as any where: and with Less Risq[ue].⁵⁷

Campbell asserted his ability to send goods overseas cheaply and 'with Less Risque' than others, preventing his cousin from being a 'looser' in business. The importance of kinship is underlined by Campbell's signature as 'your affectionatt Coosin'. Managing these relationships at a distance was crucial for Campbell to maintain his credit as one of Glasgow's wealthiest merchants. The continual effort this required can be seen in letters Campbell wrote decades later. In 1738, Campbell claimed that 'presing demand[s]... are upon me'. He ordered an associate to

pay the contents of your bill of 160:14:6... I *depend* soe much upon it... I have assured thoss that I owe mony to that they might *depend* upon it. I *depend upon my Credit*, soe I most intreat yow without loss of time to pay it.⁵⁸ (my italics)

⁵⁵ GCA, TD1619/402, Copy of letter from Daniel Campbell to John Muirhead... 13/10/1708.

⁵⁶ GCA, TD1619/399, Unsigned copy of letter from DCS to Archibald McPheders, 13/10/1708.

⁵⁷ GCA, TD1619/56, Letter from DCS to DC (Glasgow to Boston), 05/03/1695.

⁵⁸ GCA, TD589/540, Letter from DCS to JHB, 15/11/1738.

Campbell's repetition of 'depend' in a few lines emphasises the importance he placed on credit, referred to explicitly here. He used similarly insistent language in another letter from 1740:

Ther[e] is a nesity for me to have my mony... *my own Credit* being
Ingaged.⁵⁹ (my italics)

These letters emphasise how even as a successful merchant, Campbell continued to 'depend' upon his credit. Underpinned by credit from Atlantic trade, his masculine identity was inherently precarious, threatened by the risks of trade and forced to rely on others.⁶⁰ Early in Campbell's career, the vulnerability of this identity had been laid bare. In 1694, his ship *Prosperous* was seized by a French privateer while attempting to smuggle tobacco to Glasgow, circumventing the Navigation Acts.⁶¹ In 1696 Campbell had the *James* built in Scotland with a false bottom for smuggling, but it too was seized by privateers and then ransacked in Cornwall.⁶² Another ship of Campbell's was forcibly diverted to Amsterdam, where the captain was ransomed for £500 Scots.⁶³ Campbell's predicaments here were far from unique. The expanding demands of colonial trade saw individual marine insurance 'underwriters' replaced by larger insurance companies. Lloyd's Coffee House in London embodied this growth, becoming a hub for marine insurance by the 1690s and publishing its 'Lloyd's List' from 1734 onward.⁶⁴

Each ship lost or wrecked represented a dramatic failure in business and loss of credit for the men involved.⁶⁵ Approximately five percent of ships sailing from London to

⁵⁹ GCA, TD589/570, Letter from DCS to JHB, 04/11/1740.

⁶⁰ Ditz, 'Shipwrecked', p.51.

⁶¹ GCA, TD1619/64-6, Information regarding the ransom of the catch [ketch] *Prosperous* and an account of disbursement at Mull.

⁶² GCA, TD1619/101, Orders and instructions to James Robison, 22/10/1696; GCA, TD1619/109a and 109b, Petition, Daniel Campbell and partners... to the Right Hon. Lord Chancellor and remaining Lords of His Majesties Treasury; GCA, TD1619/82, Commission, James Taylor to James Montgomerie, merchant, 16/05/1695; GCA, TD1619/82a, Attestation... 28/05/1695.

⁶³ GCA, TD1619/134, Current Account of Daniel Campbell, 26/02/1697.

⁶⁴ Amy Mitchell-Cook, *A Sea of Misadventures: Shipwreck and Survival in Early America* (Columbia SC, 2013), p.39.

⁶⁵ Ditz, 'Shipwrecked', p.74.

Jamaica were lost or damaged between 1679 and 1688.⁶⁶ The estimated proportion of Atlantic vessels shipwrecked in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is also around five percent.⁶⁷ Merchants travelling overseas themselves (see chapter two) had to personally contend with this risk.⁶⁸ Until the 1745 Marine Insurance Act, it was legal to bet on which ships would be lost at sea.⁶⁹ Even surviving shipments could be financially ruinous. Daniel Defoe's own shipping investments culminated in his bankruptcy in 1692.⁷⁰ In an Admiralty court case from 1688, Defoe had claimed that seamen damaged his tobacco shipment through 'mutinous, disobedient and negligent conduct': when opened in London, water spilled from the barrels.⁷¹ Implicitly reflecting on such experiences in his *Tradesman*, Defoe would later suggest other men entering into trade lacked this perspective:

Men are so apt to be insensible of the danger [of trade, but] a ship may as well be lost in a calm smooth sea, and an easy fair gale of wind, as in a storm...⁷²

One Philadelphia merchant highlighted the masculine dimension of these moments of failure by claiming that a lost shipment had 'wholly unmanned' him.⁷³ Byrd also alluded to the gendering of merchant trade in a letter from 1730. Congratulating John Boyle on a happy marriage, he used the shipwreck as a metaphor. While Boyle's masculine 'voyage' into marriage was successful, Byrd reflected that 'so many are shipwreckt in that sea'.⁷⁴ Men whose wealth relied on Atlantic trade thus placed their own masculinity at risk when extending their credit to merchant ventures.

The fact that credit broadly reflected character as well as income meant that the 'lifestyles' and 'careers' of these men were not truly distinct. Spending on conspicuous

⁶⁶ Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, p.177.

⁶⁷ Mitchell-Cook, *A Sea of Misadventures*, p.30.

⁶⁸ Mathias, 'Risk, Credit, and Kinship', pp.16-17.

⁶⁹ Mitchell-Cook, *A Sea of Misadventures*, p.40.

⁷⁰ Appleby, 'Daniel [De]Foe's Virginia venture', p.4.

⁷¹ Appleby, 'Daniel [De]Foe's Virginia venture', p.13-4.

⁷² Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.x.

⁷³ Ditz, 'Shipwrecked', pp.67-9.

⁷⁴ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, 28/07/1730, pp.431-3.

goods (such as elegant furniture) also served as an investment in one's credit.⁷⁵ The same went for being well-read, or providing hospitality. Colden's brother-in-law James Chrystie boasted of his self-sufficiency in these terms in 1720, citing his 'well furnish't house' as proof of living 'every way [for] my self'.⁷⁶ For British men in the colonies, such products and opportunities to display hospitality were harder to come by. Exported periodicals emerged in the eighteenth century as a relatively accessible means to "keep up" with British print. Alongside the *Tatler* (which William Byrd II read regularly) and the *Spectator*, imitations were created by Harvard students.⁷⁷ Pennsylvania statesman James Logan (1674-1751) accumulated several volumes of the appropriately-named *Republick of Letters* journal.⁷⁸ William Byrd II both read the *Tatler* and assembled colonial America's largest library by 1730, its 2,300 volumes representing a 'garrison of learning' reinforcing Byrd's credit with distant correspondents.⁷⁹

The dual social-financial nature of credit tied both the profits of colonial trade and colonial commodities themselves to merchants' masculine identity. Over time, repeated displays of appropriate masculine behaviour translated into good credit, but distance obscured such displays. For example, Daniel Campbell ran up substantial household bills, with over £116 Scots spent on haberdashery in 1699 and 1712, and £48 Scots spent on medical treatment in 1702-3.⁸⁰ Physical health and expensive clothing were visible displays of personal credit, but no-one in distant colonial ports would see them. This may be why Campbell also focused on displays of credit linked to colonial projects. He donated £20 sterling to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in 1710, an organisation which funded parish libraries and proselytising missions to Native

⁷⁵ Eacott, 'Cultural History of Commerce', pp.546-7 and p.553.

⁷⁶ Letter from JC to CC (Simprin, Scotland to New York), 09/09/1720 in Cadwallader Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden, vol.8: 1715-1748* (New York, 1937), pp.66-8.

⁷⁷ Norman S. Fiering, 'The Transatlantic Republic of Letters: A Note on the Circulation of Learned Periodicals to Early Eighteenth-Century America', *WMQ*, 33:4 (Oct. 1976), 642-660 (p.642).

⁷⁸ Fiering, 'The Transatlantic Republic', pp.645-9.

⁷⁹ Paula A. Treckel, "'The Empire of My Heart': The Marriage of William Byrd II and Lucy Parke Byrd", *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 105:2 (Spring 1997), 125-156 (p.129); Kevin Berland, 'William Byrd's Sexual Lexicography', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 23:1 (1999), 1-11 (p.1).

⁸⁰ GCA, TD1619/161, Details of Daniel Campbell's haberdashery account, 26/02/1700; GCA, TD1619/556, Itemised account statement and receipt of Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, 11/10/1712; GCA, TD1619/257, Medical account of Daniel Campbell with W. Marshall, surgeon, 08/1703.

Americans in Britain's American colonies.⁸¹ Campbell later invested £1000 in the South Sea Company.⁸² In contrast, Campbell did not pay the much smaller £5 sterling donation needed for listing as a benefactor of the Scots Corporation in London.⁸³ This was a popular, cheaper method for Scotsmen to display their wealth; Campbell's associate Thomas Coutts donated over £26. Campbell may have pursued other displays of credit to distance himself from such men, but the frustratingly sparse archival material surviving from his life makes precise motives hard to discern.

3. Scotland's Merchant Networks and 'National Credit'

Campbell's investments and ventures illuminate a wider alignment of Scotsmen's individual credit with a wider sense of Scotland's 'national credit' across the British Atlantic world. This can be seen in the reaction of Scottish minister Robert Wodrow (1679-1734) to the collapse of the Darién colony in 1700. Seen as a Scottish colony (despite having English investors), the Darién project combined Lowlander money with Highlander manpower.⁸⁴ When William III ordered English plantations to withhold aid from the colony, Darién collapsed in the face of disease and Spanish attack.⁸⁵ Wodrow described Scotland's reaction as 'a fearful ferment' and a loss of the country's national credit:

Our colony is broke... which is worse, our credit and reputation lost, and after all we know [not] where or how to help ourselves.⁸⁶

Wodrow describes Scotland's lost credit as 'worse' than the loss of Darién itself, despite his earlier complaints about colonial morality. Having complained that 'the younger sett

⁸¹ GCA, TD1619/458, Receipt from Sir Hugh Cunningham Treasurer, 04/05/1710; Leonard W. Cowie, 'Bray, Thomas (bap.1658, d.1730)', ODNB, 23/09/2004 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3296>> [accessed 22/10/2021].

⁸² *A true and exact particular and inventory of Sir William Chapman* (London, 1721), p.65.

⁸³ *A Summary view of the Rise, Constitution and Present State of... The Scots Corporation in London with an Alphabetical List of the Benefactors* (London, 1734).

⁸⁴ J. R. McNeill, *Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620-1914* (New York, 2010), pp.106-11.

⁸⁵ Allan I. MacInnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007), pp.86-7; Neil Davidson, *Discovering the Scottish Revolution, 1692-1746* (London, 2003), pp.96-7.

⁸⁶ Davidson, *Scottish Revolution*, pp.98.

of people' went to plantations to 'drink in vice like watter', Wodrow now lamented the failure of Scotland's colony.⁸⁷ His statement reflects what Allan MacInnes calls a post-Darién 'national sense of defeatism'.⁸⁸ From 1660 to 1700, Scotland had increasingly become England's 'junior political partner'.⁸⁹ To reassert the political and economic independence of Scottish merchants, several Scottish colonies were attempted in the 1680s: St Vincent, Perth Amboy (East Jersey), and Stewartstown (Carolina). These were intended as mercantile entrepôts and destinations for transported convicts.⁹⁰ While Wodrow's reference to 'our' credit covers Scotland generally, Scottish merchants like Daniel Campbell had strong personal stakes in their country's colonial projects. Campbell was one of the leading investors in the Scottish Darién Company, providing £1000 and helping outfit ships for the first expedition.⁹¹ Survivors of the failed Darién colony used his ship *Adventure* to return to Scotland from New York in 1699.⁹² Darién represented both the end of Scotland's independent colonial ambitions and a failed investment for merchants like Campbell. Their individual credit - the sum of their social and financial interactions - in turn aggregated to a collective measure of Scotland's national credit, which Wodrow felt was 'lost' by 1700.

By comparison, few sources from the period refer to England's 'national credit'. The best example is Daniel Defoe, who worked in Edinburgh in 1706-7 during the Union negotiations where Campbell was also present.⁹³ Both men favoured an incorporating union over a partial one; what Defoe called 'one, whole, united body'.⁹⁴ Discussing the Union in writing, Defoe claimed that Darien could only have succeeded 'had the Scots Company... been furnish'd either with money or letters of credit'.⁹⁵ While Wodrow saw

⁸⁷ J. G. Fyfe, *Scottish diaries and memoirs, 1550-1746* (Stirling, 1928), pp.383-5.

⁸⁸ MacInnes, *Union and Empire*, p.89.

⁸⁹ MacInnes, *Union and Empire*, pp.80-5 and p.165.

⁹⁰ NLS, MS.9250/139-146, Letter from JS to WD, 23/06/1690; G. P. Insh, *Scottish colonial schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow, 1922), pp.114-5 and p.230.

⁹¹ Constance Russell, *Three generations of fascinating women: and other sketches from family history* (London, 1905), p.164.

⁹² GCA, TD1619/125, Letter from Antoni Krenkel to DCS (Hamburg to Glasgow), 01/01/1697; Joana Hill and Nicholas Bastin, *A Very Canny Scot: 'Great' Daniel Campbell of Shawfield & Islay, 1670-1753* (Barnham, 2007), p.22.

⁹³ Henderson, T. F., and D. W. Hayton, 'Campbell, Daniel (1671/2-1753)', 23/09/2004, ODNB <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4491>> [accessed 09/11/2018].

⁹⁴ Anne M. McKim, 'War of Words: Daniel Defoe and the 1707 Union', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, 1:2 (2008), 29-44 (p.30 and p.34).

⁹⁵ Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain* (London, 1709), pp.115-6.

Scotland's national credit lost after Darien, Defoe claimed it was insufficient to begin with. Writing twenty years after the Union, he continued to see the credit of English and Scottish men as separate. Defoe claimed that the 'beggars of London' and its environs ate more white bread 'than the whole kingdom of Scotland'.⁹⁶ Defoe used England's status as 'a trading country' to celebrate inherent national, masculine qualities: 'Englishmen are the stoutest and best men'.⁹⁷ They 'manage the credit they [-] give and take better than any other... giving credit to almost all the nations'. Defoe thus saw the expansion of colonial trade from 1707 to 1726 as a vindication of England's national credit. He presented this in turn as representative of English masculinity, itself reinforced by successful Atlantic colonisation.

Combined with Wodrow's perspective, Defoe suggests that Scotsmen had to "prove" their masculine credit more than Englishmen following the loss of Scotland's signature Atlantic colony. Greater attention is now being paid to Scotland's role in colonial trade and slavery more broadly.⁹⁸ However, analyses of individual masculine identities in the wake of this loss of national credit remain lacking. Daniel Campbell's experiences strongly suggest this is worth examining. The letters discussed above show how strongly Campbell clung to his credit throughout his life. His own growth as a merchant closely matched that of Glasgow as whole. From 1690 to 1720, the city became Scotland's second largest and the entry port for almost all its tobacco.⁹⁹ Campbell's own success in tobacco smuggling allowed him to become a burghess of Glasgow and secure the post of Port Glasgow customs collector by 1704.¹⁰⁰ He was forced to think about Scotland's national credit as a commissioner for the 'Equivalent', England's lump-

⁹⁶ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.x.

⁹⁷ Defoe, *Tradesman*, pp.22-4.

⁹⁸ Jacob M. Price, *Tobacco in Atlantic trade: the Chesapeake, London and Glasgow, 1675-1775* (Aldershot, 1995); Mullen, 'Scots in the West Indies'; Stuart M. Nisbet, 'Sugar and the Early Identity of Glasgow: Glasgow Planters in the Leeward Islands, c.1650-1750', *Scottish Archives*, 19 (2013), 65-82; Stuart M. Nisbet, 'Clearing the Smokescreen of Early Scottish Mercantile Identity: From Leeward Sugar Plantations to Scottish Country Estates, c.1680-1730' in *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680-1820*, ed. by Allan MacInnes and Douglas J. Hamilton (Abingdon, 2016), pp.109-122 (p.109); Jacob M. Price, 'The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707-1775', *WMQ*, 11:2 (April 1954), 179-199; Stephen Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy: Scotland and Caribbean Slavery, 1775-1838* (London, 2021).

⁹⁹ Philipp Robinson Rössner, *Scottish Trade in the Wake of Union (1700-1760): the Rise of a Warehouse Economy* (Stuttgart, 2008), p.153.

¹⁰⁰ Allan MacInnes, Marjory-Ann D. Harper and Linda G. Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas, c. 1650-c.1939: a documentary source book* (Edinburgh, 2002), p.73; "Campbell, Daniel", *ODNB*; Joy Monteith, *Old Port Glasgow* (Gourock, 2003), p.3.

sum payment of Scotland's national debt.¹⁰¹ More so than almost anyone else, Campbell's individual masculine credit was intertwined with Scotland's national credit. The lack of further surviving correspondence from Campbell forces me to address this question using other, more fragmentary sources.

Scotsmen of lower status than Campbell certainly had a reputation for pursuing credit through Atlantic colonial opportunities. An estimated one-sixth of Scots had travelled internationally by 1700; only the Swiss were more mobile within Europe.¹⁰² Many Scots migrated in search of land and wages. This income allowed men to demonstrate their patriarchal ability to provide for their dependents.¹⁰³ Colonial employers reinforced the distinction between English and Scottish migrants by explicitly preferring the latter. One Hudson Bay Company report from 1682 described Scottish migrants as 'hardy people [who] seek their fortunes up and down the world'.¹⁰⁴ The same report noted that Scotsmen would 'serve at cheaper rates, than... London borne' workers: they were perceived as needing the work more. In 1684, Scotsmen Patrick Falconer and Peter Watson described the Scottish colony of Perth Amboy similarly: 'poor men... may live better here than in Scotland if they will but work'.¹⁰⁵ While most of these migrants went to Europe, the Union allowed more Scots to cross the Atlantic looking for work after 1707.¹⁰⁶ This allowed Scotland's reputation as a source of poor, labouring men looking for work to persist throughout the period. In 1756, Scotswoman Margaret Calderwood (1715-1774) noted that Scotland's constant 'evacuations' to colonial plantations had spread them 'to every country under the sun'.¹⁰⁷

Many English contemporaries took a negative view of such Scots seeking credit overseas. In 1728, William Byrd II complained about 'North Britain' merchants sending 'more ships than ever' to Virginia. He testified to the strong and growing presence of

¹⁰¹ Russell, *Three generations*, p.166.

¹⁰² Emerson, *Essays on David Hume*, p.6.

¹⁰³ Paul, 'Accounting for Men's Work', pp.31-3 and p.42.

¹⁰⁴ MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, pp.135-6.

¹⁰⁵ Letters dated 28/10/1684 and 20/08/1684, quoted in Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, pp.246-8.

¹⁰⁶ Emerson, *Essays on David Hume*, p.1; MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, pp.13-4.

¹⁰⁷ Fyfe, *Scottish diaries*, p.83.

Scottish migrants in American colonies, and claimed they were circumventing customs dues:

The southern [English] merchant who pays the custom honestly must fail... the plantation-trade [will] be transplanted from London to Glasgow.¹⁰⁸

Byrd's reference to Glasgow and 'North British' merchants reveals another dimension of the Scottish pursuit of credit across the British Atlantic. Connecting with others through ethnic solidarity, Scottish traders cultivated strong mercantile networks.¹⁰⁹ Daniel Campbell got his start by fitting out a ship for the Duke of Argyle in 1691 and sailing it to Boston.¹¹⁰ Helped by Boston Scots, Campbell traded with Robert Livingston (1654-1728), a man who built a formidable Scottish-Dutch trading network around Albany, New York.¹¹¹ Both men established colonies of German Palatine settlers along the Hudson (in 1710 and 1738-40 respectively), and both were in turn connected to Cadwallader Colden.¹¹² Colden wrote to Livingston's son Philip, and his father asked Campbell to 'strongly recommend' Colden to the Governor of New York in 1732.¹¹³

While these three men were wealthy elites, lower and middling Scotsmen also engaged with these networks. Campbell's support from Boston reflects the city's role as an 'ethnic anchor' for Atlantic-crossing Scots more widely. Established in 1657, Boston's Scottish Charitable Society was the first of its kind in the colonies, inspiring similar 'St Andrew', 'Caledonian' and 'Scots' societies around the Atlantic basin.¹¹⁴ These

¹⁰⁸ Letter from WBII to Unknown, 03/07/1728 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.376-7.

¹⁰⁹ MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, p.12; MacInnes, *Union and Empire*, p.137; Davidson, *Scottish Revolution*, p.101; Esther Mijers, 'Scotland, the Dutch Republic and the Union: Commerce and Cosmopolitanism' in *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680-1820*, ed. by Allan MacInnes and Douglas J. Hamilton (Abingdon, 2016), pp.93-108 (pp.99-100).

¹¹⁰ GCA, TD1619/28, Account for fitting... £174 15s 5d, 1691; Freda Ramsey (ed.), *The Day Book of Daniel Campbell of Shawfield* (Aberdeen, 1991), p.1.

¹¹¹ Cynthia A. Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675-1690* (London, 1992), pp.39-41; MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, p.71; GCA, TD1619/192, Letter from John Borland to DCS, 29/10/1701; Mijers, 'Scotland, the Dutch Republic and the Union', p.104.

¹¹² Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk*, p.42; Ramsey (ed.), *The Day Book*, p.21 and p.31.

¹¹³ Letter from CC to John Touse, 26/11/1714 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.23; Letter from Alexander Colden to CC, 05/08/1732 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 2*, 73-80.

¹¹⁴ MacInnes, *Union and Empire*, p.152; MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, p.24.

provided financial support and fostered mercantile connections. While there were still many poor Scottish migrants (and Englishmen like Defoe still disliked them), these networks made Scottish traders' credit more resilient following the reorganisation of the Union. English, Welsh, and Irish traders also formed networks with their countrymen, but Scots represented a disproportionate presence in the British Atlantic and a distinct way of trading. 'Parasitic' Scottish traders used short-distance 'tramping' and stores to turn marginal cargoes into profitable shipments.¹¹⁵ By the 1750s, approximately one-third of Jamaica's white population was Scottish by birth or descent, including a 'veritable empire' of Campbells.¹¹⁶ Tobago likewise became dominated by Scots after the Seven Years War, and Scotsmen were prime traders of Madeira, the prestige drink of the British Atlantic.¹¹⁷

For individual Scotsmen, these networks not only offered financial opportunities, but relief and masculine sociability across Atlantic distances. Struggling to establish a career in Philadelphia, Colden noted the abundance of friendly Scots as a blessing: 'Scots men are here number'd by ye Score'.¹¹⁸ When Daniel Campbell's cousin Duncan sailed to Salem in 1727, he likewise found an 'abundance [of] Cuntry Men' ready to help him.¹¹⁹ Duncan used letters of credit from Campbell to gain introductions in New York, Perth Amboy, and Albany.¹²⁰ When aspiring Scottish sugar merchant John Hardie arrived in Jamaica in 1736, he found 'Scarcity of Money is fully as much Lamented [in Jamaica] as at home.'¹²¹ It took a 'Most Intimate Comerade' (Scottish surgeon Colin McLachlan) to turn Hardie's fortunes around. 'When under such Extreemity... & Miserable Circumstances', Hardie felt unable to 'express [his] Joy at the Sight of such

¹¹⁵ Emerson, *Essays on David Hume*, p.4; MacInnes, *Union and Empire*, pp.160-1; MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, p.81.

¹¹⁶ GCA, AGN/14/321, Peter Campbell, first of Fish River, Jamaica, 02/05/1732, pp.11-12; Eric J. Graham, 'The Scots Penetration of the Jamaican Plantation Business' in *Recovering Scotland's slavery past: the Caribbean connection* ed. by Tom M. Devine (Edinburgh, 2015), pp.82-98 (p.84).

¹¹⁷ MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, p.77 and Dr Stephen Mullen, 'Tobago: A Scotch Colony?' (Talk given at the University of Glasgow, 11/12/2018); Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, p.173 and pp.255-6; Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks', pp.473-6 and p.483.

¹¹⁸ Letter from CC to Thomas Bruce, 25/05/1712 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.9.

¹¹⁹ GCA, Marion Campbell, Introduction to AGN/14/321, *Letters by the Packet: Family Correspondence 1738-1861*.

¹²⁰ NAS, RH15/69/10, Letterbook containing copies of letters from New York, and Kingston, Jamaica, 1726-1730.

¹²¹ NAS, RH15/54/9/3, Letter from John Hardie to EBJ (Kingston, Jamaica to Edinburgh), 12/09/1736.

a Friend' from Scotland.¹²² Edinburgh merchant Alexander Mountier remarked on the positive effect of these networks in a letter sent from Jamaica in 1731. Spending 'many a merry night with... honest Calidonians... ha[d] brought [him] into very good Credite'.¹²³

The as-yet unstudied correspondence of Mountier and his merchant friend in Leith, Edward Burd 'the Younger', illuminates these Scottish networks, showing how men cultivated credit across Atlantic distances. Sailing to Newfoundland in 1726-7, Burd pasted letters of credit from other merchants into a journal, alongside notes such as 'this was the best bargain I could make'.¹²⁴ Severely ill throughout 1728-9, Mountier spent £22-19-00 Scots on medical treatment in eight months.¹²⁵ Burd footed his friend's bill, and Mountier wrote in 1729 that 'a good way to make money will vastly please me'.¹²⁶ The two men made a plan. Mountier would migrate to Jamaica, working with sugar plantations and providing Burd with the latest trading information to coordinate goods shipments. For example, in 1733 Mountier wrote to Burd that claret was 'a Good Commodity' that year, and easy to sell 'to people that are no great Judges'.¹²⁷ The profits from this trade gave both men credit, but placed Mountier at a disadvantage of distance. Both he and Burd were looking for wives and had female kin to support in Scotland: Mountier's masculine credit relied on these as much as the profits of colonial trade.

In 1732, Burd married one of Mountier's sisters. This both improved Burd's credit (reflecting well on Mountier in turn), and assured Mountier she was being supported:

Be so good as give her your good advise... If she wants at any time a Little money lett her have & I Shall most faithfully repay it.¹²⁸

¹²² NAS, RH15/54/9/4, Letter from John Hardie to EBJ (Black River, Jamaica to Edinburgh), 03/04/1737.

¹²³ NAS, RH15/54/9/25, Letter from AM to EBJ (Kingston to Edinburgh), 08/06/1731.

¹²⁴ NAS, RH9/14/102, Journal of a voyage from Leith to Newfoundland, Barcelona, etc. in 1726-7, by Edward Burd Jr., merchant, Edinburgh, 1726-1727.

¹²⁵ NAS, RH15/54/9/18, Invoice for medical treatment, from Doctor William MacFarlane, Physician in Edinburgh, to Alexander Montier, covering 20/07/1728 to 09/03/1729.

¹²⁶ NAS, RH15/54/9/30, Letter from AM to EBJ (Kingston to Edinburgh), 15/10/1729.

¹²⁷ NAS, RH15/54/9/17, Bill of Exchange from John Hardie to Henricus Van Wyngarden at the Lough Coffee House in Edinburgh. Value £3-8-9. 12/09/1735.

¹²⁸ NAS, RH15/54/9/23, Letter from AM to EBJ (Kingston to Edinburgh), 18/04/1732.

Burd could provide full-time 'advice' in a way Mountier could not from distant Jamaica. Clearly happy with this arrangement, Mountier thanked 'Ned' for looking after his sister in 1734:

She writes me your[e] very civill to her[. I] shall be oblig'd to you for the Continuance of it. Pray give her your good advice.¹²⁹

Through Burd, Mountier also had a valuable conduit through which he could reliably send his sister 'a little money'. As one of Mountier's Scottish contemporaries in Jamaica wrote, 'the cheif use of money' made from colonial trade was supporting 'freinds & Relations' at home.¹³⁰ In one letter, Mountier sent his sister (Burd's wife) ten pieces of eight; a sizeable sum representing something between £2-03-04 and £3-02-06 sterling.¹³¹ Mountier also sent £10 and £3 Jamaica to two other sisters via Burd. Unable to care for these women at a distance, Mountier avoided any loss of patriarchal credit with Burd's help. He commiserated when one of Burd's own sisters married a man whom Burd 'by no means Seem[ed] to relish'.¹³² This correspondence shows how two men could mutually support each other's credit across the Atlantic. Even without patronage or privilege, coordinating their efforts mitigated many of the damaging effects of distance. The bond was both financial and social, with Mountier signing himself Burd's 'most Affectionate Com.[panion] & Humble Servant'.

In Edinburgh, Burd used fine clothes to demonstrate the credit he gained from association with Mountier. This was not popular with everyone - Burd's father complained he could not 'feinde out the necesitie of having so manie' clothes.¹³³ Perhaps because of this, Mountier found another way to support Burd's conspicuous displays of credit. In 1733, he sent 'an exceeding pretty green parrott' from Jamaica to

¹²⁹ NAS, RH15/54/9/35, Letter from AM to EBJ (Kingston to Edinburgh), 30/07/1734.

¹³⁰ MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, pp.75-6

¹³¹ The higher estimate for the worth of a piece of eight comes from one of Mountier's letters, dated 22/08/1730 (RH15/54/9/27): £0-6-3. The lower estimate comes from Matthias Böhne and Olaf Simons' converter, 'Silver Coins Compared 1670-1730': www.pierre-marteau.com/currency/converter/eng-spa.html (Accessed 10/11/2020): £0-4-4.

¹³² NAS, RH15/54/9/2, Letter from AM to EBJ (Jamaica to Edinburgh), 10/11/1736.

¹³³ NAS, RH15/54/6, Letters and accounts relating to a trading voyage to Newfoundland and Barcelona in the 'Christian'. Letter from Edward Burd the Elder in Edinburgh, 25/07/1727.

Scotland.¹³⁴ The purpose this bird served as a competitive display of tropical wealth in Scotland is confirmed by Mountier's claim that it will be the 'beautifullest parrott in Edin.'¹³⁵ In this way, Mountier and Burd used Atlantic distance to their advantage in their pursuit of masculine credit. The gesture reinforced the social bonds between Mountier and Burd while the two friends were separated by the Atlantic. Mountier reinforced this further by assuring Burd the ship's captain delivering the parrot would 'drink a Glass' with him, acting as a remote stand-in for Mountier himself.

Despite Mountier's apparent success in Jamaica, many British sojourners in this period were less fortunate. Not all were able to support female relatives so well as Mountier, and Defoe insinuated in his *Tradesman* that this problem was widespread:

How many widows... and wives of broken and ruined tradesmen, do we daily see recover themselves and their shattered families, when the man has... fl[own] to the East or West Indies, and forsake[n] his family in search of bread?¹³⁶

Defoe implies such men acted recklessly, but the search for money abroad was often in good faith. His impression is understandable, as many wives *were* left stranded. Several examples appear in Cadwallader Colden's 1720s correspondence alone. In 1724, his wife Alice Chrystie heard that George Home had sailed to Virginia and since abandoned Chrystie's 'Comrad Ann Jamison'.¹³⁷ Jamison 'never heard any thing about him since', her search appearing in another letter to Chrystie seven years later. There were rumours Home had survived a shipwreck and settled in Virginia or South Carolina: 'If he be alive he seems to be a very unkind husband'.¹³⁸ David Millns (an acquaintance of Colden's) fled to America in 1726 after incurring £2000 of debt 'drinking, gameing, and whoreing'.¹³⁹ Colden was warned not to lend him money or 'entrust him... with any

¹³⁴ NAS, RH15/54/9/22, Letter from AM to EBJ (Kingston to Edinburgh), 13/04/1733.

¹³⁵ NAS, RH15/54/9/22.

¹³⁶ Defoe, *Tradesman*, 21.

¹³⁷ Letter from JC to AC (Simprin to New York), 10/01/1724 in Cadwallader Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden, vol. 8: 1715-1748* (New York, 1937), pp.103-7.

¹³⁸ Letter from JC to CC (Morbattle to New York), 01/03/1731 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 8*, pp.144-6.

¹³⁹ Letter from JC to CC, 03/02/1726 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 8*, p.147.

affairs'. The consequences are described in similar terms to Defoe's plea. Millns' abdication of patriarchal responsibilities left his 'Vertuous Wife... very miserable' and their four children in a 'Desolate Condition'. Men like Home and Millns were discredited due to their failure to maintain their dependants across Atlantic distances. Though these experiences are hard to quantify, Defoe's plea was not unfounded.

Mountier also used Burd to prepare for his return to Scotland, where a financially sound marriage would consolidate credit gained in Jamaica. Congratulating Burd on his own marriage in 1733, Mountier asked him to 'look out for some girll with an equall portion [dowry] for me'.¹⁴⁰ Simultaneously, Mountier looked for a bride while overseas. This would mitigate the issue of distance and consolidate his credit as a patriarch. He wrote a hurried letter to Burd (with unusually messy handwriting) explaining he was 'Damnibly in Love with a Widow worth Some money'.¹⁴¹ The last phrase outlines Mountier's financial motive for courting this woman, which he pursued with determination:

I am makeing Strong Love to her, [but] she Still den[ie]s to hear my vows...
I don't design to be so put off.

Whether 'makeing Strong Love' referred to sex or simply insistent courtship, Mountier boasted of his masculine efforts to seduce this widow; to not be 'put off' by someone who likely recognised his financial motives for a match. While Mountier listed none of this woman's attributes other than her being 'worth some money', desirable traits made some less wealthy women more desirable for such men. In 1725, Andrew Chrystie demonstrated this in a letter to Colden, discussing his marriage to Karen Larsdottir. Chrystie claimed that her good character directly compensated for her small dowry. She was

handsome, beautifull, Religious, well tempered, well educated, wise and vertuous... all ye qualifications requisit to make a woman... rich enough.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ NAS, RH15/54/9/2, Letter from AM to EBJ (Kingston to Edinburgh), 10/11/1733.

¹⁴¹ NAS, RH15/54/9/21, Letter from AM to EBJ (Kingston to Edinburgh), 26/09/1733.

¹⁴² Letter from AC to CC, 06/09/1725 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers* vol. 2, p.64.

Chrystie's description of his wife's strong social credit suggests that Mountier's failure to discuss these factors was a mistake. There is no evidence that Mountier married the widow 'worth Some money', and he struggled financially from 1733 onward. A combination of poor weather, new taxes under the 1733 Molasses Act, and the disruption created by Cudjoe's War (see chapter five) left Mountier unable to pay his London creditors. By 1737, other Scots in Jamaica reported that Mountier's 'Credit [is] at a very low ebb here', with 'no signs of Trade in his house'.¹⁴³ Though Mountier's correspondence ends abruptly, it further underlines the precarity of masculine credit pursued in Britain's Atlantic colonies.

4. William Byrd II and the Planter's Perspective

The experiences of William Byrd II provide an illuminating contrast to Scottish merchants like Campbell and Mountier. More detail of Byrd's life also survives through his extensive correspondence. His cultivation of masculine credit was marred by the distance separating England and Virginia throughout his life. Byrd's family owned the Virginian plantation of Westover (where Byrd was born in 1674) and formed part of the colony's planter elite. By 1700, this increasingly interconnected web of English families (including the Carters, Perrys, and Lees) owned a majority of Virginian land.¹⁴⁴ Aged seven, Byrd was sent to attend Felsted school in England in 1681 while his father William Byrd I remained in Virginia to manage Westover. Byrd II finished his schooling in 1690, becoming an apprentice to Perry & Lane. Established in the 1660s, Perry & Lane were the second largest firm in the Chesapeake tobacco trade and William Byrd I's preferred London contacts.¹⁴⁵ William Byrd II therefore spent a significant portion of his childhood separated from his father by the Atlantic Ocean.

Efforts made by William Byrd I to nurture his son's masculine development at a distance can be seen in a letter dated 1690. Thanking his son for writing to Virginia, Byrd I hoped his son had 'improved [using] your time... [to] answer the expectation of all your

¹⁴³ NAS, RH15/54/9/4.

¹⁴⁴ Brown, *Good Wives*, 251-60.

¹⁴⁵ Appleby, 'Daniel [De]Foe's Virginia venture', p.20; Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, p.109 and p.208.

friends'.¹⁴⁶ This concern about productivity and time reflects a wider emphasis on children's education and development during this period. While Britain's older generations wrote with poorer grammar, syntax, and handwriting, children learned more regular and fluent writing from the 1660s onward. More middling urban families made children observe strict "clock time", and merchants increasingly educated their children in trading skills such as maths, languages, and geography.¹⁴⁷ In a patriarchal household, a child's shortcomings negatively impacted their parents' credit: they were mutually influential.¹⁴⁸ Though absent in Virginia, William Byrd I therefore had to cultivate his son's development to cultivate credit for both of them. He thus urged William Byrd II to begin developing a mercantile network, his brief letter containing several imperatives:

Acquaint yourself... imploy you about business... when you come to London let me hear from you often, for there you cannot want oppertunitys... This is the hearty prayer of thy affectionate father."¹⁴⁹

Though this letter contains fatherly 'affection', this follows a strong emphasis on 'business' opportunities in London. A merchant father giving orders to his son fits into this period's wider growth of expanding education, but distance separated the two Byrds. While a father in London could have given quotidian oral instructions, this letter (and a handful of others) were William Byrd II's only paternal connection. Relying on slow, vulnerable transatlantic mail threatened this connection and the Byrds' shared cultivation of masculine credit. William Byrd I's desire to hear 'often' from his son is directly hindered by distance, reducing his direct paternal control to a 'hearty prayer'. He refers to this explicitly in 1691. Writing to thank Perry & Lane for supporting his son in London, Byrd laments that he 'cannot advise att this distance... for his [son's] necessary accomplishment'.¹⁵⁰ Byrd hoped that his son 'want[ed] nothing' and was 'imployed... not to loose any thing... bestowed on him.'

¹⁴⁶ Letter from WBI to WBII (Westover to London), 24/07/1690 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.123.

¹⁴⁷ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, pp.53-6; Jennifer Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the early Black Atlantic* (London, 2021), p.20, p.98, p.114.

¹⁴⁸ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, p.48-50 and pp.162-4.

¹⁴⁹ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, 24/07/1690, p.123.

¹⁵⁰ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, 03/06/1691, pp.152-4.

The fact William Byrd II was apprenticed in London added to his father's concerns. The city was full of as many 'opportunities' for vice and temptation as business. London's expanding urban fabric was associated with individual anonymity, excess, and criminality.¹⁵¹ William Byrd I's opinion of London (where he was born) is clear in another letter from 1690. Discussing his daughter's futures with Perry & Lane, he 'cannot thinke London a fitt place for them'.¹⁵² These ideas persisted throughout the period and were eventually applied to colonial cities. In 1742, Colden described his family as his 'chief pleasure', wishing he 'could live so as never to be from them'.¹⁵³ He hoped that a rural childhood would help them 'grow up by their Industry & Virtue', avoiding the 'many Temptations to vice to which youth is exposed in [New York] City'. While port cities offered opportunities to accrue masculine credit, they were paradoxically seen as centres of vice which threatened to undermine that same credit. Fathers living near their children could help them thread this needle: distance made William Byrd I and Colden wary. Their fears were not unwarranted. In 1726, William Byrd II reflected on his years in London:

There are so many temptations [there] to inflame the appetite and charm the senses, that we... run all risques to enjoy them. They always had, I must own, too strong an influence upon me.¹⁵⁴

Despite the influence of 'temptation', Byrd successfully developed a credit network in London during the 1690s. He studied law at the Middle Temple and ingratiated himself with networks of powerful gentlemen, the London coffeehouse circuit, and the genteel crowds of Tunbridge Wells and Bath. Byrd's networking was very successful. He was particularly well connected to Benjamin Lynde Senior (1666-1749), the first Chief Justice of Massachusetts; John Perceval, 1st Earl of Egmont (1683-1748), an MP and later trustee of the Georgia colony; Hans Sloane (1660-1753), royal physician and leading member of the Royal Society. Aged only twenty-two, Byrd became a prestigious

¹⁵¹ Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, pp.182-3.

¹⁵² Letter from WBI to Perry & Lane (Virginia to London), 19/07/1690 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.114.

¹⁵³ Letter from CC to PC, 05/1742 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 2*, pp.258-63.

¹⁵⁴ Letter from WBII to CB, 05/07/1726 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.354-6.

Fellow of the Royal Society and secured the patronage of Robert Southwell (1635-1702). By the 1700s, Byrd's credit as a gentleman and scientist were well established.

During this time, the credit of both Byrds relied heavily on the tobacco produced at Westover and their ability to export it overseas. Tobacco was omnipresent, the *sine qua non* staple of Chesapeake colonies.¹⁵⁵ Alongside sugar, tobacco dwarfed other colonial imports, the total value imported into London more than doubling from 1668 to 1680.¹⁵⁶ Tobacco was far more personal to planters than sugar. It required continual management, lacked economies of scale, and the quality of the final product was more subjective.¹⁵⁷ Together with Virginia's singular reliance on the crop, this made each planter's tobacco a 'measure of the man', its value reflecting his identity.¹⁵⁸ For this reason, planter William Beverley requested in 1737 that his tobacco be sold 'by itself without joining with any other, that it may obtain a good name'.¹⁵⁹ As Virginian planters, the Byrds' tobacco cultivation determined much of their cultural position and credit.

However, selling tobacco overseas and converting it into credit was inherently challenging. Planters had little control over how merchants marketed their tobacco, or what market conditions were in a given year. In 1682-3, an inundated market saw prices plummet.¹⁶⁰ Ships often struggled to source cargoes from Virginia's scattered plantations and safely take them to Britain.¹⁶¹ In 1684-5, Westover produced very little tobacco, and William Byrd I's shipments suffered a 'tedious passage'. One ship was 'by all report[s...] no runner'; another was 'a very dull sailer by all report'.¹⁶² As the same ships which returned to Virginia with goods brought news of last year's shipment, poor shipping left planters like William Byrd I in the dark. He wrote in 1690 that the 'worst' part of this 'considerable trouble' was being unable to 'see [his] account [or] guess how

¹⁵⁵ Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, pp.56-7.

¹⁵⁶ Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, p.189 and p.205.

¹⁵⁷ Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, p.44, p.57 and pp.68-70.

¹⁵⁸ Appleby, 'Daniel [De]Foe's Virginia venture', pp.6-8; Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, pp.22-9 and p.65.

¹⁵⁹ Letter from William Beverley to Micaiah Perry (Virginia to London), 12/07/1737 in Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, p.68.

¹⁶⁰ L. C. Gray, 'The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco', *WMQ*, 7:4 (Oct. 1927), 231-45 (pp.234-5).

¹⁶¹ Appleby, 'Daniel [De]Foe's Virginia venture', pp.13-18; Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, p.41.

¹⁶² Letters from WBI to Perry & Lane (Westover to London), 30/12/1684 and 29/03/1685 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.27 and p.30.

affairs may stand'.¹⁶³ This 'unhappy disappointment' left him 'a considerable loser'. Though Byrd did not use the word 'credit' in this letter, his financial self-preservation is clear: 'I desire you rather than I might remain much in debt'. Though Chesapeake tobacco prices recovered during the 1690s, these letters illustrate the trade's precarity. Tobacco could be profitable, but it also represented a single point of failure for the credit of planters like William Byrd I. Their identities were inextricable from its value.

William Byrd II took over Westover when his father died in 1704. Now managing the plantation's tobacco crop, he struggled amid depressed markets during the War of the Spanish Succession and the inflexibilities of the 'consignment' system.¹⁶⁴ This system saw larger planters like Byrd consign whole harvests to a single British merchant, remaining in their debt until the previous year's profits arrived. Relying so heavily on this single connection, Virginian planters constructed intense trading relationships with British merchants to mitigate the effects of distance: 'commercial friendships'.¹⁶⁵ This inflexibility saw the development of a rival 'store' system. Scottish store 'factors' became an increasingly common source of credit in the Chesapeake from 1730 onward, aggregating bulk lower-quality tobacco to blend and re-export.¹⁶⁶ Half of Virginian tobacco was sold on consignment in 1730; this declined to a quarter by 1776. The largest planters (Byrd included) continued using consignment to highlight their tobacco's greater quality. This kept them reliant on (and indebted to) a single merchant in Britain, even as more flexible credit arrangements emerged.

The asymmetrical relationship between tobacco planters and distant British merchants created friction, their views on credit diverging throughout the period. While metropolitan merchants juggled a larger range of impersonal ties and immediate demands on their finances, isolated planters prioritised the social cohesion credit provided over the timely payment of debts. Byrd's brother-in-law John Custis was forced to explain the latter perspective in 1738. As Custis' own merchant had treated him with 'the greatest respect and best of usage', he could not 'alter [-] consignments'

¹⁶³ Letter from WBI to Arthur North, 19/07/1690 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.116.

¹⁶⁴ Gray, 'Market Surplus Problems', pp.234-5.

¹⁶⁵ Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, p.108.

¹⁶⁶ Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, pp.36-9, pp.84-5 and pp.118-9.

purely for commercial advantage.¹⁶⁷ He would be 'guilty of one of the greatest offenses: ingratitude'. Managing such relationships without face-to-face contact was inherently challenging. In 1728, Byrd accused his tobacco merchant of squabbling with another instead of conducting business, 'jealous of one another as you wou[l]d be for a mistress'.¹⁶⁸ This gendered simile presents their loss of control as unmanly behaviour and positions Byrd in control despite his distance from them.

Despite their profound dependence on British merchants, tobacco planters claimed to be independent. Plantation houses like Westover were built as fortifications of wealth representing patriarchal control. Landon Carter described his own Sabine Hall in 1759 as an 'excellent little Fortress... built on a Rock... of Independency'.¹⁶⁹ Byrd boasted in 1726 of Westover's 'great luxury' and ability to support a 'large family'.¹⁷⁰ Writing to England, Byrd was careful to stress not only his 'luxury' he had obtained but his skill in financial and personal management:

I must take care to keep all my people to their duty... a continual exercise of our patience and oeconomy.¹⁷¹

Like Mountier in Jamaica, Byrd needed a wife to consolidate his patriarchal status and anchor his masculine credit.¹⁷² While executing his late father's estate in 1704-5, Byrd was 'infinitely surpriz'd to find young ladys with... accomplishments in Virginia'.¹⁷³ Clearly, he had not expected to find desirable brides far from London. In 1705, Byrd asked Daniel Parke (1664-1710) for the hand of his daughter, Lucy Parke (1685-1716). Daniel Parke was a prestigious man; a veteran who had been made Governor of the Leeward Islands. In the same letter from 1704-5, Byrd promised Parke that his 'fortune

¹⁶⁷ Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, pp.102-9.

¹⁶⁸ Letter from WBII to 'Mr Lamport', 15/07/1728 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.484.

¹⁶⁹ Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, p.85.

¹⁷⁰ Letter from WBII to Charles Boyle (CB), 05/07/1726 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.354-6; Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1775* (Oxford, 2011), pp.138-41.

¹⁷¹ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.354-6.

¹⁷² Brown, *Good Wives*, p.317.

¹⁷³ Letter from WBII to DP, 'Seignor Fanforoni' (Virginia), c.1705 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.256-7.

may be sufficient to make [Lucy Parke] happy.' The match appeared to validate Byrd's financial credit, reinforcing his patriarchal credentials.

Byrd's stable credit as a married man was challenged in April 1711, when news arrived at Westover that Daniel Parke had been killed the previous December 1710.¹⁷⁴ Parke's will exposed enormous debts. Worse, it denied his legitimate children much of the inheritance which might have paid those debts. Parke had bequeathed all his English and Virginian properties to his daughter Frances; Lucy Parke Byrd inherited a comparatively low £1000 sterling. All Parke's West Indies property went to an illegitimate daughter, creating a sexual and financial scandal with severe effects on the credit of his surviving relations. Micajah Perry (then Byrd's consignment merchant) wrote to Westover in 1711, incredulous that Parke had bequeathed his fortune to

that which leaves a stain behind him... What shall we say to such a man
that would make his bastard children so easy?¹⁷⁵

Due to the associative properties of credit, Parke's 'stain' threatened to taint the credit of his legitimate daughter Lucy and her husband, Byrd. To mitigate this, Byrd offered to take on Parke's debts in exchange for some of his Virginian lands, transferred from Frances Parke. However, this attempt to secure credit backfired when the true extent of Parke's debts became known. Despite decades of repayments, Byrd would die with £1000 of these debts remaining in 1744.¹⁷⁶ The strain caused by such debt was intense. As one planter wrote in 1766, 'to remain in Debt' caused the 'greatest Pain'.¹⁷⁷ In 1712, Byrd dreamed of coffins, mourning coaches, and his wife's death.¹⁷⁸ He exacerbated this by criticising the trade reforms proposed by Alexander Spotswood (then Governor of Virginia) in 1714-15. No other Virginia planters opposed Spotswood, who retaliated

¹⁷⁴ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.282.

¹⁷⁵ Letter from Micajah Perry to WBII (London to Westover), 12/05/1711 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.280-2.

¹⁷⁶ Kenneth Lockridge, *The Diary and Life of William Byrd II of Virginia 1674-1744* (Chapel Hill NC, 1987), pp.75-9; Brown, *Good Wives*, p.79.

¹⁷⁷ Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, p.134.

¹⁷⁸ Lockridge, *The Diary and Life*, pp.75-6; Brown, *Good Wives*, p.304.

by telling the Board of Trade in London that Byrd could not be trusted with royal funds.¹⁷⁹

Though Byrd salvaged his credit by travelling to London and making peace with the Board of Trade, this had disastrous consequences. Lucy Parke decided to follow Byrd across the Atlantic, but after arriving in London she caught smallpox, dying only twelve hours after her diagnosis. Upon her death, Byrd wrote to his brother-in-law John Custis in Virginia, whose own wife (Lucy's sister, Frances Parke) had died the previous year. Byrd acknowledged how much credit Parke had brought him both in Virginia and in London. His desire to mend his credit in England had drawn Parke to her death:

Gracious God, what pains did she take *to make a voyage hither to seek a grave*. No stranger ever met with more respect *in a strange country*... all pronounced her *an honor to Virginia*. Alas! How proud I was of her, and how severely I am punished for it...¹⁸⁰ [my italics]

Byrd's attempt to repair his reputation across the Atlantic had backfired. Despite his successful management of Westover and the tobacco trade, Byrd remained saddled with Daniel Parke's debts. He no longer had the support and credit that marriage to Lucy Parke had provided, her death firmly underlining the difficulty of consolidating a transatlantic masculine identity. While Byrd moved to remarry by 1718, transmitting and maintaining his credit across the Atlantic appeared more difficult than ever. Courting London woman Mary Smith, Byrd discussed his financial estate with her father, John Smith:

Fearing lest *the distance of my estate from hence might be liable to objection*, I had not the courage to make a regular proposal... the estate I have, *tho it lye so far off as Virginia*, is very considerable. [my italics]¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Brown, *Good Wives*, p.77-8.

¹⁸⁰ Letter from WBII to JCS (London to Virginia), 13/12/1716 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.296.

¹⁸¹ Letter from WBII to John Smith, 'Vigilante' (London), 18/02/1718 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.311-13.

This letter demonstrates Byrd's keen awareness of the issues created by Atlantic distance. Anticipating resistance, he claimed that the '43000 acres of land and 220 Negros' at Westover earned him £1800 each year, sending 'the fruit of their labour... to England'. Furthermore, Byrd promised Smith the choicest tobacco, claimed he did not need a substantial dowry despite his debts, and promised to remain in London if Mary married him. All these offers served to minimise the negative effects of transatlantic distance for Byrd's prospective father-in-law. Byrd also stressed his English lineage and provided character references (John Perceval and Edward Southwell). Though Byrd admitted Mary Smith might 'marry... to a better estate', he asserted his credit was sufficient: 'there is nothing necessary to make her happy which may not be compassed by my fortune'.

Despite Byrd's efforts to demonstrate his credit and minimise the effects of distance, John Smith rejected the match and mocked the value of Westover. He saw Virginia as almost unimaginably distant, joking that 'an Estate out of this Island is little better than an Estate in the moon'.¹⁸² Byrd's attempt to re-establish his identity as an English gentleman with an English bride failed spectacularly. In 1726, Byrd published a misogynistic satirical pamphlet in London, *The Female Creed*.¹⁸³ 'Studded with scatological and sexual allusions', the *Creed* mocked women as stupid, superstitious and incontinent. It was an angry backlash against the emasculation Byrd had experienced in London at the hands of Mary Smith.¹⁸⁴ Rejection by a suitor was not unique to Virginians, but most Englishmen's wealth was not treated as 'an Estate in the moon'. Though this mockery of his credit came from a man, it directly fuelled Byrd's misogyny. A letter from 1728 shows that he blamed the failure of men to project credit across the Atlantic on women. Writing from Virginia, Byrd accused his cousin Jane Pratt Taylor in London of 'forgetting' him deliberately. As 'fine ladys' like Taylor treated 'absent' men like Byrd overseas as socially dead, he framed them as sensually 'selfish' obstacles to masculine social validation:

¹⁸² Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, pp.91-2.

¹⁸³ Peter Wagner, "The Female Creed": A New Reading of William Byrd's Ribald Parody', *Early American Literature*, 19:2 (Fall 1984), 122-137 (p.123).

¹⁸⁴ Wagner, "The Female Creed", p.130.

We are in truth little better than dead to them... we can please none of their senses at this distance.¹⁸⁵

Byrd's misogynist rationalisation of his rejection blamed his failure to project masculine credit across the Atlantic on the nature of British femininity. This comes despite Byrd asking to 'lye down by' Taylor and 'surprise' her when alone, all in the same letter: he is the one looking to 'please [his own] senses'. Byrd's reaction to Smith's rejection provides a poignant example of a wider trend.¹⁸⁶ Many colonial planters from both the American continent and the Caribbean visited London looking for English brides to consolidate their masculine status.¹⁸⁷ Their success was mixed, with many besides Byrd being rejected. Translating colonial wealth into a secure basis for masculine credit as a married patriarch was not easy.

5. Femininity and Virtue

Credit was not an exclusively masculine preserve. Alexandra Shepard and Allyson Poska have shown that early modern British women engaged with credit and exercised economic agency.¹⁸⁸ However, few early modern sources discuss the role credit played in British femininity (or how distance affected it) directly. In his *Tradesman*, Defoe presents feminine 'virtue' as a direct analogue to masculine 'credit':

A tradesman's credit and a virgin's virtue ought to be equally sacred... the credit of a tradesman is the same... as the virtue of a lady. A tradesman without his books... is like a married woman without her certificate.¹⁸⁹

This suggests that frameworks of credit - their structure and role in personal identity - were relevant to both men and women but in asymmetrical ways. Defoe referred to

¹⁸⁵ Letter from WBII to JPT (Virginia to London), 28/07/1728 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.384-5.

¹⁸⁶ Brown, *Good Wives*, p.248.

¹⁸⁷ Sarah E. Yeh, "A Sink of All Filthiness": Gender, Family and Identity in the British Atlantic, 1688-1763', *Historian*, 68:1 (Spring 2006), 66-88 (p.87).

¹⁸⁸ Poska, "Agentic Gender Norms", pp.358-9; Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, pp.53-6.

¹⁸⁹ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.15.

sexual conduct and marriage as the primary measures of feminine reputation. Feminine 'virtue' appears to have been distinct from - but directly comparable to - masculine 'credit'. In early modern Britain, 'virtue' was implicitly female, encompassing chastity and 'sexual purity... especially on the part of a woman'.¹⁹⁰ References to such 'virtue' appear throughout the correspondence analysed in this chapter. As seen above, Cadwallader Colden referred to his children's 'Industry & Virtue'; Andrew Chrystie's Norwegian wife was 'wise and virtuous' (above), as was David Chrystie's 'virteous young' wife; Alice Chrystie's 'comrade' Ann Jamison was 'as Vertuous [a] Wife as ever a man had'.¹⁹¹ Conversely, British men believed that American Indian women neither understood nor possessed any feminine 'virtue'. In Carolina, John Lawson claimed that Indigenous women took multiple men as sexual partners because 'there is no such thing [as] Reputation... known amongst them.'¹⁹² In an Atlantic context, 'virtue' was not just a measure of feminine status but, more specifically, the measure of British feminine identity.

Though seemingly distanced from possessing credit themselves, women certainly had the power to profoundly shape masculine identity and reputation. Defoe acknowledged that men's credit was vulnerable to both 'the looseness... of men's tongues' and 'women's too'.¹⁹³ Women understood the power of their words and actions in this regard, as evidenced by Smith's rejection of Byrd's proposal in 1718. In 1743, Scotswoman Jenny Smith wrote to her brother-in-law (then in Maryland) that 'your sex aledges that ours get the use of ye tongue sooner... we also ply it better'.¹⁹⁴ Men sought to control women's speech precisely to limit this masculine vulnerability.¹⁹⁵ Despite the advantages afforded by patriarchy, masculine credit was not immune to the influence of women and their decisions. The distinctions between masculine 'credit' and feminine 'virtue' highlight one respect in which women's identities were more secure in an Atlantic context. Men whose reputations relied on transatlantic trade often lost credit through little fault of their own: the foundations of their 'credit' were inherently unstable.

¹⁹⁰ 'Virtue, n.' in *OED* <www.oed.com/view/Entry/223835> [accessed 04/10/2021].

¹⁹¹ Letters from DC to AC and JC to AC (Simprin to New York), 16/02/1717 and 10/01/1724 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 8*, p.44 and pp.103-7 respectively.

¹⁹² John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1711), p.86.

¹⁹³ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.15.

¹⁹⁴ DDP, Box 3, Letter from David Smith to AH (Innerwick to Maryland), 27/04/1743.

¹⁹⁵ Ditz, 'The New Men's History', p.18; Schippers, 'Recovering the Feminine Other', p.91.

In contrast, women's 'virtue' was more consolidated via the benchmarks of motherhood and marriage, which represented more stable, immutable bases for identity and status.¹⁹⁶ Men also gained 'credit' through marriage and fatherhood, but their identities relied more heavily on fickle financial exchanges. When Defoe acknowledged this inherent instability, he described credit in feminine terms:

Credit is, or ought to be, the tradesman's mistress... once he loses her, she hardly ever returns... Credit is a coy mistress... she is a mighty nice touchy lady... if she is ill used, she flies at once...¹⁹⁷

Though Defoe implied that credit was for men to pursue, British women on both sides of the Atlantic engaged in trade. In Philadelphia, Cadwalder Colden's aunt Elizabeth Hill was a shopkeeper and trader. She sent and received payments on Colden's behalf throughout the 1710s, possessing 'a considerable Sum of Money... to employ in Trade' by 1724.¹⁹⁸ Similarly, Virginian settler Clementina Rind inherited the *Virginia Gazette* from her late husband, editing the paper herself for a year before selling the business.¹⁹⁹ Though women generally invested in smaller ventures, femininity was therefore not a universal barrier to business in the British Atlantic.²⁰⁰

Women were involved in discussions of credit even without trading commodities. Nearly one-fifth of British households were run by women in this period, the proportion rising in London's maritime parishes.²⁰¹ Likewise, New England ports such as Newport and Salem had ten times more women-run households than inland English towns.²⁰² Even in male-run households, wives played a vital role in managing household resources, the success or failure of which could amplify or diminish a man's credit. The patriarchal management of a household, 'oeconomy', relied on women's work raising children,

¹⁹⁶ Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, p.7.

¹⁹⁷ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.24.

¹⁹⁸ Letters from CC to William Dry and John Falconer, 01/04/1713 and 04/05/1724 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.9 and p.51 respectively.

¹⁹⁹ Will Slauter, 'The Rise of the Newspaper' in *Making News: The Political Economy of Journalism in Britain and America from the Glorious Revolution to the Internet*, ed. by Richard R. John and Jonathan Silberstein-Loeb (Oxford, 2015), p.36.

²⁰⁰ Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, p.59.

²⁰¹ Poska, "Agentic Gender Norms", pp.356-7.

²⁰² Ogborn, *Global Lives*, p.160.

renting rooms, cooking and cleaning, buying and selling.²⁰³ For example, Daniel Campbell's papers show that his first wife, Margaret Leckie (m. 1695) handled both domestic bills and commercial cargoes. From 1704 to 1706, she paid £630 Scots for a commercial quantity of herring, aquavita and tobacco alongside household bills for candles, fabrics and milk.²⁰⁴ Little evidence survives showing how the uncertainties of transatlantic trade affected Leckie, who died in 1711. More broadly, this sharing of responsibilities was aspirational for tradesmen. Defoe wished that each might

make his wife so much acquainted with his trade, and so much mistress
of the managing part that she might... carry it on.²⁰⁵

Conversely, Defoe criticised men who either hid business dealings from their wives or who hid their wives' supportive role from others. Wives could be misled into overspending beyond their means, while men pretended all work was theirs so as 'not have their trades or shops thought less masculine or less considerable'.²⁰⁶ Defoe's critique of these actions as unmanly is emphasised by his choice of words - this is the only use of 'masculine' in his *Tradesman*. As Mountier's pursuit of a wealthy widow suggests, some men looked for a wife specifically to 'patch up their old bankrupt credit'.²⁰⁷ Though credit was described as a masculine counterpart to feminine virtue, in reality it was thus shared to a significant extent between wives and husbands.

More detailed evidence of how women handled this shared responsibility for credit comes from New York woman Alida Schuyler (1656-1727) and her husband, Robert Livingston. While Livingston prepared for a transatlantic voyage in 1694, he arranged to repay debts to Stephanus Van Corlandt. Livingston told Van Corlandt to ask his 'my dear & loveing wife' about any issues while he was away.²⁰⁸ This letter demonstrates both Livingston's marital affection and economic trust of his credit with Schuyler. She

²⁰³ Paul, 'Accounting for Men's Work', pp.26-9 and pp.38-9.

²⁰⁴ GCA, TD1619/210, Personal and business account, 1704; GCA, TD1619/258, Madam Campbell's account, 1704; GCA, TD1619/297, March and May accounts of Margaret Leckie, 08/1705; GCA, TD1619/298, Daniel Campbell's wife's account, 1706.

²⁰⁵ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.21.

²⁰⁶ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.10.

²⁰⁷ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.15.

²⁰⁸ LFP, Letter from RL to SVC, 03/12/1694.

supervised mills and stocked stores independent of Livingston for years, and their correspondence continued to combine financial discussion with displays of marital affection. For example, Livingston wrote in 1680 that his 'foreign debts [would] soon be settled' and signed himself 'Your loving husband'.²⁰⁹ While Livingston was en route to England in 1705, Schuyler purchased land which others tried to claim when he was absent again in 1721.²¹⁰ She firmly defended her economic agency, but also needed her husband's support:

They won't get anything of it! I will never permit it! Those greedy... misers!
Do send me 12 lb. in money! Otherwise I am at my wit's end.²¹¹

Managing her husband's transatlantic business and their home in his absence was clearly a strain on Schuyler. In 1682, she promised to 'do my best to ship off that order... at the best costs' but also asks Livingston to 'hurry [home] as much as you can... it saddens me to live this way'.²¹² Likewise, Schuyler wrote in 1720 that she wanted Livingston 'to come home again, for it is very sad for me to be so lonely'.²¹³ This correspondence suggests that women whose husbands engaged in transatlantic commerce took on much of their uncertainty. Distance strained Schuyler's marriage, a key aspect of her established 'virtue'. Her role in supporting Livingston's masculine credit (as co-manager of their household) allowed Atlantic distance to shape her feminine identity directly.

A more detailed source showing how colonial women managed credit and virtue is the letterbook of Eliza Lucas (1722-1793). A gentlewoman and planter, Lucas lived a life in many ways comparable with William Byrd II's. She inherited her father's Carolina plantation aged only eighteen; Byrd inherited Westover aged thirty. Similar to Byrd, Lucas rose before sunrise to study classical literature, music, French, and shorthand. She also kept a diary, walked her gardens to survey her servants and enslaved population at work. Keeping 'her little library well furnished', Lucas read as she pleased

²⁰⁹ LFP, Letter from RL to AS, 06/11/1680.

²¹⁰ LFP, Letter from AS to RL, 14/05/1721.

²¹¹ LFP, Letter from AS to RL, 08/06/1722.

²¹² LFP, Letters from AS to RL, 24/10/1682 and 12/01/1698.

²¹³ LFP, Letter from AS to RL, 19/10/1720.

and taught her sister and 'two Negro girls' to read.²¹⁴ Writing to her father in 1741, Lucas stressed her efforts to make the plantation economically productive as a matter of daughterly duty. She addressed her father as 'the great Author of all my happiness', yet quickly diverted from 'morallizing [to] attend to business'.²¹⁵ Lucas wrote about 'plantation affairs' at length, writing five pages on 'pitch and Tarr and Lime' and having 'no doubt Indigo will prove a very valuable Commodity'.²¹⁶ This detailed obsession with plantation business pervaded Lucas' letters. Lucas tied plantation management closely to her identity in a similar manner to Byrd and Virginia's tobacco planters.

Lucas' pursuit of trade, colonial commodities, and 'business' - all bases of masculine credit - forced her to tread a fine line. She had to manage credit and 'oeconomy' without breaching the norms of genteel femininity. As one Boston manual from 1743 warned, gentlewomen had to avoid the appearance of 'unattractive pedantry': Gentlewomen were expected to eschew masculine labour.²¹⁷ Lucas discussed these expectations in letters to Mrs Dunbar, the wife of Antigua's customs controller.²¹⁸ She stressed the 'pains' she took 'to let you know my genius is not defective... Oh, vanity of female Youth!'²¹⁹ When discussing crops, she self-reflexively wrote that 'you would think me far gone in romance'.²²⁰ Lucas' efforts to manage plantation business and cultivate gentility thus placed her at odds with expectations of femininity and virtue; what she called the 'vanity of female youth'.

One way Lucas surmounted this divide was to maintain a correspondence with other gentlewomen in England and Carolina. Despite resembling a male merchant's efforts to maintain a credit network, this approach worked well to reinforce Lucas' feminine reputation. When she owed her friend's husband a letter, Lucas described this as an

²¹⁴ Elise Pinckney (ed.), *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinkney 1739-1762* (Chapel Hill NC, 1972), p.xi.

²¹⁵ Pinckney (ed.), *Letterbook*, p.59.

²¹⁶ Pinckney (ed.), *Letterbook*, pp.8-9 and p.16.

²¹⁷ Caroline Winterer, 'The Female World of Classical reading in Eighteenth-Century America' in *Eighteenth-Century America' in Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. by Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly (Philadelphia, 2008), pp.105-123 (pp.105-7); Brown, *Good Wives*, pp.293-4.

²¹⁸ Pinckney (ed.), *Letterbook*, p.60.

²¹⁹ Pinckney (ed.), *Letterbook*, p.62.

²²⁰ Letter from EL to 'Mrs B.' in Pinckney (ed.), *Letterbook*, 34.

'epistolary debt' and hoped he would be 'a merciful Creditor'.²²¹ Furthermore, she visited Charleston to consolidate social ties with gentlewomen there, describing the town as one where colonists lived 'very Gent[ee] and very much in the English taste'.²²² Despite this success, Lucas complained that so 'much writing and... business [created more] fatigue than you can imagine'.²²³ While Lucas *could* maintain the same bases of credit as a male planter and a gentlewoman's feminine virtue, it was clearly a challenging balance.

The correspondence of William Dunlop (1654-1700) and Sarah Carstares (1650-1733) shows in detail how Atlantic distance exerted distinct tensions on masculine credit and feminine virtue. Dunlop was a Presbyterian minister, burgess of Glasgow, and (from 1690 to 1700) Principal of the University of Glasgow.²²⁴ Like Daniel Campbell, Dunlop was a prominent figure in Scotland's seventeenth-century colonisation efforts, Glasgow civic life, and the court of William III. He was one of the few men who could afford to invest £1000 sterling into the Darien venture, alongside Campbell.²²⁵ Furthermore, Dunlop had recruited more investors across western Scotland, writing strident, 'pungent' letters and drafting instructions for the colony's ministers with a 'forwardness to promote The African Comp^y:s affairs'.²²⁶ However, these achievements of Dunlop's followed six years spent in Carolina. He had left Scotland in 1684 (just before the Scots Privy Council advocated torture for seditious persons), returning in 1690. Dunlop intended to create a haven for Presbyterians, 'Stewartstown', and was only able to return once Presbyterians were promised leniency.²²⁷ During Dunlop's six-year absence, his wife Sarah Carstares sent a series of letters detailing her experience of the couple's separation from a Scottish perspective. This correspondence shows how

²²¹ Pinckney (ed.), *Letterbook*, p.21.

²²² Pinckney (ed.), *Letterbook*, p.7.

²²³ Letter from EL to Mrs Boddicott in England, 02/05/1740 in Pinckney (ed.), *Letterbook*, pp.6-8.

²²⁴ W. G. Blaikie and Stuart Handley, 'Dunlop, William (1653/4-1700)' in *ODNB*, 23/09/2004 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8278>> [accessed 12/10/2018].

²²⁵ *A perfect list*, p.4.

²²⁶ J. G. Dunlop, *The Dunlop Papers, Vol. 2: The Dunlops of Dunlop: and of Auchenskaith, Keppoch, and Gairbraid* (London, 1939), pp.140-5; NLS, MS.9251/214-5, Letter from Thomas Shields to WD (Boston to Paisley), 16/05/1699.

²²⁷ Dunlop, *Dunlop Papers, Vol. 2*, pp.124-5; NLS, MS.9250/50, Letter from Mr.s Wm. Mo[r]ris, Ralph Rogers and Wm. Crichton to WD, 29/06/1687.

Dunlop's pursuit of masculine credit in Carolina clashed with Carstares' efforts to maintain her feminine identity as a mother and wife in Scotland.

Financial motives underpinned Dunlop's Stewartstown project from the start. Dunlop departed for Carolina in 1684 aboard the *Carolina Merchant*, a ship transporting convicts on behalf of the Scottish Parliament. The ship's owner (Glaswegian merchant Walter Gibson) received 1000 merks per transported convict.²²⁸ Dunlop's friend and fellow colonist, John Stewart, wrote about Carolina as a place to gain credit, where the 'poorest planter may... justly hope for ane Earle's estate'.²²⁹ This must have been on Dunlop's mind, as apparently his 'plaudits of pleasant Carolina... belov'd Carolina' had persuaded Stewart to emigrate in the first place. When Dunlop planned his return to Scotland in 1688, he confessed that he had 'desyned worldly greatnesse'. Thinking he might 'have more of it here [in Carolina] then ever I could expect elsewhere', 'vanity' had led him to 'a corner uselesse to myself and others'.²³⁰ This admission speaks to Dunlop's pursuit of credit in overseas colonies. More than cash alone, he wanted reputation, credit, and 'worldly greatnesse', believing that Carolina was a better place than Scotland to find it.

Carstares planned to cross the Atlantic with her children once Stewartstown was firmly established. Like Alida Schuyler, Carstares struggled with the strains of household management and marital separation created by Atlantic distance. She feared Dunlop would be financially 'straitened' in Carolina, signing her letters 'in the straitest ty[e]s of Love'.²³¹ Carstares used the same term for both her and Dunlop's experiences: 'strait', meaning 'tight'. She likened her experience of Atlantic separation to being squeezed through a maritime 'strait' (a dangerous part of any voyage), and worried that Dunlop's financial reputation would be similarly strained. When Dunlop 'call[ed] for more mon[e]y' and 'tradsmen and ffermers to come and Settle', Carstares replied that he could 'expect little help' from others in Scotland.²³² He had 'no assistance from this place' - Carstares

²²⁸ George Pratt Insh, 'The "Carolina Merchant": Advice of Arrival', *SHR*, 25:98 (Jan. 1928), 98-108 (p.98); Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, p.115 and p.203; Dunlop, *Dunlop Papers*, Vol. 2, p.126.

²²⁹ Stewart and Dunlop, 'Letters from John Stewart'.

²³⁰ NLS, MS.9250/69, Letter from WD to Lady Hartwood, 29/05/1688.

²³¹ NLS, MS.9250/52-3; MS.9250/65-6, Letter from SC to WD, 25/02/1688.

²³² NAS, GD3/5/772, Letter from WD to JSK, 05/1686; NLS, MS.9250/38-39, Letter from SC to WD, 19/02/1687.

could not 'get on[e] servant, man nor woman... upon no terms' to sail for Carolina.²³³ Not only were the couple separated by the Atlantic, but Carstares clearly felt unable to support her husband's pursuit of credit - his 'calls for more money' - at a distance.

Carstares offered herself as a source of credit at a distance, urging Dunlop to 'draw bills upon me... if you have need of mony... let not that straiten the[e]'.²³⁴ Dunlop drew a bill of £12 Sterling on Carstares, but this only transferred the 'straitening' effect from Carolina to Scotland. Carstares signed her letter as a 'truely... affectionat[e] tho afflicted wif[e]'. Like Schuyler, Carstares had to negotiate the supposedly masculine realm of credit as a household manager. Worse still, she felt duty-bound to manage her husband's credit overseas despite having little power to do so. In 1686, Carstares described Dunlop's credit as her 'great concern'; any poor 'reflection on thee *or thy credit* I cannot weall bear' (my italics).²³⁵ Her concerns are repeated in a letter from 1687:

O my dear, *thy needit reputation* and peace is dearer to me nor all the world and all in it... my perplexity is that thow be straitened.²³⁶ [my italics]

Carstares saw her responsibilities as a wife as tied to Dunlop's identity. With her feminine 'virtue' and his masculine 'credit' intertwined, Carstares struggled to maintain this connection across the Atlantic. In this same letter, she blurred the gendered lines surrounding credit, promising to pay bills in Glasgow 'as long as I am hear and have... mon[e]y or credit'. Laying claim to her own 'credit', Carstares warned Dunlop he was 'hazarding [his] Creidet' when an associate in Scotland failed to repay a debt of £270 Scots.²³⁷ Failing to pursue the repayment might let 'poor... credit Sticke' to Dunlop; Carstares 'feared' that 'it doth with me' already. Dunlop wrote to the debtor in question, Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie, in 1687 and 1688. Dunlop told Skelmorlie he had 'manadged our affaires to the best I could... thoe you and I be [financial] Loosers'.²³⁸

²³³ NLS, MS.9250/25-6.

²³⁴ NLS, MS.9250/54-5, Letter from SC to WD, July 1687.

²³⁵ NLS, MS.9250/21-2, Letter from SC to WD, 24/02/1686.

²³⁶ NLS, MS.9250/38-9.

²³⁷ NLS, MS.9250/44-5, Letter from SC to WD, 20/04/1687.

²³⁸ NRS, GD3/5/777, Letter from WD to JSK, 13/07/1687.

Insisting he was neither 'carelesse nor prodigall', Dunlop remained 'in need of more money' from Scotland.²³⁹ Planning his return to Scotland in 1688, Dunlop finally thanked Carstares for being 'so carefull' with their shared financial reputation.²⁴⁰ From 1684 to 1688, he had only sent a small number of short replies to Carstares' letters: more went to Skelmorlie than to Dunlop's own struggling wife.

Even when planning his return to Scotland, Dunlop prioritised his own credit over Carstares' needs. Though her letters left a 'sure Impression' on him, Dunlop refused to 'haist houle' before consolidating his status in Carolina.²⁴¹ He made efforts to 'leave stocke' in Carolina, profiting from a textile factory there for the rest of his life.²⁴² When writing to Skelmorlie, Dunlop blamed his need to 'quit' Carolina and his 'interest' there on 'the desires of my wife'. Without admitting this to his wife in writing, Dunlop saw his efforts to gain credit in Carolina as a masculine effort frustrated by his wife. Despite his different circumstances, Dunlop resembled Byrd in blaming a woman for his difficulties cultivating credit across the Atlantic.

Carstares' exact experience was not common for women in 1680s Scotland. While a great many Scots travelled or emigrated, most went to England, Ulster, or other European areas: very few travelled as far as Carolina. Just as men constructed networks of mercantile credit, women constructed their own mutual support networks to cope with the effects of distance. Other women in Scotland were well aware of the unreasonable strain Dunlop was placing on Carstares at a distance. Her sister-in-law, Margaret Dunlop, promised to care for her children if anything happened. This included financial support, implying the two Scotswomen discussed this outside their letters: they will 'nefer want as long as I hef a gro[a]t in the world.'²⁴³ Likewise, Katherine Stewart wrote to Carstares in 1700 referencing 'monie I ou you', alluding to Carstares' other financial obligations.²⁴⁴ Margaret Dunlop also wrote to William Dunlop in Carolina, chastising him for failing to support his wife and children: 'ye are much to be blemt'.

²³⁹ NAS, GD3/5/778, Letter from WD to JSK, 26/03/1688.

²⁴⁰ NLS, MS.9250/67, Letter from WD to SC (Carolina to Scotland), 05/05/1688.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Dunlop, *Dunlop Papers Vol. 2*, p.128 and p.145.

²⁴³ NLS, MS.9250/31-2, Letter from MD to WD (Scotland to Port Royal SC), 31/08/1686.

²⁴⁴ NLS, MS.9251/230-1, Letter from Katherine Cardross to SC, 12/08/1700.

Though Dunlop had not abandoned his family like David Millns, his pursuit of masculine credit in Carolina was nonetheless undermined by his failure to fulfil patriarchal expectations.

The risk that Carstares would actually become destitute if Dunlop disappeared overseas was not abstract. Alongside David Millns' wife and Ann Jamison, Scotswoman Janet Thomson experienced this when her colonist husband David Simon died in East Jersey. Having sailed with him across the Atlantic, Thomson was left a 'Widow in a Strange land' until she could return to Scotland.²⁴⁵ There, she petitioned for poor relief in 1707, stressing her feminine virtue and competence as a wife in the process. Thomson found herself

a poor desolat widow with a daughter that is not able to make any shift...
I have hither to been provided for, without being troublesome to others...
[but now] we have nothing to subsist upon.²⁴⁶

In contrast, the masculine pursuit of credit overseas can be seen in John Stewart's letters to Dunlop from Carolina. While Dunlop's own, short letters rarely mention women, Stewart implied that the two had discussed them in person. When Dunlop arrived back in Scotland, Stewart reported that an old 'shipmate' and 'bewty of the country... Ann Shephard' had arrived in Carolina. Stewart accompanied this news with knowing innuendo and praise of her physical attributes:

Omnia Vincit Amor! [Love conquers all] You smell the a[p]plicatione...
She is a witty girle and I really belive modest and chast... she may put off
her Rosebuds at a great rate or for a vast Barter according to lex
Mercatoria...²⁴⁷

Newly arrived women like Shephard were rare in Carolina, where the majority of colonists were men. Many of these men wrote of longing for female company. Thomas

²⁴⁵ MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, pp.134-5.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Stewart and Dunlop, 'Letters from John Stewart'.

Fullerton, a colonist in 1680s Perth Amboy, complained that life away from Montrose lacked 'the company of prettie Girls'.²⁴⁸ Given the rarity of female colonists like Shephard, Stewart described his attraction to her in transactional terms. He likened courting Shephard to 'bartering' via 'Lex Mercatoria', or 'Merchants' law'. Judging her to be 'witty... modest and chast[e]', Stewart suggested (in terms similar to those used by David Chrystie) that Shephard's feminine virtue would reflect well on him. Moreover, Stewart implied that Dunlop would be sympathetic, 'smelling' an underlying 'applicatione' of his euphemisms. His secretive allusions were bolstered by symbolically secretive Latin phrases. Though Dunlop already had a wife in Scotland, Stewart's letter shows how keenly he and fellow colonists sought *masculine* credit specifically in Carolina.

Despite Dunlop's belief that Carolina was the best place to find credit, his Scottish contemporaries felt that distance across the Atlantic undermined this pursuit. When Spanish colonists destroyed Stewartstown in 1686, Dunlop was reluctant to recognise the 'sad news'. He remained 'hard to pers[u]ade... resolved' to maintain Stewartstown 'thou[gh] no assistance should come'.²⁴⁹ Reacting to the Spanish attack, several of Dunlop's family composed a letter suggesting Stewartstown had been doomed to fail precisely because of Atlantic distance. They commiserated, but saw Stewartstown's 'sad and fatall desaster' as proof that 'noe secure plantatione' could be established 'att that distance'.²⁵⁰ To them, this was a 'clear call' for Dunlop to 'laye asyd... a *plantation for Scotland*' (my italics). Stewartstown was a colony for Scotland as much as a colony for Presbyterians, and this letter highlights how closely aligned Dunlop's personal ambitions were with Scotland's national, colonial interests. Credit in American colonies was attractive, but (as Byrd again experienced in 1718) it appeared ephemeral to metropolitan observers. To them, Atlantic distance made Dunlop's 'plantation for Scotland' inherently unsustainable.

Reinforcing the importance of Carstares' household management, correspondence from Frances Glanville (1719-1805) shows how vital a role wives played in household

²⁴⁸ Letter of 04/01/1685, quoted in Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, p.251.

²⁴⁹ NAS, GD3/5/772; NLS, MS.9250/44-45; NLS, MS.9250/69.

²⁵⁰ NLS, MS.9250/48-49.

'oeconomy' across the 1660 to 1760 period. This work by women was vital to stabilising their masculine credit of men travelling overseas. Glanville was married to Admiral Edward Boscawen (1711-1761), who was often away at sea. Boscawen's letters home in the 1740s are lost, but he must have been anxious about his distant family. In response, Glanville reassured her husband with promises of her capability as a manager of their household. She instructed him to

banish all uneasy... anxious thoughts for the children... they shall be my sole care and study... my chief purpose and the business of my life shall be to take care of them.²⁵¹

Similar to Carstares, Glanville shows how intertwined a husband's credit and a wife's virtue were. She asserted her own maternal skill and responsibility. Describing this as her 'business', Glanville used words overlapping with masculine descriptions of work. She claimed to be 'so good an *economist* that I am never distressed' (my emphasis).²⁵² In the same letter, Glanville called herself 'a very housewifely young woman... keeping my account book with perfect exactness... my house is an hourly expense'. To reassure her husband, Glanville directly compared her 'housewifely' femininity to a merchant's 'account book'. While Boscawen was unable to manage his children and household finances at a distance, his masculine credit relied on these reassurances. While Glanville presents an image of security in her marital correspondence, she knew her husband was concerned from his letters. In contrast, Carstares had begun to 'long exceedingly for word' of her husband by 1686, two years after his departure. Writing to Dunlop, Carstares doubted her suitability as Dunlop's wife:

Alace! I have provocked God to deprive me... but I think [this] rather tyes me more to the[e,] if it were possible... I sometimes think either I was not worthy of... so pleasent and desirable a love.²⁵³

²⁵¹ C. F. Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral's wife; being the life and letters of the Hon. Mrs. Edward Boscawen from 1719 to 1761* (London, 1940), p.54.

²⁵² Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral's wife*, p.72.

²⁵³ NLS, MS.9250/34-5, Letter from SC to WD, 30/12/1687.

Immediately countering her own doubts, Carstares centred the strength of her marital bond with Dunlop as an antidote to distance. She argued for her worth as a wife; for her implicit 'virtue'. She claimed that Dunlop's 'will[,] duty and convenience' remained 'a law to me... deservedly dear to thy happie wife'.²⁵⁴ Likewise, another letter mentioned Carstares' 'submission to thy will', despite Dunlop's 'will' having caused their separation in the first place.²⁵⁵ Despite her financial anxieties, Carstares defended her feminine identity by stressing her loyalty as a wife. This feminine self-fashioning appears in her letters as a reaction to the strain of holding a family together across the Atlantic.

6. Conclusion

The need to build and maintain credit affected men and women across the British Atlantic from 1660 to 1760. Credit relied on trust, yet Atlantic distances and the threat of shipwreck eroded trust. Male merchants built their 'credit' around financial success, honest trading, fatherhood and 'oeconomy'. As Daniel Campbell put it, these men 'depended' on their credit. Across Atlantic distances, men had to derive credit from networks of correspondence and visibly signify their status. Scottish merchants were particularly effective at constructing cohesive networks along ethnic lines. Hitherto unused correspondence from Alexander Mountier shows how merchants in Edinburgh and Jamaica cultivated credit through strong masculine social bonds. Letters from both William Byrd I and II further illuminate how the context of Virginia tobacco planting shaped masculine credit. While a powerful source of credit, tobacco planting represented a single point of failure for personal identity (represented by the consignment system), to which the crop itself was closely tied. These planters valued the social cohesive effect of credit more than its financial utility - distant metropolitan merchants often misunderstood this.

Despite skilfully managing mercantile connections and the scandalous debts inherited from Daniel Parke, William Byrd II struggled profoundly to have the Virginian source of his credit recognised in London. Metropolitan observers were often sceptical of credit earned far away overseas; Byrd was rejected for this reason. For other men, the urge

²⁵⁴ NLS, MS.9250/29-30.

²⁵⁵ NLS, MS.9250/52-3.

to “get rich quick” in Britain’s colonies could be destructive. In Carolina, William Dunlop pursued masculine credit to the exclusion of his patriarchal responsibilities, which women in Scotland criticised him for. Similarly, Alexander Mountier sent money and signs of exotic wealth to family and friends in Edinburgh. However, he struggled to find a wife and consolidate the wealth he made in Jamaica, which eroded in the mid-1730s. Credit tied finances so closely to masculine identity that both Byrd and Dunlop resented women in metropolitan Britain for holding them back in the pursuit of credit overseas. As Cadwallader Colden’s correspondence shows, some men (such as David Millns) abandoned women in Britain after crossing the Atlantic.

Just as credit provided a gendered measure of status for each man, the expansion of the British Atlantic in this period saw discussions of ‘national credit’. This collective measure of the wider population’s reputation was seen as a Scottish issue. Campbell and Dunlop show how individual Scotsmen negotiated ideas of national credit before and after the Union of 1707. Representing the financial loss of Scottish credit across Atlantic distances, the loss of Darien contrasted with England’s reputation as a fount of credit, implicitly proven by its successful colonial expansion. While colonists from all Britain and Ireland crossed the Atlantic, Scotsmen retained a distinct reputation for overseas credit-seeking across the 1660 to 1760 period.

This chapter has introduced new collections of correspondence to discussions of gender, identity, and ‘credit’ in the early modern British Atlantic. It has connected individual historical experiences of masculine identity and distance with national distinctions between Scotland and England in new ways. While masculine credit has been studied, how Atlantic distance challenged or reinforced that credit has remained under-examined. Furthermore, work uncovering feminine labour, status and identity in early modern Britain is newer still. This chapter informs this emergent field by analysing the distinctions between masculine ‘credit’ and feminine ‘virtue’. This measured female reputation in sexual, marital and maternal terms, providing a distinct but parallel measure of gendered status to credit. However, this analysis shows that husbands and wives in fact shared credit within a household. Though theoretically excluded from credit, British women knew they could shape men’s credit. As mentioned in passing by Cadwallader Colden, some women traded colonial commodities themselves. Frances

Glanville's letters further show how a wife could maintain her distant husband's credit through household management. Atlantic distance and colonial contexts strained the marital and maternal obligations of women seeking to maintain their 'virtue'. Their marriages separated by Atlantic distance, Alida Schuyler and Sarah Carstares laid claim to credit themselves. Running a Carolina plantation, Eliza Lucas walked a tightrope between the pursuit of credit and ideals of genteel femininity in Charleston.

Chapter 2 Mariners

1. Introduction

The networks of trade and credit discussed in chapter one relied on a world of maritime labour. From 1660 to 1760, the number of merchant and Royal Navy mariners grew dramatically. In particular, the number of long-distance, “blue-water” sailors in Britain grew from a few thousand in the 1600s to 60,000 by 1750.¹ By 1713, annual spending on the Royal Navy had reached £2.4 million sterling. An increase of one-third from 1700, this represented Britain’s single largest state expenditure.² Sailors provided the foundations for transatlantic credit networks to exist. Naval crews guaranteed British imperial control overseas, and merchant crews constituted the lifeblood of oceanic trade. Together, they knitted together the dispersed corners of the British Atlantic. No other Britons were so exposed to the realities of building a maritime empire across vast distances. With seafaring reserved for men, ships at sea became a distinct zone of masculine development, and proximity to the ocean shaped sailors’ lives more immediately than any other Britons. Boston minister Cotton Mather (1663-1728) acknowledged the debt British cosmopolitans thus owed to these ‘Seafaring Friends’:

We are beholden to them for a very great part of those Enjoyments,
whereby our Lives are sweetened.³

This chapter offers a new perspective on the 1660-1760 period, informing a fragmented historiography of gender and British maritime history. Despite mariners’ pivotal role in creating the British Atlantic world, studies of their lives remain comparatively rare. Marcus Rediker highlighted this issue in the 1980s, yet further investigation has progressed slowly.⁴ Articles addressing gender, marriage, and household economies

¹ Lemire, ‘A Question of Trousers’, p.2.

² Margaret Hunt, ‘Women and the fiscal-imperial state in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries’ in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840* ed. by Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge, 2004), pp.29-47 (pp.30-31).

³ Steven J. J. Pitt, ‘Cotton Mather and Boston’s “Seafaring Tribe”’, *The New England Quarterly*, 85:2 (June 2012), 222-252 (p.228).

⁴ Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge, 1987).

in early modern maritime communities emerged in the 2000s.⁵ The 2010s saw more sustained discussion develop in monographs and collections dedicated to piracy, social networks, and coastal history.⁶ This chapter outlines the hazards and opportunities of early modern seafaring, assessing how this shaped masculine and feminine identities. My analysis uses the insightful but disconnected findings of this growing maritime historiography as foundations on which to construct a more cohesive analysis of gender, distance and identity.

I also add to this existing work by drawing on a wide range of primary sources, some of which have never been addressed in published historical work. This includes the uncatalogued letters of Scottish sailor James Nisbet (1688-1738) held in the National Maritime Museum.⁷ First-hand narratives from British sailors in the 1660-1760 period are rare. The few that survive have rarely been analysed in detail, particularly as part of any wider gender analysis. I cover the entire period using the journals of Edward Barlow (1642-1706), John 'Ramblin' Jack' Cremer (1700-74), and Ashley Bowen (1728-1813).⁸ I also re-examine sources from chapter one in this maritime context, including Alexander Mountier, Robert Livingston, and both William Byrd I and II. The voyage journal of Benjamin Franklin (1706-90) provides further evidence of passengers' transatlantic experiences.⁹ Finally, the (auto)biographies of Hannah Snell (1723-92), Mary Lacy (1740-1801), and Sarah Paul (b. c.1740) further illuminate maritime gender identities.¹⁰ Though early modern seafarers did not produce a large or coherent body

⁵ Warner and Lunny, 'Marital Violence', pp.258-276; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, 'The fiction of female dependence and the makeshift economy of soldiers, sailors, and their wives in eighteenth-century London', *Labor History*, 49:4 (2008), 481-501.

⁶ Hardwick, 'Family Matters'; Douglas Catterall and Jodi Campbell, *Women in Port: Gendering Communities, Economies, and Social Networks in Atlantic Port Cities, 1500-1800* (Leiden, 2012); Chet, *The Ocean is a Wilderness*; John C. Appleby, *Women and English Piracy 1540-1720: Partners and Victims of Crime* (Woodbridge, 2015); Eleanor Hubbard, 'Sailors and the Early Modern British Empire: Labor, Nation, and Identity at Sea', *HC*, 14:8 (2016), 348-358; David Worthington (ed.), *The New Coastal History* (London, 2017); Cheryl A. Fury (ed.), *The Social History of English Seamen, 1650-1815* (Woodbridge, 2017); Jen Manion, *Female Husbands: A Trans History* (Cambridge, 2020).

⁷ NMM, MSS92/029, Uncatalogued James Nisbet Letters (1708-22).

⁸ Basil Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal of His Life at Sea in King's Ships* (London, 1934); R. Reynell Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack: The Journal of Captain John Cremer, 1700-1774* (London, 1936); Daniel Vickers (ed.), *The autobiography of Ashley Bowen, 1728-1813* (Ontario, 2006).

⁹ Benjamin Franklin, *Journal of occurrences in my voyage to Philadelphia on board the Berkshire, Henry Clark Master, from London* (1726) <<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-01-02-0029>> [accessed 03/07/2020].

¹⁰ Mary Lacy, *The Female Shipwright* (London, 1773); Robert Walker, *The Surprising Life and Adventures of Hannah Snell* (London, 1750); Paul, *The Life*.

of writing, these accounts represent a uniquely broad and interconnected set of primary sources.

Throughout this analysis, I use 'mariners', 'seafarers', 'sailors', and 'seamen' interchangeably, and describe their counterparts ashore as 'landsmen'. I begin with the childhood socialisation of seafarers, exploring how their masculine development was disrupted and shaped by violence. This chapter then focuses on the economic opportunities and issues created by seafaring, assessing how these shaped a distinct maritime masculinity. This includes discussions of class and status divides, separating passengers from sailors and lower ranks from captains and officers. I explore how oceanic distance shaped both men at sea and women on shore, creating space in which gender norms and identities could be deliberately altered. This includes analysing the femininity of British women on shore and exploring their connections to seafaring men.

2. Economic Volatility and Aspiration

Many sailors came from poor families who made their living from the sea across England's coastal parishes: they were 'bred to the sea', as Cremer himself put it.¹¹ He thought that only 'mean, low people' would read his journal, and hoped it might be 'diverting' to his 'brother Sailors': to him, these two groups overlapped.¹² Sending a child to sea relieved financial pressure on such families, and seafaring itself was seen as a behavioural corrective. In Plymouth and London, Cremer's violent behaviour had made his mother 'not love [him] as the other children'.¹³ She warned her 'Mischeafyous' son that he 'would breake [his] kneck... always Climeing and fightin[g]'.¹⁴ Mary Lacy's autobiography describes similar behaviour. She claimed to have grown up in Kent 'addicted to all manner of mischief'.¹⁵

¹¹ Peter Earle, 'The origins and careers of English merchant seamen in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries' in *The Social History of English Seamen 1650-1815*, ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge, 2017), pp.129-145; (pp.129-30).

¹² Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.45.

¹³ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.38-9.

¹⁴ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.67-70.

¹⁵ Tom Grundner (ed.), *The Lady Tars: The Autobiographies of Hannah Snell, Mary Lacy and Mary Anne Talbot* (Tucson AZ, 2008), p.60.

By 1700, approximately 90% of mariners were literate and could sign their name: most had received some primary education.¹⁶ However, landsmen still perceived them as generally less intelligent for having been 'Educated under the Mussell of a gun'.¹⁷ In Cremer's case, this was literally true - he had been schooled aboard *HMS Dover* since the age of eight. Aware that this disadvantaged him compared to landsmen of 'Sense and Learning', Cremer blamed his 'bad Spelling' and 'SoeSowe [i.e., unpractised and inconsistent] Stile' on this 'sea learning'. English sailor Edward Barlow likewise complained that continual hard labour and tossing seas made it difficult to study anything aboard ship.¹⁸ Life on land did not guarantee a good education, but seafaring clearly disrupted masculine development and attempted to escape poverty in distinct ways.

The dislocation created by seafaring was enhanced by ships themselves, which were shocking, alienating spaces. Barlow had been raised inland near Prestwich. Seeing London's docks for the first time as a teenager, he described ships as unfamiliar 'Wooden Worlds'.¹⁹ Likewise, Cremer recalled boarding the *Dover* for the first time, unable to 'think what world [he] was in' surrounded by 'strange expreshions of tonge' and 'dreadful Noise'.²⁰ Mary Lacy had 'never seen such a large ship' before enlisting: aboard, 'all seemed strange'.²¹ Even a coastal upbringing was thus little preparation for life aboard 'wooden worlds' at sea. Ships created a profound sense of dislocation, replacing the social relations, speech, and sense of space young mariners had known ashore.

Seamen were forced to acclimatise to inescapable hard physical labour and violence while at sea. Cremer recalled how one 'vilenous hard-hearted fellow... a barbourous... vilanous Gaurdian' left him on the *Dover's* lowest deck for days.²² Landsmen and -

¹⁶ N. A. M. Rodgers, 'Officers and Men of the Navy, 1660-1815' in *The Social History of English Seamen 1650-1815*, ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge, 2017), pp.51-69 (p.57).

¹⁷ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.31-2.

¹⁸ Earle, 'Origins and careers', pp.131-4.

¹⁹ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, p.23.

²⁰ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.43.

²¹ Grundner (ed.), *Lady Tars*, p.65.

²² Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.45.

women were profoundly shocked by the violence inflicted on sailors at sea. Massachusetts sailor Ashley Bowen recalled becoming 'a hardy lad to stand all brunts' at sea.²³ Bowen's first shipmaster whipped him for a minor infraction, rubbing brine into the wounds. A gentlewoman passenger who witnessed this cried 'Captain Hall, for Godsake let us go on shore again on a Christian land!'²⁴ Despite her pleas, Bowen's nose was also broken and he was whipped with a cat-o'-nine-tails. Such punishment had a lifelong effect: Bowen claimed to have 'felt it ever since'. While this specific punishment was exceptionally harsh (with the crew threatening to testify against the captain), it accurately represents the wider violence seamen suffered.

Despite outcries against such violence, the Royal Navy encouraged sailors to develop a 'played unaffectedness' to keep them working in sea battles and violent storms.²⁵ Life at sea created what Bernard Capp has called an 'inescapable psychological pressure', which sailors were forced to adapt to.²⁶ Surgeon's apprentice James Yonge testified to sailors 'unconcerned, walking, talking, singing, smoking' despite the 'prodigious billows of the roaring sea'.²⁷ Rather than remembering his first sea-battles (against Malouin privateers and Salé corsairs) with fear or trauma, Cremer dispassionately remembered that 'we killed a great maney of theair men'.²⁸ Though pirates in particular were reputed as violent hedonists, Cremer's journal shows how British sailors could identify with similar behaviour. In the face of a violent life at sea, Cremer declared his motto to be 'a merry life and a short one'.²⁹ This was the exact same motto as proclaimed by Cremer's infamous pirate contemporary, Bartholomew Roberts. Even "ordinary" sailors thus defined themselves as men surrounded by permanent violence and danger.

Seamen's bodies were damaged by seafaring life as much as their minds. Their skin was tanned and weathered, their joints prematurely exhausted: diseases and nutritional

²³ Vickers (ed.), *Ashley Bowen*, p.16.

²⁴ Vickers (ed.), *Ashley Bowen*, p.38, p.46.

²⁵ Roland Pietsch, 'Hearts of oak and jolly tars? Heroism and insanity in the Georgian navy', *Journal for Maritime Research*, 15:1 (2013), 69-82 (p.73).

²⁶ Bernard Capp, 'Naval Seamen, 1650-1700' in *The Social History of English Seamen 1650-1815* ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge, 2017), pp.33-49 (pp.37-40).

²⁷ Capp, 'Naval Seamen', p.37.

²⁸ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.52, p.95.

²⁹ Capp, 'Naval Seamen', p.33.

deficiencies were rife.³⁰ A combination of ten- to fourteen-hour workdays, poor diet, and hard drinking aboard filthy, poorly ventilated ships led to typhus, dysentery, bronchitis, alcoholism and scurvy.³¹ Medical treatment was poor to non-existent, and naval surgeons were paid a pittance until 1692.³² The sum effect of these hardships made a 45 year-old seaman look like a 60 year-old landsman.³³ Edward Barlow could attest to this. Aged sixty, he retired in 1703 with a limp and a scarred head, having experienced 'many a hungry belly and wet back'. Few sailors reached that age, and Barlow himself died just three years later. Barlow thus described the common sailor's life in his journal as a 'hard and miserable calling... little better than a slave'.³⁴ Cremer echoed Barlow's sentiments in his own journal:

What unthinking wre[t]ches we unhappy Sailors for generality are.³⁵

While many British sailors experienced poverty, they also saw seafaring as a source of economic opportunity. Both landsmen and seamen alike pursued economic self-sufficiency as a masculine ideal, but sailors placed a special emphasis on this marker of manhood. The maritime 'spirit of self-reliance', linking economic freedom to seafaring mobility, outlined their masculine identities.³⁶ Poor, itinerant sailors struggled to access some foundations of masculine credit available to the merchants and planters seen in chapter one. In particular, they struggled to own property or accumulate capital. Edward Barlow was the sixth son of a poor family. When he left for London, his father could only give him six shillings.³⁷ For such men, seafaring life offered both greater risks and greater rewards than work on land. The maritime labour market fluctuated wildly, but it offered opportunities for mobility and direct connections to colonial commodities

³⁰ Ogborn, *Global Lives*, pp.146-8; Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, 'Visible Bodies: Power, Subordination and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World', *Journal of Social History*, 39:1 (2005), 39-64 (p.41).

³¹ David McLean, 'Health Provision in the Royal Navy, 1650-1815' in *The Social History of English Seamen 1650-1815*, ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge, 2017), pp.107-126 (pp.107-110).

³² McLean, 'Health Provision in the Royal Navy', p.118.

³³ Earle, 'Origins and careers', p.143.

³⁴ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, p.112, p.162 and p.339.

³⁵ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.229.

³⁶ Capp, 'Naval Seamen', p.40; Ogborn, *Global Lives*, p.153.

³⁷ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, p.31.

unavailable on land. For this reason, some men became mariners in a bid to secure the economic foundations of their masculinity.

Seamen defended their right to negotiate pay and length of service where possible, asserting their economic independence. Despite lamenting the unhappy state of sailors, Edward Barlow felt 'happy' that he could 'walk when and where [he] pleased' for work.³⁸ Complaining in the 1680s that one merchants' words were 'slippery performances', Barlow took his labour elsewhere. This contrasted with the 'little confidence' Barlow had experienced as a tavern boy. On a successful merchant voyage, ordinary sailors might earn as much as skilled tailors.³⁹ The traditional right of 'portage' allowed sailors to bring home personal cargoes, too small for commercial use but incredibly valuable on an individual scale. When war with France disrupted trade in the 1690s, Britain's sailors were in high demand. They successfully negotiated for hazard pay, with some London sailors securing 50 shillings a month and extra portage rights.⁴⁰ For reference, John Cremer earned fifteen shillings per month maintaining a docked ship in the 1710s; twenty to thirty on voyages in the 1720s; forty as one ships' Second Mate.⁴¹ The crew of *HMS Assistance* each made nineteen shillings per month in 1675.⁴² In these circumstances, mariners valued sailing both for its economic opportunities and its flexibility. Seafaring not only offered the self-sufficiency expected of men under patriarchy, but it distinctly coupled economic opportunity with independent mobility in a way sailors prized.

It was this emphasis of seafaring masculinity on independence and economic enterprise that attracted many mariners to piracy and privateering. Both offered the lure of prizes and a reduced individual workload (due to these ship's larger crews).⁴³ With the Royal Navy struggling to suppress piracy significantly until the 1730s, many sailors were faced with orders to risk their lives by defending merchants' cargoes.⁴⁴ Many

³⁸ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, p.61, p.341-2.

³⁹ Earle, 'Origins and careers', pp.135-6.

⁴⁰ Appleby, 'Daniel [De]Foe's Virginia venture', p.15.

⁴¹ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.71-4, p.92, p.102, and p.118.

⁴² G. E. Manwaring (ed.), *The Diary of Henry Teonge, Chaplain on Board H.M. Ships Assistance, Bristol and Royal Oak 1675-1679* (London, 1927), p.26.

⁴³ Ogborn, *Global lives*, pp.183-6.

⁴⁴ Hubbard, 'Sailors', p.354.

refused - ship's mate Thomas Smith aboard the *Partis* said 'he would not venture his life for any Owner whatsoever'.⁴⁵ This reinforces the determination of British seamen to assert independent agency in ways which reinforced their masculine identities. The skills needed to traverse vast Atlantic distances defined sailors' distinct brand of masculinity, and (temporarily) placed merchants and creditors on land at their mercy. Mariners' prized mobility was often described as 'wandering' or 'rambling'. Edward Barlow wrote of being 'given to wandering'. A 'mind to hear... strange things in other countries' inflated his desire to 'seek fortune' on the sea.⁴⁶ Mary Lacy also claimed their 'roving disposition' attracted them to seafaring in spite of the 'uneasy' male disguise this required.⁴⁷ John Cremer became known as 'Ramblin' Jack', and declared on his journal's first page that he was 'a rambling Sort of a Chap'.

While Cremer's nickname would suggest he took pride in 'rambling', his journal also demonstrates the negative side of mariners' prized mobility. Peripatetic seafaring offered men economic freedom, but it also hindered their pursuit of other masculine aspirations such as marriage. Cremer later wrote about his 'unhappy mind of Rambling', becoming 'a wandering, unhappy Chap'.⁴⁸ He believed that becoming 'a great man' would require exchanging his 'Constant roving mind' for a 'Setteled... mind'.⁴⁹ Cremer's cousin gave him similar advice, saying it was not 'going [on] Voages abroad that [made] a man'. After all, each voyage was a risk. Any cargo might be lost or damaged at sea, and the sailor's labour market was volatile. In 1713, the Peace of Utrecht flooded British ports with demobilised sailors; average wages fell by more than half. In London, James Nisbet was forced to devalue his labour in order to undercut others and secure work.⁵⁰ In Boston, disaffected sailors raided the dockside homes of merchants friendly with Cotton Mather.⁵¹ Mobility was a double-edged sword, simultaneously offering seamen a masculine sense of economic independence and threatening to destabilise their masculine identity. Though sailors played a vital role in

⁴⁵ Appleby, 'Daniel [De]Foe's Virginia venture', p.19.

⁴⁶ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, pp.15-21.

⁴⁷ Grundner (ed.), *The Lady Tars*, p.61, p.70, p.80.

⁴⁸ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.32, p.39.

⁴⁹ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.211-213.

⁵⁰ NMM, MSS92/029/4, Letter from JN to WND (London to Edinburgh), 11/09/1710.

⁵¹ Pitt, 'Cotton Mather', pp.238-9.

Britain's military forces, their reputation as heroes of British imperialism was slow to emerge in the eighteenth century. Widespread veneration of naval 'tars' only developed after celebrated naval battles during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and (most significantly) the Napoleonic Wars (1803-15).⁵²

These concerns appear common to "British" seafarers regardless of nationality. The sources in this chapter skew towards England, which had a larger population and an unrivalled concentration of maritime networks in London. The Royal Navy was also based in English ports, and after 1707 there was no separate Scots Navy. Other Scottish mariners appear in connection to this chapter's sources, but only tangentially. The marine who killed Edward Teach was a Scottish Highlander.⁵³ Daniel Campbell's older brother, Matthew Campbell of Orgaig, fought Malouin privateers as commander of the 22-gun Scots Navy frigate *Dumbarton Castle* from 1695 to 1709.⁵⁴ The situation is similar regarding Welsh mariners. Despite Wales' smaller population and lack of large seaports, three of the British Atlantic's most infamous pirates were Welsh: Henry Morgan (1635-1688), Hywel Davies (c.1690-1719), and Bartholomew Roberts (1682-1722). Within England, Londoners saw men of the West Country as particularly poor and uncouth. John Cremer's London-raised brothers mocked him as 'their West-Cuntry brother or as 'Hick-mun-dowdell Jack', 'inrag[ing] him.⁵⁵ Cremer's red hair and West Country accent led many other sailors to call him a Cornishman and incorporate this into insults against him.⁵⁶ Though Londoners' perceived West-Countrymen and Cornishmen as (synonymous and) particularly poor, Barlow, Cremer, and Nesbit all experienced hard times in London too. The risks of seafaring mobility appear equally spread across "British" mariners.

More than downturns in the merchant shipping labour market, the economic freedom that mariner's masculinity relied on was hit hard by naval impressment. Sailors were

⁵² Hubbard, 'Sailors', p.350.

⁵³ MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, p.101.

⁵⁴ GCA, TD1619/56, 05/03/1695; TNA, ADM 106/639/200, Folio 200: Captain Matthew Campbell... 29/07/1709; Adam Lyons, *The 1711 Expedition to Quebec: Politics and the Limitations of British Global Strategy* (London, 2013), p.61.

⁵⁵ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.38-9.

⁵⁶ Cremer is connected to Cornwall multiple times in his journal - Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.15-16, pp.44-5, p.89; Cathryn Pearce, *Cornish Wrecking 1700-1860: Reality and Popular Myth* (Woodbridge, 2010).

forcibly enlisted - “pressed” - onto Royal Navy ships from shore and ship alike. From 1689 to 1815, one-third of all naval crewmen (around 150,000 total) were “pressed”.⁵⁷ Impressment had been grudgingly accepted as a wartime necessity and seasonal practice for centuries, but the practice transformed in the 1680s. Impressment expanded dramatically to fuel Britain’s naval expansion, itself a reflection of colonial expansion across the Atlantic amid inter-imperial wars and the growth of piracy.⁵⁸ Royal Navy squadrons were stationed overseas from 1695 onward, eventually supported by naval bases in Antigua (1731) and Halifax (1749).⁵⁹ For the first time, England (and subsequently Britain) sought to simultaneously maintain wartime *and* peacetime levels of naval and mercantile sailing. In 1692, pressed sailors were not released to their families but instead forced to overwinter aboard ship for the first time.⁶⁰ Seamen used to seasonal employment and economic independence were now being abducted into continual naval service. Barlow, Cremer, and Bowen all experienced impressment first-hand: Cremer’s half-uncle was a press officer. Largely responsible for this shift as Secretary of the Navy, Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) acknowledged impressment was cruel, but all attempts at replacing it failed.⁶¹ For men whose identities were built around economic autonomy and the ability to ‘ramble’, impressment was profoundly emasculating.

The press prevented seamen from moving freely between ships and shore. Though some captains resisted press officers, even arranging armed protection for their ships, others used it as a tool of control. In 1698, English sailor Robert Boyce claimed his captain had (among other grievances) deliberately stranded him among press gangs in Virginia to avoid paying him.⁶² Barlow also complained that one ‘knaveish’ captain deprived him of wages.⁶³ The promise of Royal Navy wages was not an equal

⁵⁷ Denver Brunsman, ‘Men of War: British Sailors and the Impressment Paradox’ in *Journal of Early Modern History*, 14 (2010), 9-44 (p.22).

⁵⁸ Capp, ‘Naval Seamen’, p.34; Brunsman, ‘Men of War’, pp.16-19

⁵⁹ Vincent Brown, *The Reaper’s Garden - Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (London, 2008), p.15.

⁶⁰ David J. Starkey, ‘Private enterprise, Public Policy and the Development of Britain’s Seafaring Workforce, 1650-1815’ in Fury (ed.), *The Social History of English Seamen 1650-1815*, 147-211 (p.149); Brunsman, ‘Men of War’, pp.23-5; Capp, ‘Naval Seamen’, p.34.

⁶¹ Brunsman, ‘Men of War’, pp.26-9; Rodgers, ‘Officers and Men of the Navy’, pp.54-5.

⁶² Appleby, ‘Daniel [De]Foe’s Virginia venture’, pp.20-2.

⁶³ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow’s Journal*, p.326.

exchange for this lost freedom. Though more consistent than mercantile wages, those paid by the Navy were notoriously difficult to collect. Payment was often delayed, and only available via flimsy tickets redeemed at the Navy Office in London. Even wealthy landmen like Robert Livingston criticised this 'great expense and trouble'.⁶⁴ Brokers offering to travel from the naval ports of Plymouth or Portsmouth to London and collect wages would pocket large percentages.⁶⁵ This situation persisted across the period. In 1760, Londoner Sarah Paul described how 'subalterns in the naval service' were 'mere starving [men] in a worse situation than a common labourer'.⁶⁶ Paul spoke from personal experience: their own father had died a poor sailor in the Royal Navy.

Due to the restrictions it imposed, the press invoked widespread and continued resistance. Though most men were pressed in metropolitan Britain, Boston was also targeted. As British America's largest city and port, Boston was home to the third-largest British merchant fleet by 1710.⁶⁷ HMS *Swift* was fired on by local ships when it tried to press sailors from Boston merchantmen.⁶⁸ In the 1750s, one Liverpool press gang was pelted with stones by hundreds of sailors' wives.⁶⁹ However, only seven percent of naval crewmen deserted during the period, despite the unpopularity of impressment and the fact that it provided one-third of all recruits.⁷⁰ There are several reasons for this imbalance, which Denver Brunsman has termed the 'impressment paradox'.⁷¹ Firstly, many men successfully avoided press gangs or escaped them before the point of enlisting. For example, John Cremer was seized by a press gang from HMS *Barfleur* but gained their confidence and escaped: he would not have been recorded as a deserter.⁷² Secondly, volunteers were better-paid than pressed men. As intended, this prompted some sailors to pre-emptively "volunteer" when surrounded by press gangs. If impressment was imminent, these men could mitigate some of their lost

⁶⁴ Lawrence Leder, 'Robert Livingston's Voyage To England, 1695' in *New York History*, 36:1 (January, 1955), 16-38 (pp.28-30).

⁶⁵ Capp, 'Naval Seamen', p.3, p.39.

⁶⁶ Paul, *The Life*, p.7.

⁶⁷ Only London and Bristol had greater fleets - Pitt, 'Cotton Mather', pp.230-2.

⁶⁸ Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, p.158; Jeremy Black with Cheryl Fury, 'The Development of Sea Power, 1649-1815' in *The Social History of English Seamen 1650-1815*, pp.5-32 (pp.14-15).

⁶⁹ Ogborn, *Global Lives*, p.158.

⁷⁰ Rodgers, 'Officers and Men of the Navy', p.56.

⁷¹ Black with Fury, 'Sea Power, 1649-1815', p.17; Brunsman, 'Men of War', p.10.

⁷² Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.62, p.92 and p.101.

economic freedom by at least claiming better wages. Finally, the Navy offered opportunities for promotion and appealed to militaristic 'masculine gender aspirations'.⁷³ Some sailors seized by press gangs might have made the best of the situation and turned to a naval career. While impressment became a resented fact of British seafaring life from the late-seventeenth century onwards, sailors thus responded creatively. They pursued the cultivation of seafaring masculinity even when "pressed".

Aboard oceangoing ships, labour and economic struggles were intertwined with distinct masculine social divides. Both naval and merchant vessels operated using a strict social hierarchy in which a master or captain had absolute power, followed by the ship's mate. The boatswain and quartermaster served as officers, followed by fully-trained ("able") seamen who were one rank above common sailors and 'boys'.⁷⁴ Captains were therefore the keystone of any successful ship. As they needed a wide range of skills and experience (from navigation and bookkeeping to managing the crew), the most skilled were in high demand. In an all-male environment at sea, where survival and seafaring skill were directly correlated, sailing competency was a mark of individual masculinity.⁷⁵ Literally 'knowing the ropes' better than common seamen set captains apart, and helped them defend their masculine seafaring identities before landmen. The Royal Navy reinforced this emphasis on skill by opening lieutenants' exams to men of all status in 1702 and requiring six years' sailing experience for promotion after 1729.⁷⁶ The officer corps became a vehicle of social mobility, shifting from a seventeenth-century reliance on gentlemen to lower-born 'tarpaulins' who rose through the ranks.⁷⁷ Captains were the only men to have some privacy at sea, and they ate better than other seamen, reflecting their greater status. One naval captain's diet included 'ribs, cheeses, hens, fruit, Canary and Rhenish wines.'⁷⁸ For common mariners, the rank of captain thus became a masculine ambition to aspire to.

⁷³ Capp, 'Naval Seamen', p.37; Brunsman, 'Men of War', p.12.

⁷⁴ Mitchell-Cook, *A Sea of Misadventures*, p.46, p.72, p.86; Zahedieh, *The Capital*, pp.161-6.

⁷⁵ Jeffrey D. Glasco, "The Seaman Feels Him-self a Man" in *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 66 (Fall 2004), 40–56 (pp.40-46).

⁷⁶ Rodgers, 'Officers and Men of the Navy', pp.51-54.

⁷⁷ Capp, 'Naval Seamen', pp.43-4.

⁷⁸ Manwaring, (ed.), *Henry Teonge*, pp.43-7.

Despite the emphasis on captains as professionals, their qualifications did not always convince landsmen of their status. For example, William Byrd II's letters outline his ingrained mistrust of ships' captains. When asked for 'a sensible master of ship' in 1736, Byrd claimed this would be 'difficult' as

They are commonly men of no aspiring genius, and their understanding rises little higher than instinct. When they go out of their ships they are out of their element... The most they can be taught to do is sometimes to deliver a letter, and if they... have superior parts... perhaps to call for an answer.⁷⁹

Byrd's reference to such men being 'out of their element' when 'out of their ships' shows that seafaring expertise did not readily translate into status on land. This tied into another reason gentlemen like Byrd did not respect captains' claims to 'genius': they rarely looked the part. Though captains tried to dress elegantly on land, they looked more like common seamen while at sea. Byrd would have seen this on his many voyages. Sailors wore striped trousers which served as a 'visual shorthand' for their 'robust nautical masculinity' and its lower status.⁸⁰ Officers in the Royal Navy were no better, lacking any official uniform until 1748.⁸¹ Their expertise was therefore not immediately visible in terms landsmen understood.

The condescension displayed by landsmen like Byrd towards captains was exacerbated by the latter's reputation for violence. Beyond passengers witnessing the brutal treatment of men like Ashley Bowen at sea, metropolitan Britons saw captains as generally disposed to tyrannical violence. London satirist Ned Ward (1667-1731) described a ship's captain as a 'Leviathan... more a Devil than the Devil himself... a kind of Sea God, whom the poor Tars worship'.⁸² Ward's literal demonisation of captains simultaneously mocked the average "Tar" as an ignorant devil-worshipper. In 1726, Cotton Mather acknowledged how captains' 'Barbarous Usage' of sailors drove

⁷⁹ Letter from WBII to John Pratt (Westover to London), 24/06/1736 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.479-80.

⁸⁰ Lemire, 'A Question of Trousers', p.10.

⁸¹ Rodgers, 'Officers and Men of the Navy', p.58.

⁸² Mitchell-Cook, *A Sea of Misadventures*, p.87.

them 'to do Desperate Things'.⁸³ Mather was reacting to the execution of pirate captain William Fly, a man who felt his mutinous actions were justified by his captain's actions. Speaking from the gallows, Fly distanced 'poor men' like himself from officers and commanders:

Our Captain and his Mate used us Barbarously. We poor Men can't have Justice done us... our Commanders... use us like Dogs.⁸⁴

Fly's last words show how common sailors struggled to defend their individual masculinity when faced with overreaching, authoritarian captains. Edward Barlow warned that in such cases, 'a poor man dare not speak for that which is his right'.⁸⁵ While captains exercised authoritarian control to make sure that voyages went smoothly, sailors nonetheless found ways to assert themselves against overbearing commanders. For example, John Cremer once defied officers in a strongly masculine way. Feeling 'amorously fond' of two 'good-looking girls' in Mahon, Cremer promised them an 'hour or Two in bed' with him. At the time, Mahon (on the island of Menorca) was a British possession and the Royal Navy's prime Mediterranean base. Cremer was interrupted by English naval officers, who claimed these two women for themselves. Claiming defiantly that 'he is not an Englishman who will part with his hoar', Cremer refused to defer to these men:

I was not Sorry... their behaviour was unbecoming gentelmen... They had as much or more reason to Ask my pardon, as I had theair's.⁸⁶

Cremer mocked their pretensions of gentility, claiming that his status was equal to theirs. Later in his journal, Cremer demonstrated this attitude again by blowing his wages on a gentleman's dress and going on a hedonistic spree across London.⁸⁷ Though captains were higher status than common sailors, Cremer shows how sailors could simultaneously challenge a captain's status as much as any landsman.

⁸³ Pitt, 'Cotton Mather', pp.248-50.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, p.146.

⁸⁶ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.131-3.

⁸⁷ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.8-10.

Successful captains had to contend with the difficulties inherent in translating their higher status at sea to land. Oceanic distance separated these halves of their lives as much as any common sailor. For example, Scottish naval captain John Knight became commander of HMS *Saltash* in 1749.⁸⁸ However, Knight wrote of his 'very Sensible Concern & Uneasiness to be absent from my Family' to friends in Dundee. Knight considered resigning his command to be closer to his family, but knew this would undermine his hard work to secure promotion:

with what Countenance Should I ever See my Friends at the Admi[ral]ty again, or expect a Favour from them afterwards? Would not these very men who are now my only Friends, be my worst Enemies, at a Time when I might promise myself... further Encouragement and preferment?⁸⁹

The struggle to secure patronage and climb the shipboard masculine hierarchy can also be seen in the life of Scottish sailor James Nisbet (1688-1738). While his brother William (c.1666-1724) was a wealthy, prominent figure in Scottish politics, James Nisbet struggled to consolidate his own seafaring masculinity.⁹⁰ Uncatalogued letters show how Nisbet attempted to draw on his landsman brother's more established credit and connections. In 1708, Nisbet asked his brother to 'mention me in a line' to a London captain 'because I am altogether a stranger to him': he sent a similar letter in 1710.⁹¹ Exhibiting a sailor's maritime language, Nisbet likened himself to a ship in port, requesting cash 'towards ye fitting me out for another Voage'.⁹² As seen in chapter one, this was partly a material investment in embodied masculinity and education. Nisbet attempted to demonstrate his good credit by spending £18 of wages on books, education, and clothes, eventually receiving £20 from his brother to cover this. As a seaman trying to secure economic independence, Nisbet's continued reliance on his

⁸⁸ NAS, JKP, GD240/37/7/5, Letter from JK to John Ballingall (London to Dundee), 09/09/1746.

⁸⁹ NAS, JKP, GD240/37/7/4, Letter from JK to John Ballingall ('Saltash Sheerness' to Dundee), 14/03/1748-9.

⁹⁰ David Wilkinson, 'NISBET (NESBIT), William (c.1666-1724), of Dirleton, Haddington', *The History of Parliament* <histparl.ac.uk/volume/1690-1715/member/nisbet-%28nesbit%29-william-1666-1724> [accessed: 02/03/2020].

⁹¹ NMM, MSS92/029/1 and MSS92/029/4, Letters from JN to WND (London to Edinburgh), 22/07/1708 and 11/09/1710.

⁹² NMM, MSS92/029/3, Letter from JN to WND (London to Edinburgh), 08/07/1710.

brother was nonetheless an emasculating experience. In one letter, he defended his worth as a labouring man who simply lacked opportunities:

Do not thinke I have taken pleasure in staying att home... be assured
what money I gett I labour hard for it.⁹³

This exchange also speaks to the gulf in understanding between landsmen and seamen. Nesbit's brother neither understood the seasonal unemployment common to mariners, nor how hard they struggled to build credit and find patronage. As Nesbit reminded his brother in this same letter, 'a stranger is served last... he who has [the] most friends and the longest purse carries the day'. Nesbit had worked for years aboard the *Mermaid*, a 30 gun merchantman which received letters of marque in 1710.⁹⁴ A new ship would mean a new captain, and subsequently, a new battle to rebuild credit and pursue promotion. Nisbet experienced this anyway when he was shipwrecked off Dartmouth in 1711. He had hoped to achieve self-sufficiency as his 'owne master' and 'doe for my Self', but was now forced to re-establish his identity with further support from his landsman brother:

I hope you will be pleased to send me Creditt as soon as posible for the
Wintter is exceeding Cold and I have nothing to help my self not so much
as a shirt... Your letter will be sufficient to gett me Credit...⁹⁵

3. Crewmen and Passengers

The social divide which existed between landsmen and seamen is highlighted in the records of passengers on transatlantic journeys. While sailors became accustomed to the material experience of seafaring, passengers found every voyage a life-threatening trial. Sailing to take up the post of Secretary of New York, George Clarke (1676-1760) witnessed

⁹³ NMM, MSS92/029/6, Letter from JN to WND (London to Edinburgh), 24/11/1711.

⁹⁴ TNA, HCA 26/15/32, Registers of Declarations for Letters of Marque, 19/11/1710.

⁹⁵ NMM, MSS92/029/7 and MSS92/029/8, Letters from JN to WND (Dartmouth to Edinburgh), 25/12/1711 and 17/02/1711.

the most violent Thunder and lightning that any man on board had ever seen... [with] nothing but air above... and water beneath.⁹⁶

Even experienced sailors could be shaken by such experiences. Edward Barlow described stormy seas as a divine *memento mori*, challenging the belief of men in their own power:

Every wave would make a grave... as though Heaven and earth would come together... His Terrors [...] put us in mind of our lives... to remember we are but dust.⁹⁷

Such dramatic and strongly affecting brushes with mortality were established as an expectation of transatlantic passengers by the 1680s. In *Moll Flanders* (London, 1683), Daniel Defoe described the title character's mother suffering 'a terrible passage... long and full of Dangers'.⁹⁸ Though fictional, this woman's response to such traumatic events - the thought of returning across the 'unpassable' ocean being 'unsufferable' - closely matched reality. No passenger took the prospect of crossing the Atlantic lightly.

The ocean itself was not the only threat faced by transatlantic voyagers. All sailors and passengers in this chapter faced the overlapping threats of pirates and privateers. Cremer fought corsairs at a young age; Barlow and Bowen were captured by Dutch and French privateers respectively; James Nisbet was attacked by French privateers three times.⁹⁹ Woodes Rogers (1679-1732) complained in 1712 that Caribbean colonists had 'never been free from apprehension of danger from Pirates'.¹⁰⁰ Mary Stafford described 'the Enemy [as] more terrible then the sea' on her own voyage to Carolina.¹⁰¹ While voyaging to Virginia in 1720, William Byrd II passed by Bermuda, an

⁹⁶ E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *Voyage of George Clarke, esq., to America* (1867).

⁹⁷ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, p.60 and p.442.

⁹⁸ Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders* (London, 1683), pp.85-9.

⁹⁹ NMM, MSS92/029/7, Letter from JN to WND (Dartmouth to Edinburgh), 25/12/1711.

¹⁰⁰ G. E. Manwaring (ed.), *Woodes Rogers, A Cruising Voyage Around the World* (London, 1928), p.xxxv.

¹⁰¹ Mary Stafford and St. Julien R. Childs, 'A Letter Written in 1711 by Mary Stafford to Her Kinswoman in England', *SCHM*, 81:1 (Jan. 1980), p.6.

island which had been overrun by pirates from 1702 to 1706.¹⁰² He had narrowly missed a pirate raid by only two days, and complained that ‘these rogues swarm in this part of the world’.¹⁰³

Despite the well-acknowledged trauma of such threatening transatlantic voyages, their influence on the gendered identities of British colonist passengers has been neglected in Atlantic historiography. Stephen Berry has shown how such voyages had the power to create a ‘dissociative break’, driving passengers to re-evaluate their lives.¹⁰⁴ Benjamin Franklin described his time at sea in 1726 in similar terms; as a period ‘separated and excommunicated... from the rest of mankind’.¹⁰⁵ Vessels served as ‘contact zones’, temporarily restructuring cultural priorities and social hierarchies while at sea. My analysis builds on Berry’s with new examples and a new cultural focus: gender, rather than religion. The poorer colonists crossing the British Atlantic (often aboard crowded ships from Scotland and Ireland) left behind few written sources comparable to mariners like Barlow and Cremer. I therefore use accounts from ‘well-to-do’ and gentlemen passengers, whose social distinctions from (generally lower-status) sailors highlight divergent strands of masculinity on land and sea.

While sailors saw seafaring as an exercise of independent masculine agency, passengers saw the ocean as a space which erased theirs. William Byrd II testified to this in 1720, likening his latest voyage to ‘husquenawing’, a rite of passage among the Saponi (an Indigenous nation) which Byrd misunderstood. He described husquenawing as a rite of passage wherein children coming of age were drugged and isolated so as to forget their childhoods. Byrd claimed these people were ‘transport[ed...] out of their senses... perfectly mad for six weeks’, the same duration as many Atlantic crossings.¹⁰⁶ Passengers might not have been mad, but they were certainly disoriented at sea. They took weeks to adapt to seasickness (if at all) and develop the necessary “sea legs” or

¹⁰² Appleby, ‘Pirates, Privateers and Buccaneers’, p.223.

¹⁰³ Letter from WBII to CB (Virginia to England), 06/03/1720 in Tinling, *Correspondence*, pp.326-7.

¹⁰⁴ Berry, *A Path*, pp.4-6.

¹⁰⁵ Franklin, *Journal of occurrences*, 10/10/1726 and 23/09/1726.

¹⁰⁶ See chapter three for more details on voyage length and chapter five for further discussion of the Saponi and ‘husquenawing’. Letter from WBII to CB (Virginia to London), 06/03/1720 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.326-7.

“sea-brain”.¹⁰⁷ Byrd further likened such voyages to rites of passage when his young daughter Ursula arrived safely in Virginia in 1730, having been schooled in England. He wrote that ‘she bore the sea very well’.¹⁰⁸ Byrd’s comparisons are particularly illuminating given his near-unrivalled tally of transatlantic voyages. He made four return voyages between Virginia and England from 1681 to 1726, his first aged around eight. For a landsman, this was an incredible, almost unparalleled number. That a veteran of transatlantic crossings would liken them to transformation into adulthood and madness illuminates their power to break down and reassemble identities. These voyages were liminal spaces, distancing passengers from their pre-established lives.

Masculine identities consolidated on land were undermined by seafaring realities. Even gentlemen like Byrd had to accept a general loss of control when at sea. The masculine identities they constructed on land, their connections and credit, their ability to fulfil patriarchal ideals: all were forced to defer to the weather and to sailors’ skill. When the winds failed en route from London to Philadelphia in 1726, Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) noted that all aboard grew ‘sullen, silent and reserved’. Fine winds returned their ‘cheerful countenance’.¹⁰⁹ Departing London in 1729, Alexander Mountier reported ‘nothing but Gales and contrary wind most of our passage.’ He extended this sensation of isolation and uncontrolled unfamiliarity to his arrival in colonial Jamaica. The voyage had created a disconnect, distancing Mountier from his established life in Edinburgh. He wrote to Edward Burd about the struggle to re-establish his dislocated identity in Jamaica:

I only leave you to Judge my condition, to be in a Strange place, without my friend and scarcely any acquaintance... many times [have] I wished myself in Edinburgh.¹¹⁰

Some voyages were comparatively calm. In 1688, William Byrd I arrived in Virginia after a ‘pleasant & short passage’.¹¹¹ Just as Mountier connected a challenging voyage to

¹⁰⁷ Berry, *A Path*, pp.53-9.

¹⁰⁸ Letter from WBII to CB, 18/06/1730 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.429-31.

¹⁰⁹ Franklin, *Journal of occurrences*, 25/08/1726 and 18/09/1726.

¹¹⁰ NAS, RH15/54/9/31, Letter from AM to EB (Kingston to Edinburgh), 09/09/1729.

¹¹¹ Letter from WBI to NR (Virginia to Deal), 16/04/1688 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.78-9.

isolation on Jamaica, Byrd tied his positive seafaring experience to a successful renewal of social ties in London. The 'happinesse of enjoying... good company so long, & so easy a voyage afterwards was a blessing'. Even so, Byrd understood the dehumanising terror of sea-storms. He had lost a cousin at sea in 1687, and in 1690 he wrote of other English colonists 'lost by tempest.'¹¹² Byrd was well aware that the Atlantic Ocean forced colonists like himself to risk death in order to reach the 'blessing' of friends and family in England. Though Byrd was no mariner, such experiences separated him from metropolitan English counterparts. He recognised the distancing effect of transatlantic voyages on his identity in his 1688 letter. Byrd claimed to feel 'so great a stranger... in England' when his countrymen underestimated both the ocean and 'the greatest damage... by Indians'. This comment shows how colonists viewed transatlantic voyages. Even in the early days of Britain's Atlantic expansion, ocean-crossing re-defined the self. Metropolitan Britons knew that voyages were dangerous, but they could not viscerally appreciate or understand the effects of these experiences.

Building on his father's experience, William Byrd II appeared even more strongly influenced by (his greater number of) voyages. Byrd recognised his luck in escaping the 'tempests' his father wrote of, 'a very prosperous voyage' making the ocean's 'boisterous element... tolerable' in 1720.¹¹³ Furthermore, Byrd's correspondence contains many maritime expressions and metaphors. In 1722, Byrd melodramatically described 'the breast of a man in love [-] like the troubled sea, that never never rests'. Rejected by 'Charmante', Byrd described himself as 'a lonely turtle'. His hopes of romantic fulfilment retired 'into the bosom of the deep [with] fears that sink his spirits into despair.'¹¹⁴ In 1728, Byrd's friend John Boyle wrote that he would 'sail into the nuptial port soon': Byrd replicated this language in his response.¹¹⁵ Byrd later chastised his cousin Jane Pratt Taylor for 'embarqu[ing] herself in the troublesome sea of matrimony, without laying in necessaries for so long a voyage'.¹¹⁶ Though Byrd did not replicate the language of sailors (see below), he nonetheless used maritime language in ways his father had not. This suggests that the influence of voyages on passengers

¹¹² Letter from WBI to NR (Virginia to Deal), 24/07/1690 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.122-3.

¹¹³ Letter from WBII to JP, 22/06/1720 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.328-9.

¹¹⁴ Letter from WBII to 'Charmante', 23/10/1722 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.334.

¹¹⁵ Letter from JB to WBII, 02/01/1728 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.369-71.

¹¹⁶ Letter from WBII to JPT, 03/04/1729 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.391-2.

grew in tandem with Britain's Atlantic colonies, their effects accumulating over the period.

While neither William Byrd I or II suffered any catastrophic voyage, Scottish colonist Robert Livingston did in 1695. This voyage demonstrates how masculine status and gentility acquired on land could be strained and even erased at sea. Livingston's ship lost its rudder and most of its drinking water in a storm soon after departing New York for London. This stretched a five week voyage to five months. Livingston was one of the most wealthy and powerful men in the New York colony, but his wealth and masculine status broke down under hunger, thirst, and isolation. He could not maintain his genteel masculinity or social superiority over sailors, the class divide between them eroding at sea. Promising God to live more devoutly if he survived, Livingston pleaded in his journal

What would one not give now to be on land a humble servant; how much money would one not give now!¹¹⁷

Unable to maintain his privileged masculine status at sea, Livingston's gentility broke down. One strenuous voyage was enough to make him desire demotion to a 'humble servant': anything was worth exchanging for a return to life on land. Livingston was aware how his extended voyage prevented him from fulfilling patriarchal obligations to his family: 'the necessities of my family require my speedy return.'¹¹⁸ Though Livingston traversed the same Atlantic distance as the Byrds, his hamstrung ship effectively expanded this distance. The greater time he spent at sea, trapped in a liminal space between Europe and America, increasingly strained his status as a gentleman.

Benjamin Franklin's 1726 voyage provides an illuminating comparison. Though well-off, he was not a member of the gentry like Livingston and the Byrds. Franklin began his voyage 'sitting upon the quarter-deck [with] one of the pleasantest scenes in the world', but still found the ocean unfamiliar.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, he also sensed the social

¹¹⁷ Lawrence Leder, *Robert Livingston, 1654-1728, and the politics of colonial New York* (Chapel Hill NC, 1961), pp.97-8.

¹¹⁸ Leder, 'Livingston's Voyage', p.31.

¹¹⁹ Franklin, *Journal of occurrences*, 24/07/1726.

distance between himself and the ship's seamen, describing the male company aboard as 'unsuitably mixed'.¹²⁰ Franklin chose to gradually identify with these sailors and their distinct masculinity. When one sailor was dangled from the mast for cheating at cards, Franklin wrote 'we let him hang, cursing and swearing', placing himself among the crew.¹²¹ He admired their 'spirit of conversation', remarking that 'one of the worst of punishments [is] to be excluded from society.' While Livingston tried to maintain his superiority before begging to be a lowly man on land, Franklin showed an increasing willingness to engage with sailors' masculinity.

The divides between landsmen passengers and seamen were often expressed through food. Eating habits reflected one's masculine status, and landsmen could not maintain their usual diets at sea. Alexander Mountier complained that he spent his eight weeks at sea discovering 'what hard living was, being reduced to eat[ing] Stinking salt beef and foul water'.¹²² They were often ecstatic about regaining fresh food upon arrival. After ten weeks at sea, Franklin cried at the sight of land, describing his first post-voyage apple as 'the most delicious I ever tasted'.¹²³ By contrast, sailors' nutrition was consistently poor over longer periods, represented by the frequency of scurvy.¹²⁴ Passengers saw mariners' poor diets as signs of their lesser masculine status. Robert Livingston was disgusted by sailors eating raw bacon, and naval surgeon John Atkins (1685–1757) linked naval mortality rates to sailors' 'ungovernable... Appetites'.¹²⁵ Writing in 1740, William Byrd II claimed that British sailors were 'accustom'd to the sea-dyet'.¹²⁶

These accusations were not entirely unfounded. Sailors' stomachs adapted to eating plain biscuit and salted meat for months at sea. Cremer once became ill from rapidly

¹²⁰ Franklin, *Journal of occurrences*, 21/09/1726 and 09/09/1726.

¹²¹ Franklin, *Journal of occurrences*, 25/08/1726.

¹²² NAS, RH15/54/9/31, Letter from AM to EB (Kingston to Edinburgh), 09/09/1729.

¹²³ Franklin, *Journal of occurrences*, 09-11/10/1726.

¹²⁴ Joyce E. Chaplin, 'Earthsickness: Circumnavigation and the Terrestrial Human Body, 1520–1800' in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 86:4 (Winter 2012), 515-542 (p.517); James Douglas Alsop, 'Jack Tar's Food: Masculine Self-fashioning in the Age of Sail' in Cheryl A. Fury (ed.), *The Social History of English Seamen 1650-1815*, 183-212 (p.183).

¹²⁵ Leder, *Livingston*, pp.93-7; Alsop, 'Jack Tar's Food', p.207.

¹²⁶ Letter from WBII to Francis Otway, 15/09/1740 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.562-4.

devouring fresh oranges, grapes and chestnuts after coming ashore.¹²⁷ By contrast, William Byrd I brought fresh oranges and ale to sea.¹²⁸ Seamen were consistently associated with poor diets and eating habits, which landmen took as evidence of sailors' lower masculine status. Scottish sailor James Nisbet's poor diet exacerbated what may have been epilepsy. 'Very ill with fainting' in 1708, he was 'rendred... speechless for... thirtey hours'.¹²⁹ After being shipwrecked in 1711, Nisbet spent months 'very bad in fitts and a great cold... I am taken ill againe.'¹³⁰

Faced with passengers' disdain, sailors turned this imbalance around. Instead of accepting this framing, they claimed that landmen's demands for better food made *them* unmanly. Sailors' main concern was the quantity of food, not its quality. Edward Barlow claimed to 'repent going to sea' in part because 'I could not get my belly full'.¹³¹ Food was a notorious problem in the Royal Navy, whose Victualling Board (created in 1683 with only 22 staff) struggled to procure good provisions until the mid-eighteenth century.¹³² Many pursers bought rotting provisions to cut corners. On his better merchant voyages, Cremer received four pounds of bread per week, along with some pork and a quart each of water, oil, and wine.¹³³ Though much better, this was still monotonous and lacking in vitamin C. While seamen demanded sufficient food, they therefore framed their forced adaptation to poor, monotonous diets at sea as a marker of their masculine hardiness. Writing after years at sea, Barlow used diet to criticise less intrepid English countrymen. Whereas sailors prided themselves on independent mobility, these men were afraid to travel. Barlow claimed such behaviour was not masculine, and linked this to diet:

¹²⁷ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.52.

¹²⁸ Letter from WBI to NR (Virginia to Deal), 16/04/1688 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.78-9.

¹²⁹ NMM, MSS92/029/2, Letter from JN to WND (London to Edinburgh), 12/06/1710.

¹³⁰ NMM, MSS92/029/7-8, Letters from JN to WND (Dartmouth to Edinburgh), 25/12/1711 and 17/02/1712.

¹³¹ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, p.60.

¹³² McLean, 'Health Provision in the Royal Navy', pp.110-11; Capp, 'Naval Seamen', pp.38-9.

¹³³ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.84.

Some would not venture a day's journey from out of the smoke of their chimneys or the taste of their mother's milk... they would rather stay at home and eat a brown crust and drink a little whey.¹³⁴

Barlow insultingly framed landsmen as immature and infantile, and was not alone among Britain's sailors in using such insults. Cremer wrote of his 'rage' when one crewmate told him to 'goe home [and] suck longer' at his mother's breast.¹³⁵ Later, Cremer would sneer at eleven wealthy 'Gentrey' men sailing to New England who (like Livingston) had brought six months of food for a six week voyage. To Cremer, this betrayed an unmanly dependence on fresh food.¹³⁶ Despite struggling to get enough food, sailors refused to accept the lesser masculine status ascribed to them by landsmen. They reversed these insults, framing landsmen's diets as unmanly instead.

While Franklin, Livingston, and the Byrds' voyage experiences illuminate a masculine conflict with seamen, women also crossed the Atlantic as passengers. Though most colonists were men in the late-seventeenth century, the number of women and children steadily increased throughout the eighteenth century.¹³⁷ Women also boarded ships as sex workers (usually confined to ships in harbour) or as the wives of Royal Navy officers.¹³⁸ The Admiralty forbade lower ranks from bringing wives to sea in 1731, suggesting some may have done so before this date. Realistically, any woman could board any ship with the captain's permission, but Barlow and Cremer never made such requests despite serving years at sea. Either this was too audacious a request, or both men simply mistrusted women at sea: Barlow blamed one ship catching fire on an officer's wife.¹³⁹ Ships were heavily gendered spaces, controlled by all-male crews who mistrusted women as inherently inexperienced seafarers.

¹³⁴ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, p.21.

¹³⁵ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.41, p.90.

¹³⁶ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.102-6.

¹³⁷ Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, p.191; Berry, *A Path*, p.20, p.95; Mitchell-Cook, *A Sea of Misadventures*, pp.99-100.

¹³⁸ Rodgers, 'Officers and Men of the Navy', p.67; Margarette Lincoln, 'The Impact of Warfare on Naval Wives and Women' in Cheryl A. Fury (ed.), *The Social History of English Seamen 1650-1815*, 71-87 (p.71); Grundner (ed.), *The Lady Tars*, p.iii, p.67.

¹³⁹ Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, p.192

Oceangoing vessels were presented as inherently threatening to women. The English East India Company warned women joining their husbands at sea to dress modestly, to prevent 'casualties'.¹⁴⁰ Such warnings were justified. Even in sex-segregated quarters, female passengers found themselves fending off would-be rapists. Quaker colonist Rebecca Jones wrote with shock of one 'sober girl' travelling alone, whose clothing was torn off by laughing seamen.¹⁴¹ Pregnancy and childbirth were not uncommon for women at sea, and both were more dangerous at sea. Some voyages had dedicated midwives (such as Oglethorpe's voyage to Georgia in 1732), but many women still miscarried at sea. Such negative experiences were, thankfully, not universal. English colonist Mary Stafford wrote in 1711 of 'bad weather & almost constant stormes' plaguing her passage to Charleston: the captain had not seen worse in thirty-six years of sailing. Even so, Stafford reported that 'the Sailers were very kind to us, or it had been impossible to have lived'.¹⁴² Though Stafford was one of the few female colonists in this period to leave a written record, she made no other comment on her voyage. There are not sufficiently detailed accounts from female passengers to attempt a comparison with men such as Franklin and Livingston.

4. Unrestrained Sexuality and Transing Gender

Alongside poverty, violence, and disrupted development, the suspect sexuality of mariners also contributed to negative perceptions of seafaring masculinity. This manifested in two ways: a lack of heterosexual restraint, and the potential for hidden homosexuality. Both ideas stemmed from the idea that seafaring masculinity was sexually unrestrained. In Britain and its colonies, the standards of hegemonic masculinity dictated that men demonstrate their virility but also control their impulses. They had to display both sexual prowess *and* restraint. While many seamen and landsmen alike failed to exercise sexual restraint, the former rejected restraint as an ideal to a significant extent. Sailors cultivated what Stephen Berry labels an 'unbridled masculinity'.¹⁴³ This ran parallel to mariners' defence of their independent economic

¹⁴⁰ Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, p.196.

¹⁴¹ Berry, *A Path*, pp.97-9.

¹⁴² Stafford, 'A Letter Written in 1711', p.2.

¹⁴³ Berry, *A Path*, p.96.

agency and mobility. Sailors framed their unrestrained (hetero)sexuality as a *positive* marker of manhood, proudly rejecting ideals of appropriate masculine restraint.

Sailors' pride in their unrestrained heterosexuality was shaped by the enforced abstinence of months at sea. Mariners had to compress their sexual pursuit of women into a smaller timeframe than landmen, making this pursuit more aggressive and less restrained. As Ned Ward wrote, distance from women drove sailors to crave 'those land debaucheries which the sea denies'.¹⁴⁴ Sailors created a distinct demand for sex workers, leading to significant concentrations in port cities. Such was the demand that some brothels specifically catered to English naval crews. Livorno was notorious for this, and Barlow testified to its licentious reputation as somewhere men could sooner 'learn vice than virtue'.¹⁴⁵ Seamen took women as cohabiting 'sweethearts', and Cremer filled his journal with many heterosexual encounters. One tailor's daughter 'enchanted [him] with Loving Kisses', and he met a 'comely... and Clean' woman in Zante.¹⁴⁶ More evidence would survive had Cremer's descendants not torn seemingly more explicit pages from his journal. Overall, time at sea isolated from women was seen to be sexually destabilising for seamen, leading to behaviour ashore which undermined their claims to masculine parity with landmen.

Seafaring men both cultivated an unrestrained heterosexuality and framed women as sexual objects in distinctly maritime terms. Cremer's journal also demonstrates this effectively. Cremer admired the 'well-Rigged' figure of one 'fine, Red-headed, large, comely' woman in Massachusetts.¹⁴⁷ Conscious of any landmen reading his journal, Cremer explained that this was 'what we Sailors call' a woman with large breasts. Cremer's fellow crewmen also use this distinct maritime lexicon of masculinity during a storm:

Now our Wifes pull bravly home, and the Biggest hoar holds on. Aye [says another], it is well if they are not all hoars.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Pietsch, 'Hearts of oak and jolly tars?', p.80.

¹⁴⁵ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, p.164; Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.78.

¹⁴⁶ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.110-6 and p.pp.166-7.

¹⁴⁷ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.110.

¹⁴⁸ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.200.

Cremer justified this statement, saying these 'merey turns [gave] Spirit to Common Sailors.' This immediate defense suggests that Cremer knew such language would be frowned on by landsmen. Cremer knew this because his use of seafarers' language ashore often got him in trouble. When a maid needed his help, Cremer reflexively replied 'Cumming, you bitch' and was rebuked. He blamed this on 'being bred on board a man-of-War'.¹⁴⁹ Misogynist language was hardly a maritime preserve, but Cremer's excuse testifies to the distinct experience of mariners. Sailors spent extended periods in overwhelmingly male environments in ways landsmen did not, isolated by Atlantic distances. This language was one result. Such speech might earn masculine approval from other sailors, but on land this isolation disappeared. Sailors surrounded by women now had to restrain their sexual objectification of women, and Cremer suggests they were not always successful.

The other aspect of sailors' unrestrained sexuality, which they could not proudly defend as 'merey turns', was an implied proclivity for homosexuality. Sailors were already seen to have a distinct brand of masculinity, and some suggested that months at sea (unobserved by metropolitan eyes) led men to stray from strict heterosexuality. This idea also persisted throughout the period. In 1784, a Philadelphia satire showed one newly-arrived sailor describing a person's 'sail' as 'Full rigg'd by Jove, with all his canvass spread'.¹⁵⁰ Though this language closely resembled Cremer's description of a woman, it was directed at a 'molly' - a man in feminine dress who took on a female sexual role. British sailors might have cultivated their reputation for aggressive, unrestrained heterosexuality in part to defend against such accusations. Sarah Paul claimed that seamen without a woman were 'branded opprobrious... [and] for that reason always assumed the credit of keeping a girl'.¹⁵¹ In other words, seamen used an 'intimate' connection with women to prove their masculine 'credit' in sexual terms. While these examples are not direct evidence of homosexuality among British sailors from 1660 to 1760, they show how seafarers' distinct masculinity *did* include such

¹⁴⁹ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.69.

¹⁵⁰ Clare A. Lyons, 'Mapping an Atlantic Sexual Culture: Homoeroticism in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia', *WMQ*, 60:1 (Jan. 2003), 119-154 (pp.142-3).

¹⁵¹ Paul, *The Life*, p.58; Manion, *Female Husbands*, p.85.

suggestions. Distance from land created a space of sexual ambiguity, which imaginative landsmen readily filled with accusations of homosexuality.

All sailors knew that male homosexuality was illegal and stigmatised across the British Atlantic world. This was understood at the time in terms of proscribed sexual acts (not identities), collectively described as 'sodomy' or 'buggery'. The religious meaning of 'sodomy' was broad, but its English legal definition was incredibly narrow: nonconsensual, penetrative sex between men.¹⁵² Contemporaries often used both terms interchangeably across England and Scotland, though secular Scottish law only mentioned sodomy directly after 1707.¹⁵³ From 1673 to 1718, Atlantic colonies either enforced English anti-sodomy laws directly or created similar laws of their own.¹⁵⁴ However, these laws did not account for the possibility of consensual homosexuality, and most social policing of homosexuality was extrajudicial. A wide range of sexual practices could therefore exist outside prescribed heterosexual norms, escaping the gaze of the courts.¹⁵⁵ Legal cases were expensive and required evidence of non-consent: convictions were vanishingly rare. From 1674 to 1760, the Old Bailey (London's central criminal court) only convicted six people of sodomy; Scotland only recorded one conviction from 1630 to 1800.¹⁵⁶ Though sodomy laws were important, they did not therefore encompass the potential homosexual realities of the 1660-1760 period.

Sailors had particular opportunity to escape legal prosecution for sodomy. Isolation at sea, constant mobility, and distance from fixed courts all provided greater leeway to evade these laws. Furthermore, large port cities gave cover to homosexual activity. A

¹⁵² Katherine Crawford, 'Privilege, Possibility, and Perversion: Rethinking the Study of Early Modern Sexuality', *The Journal of Modern History*, 78 (June 2006), 412-433 (pp.427-33).

¹⁵³ Brian P. Levack, 'The Prosecution of Sexual Crimes in Early Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *SHR*, 89:2 (Oct. 2010), 172-193 (p.192).

¹⁵⁴ Arthur Schlesinger (ed.), *The Almanac of American History* (New York, 1983), p.53, pp.64-9; George Painter, 'The Sensibilities of Our Forefathers: South Carolina', *Sodomy Laws*: <www.glapn.org/sodomylaws/sensibilities/south_carolina.htm> [accessed 02/11/2021]; Thomas A. Foster, 'The Sexual Abuse of Black Men under American Slavery', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 20:3 (Sept. 2011), 445-464; Lyons, 'Mapping an Atlantic Sexual Culture', 121.

¹⁵⁵ Crawford, 'Privilege, Possibility, and Perversion', 414; Manion, *Female Husbands*, 23.

¹⁵⁶ There were ten other trials for 'assault with sodomitical intent', which was not a capital crime. *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674-1913* <www.oldbaileyonline.org> [ccessed 02/11/2021]; Jeffrey Meek, *Queer Voices in Post-War Scotland* (London, 2015), pp.14-15.

wave of raids on London 'mollyhouses' in the 1720s exposed a thriving subculture which emergent Philadelphia newspapers (such as the *American Weekly Mercury*) reported on in detail.¹⁵⁷ By 1750, Philadelphia's bookshops sold the full range of European homoerotic literature, the city having become British America's premier port city (taking over from Boston). Nearly one-fifth of Philadelphia's adult male population were sailors.¹⁵⁸ At the least, sailors were thus well aware of homosexual subcultures, even if (statistically) most were not involved themselves.

At sea, homosexual relationships and acts could not be kept secret: oceangoing vessels had almost no privacy. The passengers discussed in this chapter never recorded any homosexual acts, despite readily commenting on the gender-transgressing customs of ducking at the equator (including kissing and cross-dressing).¹⁵⁹ Only captains' cabins had privacy, reflecting their unrivalled authority and privilege at sea. Nearly one-third of all Admiralty sodomy trials centered on naval captains assaulting young boys in their private cabins. However, these trials remained rare; most followed the period of study. There was one such trial in 1704, none at all from 1713 to 1756, and then only nineteen convictions in the whole Royal Navy from 1756 to 1806.¹⁶⁰ Any *consensual* homosexual acts in a captain's cabin could well have escaped trials or written records. Furthermore, sailors in a same-sex relationship could have abstained while at sea and then recommenced their relationship while ashore. Ships at sea were not sexually permissive spaces, but they did not preclude homosexuality among seamen altogether.

Piracy represented a form of seafaring in which sexual norms were perhaps more easily loosened. Bartholomew Roberts' ship articles stated that 'no *boy or woman*' could be brought aboard, grouping the two together and implying a common purpose.¹⁶¹ Some

¹⁵⁷ Lyons, 'Mapping an Atlantic Sexual Culture', pp.132-5.

¹⁵⁸ Edward L. Glaeser, 'Reinventing Boston: 1630--2003', *Journal of Economic Geography*, 5:2 (2005), 119-153 (p.126).

¹⁵⁹ Berry, *A Path*, p.150.

¹⁶⁰ Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, pp.88-9; B. R. Burg, 'Officer, Shipboard Boys and Courts Martial for sodomy and Indecency in the Georgian Navy' in Cheryl A. Fury (ed.), *The Social History of English Seamen 1650-1815*, pp.89-95; Manion, *Female Husbands*, p.70.

¹⁶¹ Nicole Keegan, 'Men and Matelotage: Sexuality and Same-Sex Relationships within Homosocial Structures in the Golden Age of Piracy, 1640-1720' in *Undergraduate Library Research Awards*, 2 (2021), pp.7-8.

Caribbean buccaneers practised *matelotage*, which formally described a legally binding partnership between two men, sharing assets and power of attorney in the same way a spouse might.¹⁶² This was a distinctly maritime practice - *matelot* means 'sailor' in French - but surviving contracts (understandably) did not describe whether such partnerships were homosocial or homosexual. The *General History of the Pyrates* (London, 1724) makes little mention of male homosexuality. Though oceanic distance from the land and law made homosexual relationships hard to police, there is thus little proof that pirates took such opportunities.

Instead, one more suggestive source is Cremer's journal. Though overflowing with heterosexual encounters, this source reveals potentially sexual encounters with other men when read against the grain. For example, Cremer described sexually attractive women as 'comely' but also applied this term to some men. In Venice, Cremer found 'the men comly and Sivill', and he described one Mi'kmaq man as a 'great Tall Comly Indian... Excesive [Ci]vill'.¹⁶³ Though not sexually explicit, these terms do suggest an ambiguous sexuality. Cremer described Venetian men as 'comely' in a period when Italian masculinity was associated with homosexual acts in England. As Samuel Pepys wrote in his diary for 1663, 'buggery is now almost grown as common among our gallantry as in Italy'.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, Cremer was one of the few British men in this period to describe an Indigenous American man as both physically 'comely' and attractively 'civil'. In contrast, Native Americans only appeared next to seamen in published print in order to demonise the latter. Ned Ward's full comment on captains described sailors as 'poor Tars [who] worship them *as the Indians do the Devil*' (my italics).¹⁶⁵ Building on these examples, Cremer met a man his age in Boston, 'Quincy', and the two developed

a great frendship in us boath and Seemingly a love, making great
Conversation to each other, & promisie of frendship.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Keegan, 'Men and Matelotage', pp.1-10.

¹⁶³ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.98, pp.108-10.

¹⁶⁴ Tony McEnery and Helen Baker, 'The public representation of homosexual men in seventeenth-century England – a corpus based view', *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*, 3:2 (2017), 197–217 (p.204).

¹⁶⁵ Mitchell-Cook, *A Sea of Misadventures*, p.87.

¹⁶⁶ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.220-1.

This could have described a very intimate male friendship, but the language used is again suggestive in the context of the wider journal. 'Seemingly' makes their 'love' ambiguous; 'making conversation' was a common sexual euphemism in the period. Cremer would have understood this reading of his words, having used the latter phrase to describe sex with women elsewhere in his journal. Cremer met a cowkeeper's daughter in Boston who desired 'moore Conversation [after] love Seased us all over'.¹⁶⁷ If the 'great Conversation' Cremer and Quincy made 'to each other' was indeed sexual, this would explain why Cremer suddenly ended his journal following this anecdote. Claiming to be 'Somewhat tired of my Noncense', he may have been reluctant to discuss this relationship further.¹⁶⁸ Though none of Cremer's statements are conclusive proof of homosexual attraction, they demonstrate how seafaring could (both literally and figuratively) distance sailors from metropolitan masculine norms.

Another more detailed example of sailors' sexual ambiguity being enabled by Atlantic distance comes from James Nisbet's will. Written in 1737 when Nisbet was married and living comfortably in Barbados, this documents Nisbet's exceptional generosity to his enslaved 'negro servant Salisbury'. Nisbet both manumitted Salisbury and bequeathed him a 'dwelling House & appartements' in Ratcliffe, Middlesex 'for the term of his natural life'.¹⁶⁹ By comparison, Nesbit's friends and family received smaller sums of around £10 each; his wife (Penelope) and children did not receive English property like Salisbury did. Manumission of a single slave often implied a sexual connection, and the distinct privilege of Salisbury inheriting English property further suggests a special relationship.¹⁷⁰ Though Nisbet had been married to a wealthy widow and settled in Barbados for over a decade, his will listed no children.¹⁷¹ Either his marriage was unconsummated, or the couple were infertile. None of Nesbit's earlier letters to his brother mentioned any women, despite being intimate accounts of a sailor's life in port. The year after Nisbet made this will, he went to sea with Salisbury and a small crew:

¹⁶⁷ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.111-4.

¹⁶⁸ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.253.

¹⁶⁹ NMM, MSS92/029, Copy of the Latter Will and Testament of Captain James Nisbet, 26/07/1737.

¹⁷⁰ Block, *Ordinary Lives*, p.185.

¹⁷¹ NMM, MSS92/029/15, Letter from JN to WND (Dover to Edinburgh), 19/10/1722.

'neither they, nor the ship, nor any of the Crew' were seen again.¹⁷² No individual details prove a homosexual relationship existed between Nesbit and Salisbury, which would have been inherently violent and coercive under slavery. However, taken in unison, they appear highly suggestive. Seafaring had given Nisbet access to colonial wealth and distance from prying metropolitan eyes in Barbados, allowing him to explore a more ambiguous sexuality.

Beyond creating space for distinct masculine sexualities, Atlantic seafaring created opportunities for individuals to change their gender presentation and identity altogether. Those raised as women could exploit distance and maritime mobility to 'trans' their gender and take on sailors' distinct masculinity. The most well-known, well-studied, and sensationalised examples of female seafarers from 1660 to 1760 are Anne Bonny (b.1697) and Mary Read (1685-1721).¹⁷³ Featured in the *General History of the Pyrates*, these two became well known as pirates in male dress across the British Atlantic. However, they became (in)famous as *women*, and there is little evidence of either Bonny or Read denying their womanhood after their gender deception was discovered. This highlights the difficulties of analysing gender identity at sea in this period. Those raised as women but presenting as men at sea may have been 'transgender', but this modern label cannot be applied historically without risking misrepresentation. Drawing on Jen Manion's analysis, I instead use 'transing' to encompass a range of gender transgressing actions and practices without focusing on strict terminology.¹⁷⁴ I also use they/them pronouns to acknowledge the inherent uncertainty surrounding the individual identities discussed below. This emphasis on the contingency of gendered practices again follows guidelines from Manion's work as a transgender historian.

¹⁷² NMM, MSS92/029, Memorandum for Alexander Gordon of Woodhall & Jane Nisbet his Lady (Edinburgh), 10/02/1743.

¹⁷³ Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, 'Cross-Dressing on the Margins of Empire: Women Pirates and the Narrative of the Caribbean' in Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert and Ivette Romero-Cesareo (eds.), *Women at Sea: Travel Writing and the Margins of Caribbean Discourse* (New York, 2001), 59-97; Frederick Burwick and Manushag N. Powell (eds.), *British Pirates in Print and Performance* (New York, 2015).

¹⁷⁴ Jen Manion, 'Transgender Representations, Identities, and Communities' in Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor and Lisa G. Materson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of American Women's and Gender History* (Oxford, 2018), 311-321 (312-7); Manion, *Female Husbands*, pp.11-14.

Seafaring was ideal for those looking to change gender presentation and take on a male identity. Mobility helped such individuals to cover their tracks and restart their lives; seafaring afforded the greatest mobility and was (supposed to be) the preserve of men. Even those content to live as women understood the value of such independent mobility. Though not the same as changing one's gender identity, tales of women using the temporary disguise of a seaman already existed in maritime communities.¹⁷⁵ Some women were also disguised as seamen *by others* to sneak them aboard ship, as the buccaneer Captain Bear did to his mistress in the 1680s.¹⁷⁶ This means that not all women disguised as seamen were altering their gender identity. Seafaring required a masculine identity, whether temporary or permanent: it could be a pragmatic measure.

Using Atlantic distance to escape one's assigned gender identity also did not necessitate becoming a sailor. From the early days of colonisation, individuals transing gender crossed the Atlantic, including Virginian colonist Thomas(ina) Hall (b. c.1603).¹⁷⁷ Likely intersex, their mix of primary sex characteristics lead contemporaries to label them 'hermaphrodites'. Crossing the Atlantic to avoid gender conformity was not foolproof, but it must have held some continuous appeal. In 1747, Scottish physician Charles Hamilton (b. c.1721-4) was outed by their Somerset wife Mary Price as a 'female husband' and sailed to Pennsylvania for a fresh start in 1751.¹⁷⁸ Hamilton was identified soon after arrival and detained, their story having made headlines across the American colonies. In all cases, anyone discovered transing gender was forced to revert: 'gender conformity itself was the punishment'.¹⁷⁹ By definition, if others besides Hall and Hamilton successfully changed their gender presentation in colonial societies, they would have escaped written records. Throughout the period, Atlantic distance represented a tool for those looking to change their gender identities: some may have succeeded.

¹⁷⁵ Manion, *Female Husbands*, pp.17-22, p.68, p.258.

¹⁷⁶ Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, pp.96-7.

¹⁷⁷ 'Life Story: Thomas(ine) Hall - Gender Non-conforming in Colonial Virginia', *New York Historical Society* <<https://wams.nyhistory.org/early-encounters/english-colonies/thomas-ine-hall>> [accessed 02/05/2021].

¹⁷⁸ Manion, *Female Husbands*, p.37.

¹⁷⁹ Manion, *Female Husbands*, p.2.

The most prominent sailor raised as a woman was Hannah Snell, who moved from Worcester to London before marrying Dutch sailor James Summs in 1744. The ‘worst and most unnatural of Husbands’, Summs abandoned Snell with a newborn who soon died.¹⁸⁰ Snell then enlisted aboard HMS *Swallow* under their cousin’s name (‘James Gray’) in 1747. They claimed in a 1750 biography to have been searching for Summs (who was later discovered to have died in a bar brawl). This source described Snell sailing to India and fighting as a marine, before returning to London and revealing their disguise. The principle source on Snell’s life, this biography was printed by ‘maverick’ publisher Robert Walker to dovetail with Snell’s stage show, performing as ‘the female soldier’.¹⁸¹ Though the biography contains demonstrable inaccuracies and embellishments by Walker, several key details (including Snell’s enlistment, military pension, and later marriage) are verifiable. Snell became well-known across the British Atlantic. In 1756, one seaman outed as female in Boston was likened by their crewmates to the ‘famous Hannah Snell’.¹⁸²

Though Snell’s biography blended two voices in an opaque manner, it nonetheless demonstrates how seafaring allowed individuals to transgress gender norms. This source included both strident claims to femininity *and* masculinity on Snell’s part. For example, Snell supposedly revealed themselves to fellow sailors by saying ‘I am as much a Woman as my Mother ever was, and my real Name is Hannah Snell.’¹⁸³ However, Snell was also described as having ‘the real soul of a man in her breast’, their masculine performance giving ‘full scope to the genuine bent of [their] heart’.¹⁸⁴ Walker likely embellished the biography to sell copies, yet contradictory statements of gender identity were hardly sensationalist or titillating. If anything, Snell’s strong identification with a masculine ‘soul’ risked alienating readers. Furthermore, the biography presented the tragic death of Snell’s infant child as a freedom, leaving her ‘privileged to roam’.¹⁸⁵ This implied that Snell desired a seaman’s independent mobility more than maternal justice from an estranged husband. Though Snell left no unfiltered testimony to check these

¹⁸⁰ Stephens, *Snell: The Secret Life*, pp.14-5.

¹⁸¹ Walker, *The Female Soldier*.

¹⁸² Manion, *Female Husbands*, p.81.

¹⁸³ Manion, *Female Husbands*, pp.72-80.

¹⁸⁴ Grundner (ed.), *The Lady Tars*, p.5.

¹⁸⁵ Walker, *The Female Soldier*, p.7.

statements against, their contradictory and extraneous nature shows how seafaring created an ambiguous space for transgressing gender boundaries.

Snell's biography also shows how she successfully adopted seafaring masculinity. This included imitating the distinct masculine speech of sailors. When fellow sailors called them 'Miss Molly Gray', mocking their smooth face and likening them to a 'molly', Snell 'returned the Compliment... with a Smile and an Oath'.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, they courted and flirted with women as a sailor. Though since dismissed as 'comical diversions', these incidents were not incidental to the text.¹⁸⁷ Either such accounts were genuine, or Snell allowed others to think they were, using the same maritime language to objectify women as Cremer. When Snell flirted with 'Miss Catherine' in Portsmouth, their crewmates joked about 'battering [her] fort... they advised to take it by storm [saying that] wind blew in the love corner'.¹⁸⁸ Snell and 'Miss Catherine' supposedly 'enter[ed] into Conversation' and 'a farther Intimacy'. Snell 'endeavoured to... act the Lover as well as the Soldier', apparently so well that within two days they had 'the young Woman's Consent to marry'.¹⁸⁹ Whether pragmatic or motivated by Snell's own sexuality, these were effective displays of a seaman's heterosexuality.

The gendered flexibility created by seafaring and Atlantic distance is further illuminated by Londoner Sarah Paul, who became seaman 'Sam Bundy'. Paul believed that seafaring offered a good chance 'to keep my sex concealed [and] learn to be a seaman'.¹⁹⁰ Paul both cited Snell as their inspiration and marked their birth in maritime terms; around 'the same time as Mr Anson departed on his circumnavigation'.¹⁹¹ They linked their own transgression of gender norms to wider subcultures in London. Paul visited mollyhouses and claimed it was 'no uncommon thing to see effeminate men in breeches, or masculine women in petticoats'.¹⁹² Furthermore, they suggested that

¹⁸⁶ Manion, *Female Husbands*, p.78; Stephens, *Snell: The Secret Life*, p.34.

¹⁸⁷ Stephens, *Snell: The Secret Life*, pp.41-51.

¹⁸⁸ Grundner (ed.), *The Lady Tars*, p.33.

¹⁸⁹ Walker, *The Female Soldier*, p.28.

¹⁹⁰ Paul, *The Life*, p.56.

¹⁹¹ Manion, *Female Husbands*, p.82; Paul, *The Life*, pp.3-4.

¹⁹² Manion, *Female Husbands*, pp.85-6.

presenting male was part of their permanent identity rather than a pragmatic exploitation of masculine mobility:

Even when very young... my own appearance... gave me infinite inquietude. The sex sat as uneasy as my stays.¹⁹³

Sailing offered a way for Paul to alleviate the 'uneasiness' they experienced when presenting as female. Like Snell, their smooth face invited comments en route to the West Indies: 'I was rather esteem'd amongst them as a molly than a man'.¹⁹⁴ However, isolation and Atlantic distance allowed Paul to successfully re-establish their identity: they were 'supposed dead beyond [the] sea' after a year.¹⁹⁵ Paul then returned to London as Sam Bundy in 1758, marrying local woman Mary Parlour. When outed the following year, Paul attempted to make good on their situation by publishing an autobiography resembling Snell's.

Snell and Paul's accounts appear particularly illuminating when compared to the autobiography of Mary Lacy, who enlisted as 'William Chandler' before becoming a naval shipwright in Portsmouth. Lacy later reverted to life as a woman and published *The Female Shipwright* (London, 1773), in which similar amorous scenarios are described. Snell was too famous for Lacy to not know of them, yet *The Female Shipwright* includes no similar accounts of 'William Chandler' being attracted to women. Though Lacy used two 'exceeding fond' women to reinforce their disguise, they explicitly avoided any 'forwardness' or suggestions of sexual 'conversation'.¹⁹⁶ This suggests that Snell's attraction to women was not purely an invention of Walker's; Lacy sold their own story without replicating it. Moreover, Lacy described none of Paul's discomfort about living as a woman, either before taking to sea or after publishing *The Female Shipwright*. These three accounts were idiosyncratic, not formulaic: Snell and Paul's more transgressive identities were not populist fabrications.

¹⁹³ Paul, *The Life*, p.8 and p.158.

¹⁹⁴ Paul, *The Life*, p.80.

¹⁹⁵ Paul, *The Life*, p.41.

¹⁹⁶ Grundner (ed.), *The Lady Tars*, pp.108-21.

5. Maritime Femininity

Seafaring masculinity in the British Atlantic cannot be properly explored without considering the vital support provided by women on shore. The dynamics explored above all developed in conjunction with a complementary maritime femininity. Indeed, this reflects the mutual influence of masculinity and femininity more widely in creating a conjoined construction of gender hegemony in early modern Britain. Though ships at sea were masculine spaces, port town populations were often majority female.¹⁹⁷ As men went to sea, women took over port economies, running many of the pubs, hotels, and brothels in London's maritime parishes where seamen spent their wages.¹⁹⁸ This was a substantial economy. As James Nesbit wrote to his brother in 1710, 'living in London is very expensive'.¹⁹⁹ A significant portion of sailors' wages went to these women, affording them significant economic agency. This supported the greater degree of legal and moral authority often afforded to maritime women, which built on long-standing customs in coastal areas.²⁰⁰ It was these women who interacted most with British seamen, exposing them to the powerful effects of Atlantic distance even as they remained (comparatively immobile) in port.

Female relatives provided the first greatest support for British seamen. Edward Barlow's sister found him work in a Southwark tavern when he first reached London, and checked on him after he was pressed onto HMS *Yarmouth* in 1668.²⁰¹ His mother 'always loved [him] very well'. Likewise, Cremer was raised by his great-aunt in Plymouth. The pair developed an emotionally powerful and supportive relationship, parting with 'tears on boath sides' as she gave him 'good Advice and... prayers [to be] dutifull'.²⁰² Cremer inherited this aunt's house in 1725. Cremer felt alienated from his mother as a young boy: 'I did not know her, nor she me... [we were] indiferent [on] boath sides'. However, their relationship also improved, and she paid £2-5-0 (a substantial sum) for Cremer's maths tutor. Without such support, Cremer would not

¹⁹⁷ Haggerty, "Miss Fan can turn her han!", p.29; Lincoln, 'The Impact of Warfare', p.71.

¹⁹⁸ Zahedieh, *The Capital*, pp.168-72; Hubbard, 'Sailors', p.352.

¹⁹⁹ NMM, MSS92/029/4, Letter from JN to WND (London to Edinburgh), 11/09/1710.

²⁰⁰ Hurl-Eamon, 'The fiction of female dependence', p.483.

²⁰¹ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, pp.20-22, p.146.

²⁰² Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.34-38, p.49.

have become such a successful sailor. His 'rambling' maritime masculinity relied on the support of shore-bound (but nonetheless maritime) femininity.

Such support went beyond families, as many maritime women supported seamen altruistically. For example, one Englishwoman supported Barlow during his imprisonment in the Dutch East Indies, and one landlady in Deal provided ink and paper for sailors to write with.²⁰³ Cremer also thanked an NCO's wife, the 'Lady of the Gunroome', for educating him as a child at sea. He also thanked the wife of a Rotherhithe crewmate, a 'good old humain motherly woman' who once bought him new clothes worth forty shillings.²⁰⁴ For Cremer, such generosity represented two months' wages. In contrast, James Nisbet struggled so much precisely because he had no such support. His brother was not a reliable substitute. Deprived of correspondence in 1711, Nisbet wrote 'how unhappie [he was]... to be att home so long and Never heare from you *who is all the friends I have to depend on*' (my italics).²⁰⁵ Only after marrying a Barbadian widow could Nisbet look forward to 'the remainder pairt of my life... in pleauser [sic] after my many hardships att sea'.²⁰⁶

Nisbet's example highlights the importance of seamen's wives as stabilising, supporting influences. Wives helped sailors to consolidate the masculine identities they had cultivated at sea and ground them in Britain or its colonies. Cremer's journal shows how he valued the status a wife would provide. In one instance, he felt 'full of thoughtles[s] love' after meeting a merchant's daughter in Sicily, but was disheartened when she married another man. Cremer was reassured he would find 'as Cleaver a Girl as Shee' elsewhere.²⁰⁷ This suggests that Cremer valued this woman's status and education as much as her beauty: he was sensitive to his own lack of riches or formal education. When Cremer visited his dying mother, she worried her 'Johny' would not find marital or economic stability as a seaman. He 'was quick [to] Answer' that he would 'doe as well as the rest'.²⁰⁸ Though Cremer's journal ended before describing his marriage in

²⁰³ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, p.247; Manwaring, (ed.), *The diary of Henry Teonge*, pp.31-3.

²⁰⁴ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.76-7.

²⁰⁵ NMM, MSS92/029/5, Letter from JN to WND (London to Edinburgh), 16/07/1711.

²⁰⁶ NMM, MSS92/029/15, Letter from JN to WND (Dover to Edinburgh), 19/10/1722.

²⁰⁷ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.171-3.

²⁰⁸ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.64-8 and pp.255-6.

1728, this happened around the time he first became a shipmaster. It seems his wife indeed helped him 'do as well as the rest'.

More evidence survives from Jean Hay, the wife of Scottish naval captain John Knight. Captains who brought their wives to sea maintained a semblance of normal married life, but Hay stayed in Dundee.²⁰⁹ Instead, she supported Knight by managing their household's affairs while he was at sea. In 1738, Hay left £1000 sterling to her husband and any future children in her will, while Knight's own account stood at only £147-19-6²/₃.²¹⁰ Hay clearly expected to accrue a significant estate over coming years as a captain's wife. By 1746, Knight commanded HMS *Happy Janet*, his estate now worth well over £1000.²¹¹ Managing the couple's intertwined finances, Hay reinforced their credit and enabled her husband's career. She played a reassuring role which mitigated Knight's doubts about maritime distance isolating him from family (above). Throughout the 1740s, Knight sent his wages to Hay, who in turn collected rents in Dundee on his behalf.²¹² Knight asked a friend to seek Hay's help in sending him 'a perfect and entire State of all my affairs', declaring all his 'money in Dundee [was] in very Safe hands'.²¹³ Against the economic fluctuations of seafaring, a capable wife like Hay was an invaluable bulwark for a sailor's masculinity.

Though married seamen were supposed to maintain their wives just like landmen, in reality maritime women with husbands overseas had to maintain themselves.²¹⁴ Ideally, these women would use the lump sum of wages their husbands earned from a successful voyage as capital. Even a meager trade would then provide greater financial stability through a small but continuous income. Some women became moneylenders and landladies, the most successful acting as contractors to (or competitors with)

²⁰⁹ Mitchell-Cook, *A Sea of Misadventures*, p.98.

²¹⁰ NAS, JKP, GD240/37/7/9, John Knight's Account for 1737 and GD240/37/7/1, Deposition & Assignation between Jean Hay and John Knight, 21/03/1738.

²¹¹ NMM, ADM 354/127/62, 27/09/1744; NAS, JKP, GD240/37/7/8, Letter from Charles Hay to JK, 15/03/1746 and GD240/37/7/10, Letter from JK to John Ballingall (Sheerness to Dundee), 02/12/1749.

²¹² NAS, JKP, GD240/37/7/13b, /13d, and /13g, Jean Hay receipts, 22/09/1740, 31/08/1749, 11/06/1747 respectively.

²¹³ NAS, JKP, GD240/37/7/6, Letter from JK to John Ballingall (Sheerness to Dundee), 05/03/1748 and GD240/37/7/11, Letter from JK to John Ballingall (Sheerness to Dundee), 23/03/1750.

²¹⁴ Hurl-Eamon, 'The fiction of female dependence', pp.481-6.

merchant and navy shipyards.²¹⁵ The Royal Navy paid such women to care for injured sailors; the Greenwich Hospital alone was not sufficient (or even open until 1705). A substantial amount of the Royal Navy's ever-expanding budget paid for these women's services, their web of economic activity creating what Margaret Hunt calls an 'economy of makeshift'.²¹⁶ Though most concentrated in London, this economy was visible in ports across the British Atlantic. Alongside cash, sailors' wage tickets and 'powers' (of attorney) acted as circulating currencies among London's maritime women in this distinct economy. Some 'invested' in the tickets of multiple mariners to spread risk, just like merchants investing in multiple cargoes.²¹⁷ A seaman's 'power' enabled the woman holding it to legally act as them, including buying property and conducting business independently. Despite staying on shore, maritime women thus underpinned the maritime economy which fuelled Britain's expansion across the Atlantic.

Unfortunately, the greater social and economic agency associated with maritime femininity was a double-edged sword. Some seamen gave powers to women in exchange for sexual favours; some revoked them on a whim. For example, sailor William Duncan gave his wife Mary power of attorney in 1716, but then transferred this to a creditor while away at sea. Mary Duncan charged both her husband and this creditor for impoverishing her family, particularly as she bought William provisions for his voyage.²¹⁸ A 'power' was not a guarantee of financial security. As Daniel Defoe decried in his *Tradesman* (above), some seafaring husbands simply abandoned their wives and families, either dying at sea or re-settling elsewhere.²¹⁹ This happened to Bermuda colonist Sarah Birch in 1695.²²⁰ Likewise, naval wife Ann Downe claimed in 1684 that her husband had abandoned his patriarchal responsibilities, turning to 'ill Husbandry' and 'Extravagant Expense' in alehouses. Downe's need to 'pay the Crediters' highlights the lack of official recourse for such women.²²¹ Naval wives could not claim their husband's wages directly until 1758, and those widowed received no

²¹⁵ Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, p.107.

²¹⁶ Hunt, 'Women and the fiscal-imperial state', pp.31-5.

²¹⁷ Hunt, 'Women and the fiscal-imperial state', pp.38-41.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.21.

²²⁰ Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, p.107.

²²¹ Hunt, 'Women and the fiscal-imperial state', pp.37-41.

financial support until 1765.²²² Much of the economic instability associated with seafaring masculinity thus transferred to the women ashore who relied on their income in a patriarchal society.

Sailors' wives in London took collective action to address such situations. This included more experienced women acting as solicitors skilled in navigating naval bureaucracy, helping others to petition the Royal Navy for relief. In 1666, Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary how a group of maritime women swarmed his Navy Yard. Their naval husbands were Dutch prisoners of war. Pepys had no ready funds to distribute but recognised the emotional power of their pleas and the destitution of their families:

I confess, their cries were so sad for money, and laying down the condition of their families and their husbands... how ill they are used by us... that I do most heartily pity them... but cannot help them.²²³

London's maritime women also lobbied Parliament as vocal critics of the Admiralty throughout the 1690s and 1700s. Though it took fifteen years, the wives of sailors killed aboard the *Modena* in 1692 successfully sued the East India Company for their late husbands' wages.²²⁴ That same year, forty-eight pirates' wives petitioned Queen Anne to offer an amnesty to their husbands overseas.²²⁵ Parishes in Portsmouth - a city where economic strife was the greatest source of 'marital discord' - also petitioned the Admiralty to financially support naval wives there.²²⁶ These women threatened to become a 'burden to the parish' in a city second only to London in its naval significance. Despite examples of successful petitions, the magnitude of these women's efforts shows how many struggled to maintain themselves with husbands away at sea.

²²² Lincoln, 'Naval Wives and Women', pp.74-9.

²²³ 'Tuesday 10 July 1666', *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* <www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1666/07/10> [accessed 03/10/2021].

²²⁴ Hunt, 'Women and the fiscal-imperial state', pp.43-5.

²²⁵ Lincoln, 'Naval Wives and Women', p.77.

²²⁶ Warner and Lunny, 'Marital Violence', pp.268-9; Hurl-Eamon, 'The fiction of female dependence', p.482.

Maritime women with absent husbands relied on motherhood as a pillar of feminine identity, but in this they were undermined by mariners' unrestrained sexuality.²²⁷ Edward Barlow's journal is a powerful example. Barlow took 'a great fancy' to an English woman and promised he would 'keep [their] love entire' upon returning from his first East Indies voyage.²²⁸ However, Barlow broke this promise and confessed he later 'profess[ed] the same to some others' and again betrayed these women. Barlow described this infidelity as his 'greatest vice', but his confessions omitted the most significant example. Barlow hailed his marriage to Englishwoman Mary Symons in 1678 as a guarantee of 'future happiness', praising Symons as a loving wife who raised a family in his absence:

Had I married another woman with a thousand pounds, I would not have had such an excellent wife... churchwoman... and a kind and indulgent mother... deserving my love and respect.²²⁹

However, conservationists at the National Maritime Museum discovered in 2018 that Barlow had pasted this page into his journal. This later addition masked an original, 'excruciatingly frank' account beneath. Barlow had raped and impregnated Symons. 'Much against her will', he did 'more than what was lawful or civil', justifying his actions with the misogynist defence that 'women's wombs [were] of an attractive quality'.²³⁰ Barlow wrote Symons a 'loving letter [to] blot her out of my remembrance', but she intercepted his ship while it waited at the Downs, en route to Jamaica. 'Weeping most pitifully and saying she was undone', Symons successfully pressured Barlow to marry her. He departed days later, and returned mere days after Symons' London house had burned down: she miscarried from the stress. The fire was not Barlow's fault, but his absence was. Barlow's example demonstrates how seafaring men's mobility disrupted the lives of maritime women ashore. Symons secured the rights of a married woman from her rapist, but did not secure the support a household patriarch was supposed to

²²⁷ Ellen Gill, *Naval Families, War and Duty in Britain, 1740-1820* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp.49-50.

²²⁸ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, pp.285-6

²²⁹ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's Journal*, pp.309-10.

²³⁰ Maev Kennedy, 'Sailor's rape confession uncovered in 17th-century journal', 18/09/2018, *The Guardian* <www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2018/sep/18/secret-unearthed-sailor-17th-century-journal-edward-barlow-national-maritime-museum> [accessed 17/10/2018].

provide. Patriarchal society combined with the masculine nature of seafaring to leave women ashore inherently vulnerable, their lives shaped by men at sea they could not contact or control.

Some sailors were simultaneously suspicious of women on land, fearing they would be manipulated or cuckolded at a distance. Speaking from their experience at sea, Sarah Paul described how seamen were 'sea monsters', freely cuckolding other men but unable to bear sexual jealousy themselves.²³¹ Cremer warned readers of his journal that 'loving... girls hartily' risked a 'doase of something to remember them by'.²³² Alluding to venereal disease or an unwanted pregnancy (or possibly both), he claimed women could use pregnancies to draw men 'in for Marridge as they are cunning anuf... and revengefull.'²³³ Though Symons' experience with Barlow shows that women were the ones who suffered in such situations, cuckoldry certainly shows how the mobility which seamen prized could threaten their masculinity. One sailor's song recorded in Ashley Bowen's autobiography warns what might happen if sailors fail to frequently satisfy their wives:

If you hope that your Voyage successful shall prove,
Fill your sails with affection, Your cabin with love...
If my precepts you scorn... a brace of proud antlers
Your brows may adorn.²³⁴

While Bowen wrote in the 1760s, these ideas were present throughout the period. Aboard *HMS Assistance* in the 1670s, one crewman ('Skinner') was a 'known cuckold'. Punished for going ashore without leave, Skinner pleaded that 'having a wife a whore and a scold to injure him at home' was punishment enough already. He asked to 'be pitied abroad'.²³⁵ Landsmen could be cuckolded too, but they had easier, more frequent contact with their wives. Despite bringing valuable stability to sailors' lives, wives also

²³¹ Paul, *The Life*, pp.76-7.

²³² Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.127.

²³³ Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, pp.111-4.

²³⁴ Vickers (ed.), *Ashley Bowen*, pp.123-4.

²³⁵ Manwaring, (ed.), *The diary of Henry Teonge*, p.79.

represented a connection which threatened to undermine mariners' masculinity at a distance.

From the perspective of British landmen, association with the sea tarnished femininity. Scottish physician John Maubray (1700-1732), claimed that a maritime life was inherently unhealthy for women. Describing the 'Sea-faring and meaner sort' of women in London and the Netherlands, Maubray saw life 'in the very Jaws of the Ocean' leaving maritime women 'much affected and disturbed'.²³⁶ Writing in 1724, Maubray claimed that constant exposure to 'bellowing Waves and tumultuous Surges' - proximity to the sea itself - caused molar pregnancies and disrupted maternity.²³⁷ Though Maubray's ideas were not universally accepted, he was highly influential as one of London's most prominent midwives in the 1720s. Women with maritime livelihoods were also devalued beyond medicine. Ned Ward's 1703 satire *The London Spy* not only mocked sailors and captains, but depicted a tavern of 'Female Tongues, so Promiscuously engag'd in a Mess of Tittle-Tattle'.²³⁸ Adding to this misogynist framing of a 'Parliament of Fish-Women', Ward used a colonial simile. He claimed their 'Tallons [were] as sharp as their Tongues... they need not fear a Combat with *all the Beasts of America*' (my italics). Though Ward did not mention seamen, most 'fishwives' were surely sailors' partners or relatives. Their femininity was framed in similarly maritime terms, which Maubray and Ward alike saw as damaging to feminine identity.

The maritime femininity of London's itinerant shellfish sellers or 'oyster-women' was further denigrated. They were a common fixture of the Thames docksides: Samuel Pepys was a frequent customer. However, the morals of these women were seen as inherently suspect. Typically young, poor women on the urban margins, they operated on streets in a manner resembling streetwalkers.²³⁹ Ballads reinforced this reputation, using oysters as yonic imagery to suggest oyster-women were sexually promiscuous. Some called them oyster 'whores' or 'wenches'. One song described how 'Oyster Nan'

²³⁶ A. W. Bates, 'The sooterkin doctor: the London career of John Maubray, MD (1700-1732), "andro-boethogynist"', *Journal of Medical Biography*, 12 (2004), pp.147-153.

²³⁷ John Maubray, *The Female Physician* (London, 1724), pp.361-6.

²³⁸ Ned Ward, *The London Spy Compleat* (London, 1703), p.39.

²³⁹ Charlie Taverner, 'Consider the Oyster Seller: Street Hawkers and Gendered Stereotypes in Early Modern London', *HWJ*, 88 (Autumn 2019), 1-23 (p.6).

became a prostitute: she 'shuts and opens like an Oyster'.²⁴⁰ It is therefore unsurprising that Sarah Paul reacted 'with great contempt... at turning oyster-woman'.²⁴¹ Eventually agreeing (to earn rent), Paul witnessed other oyster-women preparing excuses to 'alleviate[-] the scandal' of the work. Just as the unrestrained masculinity of seamen was devalued by landmen, these oyster-women were seen to embody a sexually unrestrained (and thus devalued) femininity.

6. Conclusion

Combining a broad range of often under-used primary sources from the 1660-1760 period, this chapter shows how seafaring identities diverged from those on land. Life at sea interrupted sailors' education and development, exposing them to the violence of the ocean itself and that inflicted by captains or pirates. Seafaring across vast distances separated mariners from social networks on land, undermining their attempts to build credit or families. Combined with widespread poverty and the physical toll of seafaring, this meant that sailors' masculinity was often devalued and derided by landmen. Seamen proudly defended their independent mobility and economic agency as a cornerstone of their masculinity. However, naval impressment and the vagaries of maritime labour demand made this an unstable foundation for masculine identity. Sailors struggled to consistently provide for wives as patriarchy demanded, and were more vulnerable to accusations of cuckoldry than landmen. Sailors constructed (and celebrated) an unrestrained heterosexuality, prompted by isolation at sea and defensive reactions to accusations of 'sodomy' at sea. This behaviour had the opposite effect on landmen who saw sailors as sexually aggressive and lacking in appropriate restraint.

Oceanic distance freed sailors from observation, creating distinct opportunities for sexual fluidity and ambiguous gender identities. Exploiting Atlantic distance and the (supposedly) all-male nature of seafaring were recognised strategies for those looking to reinvent their gender identity. While some used a seaman's disguise for greater mobility, others used seafaring to 'trans' British gender norms in idiosyncratic ways.

²⁴⁰ Taverner, 'Consider the Oyster Seller', pp.12-13.

²⁴¹ Paul, *The Life*, pp.43-45.

The experience of transatlantic voyages was enough to terrify passengers, whose testimony illuminates a social gulf separating them from common sailors. Passengers likened transatlantic voyages to transformative rites of passage, their wealth and gentility threatened at sea. Though this gave seamen a temporary sense of superiority, gentlemen reasserted their masculine status on land. Captaincy offered seamen greater masculine status, but this opportunity came with its own issues. Lower seamen and landsmen were as likely to label captains petty tyrants as to celebrate them.

The overwhelmingly male environment of ships at sea contrasted with the female majority populations of port towns. Both gender imbalances further marked out maritime masculinity and femininity as distinct across the British Atlantic. Port town demographics afforded maritime women distinct economic opportunities, but they also created a stigmatising association with the sea which degraded the femininity of 'fishwives' and 'oyster-women'. Women ashore were vital economic anchors and stabilising forces for seamen. Their labour and support was vital in propelling British mariners and colonists across the Atlantic, yet these women suffered from the uncertainty created by oceanic distance. Husbands and relatives could die at sea, or simply abandon women using their unrivalled mobility. Women in London were able to act collectively, supporting each other and interacting with Britain's growing naval bureaucracy, but such problems persisted throughout the period. Though most women stayed on shore, maritime femininity was therefore inextricably tied to seafaring masculinity.

Chapter 3 Emotions

1. Introduction

This chapter explores the role emotions played in shaping individual identities across the British Atlantic. Emotions are a key aspect of individual subjectivity, around which personal identity can be constructed.¹ I explore how Atlantic distance produced emotional responses and how those responses shaped masculinity and femininity. Using a range of correspondence to explore early modern emotions, this chapter further interrogates how letters were used to maintain emotional connections and identities. As many colonial and metropolitan Britons interacted with the Atlantic world through letters, the limits of postal infrastructure shaped those experiences of Atlantic distance.

The combined analysis of emotion, gender, and correspondence both informs my wider analysis and builds on disconnected historiographies. The ‘history of emotions’ emerged in tandem with Atlantic history during the 1980s, yet the two have remained largely segregated. Distance has remained largely absent from histories of emotion in the early modern Atlantic world.² Only one monograph addresses transatlantic postal infrastructure in this period, without addressing gender or emotions.³ While Sarah Pearsall has triangulated gender, distance, and transatlantic correspondence in the British Atlantic, her study addresses a later period.⁴ Though effective, this analysis does not cover the development of British colonies and postal systems, nor is it primarily focused on emotion. My analysis will build on Pearsall’s work by exploring this earlier period of development, and by bringing emotion to the analysis of gender, correspondence, and Atlantic distance.

¹ Willemijn Ruberg, ‘Interdisciplinarity and the History of Emotions’, *Cultural and Social History*, 6:4 (2009), 507-516 (p.513).

² In 2012, an American Historical Review roundtable on the subject only mentioned distance once in passing, despite discussing a key source for this thesis, William Byrd II. Nicole Eustace, Eugenia Lean, Julie Livingston, Jan Plamper, William M. Reddy, and Barbara H. Rosenwein, ‘AHR Conversation: The Historical Study Of Emotions’, *American Historical Review*, 117 (Dec. 2012), 1487-1531.

³ Konstantin Dierks, *In My Power: Letter Writing and communications in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2009).

⁴ Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*.

Re-examining sources from previous chapters, I will first outline how mail regulated the long-distance transmission of emotions, shaping the emotional states of correspondents and thus their experience of Atlantic distance. Suggesting that letters could act as material 'emotives', I will examine masculinity through the transatlantic friendship of Cadwallader Colden and James Chrystie. This is then compared with William Byrd II's efforts to court Elizabeth Cromwell by letter, and Byrd's use of diaries to stabilise his masculine identity while isolated in Virginia. Turning from masculinity to femininity, I will explore the letters of women whose husbands spent extended periods overseas. This includes revisiting correspondence from Sarah Carstares and Elizabeth Glanville, and introducing letters from Alida Schuyler, Elizabeth Matthews, and Mary Stafford.

2. Emotions, Letters, 'Emotives'

Studying historical emotions presents several analytical challenges. Emotions are not transparent or consistent across time. They are literally 'embodied', and historical statements of emotion can easily be distorted by a presentist reading. Historians can feel sympathy and empathy, but this is not the same as feeling the past emotions of historical subjects. Moreover, historians can become over-involved in their subjects' emotional experiences. In particular, the extended study of individual lives (as my approach requires) can produce what Michael Roper calls a 'mind... filled with the dead'.⁵ This can prompt historians' own emotional reactions of sympathy or disgust to distort their analysis. Sarah Pearsall has suggested that many historians 'eschew' emotional analysis for essentially this reason: 'perhaps it disturbs them'.⁶ My framework of analysis must therefore account for the difference between early modern and present day framings of emotion, avoiding over-identification with (or simplification of) sources.

Another challenge is installing 'distance' in an analysis of emotions. On one hand, the meaning of 'distance' to each individual was shaped by emotions. In a rare discussion of these ideas in early modern history, Katie Barclay describes how 'the meaning of

⁵ Michael Roper, 'The Unconscious Work of History', *Cultural and Social History*, 11:2 (2014), pp.169-193 (p.171).

⁶ Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, p.2.

distance... near or far, bearable or unbearable' was shaped by emotion.⁷ Each Atlantic colony developed as a distinct space over time, constructed by 'significant emotional investment'.⁸ Those who crossed the Atlantic experienced wild fluctuations in terms of personal, embodied 'space': the stark confines of ships, the open ocean, small islands, and the vast American continent (falsely portrayed as empty).⁹ The perception of 'space' (whether in person or imagined) thus produced individual, emotional experiences of Atlantic distance. However, the sense of distance could then rebound and affect emotional states: distance and emotion were mutually interactive. Accounting for this informs my wider analysis, showing how the Atlantic could reshape identities. The Atlantic was not inherently different from other ocean spaces, but its greater scale compared to smaller, better-known (and generally safer) bodies of water set it apart. The distance between London and Bristol, or London and Bilbao, was therefore less emotionally powerful than that between London and Boston. The sources studied in this chapter thus show how distance was experienced by individuals *and* how that sensation of distance acted upon them.

My analysis borrows two key analytical tools from the history of emotions: William Reddy's 'emotives', and Barbara Rosenwein's 'emotional communities'. Reddy coined the term 'emotives' to specifically describe the outward performance of emotions. Emotives invite reactions: 'they do things to the world'.¹⁰ Rosenwein describes 'emotional communities' as groups which share an 'emotional vocabulary'.¹¹ This in turn refers to the historically situated mix of social values, conventions, and linguistic vocabulary which constrain emotional statements and ideas. I use 'emotives' and 'emotional communities' to ensure my analysis is accurately contextualised, and to account for the inherent limitations of written sources. While letters are records of emotional *expression*, the writer and recipients' internal *experiences* of emotion are inherently unattainable. Reddy's concept of 'emotives' foregrounds this distinction,

⁷ Katie Barclay, 'Space and Place' in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. by Susan Broomhall (London, 2017), 20-23 (pp.21-2).

⁸ Barclay, 'Space and Place', p.20.

⁹ David S. Shields, 'The Atlantic World, the Senses, and the Arts' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World: 1450-1850*, ed. by Nicholas Canny and Philip Morgan (Oxford, 2011), pp.130-145 (pp.144-5); Dierks, *In My Power*, pp.105-6.

¹⁰ Reddy cited in Ruberg, 'Interdisciplinarity', pp.508-10.

¹¹ Roper, 'Unconscious Work', pp.172-3; Eustace et al., 'AHR Conversation', p.1496.

ensuring emotional statements are not conflated with emotional experience. Emotions are contingent, malleable, and shaped by social-cultural interactions: they are not consistent or universal. The neurological and genetic roots of emotion remain uncertain, but what *is* clear is that emotions are exchanged and perceived through language and actions.¹² The precise details of this language vary across historical contexts, hence Rosenwein's useful conceptualisation of 'emotional communities'. By framing my analysis in these terms, I aim to clearly and accurately trace the emotional impact of Atlantic distance on men and women in the sources below.

These sources are 'ego-documents', a term referring to sources in which 'an ego intentionally or unintentionally discloses or hides itself'.¹³ As authors of ego-documents trawled through what Alexandra Walsham calls a 'current of quotidian activities', they emphasised events and ideas which induced strong emotional reactions.¹⁴ This emotional process makes letters and diaries an illuminating source for studying individual identity in the early modern British Atlantic. Letters allowed individuals to transmit an idealised identity to others across Atlantic distances, while diaries provided space for the personal review and management of emotions.

In analysing Atlantic distance, letters are particularly significant as ego-documents. Each one represented a physical, tangible connection to distant correspondents. In a recent study of emotions and materiality, Sasha Handley describes letters as 'physical memento[s] of the sender' with an 'unparalleled capacity to condense the passage of time'.¹⁵ Leonie Hannan further states that the intensely personal process of letter-writing cannot be separated from the 'material artefact of the epistle itself'.¹⁶ While

¹² Eustace et al., 'AHR Conversation', pp.1504-5; Roper, 'Unconscious Work', p.183; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge, 2016), pp.3-4.

¹³ This is not to be confused with a psychoanalytical 'ego'. Kaspar von Greyerz, 'Ego-Documents: The Last Word?', *German History*, 28:3 (2010), 273-82 (p.278).

¹⁴ Philippe Lejeune, cited in Magda Stroińska and Vikki Cecchetto, 'Is Autobiographical Writing a Historical Document? The Impact of Self-Censorship on Life Narratives', *Life Writing*, 12:2, (2015), 177-188 (p.178); Alexandra Walsham, 'Domesticating the Reformation: Material Culture, Memory, and Confessional Identity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69 (2016), 566-616 (p.571); Alan Bray, 'To Be a Man in Early Modern Society: The Curious Case of Michael Wigglesworth', *HWJ*, 41 (Spring 1996), 155-165.

¹⁵ Dierks, *In My Power*, p.78; Sasha Handley, 'Objects, Emotions and an Early Modern Bed-sheet', *HWJ*, 85 (Spring 2018), 169-194 (p.170, p.188).

¹⁶ Hannan, *Women of Letters*, p.153.

some wealthy correspondents dictated letters, most came from the sender's own hand. The value of a letter therefore went beyond raw information, representing a significant investment of time, cost, materials, and skill on the sender's part. Each letter carried significant emotional weight. Building on Handley and Hannan's ideas, I suggest that letters in this period acted as material 'emotives'. In line with Reddy's definition, letters were statements of emotional intent deployed with an intended effect. They created a material connection, carrying emotional words across vast Atlantic distances. This framing centres the emotions of each letter's sender and recipient equally.

The power of letters as emotives can be seen in the strong effects they produced in both writers and recipients. When in-person conversation was impossible, letters nourished ties of family and friendship strained by distance. The greater the distance, the more important the correspondence became. Michael Roper notes that letters could act as a powerful stabilising force; a 'locus of emotional experience' when identity seemed 'in danger of unravelling'.¹⁷ Many letters were kept and re-read for what Konstantin Dierks labels their 'therapeutic function', or read aloud to groups.¹⁸ Letter-writing sometimes represented recovery from illness, with writers implying the process accelerated that recovery. When English sailor Isaac Lawrence fell ill in 1680, his brother's 'heart trembled' when a letter arrived:

For many hours I could not break the seals [of]... the suspected paper.¹⁹

Writing to England from Massachusetts in 1656, John Eliot (1604-1690) felt a 'sweet refreshing' relief of his 'bodyly paines'.²⁰ Hannah Newton explicitly links this process to emotionality, claiming that recovery produced 'emotional transformations' in early modern individuals.²¹ For the recipient, a letter confirmed the writer's survival, in turn relieving their own anxieties. When John Custis recovered from a 'sharp & tedious' illness in 1716 (having been 'in extream danger'), William Byrd II found his 'black fears

¹⁷ Michael Roper, 'Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History', *HWJ*, 59 (2005), 57-72 (pp.62-4).

¹⁸ Dierks, 'American Men of Science', pp.175-9.

¹⁹ Hannah Newton, *Misery to Mirth: Recovery from Illness in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2018), pp.123-4.

²⁰ Letter from John Eliot to Richard Baxter, 16/10/1656 in F. J. Powicke (ed.), *Some unpublished correspondence of the Reverend Richard Baxter and the Reverend John Eliot, the apostle of the American Indians, 1656-1682* (Manchester, 1931), pp.19-21.

²¹ Newton, *Misery to Mirth*, pp.2-3.

dissipated by a letter'.²² Such examples demonstrate the power letters had to influence the emotions of both writer and sender, connecting them at a distance.

The emotional impact of some early modern letters can be seen in strong physical symptoms and reactions. These included disturbed sleep and dreams, descriptions of which acted as emotives in turn to induce sympathy in recipients. In 1684, Welsh Pennsylvania colonist Richard Davies wrote to William Penn about horrifying visions of his son being 'cast into the sea' and the 'danger of siprack [shipwreck]'.²³ On her first voyage to America in 1727, Quaker woman Susanna Morris likewise 'dreamt our ship would be lost'. Morris described the emotional impact of this nightmare through reference to the 'weight' this placed on her 'mind'. The emphasis on 'mind' reflected Morris' sense of mental and emotional wellbeing, its 'tossing' reflecting the ocean she travelled on:

There remained on my mind, a solid weight for fear it should be so... I dwelt in a fearfull tossing of Mind...²⁴

A more detailed example of this effect comes from William Byrd II. In 1705, he wrote to Lucy Parke (his wife) that he would 'tumble and toss' while they were apart.²⁵ Disturbed sleep was an established rhetorical device for men like Byrd who were courting, but he recorded similar instances besides this one.²⁶ In 1719, while at sea en route to Virginia, Byrd recorded a disturbing dream of his daughter Evelyn's death, and his Westover house being destroyed.²⁷ This was written in his diary instead of a letter, for his benefit alone. This nightmare came during a rough winter voyage, at a time when Byrd's political career and attempts to court a second wife were at a low ebb. Such dreams were rare, or at least Byrd rarely recorded them. This suggests he found this dream

²² Letter from WBII to John Custis (London to Virginia), 31/01/1716 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.290.

²³ Letter from Richard Davies to William Penn, 07/07/1684 in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (eds.), *The Papers of William Penn vol. 2, 1680-1684* (Philadelphia, 1982), pp.561-4.

²⁴ Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven CT, 2014), p.151.

²⁵ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.253.

²⁶ Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling*, pp.5-9.

²⁷ Maude H. Woodfin (ed.), *Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741* (Richmond VA, 1942), p.381 n.1.

particularly notable. Michael Zuckerman has suggested that Byrd's use of his diary for rigid self-control and self-fashioning makes emotional episodes which *are* recorded particularly significant.²⁸ They represent rare peaks of emotion showing through Byrd's masculine self-editing. Byrd's fears at sea in 1719 may therefore be indicative of a wider range of anxieties he experienced during his voyages between England and Virginia.²⁹ They came at a time when Byrd had no way of confirming his daughter and home were safe. He wrote in letters that distance continued to disturb his sleep, as noted in a letter from 1726, Byrd wrote to his sister Anne that 'every time Mrs [Maria] Byrd hears from any of you [in England], she sleeps no more that live-long night'.³⁰ Byrd's nightmare at sea shows how Atlantic distances could magnify the power of emotions, disrupting the mind and body.

Faced by the scale of distance separating them from correspondents, some found their ability to write curtailed by the physical symptoms of emotional strain. In 1713, English gentlewoman Sarah Cowper (1644-1720) worried that her hands shaking in fear had impacted her handwriting: 'my writing shews it'.³¹ Though poor handwriting could betray 'inexperience, carelessness or hurry' in a correspondent, it could as easily be a sign of emotional strain.³² Cadwallder Colden's father, James, felt 'obliged to break off' one letter in 1739, 'being under such lowness of Spirits as unfits me quite for writing'.³³ In the 1750s, Quaker woman Sarah Beck wrote to a friend that when she 'took pen in hand', fear suddenly overtook her. Though this surprised Beck, she connected this feeling to her connection to the recipient: 'I know no meaning it has, but [that] I want to hear from thee'.³⁴ Around the same time, Frances Glanville (see below) told her husband that 'the minute I sit down to write', thoughts of 'how far he is off [and] how many dangers he runs' would then 'destroy any bright ones'.³⁵ Those expecting letters from overseas begged for them in terms which spoke to these objects' emotive power.

²⁸ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.10.

²⁹ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.102.

³⁰ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.483.

³¹ Newton, *Misery to Mirth*, p.125.

³² Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, p.1.

³³ Letter from JC to CC (Kelso to New York), 23/03/1739 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 2*, p.192.

³⁴ Hannan, *Women of Letters*, pp.110-11.

³⁵ Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral's wife*, p.69.

When Alexander Mountier wanted more letters from Edward Burd in 1734, he asked 'Ned' to consider the influence his letters had at a distance:

did you know the pleasure I have to hear from my old friends, you would pity me & spare a few moments.³⁶

William Byrd II described the feelings letters gave in 1735, after complaining that his 'dear sister' Anne did not write often enough. Claiming to 'beat my poor brains about it continually', Byrd emphasised how 'her letters make [-] friends very happy'.³⁷ The next year, Byrd demonstrated the value of transatlantic correspondence in another letter, likening letters to inherited wealth:

we [in Virginia] tear open the letters [ships] bring us from our friends, as eagerly as a greedy heir tears open a rich fathers will.³⁸

Byrd situated himself among other colonists, likening the mail they craved to an ample will to represent its symbolic value. In more sentimental terms, James Colden likewise reminded his son in 1739 'what extraordinary Satisfaction your letters give'.³⁹ Any breaks in their correspondence left James Colden 'filled with the greatest anxiety'. When a response arrived in Scotland from New York, he claimed to feel 'the wealcomest... most Seasonable and agreeable reliefe'.⁴⁰ Rather than citing the need to be well-informed at a distance, Mountier and Colden used emotive pleas to ask for frequent correspondence from Scotland. When letters arrived, they had the power to grant 'relief', shrinking the sensation of distance and reinforcing social ties. In this way, colonists represented an emotional community in which all described the relief provided by long-awaited letters.

The impact of letter 'emotives' on British identities can be seen in the gendering of emotions. Across early modern Britain, men and women were expected to feel

³⁶ NAS, RH15/54/9/36, Letter from AM to EB (Kingston to Edinburgh), 19/08/1734.

³⁷ Letter from WBII to Francis Otway, August 1735 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.453-4.

³⁸ Letter from WBII to Anne Otway (Virginia to England), 1736 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.483.

³⁹ Letter from James Colden to CC, 23/03/1739 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 2*, p.192.

⁴⁰ Letter from James Colden to CC, 26/03/1742 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 2*, pp.249-50.

differently; to experience and display different emotions along gendered lines. They belonged to gendered emotional communities. Bernard Capp, Wendy Churchill, and Helen Yallop have all stressed that no one 'emotional regime' held sway in early modern Britain, not least because these ideas shifted from 1660 to 1760. Emotions were neither 'unproblematic nor ubiquitous'.⁴¹ That said, men were generally expected to exercise emotional restraint, depending on social status. All were supposed to be 'contented and cheerful' in mind in ways which reflected physical health, embodying a 'politeness beneath the skin'.⁴² Prolonged periods of negative emotion were diagnosed along gendered lines, with men normally labelled 'hypochondriac'. Men's tears could represent an effeminate loss of masculine 'rigorous self-control', linked to 'a sort of feminine Constitution'.⁴³ However, tears appeared as displays of devotion to 'the godly', and men who refused to cry for dead loved ones were criticised for 'Stoical dulnesse'.⁴⁴ When Cotton Mather's son Increase died at sea, he wrote in his diary of the news' profound emotional and physical impact:

Ah My Son Increase! My Son! My Son! My Head is Waters, and my Eyes
are a Fountain of Tears! I am overwhelmed!⁴⁵

Though this was a private, written statement and not a public display, it showed that Mather made no attempt at emotional restraint. He described at length how the death of his son in Atlantic storms had emotionally broken him. Jamaican colonist Thomas Thistlewood (1721-1786) recorded a similar reaction upon the death of his nephew John in his diary. He wrote with a rare reflection on his own emotions and physical state: 'I feel Strangely, pain all over me and can eat nothing etc'.⁴⁶ Though men were expected to restrain their emotions, they were still expected to feel emotions in line with a masculine emotional community.

⁴¹ Capp, "Jesus wept", pp.106-7; Helen Yallop, 'Representing Aged Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England: The 'Old Man' of Medical Advice', *Cultural and Social History*, 10:2 (2013), 191-210 (pp.191-2).

⁴² Harvey, 'Men of Parts', pp.798-803; Yallop, 'Representing Aged Masculinity', pp.196-8.

⁴³ Churchill, *Female Patients*, p.107; Capp, "Jesus wept", pp.75-9.

⁴⁴ Capp, "Jesus wept", pp.100-2.

⁴⁵ Pitt, 'Cotton Mather', p.244.

⁴⁶ Burnard, *Mastery*, p.138.

British women were more expected to make openly emotional statements, and emotionality in general was associated (often pejoratively and misogynistically) with femininity. Nicole Eustace suggests that 'emotion itself' was portrayed as 'quintessentially feminine, primitive, and private', not just in early modern Britain but throughout much of European history.⁴⁷ English physician Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689) wrote in 1681 that women's constitutions were 'more delicate' and intended for 'to perform the tender Offices of Love.'⁴⁸ Depressed women were more often labelled as 'melancholic' or 'hysterical', more severe diagnoses than 'hypochondria'. Writing in 1707, Sloane thus claimed that Jamaica's heat exacerbated the conditions of 'Hysterical Women and Hypochondriacal Men' respectively.⁴⁹ Despite the gap between prescriptive medical literature and the lived reality of wider British culture, these examples nonetheless reflect a broad, gendered divide. British women may therefore have felt more free to openly express emotion, but this does not mean their emotive statements were entirely unrestrained. For men and women alike, the emotion in question mattered - unrestrained happiness was received differently from unrestrained anger. This gendering of emotionality allowed the emotive impact of letters to influence masculinity and femininity at a distance.

3. Mail, Distance, and Cadwallader Colden

Understanding how letters travelled is key to understanding their emotional impact and ability to shape identity at a distance. From 1660 to 1760 (and beyond), transatlantic communication required written correspondence. However, sending letters across the Atlantic and across Britain were entirely different experiences during this century. The difference between these two scales of mail service - between Atlantic and metropolitan distance - shaped the lives of correspondents in Britain and its colonies. The metropole had frequent coastal shipping, well-established (though poorly maintained) roads, horseback couriers, and dedicated routes for royal mail. The absolute distance letters had to travel was also much smaller than crossing the Atlantic. Crucially, transatlantic mail relied entirely on one method of transmission: long-distance shipping. This created

⁴⁷ Eustace et al., 'AHR Conversation', p.1490.

⁴⁸ Wendy Churchill, *Female Patients in Early Modern Britain: Gender, Diagnosis, and Treatment* (Abingdon, 2016), p.198.

⁴⁹ Churchill, *Female Patients*, pp.204-6.

a single point of failure for transatlantic communication. Both individual colonists and the Crown itself relied entirely on seaborne correspondence to monitor and control overseas territory. There were few established services within Britain's overseas colonies which could forward letters inland from port towns. Postal infrastructure therefore shaped how individual colonists experienced the Atlantic world, and how Britain controlled its colonies. Distance was experienced relative to the level of mail service available.

It should be noted that metropolitan Britain, while better off than its overseas colonies, still had fairly rudimentary mail service in the late-seventeenth century. A well-established network of mail couriers connected London to Edinburgh, Dublin (via Holyhead), and European cities via Dover and Falmouth. However, they only carried royal correspondence. In 1674-5, English writer Edward Chamberlayne (1616-1703) and Scottish cartographer John Ogilby (1600-1676) both claimed that England's post was among Europe's best.⁵⁰ Even if true, this belied the fact that public service lagged far behind the Crown's. A General Post Office was established in 1660, and England and Scotland each had a Postmaster General. However, England's Postmaster General had no fixed office until 1678, and Scotland had similar issues. That same year, a mail coach took six days to make the comparatively short and unobstructed 88-mile return journey from Glasgow to Edinburgh.⁵¹ Ireland had an entirely separate mail system, as did each of England's overseas colonies, none of which had official post offices or mapped mail routes. Despite the greater distance and difficulties encountered by transatlantic mail, metropolitan service was thus little better in the first decades of the period.

From c.1680 to 1707, Britain saw limited improvements in mail service while its colonies continued to struggle. In London, an immediately successful 'penny post' was established for intra-city mail: this was rapidly absorbed into the General Post Office. Horse-drawn postal services were established connecting Edinburgh to Dundee and

⁵⁰ Dierks, *In My Power*, p.26 and p.33.

⁵¹ T. B. Lang, *An historical summary of the post office in Scotland: compiled from authentic records and documents* (Edinburgh, 1856), p.10.

Aberdeen, alongside a weekly 'foot post' to Inverness.⁵² In the 1690s, William III established both Jamaica's first post office and a Scottish General Post Office.⁵³ One of the latter office's stated duties was to convey letters 'with speed and expedition... into any kingdom or country *beyond seas*' (my italics).⁵⁴ This shows how transoceanic mail service (serving both England and Scotland) was increasingly recognised as a key component of British colonial expansion. Even so, Jamaica's first post office was intended for naval communications, not public correspondence. In 1708, the Governor of New York (Edward Hyde (1661-1723)) complained that he still lacked 'frequent, safe opportunities of Writing to England': he went 'sometimes many months without hearing anything'.⁵⁵ Colonial governors, let alone individual colonists with few resources, still struggled to communicate with Britain in the early eighteenth century.

Poor mail service shaped the colonial experience of Atlantic distance, creating an emotional impact and sense of colonial isolation. This can be seen in the letters of William Byrd I. In a tone resembling Governor Hyde's, Byrd wrote in July 1689 that Virginia had 'received no certain intelligence from England' concerning William III's accession several months earlier.⁵⁶ His cousin, Nordest Rand, failed to write regularly despite living in Deal, a town situated next to the Downs where America-bound shipping from London often waited for favourable winds. Byrd cited the emotional impact of such delayed news as one of growing fear and instability, with 'discontented governments round us, & the Indians who are very troublesome'. Isolated from England, Byrd's experience of colonial space was also one of feeling surrounded by rival colonists and Indigenous nations. Despite his wealth as a tobacco planter and 'Indian trader', Byrd struggled to maintain a connection with metropolitan England. The next year, Byrd complained in another letter of feeling disconnected from European networks of information 'att the end of the world':

⁵² 'From the Book of Eminent Burgesses of Dundee 1513 to 1885', *Friends of Dundee City Archives* <www.fdca.org.uk/1676_John_Graham_Postmaster_Scotland.html> [accessed 10/02/2021].

⁵³ Dierks, *In My Power*, pp.38-41.

⁵⁴ Lang, *The post office in Scotland*, p.7.

⁵⁵ Alejandra Dubcovsky, *Informed Power: Communication in the Early American South* (Cambridge MA, 2016), p.117.

⁵⁶ Letter from WBI to Arthur North (Virginia to England), 23/07/1689 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.111.

Europe may bee turned topsy turvy 'ere wee can hear a word of itt.⁵⁷

The danger of transatlantic voyages (discussed in chapter two) further enhanced Byrd's sense of isolation and distance from England. On 31st March 1685, he wrote multiple letters, the first informing his brother that 'poor cousin Grendon dyed at sea'. Byrd begged his brother to

omitt no opportunity to lett me hear from you by letters, which (since heaven hath placed us at that distance) is the onely way wee have to communicate our thoughts...⁵⁸

Byrd reacted to his cousin's death at sea by pleading for more correspondence from his family. His dependence on correspondence is reflected in the stress on letters as the 'only' way he could communicate across 'that [Atlantic] distance'. The emotional impact of Grendon's death can be seen in Byrd's simultaneous writing to Christopher Glasscock at Felsted School in England, and to his London merchant colleagues Perry and Lane. The latter letter discussed tobacco shipments, which were Byrd's economic lifeline tying him to England and underpinning his masculine credit (as discussed in chapter one).

Byrd's other letter discussed the education of his then-eleven year old son, William Byrd II. William Byrd I was 'glad to hear you are with so good a master who I hope will see you improve your time'.⁵⁹ He wished that his son would live 'to serve [God] as you ought', signing his letter 'your loving father WB'. Byrd gave his son instructions in a final tone, reflecting on the dangerous maritime distance separating them in the wake of his cousin's death. Byrd's comment on his son's 'improvement' and 'service' further shows how this distance had obstructed his ability to act as a family patriarch. His direct influence over his son was reduced to a 'hearty but distant voice'; his son's masculine

⁵⁷ Letter from WBI to Daniel Horsmanden (Virginia to England), 08/08/1690 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.136.

⁵⁸ Letter from WBI to Warham Horsmanden (Virginia to England), 31/03/1685 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.32-5.

⁵⁹ Letter from WBI to Robinson Byrd (Virginia to England), 31/03/1685 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.34-5.

development was delegated to tutors and relatives.⁶⁰ Most boys at Felsted School lived only a few days' safe travel from home, whereas the two Byrds were separated by a wholly different scale of distance and uncertainty. William Byrd II was tied to a colonial emotional community of which his English peers were ignorant. Vast Atlantic distance, as experienced through slow and unreliable mail, both weakened Byrd's paternal ties to his son and prompted morbid introspection. Moreover, distance interrupted William Byrd II's own masculine development relative to his English peers.

While British colonists' difficulties with transatlantic mail were widely recognised, solutions were slow to develop. Following the Union, the 1711 Postal Act unified disparate postal systems of the British Crown and created transatlantic 'packet' services. However, many of these new services (such as the Bristol to New York packet) soon failed. Even the successful London - Boston - New York packet remained slow and expensive. Postage for a single letter might cost seventeen pence, and a reply would likely take four months to arrive.⁶¹ Furthermore, packet ships were no less vulnerable to attack (from privateers and pirates) or storms than other ships. William Byrd II blamed being 'backward' in his writing on the poor 'circulation of shipping' in 1703; Cadwallader Colden's correspondents wished for 'more Quiet & certainty' as pirates interrupted their mail.⁶² Such constraints forced many to instead resort to personal connections or friendly merchants to carry letters personally. Some pirates' wives hired captains to deliver correspondence to their outlaw husbands in Nassau.⁶³ Despite the development of packets, maintaining correspondence across the Atlantic thus remained expensive and complex after the Union.

The sense of isolation and distance created by correspondence was redoubled by the difficulty in communicating *between* Britain's Atlantic colonies. Inter-colonial mail routes were only mapped for the first time in 1715.⁶⁴ The previous year, Colden had been forced to enlist multiple associates in Philadelphia and New York to send a single letter

⁶⁰ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, pp.15-16.

⁶¹ Packets took at least six weeks to cross the Atlantic going westward, and ten to return eastward. Speeds and costs cited from ESRO, SAS/RF 21/6, Memorandum, 1751; Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, p.1.

⁶² Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.206; Letter from William Keith to CC, 27/11/1718 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.88.

⁶³ Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, p.114

⁶⁴ Dierks, *In My Power*, pp.43-47; Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, pp.41-3.

from Barbados to Madeira via those cities.⁶⁵ These difficulties framed colonists' sense of distance. Welsh colonist Peter Fontaine found it equally difficult to send letters from Virginia to his relations in Wales and Carolina alike.⁶⁶ The latter was much closer in absolute terms, yet in terms of correspondence, Fontaine was equally isolated from both other colonies and the metropole. In 1722, Cadwallader Colden's aunt in Philadelphia (Elizabeth Hill) bemoaned the continued 'trouble' of corresponding with him in New York.⁶⁷ Any emotional effects created by the perception of Atlantic distance were thus amplified by colonists' double isolation, from both the metropole and from other colonies.

These experiences persisted throughout the period of study, even as mail services continued to (slowly) develop. In 1735, William Byrd II complained that colonists like himself remained 'poor hermits'. It was 'a mighty misfortune for an epistolizer not to live near some great city like London'.⁶⁸ Writing 50 years after his father's letters about cousin Grendon, Byrd still found transatlantic mail an insufficient substitute for personal proximity to other Britons. Writing from Maryland in the 1740s, Scottish doctor Alexander Hamilton (1712-1756) likewise complained that 'a tollerable Correspondence' was still 'not to be had in this Country'.⁶⁹ By this time, there were roughly 60 post offices across Britain's Atlantic colonies, with regular mail services interconnecting those on the American continent. Colonists now received London newspapers quite reliably, but they remained in ways part of a distinct emotional community.⁷⁰ Prominent Virginian planter Robert Beverley still complained in 1765 that he could not rely on good personal shipments from London:

Why I am not to enjoy the same Priviledge [as Englishmen] I know not,
unless it arises from the Distance from thence [my italics].⁷¹

⁶⁵ Letter from CC to Benjamin Bartlette, 12/07/1714 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, pp.17-18.

⁶⁶ Dierks, *In My Power*, p.106.

⁶⁷ Letter from Elizabeth Hill to CC, 12/03/1722 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.23.

⁶⁸ Letter from WBII to JPT (Virginia to England), 10/10/1735 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.461-2.

⁶⁹ DDP, Box 3 (Letterbook), Letter from AH to David Smith (Annapolis to Innerwick), n/d (after 27/04/1743).

⁷⁰ Dierks, *In My Power*, pp.131-2 and p.144.

⁷¹ Letter from Robert Beverley to John Bland (Virginia to England), 11/08/1765 in Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, p.135.

Despite improvements in mail administration and service, speed and reliability nonetheless remained limited by shipbuilding and sailing technology. Even in the late eighteenth century, letters would be frequently miscarried in 'tempestuous seas' or actively intercepted.⁷² When William Byrd II's correspondence with John Custis was intercepted in 1719, the latter sarcastically alluded to 'fine reports your dear dear friends take pleasure to blaze abroad':

your hand is so well known, and you att this time [are] so much mistrusted... that if your letters fall into some hands they are either destroy[e]d or open[e]d.⁷³

This exposes how vulnerable one's credit and identity were when mediated at a distance by mail. As early as the 1670s, one writing guide warned that 'a sheet of paper... if lost or miscarried may be [to] the great detriment, if not the utter ruin of the person'.⁷⁴ Byrd's letters were exposed by his 'hand' and liable to being destroyed. This affected Custis' own letters and reputation in the process. Byrd claimed to have sent several sets of 'prudent directions' to letter-bearers, but also acknowledged that 'the vice of intercepting of letters [also] stoppt several of mine'.⁷⁵ He likened breaking open someone's letters to 'break[ing] open their house'. Both were violations of property and privacy which could not be resisted at a distance. Both Byrd and Custis relied on letters to communicate across the Atlantic, and intercepted letters were effectively intercepted tokens of credit and masculine status. The vulnerability of letters undermined these men's sense of security and control over their identities.

A more detailed example of transatlantic correspondence shaping identities comes from the correspondence of Cadwallader Colden. Many of his letters show how men maintained friendships across Atlantic distances, using them as material emotives to renew social ties and reinforce masculine identity. Having left his Scottish home of

⁷² Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, p.25.

⁷³ Letter from John Custis to WBII, March 1719 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.319-20.

⁷⁴ Hannah Wooley, *The Gentlewoman's Companion* (London, 1673), pp.218-9.

⁷⁵ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.323.

Kelso in 1712 (aged twenty-four), Colden only returned briefly in 1715 before settling in New York. Living there until 1776, he was never visited by friends or family. Only correspondence connected them across the Atlantic. Letters to and from Colden's friends discuss the emotional effects of distance on friendship. For example, in 1713, Colden wrote a letter referencing the distance between himself and John Rothead. He defied the detrimental effects of separation, asserting that he and Rothead remained 'bound by... Declarations of Friends[hi]p'.⁷⁶ There was 'no one in America of whose presence [Colden] would be more glad'. Conversely, in 1721 Colden's brother-in-law David Chrystie wrote of

the great loss we are at being *at such a great distance...* in despair of ever seeing one another.⁷⁷ (my italics)

Chrystie repeated the phrase 'at a distance' throughout his letter, reinforcing the sense of 'loss' and 'despair' he associated with it. He asked Colden to 'keep a better Correspondence' in order to be 'in One Anoth[er's] Comp.[any] at a Distance'. Their letters were a direct substitute for in-person 'company' and face-to-face conversation.⁷⁸ The emotional stability such connections provided can be seen in letters Colden received from another Scottish friend, James Alexander. In 1729, Alexander described the prospect of losing friends as 'a Deep Concern'.⁷⁹ Separated from Colden, Alexander worried he had 'Lost a Repository of his mind when Anxious'; a 'full & Safe Confidence'; someone who could 'Discover fully any anxiety on ones mind'. Taken together, letters from Rothead, Chrystie, and Alexander reflect Colden's position as a colonist. Letters were vital in maintaining these friendships, and carried strong emotional messages across the Atlantic in ways which framed the effects of being 'at such a great distance'.

A more detailed individual example of Colden's transatlantic friendships comes from his correspondence with brother-in-law James Chrystie. The two appear to have been close before 1712, yet they did not correspond during Colden's first three years away

⁷⁶ Letter from CC to JR, 01/04/1713 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.9.

⁷⁷ Letter from DC to CC, 27/11/1721 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.92.

⁷⁸ Hannan notes the use of 'company' to mean in-person conversation by many correspondents in *Women of Letters*, p.109.

⁷⁹ Letter from James Alexander to CC, 12/08/1729 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.178.

from Scotland. When Colden finally wrote in 1715, Chrystie was 'heartily glad'.⁸⁰ Relieved that their 'entire friendship and Intimacy' had not been broken by distance, Chrystie could not 'express with how much chearfullness' he 'embraced' Colden's plans to return that year. Figuratively 'embracing' Colden from a distance, Chrystie's letter revived and reinforced the positive emotions associated with their friendly 'intimacy'. While Colden's outgoing letter does not survive, he must have expressed anxieties about their friendship having eroded under the effects of distance. Chrystie strenuously asserted that their bond remained strong, emphasising how 'glad' and 'cheerful' he was to relieve Colden's anxieties. Speaking directly to the maritime distance separating them, Chrystie promised Colden the 'Same Steddy and Unchanged friendship':

you may Assure your Self... the broadest Seas can never Separate you
from my Sincere affection and Remembrance.⁸¹

Chrystie also filled this letter with personal references and shared knowledge, further reinforcing his ties to Colden which distance had strained. Chrystie headed his letters 'D B C', signing off as 'a faithful B': perhaps these initials stood for '**D**ear **B**rother **C**olden', and '**B**rother' respectively. Chrystie also referred to the risk of this same letter being intercepted, acknowledging another constraining effect of transatlantic mail:

the Uncertainty I am in about this finding you Obliges me to be Somewhat
less particular in my Writing.

Rather than any personal scandal, Chrystie was likely referring to ongoing tensions in Britain surrounding the Hanoverian Succession. His letter was written in April 1715, only months before that year's Jacobite rising began. Chrystie had just been ordained, and might have worried about Jacobites reading his letters. He expressed his fears in terms which alluded to his and Colden's shared knowledge and experiences:

⁸⁰ Letter from JCH to CC, 22/04/1715 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.77.

⁸¹ Ibid.

Since I have taken upon me my present character, I have pass'd, *per Varios Casus per tot Discrimina rerum*, as cannot be made the Subject of this Letter.

The Latin quotation Chrystie used came from Virgil's *Aeneid*, roughly translating to 'through various chances, through such critical times'.⁸² This dovetails with the sense of political tensions in Britain creating 'critical times' in 1715. Latin was often used in letters to convey secrecy. For example, William Dunlop used Latin to secretly communicate with Spanish friars on a diplomatic mission to St Augustine in 1688.⁸³ In the context of the *Aeneid*, Chrystie's quotation formed part of a speech by Achates, a close friend of Aeneas whose name was 'a by-word for a very intimate companion'.⁸⁴ Chrystie's use of this phrase thus appears to be another way of reinforcing his friendship with Colden, in terms alluding to the two men's shared classical education. Despite his uncertainties about intercepted mail, Chrystie thus ensured his letter acted as a powerful, positive emotive for Colden overseas.

Over subsequent years, Colden and Chrystie appear to have successfully maintained this bond of masculine friendship through their correspondence. When Colden briefly returned to Scotland in 1715, he married Alice Chrystie, James' sister. In this respect, Colden and Chrystie's long-distance friendship resembled that of Mountier and Burd, seen in chapter one: Burd married one of Mountier's sisters. In one letter, Chrystie asked Colden to nag his sister about replying more promptly:

Tell Alie, I think She has become extremely lazie in Writeing... the throng you tell me She was in [about domestic chores] will not be Sustained... as an excuse for her Silence.⁸⁵

⁸² Line 204, *Aeneid I* <www.thelatinlibrary.com/vergil/aen1.shtml> [accessed 02/12/2020].

⁸³ NLS, MS.9250/83, A note in Latin from Fr. Simon de Salas to WD ('Dominus nobilis Lope Guillermo'), July 1688.

⁸⁴ Sergio Casali, 'The King of Pain: Aeneas, Achates and Achos in Aeneid I', *The Classical Quarterly*, 58:1 (May 2008), pp.181-189.

⁸⁵ Letter from JCH to CC (Morbattle to New York), 01/03/1731 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 8*, pp.144-6.

By 1724, Chrystie had three children, thanking providence for his 'comfortable circumstances'. After nearly a decade of Atlantic separation, Chrystie assured Colden in a letter that

in no case am I capable to forgett you... but [I] regrate the unhappiness, that we who have and always had such an entire and uninterrupted affection for one another should be so far Separate.⁸⁶

Their friendship had become defined by the distance that constrained it, with Chrystie stressing that lives 'so far Separate' would not 'interrupt' their mutual 'affection': it would remain 'entire'. The two men became so adept at communicating this way that in 1730, Chrystie claimed to perceive Colden's emotional state merely through his tone, or 'way of writeing'.⁸⁷ Though separation caused Chrystie 'unhappiness', he and Colden successfully negotiated the distance between them using correspondence, sustaining and developing a strong masculine friendship.

4. William Byrd's Masculine Anxieties

While Colden's correspondence reflects the emotional impact of early modern postal infrastructure, more long-term effects on identity can be seen in the writing of William Byrd II. As noted above, Byrd's childhood was framed by separation from his father across the Atlantic. Despite the difficulties this caused, Byrd nonetheless grew up with material comforts, a good education, many other relatives who supported him, and access to London's opportunities. By 1700, he was a successful young member of the Royal Society. However, the next decade saw Atlantic distance increasingly interrupt Byrd's efforts to consolidate a genteel masculine identity. As he tried to court a wife and cope with his father's death, Byrd relied on correspondence and (subsequently) his diary. Addressing these sources respectively, I will further demonstrate the role letters played as material emotives and show how distance obstructed the cultivation of masculinity.

⁸⁶ Letter from JCH to CC (Simprin to NY), 10/01/1724 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 8*, pp.103-107.

⁸⁷ Letter from JCH to CC, 28/02/1729 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 2*, pp.8-9.

By 1703, Byrd was living in London and (at the age of twenty-nine) increasingly impatient to marry and establish his masculine credentials as a family patriarch. He had few close or (in contemporary terms) 'intimate' friends. Byrd would briefly encounter Felsted schoolmate Dr William Cocke in Virginia (in 1711), and he corresponded with John Perceval, First Earl Egmont (1683-1748) throughout his life.⁸⁸ The closest friend he had at this time was Edward Southwell (1671-1730), whose father Robert (1635-1702)) had secured Byrd's entry into the Royal Society. Byrd began courting Anglo-Irish heiress Elizabeth ('Betty') Cromwell (1674-1709), and in June 1703, she left London for her family's Irish home accompanied by Edward Southwell. Byrd continued his courtship via correspondence, addressing Cromwell as 'Facetia' and himself (in the third person) as 'Veramour'. The Irish Sea presented a much smaller scale of distance than the Atlantic divide between England and Virginia, separating Byrd from his Virginian home. Smaller in absolute terms, the Irish Sea was also crossed by regular ferries carrying passengers and mail. However, even this level of separation was enough to frustrate Byrd's masculine ambitions and force him to confront the limitations of correspondence.

Several of Byrd's letters to Cromwell discussed the emotional impact their separation had on him despite Ireland's relative proximity. Byrd claimed that watching Cromwell leave London had 'torn up' his heart, their 'melancholly circumstance of parting' giving 'a choque to [his] whole nature'.⁸⁹ He dramatically compared their parting to a 'parting of soul & body'. While hoping that Cromwell would be 'diverted... in Ireland', Byrd also wished she would 'find nothing there to please you'; nothing to prevent her return to Byrd in London. He sent another letter only five days later, before a reply could have possibly arrived. Though used to waiting months between transatlantic letters, Byrd nonetheless begged Cromwell to 'be so charitable as to write'. Impatient and seemingly desperate, Byrd wrote that he

⁸⁸ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.37 and pp.59-61.

⁸⁹ Letter from WBII to BC, 12/06/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.216-8.

would be more transported to hear you are well than all the friends, lovers
& relations you have in the world.⁹⁰

At the time, being 'transported' connoted an involuntary voyage across the Atlantic, and Byrd would use this same verb in future letters.⁹¹ This choice of words thus reflects Byrd's perception of the maritime distance separating him from Cromwell. Unable to interact with the target of his patriarchal goals (even at a smaller distance), Byrd used his letters as emotives. Describing his own 'melancholly' and 'choque', Byrd appealed to Cromwell's sympathies and suggested her letters would relieve these emotional states in him.

Byrd continued and expanded his pleas in subsequent letters, asking Cromwell to relieve the negative effects of distance with letters of her own. Byrd claimed to fear the 'hazzards by land, & disasters by sea' Cromwell could have suffered en route.⁹² Irish Sea crossings were comparatively safe, but Byrd had known family members who died at sea: some genuine concern was understandable. Byrd claimed to be 'distressed' and 'wretched' in Cromwell's continued absence. He wrote to Southwell for reassurance, assuming that his friend missed London's attractions. Byrd asked if Southwell had 'commands for me on this side of the water', assuring him 'there's no time lost by being in Ireland'.⁹³ Without face-to-face interaction, Byrd misjudged the strength of his ties to Southwell and Cromwell alike. If Southwell did not know about Byrd's marital intentions before departing London, he certainly knew once Byrd's stream of letters to Cromwell began arriving. Byrd had no direct control over the situation. His only influence at that distance - his only way to pursue Cromwell as a wife - was through correspondence.

Though Cromwell's replies do not survive, she clearly delayed replying before rejecting Byrd outright, telling him to 'forget' her. He responded bitterly that she found it 'so natural in your self to forget your friends'.⁹⁴ Such insults sabotaged any chance of

⁹⁰ Letter dated 17/06/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.218-9.

⁹¹ For example, Byrd wrote to the Second Duke of Argyll in 1719 that 'the time now draw's near for my transportation'. Letter from WBII to Second Duke of Argyll ('Duke Dulchetti'), 04/11/1719 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.324-6.

⁹² Letter from WBII to BC, 03/07/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.221-2.

⁹³ Letter from WBII to ES, 17/06/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.218-9

⁹⁴ Letter from WBII to BC, 20/07/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.223-6.

reversing Cromwell's rejection. Byrd also blamed the distance separating the two for this rejection. He criticised Cromwell for (supposedly) 'neglecting your melancholly freinds in England' and inducing an emotional state of 'horrible distraction' in himself. In his frustration, Byrd added anti-Irish sentiment to his critique, describing Cromwell's 'neglect' as 'hibernian amuzement, laziness... in foggy Ireland'.⁹⁵ He framed her slow replies as a 'want of performance', reflecting a selfish concern only for those 'on that side of the water with you'.

Jealous of those across 'the water' with Cromwell, Byrd also saw her failure to correspond quickly and to consider 'friends' overseas to be a damning insult. Such concern for maritime distance had always been a feature of Byrd's life, but he could not force Cromwell to reply to his 'impertinent' letters 'invading' her 'tranquillity'. While 'there lys a sea between' them, Byrd was forced to obey 'a cruel command... that he must not pass that sea'. Despite a postal connection far better than Byrd could have enjoyed in Virginia, he found himself unable to exercise patriarchal control over women at a distance.

Rather than stating his desire for a wife plainly in this correspondence, Byrd emphasised the emotional effects of Cromwell's rejection letters, demonstrating their emotive power. Byrd 'dissolv'd' into 'the most tender grief [and] distraction'; 'all the passions as well the fierce as the tender'.⁹⁶ He again asked Cromwell to 'ballance the very little trouble she wou[l]d have in writing a letter, with the infinite pleasure he should take in receiveing it.' He would let forth a 'deluge of his bloud', yet she would not spare 'drops of ink' for him. Her 'friendship' would never 'get the better of [her] laziness'.⁹⁷ Returning to the ocean as a metaphor, Byrd likened his unwanted letters to rivers flowing into an 'ungrateful ocean [which] never returns any part'.⁹⁸ Unsurprisingly, none of these comments moved Cromwell to change her mind.

⁹⁵ Letter from WBII to BC, 27/07/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.226-9.

⁹⁶ Letter from WBII to BC, 05/08/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.230-1.

⁹⁷ Letter from WBII to BC, 25/08/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.233-6.

⁹⁸ Letter from WBII to BC, 18/09/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.241-4.

While in Ireland, Cromwell instead married Edward Southwell. Without the obstructing effects of distance, the man Byrd trusted as a friend had now emasculated him. Byrd wrote to politely congratulate Southwell, wishing the couple years of 'conjugal Happiness'. However, Byrd and Southwell's friendship never recovered. In 1736, Byrd complained to John Perceval that he had not heard from Southwell in years. The negative effects of distance clearly cast a long shadow over Byrd's masculine ambitions. Decades later, he still blamed this cold shoulder on the distance between them:

They are so unkind as to drop me, distance being in their reckoning the same as death.⁹⁹

Southwell and Cromwell's marriage turned Byrd away from finding a wife in England altogether. When his father died in 1704, Byrd sailed to Virginia to execute his will. There, Byrd met Lucy Parke and began to court her both in person and with letters. This time, Byrd had no direct masculine rival for Parke's affections, and there was no body of water for his letters to cross. He still referenced the 40 miles separating Westover from Parke's family plantation in a letter:

If at this distance you have any charity for me[,] show it by taking all imaginable care of yourself.¹⁰⁰

Byrd's letters to Parke bore none of the aggression or desperation he had directed at Cromwell. They effectively displayed an idealised masculine restraint and used less dramatic emotional vocabulary. Byrd surely benefited from hindsight following his rejection by Cromwell, and his courtship with Parke was successful. The different outcome was also undoubtedly shaped by maritime distance, or in this case, the lack of it. As seen in chapter one, Byrd would always struggle to convince metropolitan Britons of his good masculine credit in Virginia. Writing to Cromwell, he had described the Irish Sea, let alone the wider Atlantic, as an obstacle to his masculine ambitions

⁹⁹ Letter from WBII to JP, 12/07/1736 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.487-8.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from WBII to LP ('Fidelia'), c.1705 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.252-3.

and emotional wellbeing. Removing maritime distance (and some of his masculine ego) from the equation, Byrd found a bride in Virginia: he and Parke married in 1706.

Marriage to Parke represented a successful consolidation of patriarchal status for Byrd, especially when their first child, Evelyn, was born a year later. However, staying in Virginia with this new family forced Byrd to confront Atlantic distance in new ways. Now corresponding across the Atlantic in the opposite direction to his youth, Byrd faced the same isolation his father had in decades prior. The social ties and networks he knew in London were now months away, assuming letters arrived at all. It was at this point that Byrd began writing his diaries. These extensive records, written in shorthand from 1709 to 1741, were only decoded and published by the Virginia Historical Society in the 1940s. Unlike a letter, diaries were not sent overseas to maintain ties: they did not present a masculine identity to others. Despite this different purpose, Byrd's diaries were nonetheless ego-documents with powerful implications for his cultivation of masculine identity.

Byrd's diaries were tools for inward, personal cultivation of idealised masculinity; another response to the continued difficulties created by Atlantic distance. Many historians have described Byrd's diary entries as bland, formulaic, and opaque.¹⁰¹ Few have attempted a dedicated analysis of these diaries since Kenneth Lockridge in 1987, a dearth which prompted my own thesis on the subject.¹⁰² Lockridge framed Byrd's diaries in terms of masculine 'self-fashioning', describing them as products of obsessive self-review.¹⁰³ I build upon these ideas by applying my analysis of distance, gender, and emotions to Byrd's diaries. In this novel approach, I will explore how Byrd used his diaries to supplement correspondence and stabilise his emotions in the face of Atlantic distance.

It should be noted that diaries had varied uses in the 1660-1760 period. Byrd's diaries should not be seen as archetypes, and no diary provides an unfiltered record of

¹⁰¹ Norman S. Grabo, 'Going Steddy: William Byrd's Literary Masquerade', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 13 (1983), 84-96 (pp.84-6); Ross Pudaloff, "A Certain Amount of Excellent English": The Secret Diaries of William Byrd', *Southern Literary Journal*, 15:1 (Fall 1982), pp.101-2.

¹⁰² Brennan, *Transatlantic Masculinity*.

¹⁰³ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.6.

emotion.¹⁰⁴ Some were simple records for personal reference, such as that of Benjamin Lynde Sr. (1666-1749).¹⁰⁵ Byrd knew the Massachusetts-born Lynde from their shared legal education at the Middle Temple in London. Lynde used sparse, plain diary entries for reference only, e.g., '23d. Plowed & sowed oats & pease at C. Hill.'¹⁰⁶ However, many were more complex, and their writers found relief in creating such personal records. These diaries provided private space for recording and managing one's emotions. In 1673, John Janeway noted the 'sweet calm' his brother found in writing a spiritual diary. Byrd's contemporary Richard Rogers likewise attested to the 'sweet calm' his diary gave him.¹⁰⁷ Diaries thus had the potential to provide emotional relief similar to a long-awaited letter from overseas, even if some were more simple factual records.

After 1706, Byrd had few correspondents who could provide such relief. Unlike Colden and Chrystie, he had no long-distance friendship. After imploding his friendship with Southwell, Byrd knew few men who could support his pursuit of an idealised, genteel masculinity from across the Atlantic. While Byrd had studied alongside Benjamin Lynde Sr. (1666-1749) from 1692 to 1694, the two scarcely wrote to each other. Only one letter between them survives, dating to 1736.¹⁰⁸ Lynde had missed his 'pleasant country' and 'little patrimony' while in London, leaving amid winter storms as soon as his studies were complete.¹⁰⁹ Though Byrd claimed to know 'the World perfectly well' and to be 'a citizen of it', his abstract cosmopolitanism now did him little good in Virginia.¹¹⁰

By the time Byrd started writing his diaries in 1709, his identity was increasingly vulnerable. Since 1706, his sense of colonial isolation had matured. Byrd's political ambitions in Virginia were faltering, and he was struggling to manage the Westover

¹⁰⁴ Eustace et al., 'AHR Conversation', p.1498; Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.53.

¹⁰⁵ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.18.

¹⁰⁶ This constituted the whole day's entry for 23/03/1718 in F. E. Oliver (ed.), *The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr.* (Boston, 1880), p.9.

¹⁰⁷ James S. Lambert, "'Raised unto a cheareful and lively beleieving": The 1587–90 Diary of the Puritan Richard Rogers and Writing into Joy', *Studies in Philology*, 113:2 (Spring 2016), 254-281 (pp.257-60).

¹⁰⁸ Letter from WBII to Benjamin Lynde (Virginia to Massachusetts), 20/02/1736 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.473-4.

¹⁰⁹ Oliver (ed.), *Diaries of Benjamin Lynde*, p.x and p.4.

¹¹⁰ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.30.

plantation effectively. He argued frequently with Parke, and received few letters from contacts in London. The winter of 1709 was particularly harsh in Virginia, and Parke fell ill, suffering a miscarriage as a result. Byrd became so distressed that he exhumed his father's corpse and searched its 'wasted countenance' for guidance.¹¹¹ Explicitly comparing his new life in Virginia to being 'being buried alive', Byrd felt the decay of his vibrant life in London now reinforced by the real death surrounding him.¹¹² Struggling to reconcile the colonial and metropolitan halves of his life across the Atlantic, Byrd badly needed a stabilising influence in his life.

Byrd's desperate exhumation of his father reinforces how much this personal crisis was gendered in nature. As seen earlier in this chapter, Byrd's only connection to his father since infancy had been a few brief letters sent across the Atlantic. From England, William Byrd I appeared only in rare injunctions to 'improve your time' and serve God 'as you ought'.¹¹³ He stressed the need for Byrd to cultivate masculine values and tied this to paternal affection: 'from your loving father WB'. As Samuel Every observes, the tone of these letters from Byrd's father matched that of Byrd's subsequent diaries, 'as if [he] writes in his father's voice'.¹¹⁴ In part, Byrd seemed to compensate for this parental and physical distance by emphasising his father's English origins. Entering the Middle Temple to study law in 1692, Byrd signed himself 'William Byrd of Cree Church, London, Esq.' rather than mention his own place of birth in Virginia.¹¹⁵ Overall, Byrd's diaries appear to have developed as a response to a wavering masculine identity. They served as substitutes for a masculine mentor, helping Byrd to cope with isolation and the effects of Atlantic distance.

Byrd's use of diaries in this way built on his childhood education and genteel masculine socialisation. Like other Felsted boys, Byrd had been raised with a 'heavy weight of expectation'.¹¹⁶ His education centred heavily on writing, internal moral regulation, and

¹¹¹ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.43.

¹¹² Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.46.

¹¹³ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, 34-5.

¹¹⁴ Samuel Stephen Every, 'An exploration of the diary as a medium during the 17th and 18th centuries', *Senior Capstone Projects*, 688 (2017), p.38.

¹¹⁵ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, pp.18-21.

¹¹⁶ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.14; Tinling, *Correspondence*, p.195.

cultivating good habits in prayer, diet, and exercise.¹¹⁷ Boys were introduced to commonplace books and diaries as methods of self-regulation and self-improvement. Byrd's diaries represent a rigorous example of this approach carried into adult life, which he reinforced with an extensive library of English books. In this sense, Byrd's diaries not only reinforced his identity but represented a direct link to his youth in England.

These forms of writing affected identity through the process of 'self-fashioning' (or the 'technology of the self') which Lockridge ascribed to Byrd's diaries.¹¹⁸ This refers to the process whereby diarists reviewed entries, selected idealised traits, and attempted to repeat or amplify them (consciously or subconsciously). This simultaneous writing and revising allowed writers to shape their identities and such self-reflection was not unique to Byrd among early modern diarists. Eva Holmberg has argued that Cornish merchant Peter Mundy (1597-1667) used his diary to review and process experiences after the fact, returning to edit entries later in life.¹¹⁹ This would resemble the journals of Edward Barlow and John Cremer seen in chapter two. Like Cremer, Mundy claimed to write his diary for others 'to please [-] Friends'.¹²⁰ Byrd's diary was not for 'Friends' or anyone else to read. Byrd emphasised the private nature of his diaries by writing in shorthand. The form of shorthand he used provided secrecy rather than brevity, substituting individual letters rather than whole words. Each morning, Byrd would thus use his diary as a private, personal space to review and condense the previous day's events. These were then shaped into a rigidly structured entry which reinforced his masculine identity as a colonial patriarch:

I rose at 5 o'clock and read a chapter in Hebrew and some Greek... I said my prayers and ate milk for breakfast. I danced my dance [exercised], and settled my accounts. I read some Latin. It was extremely hot. I ate stewed mutton for dinner. [Later it began to rain] very violently... It

¹¹⁷ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, p.56 and p.85.

¹¹⁸ Tom Webster uses this term to explain the self-fashioning dynamic in spiritual diaries, having adapted the term from Michel Foucault. Tom Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality', *The Historical Journal*, 39:1 (March 1996), 33-56 (pp.40-2).

¹¹⁹ Eva Johanna Holmberg, 'Writing the Travelling Self: Travel and Life-Writing in Peter Mundy's (1597–1667) *Itinerarium Mundii*', *Renaissance Studies*, 31:4 (Sept. 2017), 608–25 (p.609).

¹²⁰ Holmberg, 'Writing the Travelling Self', p.614.

likewise thundered... I read Latin again and Greek in Homer. In the evening we took a walk in the garden. I said my prayers and had good health, good humor and good thoughts, thanks be to God Almighty.¹²¹

That Byrd continued this method of diary-writing for 32 years suggests he found it an effective method of self-reassurance; of tackling masculine insecurities. His style of writing remained entirely unchanged over this long period. His final diary entry from 1741 reads almost identically to the entry from 1709 shown above, its structure virtually unchanged:

I rose about 5, read Hebrew and Greek. I prayed and had tea. I danced. The weather was cold and clear, the wind north. I sent Mr Procter to Mr Fraser about an escheat and then wrote letters till dinner when Doctor Monger came and I ate fish. After dinner we talked of several matters and then the Doctor went away without a fee because he came not in time. I walked in the evening, and at night talked with my people and prayed.¹²²

In dry prose, Byrd selected events from the previous day and arranged them in ways which reinforced his masculine virtue. Every entry followed this same format, noting completed prayers, duties, reading, or dieting. Reviewing his gardens and plantation grounds constituted a kind of daily credit check, as these were the basis of Byrd's wealth. 'Taking a walk in the garden' daily reinscribed his position of authority as a white enslaver, a key aspect of his Anglo-Virginian masculine identity. This entry also demonstrates an emphasis on emotional regulation, with Byrd thanking God for 'good humor and good thoughts'. Other entries recorded sex with women as proof of Byrd's virility. For example, an entry from 1719 includes the phrase 'About 10 o'clock came Annie Wilkinson and I rogered her'.¹²³ These processes allowed Byrd to review his masculinity and consolidate his patriarchal duties. While never viewed by others, Byrd's diaries thus acted as a kind of personal emotive. They provided emotional relief,

¹²¹ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.3.

¹²² Tinling (ed.), *Another Secret Diary*, pp.184-5.

¹²³ Wilkinson was a mistress Byrd began seeing in London after Lucy Parke's death, who accompanied him back to Virginia later in 1719. Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.85 and p.101.

directed inward to compensate for the lack of male friends or mentors on his side of the Atlantic.

5. Women's Correspondence and Emotions

Across early modern Britain, men and women were expected to feel emotions differently, and this translated into gendered experiences of Atlantic distance. The letters of Colden and Byrd reflect a masculine emotional experience of Atlantic distance, but they cannot represent how that distance impacted British femininity. The use of correspondence to mitigate Atlantic distance was not a masculine preserve, and women engaged with letters in distinct ways. Women wrote using a distinct emotional vocabulary, and correspondence was an especially significant tool for women's written expression in this period. To explore the role letters played in shaping femininity, I will re-examine case studies of women's correspondence from previous chapters: Sarah Carstares and Frances Glanville. I will also introduce new examples for comparison, including letters from Elizabeth Matthews, Alida Schuyler, Robert Livingston, and Mary Stafford. Drawn from across the period of study, these examples span England, Scotland, Wales, New York, and (South) Carolina. Such sources are rare in the archive, and few have been the dedicated subjects of published work.¹²⁴ Together, they provide a broad 'British' perspective. By connecting these sources, I will show how emotions and distance shaped feminine identity specifically in this period.

The special significance correspondence held for women in this period in part reflected a wider gender imbalance in the British Atlantic world. Until the late eighteenth century, transatlantic migration was male-dominated, and sailing remained a masculine preserve (see chapter two).¹²⁵ More letters going eastward across the Atlantic (from colony to metropole) came from men; British women more often wrote in the other direction. This can be seen in descriptions of dockside separations, where the

¹²⁴ Most are mentioned in passing, or published in primary source collections without being the subject of analysis. Examples of women's correspondence appear in Barclay, *Love, intimacy and power*, but none involve Atlantic distances or separation. Of these sources, Glanville's letters have received the most attention, appearing in Lincoln, 'The Impact of Warfare' and Helen Doe, Alston Kennedy and Philip Payton, 'Introduction - 'A Time for War and Trade': Cornwall in the Eighteenth Century' in *The Maritime History of Cornwall* ed. by Helen Doe, Alston Kennedy and Philip Payton (Exeter, 2014), pp.129-153.

¹²⁵ Mitchell-Cook, *A Sea of Misadventures*, p.100.

emotional anguish induced by transatlantic separation began. Edward Barlow witnessed how 'husband parted with the wife [and] children from the loving parent' on Gravesend's docks.¹²⁶ After a tearful dockside farewell in 1753, Jane Compton (1730–1757) begged her husband to 'give up that vile ship'.¹²⁷ Woodes Rogers wrote of one crewman 'afflict'd at separation' from a woman he had met and married during a layover in Cork.¹²⁸ The letters carried to pirate husbands overseas (above) included many from wives in England, writing as 'true', 'faithful' and 'loveing' wives.¹²⁹ Though men were permitted far more mobility in the British Atlantic world, letters substituted for personal mobility, allowing "immobile" women to nonetheless experience Atlantic distance. Feminine identity could thus be shaped by this distance without crossing the ocean. Such women were bound together within a distinctly feminine emotional community. Their emotional experience of Atlantic distance began at the water's edge and continued through letters.

Letter-writing was also a particularly important form of personal writing for British women. While publishing was firmly male-dominated, letters allowed more women to interact with a 'masculine world of information exchange', achieving greater parity with men.¹³⁰ As one male correspondent was forced to concede to Mary Evelyn in 1667, her letters conveyed 'true & masculine sense'.¹³¹ In a time when women were formally excluded from political institutions, Mary Clarke of Chipley (c.1655-1705) used letters to discuss parliamentary politics with her husband in Parliament.¹³² The greater mobility of men applied to social institutions as much as geography. Though Robert Filmer (Byrd's grandfather) admitted that 'sailing and war and government' had been 'well handled by women', they remained excluded from these areas in 1760.¹³³ Other forms of personal writing besides letters were also associated with men, such as commonplace books and diaries. Women could keep diaries too, but surviving

¹²⁶ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's journal*, p.31.

¹²⁷ Compton's husband was Admiral George Rodney - Lincoln, 'Naval Wives and Women', pp.73-75.

¹²⁸ Robert C. Leslie (ed.), *Life aboard a British privateer in the time of Queen Anne* (London, 1889), p.10.

¹²⁹ Appleby, *Women and English Piracy*, pp.115-6.

¹³⁰ Mark Rothery and Henry French (eds.), *Making men: the formation of elite male identities in England, c. 1660-1900: A Sourcebook* (Basingstoke, 2012), p.8.

¹³¹ Hannan, *Women of Letters*, p.155.

¹³² Hannan, *Women of Letters*, pp.53-7.

¹³³ Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.23; Hannan, *Women of Letters*, p.38.

examples are incredibly rare, particularly in colonial contexts.¹³⁴ Amid the obstacles faced by early modern mail, men had fewer patriarchal advantages. Correspondence not only connected women in Britain to Atlantic distance, but represented an important way for women to mitigate their lack of social and geographical mobility.

How letters retained their importance when women did cross the Atlantic can be seen in the actions of William Byrd II. In 1736, he described deliberately withholding letters from Maria Taylor, his second wife. 'In this prudent manner', he claimed, 'female passions [may] be managed [to] keep them like a high-mettled horse from running away'.¹³⁵ Byrd clearly recognised the power of correspondence to give women independent agency. His reference to 'passions' further underlined the link between femininity and emotion, both of which he saw a need to exercise patriarchal control over. London-raised, Taylor had followed Byrd to Virginia after marrying him in 1724. Separated from her friends and family, Taylor began relying on letters to maintain social ties and her (genteel) feminine identity. Byrd implicitly testified to the power of letters in this regard, his own masculine identity as a colonial patriarch simultaneously reflecting the influence of Atlantic distance.

One source which illuminates the value of correspondence and its use in reinforcing femininity is *The Gentlewoman's Companion* (London, 1673). Written by Englishwoman Hannah Woolley (1622-1675), the *Companion* was widely read for decades across England, Scotland, and Britain's colonies. It gave advice on all aspects of life, serving as a femininity-reinforcing handbook which was reprinted in several editions from 1673 to 1682. Aligning with the early part of the period of study (and the expansion of British mail services), this guide doubtless influenced the women studied in this chapter. All were gentlewomen (or at least well-off and well-educated), and Woolley warned readers that 'the illiterate and ignorant will make hard shifts' to have others write for them. The benefits of correspondence were thus implicitly restricted by status; by education and wealth. Woolley discussed correspondence at length,

¹³⁴ The only women who wrote diaries comparable in scope to those of Byrd and Thistlewood in this period were Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) and Martha Ballard (1735-1812). Montagu's diary was burned after her death; Ballard's begins in 1785, too late for my period of study.

¹³⁵ Letter from WBII to Anne Otway (Virginia to England), 1736 in Tinling, *Correspondence*, p.483.

instructing women to 'be very cautious in the choice of your Companions'.¹³⁶ Amanda Herbert has suggested that women were expected to be more 'sociable' in their 'self-critic[ism], self-monitoring, and self-correcting' than men.¹³⁷ Just as men's choice of associates shaped their masculine credit, a woman's choice of correspondents appeared to shape her femininity. Wooley wrote explicitly about how essential letters were in mitigating distance between female 'companions':

A letter... ought to be the express image of the Mind, represented in writing to a friend *at a distance*... when distance of place will not admit of Union of persons, or convers[ation] Viva voce; that deplorable defect is supplied by a Letter... the necessity of conversing one with another as long as we live... without which friends *at a distance* could have no correspondence one with the other.¹³⁸ (my italics)

Wooley repeated 'at a distance' twice, firmly outlining the 'deplorable defect' which correspondence was intended to remedy. Describing letters as an 'express image of the Mind', she gestured to their emotive function and their ability to represent the sender's mental state. Wooley also described specific emotional vocabulary which women used in letters to each other. They might liken other women to a wife or husband, describing them as their 'heart' or 'home'.¹³⁹ Though such language can appear 'extravagant' or romantic today, such ardent declarations of friendly and sororal love helped mitigate distance and renew bonds in a distinctly feminine way.¹⁴⁰ This emotional language was a deliberate effort to combat the deleterious effects of distance. As Englishwoman Sarah Savage expressed in 1688, such intimate letters left 'no distance nor strangeness of affection' between her and her family.¹⁴¹ The *Companion's* enduring popularity suggests that Wooley's advice (and such emotional vocabulary more broadly) was internalised by many in this period. Women across the

¹³⁶ Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.45.

¹³⁷ Herbert, *Female Alliances*, pp.48-9.

¹³⁸ Wooley, *The Gentlewoman's Companion*, pp.218-9.

¹³⁹ Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.21, p.33 and pp.196-7.

¹⁴⁰ Newton, *Misery to Mirth*, p.212.

¹⁴¹ Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.40.

British Atlantic were well aware of letters' value as emotive substitutes for conversation at a distance.

This gendering of correspondence and vocabulary is reinforced by the fact men sometimes reciprocated their wives' language, but never replicated it in letters to other men.¹⁴² For example, Sarah Carstares often addressed her husband in letters as 'my heart', and he sometimes reciprocated.¹⁴³ Though William Byrd II would use letters to control Maria Taylor, he was also capable of writing in ways which reflected romantic bonds. He referred to his first wife (Lucy Parke) as his 'heart' in letters throughout their marriage, e.g., 'I am barely liveing when [my] heart is 40 miles off'.¹⁴⁴ Arriving in London in 1715 (without knowing that Parke was following him), Byrd complained to John Custis that 'tho my person's here my heart is in Virginia.'¹⁴⁵ Her arrival in August 1716 prompted Byrd to write again, telling Custis that Parke's 'kind visit' prompted him to show her 'this town in all its glory'.¹⁴⁶ Shrinking Atlantic distance between husband and wife turned London from tasteless to glorious in Byrd's letters.

Turning to individual case studies, the most detailed example demonstrating the importance of correspondence for women in this period comes from Sarah Carstares. As noted in chapter one, Carstares and her husband William Dunlop were separated by the Atlantic from 1684 to 1690. She therefore conformed to the pattern of women writing westward across the Atlantic. Writing in June 1686, Carstares described how letters gave her 'pleasure and sati[s]faction' in Dunlop's absence.¹⁴⁷ They allowed her 'to wit [and] converse' at a distance, despite the risk of 'miscarried' mail. To Carstares, letters shrank the 'uncomfortable distance' between Glasgow and Stuartstown. They provided emotional relief, easing the effects of separation which she described as exacerbating 'all my other greifs'. Carstares clearly valued transatlantic correspondence, yet letters provided only a tenuous link to her husband overseas amid the poor state of mail service in the 1680s.

¹⁴² Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.33 and pp.205-8.

¹⁴³ NLS, MS.9250/38-9; NLS, MS.9250/52-3.

¹⁴⁴ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.253.

¹⁴⁵ Letter from WBII to John Custis (London to Virginia), 31/01/1716 in Tinling, *Correspondence*, p.290.

¹⁴⁶ Letter from WBII to John Custis (London to Virginia), 02/10/1716 in Tinling, *Correspondence*, pp.292-3.

¹⁴⁷ NLS, MS.9250/25-6.

Furthermore, Carstares rarely received ‘pleasure’ from letters because Dunlop was a poor correspondent. The letter cited above followed two years of Dunlop’s absence, in which time he had only sent two letters to Scotland. Neither was addressed to Carstares, the latter only alluding to her in the remark ‘if it pleased God to send me my wife and children’.¹⁴⁸ Dunlop’s female relatives complained that he never wrote to them either. His mother, Elizabeth Mure (c.1620-1667), ‘longed moch to hir’ from her ‘dear son’.¹⁴⁹ She assumed that he wrote letters which were then ‘miscarried’. Dunlop’s sister Margaret complained in 1686 of receiving ‘nefer, nefer a lin[e] from your own hand, which trubble[s] me much... not all you write comes [here]’.¹⁵⁰ This was made worse when it became clear that Dunlop’s mail was reaching Scotland. This was active neglect on his part; ‘miscarried’ mail was not an excuse. As Margaret wrote in this same letter,

Parsons [here] get let[te]rs from their fri[e]nds but we get non[e] from you... ye are much to be blemt.

Later that year, Margaret wrote again of ‘never geting a lin[e] ffrom you... dear b[il]li’, assuring Dunlop that ‘nothing could be mor[e] aceptabel to me... yor v[ery] dear sest[r]’.¹⁵¹ Carstares continued trying to rationalise Dunlop’s failure to write (see chapter one), suggesting in April 1687 that maybe some of her own letters had been ‘miscarried with Strangers’.¹⁵² However, their survival in the archival record shows that even if delayed, they were delivered safely. Ten days later, Carstares wrote again, having discovered more evidence that Dunlop’s letters were reaching Scotland safely:

you do not let me know... about your condition... yet my Lord [Skelmorlie]’s letters doth discover it to me.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ NRS, GD3/5/772 and GD3/5/773, Letters from WD to JSK (Port Royal SC to Scotland), May 1686.

¹⁴⁹ NLS, MS.9250/23-4, Letter from EBM to WD (Scotland to Carolina), 02/03/1686.

¹⁵⁰ NLS, MS.9250/31-32.

¹⁵¹ NLS, MS.9250/60, Letter from MD to WD (Scotland to Carolina), August 1687.

¹⁵² NLS, MS.9250/44-5, Letter from SC to WD (Glasgow to Charleston), 20/04/1687.

¹⁵³ NLS, MS.9250/46-7, Letter from SC to WD (Glasgow to Charleston), 30/04/1687.

Dunlop had written to inform his patron, James Skelmorlie, of the Spanish raid which destroyed Stewartstown.¹⁵⁴ Simultaneously, he had failed to write to his own wife, leaving her in 'perplexity'. This lapse in marital, patriarchal responsibility significantly amplified the emotional pressure that Atlantic distance placed on Carstares. The longer Dunlop was absent, and the less he communicated, the more Carstares struggled to maintain their marriage and household. In early 1686, she had asked Dunlop to remember his 'poor wife and two babies' in Scotland, still praising him as 'a very desirable husband'.¹⁵⁵ A year later, Carstares noted she had still 'got no returne about the babies', telling Dunlop that 'thy command to me wold have determined me' to sail west.¹⁵⁶ After proof of Dunlop's neglect later in 1687, Carstares continued to display marital loyalty, calling him her 'choyse and desirable Will'.¹⁵⁷ Even rare letters were crucial in bridging Atlantic distances. Without them, Carstares' ability to perform the roles of wife and mother - key aspects of her feminine identity - were threatened.

From 1687 onward, Carstares increasingly wrote of the negative emotional effects created by Atlantic distance, her perception of which was amplified enormously by Dunlop's failure to write. Learning of his loss at Stewartstown, she asked Dunlop how she was supposed to '[e]njoy any thing with satisfaction... [with] thow in such a strait?'¹⁵⁸ As noted in chapter one, the word 'strait' signified both emotional constraint and a dangerous maritime space, invoking the Atlantic Ocean. In 1687, Carstares wrote that she had no 'resolution' to come to Carolina.¹⁵⁹ Her planned reunion now uncertain, she described this experience as deeply affecting: 'Their is a great change with me... o how desolate.'¹⁶⁰ Distance remained the core issue: 'my tryalls wo[u]ld have been lighter if thow had been near'. Carstares referred to the emotionally and physically intimate nature of reunion with her husband: 'I confesse my hearte I want much pleaseur and satisfaction that I once enjoyed'. Without him, her emotions increasingly tended toward the negative: 'I think all hath been downs with me.'¹⁶¹ By 1687, Atlantic distance had

¹⁵⁴ NAS, GD3/5/775, Letter from WD to JSK (Carolina to Scotland), 21/10/1686.

¹⁵⁵ NLS, MS.9250/21-2.

¹⁵⁶ NLS, MS.9250/38-9.

¹⁵⁷ NLS, MS.9250/54-5.

¹⁵⁸ NLS, MS.9250/46-7, Letter from SC to WD, 30/04//1687

¹⁵⁹ NLS, MS.9250/52-3.

¹⁶⁰ NLS, MS.9250/38-9.

¹⁶¹ NLS, MS.9250/34-5.

clearly made a significant impact on Carstares' identity through the emotional strain a lack of correspondence brought.

Dunlop's failure to write was not a foregone conclusion. Not only did his womenfolk in Scotland expect letters, but Dunlop's fellow Scotsman and contemporary Robert Livingston showed how men took pains to maintain marital correspondence. In 1698, Livingston's wife Alida Schuyler wrote to him that 'the time saddens me that you are away so long', repeating this almost word-for-word in other letters.¹⁶² After his harrowing voyage of 1705 (see chapter two), Livingston's ship left London without him. He had been imprisoned for investing in Captain Kidd's piratical voyage; for being 'concerned in that unfortunate ship of Kid's'.¹⁶³ This letter was therefore extremely significant, and Livingston began by attending to Schuyler's anxieties:

My faithful, dear Sweetheart... I must ask you not to be too much alarmed. The trouble and difficulties I have met with since we parted cannot be described with the pen. My dear sweetheart... What a sad plight this is for me... to remain here causes me the greatest chagrin in the world. ¹⁶⁴

Rather than writing to inform his wife of events, Livingston wrote to create an emotive impact. His emotions and 'sad plight' could be better communicated 'with the pen' than his struggles at sea. Repeating 'dear sweetheart' and imagining Schuyler's 'alarm', Livingston described the 'greatest chagrin' separation caused him and nodded to feminine emotional vocabulary. This effort to combat the negative effects of Atlantic distance stands in stark contrast to Dunlop's neglect.

Despite writing at the other end of the period, Frances Glanville described the emotional strain of marital separation across the ocean in strikingly similar terms. After naval commander Edward Boscawen (1711-1761) married Glanville in 1742, he spent much of his married life away at sea.¹⁶⁵ This separation was more organised than Carstares

¹⁶² LFP, Letter from AS to RL, 08/02/1698.

¹⁶³ Livingston had had a tenth interest in the ship (worth £500 Sterling), the same as Kidd himself.

¹⁶⁴ LFP, Letter from RL to AS from Gravesend, 10/05/1706.

¹⁶⁵ Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral's wife*, p.3 and pp.9-11.

and Dunlop's. Postal service was better developed, and Boscawen had the privileges of a senior naval officer. However, mail remained slow, and Glanville's responsibilities as a wife and mother remained similar to Carstares'. Glanville wrote of 'always expect[ing] the post with vast impatience', his departure having sent her 'into such an agitation and... depression of spirits'.¹⁶⁶ Glanville wrote to her husband while he was at sea, claiming to feel his emotions alongside her own while sleeping:

I feel you have suffered vastly; I feel your sleepless nights, your anxious mind... I shall not sleep well to-night.¹⁶⁷

Displaying the physical symptoms of emotional distress (above), Glanville's anxieties grew worse upon hearing her husband was 'uneasy'. She revealed that she often re-read Boscawen's letters to ease these effects, using them as soothing emotives: 'I read your letter *over and over again*' (my italics).¹⁶⁸ The use of letters to substitute for an absent person is made clear when Glanville wrote 'I miss *your letters* sadly', not 'I miss *you*' (my italics): 'the want of [letters] makes me cross and low-spirited'.¹⁶⁹ While Carstares and Glanville's circumstances differed, their emotional vocabulary and emotional experience of Atlantic distance thus align closely. Writing decades apart, both women relied on correspondence to shrink distance and provide positive emotives to endure marital separation.

Though little is known about Elizabeth Matthews' life, she appears to have been a social equal and contemporary of Carstares. Born in England, Matthews' surviving correspondence (now held at the National Library of Wales) dates to the late 1670s.¹⁷⁰ She lived in Swansea after marrying itinerant Welsh exciseman Richard Gwynn. Though Gwynn was not on the other side of the Atlantic, Matthews' letters nonetheless illuminate the emotional role and impact of distance. She still urged her husband to write to acquaintances in Nantes 'by t[w]o poosts one after the outhier lest one should

¹⁶⁶ Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral's wife*, p.60.

¹⁶⁷ Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral's wife*, p.69.

¹⁶⁸ Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral's wife*, p.32.

¹⁶⁹ Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral's wife*, p.38.

¹⁷⁰ Elizabeth Gwynn, *The letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Gwynn of Swansea, 1677* (London, 1878).

miscarey'.¹⁷¹ Even on a smaller scale than Atlantic separation, Matthews experienced her separation through mail - or the lack of it. She still signed herself an 'Aficktionate... wife', 'greved att my hart' by Gwynn's worries.¹⁷² In a tone closely resembling Carstares', Matthews implored her 'good dear hart' and 'true love' to 'bring thy business to an end, that we may end our days in peace'.¹⁷³ Matthews was managing her household's finances alone, updating her husband on details, e.g., 'the widdow Jones... pa[i]d me the 40s'.¹⁷⁴ This resembles Carstares' determination to not 'let poor credit stick' on Dunlop (see chapter one). Both women wrote that marital reunion was more important than money; Carstares 'would be... joyfully a beggar' in Dunlop's company.¹⁷⁵

Like Carstares, Matthews' emotional wellbeing was directly linked to the frequency of correspondence. Though the distance separating her from Gwynn was smaller and better-known than that between Carstares and Dunlop, she still felt helpless at times - 'I do not know what I do'. Matthews wrote in April 1677 that she had suffered 'distrackted dreams' that made her 'very much afraid [and] fearfull'. These she blamed on the fact she 'did not hear from [Gwynn] by the last port'.¹⁷⁶ Two months later, Matthews again claimed to know 'it is not well with you by my dreams' and urged Gwynn to discuss his difficulties openly in letters

you do not [do] well to hide it from me, though I can make it no bet[t]er.¹⁷⁷

Though unable to help her husband at a distance, Matthews nonetheless wanted letters to reinforce the emotional connection between them. Like Carstares, she tried to maintain her role as a supportive wife at a distance. That Carstares had to endure much longer separation across a greater distance emphasises the significant extent of her emotional struggles.

¹⁷¹ Letter from EM to RG (Swansea to London), 17/06/1677 in *Elizabeth Gwynn*, pp.18-21.

¹⁷² Letter from EM to RG (Swansea to London), 08/04/1677 in *Elizabeth Gwynn*, pp.8-10.

¹⁷³ Letters from EM to RG (Swansea to London), dated 12/04/1677 and 17/06/1677 in *Elizabeth Gwynn*, pp.12-15 and pp.18-21.

¹⁷⁴ Letter from EM to RG (Swansea to London), 12/04/1677 in *Elizabeth Gwynn*, pp.12-15

¹⁷⁵ NLS, MS.9250/42-3, Letter from SC to WD, 03/04/1687 and MS.9250/29-30.

¹⁷⁶ Letter from EM to RG (Swansea to London), 04/04/1677 in *Elizabeth Gwynn*, pp.5-7.

¹⁷⁷ Letter from EM to EG (Swansea to London), 16/06/1677 in *Elizabeth Gwynn*, pp.22-3.

All these women used similar language to describe the embodied sensation of emotional strain created by distance and separation. Carstares' inability to reunite with Dunlop left her increasingly depressed, and by mid-1687 she described her feelings as 'unexpressabl[y] weighty, perplexing and heavie', rendering her 'unfit for any thing'.¹⁷⁸ In this letter, Carstares continued describing this emotional 'weight' upon her body and mind. It was

heavier to me [than] is possible for the[e] to imagen... dear[e]st heart it is impossible for me to take pleasure in any thing in the world when *at such a distance* from y^e... my spirite is so overwhelmed[,] my minde so cha[r]ged and perplexed that I am often times incapacitated for doing any thing. (my italics)

The strain that Atlantic distances placed on mail, combined with Dunlop's negligence, left Carstares 'incapacitated' by her own admission. Being 'at such a distance' overwhelmed her. That Carstares devoted so much space to this experience in an extensive, expensive letter (which she knew might be lost at sea anyway) speaks to the importance it held for her. The process of writing out her emotions provided relief in itself, irrespective of Dunlop's reaction. Hoping that powerful emotives would persuade her husband to finally reply, Carstares drew on diverse adjectives from her emotional vocabulary, repeating the words 'unexpressable', 'heavie', 'perplexing', and 'disconsolat[e]'.¹⁷⁹

Negative emotional states became self-reinforcing when they impeded the act of writing itself. Carstares felt 'so vexed and so much overwhealmed with... writting' one letter that she believed her words were 'a masse of confussion'.¹⁸⁰ She claimed to know 'neithe[r] know how to writ[e] nor what to say'.¹⁸¹ Matthews also said 'I know not what I write' in one letter, describing herself as 'greved att my hart' and 'so doted with the tro[u]ble' her husband endured.¹⁸² In 1746, Glanville signed a letter to Boscawen

¹⁷⁸ NLS, MS.9250/52-3.

¹⁷⁹ NLS, MS.9250/54-5.

¹⁸⁰ NLS, MS.9250/54-5.

¹⁸¹ NLS, MS.9250/52-3.

¹⁸² Letter from EM to RG (Swansea to London), 08/04/1677 in *Elizabeth Gwynn*, pp.8-10.

'Adieu; I can't write you a long letter; my spirits are in too great an agitation'.¹⁸³ As Atlantic distance acted upon these women in emotional terms, they struggled to write the letters which sustained their marital connections and, more broadly, their feminine identities.

While Carstares, Matthews, and Glanville never joined their husbands overseas, transatlantic reunions were no guarantee of emotional relief either. A strong example comes from Englishwoman Mary Stafford, a cousin of London botanist and apothecary John Petiver (1665-1718). While a letter Stafford wrote in 1711 has frequently been cited for its details of colonial life, historians have hitherto neglected Stafford's identity and emotions. She arrived in Charleston in debt and at the 'end of her tether'.¹⁸⁴ Her only 'sad companion' across the Atlantic had been 'constant stormes', and now she felt unable to think of 'dear Mother [and] home without the greatest regret imagineable'.¹⁸⁵ The prospect of judgement by her mother, as a feminine role model, made Stafford feel 'griefe': 'I could not look upon my Mother without being allmost at my wits end'.¹⁸⁶ Though united with her husband, Stafford now experienced the strain of Atlantic distance in the opposite direction:

The thoughts are very terrible at this distance... though I knew I must undergoe a great deal, none could soe immediate be sensible of it... it doth most sadly afflict me.

Amid her 'terrible' and 'sadly afflicting' thoughts, Stafford apologised for not seeing Petiver before departing. Like Carstares, she cited her 'distracted condition'. While Carstares and Matthews managed household finances and credit at home, Stafford remained in a 'low condition' after reaching Charleston: 'Money is but very scarce here'. Her 'very earnest desire' to pay off debts contrasted with her lack of credit in Carolina. She arrived with 'noe Money & not known by any body', feeling this lack of recognition as a 'sting'.¹⁸⁷ Stafford contrasted her 'very hard' first year in Carolina with England,

¹⁸³ Aspinall-Oglander (ed.), *Admiral's wife*, p.20.

¹⁸⁴ Stafford and Childs, 'A Letter Written in 1711', p.1.

¹⁸⁵ Stafford and Childs, 'A Letter Written in 1711', p.2.

¹⁸⁶ Stafford and Childs, 'A Letter Written in 1711', p.5.

¹⁸⁷ Dierks, *In My Power*, p.104.

'where there is no want of any thing'.¹⁸⁸ However, later in the same letter she admitted there had been 'nothing but misery and ruine on every side' in London: 'not a possibility to get a piece of Bread [without]... relying upon my Freinds'. England had wealth, but she had been unable to access it. Maternal responsibility remained a prime concern. At home, Stafford had 'cared not what did become of me, only [her] poor Children'. She had come to Carolina 'for their good as well as my own'. While Stafford and Carstares' situations were not identical, these letters show many similarities between the two women, suggesting how Carstares might have struggled had she joined Dunlop in Carolina.

All this correspondence underlines the importance of letter-writing for British women, particularly in the context of Atlantic distance. Guides like Wooley's *Companion* show how much epistolary work women put into their letters, which employed specific vocabulary to evoke feminine emotionality. They were connected by writing and their menfolk to the wider Atlantic world. To the extent they represented British women more widely, the women whose letters are discussed above may have escaped the worst effects of Atlantic distance. They were gentlewomen living in ports with good postal service. Women in remote rural areas were less likely to have such economic security or ready access to shipping, especially in rural Scotland and Ireland. In these areas, larger proportions of the population crossed the Atlantic than in more densely populated areas of England and Wales.¹⁸⁹ More deprived women whose letters do not survive likely experienced Atlantic distance still more profoundly than Carstares, Glanville, Matthews, Schuyler, or Stafford.

6. Conclusion

Across the period 1660 to 1760, the perception of Atlantic distance created powerful emotional responses. These had powerful effects on individual identities, shaping them in strongly gendered ways. Communicating across the Atlantic relied entirely on shipborne mail, meaning distance was experienced relative to the postal system. While

¹⁸⁸ Stafford and Childs, 'A Letter Written in 1711', pp.4-5.

¹⁸⁹ Andrew Mackillop, "As Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water"? Scotland as an Emigrant Nation, c. 1600 to c. 1800' in *Global Migrations: The Scottish Diaspora since 1600*, ed. by Angela McCarthy and John MacKenzie (Edinburgh, 2016), pp.23-39 (pp.25-27).

this slowly improved over the 1660-1760 period, the Atlantic remained a profound obstacle to maintaining emotional ties. This chapter uses ideas from the history of emotions to better understand these processes, and to inform my wider analysis of gender, distance and identity. Building on the work of Katie Barclay, William Reddy, and Barbara Rosenwein, I suggest that the meaning of distance was determined by emotion and that letters acted as material emotives. This also builds on the framing of letters and diaries as 'ego-documents', carrying indelible traces of their creator's identities.

Letters were deliberately crafted to evoke emotional reactions. Early modern correspondents suffered severe emotional damage when letters were delayed, 'miscarried' or intercepted. Their identities were destabilised, and many recorded physical symptoms of distress and 'distraction'. Conversely, letters arriving served a powerful stabilising function. While these dynamics were not unique to the Atlantic Ocean, the greater scale of Atlantic distance was distinct. Intra-British or intra-European distances were still notable, but the Atlantic forced English and Scottish colonists to confront an unparalleled level of uncertainty and separation. In addition to combining previously disparate historiographies, this chapter is intended to highlight these different scales of distance.

Men and women belonged to gendered emotional communities, but colonists also shared the experience of isolation via correspondence. Women were more likely to experience Atlantic distance without crossing the ocean themselves. Carstares, Matthews, and Glanville show how women experienced separation from a metropolitan perspective, maintaining marriages across the ocean. Stafford and Schuyler provide a complementary colonial perspective. Though men recorded strong emotions, femininity was more associated with emotionality by contemporaries. Women relied more wholly on letters for written expression, substituting mail for the greater personal mobility of their male counterparts. In this respect, my analysis of women's letters and their materiality builds on the work of Sasha Handley and Leonie Hannan. Distance could also define or destroy masculine friendships, as happened to Cadwallader Colden and William Byrd II respectively. Once Byrd married and settled in Virginia, he also found diaries a vital source of emotional reassurance and masculine guidance in the face of

Atlantic isolation. Expected to fulfil the role of a colonial patriarch, Byrd used rigidly structured, diary entries to self-fashion a genteel masculine identity.

Chapter 4 Settler-Indigenous Encounters

1. Introduction & Colonial Legacies

From 1660 to 1760, encounters with diverse Indigenous nations reshaped the gendered norms and practices of British colonists. Over this century, patterns of settler-indigenous relations were established and carried forward into the westward expansion of the United States. How gender shaped this prolonged period of contact, negotiation and interaction remains underdeveloped in the existing historiography. As Susan Amussen and Allyson Poska concluded in 2014, ‘there is a gendered impact [of the New World] in Europe that remains to be fully uncovered’.¹ To paraphrase Amussen and Poska, this chapter addresses the ‘gendered impact’ of the Americas on Europeans. This impact includes interactions between settlers and Indigenous nations, the former’s perceptions of the latter, and the influence of American lands. These are traced through a range of intimate sources, many of which have rarely been used for this purpose. Understanding the results of settler-Indigenous encounters will, in turn, contribute to my overarching analysis of gender and distance.

The Indigenous nations and federations referenced in this chapter include the Wabenaki, Muscogee (‘Creek’), Tuscarora, Saponi, Cherokee, Haudenosaunee (‘Iroquois’), and the Yamasee. These only represent a fraction of an immense variety of Indigenous nations present in the Americas during this period, all of which were internally complex and highly distinct. Capturing and reproducing Indigenous perspectives from this period is far beyond the scope of this thesis. This wide range of sources are presented in unison here not to imply a uniformity of Indigenous life, but instead to better understand the British colonists who interacted with them. The focus of this analysis remains (as in previous chapters) on British settlers, exploring their perception of Indigenous peoples rather than those peoples’ own perspectives.

This chapter first addresses the colonial framing of American lands as feminine and uninhabited. The use of surveying and agriculture by British men to annex and control Indigenous nations’ lands is explored. I assess how these tools and the erasure of

¹ Amussen and Poska, ‘Shifting the Frame’, p.4.

Indigenous sovereignty shaped a developing colonial masculinity. William Byrd II provides detailed evidence of an English colonist selecting and appropriating aspects of Indigenous identity to augment his masculine identity. Byrd's writing is compared to John Lawson's (see below), informing an analysis of how Indigenous women were sexualised and controlled by male colonists. The framing of these women as brides and concubines further exposes the effects of the gender frontier on colonial masculinity, alongside attempts to emasculate Indigenous men. Though encounters between female colonists and Indigenous men were comparatively rare, British 'captivity narratives' provide some insight into these interactions.

This chapter intends to build on a foundational concept in understanding settler-Indigenous encounters in Britain's American colonies: the 'gender frontier'. Conceptualised by Kathleen Brown in the 1990s, this describes the cultural divide between opposing sets of gendered norms, running parallel to the physical 'frontier'.² Sarah Pearsall has since explored the concept further. In 2018, she emphasised the role of individuals in constructing this 'frontier', arguing that individual actions fed into a broader, collective cultural encounter.³ Furthermore, Pearsall emphasised the role of household dynamics in producing the British-Indigenous gender frontier. Despite the differences in colonial and indigenous societies' gendered norms, they both leaned heavily on households as structures of authority, determining 'lines of belonging' and 'familiarity'.⁴ Pearsall thus suggests that scale is a crucial factor in this analysis - interactions at both the individual and household levels fed into a wider cultural encounter. In outlining the mechanics of the 'gender frontier', Brown and Pearsall have thus created a solid foundation for further work.

The gender frontier was not fixed in the first moment of contact. Just like gendered relations *within* colonial and indigenous societies, the frontier between them was mobile; a product of constantly renegotiated authority and power. Though the colonial encounter put far more pressure on Indigenous nations to adapt and survive, British

² This framework was popularised in Brown, *Good Wives*.

³ Sarah Pearsall, 'Women, Power, and Families in Early Modern North America' in *The Oxford Handbook of American Women's and Gender History*, ed. by Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor and Lisa G. Materson (Oxford, 2018), pp.133-151 (p.143).

⁴ Pearsall, 'Women, Power, and Families', p.133.

colonists were not unaffected. Colonists negotiated the gender frontier at a closer distance than any of the sailors or metropolitan merchants of previous chapters. Colonists were confined to small coastal towns and plantation enclaves, dwarfed by the continent and its indigenous populations. Until British colonies became fully-fledged, self-sustaining societies around the 1760s, Indigenous nations were therefore a key factor in colonial “success” or collapse. British colonists lived and worked with them, as guides, farmers, hunters, traders, warriors, spouses, and sexual partners.

However, existing studies of the ‘gender frontier’ have not shown how this process influenced masculine and feminine British identities. As Amussen and Poska identified in 2014, this is part of a broader ‘gendered impact’ yet to be explored in the British Atlantic. This chapter is aimed at addressing this historiographical need, showing how the reduced social and physical distance of ‘gender frontier’ negotiations affected British men and women. The case studies used to construct this analysis come from both English and Scottish colonists, men and women, from 1660 to 1760. Though far more sources are available concerning men (particularly Englishmen), the range of personal narratives used is as broad as possible. This should show as many facets of the colonial gender frontier as possible, combining diverse and sometimes disconnected sources into a more full, rounded picture.

Settler-Indigenous encounters offered British colonists opportunities as well as challenges. Appropriating distorted perceptions of Indigenous identity, materials, and foods helped colonists to survive in the Americas and exploit New World resources. Simultaneously, these processes threatened to distance them from metropolitan forms of identity; of idealised masculinity and femininity. This created ongoing tension in settler-Indigenous encounters which the sources discussed below approached in different ways. A key example of this difference comes from this chapter’s two principal sources: John Lawson’s *A Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1710), and William Byrd II’s *History of the Dividing Line* (unpublished). Both Lawson and Byrd were born in 1674, educated in England as gentlemen, and working in London by 1700: it is not unlikely that they met.⁵ However, they were born on opposite sides of the Atlantic, and

⁵ Their respective haunts, the Carolina and Virginia Coffeehouses were less than 100m apart in the City of London (on Birch Lane and Newman’s Court respectively).

approached Indigenous encounters with different motivations. Financed by prominent London apothecary John Petiver (1665-1718), Lawson visited Carolina as a metropolitan outsider. His *Voyage*, intended to market the colony as an attractive destination for European migrants, was a commercial success. In contrast, Byrd had married a Virginian woman by 1710. His *History* was continually rewritten from 1728 until his death in 1744: it was only published posthumously. Byrd wanted to demonstrate his worth as a Virginian gentleman, distinct from but equal to any Englishman. Though Lawson and Byrd both described encounters with Indigenous masculinities and femininities at length, they drew different conclusions from distinct colonial and metropolitan perspectives.

I acknowledge the colonial legacy underlying this research and the institution I work within. Most histories of the 'gender frontier' have been produced by white American or European scholars like myself. Furthermore, the University of Glasgow is a prime example of an institution which legitimised, organised, and promoted European colonisation in the Americas. William Dunlop became the university's Principal after becoming an enslaver who tried (unsuccessfully) to settle on Yamasee land. The University of Glasgow expanded its chair of Anatomy to include Botany in 1718. Perhaps more than any other discipline, botany was thoroughly intertwined with the exploitation of New World natural resources: it was the colonial science *par excellence*.⁶ Today, the University of Glasgow acknowledges and studies this colonial legacy, particularly regarding the transatlantic slave trade.⁷ However, the harm caused by such legacies still persists; the discrimination and suppression of Indigenous nations remains ongoing. In 2020, the RCMP took violent action with 'no legal authority' against the

⁶ Vandana Shiva, 'Bioprospecting as Sophisticated Biopiracy', *Signs*, 32:2 (2007); Sarah Easterby-Smith, 'Recalcitrant Seeds: Material Culture and the Global History of Science', *PP*, 242, (Nov. 2019), 215–242 (p.240).

⁷ Dr. Stephen Mullen and Prof. Simon Newman, 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow - Report and recommendations of the University of Glasgow History of Slavery Steering Committee', 21/09/2018.

Wet'suwet'en and Mohawk nations in Canada.⁸ In May 2020, the death rate from COVID-19 among Arizona's Navajo population was four times the state average.⁹

This chapter responds to both this legacy and to criticism of Atlantic history and Euro-American historians. As Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra highlighted in 2003, much existing Atlantic history is overly Eurocentric.¹⁰ More recently, historian and Seminole national Susan A. Miller called on more historians to identify and reject 'poisoned' discourses of American Indian history.¹¹ Likewise, Juliana Barr and Joyce Chaplin have complained about the confinement of Indigenous nations to circumscribed historical tropes of 'material difference' and socio-cultural inferiority.¹² I take heed of these recommendations in my analysis, and cite Indigenous scholars wherever possible.

2. Land, Surveying, and Agriculture

The profound connection between Indigenous nations and their lands shaped their encounters with British colonists. Relationships with land were central to the production of the gender frontier, as the term 'Indigenous' itself embodies. While 'indigenous' simply describes being 'native' to a given place, a more specific 'Indigeness' refers to 'a way of relating to everything else in the cosmos [as]... alive'.¹³ This distinction emerged from numerous nations' pursuit of legal recognition across Canada and the USA during the 1970s.¹⁴ Notions of reciprocity, mutuality, and a spirituality which pervade material life animate Indigenous nations' ties to their lands. Nick Estes of the

⁸ 'RCMP' refers to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Tracey Lindeman, "Revolution is alive: Canada protests spawn climate and Indigenous rights movement", *The Guardian*, 28/02/2020 <www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/28/canada-pipeline-protests-climate-indigenous-rights> [accessed 10/03/2020].

⁹ Viviann Anguiano, 'The Navajo Nation's Diné College Faces the Worst Coronavirus Outbreak in the Country', *Center for American Progress*, 21/05/2020 <www.americanprogress.org/issues/education-postsecondary/news/2020/05/21/485285/navajo-nations-dine-college-faces-worst-coronavirus-outbreak-country> [accessed 23/07/2020].

¹⁰ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Some Caveats about the "Atlantic" Paradigm', *HC*, 1 (2003), 1-4 (p.1).

¹¹ Susan A. Miller, 'Native Historians Write Back: The Indigenous Paradigm in American Indian Historiography', *Wicazo Sa Review*, 24:1 (Spring 2009), 25-45 (p.25).

¹² Juliana Barr, 'The Red Continent and the Cant of the Coastline', *WMQ*, 69:3 (July 2012), 521-526 (p.521); Chaplin, 'The Other Revolution', p.298.

¹³ Miller, 'Native Historians Write Back', pp.26-8.

¹⁴ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2nd ed.) (London, 2012), p.6.

Lower Brule Sioux locates European colonisation first and foremost in the theft of Indigenous nations' 'land *and* their language... identity, and... sense of self'.¹⁵ As Chief Frank Alec (hereditary name Woos) of the Wet'suwet'en nation declared in 2020, 'we are the land, and the land is ours'.¹⁶ The name of the Abenaki homeland, *Ndakinna*, likewise means 'our land'. The Indigenous nations analysed in this chapter were (and are) inextricable from their lands. The theft of these lands by British settlers therefore formed part of the cultural encounter which produced the colonial gender frontier. Far from the metropole, colonists found themselves surrounded by unfamiliar environments as much as unfamiliar peoples.

British settlers already perceived American lands in gendered terms before the 1660s. Every colony needed sufficiently peaceful relations with Indigenous nations and a strong agricultural base to survive, expand, and produce commodities valued by metropolitan Britain. Responding to these twin needs, English and Scottish settlers framed American land as both feminine and 'empty' of inhabitants skilled in agriculture. Kathy McGill, Nathan Probasco, and Jason Sellers have highlighted discourses in which New World land became a 'fruitful womb' ready for fertilisation by masculine colonists.¹⁷ I build on these tightly focused studies (which rarely discuss eighteenth century accounts) by situating this discourse within a broader analysis of gender and distance in the British Atlantic.

Colonists arriving in the Americas for the first time were struck by a land covered in vast, dense forests. Similar first impressions appear in accounts from Richard Ligon in 1650s Barbados, Richard Blome in 1670s Jamaica, and John Lawson in 1710s Carolina.¹⁸ Settlers used to metropolitan Britain saw forests as the antithesis of

¹⁵ Nick Estes quoted in Alleen Brown, 'A Lakota Historian On What Climate Organizers Can Learn From Two Centuries Of Indigenous Resistance', *The Intercept* <<https://theintercept.com/2019/03/07/nick-estes-our-history-is-the-future-indigenous-resistance>> [accessed 10/03/2020].

¹⁶ Leyland Cecco, 'Canada: Wet'suwet'en and ministers agree tentative deal in land dispute', *The Guardian*, 02/03/2020 <www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/02/canada-wetsuweten-indigenous-land-dispute-deal-agreement> [accessed 10/03/2020].

¹⁷ McGill, "The Most Industrious Sex", pp.289-90; Nathan Probasco, 'Virgin America for Barren England: English Colonial History and Literature, 1575–1635', *Literature Compass*, 9:6 (2012), 406-419 (pp.408-11); Jason R. Sellers, 'Mindful of their Bellies and Gullets- Anatomical imagery in English Colonization', *Journal of Early American History*, 9 (2019), 3-33.

¹⁸ Richard Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860* (Cambridge, 1996), p.29; Dierks, *In My Power*, p.104.

settlement; the opposite of land cleared for agriculture. To Mary Stafford, Carolina's forests therefore resembled Eden, the 'very bare beginning [of] the world':

a Country that looked so little inhabited and little to be seen but trees...[could] any thing upon Earth could be more dismall...¹⁹

This immediate impression of an 'empty continent' was gendered from the start. As much as the name 'Virginia' referred to Elizabeth I, the English colony's name also alluded to an 'empty' or 'virginal' continent for mostly male colonists to exploit. Writing in 1656, English colonist John Hammond (d.1707) elaborated on such ideas using a Biblical allegory, comparing Virginia and Maryland to Jacob's wives Leah and Rachel:

Having... served Virginia, the elder sister, I cast my eye on Mary-land the younger, grew enamoured [of] her beauty... I enjoyed her company with delight and profit... such a naturall fertility and comelinesse doth she retain...²⁰

Promoting these colonies' 'natural fertility', Hammond described their 'beauty' and 'comelinesse' using feminine pronouns.²¹ John Locke's (1632-1704) highly influential descriptions of American land as *res nullius* further codified and promoted the idea of empty or virginal American land.²² Locke helped to draft Carolina's constitution (adopted in 1669), and William Byrd II read his works both at school and in his own library. In 1689, Locke asked (rhetorically) whether a thousand acres of

wild woods and uncultivated waste of America... without any improvement, tillage or husbandry... [could yield] as many conveniencies of life, as ten acres of equally fertile land do in Devonshire...²³

¹⁹ Stafford and Childs, 'A Letter Written in 1711', p.4.

²⁰ John Hammond, *Leah and Rachel, or the two fruitfull sisters Virginia and Mary-land* (London, 1656), p.20.

²¹ See chapter two for analysis of the word 'comely'.

²² Brendan Kane, 'Masculinity and political geographies in England, Ireland and North America', *European Review of History*, 22:4 (2015), 595-619 (pp.605-6).

²³ John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (London, 1689), p.37.

Locke's emphasis on America being 'wild' and 'uncultivated' minimised the presence of Indigenous nations and their right to farm this land. To farmers newly arrived from Britain, America's uncleared or un-ploughed soil was virginal and in need of 'husbandry'. It needed to be ploughed and fertilised to produce the agricultural bounty that would support colonial development. Such gendered metaphors reinforced the aspirations of English settlers, who were majority male, by tying them to the American continent's 'fertile, female body'.²⁴ Such attitudes appear to have existed across England and Scotland. Soon after William Dunlop returned to Scotland, fellow Stewartstown colonist John Stewart wrote him a letter enthusiastically discussing Carolina's farming opportunities. Stewart described land in 'pleasant Carolina' as

lying in the very bosom of fruitfull florida, stretch't out on a Bed of Roses
so famous and so much celebrated... that it is the admiration of countrys
to every bookishman.²⁵

Stewart anthropomorphised Carolina as a sexual object on a bed of roses (a symbol of feminine sexuality and fertility) 'admired' by male observers. Carolinian land was a 'fruitful bosom'. When Englishman Joel Gascoyne (c.1650-c.1704) mapped Carolina in 1682, he described how the colony's 'benevolent Breast sends daily Supplies to the Planter'.²⁶ Advertising Carolina to potential settlers in his *Voyage*, John Lawson described the colony in similar terms to Locke, including a map which reinforced its supposed emptiness. The map lacked any detail inland save for vague, sparse labels such as 'Hilly Land' and 'Rich Land'.²⁷ Lawson described Carolina as

a spacious Tract of Land... inhabited by none but Savages... more
healthful to the Inhabitants [after being] clear'd of Wood'.²⁸

²⁴ Sellers, 'Mindful of their Bellies', p.33.

²⁵ John Stewart and J. G. Dunlop, 'Letters from John Stewart to William Dunlop', *SCHM*, 32:1 (Jan. 1931), 1-33 (p.4).

²⁶ Sellers, 'Mindful of their Bellies', p.30.

²⁷ Hugh Talmage Lefler (ed.), *A New Voyage to Carolina* (Chapel Hill NC, 1967), p.xxxviii.

²⁸ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.85.

Lawson's reference to clearing Carolina's woods spoke to British colonists' geographical agency as deforesters of American land. On Caribbean islands, the effects of deforestation, monocropping, and subsequent soil erosion became evident more quickly than in continental colonies.²⁹ English colonists rendered Barbados treeless by 1665 and heavily deforested lowland Jamaica by 1680: West Indian mahogany trees soon became extinct there.³⁰ Over 90% of English colonists attempting to settle on Hewanorra (St Lucia) in the 1660s died; a second wave of colonists in 1722-3 fared worse still.³¹ Britain's Caribbean colonies never supported large, stable settler populations comparable to the continental colonies. Jamaica might have been a profitable sugar colony but it was also a demographic 'catastrophe'.³² This may have been why fewer colonists described Caribbean colonies in the same feminine terms as Hammond, Locke and Lawson.

By 1726, it was clear to Daniel Defoe as a metropolitan observer (who never crossed the Atlantic) that America's 'emptiness' had underpinned Britain's colonial expansion. To Defoe, the transatlantic trade which enriched the metropole relied on

new settlements and plantations made... in the *uninhabited* islands, and the *uncultivated* continent of America.³³ (my italics)

Defoe assumed that Indigenous 'natives' had either retreated 'farther up into the country' or been 'destroyed and cut off'. Treating America as a 'wilderness' devoid of sovereign nations laid the groundwork for the ongoing genocide of those nations, many of which are still fighting for legal recognition today.³⁴ Though the word 'sovereignty' is

²⁹ Grove, *Green imperialism*, pp.24-5; McNeill, *Mosquito Empires*, pp.2-4 and p.105.

³⁰ Scott Parrish, 'Richard Ligon', p.224; Jennifer L. Anderson, 'Nature's Currency: The Atlantic Mahogany Trade and the Commodification of Nature in the Eighteenth Century', *EAS*, 2:1 (Spring 2004), 47-80 (pp.54-6).

³¹ Mary Draper, 'Timbering and Turtling: The Maritime Hinterlands of Early Modern British Caribbean Cities', *EAS*, 15:4 (Fall 2017), 769-800 (pp.780-1).

³² Brown, *Reaper's Garden*, p.12.

³³ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.22.

³⁴ Rosemary Radford Ruether, *America, Amerikkka: Elect Nation and Imperial Violence* (London, 2014); Johannsen Robert W. et al., 'Manifest Destiny Revisited', *Diplomatic History*, 23:2 (April 1999), 379-384; Barr, 'The Red Continent', p.525; Jack Healy and Adam Liptak, 'Landmark Supreme Court Ruling Affirms Native American Rights in Oklahoma', *New York Times*, 09/07/2020 <www.nytimes.com/2020/07/09/us/supreme-court-oklahoma-mcgirt-creek-nation.html> [accessed 20/07/2020].

a European import, these nations were nonetheless self-determining and “sovereign” independent of colonists’ presence.³⁵ When erased from depictions of American land, these nations presented no obstacles to British colonists overseas. This was not purely a product of Defoe’s metropolitan perspective. Across the Atlantic, Cadwallader Colden described in a 1742 letter to English friends how he had

made a small spot of the World which when I first enter[e]d upon it was the habitation only of wolves & bears... now no unfit habitation for a civilized family.³⁶

Colden had been settled in rural New York for decades by this time. He lived surrounded by the Haudenosaunee federation, whom he traded with and claimed to be an expert on. While distance from the colonies allowed observers like Locke and Defoe to erase the presence of Indigenous nations, distance from the metropole also shaped Colden’s perspective. His idealised personal narrative of colonial settlement was framed in patriarchal terms. Colden took credit for placing a ‘civilised’ family on Haudenosaunee lands, sidelining both the federation and his wife Alice Chrystie’s role in creating that family. His framing of American land and Indigenous nations was consistent with those of the Englishmen and Scotsmen from across the period discussed above.

When colonists did acknowledge any Indigenous presence, they used arable agriculture to elevate their own masculinity above that of Indigenous men who did not farm.³⁷ As seen in chapter one, Virginian planters tied skilful crop cultivation to their personal masculine identities, developing ‘tobacco mentality’.³⁸ As one such planter, Byrd mocked Nottoway men for being ‘quite idle’ in his *History*: they let women do ‘the

³⁵ Miller, ‘Native Historians Write Back’, pp.32-5.

³⁶ Letter from CC to PC, May 1742 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 2*, pp.258-63.

³⁷ Susan Abram, ‘Real Men: Masculinity, Spirituality, and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Cherokee Warfare’ in *New Men: Manliness in Early America* ed. by Thomas A. Foster (London, 2011), pp.71-94 (p.82); Tyler Boulware, “‘We are men’: Native American and Euroamerican Projections of Masculinity During the Seven Year’s War’ in *New Men: Manliness in Early America*, ed. by Thomas A. Foster (London, 2011), pp.51-70 (pp.51-2); Amussen and Poska, ‘Restoring Miranda’, p.350.

³⁸ Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, p.57.

little work that is done' in the fields.³⁹ Many American Indian nations encountered by British settlers delegated farming to women as part of their gendered division of labour. Massachusetts colonists saw the Wabenaki trust foraging and pharmacological knowledge to women, and Lawson saw the Congeree do the same in Carolina.⁴⁰ Likewise, Colden claimed in his *History of the Five Nations* that Haudenosaunee men

disdain all Kind of [agricultural] Labour, and employ themselves alone in Hunting, as the only proper Business for Soldiers.⁴¹

The emptiness Colden ascribed to the American continent was thus (in part) a perceived lack of Indigenous men doing agricultural labour. This reinforced the idea that fertile, feminine lands needed the patriarchal control and agricultural expertise of male colonists.⁴² While men in metropolitan Britain also prided themselves on their husbandry, Indigenous encounters inflated the importance of farming in colonial masculinity.

From the opposing side of the gender frontier, Cherokee men mocked British men for doing what they saw as women's work in the fields. When captured male colonists performed the same agricultural labour as Cherokee women, they received none of the same recognition or rewards for their work.⁴³ These men were alienated from the Cherokee's matrilineal clans (Dh̄ ḠT / *atsi nahsa'i*). However, these were rare experiences for male colonists; Byrd and Colden never mentioned them. Like most British colonists, neither understood Indigenous methods of stewarding "wild" food sources such as abundant forests of nut trees.⁴⁴ 'Wild' fruit trees colonists encountered

³⁹ Edmund Ruffin (ed.) and William Byrd II, *The Westover Manuscripts... Written from 1728 to 1736* (Petersburg VA, 1841), p.37.

⁴⁰ Carla Cevalco, 'Hunger Knowledges and Cultures in New England's Borderlands, 1675-1770', *EAS*, 16:2 (Spring 2018), 255-281 (p.278); Lawson, *Voyage*, pp.29-30.

⁴¹ Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* (2nd ed., 1747).

⁴² Sellers, 'Mindful of their Bellies', p.27.

⁴³ Abram, 'Real Men', p.82.

⁴⁴ M. D. Abrams and G J Nowacki, 'Native Americans as active and passive promoters of mast and fruit trees in the eastern USA', *The Holocene*, 18:7 (2008), 1123-1137; Stephen J. Tulowiecki and Chris P. S. Larsen, 'Native American impact on past forest composition inferred from species distribution models, Chautauqua County, New York', *Ecological Monographs*, 85:4 (Nov. 2015), 557-581; S. Kathleen Barnhill-Dilling, Louie Rivers & Jason A. Delborne, 'Rooted in Recognition: Indigenous Environmental Justice and the Genetically Engineered American Chestnut Tree', *Society & Natural Resources*, Online (2019).

had often been planted by Indigenous women, who by the 1710s were cultivating European wheat and peaches alongside their traditional crops across the Ohio valley.⁴⁵ Colonists ascribed this “natural” bounty to the fertile, feminine land itself rather than the geographical agency of Indigenous people. Byrd mistook Indigenous forest management for careless fire-lighting in his *History*.⁴⁶ To male colonists, their counterparts in nations such as the Nottoway, Haudenosaunee, and Cherokee were failed farmers, and therefore (to an extent) failed men.

British men also used surveying to reinforce their control over Indigenous lands in masculine terms. Surveying introduced European conceptions of distance and geography to the Americas. It carved Indigenous lands into quantified, colonised spaces using what Linda Tuhiwai-Smith describes as a ‘spatial vocabulary’ of hard border lines reinforced by new Anglophone place names.⁴⁷ While none of this was invented in the 1660s, surveying became increasingly popular in Britain during the late-seventeenth century. Colonial expansion tempted men with new opportunities to buy cheap land and (literally) ground their masculine credit. An entire print genre - ‘geodesy’, or ‘geodetic’ writing - emerged to cater for surveying men, and was particularly prominent from c.1680 to 1780. John Love’s *Geodaesia* (1688), one of the most popular surveying manuals, was explicitly aimed at ‘Young men in America’ and remained in print until the 1750s. As seen above regarding Carolina, maps framed British perceptions of American land. To be purchased, land (whether private farmland or an entire colony) had to be surveyed. The redrawing of New England’s existing land charters in 1690, for example, generated much new demand for colonial surveyors.⁴⁸ Surveying was thus a key weapon in the arsenal of colonial masculinity, giving British men the tools to take control of American land.

⁴⁵ Susan Sleeper-Smith, ‘The Agrarian Village World of Indian Women in the Ohio River Valley’ in *Women in Early America*, ed. by Thomas A. Foster (New York, 2018), pp.186-209 (pp.186-7).

⁴⁶ Kevin Berland, *The Dividing Line Histories of William Byrd II of Westover* (Chapel Hill NC, 2013), p.310.

⁴⁷ Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, pp.50-5.

⁴⁸ Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution*, pp.16-9 and pp.25-6.

The relationship between surveying and colonial masculinity can be seen in William Byrd II's *A Journey to the Land of Eden*.⁴⁹ This short text described how Byrd purchased and surveyed 20,000 acres further inland from his coastal Virginian home in 1733. Byrd's account of surveying this tract (which he named 'Eden') shows how he imprinted his own masculine identity onto this land. Rather than beginning his surveys with a conventional 'AB' mark, Byrd used his initials 'WB', carving them onto a tree at the corner of a field. Beyond this gesture, Byrd extended his personal ownership of 'Eden' by describing it in anthropomorphic terms. Though less explicitly feminine than Stewart's description of Carolina, the 'bowels' of the earth at Eden were

barren... clothed with little timber and *refreshed* with little water... riches that might lie underground... treasure in the *bowels* of the earth [to] make ample amends for the poverty of its surface. (my italics).⁵⁰

Byrd framed the land of 'Eden' in terms of resource extraction and his efforts to extract profits from a land of 'poverty'. In 1728, he had written to Charles Boyle of his excitement when he found 'porphyry, alabaster and marble... *many pregnant tokens* of mines and minerals'.⁵¹ Profitable minerals were 'pregnant tokens' of wealth, in contrast to Eden which was 'barren', barely 'clothed' and lacking much opportunity in its 'bowels'. As Jennifer Morgan notes, the colonial search for mineral wealth 'embedded in the landscape... inscribed masculinity firmly in the act of colonization'.⁵² The framing of that landscape in feminine terms offered male settlers the chance to enhance their status through this metaphorically rapacious process. Byrd's writing on mines in 1728 and 1733 built on the perspective of earlier colonists. In 1677, clergyman William Hubbard (1621-1704) had complained that New England lacked mines comparable to 'her two elder Sisters, Peru and Mexico'. Hubbard claimed colonial authority as one of Harvard's first graduates, using female pronouns to describe his colony's lesser wealth,

⁴⁹ Mark Van Doren (ed.), *William Byrd II, A Journey to the Land of Eden and Other Papers* (New York, 1928). Supposedly a German version was published in Bern to promote Byrd's colonisation efforts in 1737, *Neue gefundenes Eden*. However, Hugh Talmage Lefler has since shown that this German text was in fact a thinly veiled copy of Lawson's *Voyage*, connected to Byrd only through some land purchases made by its author, Samuel Jenner. Lefler (ed.), *A New Voyage*, p.liii.

⁵⁰ Cited in Brückner, *Geographic Revolution*, pp.38-41.

⁵¹ Letter from WBII to CB (Virginia to London), 26/05/1729 in Tinling, *Correspondence*, pp.395-7.

⁵² Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia PA, 2011), p.73.

Nature having promised no such Dowry of rich Mines of Silver and Gold
them that would espouse her... as she did the other two.⁵³

John Lawson also commented on mining opportunities in his *Voyage*, claiming again that Indigenous men were incapable of exploiting these resources: 'the Indians never look for any thing lower than the Superficies of the Earth'.⁵⁴ Lawson was an even more experienced surveyor than Byrd, becoming deputy to Carolina's surveyor-general, Edward Moseley.⁵⁵ Soon, Lawson took Moseley's place, laying out new colonial settlements at Bath and New Bern. He began styling himself 'Gent[leman] Surveyor-General', tying his 'gentlemanly' manhood to his surveying abilities and control of Carolinian lands.⁵⁶

The mapping of the 'dividing line' between Carolina and Virginia highlighted the influence of Indigenous nations on the surveying aspect of colonial masculinity. The topic of the line was raised when Byrd first joined the Virginian Council of Burgesses in 1708. When Lawson returned to London (to publish his *Voyage*) in 1709, he represented Carolina in a discussion on the subject. Lawson began surveying upon his return to Carolina in 1710, the same year in which Byrd interviewed three Weynoke women (Jenny, Betty and Mary) on 'the line'. Part of the dispute rested on Virginian colonists arguing that the Carolinians' 'Nottoway River' was actually Weycocon Creek. Byrd asked these three women where 'Weynoke Creek' was, but they responded by describing their own relationship with the land. For example, they described 'a place called by the Wyanokes to-Way-Wink, where they first planted Corne'.⁵⁷ In doing so, these women resisted (to the extent they were able) the settler control of American land represented by externally imposed place names and boundaries. Beyond this individual instance, broader archaeological work has shown how Indigenous land use 'created an

⁵³ Sellers, 'Mindful of their Bellies', p.29.

⁵⁴ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.86.

⁵⁵ Ransome, David R., 'Lawson, John (d. 1711)', *ODNB*, 23/09/2004 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16203>> [accessed 02/03/2020].

⁵⁶ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.iv.

⁵⁷ Angela Calcaterra, 'Locating American Indians along William Byrd II's Dividing Line', *Early American Literature*, 46:2 (2011), 233-261 (pp.237-9).

underlying architecture that guided Euro-American settlement.⁵⁸ In Georgia, English traders used Muscogee paths to move inland.⁵⁹ Other colonists recognised the value of abandoned Indigenous sites as ideal locations to settle themselves. As Hugh Jones (1691–1760) wrote in 1724,

Wherever we meet with an old *Indian Field*, or Place where they have lived, we are sure of the best Ground.⁶⁰

Alongside the Weynoke women cited above, men of the neighbouring Meherrin nation demanded that Byrd promise them a protected tract of land. They complained that despite living there ‘long before there were any English Settlements... Our Land is all taken from us’.⁶¹ Other Indigenous nations also used the colonial masculine concern for surveying to mitigate settler encroachment. In 1739, Philip Livingston wrote to Cadwallader Colden in 1739 that ‘the Indians do not Conceive themselves divested of any Lands unless it be Surveyed’.⁶² Despite the British insistence that they were masculine colonists controlling a feminine land, Indigenous nations could shape their patterns of settlement.

3. William Byrd II and Appropriated Identity

Beyond surveying and agriculture, William Byrd II developed a colonial masculine identity strongly shaped by Indigenous encounters throughout his life. Born in Virginia in 1674, he was sent away as an infant ‘for feare of the Indians’ during Metacomet’s War, a violent Anglo-Wampanoag conflict.⁶³ Byrd was likely taken to Jamestown, from where he was sent across the Atlantic to be schooled in England. Many historians have addressed Byrd’s identity, including analyses of colonial identity, masculinity, and settler-Indigenous interactions from Dan Walden, Richard Godbeer, and Angela

⁵⁸ Michael R. Coughlan and Donald R. Nelson, ‘Influences of Native American land use on the Colonial Euro-American settlement of the South Carolina Piedmont’, *PLoS ONE*, 13:3 (March 2018), 1-23.

⁵⁹ Dubcovsky, *Informed Power*, pp.18-9.

⁶⁰ Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (London, 1724), pp.9-12.

⁶¹ Calcaterra, ‘Locating American Indians’, pp.240-1.

⁶² Letter from Philip Livingston to CC, 03/01/1738 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers*, vol. 8, pp.151-4.

⁶³ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.195.

Calcaterra respectively.⁶⁴ However, few have situated Byrd's masculinity and his Indigenous encounters to illuminate wider analyses of Atlantic distance and British colonial identity, as this chapter aims to do.

At Felsted School in the 1680s, Byrd's colonial origins distinguished him from English-born classmates. How they reacted to his different origins is unclear, but Byrd appears to have minimised his ties to Virginia at first. Entering the Middle Temple in 1692, Byrd stressed his father's English origins rather than his own colonial birth, signing himself 'William Byrd of Cree Church, London, Esq.'. ⁶⁵ Byrd's apparent attachment to English identity as a young man leaving school belied the source of his father's wealth. Besides tobacco, William Byrd I derived much of his wealth and position in Virginia from trading with Indigenous nations. After turning against Nathaniel Bacon during the latter's 1676-7 rebellion, Byrd spent the rest of his life as Virginia's leading 'Indian trader'. ⁶⁶

In 1689, William Byrd I still described England as his 'native country' in letters. ⁶⁷ Despite his well-established life in Virginia, Byrd still attached his identity to the distant English metropole. However, he also wrote to his father-in-law about the relief with which 'wee saw our owne American shore'. ⁶⁸ Returning to Virginia from a trip to London, Byrd viewed the former land as his 'owne'. By 1727, his son referred to Virginia as 'my country' and as his 'infant country': the same phrases appear in a letter from 1737. ⁶⁹ Between the 1670s and 1720s, a shift occurred. William Byrd I's ties to England were replaced by his son coming to identify with Virginia, though the latter never abandoned all claims to Englishness.

By the 1700s, William Byrd II did not solely present himself as a metropolitan Englishman. In correspondence, he began to make conscious parallels between his

⁶⁴ Dan Walden, "The Bounty of Providence": Food and Identity in William Byrd's "The History of the Dividing Line", *The Southern Literary Journal*, 47:1 (Fall 2014), 35-53; Godbeer, 'Eroticizing the Middle Ground'; Calcaterra, 'Locating American Indians', 233-261.

⁶⁵ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.18.

⁶⁶ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.3-6.

⁶⁷ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.90.

⁶⁸ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.81.

⁶⁹ Ekirch, *Bound for America*, pp.138-41; Letter from WBI to Hans Sloane (Westover to London), 31/05/1737 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.511-4.

own identity and American Indian cultures. For example, in 1704 Byrd signed a letter to Edward Southwell 'with a true Indian sincerity... your most faithfull servant'.⁷⁰ Several of Byrd's letters to his English peers around this time reference the ritual of 'husquenawing'. Which nations practised husquenawing is now uncertain, but the term itself supposedly originated among the Sissipahaw.⁷¹ In 1720, Byrd would describe the ritual as he understood it in a letter to the Earl of Orrery:

the Indians of this part of the world at the age of puberty when they commence men... to make them forget all the follies of their childhood... are lock't up in a place of security, and the physicians of the place ply them night and morning with a potion that transports them out their senses, and makes them perfectly mad for six weeks together. When this time is expired... they return to their understanding, but pretend to have forgot every thing that befell them in the early part of their lives.⁷²

Other colonists knew about the practice. John Lawson labelled it a 'most abominable Custom' relying on 'diabolical Purgation', and Dr Alexander Hamilton mentioned husquenawing when discussing the properties of 'Jamestown weed' in 1743.⁷³ However, Byrd's frequent reference to the practice was unique, particularly when paired with descriptions of his own 'Indian sincerity'. Neither Lawson nor Hamilton approved of husquenawing, and the word 'Indian' alone had a firmly pejorative association by the 1700s. It implied unruly behaviour and savagery across both England and its colonies. Cotton Mather's letter of introduction for his rebellious son Increase, taken to London in 1715, asked the letter's recipient to 'tame' his 'Indian' son.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, Byrd used the term in his letters from this time. He further referenced husquenawing in a letter complaining to Betty Cromwell (as seen in chapter three):

⁷⁰ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.245-6.

⁷¹ Calcaterra, 'Locating American Indians', pp.245-6; Berland, *Dividing Line*, p.119.

⁷² Letter from WBII to CB, 06/03/1720 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.326-7.

⁷³ Lawson, *Voyage*, pp.232-3; DDP, Box 3, Letter from AH to Dr Robert Hamilton (Annapolis to Glasgow), 29/09/1743.

⁷⁴ Pitt, 'Cotton Mather', p.242.

I shou[ll]d never have imagin[e]d that the pleasure[s] of foggy Ireland were so bewitching, as to produce in you a forgetfulness of those that love you... Sure your Ladyship has not undergon[e] the Indian operation of huskenawing, and by the strength of that blotted out of your memory the images of all you left in England.⁷⁵

Though ‘foggy’ and ‘bewitching’, Ireland was not so distant or distinct from England as Byrd’s homeland of Virginia. It therefore should not make her forget those she had ‘left in England’ as husquenawing would. In pointing this out, Byrd implicitly chastised Cromwell for ‘forgetting’ him at a much smaller distance from England than that separating him from Virginia. He used husquenawing as a metaphor for the effects of distance and separation, one which demonstrated his own special knowledge as a colonist. Conversely, Byrd then boasted about his own qualities by claiming that no such

intoxciateing medecine could wipe out the deep impressions of esteem and respect I have for you [Cromwell].

Though Byrd was rejected by Cromwell, he would continue describing his masculine identity as “Indian” to others. When Byrd discovered that Peter Collinson had exhibited some of his letters at the Royal Society, he hoped they ‘looked not upon an Indian scribble with too critical an eye.’⁷⁶ This was not a common approach. Most colonists stuck to using Indigenous artefacts - ‘Indian curiosities’ - to present themselves as masters of an exotic world. These were viewed as status symbols and unique gifts in the British metropole. Thomas Thistlewood gifted his brother an ‘Indian Bow and Arrows’; Lieutenant Alexander Farquharson collected a variety of artefacts for his patrons in Scotland.⁷⁷ In the colonies themselves, male colonists of all ranks adapted their clothing to suit American climates and Indigenous cultures, both for comfort and to improve business relations.⁷⁸ Some Englishmen wore “hunting shirts” modelled on

⁷⁵ Letter from WBII to BC (London to Ireland), 27/07/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.226-9.

⁷⁶ Letter from WBII to PC (Virginia to London), 18/07/1736 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.492-4.

⁷⁷ YUL, OSB MSS 176, 1748-50, p.307; Ruth B. Phillips, ‘Reading and Writing between the Lines: Soldiers, Curiosities, and Indigenous Art Histories’, *Winterthur Portfolio*, 45:2-3 (2011), 107-24 (p.110).

⁷⁸ Lemire, ‘A Question of Trousers’, pp.7-9.

Indigenous garments, and moccasins became a 'signal fashion' in some colonial ports. While this 'ethnic cross-dressing' distinguished colonial masculinity from its metropolitan counterpart, few colonists replicated Byrd's references to 'Indian' sincerity and scribbling.

Dan Walden's claim that Byrd used Indigenous references to perform a 'transatlantic social identity' rings true but is incomplete with regards to gender.⁷⁹ Claiming Indigenous knowledge or a nebulous measure of "Indian" identity supported Byrd's claim to be a Virginian gentleman. He was equal to those in England, but also a patriarch to Virginia itself. Claiming both genteel English and exotic "Indian" masculinity helped Byrd to mitigate Atlantic distance. In his letter to Charles Boyle describing husquenawing, Byrd claimed their bond could survive the effects of Atlantic distance because Boyle's

many favours... stick fast in my memory in all clymates, and I believe I could go thro' the ceremony of husquenawing without forgetting them.⁸⁰

A letter from 1728 further demonstrates how this balancing act helped Byrd's masculinity to figuratively bridge the Atlantic. After settling in Virginia, Byrd wrote several flirtatious letters to his cousin Jane Pratt Taylor in London. In one, he claimed to have 'found a way to haunt [her] by the help of an Indian magician, with whome I lately came acquainted.'⁸¹ Describing either a spiritual practice or possibly lucid dreaming, Byrd claimed this man could 'send his soule upon what errand he pleases' while asleep. Writing that he would employ this 'secret' to haunt Taylor from across the ocean, Byrd reproached her for not writing more often. Now, he could 'venture to lye down by' Taylor from across the Atlantic. The ocean was no longer a barrier to his sexual advances. Byrd did so despite other English colonists decrying Indigenous dream interpretation and the practices of Algonquian *pawwownomas* (shamans) in New

⁷⁹ Walden, "The Bounty of Providence", pp.35-6.

⁸⁰ Letter from WBII to CB (Virginia to London), 06/03/1720 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.326-7.

⁸¹ Letter from WBII to JPT (Virginia to London), 28/07/1728 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.384-5.

England.⁸² He was content to augment his masculine authority and power using Indigenous ideas (as he understood them).

Byrd did not associate his own masculinity with 'Indian' ideas out of any feeling of kinship or identification with Indigenous peoples. He did make statements complimenting their capacities, which Jeffrey Folks sees as evidence that Byrd desired a 'red and white' society in Virginia based on a 'relative lack of ethnic prejudice':

The principal difference between one people and another proceeds only from the different opportunities of improvement. The Indians by no means want understanding, and are in their figure tall and well-proportioned.⁸³

However, these polite statements taken from Byrd's *History* were not consistent in his writing. In fact, Byrd openly ridiculed many attempts to give Indigenous nations more European 'opportunities of improvement. In 1729, Anglo-Irish philosopher George Berkeley (who had never crossed the Atlantic) proposed a mixed Anglo-Saponi seminary on Bermuda: Byrd belittled Berkeley's poor understanding.⁸⁴ Byrd claimed that the Saponi nation were 'inexplicabl[y] resistant to self-improvement', and would inevitably 'relapse' into 'barbarism'.⁸⁵ He duly gloated when attempts to relocate and re-educate the Saponi nation failed. Rather than reflecting any kind of racial equality, Byrd's claims to 'Indian sincerity' were tools used to reinforce his masculine status as a colonial patriarch.

Virginia's long-established relations with Indigenous nations also provided Byrd an opportunity to bolster this colonial masculinity. In his *History*, Byrd described these relationships as an 'unspeakable Advantage' to Virginia. He strived to further develop these ties by forging new connections with the Cherokee in the 1730s, competing with other English colonists as well as French and Spanish counterparts. By contrast, Byrd

⁸² Ann Marie Plane, 'Indian and English Dreams - Colonial Hierarchy and Manly Restraint in Seventeenth Century New England' in *New Men: Manliness in early America*, ed. by Thomas Foster (New York, 2011), pp.31-47 (pp.31-2 and pp.39-41).

⁸³ Jeffrey J. Folks, 'Crowd Types in William Byrd's Histories', *Southern Literary Journal*, 26:2 (Spring 1994), p.7; Ruffin, *Westover Manuscripts*, p.37.

⁸⁴ Calcaterra, 'Locating American Indians', p.244.

⁸⁵ Folks, 'Crowd Types', pp.4-6.

criticised Carolina's 'Indian traders' for exploiting and abusing Indigenous nations. He complained that John Lawson had only taught the 'honester Savages all sorts of Debauchery... and used them with all kinds of Oppression.'⁸⁶ The Tuscarora sachem 'King Hancock' evidently agreed with Byrd's assessment, capturing Lawson in 1711 and 'cut[ting] his throat from ear to ear'.⁸⁷ In 1737, Byrd again described the colonies as women, asking Virginia's 'dear sister Georgia [to] treat her elder sister with justice'.⁸⁸ Using a similar metaphor to Hammond eighty years earlier, Byrd presented the colony he identified with - 'my own country' - as a superior older sister to others.

Throughout Byrd's *History*, he situated American foods in a context of genteel, refined consumption across the Atlantic. In London, Byrd had frequently drunk coffee, tea, and chocolate with other gentlemen. These comparatively expensive drinks first appeared in England from the late 1650s onwards, with tea becoming more popular than coffee by the 1730s.⁸⁹ By the time of Byrd's *History*, he was fully settled in Virginia. In the yaupon holly tree, he claimed that 'Virginian colonists 'have our own tea'. When Byrd found 'fresh, agreeable' smelling leaves near his camp, he supposed

the ladies would be apt to fancy a tea made of them, provided they were told how far it came, and... were obliged to buy it very dear.⁹⁰

Byrd mocked metropolitan women who were more obsessed with the exotic, distant origins of their tea and its subsequent expense than the product itself. However, this was the same way he had framed his own masculinity, and Maryland physician Richard Brooke attempted something similar with 'red-root' tea in 1762. Brooke cited an unnamed Indigenous man as his source for the plant, and appropriated a local Indigenous place name for the tea he made from it: 'Mattapany'. He took 'great Pleasure' in the idea of British ladies drinking 'Mattapany' in their salons, the American word he had chosen 'pronounced by the prettiest lips in the Universe'. He wanted to

⁸⁶ Calcaterra, 'Locating American Indians', pp.247-8.

⁸⁷ Lefler (ed.), *A New Voyage*, pp.28-36.

⁸⁸ Letter from WBII to JP (Virginia to London), 02/07/1737 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.520-2.

⁸⁹ Shields, 'The Senses', p.135; Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven CT, 2005), p.94; Amussen and Poska, 'Shifting the Frame', p.15.

⁹⁰ Ruffin, *Westover Manuscripts*, p.55.

produce a tea for women, a product of the Americas representing himself which would be conveyed to their lips with 'pleasure'. Byrd was not alone in imagining how British women could be endeared to people and plants from the Americas.

Byrd further likened fine oysters from Virginia's coastline to the Colchester oysters enjoyed by London's upper classes. He described bear meat as 'American venison'.⁹¹ While Virginia had abundant deer, bear meat was uniquely American. These boasts were selective. Byrd only referred to rum (a distinctly New World drink) as 'low liquor', drunk by poorer Carolinian colonists and American Indians alike.⁹² Byrd did not want his colonial masculinity to be associated with these people despite the fact that he supplied them with rum. Likewise, Byrd excised any mention of chocolate from his *History* as there was no Virginian substitute. Byrd used Indigenous American foods to defend his distinctly colonial masculinity and show that even outside England, he was equal to English refinements.

Byrd's interactions with Ned Bearskin, the Saponi guide and hunter for the 'dividing line' expedition, also demonstrate the influence of Indigenous masculinities on Byrd's own. Such guides were crucial for Europeans navigating the American continent. Woodes Rogers mentioned several during his voyages, e.g. 'We had an excellent Indian Pilot'.⁹³ Byrd returned from the expedition and resumed his correspondence in 1729. Writing to London, he claimed to have been 'supplyd by Providence with great plenty and variety of meat every day'.⁹⁴ Providence had a name - Ned Bearskin - which Byrd deliberately omitted from his letters. Simultaneously, Byrd wrote to Charles Boyle claiming that 'we' shot meat every day on the expedition.⁹⁵ Again, this erased Bearskin's presence and masculine skill as a hunter from Byrd's personal narrative of colonial masculinity. This built on the colonial erasure of Indigenous farming discussed above. As Byrd's letter to Jane Pratt Taylor also was written at this time, the anonymous 'magician' he referred to may have also been Bearskin. Though he was vital to keeping Byrd's expedition on track, Bearskin's own masculinity was erased, his work reframed as Byrd's own.

⁹¹ Ruffin, *Westover Manuscripts*, p.50.

⁹² Walden, "'The Bounty of Providence'", pp.40-4.

⁹³ Manwaring (ed.), *Woodes Rogers*, p.119.

⁹⁴ Letter from WBII to JPT (Virginia to London), 03/04/1729 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.391-2.

⁹⁵ Letter from WBII to CB (Virginia to London), 26/05/1729 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.395-7.

Despite Byrd's best efforts, his interactions with Bearskin also influenced him in less obvious, conscious ways. For example, his input led to Byrd foregrounding Saponi place names in the *History*, in ways later attributed to Byrd himself. For example, Byrd described Massamoni as a place whose name, according to Bearskin, meant 'Paint-Creek' (referring to local ochre deposits).⁹⁶ Another ford was 'called by the Indians Moni-seep, which signifies, in their jargon, shallow water'. Rather than imposing Byrd's identity or a British name on the land, he recorded Saponi names *and* their cultural context. Angela Calcaterra has further suggested that this 'intercultural materiality' between settlers and Indigenous nations in Byrd's *History* resembles indigenous oral narratives, insofar as it relates people to their environments.⁹⁷ Byrd boasted about Virginian 'venison', but he also described the flora, fauna, and inhabitants of the 'dividing line' as interconnected in ways which reflected Indigenous thinking.⁹⁸ This included Byrd's observation that English settlers in the area were reproducing Indigenous methods of deer hide tanning and silkgrass weaving.⁹⁹

While Calcaterra does not focus on gender in her analysis, other evidence suggests that Byrd's masculinity was influenced by Bearskin's in similar ways. For example, the *History* shows how humour and jokes could shrink the distance between Indigenous and colonial masculinities. Byrd noted how Bearskin likened thunderclaps to gunshots fired by the 'English god', and joked that subsequent rain must be the 'Indian god... so scar'd he could not hold his Water'.¹⁰⁰ Later, Bearskin explained 'with a Broad grin' that the bear meat diet of Saponi men boosted their sexual performance and fertility. It made each man 'so vigorous that he grows exceedingly impertinent to his poor wife'.¹⁰¹ Byrd claimed that all the married Englishmen present followed Bearskin's advice and duly became 'joyful Fathers' upon returning home. This may include Byrd himself, as his first child by Maria Taylor (Jane Page Byrd (1729-74)) was born less than a year after

⁹⁶ Ruffin, *Westover Manuscripts*, pp.42-4.

⁹⁷ Calcaterra also cites Abenaki scholar Lisa Brooks on this point in 'Locating American Indians', pp.234-6.

⁹⁸ Berland, *Dividing Line*, pp.82-3; Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America* (Oxford, 2004), p.29.

⁹⁹ Ruffin, *Westover Manuscripts*, p.44.

¹⁰⁰ Calcaterra, 'Locating American Indians', pp.254-5.

¹⁰¹ Ruffin, *Westover Manuscripts*, p.69.

he returned from the expedition. Though Byrd may have altered Bearskin's jokes in his writing, he appears to have nonetheless recognised and valued examples of Bearskin's masculine, Saponi humour. Furthermore, Byrd and the other surveyors successfully inflated their masculine virility (as he told it) by following an Indigenous man's advice. This suggests that Calcaterra's analysis of 'intercultural materiality' also applied to gender, with Saponi masculinity actively influencing its British settler counterpart.

Byrd's appropriation of "Indian" identity was not the only way in which the distance between British and Indigenous identities shrank during this period. Not all colonists were English (or English-aspiring) gentlemen like Byrd. John MacKenzie has thus suggested that Britain's different ethnic groups could have interacted with Indigenous nations in distinct ways.¹⁰² The "British" ethnicity most associated with Indigenous nations was that of Scottish Highlanders. Thomas Bray, the founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (est. 1701), treated the Scottish Highlands and the Americas as equally spiritually destitute.¹⁰³ Indeed, the Bible had been published in an Algonquian dialect in 1663, 138 years before a Gaelic translation.¹⁰⁴ In England and the Scottish Lowlands, the wake of the 1745 Jacobite Rising saw books such as *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* depict Highlanders next to monolithic Virginian and Floridian "Indians". Martial prowess and bare-leggedness (represented by Highlanders' kilts) were presented as evidence of these groups' shared barbarism.¹⁰⁵ As Colin Galloway notes, Highlanders and Indigenous American nations both lived on the peripheries of British imperial military control.¹⁰⁶ Fort William (*An Gearasdan*) was intended to subdue Highlanders just as Fort Pitt (*Dionde:gâ*) did the Seneca nation. The perception of Highlander-Indigenous similarities was not purely external. Soldiers of *Am Freiceadan Dubh* (the Black Watch) serving in 1730s Georgia saw some similarities between themselves and the Cherokee nation, whom they called *coilltich* ('forest folk').¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds?', p.1247.

¹⁰³ Galloway, *White people*, pp.74-5.

¹⁰⁴ John Eliot (trans.), *Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God* (Cambridge MA, 1663).

¹⁰⁵ Emerson, *Essays on David Hume*, p.4, n.15; Harvey, 'Men of Parts', p.808.

¹⁰⁶ Galloway, *White people*, p.10.

¹⁰⁷ Colin G. Galloway, *White people, Indians, and Highlanders: tribal peoples and colonial encounters in Scotland and America* (Oxford, 2008), pp.3-6.

Despite the apparent proximity between many Scottish Highlanders and American Indian nations, their superficial similarities masked fundamental differences. Both were on the peripheries of the British empire, but only the latter experienced genocide. After 1707, Scottish colonists could freely engage with (and benefit from) the British imperial project in ways no Indigenous person possibly could. Though British commander John Forbes called both his Cherokee and Highlander soldiers ‘cousins’ in 1758, the latter would attack and burn the towns of the former a few years later.¹⁰⁸ Scotsmen on the colonial frontier had married Cherokee women at four times the English rate from c.1730 to 1760.¹⁰⁹ More still married into the Muscogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, and Chickasaw nations; some Muscogee and Seminole men even dressed like Highlanders.¹¹⁰ However, these colonial intermarriages were underwritten by colonial violence as much as those proposed by Englishmen such as Petty and Byrd. Whether Highlanders or Lowlanders, Scotsmen enforced patriarchal control of Indigenous women.¹¹¹ Like English colonists, Scotsmen intermarried in one direction only, imposing their settler masculinity upon Indigenous women. English colonists and Scottish Highlanders colonists may have remained distinct within the American colonies, but both groups constructed the same gender frontier.

4. Intermarriage and Sexualisation

The Scotsmen mentioned above were not the only British settlers who married into Indigenous nations. Throughout the period, settler-Indigenous intermarriage was floated as potential colonial policy, forming part of Britain’s wider imperial strategy. For example, in 1721 the Board of Trade advised the Crown to give ‘proper encouragement’ to Nova Scotia colonists who ‘intermarry with the native Indians’.¹¹² They cited the need to displace rival French colonists as the motive for this suggestion. As British colonial populations skewed heavily male, the demographic advantages of such proposals were self-evident. At least since Pocahontas’ visit to England a century earlier, the idea of

¹⁰⁸ Colin G. Galloway, ‘Have the Scotch no Claim upon the Cherokees?’ Scots, Indians and Scots Indians in the American South’ in *Global Migrations: The Scottish Diaspora since 1600*, ed. By Angela McCarthy and John MacKenzie (Edinburgh, 2016), pp.81-94 (p.81).

¹⁰⁹ That is, relative to England and Scotland’s respective populations. Galloway, *White people*, p.148.

¹¹⁰ Galloway, *White people*, pp.8-9.

¹¹¹ Galloway, ‘Have the Scotch no Claim’, pp.85-7.

¹¹² Calcaterra, ‘Locating American Indians’, p.23.

Englishmen marrying Indigenous women or finding them attractive was not unheard of. In 1713, Woodes Rogers described the women of Indigenous nations in Brazil as 'not ill-featur'd', and met an English logwood cutter (Thomas Falkner) who had married 'an Indian woman'.¹¹³ Such marriages took place across the British Atlantic. The will of Georgia colonist Thomas Spencer (d. 1764) listed his parents as John Spencer and 'Jane Miller, a Indian woman'.¹¹⁴ Discussions of intermarriage reinforced the inseparability of lands and nations in settler-Indigenous encounters. When colonists presented themselves as masculine patriarchs to feminine American lands, the latter image included 'sexually welcoming, yet innocent Indian women'.¹¹⁵

At the same time, sustained sexual or marital proximity to Indigenous women was more stigmatised than celebrated in the metropole: the word 'Indian' had too many pejorative connotations.¹¹⁶ Settler-Indigenous intermarriage was thus a site of gendered tension, created by Atlantic distance and the experience of the colonial gender frontier. British men settling on American land saw Indigenous women as sexual and marital opportunities, allowing them to exercise greater patriarchal control of settled land. Simultaneously, these men wanted to defend their colonial masculinity as (at least) equal to its metropolitan counterpart: proximity to Indigenous women threatened to destabilise that. These women in turn became objects of settlers' desire and disgust; 'arbiters of a gender structure war' which shaped colonial masculinity.¹¹⁷ They remain severely under-represented in studies of colonial America. The notable exceptions are those women who European colonists valued as brides or guides, such as Matoaka (Pocahontas) and Sacagawea.¹¹⁸ However, few of these individuals lived between 1660 and 1760, and Indigenous women are too often omitted from analyses of the wider British Atlantic.¹¹⁹ This analysis addresses that historical lacuna by exploring how

¹¹³ Manwaring (ed.), *Woodes Rogers*, p.41-3, p.244.

¹¹⁴ TNA, PROB 31/494/940, Estate of Thomas Spencer of Augusta Georgia, 07/11/1764.

¹¹⁵ Ditz, 'The New Men's History', p.18.

¹¹⁶ Godbeer, 'Eroticizing the Middle Ground', pp.92-5.

¹¹⁷ Pearsall, 'Women, Power, and Families', p.145; Barr, 'The Red Continent', p.526.

¹¹⁸ Nancy Shoemaker, 'Native-American Women in History', *OAH Magazine of History* (Summer 1995), 9:4, 10-14.

¹¹⁹ Pearsall, 'Women, Power, and Families', p.134 and p.145; Gretchen M. Bataille and Laurie Lisa, *Native American Women: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York, 2001).

Indigenous women created tension between metropolitan and colonial masculinities, contributing to the Atlantic distance which drove these identities apart.

The 1660s saw early discussions about settler-Indigenous intermarriage in Virginia and New England, England's best-established American colonies. Sir William Petty (1623-87) suggested that Virginian planters marry 'Indian girls of under 7 yeares old'.¹²⁰ As a Fellow of the Royal Society who had just produced England's first rigorous assessments of national income, Petty was not easily dismissed. Simultaneously, John Eliot tried to make 'all Indians... one English' nation in Massachusetts.¹²¹ His efforts at assimilating Indigenous nations included producing the Algonquin Bible mentioned above. However, few English colonists had heeded Petty's advice by 1700, and Eliot had admitted defeat in his own colonial project. This led Virginian planter Robert Beverley (1667-1722) to complain in his 1705 *History and Present State of Virginia* that

Intermarriage had been indeed the Method proposed very often by the Indians in the Beginning, urging... that the English were not their Friends, if they refused it. And I can't but think it wou'd have been happy for [Virginia] had they embraced this Proposal... the Abundance of Blood that was shed on both sides wou'd have been saved... the Colony, instead of all these Losses of Men... would have been increasing in Children to its Advantage.¹²²

Beverley framed intermarriage as both a pragmatic tool of demographic expansion and as a diplomatic measure to prevent conflict which Indigenous nations themselves suggested. However, pointing out these advantages did not mean Beverley was willing to lead by example. He had married Ursula Byrd, William Byrd II's sister, in 1697. The enslavement of Indigenous people practiced in the earlier phases of English colonisation likely dissuaded many colonists from seeing Indigenous women as suitable brides. By 1708, there were still five enslaved Indigenous women in Carolina

¹²⁰ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.102.

¹²¹ David J. Silverman, *Red Brethren: The Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians and the Problem of Race in Early America* (Ithaca NY, 2010), pp.11-13; Powicke (ed.), *The Reverend John Eliot*, pp.6-7 and p.23.

¹²² Beverley, *History and Present State*, pp.25-6.

for every twelve enslaved Africans.¹²³ Women remained central to this dynamic (see chapter five), and the bodies of non-European women remained (in the words of Jennifer Morgan) 'inseparable from the landscape of colonial slavery'.¹²⁴ Colonists who did not explicitly endorse intermarriage as openly as Beverley still framed the reproductive capacities of Indigenous women as part of the colonial landscape.¹²⁵ Woodes Rogers wrote that

Brazilian Women... have easy Labour, retire to the Woods where they bring forth alone, and return after washing themselves and their Child.¹²⁶

Byrd boasted in his letters to England that Indigenous women could 'leave all to the midwifery of nature'.¹²⁷ Just as Colden boasted of having settled a wilderness, he claimed that Haudenosaunee women could 'bring forth their Children with as much Ease as *other Animals*' (my italics).¹²⁸ Likening these women to 'other Animals' further tied them to their lands and framed them as a resource capable of enriching male colonists.

Intermarriage could be framed as a colonial duty - a way to assimilate Indigenous populations - while also allowing male settlers to satisfy their personal, individual desires. John Lawson's discussions of Indigenous women in his *Voyage* provide a detailed example of how this balance was managed. Firstly, Lawson never explicitly told British men to marry or have sex with Indigenous women. Instead, he frequently referred to other men doing so and framed this positively. For example, Lawson described Sewee women as ideal sexual companions, being 'of that tender Composition, as if they were design'd rather for the Bed then Bondage'.¹²⁹ He assured metropolitan readers that any Englishman could take 'an Indian Female for his Bed-fellow'. It was therefore little wonder that Lawson also claimed to have met Englishmen

¹²³ Morgan, *Laboring Women*, pp.37-39.

¹²⁴ Morgan, *Laboring Women*, p.3.

¹²⁵ Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, pp.46-7.

¹²⁶ Manwaring (ed.), *Woodes Rogers*, pp.41-3.

¹²⁷ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.356-8.

¹²⁸ Lawson, *Voyage*, pp.189-90.

¹²⁹ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.79.

in Carolina who had become 'accustom'd to the Conversation of... savage Women'.¹³⁰ He also repeated an existing adage that one night in bed with a foreign bride taught a man more language than a week in school. Again, Lawson cited an anonymous example - an Englishman who learned the Congeree language from 'Intrigues with the Indian Lasses'. To a metropolitan reader of the *Voyage* in 1708, Lawson's description of distant Carolina included the free availability of Indigenous women for sexual gratification.

Beyond Englishmen's desire for sexual 'conversation', Lawson did not hide the potential long-term implications of these cross-cultural relationships. By learning a language like Congeree (supposedly through an intimate relationship), settlers could use women to become 'Indian traders': 'Such a Man gets a great Trade with the Savages'.¹³¹ Furthermore, Lawson noted that some such men became 'so allur'd with... their Indian Wife and her Relations' that they left settler society behind altogether. Explicitly recommending such actions to metropolitan readers would have provoked unwelcome controversy, and Lawson's goal was to attract as many potential settlers as possible. Instead, Lawson framed the idea of marrying Sewee or Congeree women in terms of anonymity and deniability. He repeatedly reminded metropolitan readers that Indigenous women were sexually attractive and made advantageous matches.

Lawson wanted to entice women to settle in Carolina as well as men, and celebrated those who had as 'the most industrious Sex in that Place'.¹³² However, his description of these women relative to their Indigenous counterparts in Carolina shows how life on the colonial frontier shaped Lawson's masculine perspective:

[Settler women] are often very fair, and generally as well featur[e]d, as you will see anywhere... have very brisk charming Eyes, which sets them off to Advantage.¹³³

¹³⁰ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.185.

¹³¹ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.79.

¹³² Lawson, *Voyage*, pp.84-5.

¹³³ Lawson, *Voyage*, pp.84-5.

[Indigenous women are] as fine-shap'd Creatures... as any in the Universe... their Eyes very brisk and amorous; their Smiles afford the finest Composure a Face can possess; their Hands are of the finest Make, with small long Fingers, and as soft as their Cheeks; and their whole Bodies of a smooth Nature.¹³⁴

Though Lawson claimed Carolina's settler women were 'very fair' and possessed 'charming Eyes', he described Indigenous women with far more detail and superlatives. When Lawson met Congeree women, he likewise described them as 'a very comely Sort of Indians... fine-finger'd Brounetto's... as handsome as [-] I have met'.¹³⁵ His descriptive gaze framed the bodies of these unnamed women for (implicitly male) metropolitan readers. Women who migrated to Carolina were praised, but they were not framed in such detail as sexual objects to entice new male settlers. Lawson's tactile description of the hands of Indigenous women, describing their bodies as 'soft' and 'smooth', invited his readers to imagine how he knew this. Lawson acknowledged the negative perceptions of Indigenous women which existed in Britain, countering that 'they are not so uncouth or unlikely, *as we suppose them*; nor are they Strangers or not Proficients in the soft Passion' (my italics).¹³⁶ The overriding effect of these descriptions was to reassure male readers of the *Voyage* in England that Indigenous women *were* valid objects of sexual desire. Moreover, they were sexually 'proficient'. Nameless and passive, these women acted as a feminine synecdoche for the New World as a whole: the New World Lawson was selling to would-be colonists.

All Lawson's anonymous examples may have provided cover for his own actions. One anecdote later in the *Voyage* referred to a 'European Man' who 'had a Child or two by... his Indian Mistress'.¹³⁷ Despite marrying a 'Christian' woman, the man later returned to his mistress' bed. Lawson had married Englishwoman Hannah Smith in Carolina *after* he had spent 1700-1 travelling among the Sewee and Tuscarora, years before he wrote

¹³⁴ Lawson, *Voyage*, pp.183-4.

¹³⁵ Lawson, *Voyage*, pp.29-30.

¹³⁶ Lawson, *Voyage*, pp.183-4.

¹³⁷ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.188.

his *Voyage*.¹³⁸ Lawson's European travel companion noted that he was accompanied up the Santee River by three unspecified 'Indian' men and one 'Indian' woman.¹³⁹ If this anecdote did in fact refer to Lawson, this unnamed woman could well have been the said 'mistress'.

This is reinforced by comparing Lawson to Thomas Nairne, his Scottish contemporary and Carolina's first appointed 'Indian agent'. Nairne had a wife (Elizabeth Quintyne) and son in Carolina by 1700. However, he concluded after a 1707-8 expedition to the Tallapoosa and Chickasaw nations that it was 'the easiest thing... to procure kindred among the Indians'.¹⁴⁰ Like Lawson, Nairne thought intermarriage was a great tactic for traders like himself. His reference to 'procuring kindred' also spoke to the opportunity such marriages offered to men looking to become patriarchs of a household. Nairne died at the onset of the Yamasee War in 1715, just as Lawson had at the onset of the Tuscarora War in 1711. Though few details survive from Nairne's life, his Scottishness again appears to have made little difference to his encounters with Indigenous women.

Lawson's promises of an 'Indian-Trade... carried on to great profit' did not come true for all British men who married Indigenous women.¹⁴¹ One Englishman who married a Seminole woman later complained that she drained him of possessions, distributing them to her kin and leaving him 'poor, emaciated, and half-distracted'.¹⁴² Furthermore, Indigenous women determined where and how their offspring lived, undermining British men's claim to patriarchal authority. Many American Indian nations encountered by British colonists were matrilineal: as Lawson put it, 'the Children go along with the Mother'.¹⁴³ There were no shortcuts for newly arrived men looking to exploit this frontier society, as Duncan Campbell discovered in the 1720s. He was 'att a loss' to trade in

¹³⁸ William S. Powell, 'John Lawson, 1674-1711', *Documenting the American South* <<https://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/lawson/bio.html>> [accessed 02/07/2020].

¹³⁹ *Baron Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern*, ed. by Vincent H. Todd and trans. by Julius Goebel <<https://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/graffenried/graffenried.html>> [accessed 12/09/2019].

¹⁴⁰ Michael Morris, 'Nairne, Thomas', *South Carolina Encyclopedia* <www.sccyclopedia.org/sce/entries/nairne-thomas> [accessed 10/07/2020]; Calloway, 'Have the Scotch no Claim', p.85.

¹⁴¹ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.86.

¹⁴² Godbeer, 'Eroticizing the Middle Ground', pp.102-3.

¹⁴³ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.185.

'Indians Cuntry... not being acquainted with the[ir] trade.'¹⁴⁴ Though Indigenous wives helped men secure valuable trade, these women might raise any resulting children outside British patriarchal control.

On these points, William Byrd II's *History of the Dividing Line* provides an illuminating comparison. This text, written in the 1730s, was also intended for a metropolitan audience but was never published. Like Nairne, Byrd had been appointed an 'Indian agent' (by Virginia), and his father was known for his expertise in this regard.¹⁴⁵ He went further than Lawson in describing Indigenous women. While Lawson used anonymity and implication, Byrd more openly recommended Indigenous women as attractive alternatives to English women altogether. While Lawson's main experience was with the Congeree, Sewee, and Tuscarora nations, Byrd's diaries show that he was familiar with the Nottoway and Saponi.¹⁴⁶ He explained his belief that the best approach for Britain to take with these nations was

to intermarry with them, according to the modern policy of the most Christian king in Canada and Louisiana. Had the English done this at the first settlement of the colony... their copper-coloured complexion would admit of blanching... the Indian women would have made altogether as honest wives for the first planters...¹⁴⁷

Byrd referred to the French colonial use of intermarriage to galvanise readers. In this framing, intermarriage was a colonial masculine duty required of imperial subjects. He made similar claims to Beverley a generation earlier, and further believed that the descendants of settler-Indigenous unions would be 'wash't white'.¹⁴⁸ Byrd believed that Indigenous nations could be bred out of existence, and was not shy about the sexual desire underlying his recommendations:

¹⁴⁴ NAS, RH15/69/10, Letterbook containing copies of letters... from New York, and Kingston, Jamaica, 1726-1730.

¹⁴⁵ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.113.

¹⁴⁶ Calcaterra, 'Locating American Indians', p.249.

¹⁴⁷ Ruffin, *Westover Manuscripts*, p.37.

¹⁴⁸ Berland, *Dividing Line*, p.7 and p.130; Godbeer, 'Eroticizing the Middle Ground', pp.94-7.

It is strange... that any good Christian should have refused a wholesome, straight bed-fellow, when he might have had so fair a portion with her, as the merit of saving her soul.¹⁴⁹

Framing the sexual desire for Indigenous women as a way to 'reclaim' Indigenous women from 'barbarity', Byrd wanted to quite literally father an increasingly white colony. In his *History*, American colonies offered men the chance to indulge their masculine virility in ways which earned them patriarchal authority and supported British imperialism.

Like Lawson, Byrd was aware that some Englishmen might 'require... a very strong appetite' to approach Indigenous women. He thus suggested that 'a little less dirt would not fail to make them desirable'. Later in his *History*, Byrd described four 'young ladies of the first quality' among the Saponi nation.¹⁵⁰ With their greater 'air of cleanliness', Byrd felt less able to resist the 'charms' of these 'copper-coloured beauties'. Shortly before the expedition, Byrd had also boasted in a letter that Virginian water (in place of alcohol) was good enough to toast the colony's 'copper beautys'.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, he complimented the 'very strait and well proportioned... shapes' of Nottoway 'ladies... in all their finery'.¹⁵² He described how their match coats exposed 'mahogany skins': they were 'Mehogany Skin[ned]... Bed-Fellows'.¹⁵³ Byrd's use of copper and mahogany likened these women's bodies to valuable natural resources, the latter extracted specifically from the New World. He wrote at a time when mahogany furniture was just becoming a recognised colonial commodity among Britain's metropolitan and colonial elites.¹⁵⁴ His comment on Virginian water further framed these feminine 'beauties' as part of the colonised American landscape. To Byrd, Saponi and Nottoway women were valuable products of New World forests as much as the minerals he sought after in Eden.

¹⁴⁹ Ruffin, *Westover Manuscripts*, 37.

¹⁵⁰ Ruffin, *Westover Manuscripts*, p.88.

¹⁵¹ Letter from WBII to Charles Boyle (Virginia to England), 02/02/1727 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.356-8.

¹⁵² Ruffin (ed.), *Westover Manuscripts*, p.35.

¹⁵³ Ruffin (ed.), *Westover Manuscripts*, p.35.

¹⁵⁴ Anderson, 'Nature's Currency', pp.47-9.

Byrd continued to frame Indigenous women and their sexuality in terms of material exchange throughout his *History*. When Byrd refused Nottoway women's silkgrass baskets in his *History*, he did so with a warning that 'an Indian present [is] a bribe placed to the greatest advantage.'¹⁵⁵ He explained that these women's 'amours' were material exchanges, and claimed that they 'seldom bestow their favours out of stark love and kindness'. Even so, Byrd did not claim these exchanges were undesirable. He later noted that the 'price' Saponi women set upon their charms' was not 'exorbitant': he was tempted by 'a princess for a pair of red stockings.'¹⁵⁶ While Byrd implied that he resisted the 'charms' of Nottoway and Saponi women, his descriptions served to minimise their sexual agency and capacity for 'love and kindness'. Indigenous women had no complex emotions or romantic feelings in Byrd's *History*. He reduced their sexuality to an image of sexual availability and prostitution.

Byrd's repeated references to "wives" and "marriage" belied the degree of gendered violence taking place in sexual interactions between male colonists and Indigenous women. In 1729, Byrd had criticised one English schoolmaster who educated young Saponi girls, saying the man was 'far too fond of mixing Pleasure with instruction'.¹⁵⁷ However, Byrd's "intermarriage" proposals also entailed committing sexual violence against these women and framing it as a colonial duty. Both he and Lawson frequently used the word 'squaw' in their writing, a dehumanising term which reflected the sexual aggression of male colonists. Derived from a misunderstood fragment of *otsikwaw* (the Mohawk word for the vulva), this word encapsulated 'what [colonists] wanted from Mohawk women'.¹⁵⁸ It remains a potent ethnic slur used against American Indian women to this day.¹⁵⁹

An incident in Byrd's *History* clearly outlines the embedding of sexual violence in colonists' language and treatment of Indigenous women. Byrd mentioned some of his

¹⁵⁵ Ruffin (ed.), *Westover Manuscripts*, pp.35-7.

¹⁵⁶ Ruffin (ed.), *Westover Manuscripts*, p.88.

¹⁵⁷ Calcaterra, 'Locating American Indians', p.246.

¹⁵⁸ Tuihawai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, p.8; Southern California Chapter, 'SQUAW - Facts on the Eradication of the "S" Word', *American Indian Movement* <<http://home.earthlink.net/~rosebud9/#squaw>> [accessed 20/04/2020].

¹⁵⁹ Burkeman, Oliver, 'How political correctness let loose the moose', *The Guardian*, 22/02/2002 <www.theguardian.com/world/2002/feb/22/usa.oliverburkeman> [accessed 25/02/2020].

'fellow travellers' breeches being stained red. A coating of *pochoon* dye from the skin of Nottoway women had rubbed off on them.¹⁶⁰ Superficially, this was a joke and innuendo: these Englishmen had been caught *in flagrante*, red-"handed". However, these red stains also evoked blood; a man's groin covered in blood implied violent sexual assault. In the *History*, Byrd refrained from including his own presence in these actions. However, Byrd achieved a similar effect to Lawson when he commented on Nottoway women's use of bear grease: it 'makes their skins soft'.¹⁶¹ Both men suggested they had touched these women, inviting readers to imagine the same.

Byrd's diary for 1711 shows that he had previously indulged the desires later alluded to in his *History*. As commander of the Henrico County militia, he 'played the wag [with]... some Indian girls' one morning, seeing them again the next day and 'kiss[ing] them without proceeding any further'.¹⁶² The next night, 'Jenny, an Indian girl... got drunk and made us good sport'. The 'us' implied that other men shared in Byrd's exercise of masculine sexual control over the inebriated Jenny. Like Lawson, Byrd may have used some level of anonymity in his *History* to mask his desires and actions in this regard. In the *Secret History* (an unpublished version of the *History* circulated among Byrd's friends), Byrd described how William Dandridge went 'hunting after' Nottoway women:

Curiosity made him try the difference between them and other women.¹⁶³

Dandridge was the fellow surveyor whom Byrd admired most. He may have displaced his own desire onto Dandridge here: he certainly understood Dandridge's desire. In the more refined *History*, Byrd distanced himself from his 'fellow travellers', taking care to affect a more restrained, genteel masculinity before a more public readership. Those men had been stained by their sexual contact with Indigenous women; "stained" them with "red" racial connotations. Rationalising his desire as a colonial strategy can thus be seen as Byrd's attempt to indulge his sexuality while keeping his masculinity free of

¹⁶⁰ Ruffin, *Westover Manuscripts*, p.37. Lawson also mentioned the Tuscarora using 'Pecoon-Root... of a Crimson Colour' in his *Voyage*, p.172.

¹⁶¹ Siebert, 'Histories of the Line', p.537.

¹⁶² Cited in Godbeer, 'Eroticizing the Middle Ground', p.97; Brown, *Good Wives*, p.331.

¹⁶³ Berland, *Dividing Line*, pp.47-8.

“red stains”. Byrd described the blue peak (shells) in these Nottoway women’s hair as more valuable for its scarcity, like an ‘Ethiopian mistress[-] in France’.¹⁶⁴ By comparing Nottoway women to mistresses in the French court, Byrd used them to display his status as a wealthy colonial patriarch. As with his descriptions of Virginian foods, Byrd presented his colonial masculinity as distinct from (but equal to the refinement of) its metropolitan counterpart.

5. Indigenous Men and British Women

Indigenous men were not absent from the construction of the colonial gender frontier. Had the widespread settler-Indigenous intermarriage proposed by Petty and Byrd transpired, these male settlers would have replaced Indigenous men as husbands and fathers. To claim ownership of American lands and patriarchal control of Indigenous women, British colonists had to erase and supplant the masculinity of Indigenous men. Doing so forced them to engage with and react to these non-European masculinities. Over time, this led colonists to emphasise different aspects of masculine identity than their metropolitan counterparts. These went beyond Byrd’s appropriation of ‘Indian’ identity and the colonial masculine emphasis on agricultural prowess. Settlers framed Indigenous men alternatively as violent, impulsive, and childlike. They were alternately emasculated or found guilty of hypermasculine excesses. Complimentary descriptions in line with tropes of the ‘noble savage’ were used to attack metropolitan men as lesser.

In his *Voyage*, John Lawson weaved the emasculation of Indigenous men into his sexualising descriptions of Indigenous women:

the Indian Men are not so vigorous and impatient in their Love as we are. Yet the Women are quite contrary, and those Indian Girls that have convers'd with the English and other Europeans, never care for the Conversation of their own Countrymen afterwards.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Ruffin (ed.), *Westover Manuscripts*, p.35.

¹⁶⁵ See Chapter III for John Cremer and Ned Ward’s use of ‘conversation’. Lawson, *Voyage*, p.186.

In one sense, a 'less vigorous and impatient' masculine sexuality aligned with English ideals of masculine restraint and self-control. However, Lawson immediately concluded that 'Indian Girls' found the sexual 'conversation' of male settlers superior. He thus used Indigenous men as a foil for English masculine sexuality. Lawson did complain in his *Voyage* that some European men settling in Carolina were 'very negligent'.¹⁶⁶ Lulled into 'an easy Way of living', they failed to take patriarchal control of the feminine Carolina's 'sweet embraces' and 'sweet... beauty'.¹⁶⁷ While Englishmen were not supposed to be sexually 'impatient', Lawson's juxtaposition above left Indigenous men emasculated by comparison. This framing elevated the sexual basis of colonial masculinity, and minimised the sexual violence implicit in Lawson's account. It further justified his claims that Indigenous women were sexually submissive and available.

Lawson's discussion of 'trading girls' reinforced the idea that Indigenous men were inevitably cuckolded by their European counterparts. These women were an established part of many Indigenous nations' diplomatic practices. Sexual companionship was used to form part of alliance negotiations and other exchanges. To Lawson, 'Trading Girls' simply 'design'd to get Money by their Natural Parts'. This made them prostitutes, and the ruler of each nation (who instructed these women) became the 'Principal Bawd of [his] Nation'.¹⁶⁸ 'Trading girls' were often a headman's daughters, which Lawson saw as a patriarch failing to control the sexuality of women beneath him.

In contrast to Lawson's narrative, Indigenous men of all nations frequently complained about settler men assaulting their womenfolk. The Choctaw, Muskogee, Natchez, and Cherokee warned 'strolling white people' against 'debauching their wives'.¹⁶⁹ Writing to Byrd in 1715, Virginian 'Indian trader' David Crawley highlighted such actions as a cause of the Yamasee War. Crawley had taken members of tributary nations west to establish trade with the Tuscarora in 1713. Byrd helped Crawley present his report to the Board of Trade in 1715, in which he described how Carolinian traders would

¹⁶⁶ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.83.

¹⁶⁷ McGill, "'The Most Industrious Sex'", pp.280-2.

¹⁶⁸ Lawson, *Voyage*, pp.183-4.

¹⁶⁹ Godbeer, 'Eroticizing the Middle Ground', pp.100-1.

take what they pleas[e]d without leave... brag to each other of debauching [Tuscarora] wives, sumtime forc[ing] them and once see[ing] it my self... Of these abuses [I] have seen many.¹⁷⁰

Despite the conflict this sexual violence provoked, there is little sign it abated. Byrd's *History* (with all the sexualised depictions of Indigenous women therein) was written years after Crawley's account. In 1742, Cadwallader Colden wrote to Peter Collinson complaining that 'Indian Traders [were] not in the least ashamed' of doing anything to preserve their 'present profit'.¹⁷¹ By contrast, men in metropolitan Britain could not sexually assault women en masse as their colonial counterparts did with Indigenous women: not without serious consequences and censure. Accounts such as Lawson's *Voyage* framed individual, sanitised instances of sexual intimacy as a point of pride for colonial men.

Gendered violence and insults formed a key part of the gender frontier between American Indian and British men. Some pressure came from Indigenous men who, in the words of Nancy Shoemaker, 'challenged Europeans to develop new concepts of manly ideals'.¹⁷² The Haudenosaunee and Cherokee were Britain's most significant allies in the northern and southern colonies respectively: both groups questioned settler masculinities. Living among the Cherokee during the 1730s and 1740s, colonist James Adair (1709-1783) noted that alliances with Indigenous warriors could backfire this way. British men getting Indigenous men to fight for them made the settlers look less manly;

Our passive conduct... causes them to entertain a very mean opinion of our martial abilities.¹⁷³

Accusations of effeminacy and cuckoldry became part of British-Indigenous diplomatic relations throughout the period. Gendered insults were not new to Indigenous nations,

¹⁷⁰ Letter from David Crawley and WBII, 30/07/1715 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.289-90.

¹⁷¹ Letter from Cadwallader Colden to Peter Collinson, May 1742.

¹⁷² Nancy Shoemaker, 'An Alliance between Men: Gender Metaphors in Eighteenth-Century American Indian Diplomacy East of the Mississippi', *Ethnohistory*, 46:2 (Spring 1999), 239-263 (p.249).

¹⁷³ Shoemaker, 'An Alliance between Men', pp.246-8.

but they also used them knowing that settlers would understand them. During the Seven Years' War, Muskogee men insulted their Cherokee counterparts by undermining their masculinity, calling them 'boys and old women'.¹⁷⁴ Likewise, one Haudenosaunee man told a Virginian trader that the Cherokee were 'but old women', and that he would 'take their Wives before their Face'. This shared understanding was used to appeal to colonists' patriarchal mindsets. For example, in 1742 the Onondaga spokesman Canassatego (c.1684-1750) used emasculating insults against the Lenni Lenape during a treaty negotiation:

We conquered you, we made Women of you, you know you are Women... Lewd Women [who] receive the Embraces of Bad Men... take the Advice of a Wise Man and remove immediately... you can no more sell Land than Women [can], nor is it fit you should have the Power of selling Lands...¹⁷⁵

During these negotiations, Canassatego signed away Lenape land to Pennsylvania Governor Thomas Penn (1702-1775). The latter part of Canassatego's statement tied masculinity to sovereignty and political authority. The supposed effeminacy of Lenape men invalidated their claims to land; Canassatego felt able to sign it away. Though Indigenous nations shared no single masculinity, this exchange shows how aspects of masculinity understood across cultures further dispossessed Indigenous nations like the Lenape of their lands. These interactions did not introduce new ideas to colonial men, but they did reinforce the need to avoid passivity and emphasise (in Adair's words) 'martial conduct'.

In many cases, settlers used Indigenous men's insistence on martial prowess as a tool against them. Their supposed obsession with war became a hypermasculine excess of violence, which in turn undermined Indigenous accusations of European passivity and effeminacy. Colden depicted Haudenosaunee men as savage and violent above all

¹⁷⁴ Boulware, "'We are men'", pp.54-5.

¹⁷⁵ Fur, 'Weibe-Town', pp.39-41; Susan Kalter (ed.), *Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania, and the first nations: the treaties of 1736-62* (Urbana IL, 2006), p.80.

else in his *History of the Five Nations*: 'War is their delight'.¹⁷⁶ Lavishly describing accounts of cannibalism and burning prisoners, Colden wrote that such martial 'cruelty... sull[ied] any good quality' these men might have. His words had a far-reaching impact; his *History* was seen by colonists as definitive for at least several decades. Byrd described young Nottoway men as painted in a 'hideous manner' and engaging in 'sundry war dances' in his *History*.¹⁷⁷ Even martial proficiency could thus display a supposed lack of Indigenous masculine restraint and rationality. Eliza Lucas described the Cherokee as 'Barbarians', and did so with an awareness of the wider British Atlantic world.¹⁷⁸ When English acquaintance Mrs King sent gifts across the Atlantic for Lucas' daughter, their worth was likened to a sought-after 'peace with the Cherokees... these Barbarians'. Dehumanising Indigenous men this way reframed their 'apparent excess of masculinity' as a lack of civilised, British masculine behaviour.¹⁷⁹

Another more subtle way in which Indigenous masculinity was discredited (in comparison to colonial masculinity) was through sexualisation. Indigenous men could be framed in terms parallel to the descriptions of Indigenous women above. In his *Voyage*, Lawson described the 'full and manly' bodies of Tuscarora men, his gaze moving from their eyes down to their legs and genitals. Their vision was keen, their gait 'sedate and majestick... dexterous and steady' on the 'handsomest legs': 'the Head of the Penis is cover'd'.¹⁸⁰ Though Lawson devoted far more words to the bodies of Tuscarora women, he nonetheless invited metropolitan readers to imagine the bodies of 'bashful' Indigenous men in detail.¹⁸¹ If not overtly eroticised, these men were at least depicted as physically exemplary objects. The similarity of how Indigenous men and women were described potentially made the two seem more similar; the former seem less masculine. In this sense, Lawson's sexualisation of Indigenous women bled into his near-sexual objectification of Indigenous men. These processes were linked, and appeared in accounts besides Lawson's. Describing Haudenosaunee men in 1721,

¹⁷⁶ Cadwallader Colden, 'Account of the Conference between Governor Burnet and the Five Nations, 1721' in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*.

¹⁷⁷ Ruffin (ed.), *Westover Manuscripts*, p.35.

¹⁷⁸ Pinckney (ed.), *Letterbook*, p.155.

¹⁷⁹ Shoemaker, 'An Alliance between Men', p.249.

¹⁸⁰ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.173.

¹⁸¹ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.85.

Colden also claimed to be 'Extreamly pleased with [their] large well shaped bodys & [-] goodly countenances'.¹⁸²

Across these encounters, the sexualisation of Indigenous men by British men presents the potential for homosexual desire. European settlers would condemn evidence of transgressing heterosexual norms, hence no written accounts openly discussed this. For example, Byrd's extensive discussions of Indigenous women, men, and sexual behaviour never reference homosexuality. Only one brief joke in Byrd's extensive personal library mentions 'sodomy' at all.¹⁸³ Lawson only mentioned this once in his *Voyage*:

Sodomy is never heard of amongst them [Indigenous nations], and they are so far from the Practice of that beastly and loathsome Sin, that they have no Name for it...¹⁸⁴

This was either a lie or (more likely) a misunderstanding on Lawson's part. A growing body of work instead shows that European ideas of (and insistence on) heterosexuality were not universal among Indigenous nations.¹⁸⁵ For example, the Ojibwe nation included individuals assigned male at birth who became *ikwekaazo*: 'one who endeavours to be like a woman'. Thomas Foster has called the policing of 'sodomy' and such alternative gender structures by men like Lawson a principal 'tool of the colonial project'.¹⁸⁶ The gender-transgressing life of Thomas/ina Hall in Virginia (see chapter two) showed that colonists themselves did not always conform to European norms of gender and sexuality.¹⁸⁷ Beyond an individual level, there is little evidence

¹⁸² Colden, 'Account of the Conference'.

¹⁸³ Berland, 'William Byrd's Sexual Lexicography', pp.2-5.

¹⁸⁴ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.186.

¹⁸⁵ For an overview of this field and some key works, see Lester B. Brown (ed.), *Two Spirit People: American Indian, Lesbian Women and Gay Men* (New York, 1997); Margaret Robinson, 'Two-Spirit Identity in a Time of Gender Fluidity' (2019), 1-16; Scott Lauria Morgensen, 'Theorising Gender, Sexuality and Settler Colonialism: An Introduction' in *Settler Colonial Studies*, 2:2 (2012), 2-22; Kane, 'Masculinity and political geographies', pp.596-8.

¹⁸⁶ Thomas A. Foster, 'Introduction: Long Before Stonewall' in *Long before Stonewall: Histories of Same-sex Sexuality in Early America*, ed. by Thomas A. Foster (New York, 2007), pp.1-18 (pp.3-5).

¹⁸⁷ 'Life Story: Thomas(ine) Hall - Gender Non-conforming in Colonial Virginia', *New York Historical Society* <<https://wams.nyhistory.org/early-encounters/english-colonies/thomas-ine-hall>> [accessed 02/05/2021].

that colonists more widely changed their approach to gender and sexuality based on Indigenous interactions.

Though they would not readily admit it, colonists could be forced to recognise the limits of their masculine authority by encounters with Indigenous masculinities. William Dunlop's experience with the Yamasee federation in Carolina demonstrates this, and reinforces how Scottishness scarcely affected settler-Indigenous interactions. Dunlop's time spent on the colonial frontier has been discussed in recent work, but not with regard to gender or personal identity.¹⁸⁸ Writing from Stuartstown in 1685, he claimed that the Yamasee were 'desyrous of trade' and 'Inveterat enemies' of the Spanish.¹⁸⁹ Assuming this made the Yamasee and Scottish colonists allies, Dunlop armed the Yamasee cacique (chief) Altamaha and forty of his men.¹⁹⁰ Altamaha's men then raided nearby Spanish and Spanish-allied Timucua towns, endangering Stuartstown and (by extension) the whole colony of Carolina. English 'Indian traders' were therefore 'little concern[ed]' when Dunlop's 'unadvised project' was destroyed by Spain.¹⁹¹

Dunlop tried to order Yamasee men to commit further violence on a mission for the Governor of Carolina, but he again miscalculated. When he demanded that Matamaha (another Yamasee cacique) and his men attack a Spanish fort, Dunlop found 'none of them willing... thoe I offered to reward them richly'.¹⁹² Matamaha was quoted in Dunlop's account: 'He told me plainly... he wold not goe kill Spaniards'. Dunlop misjudged Yamasee men. Unable to harness their martial masculinity to reinforce his own, Dunlop shows how not all colonists succeeded in exploiting Indigenous masculinities. In this example, the colonial gender frontier rebuffed Dunlop, who concluded soon after returning from this mission that he should return to Scotland.

¹⁸⁸ Timothy Paul Grady, *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in Colonial South-East America, 1650–1725* (London, 2010); Dubcovsky, *Informed Power*.

¹⁸⁹ NLS, MS.9250/16-7.

¹⁹⁰ Amy Turner Bushnell, 'Living at Liberty: The Ungovernable Yamasees of Spanish Florida' in *The Yamasee Indians: From Florida to South Carolina*, ed. by Denise I. Bossy (Lincoln NE, 2018), 27-54 (pp.36-7); Insh, 'The "Carolina Merchant"', p.106; Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, p.209; Grady, *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry*, p.63.

¹⁹¹ Grady, *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry*, pp.58-63.

¹⁹² J. G. Dunlop, 'Capt. Dunlop's Voyage to the Southward. 1687', *SCHM*, 30:3 (July 1929), 127-133 (p.134, p.145).

So far, this analysis has focused entirely on British men. All the accounts cited above were profoundly one-way in their sexualisation of Indigenous people. Byrd and Lawson sexualised Indigenous women and recommended them to British men, but they never suggested that British women should desire Indigenous men. This imbalance stemmed both from Britain's patriarchal norms and the uneven gender division of settler society. Not only did men outnumber women in Britain's Atlantic colonies, but they were less mobile within those colonies. Settler women were central to the consolidation and expansion of colonial settlements, forging the domestic fabric of settler towns. They anchored colonial settlements, and co-constructed gender hegemony through their performance of marital and maternal roles (both of which settler-Indigenous intermarriage threatened to undermine). In contrast, all the officials, traders, planters and surveyors who went on expeditions into "Indian country" such as Byrd, Colden, and Lawson were male. When British women did interact with or write about Indigenous men, they were rarely complimentary. In 1704, Connecticut settler Sarah Kemble Knight wrote about 'the most savage of all the savages... that I had ever Seen'. She further complained that such men

marry many wives and... on ye least dislike or fickle humour, on either side, saying stand away to one another is a sufficient Divorce.¹⁹³

While Knight criticised Indigenous men for polygamy, she also attributed 'fickleness' to Indigenous women with the phrase 'on either side'. Crucially, Knight perceived such permissive attitudes to marriage diffusing into the colonial population. These ideas were supposedly

too much in Vougue among the English in this Indulgent Colony... [not] proper to be Related by a Female pen, tho some of that foolish sex have had too large a share in the story.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Ann M. Brunjes, 'Imposing Order: Sarah Kemble Knight's Journal and the Anglo-American Empire' in *Women's Narratives of the Early Americas and the Formation of Empire*, ed. by Mary M. Balkun and Susan C. Imbarrato (Basingstoke, 2016), pp.63-75 (pp.68-9).

¹⁹⁴ Brunjes, 'Imposing Order', p.70.

Knight shamed 'that foolish sex' for sexual promiscuity and elevated her own virtue by being too 'proper' to discuss it further. She asserted her own feminine worth over other female colonists who she saw as corrupted by the New World. Knight's comments seem to be a critique of colonial feminine chastity more than a record of British women approaching Indigenous men. Like Eliza Lucas, many of these women appear to have internalised depictions of Indigenous men as violent and 'barbarous'. When Abenaki pirates who had seized New England shipping were captured alive, local women 'set upon & killed them', decapitating the Indigenous mariners. They did not believe that male magistrates would sufficiently defend them.¹⁹⁵ These examples suggest that the presence of Indigenous men may have made settler women more willing to be violent, or (in Knight's case) to stress their feminine refinement. However, the reduced range of written sources makes such effects of the colonial gender frontier on British women harder to confirm.

One point on which colonial femininities can be seen reacting to Indigenous encounters was food. All colonists were concerned with food, worrying that "Indian" foods 'would physically alter their bodies'.¹⁹⁶ New arrivals encountered unfamiliar smells and tastes, their reactions reflecting their adoption (or rejection) of colonial identity.¹⁹⁷ In 1688, Jamaican colonists imported a quarter of their food from Europe and sourced the rest locally, including items like turtle meat unknown in the metropole.¹⁹⁸ Settlers wanted food which was both nutritious and which reflected their identities. The legacy of competing settler and Indigenous foodways continues to this day, manifested in systemic dietary issues across many American Indian nations.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Emily Romeo, 'An Almost Inconceivable Foe: Anglo-American Women and Violence against Colonial Authority in Seventeenth-Century New England', *Journal of Women's History*, 31:2 (Summer 2019), 80-100 (pp.88-9).

¹⁹⁶ Sellers, 'Mindful of their Bellies', p.20.

¹⁹⁷ Walden, "'The Bounty of Providence'", p.36; Shields, 'The Atlantic World', pp.130-1.

¹⁹⁸ Draper, 'Timbering and Turtling', pp.786-7.

¹⁹⁹ Medical researchers are increasingly turning to this historic clash and the epigenetics of trauma to understand the high rates of obesity and diabetes in the present-day Indigenous population of America. Cevalasco, 'Hunger Knowledges', p.278 n.77.

To all British colonists, hunger was so unusual that it 'demanded description'.²⁰⁰ In comparison, Indigenous nations had an abundance of what Carla Cevasco calls 'hunger knowledge': a cultural expectation of (and ways of coping with) hungry times.²⁰¹ For this reason, a lost Seneca girl was able to scavenge and forage for weeks in 1763. The same year, Englishman Isaac Hollister escaped Seneca captivity and nearly starved before resorting to cannibalism. In the metropole, food shortages reflected social disorder; hunger was 'antithetical to Englishness'.²⁰² These ideas no doubt reinforced the colonial masculine obsession with agriculture and making American lands "productive". Many women in Britain's colonies went hungry or disliked what food was available there. In 1704, Sarah Kemble Knight vomited a meal she disliked onto her unfortunate host; Mary Stafford complained in 1711 that she had 'known the want of many a meal'.²⁰³ The colonial diet of maize and salt beef in Charleston surprised Stafford, who wrote to relatives that 'you meet not with [this] in England'. British colonists and many Indigenous cultures alike saw cooking was women's work. To an extent, food was therefore a feminine point of cultural interaction between them.

The only accounts written by British women in this period which involve sustained settler-Indigenous interaction were "captivity narratives". In particular, Mary Rowlandson (c.1637-1711) and Elizabeth Hanson (1684-c.1737) published accounts of their capture by the Wabenaki in 1676 and 1725 respectively.²⁰⁴ Both women saw food as a key point on which their colonial feminine identities rested. Rowlandson struggled to cope with enduring hunger as a captive: 'after I was thoroughly hungry, I was never again satisfied'.²⁰⁵ Hanson believed that the hunger of many Wabenaki people must be due to incompetence, ignorance, or both. Disgusted, Hanson felt her stomach 'grow very faint for want of something... yet [finding it] very hard to get down

²⁰⁰ Cevasco, 'Hunger Knowledges', pp.268-72; Despite suffering famines from c.1694 to 1706, Scotland does not appear to have produced colonists with more hunger knowledge than their English counterparts. Thomas Wickman, "'Winters Embittered with Hardships': Severe Cold, Wabanaki Power, and English Adjustments, 1690-1710", *WMQ*, 72:1 (Jan. 2015), 57-98 (p.59).

²⁰¹ Cevasco, 'Hunger Knowledges', p.225 and pp.256-62.

²⁰² Sellers, 'Mindful of their Bellies', p.18.

²⁰³ Brunjes, 'Imposing Order', p.73; Stafford and Childs, 'A Letter Written in 1711', pp.3-4.

²⁰⁴ Elizabeth Hanson, *God's Mercy surmounting man's cruelty Exemplified in the Captivity and Redemption of Elizabeth Hanson... in the Year 1724* (Stanford NY, 1733).

²⁰⁵ Mary Rowlandson, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (Boston, 1682), 'The Fifteenth Remove'.

their filthy trash'.²⁰⁶ Rowlandson also called the groundnuts, lily roots, and acorns fed to her 'filthy trash'. Wabenaki men used this knowledge to make jokes at her expense. When Rowlandson's son fell ill, they joked about having 'roasted him... [as] he was very good meat'.²⁰⁷ this aligned with an instance in which Colden cited a Mohawk man saying that having any 'Delicacy in the Choice of Food' was 'Womanish'.²⁰⁸

These encounters showed that some degree of intercultural materiality was possible between settler women and their Indigenous counterparts. When Hanson's milk failed, a Wabenaki woman fed her hungry infant walnuts and hominy. After three weeks in captivity, Hanson began acclimating to unfamiliar food:

Formerly my stomach would turn against this or that... [I thought] I could starve and die before I could eat such things, yet they were [now] sweet and savory to my taste.²⁰⁹

Rowlandson also grew accustomed to Wabenaki food during her captivity.²¹⁰ It is uncertain how long these adapted tastes lasted. Little detailed information survives about Hanson and Rowlandson's lives or dietary habits after they escaped captivity. However, the life of Mary Jemison (1743-1833) shows that long-term acculturation of colonial women was possible. Jemison was captured by the Shawnee as a child in 1755. Living among the Seneca, she was initially as hungry as Rowlandson and Hanson, lying 'supperless and without a drop of water to satisfy the cravings'.²¹¹ After four years, however, Jemison ate like other Seneca women and found them 'temperate and decent... very tender and gentle towards me'.²¹² Taking the name Dehhewānis, she refused to return to British society. Her parents must have known this kind of acculturation was possible. When Dehhewānis was first captured, her mother warned

²⁰⁶ Rachel B. Herrmann, "'Their Filthy Trash': Taste, Eating, and Work in Mary Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative", *Labor*, 12:1-2 (March 2015), 45-70 (p.45).

²⁰⁷ Rowlandson, *A Narrative*.

²⁰⁸ Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations*.

²⁰⁹ Rowlandson, *A Narrative*, 'The Fifth Remove'.

²¹⁰ Herrmann, "'Their Filthy Trash'", pp.53-5.

²¹¹ James Seaver, *A Narrative Of The Life Of Mrs. Mary Jemison, Who was taken by the Indians, in the year 1755* (New York, 1824).

²¹² Seaver, *A Narrative*.

her to 'not forget your English tongue'. Though Dehhewānis' experiences were not the same as Rowlandson or Hanson's, they suggest Indigenous femininities could have influenced their colonial counterparts to some smaller degree. How much such an influence affected women who lived their lives only in colonial settlements remains unclear.

6. Conclusion

Across diverse colonial sources from the 1660-1760 period, settler-Indigenous encounters reshaped how British colonists understood their masculine and feminine identities. Surveying stamped British masculinity onto American lands, quantifying and annexing them in service of colonial expansion. Encounters with Indigenous men and Americans lands drove colonial men to stress their agricultural prowess. Settlers like Cadwallader Colden framed themselves as patriarchs controlling feminine American lands, their geographical agency as farmers superseding Indigenous peoples'. These same men saw Indigenous women as a natural resource to be exploited, tied to the land they settled on. John Lawson, Thomas Nairne and others used Atlantic distance to indulge their desire for American Indian women. They rationalised their sexual aggression, converting their personal exercise of masculine virility and patriarchal control over Indigenous wives into an imperial duty.

Providing a more detailed example of colonial masculinity's development, William Byrd II appropriated Indigenous foods and rituals. These supported his claim to be a colonial patriarch to Virginia itself. In truth, men like Byrd and Lawson did not exercise the control they laid claim to. Lawson was killed by the same nations he claimed to know expertly; Byrd never produced a Virginia 'washed white' through settler-Indigenous intermarriage. However, both men showed how Atlantic distance allowed colonists to use products of Indigenous interaction to present new identities to metropolitan counterparts. They could appear exotic and distinct from their metropolitan counterparts, so long as they defended their claim to British masculine ideals. Despite Britain's internal divides, Scottish and English colonists appear to have behaved similarly in these interactions. Scottish Highlanders had no special kinship with the Cherokee, despite what some contemporaries suggested.

Though Indigenous men were erased or sexualised as animal-like brutes in colonial accounts, they still shaped colonial identities. Lawson and Byrd presented Indigenous men as failed farmers and savage warriors, excluded from masculine rationality. However, settler and Indigenous men shared overlapping languages of gendered insult. Accusations of effeminacy from Britain's Indigenous allies hardened colonists' desire to stress martial prowess. Ned Bearskin shaped William Byrd II's experience of the 'dividing line'; his misogynist humour, his diet, and his perception of Indigenous geographies. This 'intercultural materiality' emerges across both masculine and feminine examples. Weynoke women also shaped Byrd's relationship with American lands, and other nations' womenfolk farmed in ways which shaped European settlement. Settler women were attuned to cultural divides surrounding foodways, as captivity narratives such as Mary Rowlandson's demonstrate. In the case of Mary Jemison/Dehhewānis, this acculturation was taken to its extreme. Though settler women were comparatively rare and left behind fewer sources detailing Indigenous encounters, they were nonetheless changed by these experiences.

Indigenous nations remained present and powerful in the 1760s: they would play a significant role in the American Revolution. As the Ojibwa chief Minavavana declared in 1761, the British had

not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods
and mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance;
and we will part with them to none.²¹³

By incorporating Indigenous perspectives, this analysis demonstrates how colonists interacted with lands and peoples in tandem. The gender frontier, a constantly shifting product of settler-Indigenous interaction, shaped colonial identities. This forms part of the 'gendered impact' of Atlantic imperial expansion on Europeans described by Amussen and Poska. Though far more sources document effects on British men, women were also affected: colonial femininities deserve further study. These changes

²¹³ Phillips, 'Reading and Writing between the Lines', p.108.

to British colonial identities formed part of a wider impact on British identities: the impact of Atlantic distance and interaction.

Chapter 5 Slavery and Race

1. Introduction

Beyond the influence of Indigenous encounters, British colonists' masculine and feminine identities were shaped by the development of racial slavery. Millions of Africans were forcibly brought into close contact with colonists via the transatlantic slave trade. Colonisation and slavery were intertwined features of England's early Atlantic colonies, which (in 1660) consisted of Bermuda, Jamaica, and small coastal populations in New England, Virginia, and Tangier. As Parliament and the restored Crown committed to expanding this overseas empire, the production of colonial commodities such as sugar and tobacco required enormous amounts of cheap labour. As slavery increasingly superseded indentured labour, British ideas of ethnic difference were expanded into a racial hierarchy, aligning slavery with racialised African identities.¹ New social categories - free and enslaved, white and Black - were added to British ideas of masculinity and femininity. With hereditary slavery relying on the control of women's bodies, the status of African women was consolidated in colonial law. Gender and sex became inextricable from the functioning of slavery and the development of race in the British Atlantic. They provided powerful points of articulation which (when tied to the distinguishing factor of skin colour) created a 'corporeal certainty' tying ethnicity and reproduction to enslavement.²

As with the analysis of settler-Indigenous encounters in chapter four, this chapter does not attempt to represent the internal experience or perspectives of enslaved Africans. Rather, it explores how intersections of race and gender affected British colonists as part of a wider study. The aim is to better understand how the British practice of enslaving and racialising Africans over the period 1660 to 1760 shaped colonial masculinities and femininities. The term "African" itself is an over-unifying European exonym, applied to an entire continent of nations. While taking pains to address the varied experiences of the enslaved in a sensitive manner, I do not claim to centre them as the subjects of this historical analysis.

¹ Walker, 'Pursuing Her Profits', p.481.

² Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.150.

Though race and gender have increasingly been studied in unison since Kimberlé Crenshaw pioneered intersectional analysis in 1989, many questions and omissions persist.³ As Kathleen Brown has complained, race, class, and gender sometimes ‘compet[e] for analytical supremacy’ rather than informing each other.⁴ Some academic sources still described British indentured servants as ‘white negros’ in the 1990s, minimising the difference between indenture and enslavement.⁵ Sowande’ Mustakeem has highlighted the need to study ‘slavery at sea’; to centre the Atlantic Ocean itself in analyses of the ‘gendered nature of this violent enterprise’.⁶ Even in 2021, Jennifer Morgan wrote that the role gender played in commodifying African people in the Atlantic world ‘remains unclear’.⁷ The study of race and gender is therefore one of ongoing historiographical development and (as noted in this thesis’ introduction) significant present-day cultural impact. This chapter addresses the historiographical deficits highlighted by Brown, Mustakeem, and Morgan (among others) both by building on their work and by introducing new analytical framings. In the process, the early modern development of race is connected to the wider analysis of distance, gender and identity developed over previous chapters.

To explore how racialised encounters re-shaped British identities, this chapter develops two analytical concepts: racial distance, and racial osmosis.⁸ Racial distance refers to the physical and social separation of white colonists from Black enslaved individuals. Physical separation across the Atlantic provided one clear kind of ‘racial distance’ for metropolitan Britons, while for colonists this existed more as a set of social-cultural privileges and distinctions. Colonists were generally less insulated from the bodily

³ Block, *Ordinary Lives*, p.192; Kimberlé Crenshaw, *On Intersectionality: Essential Writings* (New York, 2017).

⁴ Brown, *Good Wives*, p.4.

⁵ Ian H. Adams and Meredyth Somerville, *Cargoes of Despair and Hope: Scottish Emigration to North America, 1603-1803* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.22.

⁶ Sowande’ M. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (Urbana IL, 2016), p.5 and p.14.

⁷ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.53.

⁸ The term ‘racial osmosis’ has (to my knowledge) only appeared briefly in one existing text, without the meaning used here: O. R. Dathorne, *Worlds Apart: Race in the Modern Period* (Westport CT, 2001), p.11. ‘Racial distance’ also appears in existing work, but it mostly appears in brief references (such as in John M. Dixon, ‘The Enlightenment and America’ in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (Oxford, 2016)) and has not been deployed in the contexts of ‘Atlantic distance’ and gender history seen here.

violence and bloodshed of slavery than their metropolitan counterparts. Sales and auctions of the enslaved were omnipresent in colonial spaces, and the violent maintenance of racial superiority intruded into the colonial 'domestic sphere'.⁹ At the same time, living for extended periods in foreign climates, surrounded by enslaved Black populations, produced an extended, mutually influential interaction across racial lines. This continued proximity and subsequent reduction of 'racial distance' created the potential for colonists to adopt racialised traits from African populations; it allowed for a 'racial osmosis' over time. Even the perceived risk of racial osmosis (by both colonists and metropolitan Britons) was enough to affect masculine and feminine identities, the evidence for which is explored below. The effects of racial slavery on colonial identities were weighed against the profits of racial slavery and their importance to Britain's imperial economy.¹⁰ Irish naturalist Patrick Browne (1720-1790) described Jamaica as a 'necessary appendage' to Britain's 'present refined manner of living', and Daniel Defoe acknowledged that

No negroes [meant] no sugars[, which meant] no islands... no continent...
no trade.¹¹

The 1660-1760 period saw the core developments of racial slavery in the British Atlantic. Both Jennifer Morgan and Susan Scott Parrish have highlighted Richard Ligon's 1657 account of Barbados as one of the first English "Atlantic" sources.¹² Though the foundations of racial slavery existed by 1660, its development was not inevitable. Rather than the teleological framing that 'a fixed belief about race was bound to occur', it should be stressed that racial ideology developed 'to do particular work'.¹³ Jennifer Morgan positions this development as emerging in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries before 'congealing' in the eighteenth and nineteenth.¹⁴ 1660-1760 represents a hinge between these two periods. Furthermore, Kristen Block has

⁹ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.172; Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, p.92.

¹⁰ Trevor Burnard and Richard Follett, 'Caribbean Slavery, British Anti-Slavery, and the Cultural Politics of Venereal Disease', *The Historical Journal*, 55:2 (June 2012), 427-451 (p.430).

¹¹ Patrick Browne, *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica* (London, 1756), p.v; Brown, *Reaper's Garden*, p.9 and p.24.

¹² Scott Parrish, 'Richard Ligon', pp.220-4; Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.3 and pp.34-5.

¹³ Scott Parrish, 'Richard Ligon', p.219; Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.59.

¹⁴ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, pp.10-15.

situated the Caribbean world's 'messy transition' from primarily religious to racial divisions of identity from c.1670 to 1740.¹⁵ English slave voyages formally began in 1663 before accelerating in 1698 (when the Royal African Company lost its monopoly) and 1707 (with the influx of Scottish merchants following the Union). At the other end of this period, the American Revolution prompted new questions about racial ideology and slavery. British abolitionism would expand and evolve from c.1780 onward, even as the number of enslaved Africans brought to Jamaica more than doubled from the 1740s to the 1790s.¹⁶ Though slavery was far from over in 1760, the racial dynamics underpinning the British Atlantic world had firmly coalesced by this time.

In order, this chapter first establishes the economic and maritime foundations of slavery in the British Atlantic. Evidence from William Byrd II, Daniel Campbell, and William Dunlop is used to explore slavery's role in resolving issues of masculine credit and Atlantic distance. The maritime nature of transatlantic slavery and the role seamen played in initiating British-African encounters is analysed using sources from chapter two and similar examples. How British women carried existing ideas about ethnicity across the Atlantic (reproducing whiteness and ethnicity overseas) then informs an analysis of demography and tropical medicine. The establishment of racial distance is explored through these developments and through early modern discussions of 'climatic determinism', which threatened to destabilise racial hierarchies. A wide variety of sources are used to trace how British men and women coped with changes to their bodies and identities; to the perceived risk of racial osmosis. In particular, Caribbean creoles and the unstable demographics which surrounded them illuminate these dynamics.

The seemingly unstudied correspondence of Alexander Mountier shows how colonial masculinity adapted to New World societies and interaction with enslaved Black women. The tension between sexually pursuing these women and maintaining racial distance is explored both in Mountier's letters and the diaries of Thomas Thistlewood. How such men controlled the reproduction and maternity of enslaved women (using rape and family separation) is contrasted with actions exposing the limits of their

¹⁵ Block, *Ordinary Lives*, pp.203-4.

¹⁶ More specifically, from approximately 65,000 to 158,000. Brown, *Reaper's Garden*, pp.265-7.

colonial masculine control. This includes discussions of abortion and the actions of two women in Jamaica: Phibbah, and Rose Fuller. Finally, the distinct engagement of colonial femininity with race and slavery is examined using a variety of examples, including Eliza Lucas, Lucy Parke, and Maria Taylor. Slavery provided colonial women with distinct economic benefits and ways to mitigate patriarchal control while forcing them to behave in new, sometimes contradictory ways. Building on the analysis of matrilineal ethnicity, women's maintenance of sexual propriety and desirability while negotiating issues latent in reproduction and the use of Black wet nurses are explored. 'Runaway' advertisements and colonial print also reinforced the sexual and reproductive separation of white women from Black men.

2. The Economic and Maritime Bases of Slavery

The most clear and powerful factor driving the development of slavery was economic benefit. As shown in chapter one, Atlantic distance stretched chains of personal credit and eroded trust; colonists struggled to convert colonial sources of wealth into proof of credit in the metropole. In this context, slavery offered British colonists the promise of 'dazzling opportunities' and economic security.¹⁷ Control over the enslaved was ready proof of financial success across the British Atlantic, helping colonists to resolve the issues of credit and Atlantic distance. As seen in chapter one, William Byrd II cited his '220 Negroes' at Westover as proof of his credit. When Daniel Defoe wrote in 1726 that 'ordinary planters' could 'rise to immense estates' in Jamaica and Barbados, their wealth was represented by

twenty or thirty negroes on foot running before them whenever they please to appear in public.¹⁸

Though colonists' wealth varied significantly, Defoe's claims were not unsubstantiated. By 1690, Barbados already had around 175 planters with over 60 enslaved people each on their estates.¹⁹ Thomas Thistlewood sailed to Jamaica in 1749 with little credit, yet

¹⁷ Burnard and Follett, 'Caribbean Slavery', p.432.

¹⁸ Defoe, *Tradesman*, p.22.

¹⁹ Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p.259.

died an enslaver and independent landowner, with an estate worth £3300 Jamaica and £2400 Sterling.²⁰ Enslaved people were a commodity with relatively reliable value, fetching £25 a head in Jamaica and Barbados by 1700.²¹ They provided a valuable financial bulwark and stock of credit for colonists. New York merchant Stephan Van Corlandt sold enslaved boys to avoid bankruptcy in 1691, and Alexander Mountier sold an enslaved boy in 1734-5 for similar reasons.²² The effect this had on colonial masculinity can be seen in a letter which William Byrd II wrote in the same year as Defoe's comment above. Byrd wrote to London, satisfied at having settled in Virginia after decades struggling to reconcile the divergent halves of his transatlantic life. Finally, he felt well-established as a colonial patriarch, and acknowledged the role slavery played in underpinning this consolidated masculine status:

Like one of the patriarchs, I have my flocks and my herds, *my bond-men and bond-women...* so that I live in a kind of independence.²³ (my italics)

Byrd's emphasis on 'independence' highlights how slavery supported his claim to colonial patriarchy. The enslaved workers of Westover were like a 'herd' of livestock, an agricultural product of Byrd's skilful husbandry without 'independence' of their own. The framing of such slavery in racial terms (as Defoe did when he specified 'negroes') ensured that white settlers like Byrd were the beneficiaries of this slavery economy.

Slavery also supported the cultivation of masculine credit in ways which distinctly addressed the effects of Atlantic distance. The expansion of oceanic trade strained credit ties and required more mathematics, data, and communication to manage. However, it also emphasised economic quantification in ways which masked the 'underlying social reality' of slavery.²⁴ Jennifer Morgan has highlighted how merchants' books rationalised African individuals as numbers, investments, and 'items of calculus', enabling and masking the inherent violence of slavery.²⁵ Framing this observation

²⁰ Burnard, *Mastery*, pp.8-14.

²¹ Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p.251.

²² LFP, Letter from SVC to RL, 05/10/1691; NAS, RH15/54/9/35/7, Letters from AM to EB, 30/07/1734 and 11/01/1735.

²³ Letter from WBII to CB (Virginia to England), 05/07/1726 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.354-6.

²⁴ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.108.

²⁵ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, pp.12-17 and p.205.

within a wider analysis of distance, the Atlantic Ocean appears to amplify this effect. It kept the consumers of sugar and cotton isolated from violent plantation society, as evidenced by the shock metropolitan observers expressed when that distance shrank. Oceanic distance actually resolved much of the tension created by slavery as a potent but in some senses shameful source of wealth. Byrd's letters demonstrate this dynamic at play. As he had discovered, metropolitan Britons often failed to distinguish between remote, unseen Atlantic colonies 'little better than an Estate in the moon'.²⁶ Writing in 1735, Byrd loudly denounced the 'inhumanity... practiced in the [Caribbean] islands', distancing the West Indies from Virginia. He claimed no such 'crueltys' were

exercise[d] upon the [enslaved in Virginia,] unless by great accident they happen to fall into the hands of a brute, who always passes here for a monster.'²⁷

In reality, Byrd's own violence toward his enslaved workers closely matched that of Jamaican colonists like Thomas Thistlewood. As well as regular floggings, Byrd made one man, Eugene, 'drink a pint of piss' as a punishment for bedwetting: Thistlewood's infamous 'Derby's Dose' worked similarly.²⁸ Such brutality hardly matched metropolitan ideals of masculine gentility. Byrd implicitly acknowledged this in a 1736 letter to John Perceval, an MP and leading Trustee of the colony of Georgia (founded in 1732-3). Byrd expressed support for Georgia's prohibition of slavery, then unique among Britain's colonies. Though this policy was more a security measure than a move toward abolition, Byrd claimed Parliament should halt the 'unchristian traffick' which 'make[s] merchandize of our fellow creatures'.²⁹ He used Atlantic distance to reap the benefits of enslaved labour as his own personal credit while hiding his violent treatment of Eugene and others from metropolitan eyes. The efficacy of this strategy was reinforced in 1751, when Georgia (unable to compete with the economic advantages conferred by

²⁶ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, pp.91-2.

²⁷ Letter from WBII to Peter Beckford, 06/12/1735 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.464-5.

²⁸ Diary entry dated 03/12/1709 in 'William Byrd (Virginia), diary extracts (1709-1712)', *H105 American History, Indiana University Bloomington* <www.indiana.edu/~kdhist/H105-documents-web/week05/Byrd1709.html> [accessed 01/07/2017].

²⁹ Spanish colonies promised those who escaped enslavement in British colonies manumission, disrupting British imperial expansion. Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.487-8.

slavery) permitted slavery.³⁰ In the face of Atlantic distance, slavery was thus an extremely effective stabilising force for masculine credit.

As much as men used slavery to re-establish their credit across Atlantic distances, the same economic motives drove British women to engage in slavery. As seen in chapter one, women were expected to manage domestic assets and contribute to a household's overall credit. With enslaved people classed as chattel, control of them often fell under the feminine purview of household management. In fact, Christine Walker has shown that a majority of Bridgetown (Barbados) enslavers were women.³¹ With her husband Robert Livingston frequently away in New York for long periods, Alida Schuyler managed enslaved workers by herself. For example, in a 1711 letter to Livingston, Schuyler complained that she could not 'get our Negro Ben to [go to] Tachkanick'.³² When Mary Stafford arrived in Charleston that same year, she witnessed others doing well if they could 'get a few slaves and [-] beat them well to make them work hard'.³³ Stafford's complaints that she could not yet afford enslaved people reflected her relative poverty among colonists there: she was 'note yet worth one'. Though Stafford hired white girls as maids at first, by 1713 she had a larger household, cattle, and 'a Negroe man [who] cost me 55 pound'. Control of the enslaved helped women like Stafford to re-establish their economic status and identities after arriving overseas colonies.

The economic aspirations which slavery offered to white Britons were strongest in the Caribbean. Jamaica in particular was a distinct social and cultural space within the British Atlantic. The island was over ten times larger in area than Britain's other Caribbean territories combined, representing Britain's single most profitable colony by 1750.³⁴ As a result, Jamaica attracted a staggering number of colonists for its size; two for every three that went to British continental America before 1780.³⁵ Many British

³⁰ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.139.

³¹ Walker, 'Pursuing Her Profits', p.481.

³² LFP, Letter from AS to RL, 26/10/1711.

³³ Stafford and Childs, 'A Letter Written in 1711', pp.5-6.

³⁴ Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p.32.

³⁵ Block, *Ordinary Lives*, p.206; Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p.231.

sojourners were drawn to Jamaica by an 'all-consuming ambition for wealth'.³⁶ One Scottish colonist aspired to 'cut a flash for a year or two... like a Jamaica comet [and] make as much sugar & Rum as [I] can'.³⁷ With slavery providing the labour underpinning this production of sugar and rum, colonial men avoided labouring where possible as a mark of their own racial superiority. This effort to create racial distance led West Indian men to display 'notorious extravagance' which other Britons disapproved of.³⁸ They became 'addicted to expensive living' in the words of Edward Long, and William Byrd II observed a similar effect on colonial masculinity in Virginia.³⁹ According to Byrd, racial slavery ruined the 'pride [and] industry of our white people'; Having 'a rank of poor creature below' made them 'detest work'.⁴⁰ Though men earned significant wealth and credit as enslavers overseas, it was therefore clear that this often had detrimental effects on the work ethic expected of British men.

All these economic strategies related to slavery were not English but 'British'. As with settler-Indigenous relations (see chapter four), Englishmen and Scotsmen engaged with slavery's opportunities in similar ways. Prior to 1707, Scottish merchants such as Daniel Campbell held much of their fortune in £ Scots, but wanted the more valuable and reliable £ Sterling. Slaving voyages were an ideal way to earn the latter currency. Campbell invested in the ship *Lilly*, which carried both indentured Europeans and enslaved Africans from London to the Americas in 1697.⁴¹ While Campbell paid for his sixteenth share of the ship in £ Scots, he received profits from the sale of enslaved 'negresses and their effects' in £ Sterling.⁴² Such investments were never foolproof - Byrd had lost his investment in the slave ship *William and Jane* to French privateers in 1689.⁴³ However, Campbell's trading shows how Scotsmen profited from slavery the same as their English counterparts, a process which the Union would further enable and encourage.

³⁶ Brown, *Reaper's Garden*, pp.15-23.

³⁷ MacInnes, Harper & Fryer (eds.), *Scotland and the Americas*, p.76.

³⁸ Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p.160; Amussen and Poska, 'Shifting the Frame', p.21.

³⁹ Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), p.265.

⁴⁰ Letter from WBII to John Perceval (JP), 12/07/1736 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.487-8.

⁴¹ GCA, TD1619/87, Current account of Thomas Coutts & Co., 27/02/1696.

⁴² GCA, TD1619/83-84, Invoice of sundry goods on board the Lilly, 28/11/1695; TD1619/85, Current Account of Daniel Campbell, 30/12/1695; TD1619/86, Current account, 27/09 to 06/12/1695; TD1619/241a, Letter to Messrs Thorntoun and Milligan, 05/01/1702.

⁴³ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.184.

Furthermore, English and Scottish colonists both engaged in the construction of race and the racialisation of slavery in this period. These processes served to increase the sense of distance separating colonies and the violence of slavery from the metropole. Like Campbell's investments in slave-trading, William Dunlop's engagement with racial slavery provides evidence of this which has not been explored in published historiography. In 1685, Dunlop gave financial support to poorer Scotsmen taking up indenture contracts in Jamaica. Despite having far fewer resources than the well-educated Dunlop, these men became 'oversiers of blackes... to holde them at the[i]r work'.⁴⁴ While establishing Stewartstown, Dunlop witnessed the profitability of plantation slavery first-hand. Writing to Scotland for supplies in 1686, Dunlop explicitly described his desire to pursue the latent 'profite' which racial slavery offered him:

There is Little or no profite in white Serv[an]ts... [I] desire you... for getting Negroes for they are the only Serv[an]ts for this Country.⁴⁵

By the 1680s, Scotsmen knew that crossing the Atlantic to become 'oversiers of blackes' would improve their economic standing, providing profits unattainable with 'white servants'. Dunlop ended the letter above with an emphatic racial demand: 'your cheife case be to provide [-] Negroes'. As seen in previous chapters, Dunlop was refusing to return to Scotland in spite of his patriarchal responsibilities and the pleas of his wife, Sarah Carstares. After Stewartstown was destroyed, Dunlop remained drawn to the lure of plantation wealth. As part of this effort, Dunlop undertook a mission to Spanish Florida on behalf of Governor Colleton and various Carolina planters. Fifteen enslaved Africans had escaped Stewartstown when Spanish forces attacked. Eleven reached Florida, where they were manumitted; Dunlop went to 'demand the said negroes... our p[ro]perty' from the Spanish.⁴⁶ He carried a list of the fugitives' names: Peter, Scipio, Doctor, Cushi, Arro, Emo, Caesar, Sambo, 'Frank (Woman)', Bess, and

⁴⁴ NLS, MS.9250/18-19, Letter from William Marshall on behalf of several men in Port Royal in Jamaica to their families, 24/11/1685.

⁴⁵ NRS, GD3/5/772.

⁴⁶ Grady, *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry*, p.73; Letter from James Colleton to WD, 15/06/1688 in J. G. Dunlop, 'William Dunlop's Mission to St. Augustine in 1688', *SCHM*, 34:1 (Jan. 1933), 1-30 (pp.3-5); NLS, MS.9250/71-2, Letter from Joseph Blake, William Peter, James Gilbertson, John Morton and Florence Morton to WD, June 1688.

Mammy. No numerical mask hid the individuality and humanity from Dunlop, yet he tied their enslavement to his own pursuit of credit. After crossing the Atlantic, Dunlop's Scottishness did not appear to affect his motives or economic drives in comparison to Carolina's English colonists.

As the examples above allude to, the maritime context of the British Atlantic was central in forming racial and gendered divides between Britons and Africans from 1660 to 1760. As every African was forcibly transported to British colonies by ship, seafaring shaped the entire development of slavery. The first English shipment of enslaved Africans reached Virginia in 1619, and 1663 saw the first English voyage to Africa explicitly to collect enslaved people.⁴⁷ Slave merchants were poorly regarded by many in Britain and its colonies. Byrd distanced himself from these 'ravenous traders' who would 'black their... own families' faces if it brought them profit.⁴⁸ However, it was ordinary mariners who forcibly transported the enslaved on behalf of those traders. Sailors therefore came into direct contact with the interpersonal violence of enslaving in ways merchant records could not rationalise. The Slave Voyages database shows that from 1660 to 1760, approximately 72,000 mariners left British ports on slave ships, with over 1,000 at sea at any given time.⁴⁹ The total number of English mariners rose from <10,000 to >60,000 from 1600 to 1750, each one undertaking dozens of voyages with different cargoes across their career.⁵⁰ This suggests that many British sailors took part in at least one slave voyage, on which the only distinguishing feature was the subdivision of ships' holds to segregate enslaved individuals.

Before the enslaved reached colonial plantations, slave ships provided the first point of contact through which the British construction of race and gender could develop. Sowande' Mustakeem has called for further work on the 'gendered nature of this violent enterprise', and sources from earlier chapters provide some illumination from the 1660-1760 period.⁵¹ Woodes Rogers had 35 Africans freed from a Spanish prize trained as

⁴⁷ Chater, *Untold Histories*, p.12; Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, p.46.

⁴⁸ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.487-8.

⁴⁹ Figure created using *Slave Voyages* <www.slavevoyages.org> [accessed 10/07/2021]. The century saw approximately 5,300 slave voyages total, with an average of 27 crewmen each, one departure per week, and average voyage-lengths around 40 weeks.

⁵⁰ Berry, *A Path*, p.21.

⁵¹ Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, p.14 and p.25.

marines by Michael Kendall, a 'free negro of Jamaica'; John Cremer worked with a 'free Negro, married at Deptford'; Londoner Sarah Paul spent a year with a 'Negro-man' as her 'bedfellow'.⁵² Many free Black men in this period were sailors, as mariners' ruthless emphasis on seafaring skill above all else (see chapter two) gave some opportunities unavailable on land.⁵³ Others went to sea as cooks and stewards, and most of London's Black population lived in maritime parishes such as Wapping and Deptford.⁵⁴ With so much close contact between white and Black sailors, some British men expressed sympathy for enslaved Africans. Though Edward Barlow described Indigenous Carib people as 'black devils... tawny and naked', he humanised the enslaved African men he saw in Barbados:

They live under so much torture and hardship that rather than endure it they will run any hazard [to escape]... they are very hard worked.⁵⁵

In contrast, British sailors acted very differently around Black women. Seamen used the Middle Passage to gain sexual access to enslaved women, aided by the gendered compartmentalisation of slave ships. One ship's crew thus called the enslaved women's quarters as 'the whore hole'.⁵⁶ Sexual access to these women was even prioritised over the safety of the ship. Wanting unfettered access to the bodies of enslaved women, some British mariners left them unchained. In 1702, one captain attempting to put the 'most resolute and dangerous' enslaved women in irons was resisted by 'sailors who had each given their names to chosen ones'.⁵⁷ Women were involved in many uprisings at sea, and the *Thames*' physician noted that enslaved men who revolted at sea might have succeeded 'had more women assisted them'.⁵⁸ Sexual violence was systemic at sea, encouraged by the dehumanisation of enslaved women. In 1753, seaman William Cooney of the *African* violated 'number 83... big with child'; he 'lay with her brute like

⁵² Leslie (ed.), *Life aboard a British Privateer*, p.97; Bellamy (ed.), *Ramblin' Jack*, p.144; Paul, *The Life*, p.56.

⁵³ Simon Newman, 'Freedom-Seeking Slaves in England and Scotland, 1700–1780', *English Historical Review*, 570 (2019), 1136–1168 (p.1164).

⁵⁴ Mitchell-Cook, *A Sea of Misadventures*, p.94; Miranda Kaufmann, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story* (London, 2018).

⁵⁵ Lubbock (ed.), *Barlow's journal*, p.314 and p.323.

⁵⁶ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.40.

⁵⁷ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, pp.153–62.

⁵⁸ Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, p.53.

in view of the whole quarter deck'.⁵⁹ Though Cooney was punished, he clearly felt entitled to do this in view of the ship. The observer of this attack, enslaver turned abolitionist John Newton (1725-1807)) labelled mariners like Cooney 'white savages'.⁶⁰ Transporting the enslaved and inflicting sexual violence upon them was seen to destroy the already devalued (see chapter two) masculine identities of British seamen.

3. Matrilineal Ethnicity, Demography, and Racial Stability

Women and their reproductive capacities were a particular focal point for the development of racial ideology in the British Atlantic. While the inheritance of names and property was firmly patrilineal across early modern Britain, the inheritance of ethnicity was seen as primarily matrilineal throughout Britain and western Europe.⁶¹ Indeed, the patriarchal delegation of childrearing to women (to a significant extent) enhanced the perception that mothers determined their children's cultural identities more than their fathers. These ideas were often portrayed through mothers' milk, both literally and as a metaphor for attachment to the land of one's childhood. The term 'nostalgia', which developed during the 1660-1760 period, was coined to describe precisely this kind of attachment.⁶² This attachment could be framed negatively. Edward Barlow used mother's milk to represent 'poverty and limited horizons' (see chapter two).⁶³ Few denied the importance of place, maternity, and ethnicity in shaping identity. These ideas were "British", not merely English. Welsh *hiraeth* and the Scottish Highlanders' *dùthchas* both (in their own, parallel ways) linked memories of place to geographical 'yearning' and cultural identity.⁶⁴ Though Jennifer Morgan has discussed

⁵⁹ Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, pp.56-7.

⁶⁰ Berry, *A Path*, p.74 and pp.161-3.

⁶¹ Philip Schwyzer, 'The Bride on the Border: Women and the Reproduction of Ethnicity in the Early Modern British Isles', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 5:3 (2002), 293-306; For a trans-European perspective, see Amussen and Poska, 'Shifting the Frame'; For Dutch settlers in New York, see Kim Todt and Martha Dickinson Shattuck, 'Capable Entrepreneurs: The Women Merchants and Traders of New Netherland' in *Women in Port*, ed. by Catterall and Campbell, pp.183-213; for the French in Louisiana, see Jennifer M. Spear, "'They Need wives": Métissage and the Regulation of Sexuality in French Louisiana, 1699-1730' in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, ed. by Martha Hodes (New York, 1999), 35-59.

⁶² The term was coined in Switzerland in 1678 and first printed in English in 1756. Chaplin, 'Earthsickness', p.531.

⁶³ Katharine Hodgkin, 'Childhood and Loss in Early Modern Life Writing', *Parergon*, 33:2 (2016), 115-134 (pp.124-6).

⁶⁴ R. A. Houston, 'People, Space, and Law in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain and Ireland', *PP*, 230:1 (Feb. 2016), 47-89 (pp.83-4).

the carrying of ethnic ideology across the Atlantic, and Philip Schwyzer has highlighted English notions of ethnic superiority within Britain, more work is needed.⁶⁵ This chapter explores the connections between early modern women reproducing ethnicity *within* Britain and the construction of race as a matrilineal inheritance across the British Atlantic.

Much of the multilateral ethnic division within metropolitan Britain was carried to its overseas colonies, carrying with it the emphasis on women as reproducers of ethnicity. Some stereotypes and caricatures appear to have been left behind by those crossing the Atlantic. For example, depictions of Welsh women as savage or stupid, (common in London prior to 1660) do not appear in any colonial source studied here.⁶⁶ The Irish, on the other hand, were consistently ridiculed, as seen when Byrd insulted Betty Cromwell's 'hibernian amuzement [and] laziness'.⁶⁷ Byrd also transferred such anti-Irish sentiments to other ethnic groups, mocking Nottoway hearths for resembling a primitive 'Hibernian fashion'.⁶⁸ English insults against 'Scots-Irish' settlers linked such statements to a prominent strain of Scotophobia across the British Atlantic. Scots were a common sight in English colonies both before and after 1707; Thistlewood described those in 1770s Jamaica as 'Rat[s] to be found in every hole and Corner'.⁶⁹ In return, Scotswoman Margaret Calderwood called 'the Scots and Welch near relations' in 1756, calling them 'much better born than the English [who]... do not draw the affection of strangers'.⁷⁰ The persistence of Britain's ethnic divides in its overseas colonies underlines the contingency of how whiteness and racial ideology coalesced between 1660 and 1760. This was not an inevitable process, but one which gradually built on existing foundations of ethnic rivalry in which women were keystones.

⁶⁵ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.116; Schwyzer, 'The Bride on the Border', p.299.

⁶⁶ Mark Stoye, 'Caricaturing Cymru: Images of the Welsh in the London press, 1642-1646' in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Diana E. Dunn (Liverpool, 2000), pp.162-179; Michael Roberts, 'More Prone to be Idle and Riotous than the English?' Attitudes to Male Behaviour in Early Modern Wales' in *Women and Gender in Early Modern Wales*, ed. by Simone Carke (Cardiff, 2000), pp.259-90.

⁶⁷ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, p.189; Letter from WBII to BC, 27/07/1703 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.226-9.

⁶⁸ Calcaterra, 'Locating American Indians', p.250; Ruffin (ed.), *Westover Manuscripts*, p.35.

⁶⁹ Burnard, *Mastery*, p.87.

⁷⁰ Fyfe, *Scottish diaries*, p.83.

The role women played in shaping colonial identities was reinforced during this period by the development of demography. This discipline emerged in tandem with increasingly concerted efforts to move the “right” settlers across the Atlantic in the seventeenth century. The imperial ambitions of the British Crown and English (later British) state required settler colonies with a specific ethnic character. In turn, this required close attention to gender and reproduction. In 1663, John Graunt (1620-1674) published innovative population estimates and foundational demographic ideas in his *Natural and Political Observations* (London, 1663). That same year, Virginia enacted the law of *partus sequitur ventrem*, codifying the matrilineal inheritance of slavery in law. With ethnicity seen as matrilineal, sex and reproduction were key to making slavery heritable; to stabilising the status of enslaved Africans as chattel across generations. As Jennifer Morgan puts it, emerging colonial markets ‘rewarded heritability’ in slavery, driving ‘economic rationality’ into ‘colonial intimacies’.⁷¹ Demography as a discipline thus developed in tandem with slavery across Britain’s Atlantic colonies.

Both metropolitan demographers and colonial enslavers (who were sometimes the same people) cited women as focal points of both enslavement and colonial settlement. In March 1674, Graunt’s colleague William Petty outlined the importance of English women in Irish plantations, parallel to his discussions of Anglo-Indigenous intermarriage (see chapter four):

if English [-] Women were yearly brought out of England to Marry the like Number of poorer Irish Men then... The Mother or Mistress of every of the said familys would bee an English protestant woman, and Consequently The Manners, Language & perhaps the Religion of all the sayd familys would be English.⁷²

In this light, sending Englishwomen overseas as reproducers of English ‘Manners, Language &... Religion’ became a tool of imperial expansion. This reinforced the gendered nature of how racial slavery developed in Britain’s colonies.

⁷¹ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, pp.3-5, p.14, p.190.

⁷² William Petty, *The discourse made before the Royal Society, the 26[th] of November 1674* (London, 1674).

Making African women reproducers of slavery stabilised the racial distance between them and white settler women. However, this had a disadvantageous effect for demographers such as Petty and Graunt: intermarriage was erased as a potential tool of colonial expansion. There were strong mathematical foundations for such a move, as England's early Atlantic colonies had a far more balanced sex ratio among the enslaved populations than among colonists.⁷³ Though interracial sexual and marital bonds were not illegal in the British metropole, English colonial laws quickly circumscribed such relations. Virginia made 'Christian-Negro fornication' punishable by fine in 1663, and other continental colonies subsequently passed similar laws.⁷⁴ None of the men who discussed settler-Indigenous intermarriage as potential colonial policy (in chapter four), included African women in their proposals. In particular, Byrd outlined this distinction in detail. Despite treating both Black and Indigenous women as equally sexually available, Byrd distanced Africans further from whiteness than Indigenous nations in his *History*:

if a Moor [African] may be washed white in three generations, surely an Indian might have been blanched in two.⁷⁵

Even if intermarriage could steadily whitewash Native American ethnicities, Byrd situated Africans as further removed from his ideals of Anglicised whiteness. By the end of the period, few colonists even made the same distinctions as Byrd between African and Native American women. For example, Benjamin Franklin asked why British colonists should 'increase the Sons of Africa by planting them in America'.⁷⁶ This question was published from 1751 to 1761 in Franklin's popular pamphlet *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind*. In this highly influential text, which circulated around the British Atlantic, Franklin argued that 'Blacks and Tawneys' alike should both be excluded from Britain's American colonies. Such exclusion would, he argued,

⁷³ Though many histories refer to these interactions as "miscegenation", this word was a nineteenth century term, coined specifically to frame interracial intimacy in a negative light.

⁷⁴ Brown, *Good Wives*, pp.192-5; Livesay, 'Emerging from the Shadows', p.125.

⁷⁵ Ruffin (ed.), *Westover Manuscripts*, p.3.

⁷⁶ Benjamin Franklin, *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc.* (Boston, 1755).

encourage a corresponding demographic 'increase' of English and 'Saxon' Germans: 'the lovely White and Red'. By the 1760s, the racial distance separating 'lovely White' identity from Africans had clearly developed and solidified.

Demographic discussions and initiatives took place amid wider debates surrounding the racial (in)stability of life in New World environments. The British fear of racial distance being eroded by life in overseas colonies was enhanced by ideas of 'climatic determinism'. Climate served as a powerful material reminder of the difference between the metropole and colonies: it was a significant factor in colonists' lives. Across the British Atlantic world, the idea that climate 'determined' identity was widespread but not unquestioned.⁷⁷ Britons needed to adapt to foreign climates if they ever wanted to create long-term settler colonies to extract valuable resources from the Americas. However, if climate truly determined identity, then British colonists would inevitably come to resemble the Indigenous and African nations they were pathologising through nascent racial ideology. Sex and reproduction gave these climate debates a strong gendered component. If permitted, widespread intermarriage could have enabled climatic adaptation but also accelerated the erosion of racial distance between Britons and Africans. These ideas had the potential to destabilise Britain's entire colonial project. Climate was a potential vector for racial osmosis; for the reduction in racial distance between white enslavers and Black enslaved populations.

Though British mariners spent years adapting to the tropics, becoming 'seasoned' to disease and deeply tanned, those working at sea for years were, by definition, not settling overseas. They thus provided little conclusive evidence about climatic determinism. If anything, endemic scurvy appeared to demonstrate the inherent unhealthiness of voyaging across Atlantic distances. Most colonists experienced initial bouts of illness upon arrival in the Americas: 'seasoning'. Lawson advised potential migrants 'to let the Seasoning have its own Course'.⁷⁸ While this represented in microcosm the need for colonists to physically adapt to the New World, most Britons survived. Seasoning did not appear to affect men and women differently: it did little to solve the debates surrounding climatic determinism and British identities overseas.

⁷⁷ Chaplin, 'Earthsickness', p.516.

⁷⁸ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.85.

The development of tropical medicine in Britain was intended to resolve such questions. One of the discipline's first practitioners, Thomas Trapham, suggested in 1679 that the English "constitution" was inherently unsuited to 'torrid' Caribbean climates. He concluded that colonists in Jamaica 'must necessarily change our way of living and accommodate it unto the Climate'.⁷⁹ Trapham only mentioned the English, but did not suggest any other European nation was exempt from this need to adapt. Hans Sloane expected to confirm Trapham's findings, but instead claimed in 1707 that climate and ethnicity had little effect on Jamaican colonists' health.⁸⁰ The Royal Society provided institutional support for further investigation, asking if skin colour was 'the product of the Climate or... a distinct race of Men?'⁸¹. As Craig Koslofsky notes, many Fellows of the Royal Society were enslavers who stood to benefit from "proof" of African inferiority and subsequent enslavability.⁸² In 1697, Byrd gained Society fellowship by contributing to these climate debates. He "borrowed" an unnamed African boy with vitiligo from Charles Wager (1666-1743), and displayed him naked before the Society.⁸³ In Byrd's own words, the boy's vitiligo spots were

wonderfully White, at least equal to the Skin of the fairest Lady, and have the Advantage in this, that they are not liable to be Tann'd.⁸⁴

This source shows how racial distance was constructed in gendered terms. As the only colonial-born man in the room, Byrd had an interest in demonstrating the worth of his own colonial masculinity to metropolitan men. He did so by framing his own whiteness as superior to both African masculinity and British femininity. Rather than likening the

⁷⁹ Thomas Trapham, *A discourse of the state of health in the island of Jamaica...* (London, 1679); 'Thomas Trapham', *Royal College of Physicians* <<https://history.rcplondon.ac.uk/inspiring-physicians/thomas-trapham>> [accessed 20/07/2021].

⁸⁰ Hans Sloane, *A Voyage To the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica* (London, 1707); Churchill, *Female Patients*, p.170.

⁸¹ Craig Koslofsky, 'Superficial Blackness? Johann Nicolas Pechlin's *De Habitu et Colore Aethiopum Qui Vulgo Nigritae* (1677)', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 18:1 (Winter 2018), 140-158 (p.151).

⁸² Koslofsky, 'Superficial Blackness?', p.153.

⁸³ Christina Malcolmson, "The Fairest Lady': Gender and Race in William Byrd's 'Account of a Negro-Boy that is dappel'd in several Places of his Body with White Spots' (1697)", *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 18:1 (Winter 2018), 159-179 (p.162).

⁸⁴ RS, Cl.P/14i/44, Account of a black boy who has several white patches on his skin sent by Mr Byrd, 17/11/1697.

boy's white spots to his own skin, Byrd compared them to the skin of white women and referred to tanning as a misogynist jab at feminine vanity. Byrd continued using similar language in racial metaphors, often as an expression of futility. Treating poor feminine 'virtue' as implicitly similar to lower racial status, Byrd showed how readily gender and racial identities intersected:

You may as well take a little soap and sand to scrub an Ethiopian white,
or to fetch out the stains of a damsel's reputation.⁸⁵

Many British men perceived life in unfamiliar climates as reshaping their sexual health and virility. In 1721, Cadwallader Colden's brother-in-law David Chrystie had recently become a father. He claimed that Colden was 'mistaken' for having once 'attribute[d] it to our cold Country that I did not marry... thinking [-] that the cold climat[e] had immuned my spirits'.⁸⁶ Chrystie's newfound fatherhood now proved that

our Spirite can be as lively to get Children in our cold rocky country... as
perhaps the most of people in your hot and fine country...

Though not an Atlantic colonist himself, Chrystie consciously compared his own masculine potency to Colden's 'people' in New York. Conversely, when Dr. Alexander Hamilton arrived in Maryland in 1739, his brother-in-law David Smith wrote a letter joking that 'scotch drollery is now transplanted into the american soil'.⁸⁷ Sustaining the metaphor, Smith asked if the transplanted Scotsman now

thrive[d] in a warmer climate... in proportion to its being cultivated under
a more direct ray of apollo.

Smith clearly expected Hamilton to be changed by warmer American latitudes and thrive in them. As Kathleen Brown has noted, some British men overseas defended

⁸⁵ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.460.

⁸⁶ Letter from DC to CC, 27/11/1721 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.118.

⁸⁷ DDP, Box 3, Letter from David Smith to AH (Innerwick to Annapolis), 05/10/1739.

their 'colonial virility' in response to accusations of being crude and uncivilised.⁸⁸ Byrd claimed that life in Virginia encouraged greater masculine sexual virility and fertility in 1723. He wrote in a letter that his 'dear country' of Virginia drove men to more 'tender passion' than those in England. Furthermore, Byrd claimed that his frequent transatlantic crossings made him understand this better than both metropolitan and colonial Britons: 'You fancy we who are in a colder climate are as universally heated with it as your selves.'⁸⁹

Byrd hinted at one reason for which some colonists crossed the Atlantic: the agricultural opportunities of warmer climates. As noted in chapter four, these opportunities were linked to colonists' cultivation of a distinct masculinity. John Lawson enticed settlers by promising them that Carolina's 'Latitude and convenient Situation' made colonists there 'the happiest Race of Men upon Earth'.⁹⁰ Woodes Rogers claimed that 'many Europeans' lived long lives in the Americas, 'which is ascrib'd to the Goodness of the Climate'.⁹¹ American warmth was contrasted with British cold; John Stewart 'deserted' Scotland in 1684 partly to avoid its 'Hyperborean frosts'.⁹² Byrd once wrote to an English correspondent congratulating him on 'reconciling' American crops to the 'rigour of that northern climate'.⁹³ Furthermore, Byrd boasted that Virginia's warmth had cleared his cough, caused by London's 'fogg and smoak'.⁹⁴ When he wrote with satisfaction of living like the (Biblical) 'good patriarchs', Byrd thanked 'the blessings of a comfortable sun and a fertile soil'.⁹⁵ In essence, he tied Virginia's warm climate to his personal consolidation of patriarchal masculinity overseas.

The metropolitan perception of British identities shifting in the presence of slavery was particularly strong in the Caribbean colonies. These developed differently from New England and the Chesapeake colonies, which had well-established white majority

⁸⁸ Brown, *Good Wives*, p.6.

⁸⁹ Letter from WBII to JC, 29/07/1723 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.346-7.

⁹⁰ Lawson, *Voyage*, p.79.

⁹¹ Manwaring (ed.), *Woodes Rogers*, pp.41-3.

⁹² NLS, MS.9250/139-146, Letter from John Stewart to WD (Carolina to Scotland), 23/06/1690.

⁹³ Letter from WBII to John Warner, 15/07/1728 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.381.

⁹⁴ Letters from WBII to John Boyle, 02/02/1727 and to CB, 05/07/1726 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.359-61 and pp.354-6.

⁹⁵ Letter from WBII to Anne Otway (Westover to England), 1736 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.483.

populations by 1680. Even Carolina, where enslaved Africans represented 58% of the colony's total population by 1710 and 72% by 1740, was not so unbalanced as Jamaica.⁹⁶ There, the population remained 90% Black and enslaved despite a constant influx of white colonists.⁹⁷ Furthermore, three-quarters of this enslaved population were newly arrived Africans, unlike most of those enslaved on the continent. Neither Jamaica's free nor enslaved populations were self-sustaining, the island's high death rate making it a demographic 'catastrophe'. As Vincent Brown puts it, Jamaica 'consumed its inhabitants'.⁹⁸ When Mountier reached the island in 1729, he expressed his shock at its mortality rate in racial terms: 'they no more regret a fellow dying here than if he were a negro'.⁹⁹ To him, metropolitan men like Burd could not

imagine what pleasure it gives us that are penned upon this Damned Island to be refreshed... with a Letter.¹⁰⁰

Using the term 'penned', Mountier likened himself to the enslaved, who in turn were supervised like livestock by 'penkeepers' such as Thomas Thistlewood. A letter from the metropole helped relieve Mountier's sensation of distance from the metropole (see chapter three), exacerbated by Jamaica's unbalanced, 'catastrophic' slave society. As a new arrival, Mountier rapidly absorbed the islands' reduced sense of racial distance which a high mortality rate enhanced. As Mountier warned in his next letter to Burd, Jamaica was 'most unhealthy, and fattal to new commers': he felt like a 'poor wretch... frying in this Damned hott country'.¹⁰¹

While continental colonies formed increasingly consolidated, recognisable satellites of British society across Atlantic distances, the Caribbean colonies could do little to imitate or recreate metropolitan Britain. Britons born in the West Indies were known as

⁹⁶ Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (New York, 1968), p.141; Russell R. Menard, 'Slave Demography in the Lowcountry, 1670-1740: From Frontier Society to Plantation Regime', *SCHM*, 101:3 (July 2000), 190-213 (pp.192-4). This figure includes enslaved American Indians, but even their peak numbers around 1720 amounted to only one fifth of the African population.

⁹⁷ Burnard, *Mastery*, p.15.

⁹⁸ Brown, *Reaper's Garden*, pp.9-12 and p.57.

⁹⁹ NAS, RH15/54/9/31, Letter from AM to EB, 09/09/1729.

¹⁰⁰ NAS, RH15/54/9/27, Letter from AM to EB, 22/08/1730.

¹⁰¹ NAS, RH15/54/9/28, Letter from AM to EB, 05/05/1730.

“creoles”, and many were attached to their home islands. For example, Jamaican planter Simon Taylor (1739-1813) felt ‘out of my element’ in the metropole, and later described Jamaica as his ‘native land’.¹⁰² Conversely, creole planters stood out in the British metropole and continental colonies. While continental men visiting London (such as Byrd and Franklin) could blend in fairly well, those raised in the Caribbean were far more conspicuous. In 1740, Vice-Admiral Vernon described them as ‘sickly... their Complexion [-] muddy, their Colour wan... they are quite careless of futurity’.¹⁰³ As Vernon’s last point suggests, the Caribbean climate was seen to carry over into creoles’ behaviour, and these observations were often gendered. Even sympathetic Edward Long conceded that West Indian men were haughty, ‘fickle’, ‘not always the most chaste’, and liable to ‘sudden transports of anger’.¹⁰⁴ The idea that life among an enslaved majority warped colonists’ identities was therefore not a purely metropolitan imposition. In 1755, Edward Clarke wrote to Rose Fuller in London that he was ‘heartily sick’ of Jamaica:

Such is the Condition of our Island and under... every Species of immorality, who that can live elsewhere would continue longer in it[?]¹⁰⁵

To metropolitan observers, creoles were proof of ‘the astonishing power and influence of climate’, the unbalanced demography of their distant, ‘dystopian’ society unnaturally inverting British gender norms.¹⁰⁶ Though this disdain was continuous throughout the 1660-1760 period, it would later intensify in ways which reinforced the importance of climate and demography. Christer Petley notes that the loss of colonies ‘most like the British Isles in terms of climate and population’ following the American Revolution provoked ‘a hardening of ideas about Britishness’.¹⁰⁷ To metropolitan and continental observers, life surrounded by enslaved majority populations was permanently

¹⁰² Christer Petley, “Home” and “this country”: Britishness and Creole identity in the letters of a transatlantic slaveholder’, *Atlantic Studies*, 6:1 (2009), 43-61 (p.49).

¹⁰³ Wylie Sypher, ‘The West-Indian as a “Character” in the Eighteenth Century’ in *Studies in Philology*, 36:3 (July 1939), 503-520 (pp.505-6).

¹⁰⁴ Long, *History*, p.265.

¹⁰⁵ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/29, Letter from Edward Clarke to RF (Westmorland, Jamaica to London), 04/09/1755.

¹⁰⁶ Sypher, ‘The West-Indian’, pp.503-4; Yeh, “A Sink of All Filthiness”, p.77; Walker, ‘Pursuing Her Profits’, pp.480-1.

¹⁰⁷ Petley, “Home” and “this country”, pp.44-5.

detrimental to creoles' identities. Over time, their proximity to Africans was seen as a harmful influence - negative racialised traits osmosed, and this was seen as damaging their ability to live like other British people. As one metropolitan observer exclaimed, the 'West Indian... seems to forget he has left a land of slaves'.¹⁰⁸ Being raised among a 'Family of Slaves' was often cited as the root of creoles' gender dysfunction, and anxieties about this developed early in the period.¹⁰⁹ In 1685, William Byrd I sent his daughter Ursula ('little Nutty') to England to avoid such a childhood:

shee could learn nothing good here, in a great family of Negro's'.¹¹⁰

Though Byrd was a Virginian planter and not a creole, his anxieties reflected wider colonial trends. To Londoners, creole men visiting from the West Indies in the 1740s spoke in 'a drawling broken English *like the Negroes*' (my italics).¹¹¹ Caribbean planters' insistence on English was forced to give way to patois by the Africans they had enslaved, who themselves spoke an enormous range of languages.¹¹² While Jamaican rum, sugar, and coffee were coveted products in the metropole, the same could not be said for cassava, turtle, and pepperpot recipes which creoles took from Africans.¹¹³ While Byrd feared his children experiencing a similar kind of racial osmosis in Virginia, he experienced a more immediate consequence of reduced racial distance in 1686. Smallpox was brought into his family by 'the Negro's I received from Gamb[ia]'.¹¹⁴ Though the Caribbean colonies had more significant demographic imbalances, their white inhabitants' concerns about racial distance were clearly not unique.

The correspondence of William Byrd II provides a more detailed view of the concerns that racial and demographic imbalances produced in continental colonists. Though Virginia had a white majority, its enslaved Black population still represented around

¹⁰⁸ Sypher, 'The West-Indian', p.511.

¹⁰⁹ Yeh, "'A Sink of All Filthiness'", p.76.

¹¹⁰ Letter from WBI to Warham Horsmanden, 31/03/1685 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.32.

¹¹¹ Yeh, "'A Sink of All Filthiness'", p.76; Jordan, *White over Black*, p.176.

¹¹² Burnard, *Mastery*, p.144; Ashley Williard, 'Ventriloquizing Blackness: Citing Enslaved Africans in the French Caribbean, c.1650–1685' in *Early Modern Black Diaspora Studies: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Cassander L. Smith, Nicholas R. Jones, and Miles Grier (Cham, 2018), 83-106 (p.89).

¹¹³ Troy Bickham, 'Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery, and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *PP*, 198:1 (Feb. 2008), 71–109 (p.89); Burnard, *Mastery*, pp.17-20.

¹¹⁴ Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, p.65.

one-fifth of the total population by the time Byrd settled there.¹¹⁵ At the height of the First Maroon War (1728-40), Byrd wrote to Jamaican assemblyman and planter Peter Beckford Jr. (1673-1735). Since at least the 1670s, Jamaica's Maroon communities had fought British colonial authorities, who in turn had passed 44 laws targeting the Maroons from 1696 to 1734.¹¹⁶ By 1735, the Leeward and Windward Maroons (led by Cudjoe (c.1660-1764) and Nanny (c.1686-c.1733) respectively) were attacking British troops.¹¹⁷ Byrd claimed that 'Negros [were] not so numerous' in Virginia, nor 'so enterprizing as to give us any apprehension'.¹¹⁸ This supposedly reflected the superior management of colonial patriarchs and enslavers like himself. This apparent confidence gave way to demographic anxieties in Byrd's subsequent letters. Writing to John Perceval in 1736, he feared that Virginia 'import[ed] so many Negros' it might soon be renamed 'New Guinea'.¹¹⁹ A majority enslaved population was inherently unstable, which Byrd expressed in the paternalist conclusion that 'numbers make them insolent'. With the British control of Jamaica appearing particularly tenuous in 1735-6, Byrd worried that the growth of Virginia's enslaved population threatened to create a similar conflict there.

4. Colonial Masculinity and Enslaved Women

To justify the violent control of enslaved African women, colonial men engaged in two seemingly contradictory processes: the dehumanising and sexualising of African women. Black women were simultaneously objectified as hypersexual and 'naturally libidinous', while being dehumanised as 'almost completely indistinguishable from the animal'.¹²⁰ This 'lens of promiscuity' began on Middle Passage ships, and persisted throughout the period.¹²¹ In the 1650s, Richard Ligon described enslaved African

¹¹⁵ Ekirch, *Bound for America*, pp.133-4; Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York, 2002), p.157.

¹¹⁶ W. J. Gardner, *A History of Jamaica* (London, 1878), p.54.

¹¹⁷ Burnard, *Mastery*, p.22.

¹¹⁸ Letter from WBII to Peter Beckford, 06/12/1735 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.464-5.

¹¹⁹ Letter from WBII to JP, 12/07/1736 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.487-8.

¹²⁰ Amussen and Poska, 'Restoring Miranda', p.354; Sebastani, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, pp.105-6 and p.154.

¹²¹ Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, p.46.

women's shoulder-slung breasts in disgusted terms.¹²² However, he also admired a free African woman he met in Cape Verde:

A Negro of the greatest beauty and majesty together; that I ever saw in one woman. Her stature large, and excellently shap'd, well favour'd, full eye'd, and admirably grac'd.¹²³

Ligon's objectifying description of this woman resembles Lawson and Byrd's descriptions of American Indian women (in chapter four). His gaze followed her clothes downward from her head, noting that she wore jewels, silk, and 'fair Pearls' around her neck: 'her eyes were her richest Jewels'. These overlapping descriptions point to common aspects of colonial masculine sexuality though, as noted above, intermarriage was not seen as viable for English men and African women. Ligon was not alone in sexualising African women throughout the period. In 1727, Royal African Company surveyor William Smith admired an African woman: 'though black', her 'softness... beautiful proportion and Symmetry' stood out to him.¹²⁴ In 1764, Scotsman Archibald Dalzel (1740-1812) confessed in letters that he struggled

to abstain from Amours with the black fair sex, tho' most of the Gentlemen here, have got wives.¹²⁵

That men like Dalzel saw Black women's 'Amours' as a sexual temptation they should resist stemmed from the dehumanising racialisation of African women. Thomas Trapham claimed that Africans were 'animal People' in 1679, born of both 'humane' and 'brutal seed'; Edward Long (1734-1813) claimed that orangutans were suitable husbands for African women.¹²⁶ The dehumanising of Black people which created racial distance thus stood at direct odds to the sexual attraction described by Ligon,

¹²² Scott Parrish, 'Richard Ligon', p.244; Jennifer L. Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder": Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770', *WMQ*, 54:1 (Jan. 1997), 167-192 (p.168).

¹²³ Jane Stevenson, 'Richard Ligon and the Theatre of Empire' in *Shaping the Stuart World 1603-1714: The Atlantic Connection*, ed. by Allan MacInnes and Arthur H. Williamson (Leiden, 2006), 285-310 (p.292).

¹²⁴ Morgan, *Laboring Women*, p.45.

¹²⁵ Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, p.46.

¹²⁶ Churchill, *Female Patients*, p.168; Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.134.

Morice, Smith, and Dalzel. While Black women were systematically exploited as sexual objects, colonial men could hardly claim to meet metropolitan masculine standards if they engaged in 'Amours' with 'animal People'.

How men in British colonies approached Black women amid these contradictory ideas can be seen in the as-yet unstudied correspondence of Edinburgh merchants Alexander Mountier and Edward Burd Jr. As seen in chapter one, Mountier and Burd supported each other's masculinity at a distance through letters sent between Jamaica and Edinburgh. This included frank references to each other's sexual satisfaction. Mountier once wished Burd 'all health and happiness... that your prick nor purse may never fail you'.¹²⁷ Burd appears to have expressed sexual frustration, complaining of Edinburgh's 'Scarcity of whores' and asking Mountier about the women in Jamaica. Mountier hoped Burd could 'gett a bon[n]y lass to F--k', promising 'to give you an exacter account of our women... [Jamaica could] Spare you a large Quantity'.¹²⁸ As men outnumbered women in 1730s Jamaica, Mountier's reference to 'spare' women did not reflect their actual 'quantity' so much as the perception of their greater promiscuity. Within a year of arriving in Jamaica, Mountier divided women by racial status in his letters to Burd:

Some 3 [free], Some Δ [enslaved], all really pretty girls. You can be furnish[ed] w[ith] all coulors in this place... the brown & black so much for whores.¹²⁹

Despite highlighting associating 'brown & black' women with prostitution, Mountier also called white women in Jamaica 'whores'. He further complained that they only drank tea, coffee, and chocolate, swore

most intolerably... [and they] speak badly publicly, and whore not w[ith] the caution used in Britain...¹³⁰

¹²⁷ NAS, RH15/54/9/29, Letter from AM to EB (Kingston to Edinburgh), 05/12/1729.

¹²⁸ NAS, RH15/54/9/25 and RH15/54/9/28, Letter from AM to EB (Kingston to Edinburgh), 05/05/1730.

¹²⁹ RH15/54/9/25.

¹³⁰ NAS, RH15/54/9/31.

Mountier wanted white women to be prospective partners who could enhance his respectability as a husband and patriarch. In this respect, Jamaica's British women failed to meet what Mountier saw as appropriate feminine standards. Moreover, those who 'whored' without 'caution charged more for sex than Mountier wanted to pay: 'their acqua[i]ntance [was] pretty chargeable'.¹³¹ White women remained scarce and, subsequently, in demand throughout the period. As Jamaican colonist Thomas Vassall wrote in 1750, there remained an 'absolute necessity to have more white people... rather Women than Men'.¹³² Despite referring above to 'really pretty girls' of 'all coulers', Mountier claimed to find Jamaica's mulatto women disgusting: 'I have such a detest to their colour, that not once yet have they whetted my appatite.'¹³³ He spoke similarly of Black women, but felt the need to explain himself in more detail to the distant Burd:

The Negro girls are very plenty, and it's cheaper injoying one of them than our towns Street walkers, but to see the creatures walking up and down wⁱ[th] their black lank breast would turn the Stomack of any modest young fellow like me, lately come from a christian country.¹³⁴

Mountier's comment about the 'lank' breasts of Black women mirrored Ligon's from decades before. Even so, the extended racial proximity between himself and Black women (an inherent feature of colonial Jamaican life) led Mountier to reconsider metropolitan norms of masculine sexuality. Having complained so much about Jamaican women of all races, Mountier claimed he was 'forced to take up wⁱ[th] a black girl' for sexual gratification. He justified this defensively. While Black women might 'seem [-] unnaturall to a good fellow lately come from Europe', but in Jamaica men altered their sexuality to the situation: 'necesity has no law'.¹³⁵ Mountier gave Burd further explicit details:

¹³¹ NAS, RH15/54/9/27.

¹³² ESRO, SAS/RF 21/3, Letter from Thomas Vassall to RF (Westmorland to Spanish Town), 01/01/1750.

¹³³ NAS, RH15/54/9/27.

¹³⁴ NAS, RH15/54/9/31.

¹³⁵ NAS, RH15/54/9/28.

when nature requires an evacuation, I appoint a young negro wench to my room[,] tipt her a p[iec]^e of Eight which is 6/3... often I'm wearied w[ith] her [and] turn her away. I ashure you they are good at the game, [and] they heave strongly, which puts a man to little trouble.¹³⁶

Despite his pretensions to 'detest' Black women, Mountier praised their sexual abilities and described what was clearly a repeated experience. His description of 'heaving strongly' resembled advice published in the *Charleston Gazette* a few years later, suggesting Mountier was not alone in such opinions. In 1736, the *Gazette* suggested that newly arrived bachelors and widowers 'in a Strait for Women' need only seek

African Ladies [who] are of a strong, robust Constitution: not easily jaded out, able to serve them by Night as well as Day.¹³⁷

Such descriptions reinforced the sexualisation of Black women, laying the foundations for men to pursue them in spite of any disapproval from the distant metropole. While Atlantic distance separated Mountier from the metropole, the racial distance between him and Black women thus shrank over time. His 'tip' of a piece of eight was also significant. Such payment was not unusual, but (as seen in chapter one) Mountier also used Burd to send ten pieces of eight to his sister in Edinburgh.¹³⁸ He thus used the same coins (from a distinctly colonial form of currency) to both support female relatives in Scotland and pay enslaved Black women for sex.

Other colonial men likely had fewer compunctions than Mountier about taking African women as sexual and even marital partners. There were trials and (unsuccessful) petitions to repeal the laws forbidding interracial coupling and marriage in Virginia and North Carolina.¹³⁹ As Daniel Livesay notes, some relationships likely existed outside any written record; colonists only prosecuted those who did not handle such

¹³⁶ NAS, RH15/54/9/27.

¹³⁷ Jordan, *White over Black*, p.146.

¹³⁸ Thistlewood made similar payments to enslaved women, e.g., YUL, OSB MSS 176, 1768, p.17; RH15/54/9/25, AM to EB, 08/06/1731.

¹³⁹ Jordan, *White over Black*, pp.137-9.

relationships 'discreetly'.¹⁴⁰ Little secrecy was required for white men who simply used Black women as mistresses, though this level of acceptance varied between colonies. In North Carolina, white women were seen as the only acceptable mistresses; in South Carolina, men 'enjoy[ed]' Black women with 'no reluctance, delicacy or shame'.¹⁴¹ One of the first men Thistlewood met in Jamaica was Captain Cornish, who kept 'a Genteel Mullato girl' as his concubine.¹⁴² By the 1770s, Edward Long observed that few men in Jamaica could be persuaded there was 'any sin or shame in cohabiting with his slave'.¹⁴³ Despite claiming to aver Black women as Mountier initially did, many white men nonetheless changed their sexual behaviour when distanced from metropolitan intervention and judgement.

A more detailed picture of creole masculinity and interracial sexual activity can be seen in the diaries of Thomas Thistlewood. Begun in 1741, these provide a detailed record of how racial violence and colonial patriarchy were mutually constitutive in Britain's Caribbean colonies. Most Caribbean planters, penkeepers, and overseers were men, and Trevor Burnard and Daniel Livesay have both described patriarchy as 'very raw in Jamaica' and 'disturbingly vicious'.¹⁴⁴ From 1754 to 1764 alone, Thistlewood took eighty-eight separate enslaved women as sexual partners.¹⁴⁵ His use of masculine sexuality as a tool of gendered racial control has been studied by Livesay, Morgan, and Burnard among others. Despite this, he has largely escaped analysis as one individual within a wider framework of distance and British Atlantic identity. Like Mountier, Thistlewood's masculine identity changed in response to prolonged contact with Jamaican society and the subsequent reduction in racial distance.

When Thistlewood arrived in Jamaica in 1750, he found the island unfamiliar; he was 'disturbed' by the sound of 'Negrow Musick' at night.¹⁴⁶ He began adding markers of racial identity to almost every name in his diaries, along with the personalities and fears

¹⁴⁰ Livesay, 'Emerging from the Shadows', pp.125-6.

¹⁴¹ Robert N. Rosen, *A Short History of Charleston* (Columbia SC, 2021), p.27.

¹⁴² YUL, OSB MSS 176, 1748-50, p.290.

¹⁴³ Long, *History*, p.328.

¹⁴⁴ Burnard, *Mastery*, pp.49-52; Livesay, 'Emerging from the Shadows', p.127.

¹⁴⁵ Karen L. Rule, *Thomas Thistlewood and Women Slaves: MA Thesis*, (Canterbury NZ, 1994), p.83.

¹⁴⁶ YUL, OSB MSS 176, 1748-50, p.292 and p.322.

of each enslaved person under his control. For example, a man named Lincoln was described as ‘headstrong, roguish, incorrigible’.¹⁴⁷ Thistlewood’s targeted observations made him a cruelly effective overseer, and his tactics included the use of rape to punish enslaved women. Enslaved women were often demanded to show their “loyalty” to planters in sexual terms, as happened when Dago repeatedly defied Thistlewood in 1750-1.¹⁴⁸ Within months of settling in Jamaica, Thistlewood was using sexual assault against enslaved women as a tool of racial control in the Vineyard and Egypt pens.

Enslaved women were so thoroughly sexualised in Thistlewood’s diaries that he *only* referenced them in sexual contexts. All interactions with these women were recorded obsessively in a distinctive, rigid format. Thistlewood already used Latin to codify sexual encounters. In Jamaica, he also marked each instance with ‘xxx’ and the time, position, and location of each rape alongside the enslaved woman’s name:

xxx In the Evening Cum Daphne Sup: Terr: at the bottom of Tophill Main
Intire (Sid non bene)¹⁴⁹

In this case, Thistlewood also recorded Daphne’s resistance, rendering this in terms of his frustrated sexual pleasure: ‘Sid non bene’ - ‘it was not good’. This format remained unchanged for decades. One woman, Phibbah, received special treatment as Thistlewood’s “wife” from 1758 onward, yet every sexual act between them was recorded similarly, albeit without records of location or resistance. Phibbah’s distinct status was sometimes made apparent within a single day’s entry:

xxx PM Cum Ellin Sup: Terr: by ye Fence... xxx at Night Cum Ph:¹⁵⁰

Trevor Burnard has questionably described this unique treatment as ‘a warm and loving relationship [with a] vigorous sex life... if such a thing was possible between a slave and her master’.¹⁵¹ As Daniel Livesay notes, it is important to recognise such

¹⁴⁷ Burnard, *Mastery*, pp.131-4.

¹⁴⁸ Block, *Ordinary Lives*, p.188; YUL, OSB MSS 176, 1748-50, pp.510-12 and p.520.

¹⁴⁹ YUL, OSB MSS 176, 1760, p.9.

¹⁵⁰ YUL, OSB MSS 176, 1760, pp.74-6.

¹⁵¹ Burnard, *Mastery*, p.237.

'advancement through sexuality' as part of the 'essential exploitation of enslavement.'¹⁵² Thistlewood's special treatment of Phibbah remained inherently violent and non-consensual. He leveraged her respected status as a matriarch to minimise resistance from his pen's enslaved populace. From Phibbah's perspective, fulfilling Thistlewood's desires gave her limited but valuable leverage to help others. Her emotions intruded on Thistlewood's otherwise brief and plain diary entries. When Thistlewood briefly left the Egypt pen in 1757, he wrote that

Phibbah grieves very much, and last night I could not sleep but was vastly uneasy... Begged hard off mr Cope to sell or hire me Phibbah to me, but she would not; he was willing.¹⁵³

Thistlewood's diaries are generally far less descriptive than Mountier's letters; such emotional detail was incredibly rare. Over time, Phibbah's actions exposed how Thistlewood's efforts to exercise control as a white, colonial patriarch were in fact negotiations of power. She was able to interrupt his sleep; to make him 'beg' another man for access to her; to (not always successfully) shape his sexual activities. Over time, both Mountier and Thistlewood were changed by their exposure to new racial regimes and sexual opportunities in Jamaica.

As they adjusted to the racial and sexual regime of Caribbean colonies, British men separated Black women from their children as an additional gendered method of control. This was done to erase their maternal femininity, hinder them from claiming kinship equal to Europeans, and to reduce resistance through demoralisation. From 1673 to 1725, nearly one-seventh of African captives in the British Caribbean were children: this proportion would increase in the decades following 1760.¹⁵⁴ Planters both broke up Black families and designated new ones. This forced coupling reinscribed the power of colonists over the enslaved, and further made the reproductive capacities of Black women part of the 'rationalising equation of capture and sale'.¹⁵⁵ Cadwallader

¹⁵² Livesay, 'Emerging from the Shadows', p.127.

¹⁵³ YUL, OSB MSS 176, 1757, pp.93-4.

¹⁵⁴ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, pp.103-6, p.165 and p.191.

¹⁵⁵ Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, p.23; Schiebinger, 'Feminist History', p.243; Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.224.

Colden's correspondence shows how British enslavers used children to control enslaved mothers specifically. In 1717, Colden sent an enslaved woman to a Mr Jordan in Barbados, in exchange for a cargo of white sugar. This unnamed woman was described as a

good House Negro [who] understands the work perfectly & washes well.¹⁵⁶

However, Colden disliked her resistance to his demands; her '[E]lusive Tongue' and 'sullenness'. He recognised that social norms among Pennsylvania colonists dissuaded planters there from 'using our Negroes as you doe in Barbados' (i.e., more brutally). Sending her there would expose her to 'a lit[t]le of your Discipline'. Colden only allowed this woman to keep one of her many children. He deliberately kept 'several other of her Children, which I value', claiming that she would 'spoil' them as a mother. By consciously disrupting the maternal bonds between this woman and her children, Colden reinforced his patriarchal status as an enslaver. Like Byrd, he felt the need to distance his own masculine identity from the Caribbean colonial reputation for brutality, even as he exploited that same reputation. Colden wanted to break this woman's spirit without inflicting savage violence which would damage his masculine credit as an even-handed patriarch and enslaver.

Beyond moments of physical resistance (like Daphne's against Thistlewood), African women found other ways to resist the sexual and reproductive control of British men. Some were 'unmanageable workers', such as the mother Colden sent to Barbados or the 'always ill' woman who told Alida Schuyler's cousin that 'she did not want to be sold'.¹⁵⁷ Such sources 'ventriloquise' enslaved resistance.¹⁵⁸ Some women committed suicide on the Middle Passage, or terminated pregnancies to interrupt the reproductive capabilities valued by enslavers and prevent children being born into slavery.¹⁵⁹ In 1700s Jamaica, Hans Sloane noted that enslaved women used the peacock flower

¹⁵⁶ Letter from CC to Mr. Jordan, 26/03/1717 in Colden (ed.), *Letters and Papers vol. 1*, p.80.

¹⁵⁷ Burnard, *Mastery*, p.213; LFP, Letter from AS to RL, 07/06/1722.

¹⁵⁸ Williard, 'Ventriloquizing Blackness', pp.83-5.

¹⁵⁹ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, pp.163-8; Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, p.66.

(*Caesalpinia pulcherrima*) because it 'causes Abortion'.¹⁶⁰ Likewise, Thistlewood recorded in 1767 that 'Mountain Lucy miscarried, having... drank contrayerva lately every day on purpose'.¹⁶¹ Thistlewood fathered fourteen children (who survived infancy) by enslaved women; in this instance, Mountain Lucy had prevented another.¹⁶² Enslaved women could resist the reproductive control of white men, and expose the limits of their masculine authority in colonial spaces.

While the matrilineality of enslavement allowed white men like Thistlewood to reproduce the enslaved population through sexual assault, there is little evidence this economic logic translated into widespread action.¹⁶³ Caribbean colonies continually imported more newly-enslaved Africans to offset their high death rates, and the Chesapeake colonies had self-sustaining enslaved populations which needed no help expanding.¹⁶⁴ Mixed-race children provided enduring proof of interracial sexual contact, the metropolitan stigmatisation of which Mountier referenced in his letters. They were associated with illegitimacy, further aligning racial and gendered status in ways which Kathleen Brown notes 'effectively Africanised the social margins'.¹⁶⁵ A multitude of mixed-race children served as damning proof that colonists were not reproducing the white population: they were exacerbating demographic concerns rather than alleviating them. Again, the patriarchal double standard made this process asymmetrical along gendered lines. One colonist's wife was exposed as having taken 'her own Negro slave' to bed 'by whom she hath a child'.¹⁶⁶

While men like Mountier and Thistlewood had few connections to the metropole or to genteel colonial society, gentleman colonists felt greater pressure to maintain racial distance. Specifically, wealthier men who formed families with Black women (as Thistlewood did with Phibbah) struggled to do so. Mary Johnston Rose (d.1783), a mixed-race Jamaican woman, was the housekeeper and common-law wife of MP, FRS,

¹⁶⁰ Sloane, *A Voyage*, p.50.

¹⁶¹ YUL, OSB MSS 176, 1767, p.174.

¹⁶² Burnard, *Mastery*, p.53.

¹⁶³ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.247.

¹⁶⁴ Burnard, *Mastery*, p.222.

¹⁶⁵ Brown, *Good Wives*, pp.196-205.

¹⁶⁶ Jordan, *White over Black*, p.139.

and planter Rose Fuller (1708-77). In 1746, the Jamaican Assembly granted Rose and her sons the same rights as white colonists despite their mixed ancestry.¹⁶⁷ One of these sons, Thomas, was thus educated in England like a white creole. When Fuller left for England in 1755, he initially supported Rose at a distance, sending her expensive goods and money to pay for the manumission of 'a Mulatto Woman named Ann & her son John'.¹⁶⁸ When Rose thanked Fuller for such 'marks of... esteem', she also asked for 'Oznabriggs for cloathing my own negroes'.¹⁶⁹ Rose therefore had significant financial leeway and control over enslaved people in Jamaica. She even sent enslaved man James Morse to Liverpool to buy goods for her in 1757.¹⁷⁰ While Phibbah and Rose were not given equal racial status, their situations were thus similar in many ways. Both women leveraged their intimate relationships with white men to negotiate and mitigate the latter's patriarchal control.

Rose's status was resented by her Jamaican peers. One letter referred to Mary Rose icily as 'her ladyship', and she suspected many people were 'indeavouring to give you [Fuller] bad Impressions of me'.¹⁷¹ With Fuller absent in England, Rose found herself in economic difficulties as a result of social pressure from creole society. She asked for reassurance from Fuller, pleading that she had 'no Friend but [him] to apply to for help: 'I beg... that you would make me easy in this affair'.¹⁷² These pleas arrived safely in England, yet Fuller rarely replied to Rose's letters, leaving her 'extremely uneasy'.¹⁷³ She craved 'a single line just to tell me you are well... I have often known the want of your being here'.¹⁷⁴ This language closely resembled Sarah Carstares' letters to Dunlop

¹⁶⁷ Powers, Anne M., 'Mary Johnston Rose – How to become legally white', *A Parcel of Ribbons*, 12/11/2011: <http://aparcelofribbons.co.uk/2011/11/mary-johnston-rose-how-to-become-legally-white>. [accessed 03/03/2020].

¹⁶⁸ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/9, Letter from Walter Grant, James Barclay, Samuel Johnston and Thomas Straton, Lignarea to RF, 01/06/1755.

¹⁶⁹ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/44 and 21/135, Letters from MR to RF (Spanish Town to London), 04/05/1756 and 20/06/1757 respectively.

¹⁷⁰ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/160, Letter from Rose May to RF (Liverpool to London), 03/09/1757.

¹⁷¹ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/189 and 21/265, Letters from George Alpress to RF (Spanish Town to London) and from MR to RF (Jamaica to London), 19/06/1758 and 27/08/1759 respectively.

¹⁷² ESRO, SAS/RF 21/220 and 21/232, Letters from MR to RF (Spanish Town to London), 27/09/1758 and 21/03/1759 respectively.

¹⁷³ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/265.

¹⁷⁴ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/44, Letter from Mary Rose (MR) in Spanish Town, Jamaica to Rose Fuller (RF) in London, 04/05/1756; SAS/RF 21/90, Letter from MR to RF, 21/12/1756.

(see chapter three), and several subsequent letters from Rose invoked physical and emotional proximity using similar phrases to Carstares':

You are always thought of in Jamaica with the utmost Esteem...¹⁷⁵

Your Happiness... is my daily and constant Prayer.¹⁷⁶

Though Rose's experience of racial slavery in Jamaica was wholly different from Carstares' experience of marital separation, other aspects of Atlantic distance acted similarly upon these two women. Both struggled with the effects of separation from husbands across the ocean, connected only by slow correspondence; Rose also had to cope with life in Jamaican slave society. Fuller did nothing to help mitigate these effects. In 1759, he transferred much of Rose's land to a neighbour. 'Greatly Chagrined', she invoked their past intimacy to try and stir Fuller's sympathies:

the Service I did for you... [and] the Intimacy between us left me no room to doubt that you would Remember me... I served you Faithfully for several years... [and] ought not to be Rashly discarded.¹⁷⁷

Making ends meet only 'with great difficulty', Rose waited with 'great Impatience' for a reply, but none survives in the archival record (which ends in 1759).¹⁷⁸ Despite her ability to communicate at a distance (in ways similar to Carstares), Rose could not traverse the gendered dynamics of racial distance established in the British West Indies. In 1761, the Jamaican Assembly revoked the rights of Rose and her children. Illegitimate and mixed-race children inheriting from white planters threatened to set a precedent which would have undermined matrilineal, heritable racial slavery. Though Fuller bequeathed his Spanish Town house, a £100 Jamaica annuity, and 'the use of six female slaves' to Rose in his will, he did not die until 1777. Rose's brief traversal of the racial distance between white and Black women was thus idiosyncratic and temporary.

¹⁷⁵ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/134, Letter from MR to RF, 20/06/1757.

¹⁷⁶ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/232, Letter from MR to RF, 21/03/1759.

¹⁷⁷ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/241, Letter from MR to RF, 27/05/1759.

¹⁷⁸ ESRO, SAS/RF 21/265.

5. Colonial Femininity and Maternity

Though British men and women had many shared interests in the construction of whiteness and racial slavery, their engagement with (and benefits derived from) these processes were not identical. These differences form part of a wider gendered divide - the distinct effects of Atlantic distance on men and women during the 1660-1760 period. Historians including Christine Walker and Sarah Yeh (among others discussed below) have outlined and explored the colonial feminine engagement with racial slavery. However, their work has not been sufficiently situated within wider analyses of gender and Atlantic distance. Below, I address this historiographical deficiency by showing how colonial women engaged with the economics of slavery; the demographic motives underlying their decisions about pregnancy, nursing, and maternity; the accommodation of violence against the enslaved in colonial femininity; and the role castration and runaway advertisements played in preserving the sexual exclusivity of British women across the Atlantic.

The racial nature of slavery gave British women in Atlantic colonies a distinct kind of social dividend. Combined with the economic profits of slavery, the prestige given to whiteness helped British women to mitigate some effects of patriarchal misogyny.¹⁷⁹ There were female planters such as Eliza Lucas (see chapter three), and Stafford's experience further shows how women exploited enslaved labour across social strata. By using the enslaved to avoid labouring themselves, these women created what Sarah Yeh calls a 'distinct zone of female gentility'.¹⁸⁰ This ran parallel to Byrd's comments about white men using the enslaved 'rank of poor creature below' to inflate their own status by comparison. Women could use enslaved labour to (partially) elevate themselves above labouring white men. This prospect of a distinct 'female gentility' drew both poor tavernkeepers and wealthy textile traders to seek the combined social and economic dividends of enslaved labour.¹⁸¹ To white women in the colonies, slavery

¹⁷⁹ Christine Walker, 'Womanly Masters: Gendering Slave Ownership in Colonial Jamaica' in *Women in Early America*, ed. by Thomas A. Foster (New York, 2018), 139-158 (p.140).

¹⁸⁰ Yeh, "A Sink of All Filthiness", pp.77-8.

¹⁸¹ Walker, 'Pursuing Her Profits', pp.484-92.

offered financial security, a kind of gentility, and the chance to re-establish household credit after the difficulties of transatlantic migration.

The distinct gender imbalance of Britain's colonies and inheritance customs carried across the Atlantic both reinforced the distinct dividends which racial slavery afforded to colonial femininity. Across England and Scotland, real estate was customarily bequeathed to men and movable chattel to women; female colonists were more likely to inherit enslaved people.¹⁸² In turn, around three-quarters of women in Britain's Caribbean colonies left enslaved people as property in their wills between 1650 and 1750.¹⁸³ Many continued bequeathing enslaved people (or funds specifically to purchase them) to female descendants. Building on such inheritances, many planters' widows took over their plantations. Maria Taylor did so when Byrd died in 1744; Mary Elbridge ran her husband's Jamaican plantation for decades after his death. Such women became important creditors, particularly in Jamaica's money-obsessed society.¹⁸⁴ As Mountier resentfully noted (above), British women were at a particular premium in Jamaican society. The wealth of these widows made them particularly attractive brides for male sojourners, hence Mountier's writing to Burd in 1733 that he was 'damnably in Love with a Widow worth Some money' (see chapter one).¹⁸⁵ Women in Britain's colonies derived significant levels of financial independence amid patriarchy from their engagement with racial slavery.

Many colonial women further used whiteness to defend their femininity in terms of sexual desirability and propriety. As seen in chapter one, feminine 'virtue' in many ways paralleled masculine credit as a gendered measure of personal worth. Supporting their claims to 'virtue' with the emergent benefits of whiteness, British women stressed the racial distance between themselves and Black men. For example, Virginian colonist Ann Batson insulted another Englishwoman by calling her 'a Negro whore and a Negros Strumpet'.¹⁸⁶ Ned Ward satirised this racialisation of feminine sexuality in his 1703

¹⁸² Inge Dornan, "'Whoever Takes Her Up, Gives Her 50 Good Lashes, and Deliver Her to Me': Women Slave-Owners and the Politics of Slave Management in South Carolina, c.1691–1740", *Journal of Global Slavery*, 6 (2021), 131–155 (p.144).

¹⁸³ Walker, 'Womanly Masters', pp.143–150.

¹⁸⁴ Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, p.100.

¹⁸⁵ NAS, RH15/54/9/21, Letter from AM to EBJ, 26/09/1733.

¹⁸⁶ Brown, *Good Wives*, p.211; Yeh, "A Sink of All Filthiness", p.74.

London Spy. Three women are depicted voyaging to Jamaica: a 'pritty Maid', a 'comly Widow', and a woman whose 'Stray'd Husband' had left her for 'a Lac[qu]er-Fac'd Creolean'.¹⁸⁷ While the latter passenger accepted that other white women might be more attractive, being

Rival'd by a... Tawny Fac'd Moletto Strumpet, a Pump-kin colour'd Whore... her Honour would not suffer.

Ward's satire highlighted the consequences of the patriarchal double standard and the gendered construction of race. British men enjoyed the sexual pursuit of exoticised women overseas - in this case, not even an enslaved Black woman, but merely a tanned ('Lacquer-fac'd'), colonial-born creole woman. Such sexual freedom was unavailable to British women, whose sexual propriety was key to their 'virtue'. In this environment, women's 'virtue' was stretched by Atlantic distance in a manner parallel to masculine credit (see chapter one). Ward's abandoned woman repeatedly tied the 'Creolean's skin colour to her sexual impropriety. Crossing the Atlantic had brought her husband within range of this tempting 'Strumpet', whose depiction as morally corrupt and sinful reinforced the superiority of metropolitan femininity.¹⁸⁸ While Edward Long later defended creole women as 'polite, generous, humane, and charitable', he also admitted that many were driven by 'a warm climate [to]... listless indolence'.¹⁸⁹ The conflation of creole and Black women by their metropolitan counterparts reflected the scale of transatlantic distance, and the early signs of racial osmosis. Though already present in 1703, these ideas would mature and develop over the eighteenth century.

Simultaneously, British women also wanted to prove their own sexual attractiveness in comparison to Black women. For example, one colonist retorted to the *Charleston Gazette's* recommendation of 'African Ladies' sexual abilities (above); white women were 'capable for [sexual] Service either night or day as any African Ladies'.¹⁹⁰ Boasting of British women's 'Activity of Hipps and humoring... what Posture soever their Partners

¹⁸⁷ Ward, *London Spy*, pp.8-9.

¹⁸⁸ Amussen and Poska, 'Shifting the Frame', p.18.

¹⁸⁹ Long, *History*, p.265.

¹⁹⁰ Jordan, *White over Black*, p.146.

may fancy', the respondent hoped these women would have 'preference before the black Ladies'. Ward's satire thus reproduced misogynist tropes of feminine vanity, but also reflected a more genuine defence of white feminine sexual prowess. As Mountier noted in Jamaica, white women's perceived higher value was reflected in the higher rates charged by white sex workers. White femininity was so valuable in Jamaica that women who engaged in extramarital affairs or birthed illegitimate children were treated far more leniently than in Britain.¹⁹¹ Metropolitan contemporaries (such as Ward's readers) therefore associated crossing the Atlantic and becoming a 'creole' woman with sexual laxity. In their eyes, racial proximity to Black women stained the femininity of Caribbean colonists.

While childbearing helped all British women to consolidate their femininity, the demographic concerns underlying colonisation prompted even greater emphasis on colonial feminine fertility. The ability of British women to increase the population and (more specifically) pass on British ethnicity added a distinct value to their femininity when overseas: child-bearing became an imperial duty.¹⁹² Many men therefore boasted that their respective colonies were spaces which amplified this coveted fecundity. Samuel Wilson and John Lawson claimed that Carolinian air made women 'very fruitful', using the exact same phrase; Cotton Mather boasted of his New England 'good countrywomen's... Fruitfulness'; William Byrd II claimed that Virginian sun helped his pregnant wife Maria Taylor 'ripen our fine Fruit.'¹⁹³ Writing in 1682, 1710, 1712, and 1726 respectively, all these men invoked the metaphor of fruit to describe colonial feminine fertility. By constantly linking American lands to female fertility, colonists reinforced the feminisation of that land (see chapter four). When Maria Taylor had three children within 34 months of arriving in America, Byrd framed her fertility as further evidence of his successful husbandry.¹⁹⁴ By likening her fertility to that of Virginia's land, Taylor's maternal "success" both consolidated her colonial feminine identity, and complemented Byrd's status as a colonial patriarch.

¹⁹¹ Walker, 'Pursuing Her Profits', pp.481-5.

¹⁹² Manion, *Female Husbands*, p.258; Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.250.

¹⁹³ Schiebinger, *Plants and empire*, p.3; Lawson, *Voyage*, p.84; McCormick, 'Statistics', p.579; Letter from WBII to CB, 05/07/1726 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.354-6.

¹⁹⁴ Allison Luthern, "'The truth of it is, she has her reasons for procreating so fast": Maria Taylor Byrd's challenges to patriarchy in eighteenth-century Virginia' - MA Thesis (Appalachian State University, 2012), p.42.

The effects of American climates on British women were more uncertain, not least as there were fewer of them overseas to provide evidence. Staying with a merchant's wife in 1760s Montserrat, Sarah Paul noted that her 'the warmth of the climate seemed to enrich [her]... lively and spirited countenance'.¹⁹⁵ In contrast, the London-born and raised Maria Taylor (Byrd's second wife) took time to adjust to Virginia: she initially found it hot 'eno[ugh] to... wish herself back in England'.¹⁹⁶ Her subsequent fertility appeared to prove the healthiness of Virginia's climate, and many New England families were also larger than their metropolitan counterparts throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁹⁷ However, not every colony provided a supportive environment for pregnant women. Caribbean colonies had a low birth-rate, and southern continental colonies were badly affected by malaria, a disease which disproportionately affects pregnant women. Malaria reduces female fertility, produces more severe symptoms and outcomes in pregnant women, and increases the rates of miscarriage and infant mortality.¹⁹⁸ Settlers in 1730s Georgia complained that many women there could not carry a pregnancy to full term:

Our women that are now pregnant are in deadly apprehensions that the present soil is pernicious to both the growth of children.¹⁹⁹

The genuine difficulty many colonial women therefore experienced in becoming mothers only heightened the focus on female fertility across the British Atlantic. With this attention came an increased scrutiny of British women's pregnancies and nursing in colonial spaces. Life in overseas colonies narrowed women's nursing options, with only wealthier women able to imitate metropolitan practice. However, wealthy colonial women often relied on enslaved Black women as wet nurses, the racial distance

¹⁹⁵ Paul, *The Life*, p.83.

¹⁹⁶ Letters from WBII to John Boyle and to CB, 02/02/1727 and 05/07/1726 respectively in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.359-61 and pp.354-6.

¹⁹⁷ Treckel, 'Breastfeeding', p.43; Taylor, *American Colonies*, p.307.

¹⁹⁸ J. Schantz-Dunn and N. M. Nour, 'Malaria and Pregnancy: A Global Health Perspective', *Reviews in Obstetrics & Gynecology*, 2:3 (2009), 186-192.

¹⁹⁹ This quotation came from Salzburger colonists in the then-new British colony of Georgia. Ben Marsh, *Georgia's Frontier Women: Female Fortunes in a Southern Colony* (Athens GA, 2007), p.27.

established between them contrasting with the inherent intimacy of breastfeeding.²⁰⁰ Enslaved women were inherently cheaper than white wet nurses, and far easier to find.²⁰¹ Nursing also represented another kind of labour which white women could delegate to enslaved women, to cultivate their 'distinct female gentility'. This use of African women's breast milk further commodified their bodies and erased their own maternity. Some planters assigned husbands to enslaved women to get them pregnant and (subsequently) lactating. The animalised descriptions of African women's breasts typified by Ligon and Mountier (above) were seen as evidence of 'Black women's superior ability to suckle'.²⁰² As wet nurses, the femininity of Black women came into close contact with that of British women who enslaved them. The maternal dimension of colonial femininity, so at stake in the imperial demographic project, was thus connected to the femininity of Black women whose own maternity had been deliberately erased.

Despite the many apparent advantages of using enslaved Black women as wet nurses, the practice surprised metropolitan British women. As the belief that ethnicity was matrilineal extended beyond the womb to nursing, breastfeeding was a potentially powerful vector for racial osmosis. Aspects of identity, appearance, and temperament were thought to be transferable via breastmilk; 'Sanguine', ruddy, brown-haired wet nurses were most sought after.²⁰³ These transferable traits included masculine and feminine behaviour, with the mothers of boys sought to pass on masculine traits to infant boys in their milk and vice versa. An enslaved Black wet nurse could have therefore passed on traits racialised as undesirable, the most obvious being a darker complexion. Likely nursed by Black women herself as an infant in Antigua, Eliza Lucas also used enslaved wet nurses for her own children. When Lucas introduced her daughter to Princess Augusta in London in 1753, the latter was thus 'surprized' that 'suckling [by] blacks' had not darkened Lucas' daughters' skin:

²⁰⁰ Brown, *Good Wives*, p.317.

²⁰¹ West and Knight, 'Mothers' milk', pp.38-9.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Treckel, 'Breastfeeding', pp.29-31.

The Princess stroakd her cheek, said it made no alteration in the complexion and paid her the compliment of being very fair and pretty.²⁰⁴

The metropolitan suspicion of Black wet nurses gave colonial women one motive to breastfeed their own children. However, this placed them in a contradictory position. The contraceptive effects of breastfeeding ran counter to the demographic obsession with feminine fertility. For example, Virginian planter Landon Carter (1710-78) criticised his daughter-in-law for nursing her own infant. He believed this was a deliberate tactic to 'not breed too fast'.²⁰⁵ Comparing modern medical studies with contemporary diaries from Massachusetts, Paula Treckel has shown that many colonial pregnancies were indeed delayed by breastfeeding.²⁰⁶ However, Treckel also found little evidence that colonial women exploited this contraceptive effect deliberately, as Carter had implied. Not only was sexual abstinence seen as more reliable, but many husbands influenced (or outright determined) the form nursing took. As nursing mothers were advised to avoid sexual activity until children were weaned, some men sought wet nurses specifically to resume marital sexual activity. For women like Eliza Lucas and Lucy Parke, the value of enslaved Black women was therefore part of a complex maternal equation. The desires of colonial fathers and the metropolitan suspicion of reduced racial distance (between Black women and white children) also shaped their decisions.

William Byrd II's reaction to Maria Taylor's continuing fertility in Virginia further exposes the contradictory nature of maternal expectations placed upon colonial women. With only three to four months between her pregnancies, Taylor had likely used enslaved wet nurses at Westover like Parke had before her. Byrd had previously exempted Parke's wet nurse from violent punishment due to her utility, reflected in the name assigned to her: 'Nurse'.²⁰⁷ Though initially delighted at Taylor's fertility, Byrd was later irritated by her childbearing, complaining that 'nothing but a rabbit that breeds faster'.²⁰⁸ In the wider context of the British Atlantic, Taylor's fecundity matched the feminine ideal. Indeed, Byrd conceded in this same letter that it would be

²⁰⁴ Pinckney (ed.), *Letterbook*, pp.75-80.

²⁰⁵ Treckel, 'Breastfeeding', p.34.

²⁰⁶ Treckel, 'Breastfeeding', p.43.

²⁰⁷ Treckel, "'The Empire of My Heart'", p.146.

²⁰⁸ Letter from WBII to Jane Pratt Taylor (JPT), 03/04/1729 in Tinling (ed.), *Correspondence*, pp.391-2.

ungallant... to dissuade her from it [while] she lives in an infant country which wants people.

However, he also believed that his wife's childbearing success was undermining his patriarchal authority. Byrd worried that he was not in control of this rapid procreation, and claimed in the same letter that this was some kind of revengeful, domestic power play: 'she has her reasons for procreateing so fast'. Supposedly, many children would create 'an encumbrance' on Byrd, preventing him from remarrying if Taylor died and ensuring they were the ones to inherit Westover. Byrd considered interrupting Taylor's childbearing by visiting England, again framing her fertility in agricultural terms: he would leave her to 'lye fallow till I come back'. This letter suggests that while colonial men demanded white women reproduce British ethnicity overseas, they were not always prepared for the authority which reproductive success could lend to colonial femininity.

The distinct authority slavery lent to colonial femininity was reinforced through violence. This contrasted with metropolitan expectations that women were not supposed to inflict corporal punishment. As Londa Schiebinger writes, colonial women were 'hardly humane... often the harshest of slave owners'.²⁰⁹ In 1684, English merchant Thomas Tryon (1634-1703) was shocked to see 'the softer Sex... more fierce, dogged, pinching, oppressing and severe than the men' in punishing the enslaved.²¹⁰ Stafford's comment that Charleston colonists 'beat them well' demonstrates the normalisation of this violence. In 1710, Byrd recorded in his diary that Lucy Parke had 'caused little Jenny to be burned with a hot iron'.²¹¹ British women crossing the Atlantic thus passed into a space where feminine violence was not just permitted but encouraged against the enslaved. Mary Ricketts, initially shocked by such 'barbaritys', came to give 'a whip for every trifle' herself.²¹² Though slavery offered British women more domestic authority

²⁰⁹ Schiebinger, 'Feminist History', p.243.

²¹⁰ Thomas Tryon, *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies* (London, 1684), pp.105-6.

²¹¹ Lockridge, *Diary and Life*, p.67.

²¹² Walker, 'Womanly Masters', pp.151-2.

and financial power, it certainly challenged metropolitan norms of femininity in the process.

The violence committed by colonial women against the enslaved included a focus on reproduction and sexual exclusivity, embodied by the castration of some Black men as punishment. In 1693, the colony of Barbados paid Englishwoman Alice Mills ten guineas to castrate 42 enslaved men who had rebelled.²¹³ Having white women like Mills emasculate enslaved men reinforced the power of white femininity to control Black men through violence. Print descriptions reinforced the idea that enslaved Black men posed a sexual threat to the (comparatively scarce) white women on which colonial demography relied. In 1718, one Boston newspaper published a story that warned ‘all Negroes meddling... with any white Women’.²¹⁴ Caught accosting ‘an English Woman... to lye with’, a Black man was supposedly castrated on the spot by a passing Englishman, forcibly curtailing ‘such Wicked Attempts’. Castration as punishment shocked officials newly arrived from the metropole. It was never applied to white men, and had no basis in metropolitan English or Scottish law. Castration was instead a racially specific, distinctly colonial punishment, produced to represent and enforce the sexual reproductive exclusivity of white colonists in a society underpinned by heritable slavery.

The intertwined demographic and sexual concerns of British colonists included a growing fear of vagrants, convicts, and ‘runaways’. This was both a direct result of Atlantic distance and a factor which informed the gendered construction of race during this period. Metropolitan courts took advantage of Atlantic colonies’ remoteness and perceived emptiness (see chapter four) to transport criminals overseas. With transportation sentencing formalised in 1717 and expanded during the 1740s and 1760s, convicts comprised approximately one-quarter of British colonial migrants from 1718 to 1776.²¹⁵ Britain’s American colonies thus inherited an inflated form of

²¹³ Hilary Beckles, ‘Historicizing Slavery in West Indian Feminisms’, *Feminist Review*, 59 (Summer 1998), 34-56 (pp.36-37); Edward B. Rugemer, ‘The Development of Mastery and Race in the Comprehensive Slave Codes of the Greater Caribbean during the Seventeenth Century’, *WMQ*, 70:3 (July 2013), 429-458 (p.455).

²¹⁴ Jordan, *White over Black*, pp.156-8.

²¹⁵ Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, ‘Convict Transportation from Britain and Ireland 1615–1870’, *HC*, 8:11 (2010), 1221–1242 (p.1226).

metropolitan mistrust of mobile, criminalised individuals, to which colonists added new, racialised anxieties about individuals who had escaped slavery. A majority of these 'runaways' were Black men aged between twenty and fifty, and advertisements for their recapture emphasised the racial distance separating them from white 'convicts'. For example, in 1736 the *Virginia Gazette* described white convicts as being "burnt", while horses and the enslaved were both "branded".²¹⁶ One advert from 1724 identified escaped enslaved woman Beatrix by her 'very thick Lips' and 'Wooly Head'.²¹⁷ Respectively, these descriptors reflected the sexualisation and animalisation of African women seen above: Hans Sloane and William Byrd II had also described enslaved Africans' hair as 'wool' in the 1690s.²¹⁸

Serving as a useful tool for enslavers, these racialised advertisements reflected the wider development of racial slavery in Britain's Atlantic colonies. Though some such adverts did appear in metropolitan print, the majority were published in - and developed in tandem with - colonial newspapers.²¹⁹ They comprised at least half of Boston's *Daily Courant* (1702-35) and Philadelphia's *Pennsylvania Gazette* (1728-66), and represented both papers' most reliable income source.²²⁰ Surveying advertisements published between 1700 and 1780, Simon Newman concludes that virtually all emphasised racial descriptors of those escaping slavery.²²¹ This form of print thus reinforced the development of colonial print while acting as a tool with which to control the enslaved. In terms of colonists' anxieties about gender and reproduction, these adverts reinforced the perception that Black men were inherent sexual predators: their escape was presented as a threat to white women. As seen above, comparatively few British women crossed the Atlantic. This made it easier for planters in Jamaica and St Kitts to use the spectre of escaped Black men as rapists to motivate their recapture.²²²

²¹⁶ Morgan and Rushton, 'Visible Bodies', pp.48-51.

²¹⁷ Newman, 'Freedom-Seeking Slaves', p.1149 and p.1157.

²¹⁸ RS, Cl.P/14i/44; Mark Govier, 'The Royal Society, Slavery and the Island of Jamaica: 1660-1700', *Notes and Records of The Royal Society*, 53:2 (May 1999), 203-217 (p.215).

²¹⁹ Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.197.

²²⁰ The ratio of advertising to subscription incomes was roughly 2:3, but advertising income was more reliable. Slaughter, 'The Rise', pp.39-40.

²²¹ Newman, 'Freedom-Seeking Slaves', p.1140 and p.1152.

²²² Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, p.216.

The sum of these developments was the erasure of sexual consent, or the possibility of such consent, between white women and Black men. In 1700, one Pennsylvania court ordered a Black man to never ‘meddle with any white woman more’ upon pain of death.²²³ ‘More’ suggests he had done so already; ‘meddling’ was implicitly nonconsensual. This does not erase the possibility that some British women did willingly use enslaved Black men for sex. In 1763, one Boston merchant sold an enslaved man named Caesar after the latter ‘engaged in an amour with some of the white ladies of the Town’.²²⁴ The use of ‘amour’, and the fact that Caesar was sold rather than violently punished, both imply that the ‘white ladies’ involved may have actively desired Caesar. However, white men closely guarded the sexual exclusivity of white women, as did many white women themselves (above). While men like Mountier could act with impunity toward Black women (whose consent was not deemed necessary), even potentially willing white women could not sexually pursue Black men. Colonial laws and colonial masculinity conspired to enforce the racial distance separating these two groups. The possibility of sexual consent between them was thus erased, reflecting the gendered asymmetry of racial structures in British colonial society.

6. Conclusion

As racial difference was marked out through bodies, sex and gender were key in framing racial slavery in this period. Matrilineal ethnicity made women’s bodies and their reproductive capacities the crux of heritable enslavement. Racial ideologies ‘congealed’ over the century 1660 to 1760, emerging organically from the decisions of British colonists responding to a mixture of social, economic, and cultural pressures. That this process was not consciously determined becomes clearest when gender and race can be seen to interfere with the economic logics underlying colonialism and slavery. In particular, framing African women as animalised chattel made them objects of economic utility, but this also erased the possibility of demographically advantageous interracial marriage or (forced) reproduction. While the matrilineal inheritance of racial slavery (represented by *partus sequitur ventrem*) underpinned Britain’s imperial

²²³ Jordan, *White over Black*, p.139.

²²⁴ Jordan, *White over Black*, p.144.

expansion, the construction of racial difference simultaneously threatened to destabilise that expansion.

Framed within a wider analysis of Atlantic distance and gender, race had a powerful effect on British colonial identities. The frameworks of 'racial distance' and 'racial osmosis' developed throughout this chapter illuminate these effects, and build on the work of Morgan, Burnard, Yeh, Mustakeem, and Walker (among others). Racial distance separated white colonists from enslaved Black individuals, both physically and socially. Shrinking this distance for prolonged periods produced a cultural influence across racial lines; a racial osmosis. Many of the strongest vectors for racial osmosis were heavily gendered: wet nursing, domestic service, and sex. Though men from the continental colonies boasted that American climates boosted masculine and feminine fertility, tropical climates threatened to destabilise colonial identities along gendered lines. Climatic determinism remained an open question throughout the period, particularly in Britain's chief Caribbean colony, Jamaica. The most socially distant colony from the metropole, Jamaica's dramatic mortality rate and population imbalances made racial osmosis appear particularly powerful there.

The effects of race and slavery on colonial masculinity were profound. While all British-African encounters came about through maritime contact, Atlantic distance isolated metropolitan Britons from much of slavery's brutality. This helped men like Byrd and Mountier to convert the profits of slavery into credit which was otherwise strained by oceanic distance. Seamen carrying the enslaved to the Americas initiated the systemic gendered violence inflicted by British men on African women. Despite Byrd's protestations of Virginian paternalist superiority, colonial masculinity incorporated violence against the enslaved across the British Atlantic. Demography and tropical medicine made sexual and reproductive intimacy a matter of colonial masculine control. The violent control of enslaved women reinforced colonial patriarchy but simultaneously damaged the masculinity of colonists in metropolitan eyes. Sojourners who claimed to be disgusted by Black women quickly adapted. As Phibbah, Daphne, and Mountain Lucy showed, enslaved women could expose the limits of white men's sexual and reproductive control: their actions shaped the masculinity of Thomas Thistlewood. Both the resistance of the enslaved ('ventriloquised' in enslavers' records) and their

demographic majority influenced creoles' speech, diet, and attitudes to sex across racial lines. Through these interactions, the enslaved actively pulled British colonists' gendered identities further from metropolitan ideals.

British women were at a premium in overseas colonies, and whiteness gave them a particular social dividend, amplifying the economic advantages women derived from slavery. By cultivating a distinct 'female gentility', planter women such as Lucas, Parke, and Taylor could challenge (and partially mitigate) the patriarchal control of colonial men. Colonial femininity shifted to control the enslaved using violence, including the castration of Black men. Colonial print scrutinised fugitive enslaved bodies and framed Black men as would-be sexual predators, erasing the possibility of consent between them and colonial women. British women did not have the sexual freedoms of men like Byrd and Mountier. Their sexual and reproductive exclusivity was closely guarded; their fertility and ability to reproduce whiteness overseas became imperial obsessions. Enslaved wet nurses nourished the children of wealthy colonial women, but this material advantage had to be weighed against metropolitan judgement and the perceived risk of racial osmosis. As Ward's satire showed, life in slavery society with its reduction of racial distance alienated colonial women from metropolitan femininity. British women joined men in developing and legitimating the gendered ideals underlying racial slavery.

In summary, the effects of racial slavery on British masculinities and femininities studied here have powerful implications for studies of the Atlantic world in this period. The developments discussed above were pan-British, and built on shared ethnic ideologies carried across the Atlantic. Though English sailors and colonists led the way (and saw themselves as ethnically superior), Scots including Dunlop, Colden, Campbell, and Mountier pursued the same goals as enslavers. Though metropolitan observers consistently critiqued the damage slavery did to the gendered identities of British men and women, its profits were deemed too valuable to halt its expansion. Keenly aware of metropolitan judgement, colonists defended their maintenance of white masculinity and femininity, sometimes (as Byrd showed) critiquing other colonies to do so. Though the British metropole did not resemble Virginia or Jamaica, it too was replete with slave

owners and their profits.²²⁵ The effects of racial slavery were therefore not isolated to colonies. Rather, they percolated throughout the British Atlantic world, as shown by Mountier's use of slavery profits to both support his Scottish sister and pay an enslaved woman for sex.

²²⁵ Newman, 'Freedom-Seeking Slaves', p.1139 and p.1148.

Conclusion

Through both sources and methods, this thesis represents an innovative analysis of gender, identity, and distance in the early modern British Atlantic. Highlighting several largely unstudied collections, I have combined sources in new ways, responding to questions and issues posed by historians throughout the 2010s. Julie Hardwick asked how historians could address myopic perspectives which elided family and gender. Susan Amussen and Allyson Poska asked to what extent Atlantic encounters and imperial expansion affected European gender norms, sexual ideals, and power dynamics. To answer these questions, the experience of Atlantic distance and colonial encounters significantly re-shaped British masculine and feminine identities from 1660 to 1760.

Produced by complex social and cultural negotiations, gender was a key point of cultural difference across the Atlantic world. Britain's imperial expansion exposed individual men and women to diverse, unfamiliar influences in liminal settler colonies. From 1660 to 1760, this world developed and expanded. Transportation, transatlantic migration, and the obfuscating effects of seafaring created social outlets for British society, and new ways to escape norms of gender and sexuality. Men and women were affected along gendered lines by the social-financial shifts of stretched credit; the experience of seafaring and port societies; their reliance on inherently unreliable seaborne mail; their encounters with Indigenous peoples and lands; their increasing use of racial ideologies to impose heritable slavery upon Africans. These experiences could support or erode each individual's cultivation of masculinity and femininity. They did not produce monolithic, 'Atlantic' identities, or any single 'British Atlantic masculinity' or 'femininity' in this period. Instead, we can speak of an 'Atlantic influence' on identity. The extent to which anyone's masculinity or femininity was 'Atlanticised' varied on an individual basis, depending on their level of exposure to these varied effects.

Atlantic expansion introduced Britons on both sides of the Atlantic to new commodities (principally sugar, tobacco, tea, and coffee) as well as naval impressment. These and the profits of slavery shaped class divides, the rethinking of ethnicity and development

of race adding new dimensions to class and gender identities. The imperial mentalities of proto-industrial Britain had coalesced, setting the stage for a second wave of colonial expansion enabled by the final proof of sufficiently reliable, survivable blue water navigation. Colonies clinging to American and Caribbean shores as metropole-dependent enclaves slowly became self-determined societies of local-born settlers. The subsequent divergence of colonial and metropolitan identities and priorities likewise set the stage for American independence.

Many British colonists were mentally and physically altered by life overseas: their friends and family expected this. Alexander Hamilton and Maria Taylor appeared to thrive when transplanted to warmer climates. Mary Ricketts adopted the enslaver brutality which had shocked her, and 'filthy trash' became 'sweet and savory' to Elizabeth Hanson. Though such effects were most powerful in colonial spaces (and varied between colonies), they diffused throughout the British Atlantic world through the movement of goods and people. The influence of Atlantic expansion on British identities also percolated through society via the maintenance and mediation of emotional and familial ties by correspondence; credit, and the power of institutions such as the Royal Society, Royal Navy, and colonial governments; the discourse of coffeehouses and newspapers; the products and profits of slavery entering the metropolitan economy.

1. Theory and Methodology

Over a century of colonial expansion, distance shaped the changing social and cultural relations of the British Atlantic world. Throughout this thesis, I have highlighted different scales and forms of 'Atlantic distance'. Physical distance was experienced aboard ships at sea and in American landscapes. Social distance separated Robert Livingston from the poor sailors he spent months with at sea. Racial distance set Thomas Thistlewood above the enslaved population he commanded. No two Britons experienced Atlantic distance in the same way. Indeed, most Britons never crossed the Atlantic themselves, and most of those who did were poor, indentured servants. Wealthy planters like Cadwallader Colden are over-represented in surviving written sources. However, there were common threads of experience for all early modern Britons. Maritime mobility was omni-directional for all travellers, and the Atlantic represented a wholly new scale of

distance compared to those within Britain and Europe. All passengers and colonists experienced the shock and unfamiliarity of boarding 'wooden worlds', travelling further than ever before to new lands and climates. There, all encountered combinations of Native American and African peoples, let alone diverse other Europeans. Each colony had its own characteristics, and the distance separating them from each other was also profound.

The Atlantic ocean itself determined much of the material experience of distance and the effects of that experience on British colonists. It obstructed the maintenance of credit, emotional ties and personal relationships. Transoceanic distance was experienced relative to the speed of sailing ships and the postal system. All communication relied on shipborne mail, even into the nineteenth century: improvements were only incremental from 1660 to 1760. Voyages exposed colonists to the threat of shipwreck and attack while sailors endured scurvy. Arriving overseas further exposed Britons to 'seasoning' and tropical diseases. Settlers looked to Britain as their true home while also trying to distance themselves (both literally and figuratively) from its ills. In turn, colonists' conformation of (or wandering from) British masculine and feminine norms was keenly judged in the metropole. In particular, William Byrd II shows how colonists promoted their newly developed identities while defending their maintenance of British gender norms.

Oceanic distance helped men like William Byrd II and Alexander Mountier profit from slavery by isolating metropolitan consumers from the violence inherent in this economy. The Atlantic also masked these same men's exploitation of Indigenous American and African women. Both Byrd and Mountier appropriated American words, artefacts, flora, and fauna to present new identities to their metropolitan counterparts, exploiting the exoticism of a distant 'New World'. Life at sea provided opportunities for Britons looking to 'trans' gender norms or entirely reinvent their identities. The experiences of Hannah Snell and Charles Hamilton show that this potential was well recognised by contemporaries.

Exploring the multinational nature of 'British Atlantic' spaces has better illuminated how gender operated within it. England was Britain's most populous nation, and London

represented an unrivalled colonial entrepot and political centre. However, the multinational 'British Atlantic' stretched far beyond its epicentre in London. Despite remaining politically, ethnically, and culturally distinct from 1660 to 1760, the English and Scottish in particular undertook an increasingly conjoined imperial expansion. Scotsmen acquired a particular reputation for overseas credit-seeking, and their country's 'national credit' was tied to Atlantic expansion in the late-seventeenth century. Darien represented the collapse of Scottish credit across Atlantic distances, contrasting with England's more successful colonial program. However, in gender terms there was little to distinguish English settlers from Scots. Dunlop, Colden, and Mountier pursued the same colonial sources of credit and slavery-derived wealth as Lawson, Byrd, and Thistlewood. Both nations exploited Indigenous Americans and developed racial ideology; similarities between Highlanders and the Cherokee were only superficial. The ethnic foundations of race were pan-British (and indeed pan-European). Gender norms provided unifying forces between otherwise diverse settlers. The 'British Atlantic' studied here was thus a joint Anglo-Scottish construction, particularly after 1707.

Combining ideas from microhistory and global history is well-established as a way to tie intensely personal dynamics such as gender identity to wider cultural shifts. To develop this further, I have combined neglected sources with a broader range of ideas, producing a new analysis of distance, gender, and identity. Modifying the 'serial microhistory' practised by Kirsten Block into a more prosopographical approach, I have shown how the impacts of Atlantic distance were experienced in diverse ways. Beyond William Byrd II's diverse experiences, I have shown how William Dunlop was affected by strained credit and Indigenous interactions; how Benjamin Franklin experienced voyages and discussed racial divides; how Eliza Lucas negotiated both credit and race as a colonial woman. Despite the challenge of balancing so many sources, this approach has effectively highlighted parallels such as those between John Lawson's *Voyage* and William Byrd II's *Dividing Line*. This has been reinforced by drawing attention to chronically understudied sources and situating them alongside those better-studied. The writings of John 'Ramblin' Jack' Cremer, James Nisbet, John Knight, Alexander Mountier, Sarah Carstares, and Elizabeth Matthews are all valuable sources which deserve further study.

Throughout this thesis, I have analysed masculinity and femininity as aspects of identity which were alternately challenged or reinforced by diverse actions and interactions. They were never 'complete' or 'lost'. This analysis has thus benefited substantially from Mary Louise Roberts' concept of 'gender damage', replacing previous analyses of 'anxious masculinity' and 'gender crisis'. I have explored how colonial British identities were challenged while recognising the persistence of patriarchy and the development of racial supremacy. The continuity of many gender norms did not preclude varied challenges to masculine and feminine identities from the varied effects of Atlantic distance. The framing of 'gender damage' has also helped me to explore space for queer sexualities and non-conforming gender identities, particularly among seafarers such as James Nisbet, John Cremer, Hannah Snell, and Sarah Paul.

Though letters were sent across Britain and Europe before 1660, the Atlantic presented an entirely different scale of distance for correspondence to traverse. Britain's colonial expansion brought ever-increasing numbers into contact with this unparalleled scale of oceanic separation throughout the period. Using emotional and spatial analysis to focus on the effects of distance, this thesis has built on the work of Katie Barclay, William Reddy, and Barbara Rosenwein. The letters which knitted the British Atlantic together were consciously crafted, emotional tools bearing indelible traces of their creator's identities. Correspondence which arrived safely had the power to reassure and consolidate identity. Conversely, the delay or 'miscarrying' of letters induced emotional 'straits', 'heaviness', and 'distraction'. Developing the analysis of these 'ego-documents', I have suggested that the meaning of distance was determined by emotion, and that letters acted as material emotives.

Adopting a broader analysis than Kathleen Brown and Sarah Pearsall's studies of settler-Indigenous encounters, I have attempted to illuminate their 'gendered impact' on Europeans (as described by Amussen and Poska). To produce a more accurately contextualised analysis, I included both Indigenous sources (such as Ned Bearskin and Canassatego) and Indigenous scholarship from Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Susan Miller among others. Inextricable from each other, Indigenous nations and the lands they lived on reshaped how British colonists understood their masculine and feminine identities.

The 'gender frontier' thus emerged from a simultaneous encounter of peoples and lands.

To better analyse how gender and race interacted, I have incorporated ideas from intersectional analysis and the work of Black scholars, particularly Kimberlé Crenshaw, Sowande' Mustakeem, and Jennifer Morgan. Where possible, I discussed the experiences of named enslaved individuals such as Nurse, Prue, and Phibbah. Furthermore, I developed frameworks of 'racial distance' and 'racial osmosis' to better illuminate the effects of 'congealing' racial ideology and life among enslaved majorities on British men and women. Racial distance distinguished free white colonists from enslaved Black workers, yet life in colonial spaces often forced the two to interact for extended periods. This produced a 'racial osmosis' over time, most notable in Britain's Caribbean colonies and exacerbated by persistent questions of climatic determinism. While the matrilineal inheritance of slavery (represented by *partus sequitur ventrem*) underpinned Britain's imperial expansion, race simultaneously threatened to destabilise British colonists' identities. Across both metropolitan and colonial spaces, the socio-economic benefits of whiteness and slavery were seen as intertwined with deleterious effects on masculinity and femininity. By exploring these interactions in new ways and demonstrating how race shaped British masculinities and femininities, I have built on the earlier work of Trevor Burnard, Sarah Yeh, and Christine Walker.

2. Atlantic Masculinities and Femininities

While no single kind of 'Atlantic masculinity' prevailed, the extension of early modern British patriarchy to colonial spaces saw masculine identities adapt to new influences. Across the period, men represented a majority of British colonists and (almost) all British seafarers pursuing the socio-economic opportunities of the 'New World'. My analysis of masculinity has built on an earlier study of William Byrd II, whose correspondence and diaries appear in every chapter of this thesis. Further expanding the study of Byrd's life has reinforced his value as a microhistorical focal point, for the effects of both Atlantic encounters and distance on masculine identities. Rather than an idiosyncratic outlier, Byrd proved to be an ideal jumping-off point for a broader, prosopographical analysis. His struggle to reconcile colonial wealth, credit, and Atlantic distance paralleled the issues faced by Daniel Campbell and Alexander Mountier. His

struggles with maintaining relationships at a distance through correspondence resemble Sarah Carstares' (though with clear differences in patriarchal privilege and mobility). Byrd's Atlantic crossings further illuminate the difficulties encountered by Robert Livingston, and his sexual violence toward American Indian and African women resembled that of John Lawson and Thomas Thistlewood. His ambitions as a colonial scientist and writer paralleled those of Cadwallader Colden and Cotton Mather; like Benjamin Franklin, his relationship with the metropole changed over time.

Credit provided a social-financial measure of one's masculine status and personal worth, linked to honest trading, fatherhood and 'oeconomy'. As Daniel Campbell wrote, men 'depended' on their credit; finances were closely tied to masculine identity. However, connecting colonial commodities to the metropole stretched men's credit across Atlantic distances and exposed them to the threats of shipwreck and piracy. William Byrd II experienced this throughout much of his life. Virginian planters like Byrd developed a distinct masculine culture, tying tobacco consignments to personal identity and prizing the social cohesive effects of credit over its financial utility. William Dunlop pursued colonial wealth to the exclusion of his patriarchal responsibilities, while other Scots used ethnic bonds to reinforce their credit relationships. Mountier's ties to Edward Burd showed how strong masculine social bonds could forge financial ties across the Atlantic. Correspondence was vital to such movements of money across the British Atlantic world, but masculine bonds could break under the strains of distance. Diaries offered colonists a source of emotional reassurance in the face of Atlantic isolation: Byrd used his for a kind of masculine self-fashioning. Overall, transatlantic expansion reordered credit relations, forcing merchants to draw credit from correspondence networks and place greater emphasis on displays of status.

Seafaring produced a distinct masculinity, in which mariners proudly defended their independent mobility, economic agency, and unrestrained heterosexuality. However, a life at sea alienated mariners' identities from those of landmen. It undermined their attempts to build credit and families, and those 'bred to the sea' had disrupted childhoods. Sailors were prematurely aged by their exhausting profession and the scurvy which remained endemic to blue-water sailing until the 1760s. More exposed to the ocean's risks than passengers, seamen made life at sea appear inherently

unnatural and unhealthy to landmen. Transatlantic voyages were terrifying, life-changing experiences comparable to transformative rites of passage. Robert Livingston was rocked to his core by harrowing voyages; even the experienced William Byrd II drew on Indigenous concepts of husquenawing to describe their effects on his identity. Once ashore, men like Byrd and Livingston reasserted their genteel masculine status. Though captains had some privileges, they still struggled to cultivate masculine status among landmen: rank did not solve all issues created by Atlantic distance.

While maritime colonial expansion created more demand for seamen of all stripes, sailing provided unstable economic foundations for masculine identity. Poverty was widespread in an unpredictable labour market, further complicated by naval impressment. Providing for wives ashore was a challenge, both economically and sexually: sailors were vulnerable to cuckoldry and accusations of sodomy. Conversely, the sexual aggression of seamen made them appear (to landmen) as savages lacking any appropriate masculine restraint of language or action. This included the systemic rape of enslaved African women on the Middle Passage, initiating the gendered violence of racial slavery.

Planters like Cadwalder Colden presented themselves as patriarchs of both colonised lands and colonised peoples in the Americas. Indigenous men were sidelined as failed farmers and savages, excluded from masculine rationality. However, British men did not truly control these Indigenous counterparts. John Lawson and Thomas Nairne's naivety and arrogance got them killed; William Dunlop could not order Matamaha to attack the Spanish. Instead, the need to negotiate with American Indian men re-shaped colonial masculine identities. British men stressed their agricultural and martial prowess in response to Indigenous masculinities. They used surveying to measure and control feminised American lands, while Indigenous geographies shaped patterns of British settlement and agriculture. William Byrd II's *Dividing Line* and references to 'Indian sincerity' show how settler men could appropriate Indigenous foods, rituals, and words to boost their claims to colonial patriarchal status. Interactions with Ned Bearskin and the Weynoke women Jenny, Betty, and Mary all shaped Byrd's experience of American landscapes through 'intercultural materiality'.

American Indian and African women were both framed as 'aesthetic and sexual objects' subject to colonial patriarchal control, yet their experiences were not identical. British men saw Indigenous women as a natural resource to be exploited alongside the land they lived on. John Lawson, Thomas Nairne, William Byrd II, and William Petty blended sexual desires with emergent colonial demography, harnessing masculinity to ideas of imperial duty. The process of racialisation more thoroughly othered African women as animalised chattel and objects of economic utility. The possibility of demographically advantageous interracial marriage and reproduction (at least entertained if not adopted with Indigenous women) was deemed unthinkable for African women. When colonial men took Black mistresses, they had to justify their actions. Alexander Mountier showed how quickly sojourners adjusted to Black women as sexual partners. Violence against the enslaved became a standard feature of colonial masculinities (despite Byrd's claims to benevolence), much of which was sexual. Enslaved women adopted varied responses and forms of resistance which exposed the limits of colonial masculine control. Thomas Thistlewood lay awake sleepless and begged for access to Phibbah, while Mountain Lucy and Daphne frustrated his sexual and reproductive control over their bodies. Colonial records 'ventriloquised' both Black and Indigenous resistance, reinforcing the influence these actions had on British colonists. Through these interactions, both Indigenous and enslaved populations actively pulled British colonists' gendered identities further from metropolitan ideals.

Though relevant sources are frustratingly partial, it is clear that British femininities were also affected by interaction with the Atlantic world in distinct ways. There were thus forms of 'Atlantic femininity' parallel to (and complementing) their masculine equivalents. Expanding on the work of Alexandra Shepard and Allyson Poska, I have outlined how women interacted with credit in the context of Atlantic distance. 'Virtue' measured female reputation in sexual, marital and maternal terms, providing a distinct but parallel measure of gendered status to masculine 'credit'. However, women were not altogether excluded from credit, and many men overseas (and at sea) relied on women's support. Correspondence from Frances Glanville, Alida Schuyler, and Sarah Carstares shows how wives both contributed to a household's credit and claimed it for themselves on both sides of the Atlantic. Eliza Lucas did so while taking on a traditionally masculine set of planter's responsibilities, balancing these with ideals of

genteel femininity. Her letterbook reflects a kind of genteel feminine self-fashioning similar to Byrd's use of his diaries.

In ports across the British Atlantic world, a distinct maritime femininity developed in conjunction with its masculine seafaring counterpart. While ships' crews were (supposedly) all-male, women often represented majorities in maritime populations and economies. As traders, creditors, mothers, wives, and producers of goods, their actions anchored families and supported men away at sea. In doing so, they created socio-economic foundations for the expansion of British seafaring, trade, and colonisation in this period. Seafaring masculinity was thus tied to the femininity of 'immobile' women ashore. These women were in turn directly exposed to the deleterious effects of Atlantic distance; to the risk and uncertainty inherent to early modern seafaring. Many men died at sea or (as Hannah Snell and Mary Symons experienced) abandoned their wives. Furthermore, living adjacent to the sea was seen to degrade feminine 'virtue', as was evident in the stigmatisation of 'fishwives' and 'oyster-women'. Maritime women received little dedicated state support throughout the period, despite their recognised role in underpinning naval and merchant marine expansion. They acted collectively in London, creating networks of mutual aid and political influence which influenced the growing naval bureaucracy at the heart of Britain's Atlantic empire.

Women related to the correspondence which bridged Atlantic distances in ways distinct from men. Femininity was more associated with emotionality, and the emotional language women used in letters reflected the gendering of Britain's 'emotional communities'. Women relied more heavily on letters for written expression than men; correspondence connected 'immobile' women to the wider Atlantic world. Frances Glanville, Sarah Carstares, and Elizabeth Matthews all relied on letters to maintain marriages across the ocean, a process which exposed them to the powerful effects of Atlantic distance. In New York and Carolina, Alida Schuyler and Mary Stafford likewise used letters to establish their identities and manage their new, colonial lives. Working with much largely unstudied correspondence, I have built on the work of Sasha Handley, Leonie Hannan, and Sarah Pearsall. Developing their discussions of materiality and metropolitan femininity, I show how British women experienced Atlantic distance through emotions and the letters which carried them.

Though accounts of British women involved in American settler-Indigenous encounters are comparatively scant, captivity narratives provide some illuminating evidence. Strongly attuned to the cultural divides surrounding foodways, women like Mary Rowlandson at least temporarily adapted to new diets. Dehhewānis (Mary Jemison) showed how powerful such acculturation could be in the long term. In terms of sexual interactions, British women were denied the same licence as their menfolk. To assert their personal 'virtue' (in light of the patriarchal double standard), Eliza Lucas and Sarah Kemble Knight averred any attraction or proximity to 'barbarian', 'savage' Indigenous men. This gendered asymmetry in colonial spaces was compounded by the general dearth of British women overseas in comparison to men.

British colonial femininities were more notably affected by interactions with racial slavery than with Indigenous nations. Women were understood to be vital anchors for new colonies, reproducing both ethnicity and population. Racial difference was marked out through bodies, and slavery (tied to African peoples) was framed as a matrilineal inheritance. This made sex, gender, and women's bodies key to the development of race. The matrilineality of race (and thus, enslavability) intensified the perceived value of British feminine fertility. Reinforced by the development of demography, colonial women became highly valued reproducers of whiteness overseas; sexual and reproductive intimacy became central to Britain's imperial expansion. The sexual and reproductive exclusivity of white women was therefore closely guarded. Colonial law and print erasing the potential for consent between white women and Black men. Though all colonists drew socio-economic privileges from whiteness, these dividends were therefore particularly valuable for British women. Moreover, becoming an enslaver provided powerful economic opportunities. As Mary Stafford showed, women newly arrived in overseas colonies could secure their economic independence and security through purchasing enslaved workers.

At the same time, tropical climates destabilised the lives of local women. Though slavery gave many colonial women economic advantages, it also threatened the perception of their feminine status in the British metropole. Sustained interactions between white and Black women created extended racial proximity. Combined with the

highly gendered nature of many such interactions and their ties to reproduction (most notably breastfeeding), this created clear vectors for racial osmosis to potentially occur. As Ned Ward's satire and Alexander Mountier's complaints suggested, creole femininity was particularly jeopardised in this respect. Control of the enslaved using violent, often gendered punishments distanced colonial women from metropolitan feminine norms. The castration of Black men, linking this violent control to white feminine virtue and sexual exclusivity, represented the epitome of this gendered brutality. For women such as Eliza Lucas, Lucy Parke, and Maria Taylor, cultivating the 'female gentility' described by Sarah Yeh was therefore a balancing act. The privileges derived from slavery were weighed against the perceived risk of racial osmosis and metropolitan judgement.

In summary, British women on both sides of the Atlantic were fundamental parts of the colonising process. Atlantic masculinities and femininities developed from the same encounters and influences, even as men and women experienced these differently. Women were consistently more likely to experience the Atlantic world from its eastern shores, but this comparative immobility did not isolate them from the effects of distance. In particular, Sarah Carstares' letters show how feminine identity could change without ever leaving Britain. From 1660 to 1760, Britain's Atlantic colonies were characterised by gendered asymmetries, both in terms of male-majority populations and the greater sexual freedom afforded to colonial men. The outlining of gender hegemony as a combined construction has helped to illuminate the position of colonial femininity: it provided 'hegemonic scaffolding' for colonial masculinity. While British patriarchy survived and thrived overseas, it did so with support from women deemed rare (and thus distinctly valuable) in colonial societies. Racial ideologies further inflated the authority of British women in colonial spaces, motivating them to join men in becoming enslavers. Atlantic masculinities and femininities were mutually constitutive products of oceanic distance and multiethnic encounters, representing the gendered dimension of Britain's wider imperial development.

Both colonial femininities and the effects of Atlantic expansion on metropolitan women deserve further study. Histories of gender in the early modern Atlantic still focus heavily on men, and the early modern archival record remains male-dominated. However,

productive avenues of analysis do exist. For example, there was insufficient space within this thesis to analyse promising sources from Quaker women who crossed the Atlantic, such as Elizabeth Webb (1663-1727) and Susanna Heath Morris (1682-1755). Historiographical imbalances must likewise be addressed as part of the 'feminist endeavor' described by Susan Amussen and Allyson Poska. This thesis represents a conscious attempt to contribute to these processes. At least half of the sources cited in this thesis are wholly or partially female-authored. More importantly, the analytical frameworks used throughout draw from (and build on) the work of Black and Indigenous scholars such as Jennifer Morgan and Susan Miller (respectively). Atlantic histories of women and femininity need further development which this thesis can only begin: it is not a final analysis.

3. Future Directions

Gender is only one aspect of identity. A complete analysis of distance and British identities would require further study of how experiences of the Atlantic shaped other socio-economic and cultural dimensions, such as class and religion. Furthermore, my study of the 'British' Atlantic world provides foundations for fruitful comparisons of gendered experiences in the other European maritime empires: France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands. Several starting points for such work appear throughout this thesis, such as the Scottish presence in Madeira and the Dutch connections of Livingston, Dunlop, and Carstares. Colonial migrants within the 'British' Atlantic included nationalities from across Europe, such as the Salzburgers and Swiss seen in Georgia and Virginia. Sailors like Cremer spent as much time in the Mediterranean as the Americas; expanded 'Atlantic' frameworks should include this sea if possible. European nations shared many underlying structures of gender such as patriarchy and a focus on women as reproducers of ethnicity. There are thus clear opportunities to apply the methods and ideas developed in this thesis to a wider set of European sources. This geographical broadening should also include dedicated analyses of the two Westminster-ruled nations excluded from the scope of this thesis: Wales and Ireland. Their Atlantic encounters and interactions (particularly in Pennsylvania, Barbados, and Montserrat) would complete the analysis of gender in a 'British (and Irish) Atlantic' world.

There is also scope to expand future analyses of distance and gender in Britain's colonial expansion, both chronologically and geographically. British imperial expansion into the African continent, Pacific Ocean, and Indian Ocean was comparatively limited until after 1760, yet the edges of the 'British Atlantic' were always porous. Edward Barlow and Thomas Thistlewood sailed to both the East and West Indies. William Dampier and Woodes Rogers privateered across both the Atlantic and the Pacific ('South Seas'), two oceans which the Darien Project was conceived specifically to unite. Including England's earlier attempts at American colonial settlement (from c.1580 onward) would further illuminate the development of the 'British Atlantic'. Likewise, extending the periodisation of such studies forward to c.1800 would situate the American Revolution and the colonisation of Australia within further analyses of gender and distance. This would also address the treatment of American Indian nations in the first years of the USA and the further intensification of racial slavery in the British Caribbean.

1660 to 1760 saw individual and collective understandings of distance, separation, isolation, and connection broken and remade across the British Atlantic. Demonstrating the powerful effects of Atlantic distance on British identities informs our understanding of the industrial world we live in, the development of which accelerated so quickly after the 1760s. The effects of slavery - the quantification and distancing of violence from consumers - persist to this day, as do the direct consequences of demographic shifts brought about by British colonial settlement. While this thesis was being written, COVID-19 forced the world to confront distance in all its forms, between nations, individuals, and ideologies. My analysis has fleshed out the inner lives and experiences of colonists in humanising ways while consciously challenging the forgiveness this 'emotional familiarity' can produce. Reconciling the difficulties and anxieties felt by colonists like Thomas Thistlewood and Alida Schuyler with the cruelties they inflicted should be both humanising and unsettling. The violent power these colonisers exercised over others cannot be revoked; we live in their legacy. We can only attempt to address the inequities of this colonial inheritance by understanding all aspects of life in the early modern British Atlantic.

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