# Animals and the Shaping of the Early English Atlantic Experience, 1550-1630

*Thesis submitted to the University of Sheffield for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

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# Abstract

Early English seafarers regularly documented the animals they encountered on long distance transatlantic voyages. These interactions have often been overlooked by historians seeking to understand the English experience when entering the emerging Atlantic world. Recent work in the field of Animal History has demonstrated that investigating human-animal interactions can reveal significant insight into the human past, offering explanations for our modern relationship with the natural world. The following study has used this perspective to reinvestigate how the English experienced the Atlantic and imagined their place within it. Predominantly focusing on published accounts written by English voyagers, this research has revealed that animals played a significant part in how seafarers communicated about foreign environments. As animals became part of a distinctly English discourse of discovery, their presence indicated the resource or settlement potential of foreign lands. In addition, descriptions of subduing, conquering or safely navigating the natural world became common methods of illustrating English success in an Atlantic currently dominated by the Spanish. Animals, and the natural world more broadly, were consequently used to justify the future possibility of an expanded English commonwealth. Overall, this research reconsiders how the English approached the Atlantic world and mentally constructed a place for themselves within it. This is significant as it shows how the growing violent and exploitative attitude seafarers developed towards the animal kingdom built a foundation for later English imperial activity.

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# Introduction

From polar bears to dolphins, chinchillas to narwhals, traversers of the Atlantic were (and still are) surrounded by a vast and diverse animal world. These creatures have generated fascination, intrigue, vengeance, awe and greed among humanity. As the relatively young field of Animal History has demonstrated, animals played an important and often overlooked role in the human past.[1] In the words of Erica Fudge, "ignoring the presence of animals in the past is ignoring a significant feature of human life".[2] This thesis reveals the reality and impact of human-animal interaction during England's emerging years in transatlantic travel. In the sixteenth century, animals were a normal part of terrestrial life operating as food sources, recreation, travel and labour, to name a few examples. For those setting out across the ocean, animals also became opportunities for wealth and knowledge, threats to human lives and reminders of the divine in a wide and foreign world. Early modern seafarers regularly drew on their understandings of animals in order to make sense of unfamiliar environments, peoples and species. Moreover, how they interacted with animals as part of their daily life, for food and recreation, reveals insight into the nuances of crew dynamics and relationships.

Inspired by the progress of Animal History, this thesis has reassessed the early period of English voyaging in the Atlantic. As seafarers encountered and interacted with the animal kingdom, non-human creatures became documented as part of a newly forming discourse of discovery propagated to English society. By analysing animal encounters documented in published and private accounts this dissertation reveals a fresh perspective on how the emerging Atlantic world was experienced by the English, who later came to dominate the ocean as a global basin of trade and interaction. Additionally, it investigates why non-human

[1] See, Erica Fudge, *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures,* (Illinois, 2004); Bruce Boehrer, (ed) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance,* A Cultural History of Animals, 3 (Oxford, 2007); Dorothee Brantz, (ed) *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans, and the Study of History* (Charlottesville, 2010); Pia F. Cuneo, (ed) *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (Surry, 2014).
[2] Fudge, *Renaissance Beasts*, p. 3.

creatures became a significant aspect of how captains and other high ranked individuals portrayed English success and opportunity.

Atlantic History has regularly borrowed methodologies and perspectives from other fields of study to help write a more cohesive history that incorporates the diverse experiences of the whole ocean. This thesis has engaged with recent trends, such as maritime studies, microhistories and the Blue Humanities, alongside Animal Studies in order to reassess the impact of England's emergence into the Atlantic. It has focused on two main questions: what do human-animal interactions tell us about the English seafaring experience, and to what extent did animals impact how English voyagers understood, interacted with, and depicted the emerging Atlantic and their place within it? Overall, it has found that the notion of human dominion over the natural world, ingrained in English and western society more broadly, alongside the need to compete against European competition led to seafarers promoting a culture of exploitation, violence and commodification which came to define much of the later English Atlantic world.

### *England in the Atlantic World*

The early years of English Atlantic exploration, defined as 1550-1630 in this thesis, was a formative period in generating advocacy for global English trade, colonisation and expansion. Although English transatlantic voyages began in the late fifteenth century, there was an acceleration of interest after 1550. These ventures brought seafarers into contact with a variety of new places, natures and peoples.[3] New environments, animals and plants did not necessarily fit within the confines of preconceived cultural understandings and so needed to be explored before they could be understood. Moreover, how other human societies

[3] It is probable that fishermen had been traveling to Newfoundland prior to exploratory voyages, such as those led by John Cabot, however these were not publicised. See, David B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620* (London, 1974), pp. 9, 16-17.

interacted with nature opened questions of what it meant to be civilised or uncivilised, human or animal.[4] Although the field of Atlantic History has been associated with a move away from nation focused histories, in favour of seeing the Atlantic as a unique basin of interaction and communication, this study shall demonstrate how the English imagined a presence for themselves within the wider Atlantic world. Following recent scholarly trends, this thesis has focused on animal interactions, and the natural environment more broadly, as a lens to investigate how seafarers navigated the Atlantic as Englishmen and documented a place for Englishness within it.

Historians of England have been drawn to an Atlantic approach to explore how the nation rose in power throughout the early modern period.[5] Over a long period England went from a position of inferiority against the Spanish empire to achieving global pre-eminence.[6] Games predominantly attributed this to the commercial and colonial enterprises which set England up to take full advantage of the new opportunities presented. Between 1560-1660, the English operated as cosmopolitans as they did not have the imperial strength which other European nations utilised, mainly Spain.[7] Various influences, such as England's increased power in commerce and shipping and the disruptions of imports through Antwerp and Iberia, meant that England gained new incentives to directly access the markets of the far east and the 'New World'.[8] This gave them opportunities to challenge the Spanish and Portuguese monopolism, encouraged by growing diplomatic conflict under Queen Elizabeth I.[9] The

[4] See, Cuneo, *Animals and Early Modern Identity;* Richard White, "Discovering Nature in North America", *The Journal of American History*, 79.3 (1992), pp. 874-91; Sarah Irving-Stonebraker, "From Eden to Savagery and Civilisation: British Colonialism and Humanity in the Development of Natural History, ca. 1600-1800", *History of the Human Sciences*, 32.4 (2019), pp. 63-79.
[5] See, David Armitage and Michael Braddick, (eds) *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (London, 2009), pp. 1-9.
[6] Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 3-17.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial change, political conflict, and London's overseas traders, 1550-1653* (London, 2003), p. 5.
[9] *Ibid.*

published voyage accounts of English seafarers reflect this conflict as they attempted to carve out the possibility for a more expansive national commonwealth across the Atlantic. This thesis has therefore chosen to focus on English accounts to gain additional insight into how seafarers were able to construct the concept of an English Atlantic as they emerged as viable competitors in the race for resources and land.

Since the twenty-first century, Atlantic historians have sought to challenge national boundaries and territorial frontiers in order to oppose nationalistic narratives which risk reviving discourses of western superiority.[10] Instead the field has sought to focus on mobility, exchange and integration in order to consider how Atlantic interactions constructed a new region of communication which cut across national divisions.[11]. The people who traversed the early modern Atlantic were operating on the margins of their known world. National boundaries were not freely projected and new encounters all had an impact on how the Atlantic was perceived and navigated. As stated by Karen Kupperman, Atlantic History "allows us to understand the lives of the people who were part of the Atlantic in ways that are truer to their actual experience".[12] However, as Patrick Griffin acknowledged, one of the pitfalls of doing history beyond national boundaries is that many groups become "lumped together" with minimal recognition of individuals' ethnicity, race and nationality.[13] Rather than writing nationalist histories, one solution is to write histories of nationhood. Eleanor Hubbard's *Englishmen at Sea* recognised that being part of the English nation was a fluid experience for people, particularly sailors.[14] Calling on someone's nationhood was a way to

[10] David Armitage, "The Atlantic Ocean", in Armitage, Bashford, and Sivasundaram (eds) *Oceanic Histories* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 87.
[11] See, Federica Morelli, "Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History, Concept and Contours,* Harvard, Harvard University Press, 2005, 149 p", *Centre de Recherches sur les Mondes Américains* (2006); Alison Games, "Bernard Bailyn. Atlantic History: Concept and Contours. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.", *The American Historical Review*, 111.2 (2006), pp. 434-35.
[12] Karen O. Kupperman, (ed) *The Atlantic in World History* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 1-2.
[13] Patrick Griffin, "A Plea for a New Atlantic History", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 68.2 (2011), pp. 236-9.
[14] Eleanor Hubbard, "Introduction", in *Englishmen at Sea* (New Haven, 2021), pp. 1-25.

make "claims on one another, claims for loyalty, care and protection".[15] Additionally, as Cathy Shrank's work has demonstrated, "nationhood was a lived experience", encountered and expressed consciously and unconsciously.[16] Nation focused histories, therefore, still have value within Atlantic History as they allow historians to assess the cultural impact of nationhood on individuals acting outside of their physical national boundaries. While it's important to consider the blurring of nationhood, each individual operating in the Atlantic came from a particular culture or society which encouraged particular roots, bonds and outlooks on life. While cultural notions were regularly challenged through encounter, they influenced how individuals experienced difference.[17] This research has therefore considered the relationship between Englishness and the Atlantic, exploring how one impacted the other.

Furthermore, the texts which English seafarers wrote were designed for English people. Some were written to promote the landscapes and natures to English investors. Accounts therefore had to depict the Atlantic in an appealing way, determined by culture and society. Additionally, seafaring authors were also aware that their actions would be subject to criticisms from their countrymen. Although political and imperial boundaries were far from rigid, voyagers had to present themselves within the expected confines of English civility if they wanted to promote Atlantic exploration as a beneficial activity to the nation. While historians should be challenging the restriction of national boundaries in a political sense, nationhood should still be considered as an influence in how the Atlantic was experienced and documented.

Another challenge faced by Atlantic historians is the ocean's sheer expansiveness. Spanning four landmasses and the movement of a large variety of people across hundreds of

[15] *Ibid*, p. 15.
[16] Cathy Shrank, "Crafting the Nation" in Keith Wrightson, (ed) *A Social History of England, 1500-1750* (Connecticut, 2018), pp. 19-38.
[17] Melanie Ord, "Remembering Sir Francis Drake: Travel Commemoration and National Identity in the Work of Henry Robarts", *Literature and History*, 23.2 (2014), pp. 1-17.

years, historians need to consider whose story they tell, what perspectives they use and whose traditions are being applied to their narratives.[18] Currently, much research has still been centred on the north.[19] Some historians have sought to expand this focus, bringing Africa more prominently into the discussion. Thornton's *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World*, for instance, demonstrated how the interactions between Africa, Europe and the Americas generated a "new Atlantic" expressed through changes in eating, drinking, speaking and worship.[20] In addition, Kupperman's *The Atlantic in World History* highlighted how approaches to World history, or Global history, could be used to discuss a broader Atlantic basin of interaction.[21] By focusing on the cultural and economic influence of the few key groups of people who traversed the ocean, such as merchants, traders, sailors and missionaries, Games demonstrated how their movements led to an exchange of news and perspectives.[22] She then used these smaller histories to comment on the spread of new ideas and religious perspectives which cut across previous national and cultural boundaries. [23] One of the methodologies becoming increasingly popular in Global history is the use of microhistories. By focusing on the history of individuals, expansive historical narratives become populated with the experiences of real people.[24] Often, this method allows for a more critical analysis of complex views of historical developments, contributing to the creation of new questions for exploration.[25]

[18] A. John-Paul Ghobria, "Introduction: Seeing the World Like a Microhistorian", *Past & Present,* 242 (2019), pp. 1-22.
[19] Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities", *The American Historical Review*, 111.3 (2006), pp. 741-57.
[20] John Thornton, *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World, 1250-1820* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 2.
[21] Kupperman, (ed) *The Atlantic in World History* (Oxford, 2012).
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] Ghobria, "Introduction: Seeing the World Like a Microhistorian" (2019).
[25] *Ibid.*

This thesis has used small case studies from across the ocean to assess the Atlantic from both a "cis" and "circum" perspective.[26] David Armitage suggested that there are three valued perspectives to conducting Atlantic History.[27] Trans-Atlantic history takes a comparative approach, showing the nuances of how the Atlantic world developed and how individual regions reacted to new interactions and encounters.[28] Cis-Atlantic history places the focus on one particular national or regional history.[29] This thesis has focused on England as a national focus both to allow for a deeper historical analysis of nationhood as a factor of Atlantic exploration, encounter and communication but also to choose a contained source base. Finally, circum-Atlantic history considers the area as one world. This perspective has often proved the most difficult to write due to the size and diversity of the Atlantic, however the use and success of microhistories in Global history demonstrates that it can and should be done. By using small case studies from around the ocean documented in sources produced by one nation, as this research has done, we can assess the varying experiences individuals had across the Atlantic. Moreover, by linking the case studies through their nationhood, each source being produced by English seafarers, this thesis can draw conclusions about how their narratives crafted a sense of Englishness in the different regions of the Atlantic.

In addition to reconsidering national boundaries, Atlantic History has begun examining the impact of the environment on human history. This movement has only gained more traction with the increase in environmental awareness.[30] Atlanticists and Maritime Historians have predominantly focused on investigating the role of seascapes in shaping the

[26] David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History" in Armitage and M.J. Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World*, pp. 12-29.
[27] *Ibid*.
[28] *Ibid*.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] See, William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983); Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1983). For more modern instrumental works see, Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford, 2006); Barbara A. Hanawalt and Lisa J Kiser, (eds) *Engaging with Nature: Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Notre Dame, 2008).

development of the Atlantic sphere.[31] For instance, Blakemore and Davey's recent edited collection, *The Maritime World of Early Modern Britain* challenged nationalistic narratives by emphasising how the sea shaped British history rather than the other way around.[32] The shift in focus from Britain's influence on the Atlantic to the Atlantic's influence on Britain provides a new perspective to assess how the later British-centric Atlantic formed.[33] The rising interest the ocean as an active influencer in history has led to a new field of study, the Blue Humanities.[34] In an effort to reconsider the relationship between marine environments and human society, the Blue Humanities has showcased the importance of two different yet interlinked methodologies. One involves cooperation between historical research and the marine sciences to reinvestigate the state of the oceans and seas before human exploitation, the key drivers of environmental change, and the reasons behind marine resource extraction.[35] Work such as Jeffrey Bolster's on the Northeast Shelf, for instance, demonstrated the impact of the particular marine ecosystem in the construction of the human Atlantic world.[36] This scientific perspective, he summarised, reminds Atlantic historians of the "living ocean" as even discussions of fisheries and whaling have often been framed around debates of business, diplomacy, economy and labour rather than the fish themselves or the area they inhabited.[37] The other perspective of Blue Humanities is what Serpil Oppermann termed "storied seas". She has argued that "the meanings of the sea always remain in the interstice between the

[31] See, John R. Gillis, *The Human Shore: Seacoasts in History* (Chicago, 2012).
[32] Richard Blakemore and James Davey (eds), *The Maritime World of Early Modern Britain,* Maritime Humanities, 1400-1800 series. (Amsterdam, 2020).
[33] Hester Blum, "The Prospect of Oceanic Studies", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* 124.3 (2010), pp. 670-7; Claire Jowitt, Craig Lambert and Steve Mentz, "Introduction: Oceans in Global History and Culture 1400-1800: Expanding horizons", in Jowitt, Lambert and Mentz (eds), *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400-1800* (London, 2020), pp. 1-30.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Kathleen Schwerdtnet Máñez, et al, "The Future of the Oceans Past: Towards a Global Historical Research Initiative", *PloS one,* 9.7 (2014), pp. 1-10; Jeffery Bolster, *The Mortal Sea: Fishing the Atlantci in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, 2012).
[36] Jeffrey Bolster, "Putting the Ocean in Atlantic History: Maritime Communities and Marine Ecology in the Northwest Atlantic, 1500-1800", *The American Historical Review*, 113.1 (2008), 19-47.
[37] *Ibid*, p. 20.

*discursive* and the *real*".[38] In order to understand the human relationship with the marine world we must also consider how the sea is represented and interpreted. For example, Oppermann highlights that the cultural trope of the "boundless sea" encouraged and still encourages humans to treat it as an inexhaustible resource.[39] In order to dismantle harmful imagery we need to understand how these tropes came to be.[40] Furthermore, cultural connotations of the seas have been shown to be localised. Steve Mentz work on Shakespeare has demonstrated that his depictions of the oceans "still epitomize the many ways our culture understands salt water".[41] Moreover, research on the Cape Verde Islands has highlighted the intrinsic role on the whale in influencing the historical development of local culture.[42]

This thesis recognises the importance of both the scientific and cultural role of the ocean and has used both where appropriate to investigate the maritime experience of English seafarers. By highlighting the different reactions crews had to maritime fauna, this thesis demonstrates that the presence of certain creatures could and did have an impact on the experiences of English transatlantic crews. However, due to the nature of the sources this research has predominantly considered the cultural perspectives of the ocean, as discussed mainly in Chapter One.

In order to understand how the English crafted a sense of Englishness in the Atlantic world, most of my analysis has focused on representations of the local fauna in different marine and terrestrial environments. While the emergence of the Blue Humanities has been vital in driving more environmental studies of Atlantic History, this thesis has focused purely on animal encounters to demonstrate their particular significance to the early English

[38] Serpil Oppermann, "Stories Seas and Living Metaphors in the Blue Humanities", *Configurations*, 27.4 (2019), pp. 443-61, p. 443.
[39] *Ibid*, p. 448.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Steve Mentz, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean* (London, 2009), pp. xiii.
[42] Nina Vieira, et al, "The Whale in the Cape Verde Islands: Seascapes as a Cultural Construction from the Viewpoint of History, Literature, Local Art and Heritage", *Humanities*, 9.90 (2020) Article 90.

voyagers to exploration. As active agents of their environment, their presence represented the uncontrollability of the natural world. As shall be demonstrated in this dissertation, themes of dominion, violence and exploitation were thus extremely prevalent throughout the fifty years considered as seafarers sought to conquer the new natures of the Atlantic. Consequently, this study shall provide more insight into the development of violent and exploitative attitudes which shaped much of English Atlantic activity in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[43]

*Animals and the Natural World*

The changing attitudes towards nature has been an ongoing discussion among historians of the early modern period. Themes of commodification and secularisation have dominated the scholarly narrative since the late twentieth century by historians such as Keith Thomas, Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park.[44] Thomas' *Man and the Natural World* remains an influential text in the field as one of the first comprehensive assessments of early modern England's relationship with nature.[45] Within his broad work, Thomas determined that the early modern period displays an important shift as animals were increasingly sentimentally appreciated while, simultaneously, animal-based commodities were being produced at a greater and more efficient rate.[46] Throughout the Tudor years, the notion of human dominion propagated by philosophy and Christian theology meant that progression was expressed through the conversion and domestication of wild landscapes. However, by the late eighteenth century, as industrialisation began to take hold, rural England was prized as

[43] See, Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, 2000); Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, 1700-1750* (Cambridge, 1993); Armitage and Braddick, (eds) *The British Atlantic World;* Jeffrey Bolster, *The Mortal Sea: Fishing the Atlantic in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, 2012).
[44] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*; Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, (eds) *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York, 1998).
[45] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World.*
[46] *Ibid*.

necessary escapism as people sought to preserve natural animal habitats and populations.[47] Thomas argued that this change occurred not from any one source but due to a variety of cultural and social shifts which "increasingly made it hard for men to come to terms with the uncompromising methods by which the dominance of their species had been secured".[48] New sensibilities brought on from the Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment period meant that the animal kingdom was no longer perceived as subordinate to humanity. As English society supposedly secularised, the barriers between man and beast weakened. All creation was perceived to have its own right to live whether that came from moralistic or spiritual reasoning.[49] While Thomas' work still holds significant merit, his discussion of animals was purposefully sweeping. With minor examination of Atlantic exploration, colonialism or the importation of 'exotic' nature, there is room for deeper investigation.

This study has sought to reinvestigate the narrative of human dominion during the beginning of the early modern period to gain a more comprehensive view of the impact of Atlantic exploration on the commodification and secularisation of the animal kingdom. Historians have demonstrated that Atlantic exploration significantly impacted western Europe's relationship with animals as non-human creatures became more widely available to a variety of different markets.[50] The following research shall demonstrate that the Elizabethan and Jacobean period also saw a fundamental development in how animals were regarded. Throughout the medieval period, the animal kingdom was symbolically emblematic. Creatures represented desirable or unwanted traits, particular places or natural and divine changes in the environment. Sighting an owl, for instance, could predict death, lions were

[47] *Ibid*, pp. 300-4
[48] *Ibid*, p. 166.
[49] *Ibid*.
[50] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*; Boehrer, *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*; Caroline Grigson, *Menagerie: The History of Exotic Animals in England* (Oxford, 2016).

representative of justice and frogs were often connected with sexual sin.[51] The onset of Atlantic exploration disrupted emblematic symbolism as certain allegorical associates became disputed. However, animals acquired new symbolic associations throughout the process. To the scientific community, foreign animal bodies and descriptions were valuable pieces of knowledge. For traders and merchants, accounts of Atlantic animals could be representative of new products and markets. To captains, investors and the monarch, animals could reveal the health of foreign landscapes, future colonial or imperial opportunities and the overall success of English ventures. As symbolic beings, the animal kingdom was incorporated into new forms of nationhood propagated by seafaring accounts seeking investment. As physical beings animals were traded on a greater scale than ever before, showing the process of commodification in English society.[52] Consequently, animals and their commodity potential were used to construct England as a viable global and maritime nation as it entered the emerging Atlantic world currently dominated by the Spanish and Portuguese.

The history of animals in human society has become a prominent trend as scholars have reconsidered and reassessed the human experience of the early modern world.[53] One of the key historians of this movement, focusing on England, is Erica Fudge.[54] Building upon the work of Thomas, who predominantly considered animals and nature as objects of analysis, Fudge has instead centred the agency of animals in order to demonstrate that non-human creatures are and were a motive force capable of creating change. Additionally, she

[51] Karen R. Moranski, "The "Prophetie Merlini", Animal Symbolism, and the Development of Political Prophecy in Late Medieval England and Scotland", *Arthuriana*, 8.4 (1998), pp. 58-68; Blake Beattie, "The Cardinal's Frogs: Constructing Animal Imagery in Two Fourteenth-Century Sermons", *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 62.2 (2018), pp. 29-41; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creature of Empire* (Oxford, 2004), p. 46.
[52] Boehrer, *A Cultural History*.
[53] See, Erica Fudge, *Renaissance* Beasts; Boehrer, (ed) *A Cultural History*; Brantz, (ed) *Beastly Natures*; Cuneo, (ed) *Animals and Early Modern Identity*.
[54] Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality and Humanity in Early Modern England* (London, 2006); Fudge, *Quick Cattle & Dying Wishes: People and Their Animals in Early Modern England* (United States of America, 2018).

has argued that the cultural, theological and social changes brought on by the Renaissance threatened a collapse of the boundary between animals and humans.[55] Scholars have long pursued the question of what it means to be human which has consequently contributed to an exploration of what it means to be animal. Fudge has suggested these debates generated a need to reiterate human superiority and difference, even among modern philosophers of the twentieth century.[56] Fudge complexes Thomas' argument, which summarised that the human-animal divide narrowed by the end of the early modern period, as she highlights there was tension and pushback against the blurring of boundaries between man and animal.

Similarly to Fudge, this study has sought to push animals from the background to the foreground. Animal History has challenged the notion that non-human creatures were passive objects subjected to the wills and curiosities of human society. Some of the accounts covered throughout this thesis equally demonstrate animals as active beings who responded independently to their encounters with humans. However, due to the nature of the sources being predominantly propagandist descriptions of English potential in foreign lands, the perspective of each animal encountered is difficult to uncover. As stated by Fudge "the animal can never be studied in isolation, it is always recorded by and of the human".[57] Unlike Fudge's work, which has predominantly dealt with prolonged relationships such as those between owners and livestock, the majority of animal encounters seafarers documented were fleeting interactions. Therefore, their accounts mostly provide evidence of human responses to animal agency rather than that agency itself. Nevertheless, the human perspective is still valuable as a means to understand how our relationship with the animal kingdom has changed and developed. This dissertation has reached similar conclusions to Thomas' overarching study, that England developed a confused relationship with the natural world, as animals

[55] Fudge, *Renaissance Beasts.*
[56] *Ibid*.
[57] Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture*, (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 2

became both increasingly exploited and valued due to Atlantic exploration and the growth of a world market. However, it shall also demonstrate that the valued foreignness of the animal kingdom was used to support notions of dominion and imperialism as many seafarer accounts sought to establish the possibility that the English could assert human superiority over the expansive natural world of the Atlantic, both as individual humans beings and as a nation.

Currently, scholars of Animal History have tackled the role of non-human creatures in both England and the colonies.[58] Predominantly, the impact of Atlantic animal encounters have been discussed within terrestrial confines, evidencing the rise of exotic animal markets, cabinets of curiosity, and new animal trades. Virginia DeJohn Anderson's *Creatures of Empire* provides one of the few comprehensive studies into the role of animals during colonial expansion.[59] She showcased that livestock were a central factor of the cultural clash between colonists and Indigenous Americas as well as a driving force behind the western desire to expand.[60] Unlike to Anderson's work, this thesis has considered the impact of physical encounter between animals and voyagers to improve our understanding of how the Atlantic was experienced from a transient perspective, rather than settled.

Animals are living, unpredictable beings that often invoke emotion and curiosity in humans.[61] This thesis will showcase that exploration, expansion and trade saw a "broadening and deepening" of human-animal relationships, as suggested by Bruce Boehrer.[62] One of the consequences of this was that more animals were adopted as mass commodities. However, the growing commodification of the animal kingdom did not necessarily result in animals

[58] See, Irving-Stonebraker, "From Eden to Savagery and Civilisation"; Boehrer, *A Cultural History*; Fudge, *Renaissance Beasts*; C. Muratoni, "Animals in the Renaissance: You Eat What You Are", in Adamson, P. and Edwards, G.F, (eds) *Animals: A History* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 163-86; Cuneo.
[59] Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*.
[60] *Ibid*.
[61] See, Cuneo, (ed) *Animals and Early Modern Identity*.
[62] Boehrer, *A Cultural History of Animals*, p. 2.

being stripped of alternative, non-economic, value.[63] This research shall argue that animals provided value for many aspects of human life, such as entertainment, companionship and spiritual contemplation. The narrative that all animals became commodities should thus be broadened beyond the realms of profit or expansionist goals in order to understand the nuances of human-animal relationships and the impact living creatures had on human desire.

Moreover, the way foreign animals were encountered and perceived gives significant insight into how seafarers understood their surroundings and navigated their perception of humanity within the wider, lesser known natural world. New environments, animals, and plants did not necessarily fit within the confines of preconceived cultural understandings. Recently, historians have begun to move away from the commodification narrative when discussing human-animal interactions. Fudge's study on livestock in Essex revealed the intimate ties people had with their animals and that these relationships shifted from rural societies to city communities.[64] Within the Atlantic setting, Hagseth's work on seafarer relationships with parrots emphasised the importance of exotic birds to maritime communities beyond the realms of economic benefits.[65] By focusing on animal accounts written by voyagers, this study shall expand upon the agenda of Atlantic History by providing a new lens in which to assess how the English explored their Englishness when encountering foreign species while also attempting to define a space for future imperial expansion.

*The Maritime Experience*

The terms 'seafarers' and 'voyagers' have been used throughout this dissertation purposefully because of their breadth. Transatlantic voyages were populated by people from

[63] Blakeley's work on the slave trade has demonstrated how animals were used to establish trust and forge political bonds. See, Christopher Blakley, "'To get cargo of flesh, bone, and blood': Animals in the Slave Trade in West Africa", *International Review of Environmental History*, 5.1 (2019), pp. 85-111.
[64] Fudge, *Quick Cattle & Dying Wishes*
[65] Megan C. Hagseth, "Seadogs and their parrots: The reality of 'Pretty Polly'", *Mariner's Mirror*, 104.2 (2018), pp. 135-52.

an array of backgrounds with varying sea travel experience. In addition to professional sailors and mariners, ship crews could include soldiers or chaplains who had only ever worked terrestrially.[66] Maritime trade during this period attracted more landsmen than ever before, predominantly due to the broadening of employment opportunities brought on by the Anglo-Spanish war.[67] Moreover, long distance sea travel required the skills and expertise of a greater variety of people. This was a period of new opportunities and challenges, in particular for merchants and mariners who faced the demands of manning larger vessels for longer periods.[68] The second half of the sixteenth century thus saw significant development of English overseas trade, colonisation and shipping.[69] While there has been a push to recentre the natural world as part of the human experience, the field for Maritime History has yet to consider the role of animals outside of being trade goods. This thesis shall thus provide new insights into the maritime life of English voyagers, contributing to current debates regarding hierarchy and crew relationships.

Scholarly research on early modern colonies has provided a base in which to investigate the impact of human-animal interactions. Works such as Gillis' *The Human Shore* (2012) suggested that humans should be understood as both terrestrial and marine species.[70] Focusing on English colonists in Maine and New England, Gillis highlighted the importance of the shores in shaping colonial culture as domestication of the liminal landscape eventually led to exploitation.[71] Colonial exploitation of the natural world has been a dominant discussion in Environmental History and has extended to include animals, as demonstrated by Anderson's work on livestock.[72] However, each of these studies considers the relationship of

[66] Cheryl A. Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men: The Social History of Elizabethan Seamen, 1580-1603* (Connecticut; 2001), p. 1.
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Gillis, *The Human Shore*.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] Anderson, *Creature of Empire*.

a static society to the natural world. Permanence typically promotes a bid for ownership whereas transience only suggests the possibility of ownership. This research shall develop our understanding of animal exploitation during this period by considering the transient societies of ship crews. These people had fleeting interactions with the natural world as they traversed a range of different landscapes and seascapes. Yet, their accounts attempted to demonstrate the possibility for permanence. The ability to exploit natural resources, and in particular animals, was an important consideration for seafarers who sought to imagine and demonstrate an English place in various foreign locations. The parameters of this thesis have thus excluded expeditions of extended occupation or society building. While some colonial voyages have been considered, settlement was only a partial aim. Expeditions with the primary goal of occupation pose different questions about the Atlantic experience relating to permanence rather than potential, opportunity and transience.

One of the largest debates among maritime historians is whether hierarchy and authority was strictly enforced among ship crews. As Cheryl Fury has argued, the growth of the maritime community during this period encouraged high levels of individualism while also fostering close bonds of solidarity.[73] Local populations were typically tied together by relationships of neighbourliness and kinship.[74] Maritime communities in particular became especially close as extended travel undoubtably encouraged bonds between crew members.[75] Additionally, sea travel as a trade often ran in families, encouraging generational closeness between individuals and the community.[76] However, Fury also states that "that maritime community paralleled Tudor society in terms of a clear hierarchy and a system of

[73] *Ibid*.
[74] Phil Withington, "Company and Sociability in Early Modern England", *Social History*, 32.2 (2007), pp. 291-307. See also, Keith Wrighton, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 2003).
[75] Heather Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange 1500-1560* (Oxford, 2016).
[76] *Ibid*.

expectations that bound the society together".[77] Her work on Elizabethan seamen summarised that ship crews were distinctly hierarchical however discipline depended largely on a willingness to comply.[78] This perspective is similarly showcased in the work of Jann Witt, who argued that crew relations were made up of unwritten rules created by social hierarchy and self-organisation.[79] Other research has demonstrated that hierarchies were also enforced by the ship environment. Richard Blakemore argues that structures such as sleeping arrangements even enforced hierarchy, as officers slept towards the aft of the ship and the crew slept on the lower decks.[80] Largely, this debate has been populated with evidence from coastal and short distance voyages which made up the vast majority of sea travel during the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. The voyages this research has considered are thus more unusual, but no less significant. Due to the unique make up of each crew, the expedition purpose, direction and experience, the demonstrations of crew hierarchy during animal encounters vary from voyage to voyage. Phil Withington's work on company has demonstrated that sociability was a consequence of who people found themselves with as well as the setting of interaction, both of which impacted perspectives, experiences and agency.[81] This thesis supports the perspective that crew hierarchies were largely dependent on self-organisation and willingness to comply but they were also enforced, or sometimes undermined, by individuals, living arrangements and the contextual experience of the voyage. The extent to which hierarchy was successfully implemented and sustained could be impacted by leadership figures, the crew size and happiness, and the availability of necessary resources. This research has therefore recognised and demonstrated that each voyage fostered

[77] Fury, C. *Tides in the Affairs of Men* (Connecticut; 2001), p.45.
[78] *Ibid.*
[79] Jann Witt, "During the voyage every captain is monarch of the ship: the merchant captain from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century", *International Journal of Maritime History*, 13.2 (2001), pp. 165-194.
[80] Richard Blakemore, "Life at Sea" in James Davey (ed), *Tudor and Stuart Seafarers: The Emergence of a Maritime Nation 1485-1707* (London, 2018). p. 193.
[81] Withington, "Company and Sociability in Early Modern England".

its own unique and fluid social setting subject to a mix of controllable and uncontrollable variables.[82]

This thesis has purposefully chosen to focus on the years between 1550-1630 for two key reasons. Firstly, it was during this period that the maritime landscape of England was beginning to change. While most of the voyages conducted were still coastal trading expeditions, from 1550 onwards exploratory voyages became more frequent and consistent. English seafarers sought the possibilities of wealth, knowledge and profitable connections which other nations were seemingly securing, such as the Spanish in southern America. While voyage leaders and funders saw the possibilities of the Atlantic they were not yet sure what each location could provide. Many of the exploratory voyages during this period were thus mixed in aims and resulted in promotional texts designed to convince readers of the possible prospects new places and environments held for English people. Although there is generic variation between texts, the published promotional literature of the period collectively comprised a distinct body of work, often produced in collaboration with a linked group of individuals, geared towards the common purpose of promoting the idea of English expansion. Certain discursive features thus feature throughout the literature, such as the problem of failure, which highlights the need for these English authors to demonstrate they had a place within the Atlantic world.[83] Moreover, high ranked individuals regularly documented the most profitable aspects of the areas of land, sea and coast they encountered to report back to expedition funders, traders and the crown. While exploratory voyages continued throughout the late seventeenth century, the success of the American colonies and establishment of provenly valuable trade links meant that the purposes of these expeditions in the Atlantic

[82] See, Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men.*
[83] Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Narratives of Travel to America* (Cambridge, 1995)

were less ambiguous. Moreover, they did not need to convince readers of the possibility of English success in the Atlantic as that was currently being achieved. Secondly, to ensure close readings of the considered texts, as encouraged by the microhistory approach to conducting geographically expansive studies, the source base is necessarily limited to complete the research and thesis in the given timeframe of the degree. The context of the time period, and the amount of usable sources produced within it, thus allowed for a contained study of the emergence of the English in the wider Atlantic world.

The sources used is this study were chosen due to their significant mention of animals. Many of the voyage accounts during the set period, such as those published in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* or Purchas' *Purchase His Pilgrimage* do not discuss animals in particular detail. This is mostly due to the format of the accounts. Log books, for instance, provided more detail about the logistics of the voyage rather than the interesting things they encountered. Additionally, some other texts focused more prominently on human interactions rather than animal. However, the more limited amount of texts that discuss animal encounters make them that more interesting. They pose questions about why animals were included. Does their presence in these texts demonstrate a personal interest in the animal kingdom or was the inclusion of animal interactions used to communicate messages about the different landscapes, seascapes and even human societies encountered? As this thesis shall discuss, a combination of the two appears most likely.

The majority of the accounts left by English seafarers were written by highly ranked individuals, such as captains or lieutenants. Some of these authors also came from prominent maritime families who supported the growth of each other's careers.[84] Consequently, the

[84] For example, Richard Hawkins was the son of John Hawkins. John was a cousin to Francis Drake and they regularly sailed together. John also worked with is older brother, William Hawkins in the shipping industry and in privateering. Basil Morgan, "Sir John Hawkins", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2007), accessed: https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12672 [19/11/22].

nuances of ship life and the Atlantic experience of lower ranked individuals have to be drawn from seafaring authors who commented upon the actions of their crew. As well as providing accounts of animal interactions, these sources provide insight into the tensions which existed between ranks and highlight the level of agency different crew members had. Maritime historians have debated the extent to which ship crews were organised hierarchically, seeking to untangle the relationship between typically strict and enforced leadership and the vocal power of the crew.[85] As this thesis shall demonstrate, the animal interactions documented provide supplementary evidence which shall contribute to the ongoing discussions of hierarchy and agency.

Each of the voyages covered by this study were concerned with trade, exploration, opportunity and often a combination of all three. Furthermore they received investment from different sources, most prominently through private companies or the crown. While an array of different sources has been used, five expeditions have made up the majority of evidence used throughout the thesis. Each discuss animals in significant detail and demonstrates the different purposes of including the animal kingdom in travel narratives.

Martin Frobisher's first expedition was funded by the Muscovy Company after being denied financial support by the Privy Council. The Muscovy Company was a merchant group who had already supported voyages seeking the Northwest Passage, which was hoped to provide England with the significant trading advantage of a direct route to China. After discovering potentially valuable ore, Frobisher was granted investment from the crown for his next two voyages which were tasked with locating more resources for exploitation and establishing a small colony. Although colonial efforts were made, the Frobisher voyages can predominantly be defined as exploratory with a focus on resource exploitation. Additionally,

[85] See, Fury. *Tides*, p. 46; Eleanor Hubbard, "Sailors and the Early Modern British Empire: Labor, Nation, and Identity at Sea", *History Compass*, 14.8 (2016), pp. 348-58.

they were unsuccessful as no settlement was founded and the ore extracted was proved to be worthless. The main publication covering these three voyages is George Best's *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discovery.*[86] Best was not present for the first expedition and so he constructed that section of the account from first hand narratives. He was then lieutenant on the second voyage and captain of the *Anne Francis* during the third. The text was first published in London in 1578 and later sections were reproduced in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations.*[87] This research has predominantly used the original publication as it provides the most detail. The main purpose of the text, as laid out by Best in the introduction, was educational. He wanted to detail how to conduct an exploratory voyage, how to navigate different environments, demonstrate the potential commodities found and document the dangers involved. Overall, he argued that while England was currently behind in exploring the Atlantic compared with other nations, voyaging into the north was a great achievement particularly due to the climate. However, it is also clear that Best was unsure about the purpose of the expeditions. While it was initially suggested Frobisher was intending to discover the Northwest Passage, the apparent discovery of ore possibly containing precious metals meant that much of the following voyages were concerned with trade, resources and the ability to live within the arctic region. Consequently, animals were predominantly discussed in terms of sustenance, profitability and as indicators of their environment.

Another set of expeditions investigated throughout the following chapters is Walter Ralegh's travels to Guiana. At the time of exploring Guiana, Ralegh was already an established soldier and explorer. He was involved in the supressing the Irish rebellions in response to colonisation. He had also been granted a patent to explore Virginia before it became a site of colonisation and attempted to set up a colony in Roanoke. In 1594 Ralegh

[86] George Best, *A trve discovrse of the late voyages of discouerie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northvvest, vnder conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall: Diuided into three Bookes*, book two. (London, 1578).
[87] Richard Hakluyt, (ed) *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries on the English Nation, in Twelve Volumes*, 7 (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1904), pp. 250-322.

was granted a royal charter by Queen Elizabeth who sought the riches which the Spanish seemingly obtained in South America. However, the expeditions were predominantly funded by Ralegh himself and also proved to be unsuccessful. Consequently, the purpose of Ralegh's *Discoverie of Guiana* was to justify his expeditions and convince the monarch and his readers of supporting further investment and interest in the country. His account is well known for discussing Guiana in terms of exoticism to present the possibility for an Edenic lifestyle.[88] Unlike Best, who focused more on the tangible value of animals, Ralegh regularly used the animal kingdom to demonstrate beauty and dangers overcome by his crew. Moreover, having been briefly imprisoned by Queen Elizabeth, the voyage and account was likely intended to regain favour with the monarch and the wider political nation. There have been multiple publications of Ralegh's *Discoverie.* This thesis has used Joyce Lorimer's edition produced by the Hakluyt Society as it offers a side-by-side comparison of the original publication written and published one year after his expedition and the unedited manuscript.[89] The comparison of the two texts demonstrates the difference between what Ralegh initially wanted to document and what he and his editor decided to include in the text as a promotional document for further exploration in the Manoa region and of Ralegh's character.[90]

In contrast, Sir Richard Hawkins' privately funded voyage to the South Seas combined interests of exploration with privateering. Richard Hawkins was the son of the famous seaman, Sir John Hawkins (whose writings have also been used in this research). In 1622 he published an account of his voyage to the South Seas, *The Observations*, which took place in 1593 - thirty years prior.[91] While he stated that the voyage was pursued for

[88] Amanda Louise Johnson, "Nobody's Gold: Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoveie of Guiana and the Rise of Fictionality", *Early American Literature*, 56.3 (2021), 699-729.
[89] Joyce Lorimer, (ed) Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana, The Hakluyt Society, 3.15 (London, 2006).
[90] *Ibid*.
[91] Richard Hawkins, *The Observations of sir Richard Havvins Knight, in his voyage into the South Sea. Anno Domini 1593* (London, 1622).

geographical discovery there were multiple accounts of plundering Spanish settlements in southern America. To align with his promotion of the voyage as being exploratory, his account was produced as an educational guide to successful long distance sea travel accompanied by descriptions of the various environments, floral, fauna and people he encountered. Although some of Hawkins' account details activity in the Pacific rather than the Atlantic, most of the animal interactions he documented took place in the Atlantic. Moreover, his observations of crew dynamics prove to be an important source of information and thus have been considered within this research.

Richard Jobson's exploration of the River Gambia was different in that it was solely concerned with establishing and exploiting pre-identified trade links. Funded by the Company of Adventurers of London trading to Gynney and Binney, Jobson's voyage was the third sent after a series of difficulties, arriving at the mouth of the river in mid-November 1620. It is unclear what Jobson's role was within the crew, however it is generally believed he was hired as the up-river navigator.[92] According to his publication, *The Discovery of River Gambra*, Jobson took control of the expedition after the death of Captain Thompson who led the first expedition. Although his voyage was likely sent as a relief effort, he continued the initial exploration up river in order to seek gold and establish trade links in West Africa. Jobson's account, *The Discovery*, has predominantly been valued for its descriptions of multiple West African kingdoms.[93] However, the text also includes many detailed descriptions of animals, including their habitats, behaviours and relationships to local communities. It is likely Jobson wanted to demonstrate the value of the area to his funders even though he was unable to find gold.

[92] D.P. Gamble and P.E.H. Hair, "Introduction" in The Golden Trade; or The Discovery of the River Gambra, 1623 by Richard Jobson. (London; 1999), p. 27.
[93] Gamble and Hair (eds), *The Golden Trade; or The Discovery of the River Gambra, 1623 by Richard Jobson*. (London; 1999).

The final account used prominently throughout this thesis is the private diary of Richard Madox. Unlike the other accounts considered, this is the only source used that was not intended for publication. Madox was a Bible clerk of All Souls College, Oxford, who joined the fleet of Edward Fenton's voyage to Moluccas (1582) as a ship's chaplain.[94] His year-long diary, documenting conversations, experiences and his personal thoughts, provides a unique insight into voyaging life from a person not experienced in maritime travel. Having died before returning back to England, his diary remained preserved and unpublished until 1976.[95] Much of the text was written using a cipher to keep his thoughts and comments secret. Although an outlier from the other sources, this account was chosen because it provides rich and personal details about his and the crew's relationship with the animal kingdom. Madox's diary therefore offers insight to the emotional and cultural value animals had to individuals beyond their inclusion in promotional texts, thus enriching our understanding and analysis of published accounts.

The rest of the travel accounts discussed in this research have mainly come from Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*. Similarly to the published narratives summarised above, these accounts were curated and edited for a purpose. As argued by Sandra Young, the publication of these accounts in collections "did not only announce England as a contestant in the territorial race across the Atlantic… it also had the effect of establishing a seamless link with the natural world and a mythic, unquestionable raison d'etre for a new English political self-understanding".[96] Hakluyt's collection specifically, she states, "went beyond their predecessors in bringing into being a new sense of what it meant to be English".[97] Many of the documents he included had never been printed before and it appears he did not heavily

[94] Donno, "Introduction" in *An Elizabethan in 1583*, pp. 1-16.
[95] *Ibid*.
[96] Sandra Young, "Richard Hakluyt's Voyages: Early Modern Print Culture and the Global Reach of Englishness", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 49.4 (2018), 1057-1080, p. 1057.
[97] *Ibid*, p. 1058.

edit any of the previously written records.[98] However, he framed their importance as a documentation of the travels and achievements of the English nation.[99] They therefore, similarly, provide insight into what seafarers, Hakluyt and their readership likely found significant about the experience of English people in the Atlantic as a prerequisite to a greater future commonwealth agenda.

As each text demonstrates, the goals and outcomes of the voyages could vary and were not always straightforward. Some sailed under the pretence of exploration or trade while engaging in privateering, others wrote accounts to emphasise the settlement possibility of foreign lands rather than just commercial opportunity. Additionally, the success of expeditions and the need to satisfy those who financed them impacted how voyagers constructed their published accounts. Captains needed to justify their actions and detail that any invested money was not wasted. They therefore wrote with the aims of their funders in mind, whether that be private merchants seeking resources or the crown looking for viable English expansion. In addition, collectors such as Hakluyt curated texts under the guise of nationhood, demonstrating broader successes of English travel even if many voyages during the period ultimately failed. Many of these accounts also came under scrutiny from a wider readership. As discussed by Andrew Fitzmaurice, humanism was the dominant intellectual force of Renaissance Europe and had a substantial impact of the arguments for and against discovery and colonisation.[100] Promoters of Atlantic exploration and expansion thus had to tackle concerns of wealth corruption while also appealing to the interests of investors and crew with monetary gains. [101] Broadly, the benefits of exploration were framed as supporting

[98] *Ibid*.
[99] Mary C. Fuller, "Making Something of it: Questions of Value in the Early English Travel Collection" in Peter Mancall (ed), *Bringing the World to Early Modern Europe: Travel Accounts and Their Audiences* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 11-38.
[100] Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625* (Cambridge, 2003).
[101] *Ibid*.

the English commonwealth. With the success of Spanish and Portuguese voyages during this period, many English captains sought to promote the idea of a possible global England within their published narratives.

Some of the accounts constructed by English authors were also undoubtably influenced by other European travel narratives. For instance, it is known that Frobisher had a copy of Mandeville's Travels on board throughout his voyages. Richard Madox's private diary also regularly referenced Andre Thevet's *New Found Antarctic*, demonstrating even those who did not sail for their career were interested in the world of previous travellers. As Peter Mancall demonstrated, the sixteenth century "marked a change in the spread of travel accounts".[102] The change in printing technology and growth in audience meant that travel accounts circulated faster than ever before.[103] However, while the prominence of travel writing was growing, it had yet to form into a definable genre. As Evi Mitsi notes, travel writing during the sixteenth century was "an amalgam of many literary genres, such as autobiography, fiction, journal, memoir" as well as disciplines such as cosmography, ethnography and even archaeology.[104] While some similar themes eventually emerged, such as utopianism or, by the eighteenth century, Orientalism, each travel piece was dictated by the authors interests, experience, cultural baggage and political agenda (if intended for publication).[105] Some narratives were made up of exaggerations and distortions whereas others proved to be reliable in their descriptions of peoples and places.[106] Yet, as Mancall argues, these narratives "should not be dismissed as revealing more about the observer than

[102] Peter C. Mancall (ed) *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery: An Anthology* (Oxford, 2006), p. 8.
[103] *Ibid*.
[104] Evi Mitsi, "Nowhere is a Place: Travel Writing in Sixteenth Century England", Literature Compass 2, 135 (2005), p. 9.
[105] *Ibid*, p. 3, 8.
[106] Mancall, P. (ed), *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery*, p. 11.

the observed".[107] Travel was a lived experience and the words used within narratives were methods of authors attempting to describe what they saw, felt and experienced.

Physical encounter thus became intertwined with textual representation in these narratives. While many of the published accounts clearly aided and often promoted the conception of an English commonwealth in the Atlantic, they also highlight how individual English people attempted to understand their place within various foreign environments. This research has thus considered the impact of encounter in shaping representation and vice versa. As multiple scholars, such as Lloyd Davis, have demonstrated, it was up to the individual to determine how they experienced the new and how they documented it.[108] Moreover, many authors were "intent of relating individual experiences to the expectations and values of the people encountered abroad as well as those who remain at home".[109] These texts, coupled with the insight from Madox's private diary, thus demonstrate how English seafarers experienced a new and vast animal kingdom as individuals and as part of a crew society unique to each voyage. In conjunction, by deconstructing what messages were conveyed with each anecdote of encounter, we can determine how these lived experiences were then used to fill and shape narratives relating to broader goals of English expansionism and dominance.

Chapter One of this thesis will investigate the relationships seafarers had with the animal kingdom in order to contextualise and re-evaluate the long distance seafaring experience. Beginning with a discussion of animals in English terrestrial society, the roots of English cultural ideology shall be assessed to determine the extent to which the notion of human dominion was supported and accepted. This will allow a deeper understanding into the

[107] *Ibid*, p. 13.
[108] Lloyd Davis, "Cultural Encounters and Self Encounters in Early Modern English Travel Autobiographies", *Parergon*, 19.2 (2002), 151-167, p. 151.
[109] *Ibid*, p. 151.

challenges English seafarers faced when encountering and identifying new and, in particular, wild species in the Atlantic. The study of animals on ships will investigate the extent to which non-human creatures were accepted into human spaces and the conditions they had to meet to earn said acceptance. In line with developments in Atlantic and Environmental History, the ocean will also be discussed as a centrepiece of the transatlantic experience. More than just an environment, the ocean was a place in which voyagers engaged with the animal kingdom and, by extension, the natural and supernatural wilderness. It was these interactions between voyagers and aquatic creatures that resulted in the greater familiarity between the English and the ocean. Finally, the chapter will end with a consideration of human-animal encounters in foreign lands. Case studies will investigate how animals were used by explorers to situate themselves in their mental geography. Additionally, the purpose of animal descriptions as reflections on foreign landscapes in published accounts shall be considered.

As the most common way in which voyagers interacted with the animal kingdom, Chapter Two will look at how seafarers thought about meat in their diet. Animal bodies were a common part of seafaring rations and many new species found themselves on the plates of highly ranked crew members. This chapter will investigate how people understood the effect of travel on the diet and the surrounding environment on meat substances. It will also compare how upper ranked crew wrote about meat to the relationship lower ranked members had with the substance to gain a better understanding of what meat meant to different people and how it could act as a social communicator.

In addition to the diet, voyagers also regularly engaged with the animal kingdom through hunting, fishing, baiting and other forms of killing. Chapter Three will discuss how practices of animal violence developed during long distance voyages as a utilitarian form of provisioning and as a recreational activity. Understanding why and how seafarers hunted will

shed light on how they navigated their humanity within a wider and newly experienced natural world. Looking at both the external environmental impacts on hunting and internal societal influences, the considered case studies will demonstrate how discourses of superiority became intertwined with expressions of identity, status, and human dominion.

Using conclusions drawn from the previous two chapters, Chapter Four shall investigate how English animal culture impacted relationships with and interpretations of African societies, the Inuit, Indigenous Americans and other Europeans.[110] Given the symbolism attached to animal bodies, it is unsurprising that they were used to communicate deliberate and unconscious messages between different peoples and cultures. This chapter will consider three main case studies. Firstly, it will study the interactions documented by Richard Jobson in Senegambia, Africa, in order to understand how animals were used as gifts of exchange when forging trade relationships. It shall then investigate themes of civility in how the Inuit were documented by the crew of Martin Frobisher's voyages. Finally, the chapter will analyse Walter Ralegh's use of animals to capture the 'exoticism' of Guyana and discredit Spanish activity in order to gain support for his expeditions.

Finally, Chapter Five shall take a broader look at the value of animals in the early English Atlantic. With an increased interest in animals, for their various values and uses, many people became closer to the animal kingdom in new ways thus changing how individuals both understood the world around them and their place within it. Reviewing narratives of commodification and secularisation, this chapter shall assess the extent to which the notion of human dominion was the root of the changes which resulted in further animal exploitation. Like the previous chapter, Chapter Five will consider specific case studies to

[110] The term 'Indigenous' has been capitalised throughout this thesis in line with the style guide, Gregory Younging, *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing By and About Indigenous Peoples* (Canada, 2018) in order to recognised the communities impacted by colonialism, settler governments, displacement and exploitations.

assess commercial operations, gifting and the ‘exotic’ animal trade, and finally the wonderous and religious value of the animal kingdom.

As a result, each chapter shall demonstrate the role of animals and animal culture in shaping the English Atlantic seafaring experience. They will also highlight that animals were a significant part of how foreign places were documented, used to emphasise English competency and success in new environments, discredit the actions of European competitors and create an imagined place for Englishness and the English commonwealth in the emerging Atlantic world.

# I

## *'Neptune's hungry and diligent attendants'*

## Animals in Seafaring Spaces

In order to fully grasp the nuances in which seafaring authors understood and documented the animal kingdom in the Atlantic, we must understand the contemporary attitudes these individuals had towards nature within oceanic space. From the physical ocean to foreign lands, voyagers regularly interacted with a variety of animals across different spaces – defined as measurable areas which can become invested with cultural meanings – and environments – defined by this thesis as the surrounding conditions in which organisms operate, in particular relating to the conditions formed by the natural world such as climate and ecosystems.[1] Historians have explored the impact of tensions between different spaces, such as the ship, and the environments they travelled through as a significant factor in constructing the culture, identity and experiences of voyagers.[2] While many long-distance expeditions were defined by their destinations, which were representative of opportunity in the form of new resources and potential trade links, by necessity they had to traverse a significant amount of open ocean.[3] The ship therefore acted as a human space, defined by cultural and societal rules, within the uncontrollable environments of the ocean and foreign shores, adding an interesting dynamic to how seafarers encountered nature.

As the new waves of Blue Humanities and Environmental History have demonstrated, the

[1] Paul Stock, "History and the Uses of Space" in Paul Stock (ed), *The Uses of Space in Early Modern History* (New York, 2015), pp. 1-18; Denise Lawrence-Zuniga, "Space and Place", In *obo* in *Anthropology*, https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-0170.xml (accessed 10 Aug. 2023).

[2] Richard Blakemore, "The Ship, the River and the Ocean Sea" in Duncan Redford, (ed) *Maritime History and Identity: The Sea and Culture in the Modern World* (London, 2013), p.100.

[3] John Gillis, "Islands in the Making of an Atlantic Oceania, 1500-1800", in Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal and Kären Wigen, (eds) *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges*, Perspectives on the Global Past (Hawaii, 2007), pp. 21-37. Blakemore, 'The Ship, the River and the Ocean Sea:', p.100.

ocean has often wrongly been considered a vast and empty environment discussed mostly as a transitional pathway between shores. Only recently have scholars from various fields begun to think of the ocean as a space, capable of being embedded with meaning, and not purely as an environment to be experienced.[4] Work by individuals such as Courtney J. Campbell and Paul Stock have demonstrated the importance of spatial history as a way to learn about the values and shapes of different communities.[5] Spaces allow for the connection of different entities, actions and ideas and can shape ideas about territory, religion, imperialism and place (defined as physical spaces that have been naturalised through patterns, behaviour and communications).[6] In order to provide a foundation for how animals were understood and interacted with during long distance voyages, their role in different spaces must be addressed. Only then it can be assessed how animals contributed to the experiences and representations of the Atlantic by English voyagers.

By exploring seafarer-animal interactions throughout this chapter, it becomes evident that the voyagers' relationship with the natural world differed depending on whether the interactions took place within a human dominated space. Seafarers regularly found themselves at the mercy of nature, whether it be the turbulence of open water or new landscapes and climates to be navigated safely. Tension between seafarers and the natural world were thus a significant part of the transatlantic experience. However, although part of the natural world, tensions with animals operated differently. As this chapter shall demonstrate, human conflict with animals was only seemingly present if an animal was perceived as a threat. The level of danger they presented largely depended on two factors, the animal's behaviour and its intrusion into human space. When not in conflict, seafarers were open to living harmoniously with animals and even relied upon their behaviour to aid their

[4] Oppermann, "Stories Seas and Living Metaphors in the Blue Humanities".
[5] Courtney J. Campell, "Space, Place and Scale: Human Geography and Spatial History in *Past and Present*", *Past and Present*, 239.1 (2018), pp. 23-45; Stock, "History and the Uses of Space".
[6] Campell, "Space, Place and Scale".

travels.

To determine how voyagers understood and conceptualised the Atlantic during this formative period of English exploration we must ask questions about the foundations of their relationships with the animal kingdom. Were the separations between human space and natural environments so significant that they impacted how animals were regarded and interacted with? Did animals influence how seafarers experienced different spaces and environments? Answering these questions will show that English notions of human dominion over the natural world were applied irrespective of the space or environment. Yet, how dominion was asserted could differ depending on the spatial and environmental context, and the animal interacted with. The prominence of dominion as a theme in seafarer-animal interactions across spaces and environments highlights how dominance became a significant aspect of Atlantic voyage narratives as seafarers explored the possibility to conquer, subdue or use the animal kingdom to their own benefit.

### *Animals in English Society*

The role of animals in English society has long been ambiguous. During the early modern period they were considered as evidence of God's divinity, supernatural agents, personable characters in people's lives, and simply non-autonomous beings intended for servitude and human benefit.[7] Although varied in roles, the underlying theme was that animals were not considered to follow, or even possess, their own agency and thus were intellectually inferior to humans. Much of this thought stemmed from the teachings of prominent ancient philosophers such as Pliny the Elder and Aristotle, who were sometimes referenced by

[7] See, Thomas, *Man and the Natural World;* Jason Hribal, "Animals, Agency, and Class: A History of Animals from Below", *Human Ecology Review*, 14.1 (2007), pp. 101-12; Peter Edwards, Karl A.E. Enenkel and Elspeth Graham, (eds) *The Horse as a Cultural Icon: The Real and Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture, 18 (Boston, 2012).

seafaring authors in their accounts.[8] While the ancients' ideas were developed over time in response to social changes and shifting beliefs, the perceived lack of animal agency remained significant because it meant that animals were more open to manipulation, whether that be by human or divine powers. In the simplest terms, animals were vessels and so new foreign species encountered in the Atlantic had to have a definable purpose and master. By assessing how the English broadly understood the animal kingdom it can be determined that cultural preconceptions significantly impacted how seafarers interacted with foreign animals in the Atlantic.

The theories presented in Aristotle's *De Anima* were extremely influential in how early modern English people understood animals within human society. Aristotle argued that the soul was "the actuality of the body" and that it was the nature of these souls that separated plants, animals and man.[9] He reasoned:

> Of the powers of the soul mentioned, namely, those of nutrition, appetency, sensation, locomotion and understanding, some living things, as we remarked possess all, others some, others again only one.[10]

Plants were said to only possess nutritive power and so could neither think, feel nor move. Animals had access to at least one sense, touch, which made their souls more complex as they could move and perceive at a very basic level. However "no animal which is not either

[8] Monica Azzolini has an excellent discussion on the Catholic moralistic tone applied to Aristotle's zoological works in early modern Rome. See, Monica Azzolini, "Talking of Animals: Whales, Ambergris, and the circulation of knowledge in seventeenth-century Rome", *Renaissance Studies*, 31.2 (2017), pp. 297-318. See also for the influence of Aristotle, Philippe Glardon, "The Relationships Between Text and Illustration in Mid-Sixteenth Century Natural History Treatises" in Boehrer, (ed) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, pp. 119-46; Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p.17.
[9] Aristotle, *De Anima*, trans. by R.D. Hicks, (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 50-1.
[10] *Ibid.*

seeking or avoiding something moves except under compulsion".[11] The animal ability to only access one sense was not the only thing that distinguished them from humans; equally their memory and relationship to time played a significant role in identifying them as lesser beings. Aristotle argued that both humans and animals shared the ability of memory, offering both a level of perception however, unlike humans, animals had no form of recollection.[12] In the words of Erica Fudge, "the sheep, so this argument goes, needs the wolf in front of its eyes to know from memory that the wolf is to be judged as dangerous, whereas a human can recollect the intention of a wolf in its absence".[13] Intellectually, animals were inferior and it was the soul, rather than brain, that granted mankind its superiorities.

Aristotle's approach to the soul heavily complemented Biblical teachings of human dominion which became especially prominent during the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation. Keith Thomas argued that the post-Reformation period saw an increase in clerical efforts to promote dominion over nature. Due to the political, social, and religious impacts of the Reformation, both theologians and philosophers began to explore the Fall of Man to find the key to humanity's intended way of life.[14] The role of humans as part of God's world is extensively discussed within Genesis. During the Edenic period, man was labelled as nature's superior and God's favourite creation, born in his very image. This gave man the right to rule.

> Furthermore God said, let us make man in our image, according to our likeness, and let them rule over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the heaven, and over the beasts, and over all the earth, and over everything that creepeth and moveth on the earth.[15]

[11] *Ibid*, p. 149.
[12] *Ibid*. See also, Erica Fudge, "How a Man Differs From a Dog", *History Today*, 53.6 (2003), pp. 38-44; Thomas, pp. 30-32.
[13] Fudge, "How a Man Differs From a Dog".
[14] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 20.
[15] The Bible. 1599 Geneva Bible (Genesis 1. 26 and 9. 2-3).

From mankind's very creation, humans were ordained rulers over the natural world and all the creatures within it. Animals were part of the greater whole of 'nature', bound to man. However, after the Fall there became a more distinct divide between humans and animals as many creatures fell to the wilderness and man lost its grip over the natural world. Erica Fudge's work on the impact of the Reformation shows that the creation of the wilderness added an element of danger to many animals once living at peace with man in the Garden of Eden. While some species were easily domesticated, others became a threat and were deemed in need of human control more so than ever before.[16] It was thus for the benefit of man and animal that humans regained control over beasts as domestication removed creatures from the spiritual wilderness and restored a more Edenic lifestyle. Both the teaching of ancients, such as Aristotle, and the Biblical Fall of Man presented a view of animals as lesser beings designed for human subjection who, when falling outside this control, could be considered dangerous or, at very least, lost.

Yet, as previously mentioned, early modern English people held many differing viewpoints on the purpose of animals within the human-dominated world. One was that wild animals, though dangerous, still had a divine purpose. Pliny the Elder, another ancient philosopher whose work was highly influential during the early modern period, considered the importance of wild animals as guards against potential evil. His work was specifically referenced by multiple seafarers, including Richard Madox and Richard Hawkins.[17] Centuries after Aristotle, Pliny wrote:

[16] Fudge, *Renaissance Beasts*. See also the linguistic manifestation of this need for control, Tim Ingold, "From Trust to Domination: An Alternative History of Human-Animals Relations" in Aubrey Manning and James Serpess, (eds) *Animals and Human Society: Changing Perspectives* (New York, 1994), pp. 1-22.
[17] Elizabeth Donno, (ed) *An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls* (London, 1976), p. 228; Hawkins, *The Observations of sir Richard Havvins Knight*, p. 228.

> Wild animals, I believe, guard her [nature] and ward off impious hands. Do we not mine among snakes and handle veins of gold among poisonous roots? Yet this is the work of a kind goddess, because all these outlets, from which wealth is derived, lead to crime, bloodshed and wars.[18]

Here, animals have been regarded as separate to a deified nature but still in a role of servitude, acting without personal agency. Compelled by a greater force, their being appeared to operate in the liminal space between the perceived static nature of plants and landscape and that of active agents like man. Moreover, in contrast to the argument presented by Erica Fudge, the wildness of animals could also be interpreted as beneficial, even purposeful.[19] Although Pliny attributed the agency of wild animals to Mother Nature, early modern contemporaries credited God. For instance, Edward Topsell, an English cleric, compiled one of the most famous contemporary bestiaries, categorising animals according to their human use. In the opening of his work he addressed the purpose of wild animals, claiming that "God did sodainely create savage Beasts both of naturall and extraordinary shapes, whereby he shewed to his servants the Prophets, the ruine or uprising of beastly states and kingdomes".[20] The development from Pliny's argument is twofold. Firstly, the purpose of wild animals was attributed to God rather than the more ambiguous divine figure of Mother Nature. Secondly, Topsell's wild animals held more similarities to those of Aristotle and Genesis. These creatures had a divine purpose which presumably compelled them to act in such a way to prove beneficial to man. As a divine warning to God's people of the consequences of losing humanity, their presence harked to the lessons of the Fall of Man. While the identity of the master of animals could be ambiguous - either man or God - their role was clear. Animals

[18] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History: a Selection,* trans. by John F Healy, (London, 2004) p. 31.
[19] Fudge. *Renaissance Beasts.*
[20] Edward Topsell, *The Historie of the Foure-Footed Beastes* (London, 1607), p. 4.

existed to serve.

Bestiaries show that England, and western Europe more broadly, had a history of ranking animals according to the 'Great Chain of Being'.[21] It was not until the eighteenth century that animals were considered as one unified grouping.[22] Yet, the 'chain' never remained static. Contemporaries of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century grouped and ranked animals according to their symbolic or physical purpose and intellectual ability.[23] Bestiaries, such as Topsell's, sought to arrange the animal kingdom in order. Usually 'beasts' were placed at the top and fish at the bottom. In fact, Topsell's *History of Four-footed Beast* (1607) was based on the equally famous *Historiae Animalium* (1551-8), written by Conrad Gessner. However, unlike Gessner, Topsell did not include a category for fish because their ability to think was considered so low.[24] During the medieval period, animals were arranged by their closest element - earth, air, water and fire. Inclusive of mythological beasts, it was hybrid creatures such as dragons that warranted the highest status as they had mastery of two natural elements.[25] As argued by Anderson, the movement away from elements as categories for animals reflects the impact of early modern exploration and Biblical understandings of the animal kingdom.[26] As Europeans increasingly explored different lands and identified foreign creatures, the bestiary began to reflect categories identified in Genesis - beasts, birds and fish, showcasing the significance of English preconceptions on the writings of explorers.[27] Anderson has argued that the persistence of bestiaries published during the early modern

[21] Arthur Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Massachusetts, 1936). See also, Joyce Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages,* 2nd ed. (London, 2010), pp. 114-7. Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire,* p. 53.
[22] Laurie Shannon, *The Accommodated animals: Cosmopolity in Shakespearean Locales,* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 10-17.
[23] Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages,* pp. 114-7. See also Anderson, *Creatures of Empire,* pp. 47-53.
[24] As well as *The History of Four-Footed Beasts* published in 1607, Topsell also wrote *The History of Serpents* in 1608, extending upon the type of animals included in his bestiary. These were reprinted together as *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents* (1658).
[25] Dragons were understood as masters of air and fire. See, Anderson, *Creatures of Empire,* p. 53.
[26] *Ibid*.
[27] *Ibid.*

period "reassured English readers that a natural hierarchy prevailed".[28] Looking at the impact of American exploration, Anderson noted that categorising animals was a way of "testifying to the universal or the divine order or Creation".[29] Given the impact of the European discovery of the American continent on western conceptions of the world, it is unsurprising that efforts were made to re-establish a view of the natural order.[30] However, bestiaries show us more than European intellectual discomfort. Lists of animals and their uses highlight an increasing commodification of the animal kingdom and its divinely sanctioned relationship to humanity.

An animal's value became more heavily defined by its supposed purpose which often correlated to its marketable traits. Monkeys, for example, were understood to be divinely created for man's entertainment because of their perceived attempts to mimic humans.[31] Consequently, they became valuable pets.[32] New species were thus subjected to assessments from merchants, scientists and even philosophers in order to find their purpose. Many historians have concluded that the European exploratory voyages of the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth century opened up various opportunities to increase trade and commercial influence.[33] To quote Walter Ralegh, "whosoever commands the sea, commands the trade;

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[28] *Ibid*, p. 65.
[29] *Ibid*.
[30] Historians have long propagated the grand narrative that the discovery of the 'New World' uprooted traditional intellectual ideas which stemmed from the writings of the ancients. Revisionists reconsidered this discussion, arguing that this change was much slower and in many aspects Biblical and classical literature were more adaptable and complex than traditional accounts submitted. The extent to which exploration overhauled traditional intellectual thought is widely debated, however there is significant agreement among historians of exploration that the 'New World' and Atlantic travel forced travellers and European societies to reassess their understandings of culture and divinity. For a good overview see, Anthony Grafton, April Shelford and Nancy G Siaisi, (eds) *New World, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Massachusetts, 1995).
[31] Topsell, p8.
[32] Mark A. Meadow, "Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jacobe Fugger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer" in Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen, (eds) *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2002) p. 183.
[33] John Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (New York, 1992), pp. 54-69. Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 57-60. Sandra Young, "Richard Hakluyt's Voyages: Early Modern Print Culture and the Global Reach of Englishness", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 49.4 (2018) 1057-80.

whosoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself".[34] The increasing commodification of the animal kingdom shall be discussed at greater length in Chapter Five; however, bestiaries and commodity lists of animals produced by merchants and explorers showcase the growing English interest in the commercial value of foreign creatures.

How animals were understood by sixteenth and early seventeenth century English thinkers was steeped in a variety of influences. Ancient teachings clearly had their impact on how a creature's intellect and purpose was determined. Moreover, the explicit interest in the Fall of Man not only solidified ancient perspectives, but furthered them by justifying the animal rank of servitude according to divine reasoning. Although increased exploration clearly challenged many preconceived intellectual thoughts during the period, there were several efforts to contain animals to their lesser status by emphasising their purpose to serve. Many captains or high ranked individuals were seemingly well versed in the writings of the ancients, sometimes referencing particular works of philosophers within their own travel narratives. Broadly speaking, the animal kingdom became increasingly commodified due to the coupling of a philosophical focus to find purpose and the mercantile desire of find monetary worth. As will be investigated in the rest of this chapter, and throughout the thesis, there were many nuances with regards to how individuals formed relationships with specific animals and how factors such as location, environment and personal character could challenge (or solidify) man's perceived natural superiority. Yet, underlying the variety of human-animal interactions documented by English seafarers was the embedded cultural perspective that man had the right and ability to dominate nature, which was continually tested and demonstrated with increased Atlantic exploration and eventual exploitation.

[34] Walter Ralegh, "A Discourse of the Invention of Ships, Anchors, Compass" In *Judicious and Select Essayes and Observations* (London, 1659), p. 19. See also, Claire Jowitt, "Performing 'Water' Ralegh: The Cultural Politics of Sea Captains in Late Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama" in Blakemore and Davey, (eds) *The Maritime World of Early Modern Britain*, pp. 125-52.

*Animals and the Ship*

By assessing how animals were regarded on ships, a human dominated space, the nuances of the seafarer relationships with the animal kingdom becomes clearer. Animals have long been present on ships and yet little historical study has been given to their presence before the nineteenth century. John Mack is one of the many academics who has noted the cosmopolitan environment on board ships.[35] Crew members could come from a range of classes, background and geographies. However people were not the only living organisms on-board and the sheer amount of different species present only adds to our understanding of the diversity of trans-Atlantic ships. Interactions with animals both inside and outside of the ship showcases how different human-animal relationships could form depending on the space or environment of interaction. When invited and expected, animals could be assimilated easily into shipboard society, a designated human space. However, if an animal presented a threat, then it was met with tension and considered part of the fallen 'wilderness'. These different reactions to foreign wildlife show that control was a significant factor in English human-animal relationships, influencing how individuals perceived and interacted with foreign wild animals.

Dogs were commonly found on ships designed for all purposes, such as military power, trading, and exploration. Excavations of the *Mary Rose,* for example, found the skeleton of a terrier-type dog who was later nicknamed Hatch in honour of being found trapped in a cabin door.[36] Given Hatch's similarity to more modern ratting dogs, it is likely they were a rat-catcher. Dogs were considered more efficient than cats, mainly due to their larger size.[37] Cats also had a less than desirable reputation in England, and Europe more broadly. In 1484 Pope

[35] John Mack, *The Sea: A Cultrual History* (London, 2011), p. 137. For the cosmopolitan nature of long-distance trade see also, Games, *The Web of Empire,* pp. 81-116.
[36] George D Zouganelis and others, "An old dog and new tricks: Genetic analysis of a Tudor dog recovered from the Mary Rose wreck", *Forensic Science International,* 245 (2014), 51-7.
[37] *Ibid*.

Innocent VIII declared cats to be unholy creatures, associated with witches. Their presence thus became linked with bad luck.[38] Furthermore, their breath alone was said to cause disease because of the quality of their diet.[39] In addition to the many things said and written about cats, both England and mainland Europe displayed a long culture of cat abuse for entertainment, such as cat whipping or roasting them on Midsummer's Eve bonfires.[40] The extent to which the reputation of cats impacted their presence on ships is difficult to discern because of limited references to them in maritime documents. However, we do know that both cats and dogs had an incredibly important role on ships in the medieval period. In the 1275 Statute of Westminster, discussing the ownership of goods on wrecked ships, it was stated that "it is agreed, that where a man, a dog, or a cat escape quick out of a ship, that such ship nor barge, nor anything withing them, shall be adjudged wreck; but the goods shall be saved and kept by view of the sheriff, coroner, or the king's bailiff".[41] These specifics were given to determine situations when a ship could became a 'wreck', making its contents sovereign property. We can conclude from the statute that dogs and cats were just as natural to the ship as men were, showing them to be an important part of the shipboard space. Rather than acting as part of the opposing 'wilderness', domesticated animals were utilised as tools in the conflict against the wild animal kingdom, dominating other uncontrolled species such as rats, and were thus embraced as part of human spaces. Although in England cats did not have a positive reputation, their servitude to men within the shipboard context allowed them to fulfil their God-given purpose, warranting a more favourable status within certain parts of

[38] See, Fancesca Matteoni, "Familiar Spirits: Blood, Soul and the Animal Form in Early Modern England" in Eva Pocs, (ed) *Body, Soul, Spirits and Supernatural Communication* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 82-3
[39] Peter Edwards, "Domesticated Animals in Renaissance Europe" in Boehrer, (ed) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, p. 93.
[40] Boehrer, *Animal Characters: Nonhuman Beings in Early Modern Literature*, (Pennsylvania, 2010), pp. 113-4. See also, Robert Darnton, *The great cat massacre and other episodes in French cultural history* (New York, 2009).
[41] Statute of Westminster, 3 Edw. 1, c.4 (1275), referenced in Lawrence J. Lipka, "Abandoned Property at Sea: Who Owns the Salvage "Finds"?", *William and Mary Law Review*, 12.1 (1970), p. 99.

English society.

An animal presence on board was the norm for many ships; however the dynamics of long-distance trans-Atlantic travel undoubtedly impacted the type and amount of species ships carried. Ships travelling long distances in the open ocean were equally at risk of rats (or other scavengers) coming aboard as coastal trading ships. Ratting dogs and cats were therefore not an unusual sight. Yet, ratters were not the only species of domestic dog found on some trans-Atlantic voyages. Captain James Hall's fourth expedition to Greenland in 1612 took along a group of mastiff dogs.[42] Traditionally, these dogs were used for defence or baiting. While it can be initially assumed these dogs were brought for protection when traversing lesser-known lands, John Gatonbe's account of the voyage reveals these dogs were also used for baiting seals for crew entertainment.[43] The versatility of some domestic animals must not be disregarded as the presence of mastiff dogs highlights two things. Firstly, the nature of long-distance voyaging, landing in unknown and potentially dangerous locations, meant that additional defence would have been required. The reliance upon domesticated species only highlights how interwoven animals were with English society. Secondly, using the mastiffs for baiting also shows the importance of maintaining a form of daily English life, fulfilling the need for bloodsport recreation which shall be explored more deeply in Chapter Three. Here we can conclude that English animal culture was extremely significant in influencing the types of animals brought aboard ships, at least at the start of the voyage. Ships were provisioned with the necessary animals of service in order to aid their conflict with the wilderness, whether that be a literal threat of violence or the need to preserve provisions. Furthermore, the importance of animals as symbols of normality equally demonstrates the closeness of man and animal in English culture during this period.

[42] John Gatonbe, "The First Recorded Voyage of William Baffin" in Clements R Markham, (ed) *The Voyages of William Baffin, 1612-22* (London, 2010) pp. 10-1.
[43] *Ibid*.

However, the animal population on board long-distance ships never stayed static. Rather, the acquisition of foreign animals as gifts or potentially valuable commodities resulted in many species joining the shipboard community. In the 1582 voyage to Guinea, Richard Madox noted in his diary that the general, Edward Fenton, was gifted a long-tailed monkey by a legate of King Farma "which pleased him inordinately as a result of that sympathy which I believe exists between them".[44] However, that "sympathy" which Madox identified did not last long as the monkey "twice fouled his guardian with urine and aroused enmity between his master and others on two occasions".[45] Eventually Fenton passed the monkey onto Nicholas Parker, the Captain-at-land. According to Madox, this caused some animosity between a few of the crew members, most notably Richard Cotton. Little is known about Cotton, other than the fact that he was a traveller who had been recommended for the trip by the Earl of Leicester.[46] His exact role on the voyage is never clear. Although little detail is given to explain exactly why Cotton was "vexed" at the monkey's change of ownership, it is important to note that Madox's account regularly documented tension and gossip between the different officers. It is therefore possible that the monkey was absorbed into these tensions, fuelling them with its unruly behaviour. Given Madox noted Cotton "was so besmeared with the excrement and urine of the long-tailed monkey that no one not beshitten would receive the man", it is likely that he hoped Fenton would have released the creature.[47] It therefore appears that the monkey could have been kept deliberately to antagonise rivals. While Fenton and Cotton clearly developed a disliking for the creature, there is significance in the fact it was passed onto Parker rather than being set free. By relieving himself of the monkey, Fenton alleviated himself from any responsibility while still maintaining the disruptive behaviour

[44] Elizabeth Donno, (ed) *An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls* (London, 1976) p. 197.
[45] *Ibid*.
[46] *Ibid* p. 55.
[47] *Ibid* p. 200.

onboard, consequently minimising confrontation towards himself from any 'beshitten' crew members. The long-tailed monkey shows that not all undomesticated foreign animals were met with pure conflict or opposition. Instead, the enclosed and cramped space of the ship only magnified the disruptive potential of the animals. Conflict came from the animal's threat to social and individual peace and routine. For Fenton the monkey seemingly acted as a useful but free agent, whereas for victims like Cotton it was a point of tension. The monkey thus highlights the complex relationship voyagers had with the animal kingdom as human conflict with nature was often reactive rather than pre-set. Moreover, conflict and tension was highly individual depending how an animal was adopted into society and acted within a human space. Although animals were in a position of servitude, this did not always have to stem from good behaviour. Instead, wild animals could still be used by individuals for their own benefit and entertainment, showcasing the individualism of each human-animal relationship and its impacts. Additionally, the desire to control the animal kingdom should be considered loosely. While the monkey clearly was not under strict, domesticated control, its ability to still serve a purpose allowed it to remain an accepted (or tolerated) part of ship society.

Aside from gifts and trade, animals also entered the ship without approval from or even knowledge of the crew. Many long-distance voyages were subject to stowaways and intruders. Rats were the most common intruders on ships, hence the need for cats and dogs. However long-distance exploratory voyages also found themselves gaining various species of less common animals. Madox, for example, detailed a "fyne golden green snake of 2 foot long" which had entered a cabin on the *Edward*.[48] Madox then goes on to contemplate the snake's entry, "whether she cam with wood or water or by hir self yt is not knoen, for ther was a great one taken a moneth past in the ruther of our ship an other did byte the master of

[48] *Ibid*, p. 193.

the Elsabeth aboord".[49] One of their Indigenous companions apparently sucked the wound "and yt was quickly whole".[50] Unlike the long-tailed monkey, these interactions are more illustrative of the conflict between seafarers and nature that is considered important to how seafarers identified themselves.[51] As already discussed, rats were not acceptable creatures to have on board ships as they raided food stores. The sheer importance of sufficient food stores on long-distance voyages would have only amplified the need to eradicate rats. Moreover, other creatures, such as snakes, equally posed a threat to these men's lives. As a result of their dangerousness and unwanted presence, these animals were often regarded as enemies both on and off the ship. On Tuesday 4th December Madox documented "I walk along on the shore and kill a green snake".[52] Rather than leaving the snake be, he likely killed it because of the species' negative reputation which was only amplified by the inherent danger of the voyage setting.[53] To generalise too broadly about how seafarers interacted with animals risks neglecting how human relationships with animals were heavily influenced by the species and context of encounter. When unwanted or threatening, animals were met with conflict. Yet if a creature could fulfil a human agenda they were usually met with more tolerance, becoming a vessel for said person or people. Again, we see the significance of control here as usually the more out of control an animal was, the more threatening it could be. In the example of rats, the solution to tackling the untamed wilderness was to conquer it with tamed animals already adopted into human society, highlighting the diversity of human-animal relationships.

The animal presence on board ships extended beyond physical occupancy as they were also a part of everyday life and language. Interestingly, Madox noted that Symon Ferdinando, one of the pilots of the *Galleon Leicester,* enjoyed bragging about his riding ability. He

[49] *Ibid*.
[50] *Ibid*.
[51] Blakemore, "The Ship, the River and the Ocean sea".
[52] Donno, *A Elizabethan in* 1582. p. 247.
[53] Blakemore, "The Ship, the River and the Ocean Sea", p. 102.

wrote, "M.Ferdinando boasting of a skil he had in ryding which is a thing that few mariners can wel doe, for they ar used to the byt under the tayl not in the teath, told that he was set on a great horse at Sir William Morgayns".[54] Horses were one of the most prominent status animals available to the English, and western Europeans more broadly.[55] Conrad von Heresbach, a prominent German agricultural author in the late sixteenth century, argued that "the Horse may worthiest challenge the chiefest place, as the noblest, and goodliest, the necessariest, and the trustiest beast that wee vse in our seruice".[56] Heresbach was referring to the horses use as an agricultural animal, which some wealthy farmers could afford. However, to the elite these animals were kept for various purposes, including war, recreation such as hunting and racing, and travel.[57] To be able to ride, particularly on a "great horse" owned by Sir William Morgayns, implied status and skill. Ferdinando was using mastery and knowledge of horses to identify himself with the landed elite, disassociating himself from the typical status and skills of other mariners. This social performance implies a level of tension between crews on long distance voyages, where a variety of social classes and backgrounds were mixed in the contained area of a ship for a significant period of time. Furthermore, Ferdinando was not the only pilot to boast about his horsemanship. Thomas Whood, the other pilot of the *Galleon Leicester*, equally had skills to share.[58] Madox and Whood had a difficult relationship, as shown by his characterisation of Whood.

> He doth nothing but with a bawling mowth rayl agaynst our ship, ageynst our provision, agaynst our owners, gape for the Spaynysh treasures swaloyng up the men and spoyling

[54] *Ibid* pp. 50-1.
[55] The other key status animals were hawks. See, Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p.101. Peter Edward, "Horses and Elite Identity in Early Modern England: The Case of Sir Richard Newdigate II or Arbury Hall, Warwickshire, 1644-1710" in Cuneo, (ed) *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (Surry, 2014), pp. 131-50.
[56] Edwards. "Domesticated Animals in Renaissance Europe", p. 80.
[57] *Ibid*, pp. 80-1.
[58] Within Madox's diary variations of the spelling of Thomas Whoode include Whoode, Whood, Whod and Hood.

> them of ther money alyve with blasphemows bragging ageynst God and man.[59]

Once Madox attempted to order the religious activities of the ship boys, Whood made his stance clear.

> When I appoynted the boys that wayted to repeat ech meal a sentence owt of Solomons Proverbs M. Whood wold not in any case that his boy shold learn any such thing for he browght hym not hyther for that purpose, and as for hym self he wil not geve a fart for al ther cosmography for he can tel more than al the cosmographers in the world and wil ryde a horse with any man yn England.[60]

While we cannot know exactly what Whood said, again we see evidence of horsemanship being linked to status. Additionally, this time, the comment appeared in direct relation to status and social tension. Madox seemingly mocked Whood in his private diary by caricaturing his perceived arrogance and social posturing. Madox's complaints not only demonstrate English ideas regarding the Great Chain of Being, placing horses near the top of the animal order, but they also show the impact of this order on human society. The status of animals reflected back on their owners. Moreover, a mastery of prestigious animals equally contributed to social status, even outside of the terrestrial homeland. Seafarers were still people of the land, and in particular their home, and so many English cultural and social nuances transferred to the ship setting. Status was still important and could be challenged. While horses were not particularly prevalent on long distance voyages, they maintained their link with the elites showcasing the significance of English terrestrial culture in expressions of

[59] Donno, *A Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 148.
[60] *Ibid*, p. 151.

social status from transient members of its population. Animal mastery of non-present animals thus continued to be used in social posturing as their symbolism and link to terrestrial England was so ingrained in English culture. Narratives of status, dominion and animal control were thus significant to the mariners who explored and documented foreign species and even influenced their social interaction with other crew members. Additionally, as will be discussed throughout this thesis, these narratives of dominion significantly impacted how Atlantic nature came to be defined within the realms of human opportunity.

Animals had a prominent presence on board ships, even if they were not always documented. While the lack of sources could imply a disregard from seafarers towards their animal shipmates, it also implies the normality of their presence. Given the extent animals were adopted into social posturing, used for recreational purposes, and relied upon as aids in the fight against other forms of nature, it can be concluded that animals had a significant servitude role on board transatlantic ships. How voyagers interacted with animals onboard was largely the result of preconceived English traditions but shaped significantly by the element of danger involved with open-ocean travel and the desire to recreate normal daily life. As in England, animals were invited into human spaces with the purpose of serving society, whether that be fighting against wild nature in the form of ratting, or to further agitate human enemies. If uninvited, then an animal could be perceived as a threat and treated as so, consequently securing their species with a negative reputation even outside of the ship's confinements. The importance of invitation was thus significant, highlighting that seafarers freely asserted their God-given dominion within their own confinements and respected each other's right to do so, even if that resulted in an unruly monkey terrorising the living quarters. An animal's reputation thus became intwined with the opportunity or threat it presented to seafarer society and individuals largely determined this reputation depending on their ability to control or benefit from said animal.

*The Ocean*

The major distinctive factor in long-distance voyaging across the Atlantic, compared to the more common coastal trade trips happening during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, was the scale of open ocean they traversed. Seafarers have long encountered a diverse array of environments. However it was not until this period that English ships began to more frequently navigate such vast oceanic space.[61] Since the early 2000s, the field of Atlantic History has called for work to feature the role of the ocean as more than a means of travel.[62] Historiographical studies of the oceans and seas have long discussed these vast bodies of water as environments rather than spaces, or even places.[63] Our traditional conceptions of space agrees with this thought as the open ocean is void of static landmarks and boundaries. Yet, John Mack emphasised the emptiness of the sea as the key factor in his discussion.[64] While he is right to highlight that the seas did not have tangible and static landmarks that were not rooted in the location of land, oceans were not understood as culturally empty environments. Instead, oceanic space was a key part of the metaphorical wilderness as aquatic habitats were not considered natural to humans.[65] While this chapter's analysis will largely be of the animals that inhabited the ocean, considering more parts of the natural world is a step in the right direction towards featuring the Atlantic as a significant character in early modern narratives. As this section shall demonstrate, increased exploration and interaction with aquatic animals resulted in a greater English familiarity of the oceanic environment. Consequently, England faced increasing opportunities to commodify and conquer (to an extent) the uncontrollable wilderness of the ocean – once perceived to be an unnatural

[61] As mentioned, it is likely fishermen had been sailing to Newfoundland however this was not well documented. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620*, pp. 9, 16-17.
[62] Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities", pp. 741-57.
[63] Mack, *The Sea*, p. 16. Blakemore, "The Ship, the River and the Ocean Sea". Elizabeth Mancke, "Early Modern Expansion and the Politicization of Oceanic Space", *Geographical Review*, 89.2 (2010), pp. 225-236.
[64] Mack. *The Sea*, p. 16.
[65] Hawkins, *Observations*, p. 60.

environment for humanity.

Oceans may have been lacking in obvious human influence but they were not empty of animals, without which survival and navigation would have been more difficult. Many seafarers were keen to document the behaviour of the aquatic animals they encountered. Richard Hawkins, in his educational publication the *Observations*, discussed at length some of the sea creatures he witnessed, contemplating their species' personality and relationship to other creatures. Moreover, he often rooted his experience in his knowledge of ancient writings. One of the common animals he encountered were dolphins, of which he concluded:

> I hold it not without some ground, that the auncient philosophers write, that [dolphins] be enamoured of a man; for in meeting with shipping, they accompany them til they approach to colde climates; this I have noted divers times.[66]

He then went on to further justify his conclusion by noting how his crew hurt a few of the dolphins on their tails, backs and fins and so they were able to identify the animals by their wounds.[67] Clearly, their continued presence only solidified the ancient idea that dolphins were enamoured by men as they did not flee in the face of violence. If we return to bestiaries, fish and aquatic animals were not often listed because of their low intelligence and lack of worth, outside of being food. In Topsell's *Historie of the Four Footed Beasts*, dolphins were only mentioned as reference points of comparison to better describe other animals.[68] Consequently, Hawkins' encounter emphasised man's divine superiority and demonstrated potential for man to form relationships with the seemingly unattainable species living in the untameable aquatic wilderness.

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[66] *Ibid.*
[67] *Ibid*.
[68] *Ibid*, pp. 102, 226, 540.

Blakemore's discussion of tension between the many environments voyagers occupied concluded that "the dichotomy between sea and land has always been central to the identity of seafarers".[69] Often, the ocean was identified as a contrasting environment to land. This attitude is present in Hawkins' *Observations* which stated men were healthiest when on land and so more stops at ports or on islands should be planned when preparing to traverse large areas of open ocean.[70] He reasoned that "the sea is naturall for fish, and the land for men. And the oftener a man can have his people to land, not hindering his voyage, the better it is".[71] Patarino identifies the tension between land and sea as the reason that sailor communities often remained culturally separated from terrestrial society.[72] Their involvement in both environments meant that they distinguished themselves from those who only occupied land. However, many of the professional mariners who made up the crew of long-distance voyages were accompanied by non-professional sailors. Richard Madox, for example, had never sailed before he volunteered to join Edward Fenton on the 1582 voyage to Guinea. Additionally, as evident from Richard Hawkins' writing, even if career sailors and their communities lived in slight separation from much of terrestrial society because of their relationship with the sea, humans were not considered natural to the ocean. Man belonged on land where they could easily assert their divinely ordained dominion. The ship was thus fashioned to provide a habitable environment able to traverse seas.[73] The tensions between land and ocean therefore open questions regarding how animals natural to the contrasting environment, the ocean, were regarded and used by seafarers in their effort to cross a physical manifestation of the metaphorical wilderness.

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[69] Blakemore, "The Ship, the River and the Ocean Sea", p. 99.
[70] Hawkins, R. *The Observations of sir Richard Havvins Knight, in his voyage into the South Sea. Anno Domini 1593* (London, 1622), p. 60.
[71] *Ibid*.
[72] Vincent V Patarino Jr., "The Religious Shipboard Culture of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century English Sailors" in Fury, (ed) *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 141.
[73] Hawkins, *Observations*, p. 60.

Ancients often documented the power and, by extension, danger of the ocean. Astrid Lindenlauf's discussion of the sea "as a place of no return" in ancient Greece showcases its multifaceted interpretations.[74] Exploring contrasting viewpoints, Lindenlauf identified that the sea was a place of mysterious power. However, that same power made it a useful dumping ground as objects could be taken by the tide into the sea's vastness.[75] By the early Roman Empire, philosophy considered the seas and oceans less empty. Pliny the Elder identified water to be the most important of the four elements due to its unyielding force and ability to create life.[76] Consequently, aquatic inhabitants of the ocean were understood as products of these features. He believed that there were more fish in the sea than animals on land. Because of water's involvement in creation, Pliny argued that fish were more willing to breed with different species, including land animals, thus creating a greater variety.[77] The unrestrained world of water consequently saw the creation of hybrid beasts such as mermaids. Moreover, almost every land animal was understood to have a water equivalent.[78] Sixteenth century translations of Pliny claim that he witnessed a mermaid, describing the monstrous sight of "an ape and a fish attached to it supplied the legs".[79] The idea that land animals had a water equivalent manifested in many early modern names for different aquatic species, such as the seahorse which was a term originally given to hippopotamuses and in some instances walruses. Richard Jobson, who sailed up the River Gambia in 1620, for example, argued extensively that the hippopotamus was more deserving of the name "seahorse" than the walrus as its physical and behavioural characteristics were more similar to that of a horse.[80]

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[74] Astrid Lindenlauf, "The sea as a place of no return in ancient Greece", *World Archaeology*, 35.3 (2004), 416-33.
[75] *Ibid*.
[76] Healy proposed that during the classical period water was the only element to have been observed in all three states: solid, liquid, and vapour. See, Pliny the Elder. *Natural History*, pp. 10-30.
[77] This idea is present in the English translation, *The secrets and wonders of the world*. (London, 1585).
[78] *Ibid*.
[79] *Ibid*.
[80] D.P. Gamble and P.E.H. Hair, *The Golden Trade; or The Discovery of the River Gambra, 1623 by Richard Jobson.* (London; 1999), pp. 91-2

Some of the key points Jobson noted were the shape of the hippo's rear and the fact that they grazed on grass.[81] This naming system highlights how Pliny's representations of water creatures continued to impact early modern thought and, in particular, how seafarers experienced and regarded new aquatic fauna.

Concepts of the sea, and by extension the creatures within it, were extremely varied. As already demonstrated, oceans and water-ways were understood as highly populated environments, encouraging a fluidity of life. However, the ocean could also be perceived as threatening. John Gillis' assessment of shorelines argued that western civilization was mentally landlocked. Christian creationism and the story of the Garden of Eden led English people, and much of Europe, to associate land with life, rather than water.[82] Moreover, Biblical stories such as Noah's flood affirmed the idea that water was a destructive force.[83] While entirely contradictory to Pliny's concept of water, Gillis' conclusions show the development of water in western ideology and the influence of religion in that process. Once considered a mighty, and fruitful force, by the early modern period these ideas shifted to embrace a darker tone, impacted by the greater focus on the Fall of Man.[84] Writing in the late sixteenth century, George Best, who accompanied Martin Frobisher on his voyages to discover the Northwest Passage, wrote that water was the most inferior of all elements. Unlike land, water was still directly governed by heaven and so continued to house monstrous fish, perhaps not so dissimilar to those described by Pliny.[85] To Best, the ocean was yet to be brought under human control which was the original will of God. This perspective contrasts against the depiction Hawkins gave of dolphins, who displayed a

[81] *Ibid*.
[82] Gillis, *The Human Shore*, pp. 7-8.
[83] *Ibid*.
[84] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*. For the impact of the 'Fall of Man' narrative on animals see also, Laurie Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal: Cosmopolity in Shakesperean Locales*, (Chicago, 2013), p. 51.
[85] Best, G. *A trve discovrse of the late voyages of discouerie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northvvest, vnder conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall: Diuided into three Bookes*, book two. (London, 1578), p. 22.

natural love for man, and thus potential to be brought under human influence. Animals within seascapes were broadly tainted by contemporaneous concepts of the ocean. At sea as on land, religious ideology was one of the major significant factors that dictated how animals, and nature more broadly, were considered. However, this could result in contrasting perspectives depending on whether the individuals saw potential for human dominion.

Animals inhabiting the sea thus had a long history of being regarded as mysterious, monstrous, and even hybrid. Elspeth Graham keenly identified that fish may be labelled as animals in the modern world "but they are not always, even in today's world, perceived as being quite animals".[86] Usually featured as the last category in early modern bestiaries, if included at all, fish were seemingly unthinking, unbound animals that attracted minimal attention from science in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. One of the first printed books to discuss the history of fish was *De Romanis Piscibus* (1524), written by Paolo Giovio.[87] Phillipe Glardon's assessment of the book concluded that it was a key text that encouraged further work and publication of natural history.[88] Yet, many following texts contained little to no discussion of fish. Instead, these creatures were more widely discussed in husbandry manuals or recreational fishing handbooks. Graham argued that the distinctive feature of fish was that they "are most generally thought of as belonging to the rivers and the sea. And although the rivers are owned, as all English land is owned, fish are not constrained by the boundaries of land ownership".[89] While they could be farmed, fish could never be truly domesticated. Instead, they were purely creatures of their environment which was not intended for humans.

[86] Elspeth Graham, "Ways of Being, Ways of Knowing: Fish, Fishing, and Forms of Identity in Seventeenth-Century English Culture" in Cuneo, (ed) *Animals and Early Modern Identity*, pp. 351-374.
[87] Paolo Giovio, *De Romanis Piscibus* (Florence, 1524).
[88] See, Philippe Glardon, "The Relationship Between Text and Illustration in Mid-Sixteenth Century Natural History Treatises" in Boehrer, (ed) A *Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, pp. 119-46. Edward Topsell's Bestiary, for example, deliberately excludes fish. See, Topsell.
[89] Graham, "Ways of Being, Ways of Knowing", p. 353.

An anonymous report of a whale that washed up in Harwich, Essex in 1617 is an excellent demonstration of how different concepts of the ocean reflected back on its inhabitants. The report summarised:

> [T]he Maine-Ocean disgorged herself of a mightie Sea-monster, or Whale, I know not whether to terme it… Now whether this Monster of the Sea bee ominous or not, I had rather leave to the wise and learned then my selfe determine.[90]

To the early modern mind the washed-up beast could have been a whale but simultaneously it could have been a supernatural monstrosity commanded by the ocean. The report then goes on to theorise that it could be representative of God's anger, correlating with the recent lack of rain.[91] While the author leaves interpretation up to the reader, they also heavily associate the animal with the Biblical ocean, as discussed by Gillis.[92] Interpretations of oceanic animals were ambiguous. Arguably, the dual identity of 'natural creatures' or 'divine agents' likely only added to the mystery associated with the ocean and its inhabitants.

Similarly, Robert Bargrave, a Levant merchant writing in the mid seventeenth century, described fish as "Neptune's hungry and diligent attendants".[93] Rather than attributing the creatures to God, Bargrave used classic comparisons to demonstrate that the ocean acted as a kingdom in itself, impervious to human control. Both Christian and classical terminology demonstrates the significance of divine language surrounding the ocean and its inhabitants. More so than any land animal, aquatic creatures were tied to supernatural forces of nature.

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[90] *A true report and exact description of a mighty sea-monster: or whale, cast vpon Langar-shore ouer against Harwich in Essex, this present moneth of Februarue 1617* (London, 1617).
[91] *Ibid*.
[92] Gillis, *The Human Shore*, pp. 7-8.
[93] Robert Bargrave, 'I: Robert Bargrave's Sea Voyage from England to Constantinople and his Residence there (1647-52)' in Michael Brennan, (ed) *The Travel Diaries of Robert Bargrave, 1647-1656, Levant Merchant* (Aldershot, 1999), p. 54.

These interpretations could be asserted on the shores, seas or deep oceans. However, the articulated origin of these forces did vary.

Yet, as we have seen from domestic creatures on land and the arguments of Genesis, all animals (including fish) were put on the earth for human use and to live under human rule. Although fish and other aquatic creatures could not be domesticated in the same way as land animals, and they occupied a more dangerous environment, they had to have a purpose. The most obvious was to provide sustenance. Chapter Two will discuss more deeply the importance of flesh in seafarers' diets, but fresh fish was a key source of food for many long-distance voyages. Aquatic animals were also excellent indicators of their environment and so seafarers used their behaviour to predict weather or locate land. Richard Madox's diary is full of interesting examples of how he used and interpreted oceanic species for his own benefit. On June 25th 1582 he wrote, "A number of porpases wer also leaping abowt us which maketh me afrayed of a storme".[94] In addition, on December 1st the crew "saw today a large torpedo fish from which indication we concluded we are not far from shore".[95] Using animals as indicators had its roots in terrestrial culture. On land, people associated the presence of particular birds with the change of seasons. Swallows, for example, were indicative of the arrival of summer.[96] Yet during a long-distance voyage, being able to predict a storm or look for close land could be the difference between life or death. The importance of understanding the relationship between environments and animals to English men was thus amplified by the precariousness of long-distance voyaging, further strengthening the necessity for a relationship between seafarers and animals. Aquatic creatures were understood as unintelligent and distant from human dominion and yet it was their very distance, and thus closeness to nature, that made them significant and useful to seafarers.

[94] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582,* p. 147.
[95] *Ibid*, pp. 244-5.
[96] *Ibid*, pp. 244-5.

Although the ocean has often been written about as a deep and threatening space, it was also understood to be very much alive particularly by the people who traversed it. As with land animals, aquatic creatures were naturally linked to their environment. However, when living in the ocean, animals took on more of its divine characteristics. Given the mysteriousness and fluidity of water, aquatic creatures were equally fluid, usually escaping the possibility for domestication. It was their closeness to the non-human environment of water that made them appear to be helpful sources of information for seafarers. The water itself was populated with a vast array of species able to be used by seafarers for navigation and survival. The mystery of these creatures thus subsided for those who had greater interaction with them. Although oceanic animals maintained their strong relationship with the divine, they were also used for practical purposes. For many, the clashing identities of 'divine agents' or 'natural creatures' existed alongside each other. As the English became increasingly familiar with oceanic fauna some writers identified the possibility for greater human control. The relationship between seafarers and sea creatures was thus a significant symbol of the eventual ability to assert dominion over the once vast and mysterious force of the ocean.

### *Foreign Lands*

On land, animals occupied a more familiar space in which humans felt naturally at home. Although seafarers still had to face the dangers of foreign nature, many were able to find similarities between native English animals and the new species they encountered. Being able to familiarise themselves with foreign species gave seafarers a greater sense of security especially compared to the ocean. Additionally, land animals were able to be used more readily in descriptions of foreign environments as associations between English species and English animal culture were more easily made. By assessing how seafarers wrote both privately and publicly about foreign land animals, the importance of human-animals

encounters during the early years of English Atlantic exploration can be determined. Both will show that, on land, animal encounters were vital in helping explorers situate the places they were visiting in their mental geography. Additionally, descriptions of animals were equally important to how seafaring authors depicted the appeal and potential of foreign landscapes to English people and potential investors.

Comparisons to the familiar were commonly used by travellers to interpret new species and landscapes as they provided the language needed to describe foreign nature and determine a relationship to it. Richard Madox, writing privately for himself, often drew links between the animals he encountered and the ones he was accustomed to from home. On Wednesday 15 August 1582, when based in Sierra Leone, Madox noted "the parrots eche day come fro the north to the hilly sowth to feed al day and at nyght returne luke croes in the Munkmore".[97] The Munkmoor, northeast of Shrewsbury, was where Madox grew up. Elsewhere he compared a bird to a kite and whales to cows.[98] Gerald Maclean's assessment of English travellers in the Ottoman Mediterranean proposed that often comparisons between foreign animals and known species were made, either through a lack of knowledge or to help guide the reader.[99] Given Madox's account was a private diary, we should conclude he was participating in the former, relying on the familiar because of his lack of knowledge in order to orientate himself in his new surroundings. If we consider Richard Jobson's attempt to describe the hippo through horse analogies, then Maclean's assessment would be correct. Jobson was using the familiar to describe the foreign, both for the readers' benefit and because of his lack of language. However Madox was also purposely invoking images of home, likely to familiarise himself with the foreign environment. Richard White's assessment

[97] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 165.
[98] Earlier in the text he notes that the sea hog is also known by the name Marsovini, which means porpoise. The exact species is unclear. Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582*, pp. 221, 236, 262.
[99] Gerald Maclean, *Looking East: English writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke, 2007) p. 156.

of colonists and their relationship to nature in North America astutely showcased that explorers "established equivalence and then turned equivalence into identity".[100] Whilst acts of comparison were used to render aspects of the natural world familiar, they could also extend to recreating familiar relationships between an individual and their natural surrounds in an alien setting. Although encountering a foreign landscape, it is possible Madox used sentimental comparisons to home to secure a sense of familiarity. During the sixteenth century parrots were a commonplace import across Europe, to the extent that many European explorers during the sixteenth and seventeenth century paid little attention to them within their voyage accounts.[101] By correlating the identity of the parrots to the Munkmoor crows, Madox established a similar and familiar relationship between himself and the foreign birds. This example highlights the significance of personal human-animal relationships to an individual's understanding of their placement within the wider world. Moreover, it showcases the easier extent to which seafarers were able to find familiarity and even comfort with foreign land dwelling animals, compared to oceanic creatures, as they occupied a natural human environment.

Similar techniques of familiarising animals were used in published pieces in order to promote foreign exploration and solicit additional patronage. Walter Ralegh in his *Discovery of Guiana* wrote much of the beauty of the places he experienced.[102] One of the ways he did this was to compare foreign landscapes to English deer parks. Somewhere near the port Morequito, Guiana, Ralegh noted that "deer came down feeding by the water side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call".[103] Beauty can be found from two perspectives in this quote: firstly, in the symbolism of deer and secondly in their domestication. While also affiliated with beauty, deer had the strongest associations with elite power and hunting. Their

[100] White, "Discovering Nature in North America".
[101] Hagseth, "Seadogs and Their Parrots: The Reality of 'Pretty Polly'".
[102] Lorimer, J. (ed) *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana,* The Hakluyt Society, 3.15 (London, 2006).
[103] *Ibid*, p. 76.

containment in deer parks meant that they and their meat became heavily symbolic of status. As there was no legitimate market for venison, it could only be obtained by owning or having permissions to hunt in a deer park.[104] Jeffrey McNairn's summary of hunting concluded that it was predominantly a mark of social rank but by the late early modern period it also became a magnet for tourists.[105] Hunting "emphasized the creation of use or exchange value from a physical environment of exploitable resources".[106] Although McNairn's assessment considered the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century – much later than when Ralegh was writing – Ralegh's emphasis on deer shows that he understood that the appeal of hunting was an effective promotional tool to further English interest in the country. As Anderson argued "the assumption that a person could remove a creature from the wild and transform it into property was firmly rooted in a larger set of English beliefs about the character of relations between people and animals".[107] Ralegh perfectly emulated this relationship in his association between beauty and deer responding to a keeper's call. Invoking images of similarity, domestication, and human civilisation, his readers were presented with a favourable view of Guiana. Even though the deer were not literally contained within a park, their behaviour suggested a naturally calm demeanour. As previously discussed, it was original sin which led to the wildness of animals, causing the need for dominion rather than cohabitation.[108] Ralegh thus implied Guiana to be Edenic through his descriptions of the placid native wildlife. This example was not the only time Ralegh used deer parks to invoke images of paradise. Once at the town Tuteritona he again made the comparison by describing the place "as full of deer as any forest or park in England".[109] Again, Ralegh used an animal associated with recreation,

[104] Oliver Rackham, *The History of the Countryside*, (London, 1986), p. 125. Felicity Heal, "Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *Past and Present,* 199.1 (2008), 41-70.
[105] Jeffrey L MacNairn, "Meaning and Markets: Hunting, Economic Development and British Imperialism in Maritime Travel Narratives to 1870", *Acadiensis*, 34.2 (2005), 3-25.
[106] *Ibid*.
[107] Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*, p. 44.
[108] Fudge, *Renaissance Beasts*, p. 71.
[109] Joyce Lorimer, (ed) *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana,* The Hakluyt Society, 3.15 (London, 2006), p.

ownership and domestication to present a favourable image of foreign places with potential future prospects for English people.

Amanda Johnson's recent reconsideration of Ralegh's *Discovery,* supported the suggestion that Ralegh was one of many European ventures that deployed non-referential truth claims, identified as vague prose which made Ralegh's experience appear similarly to "novelistic fictionality".[110] Johnson paid particular attention to Ralegh's marvellous descriptions of El Dorado and his financial and sexual metaphors of the Amazon region. She argued his imagery made "the expedition more imaginable for the reader, and in particular to solicit the patronage of Queen Elizabeth I" after facing public criticisms of his voyage on return.[111] While Johnson's examples reflect the commercialism of the land and the amenability of the Indigenous people through the fictional El Dorado, Ralegh similarly used descriptions of witnessed animals to build upon the imaginability of Guiana. Deer parks, in particular, invoked images of wealth and civility. However so did the beauty of the birds, whose feathers could be sold or their stunning songs could make them excellent pets. Ralegh wrote, "we saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange tawny, purple, green, watched, and of all other sorts both simple and mixed, as it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them".[112] Moreover, every evening they were "singing on every tree, with a thousand several tunes".[113] While these descriptions were not obviously linked to finance, as mentioned, exotic birds were regular trade goods within Europe and were highly valued among the upper classes.[114] Rather than discussing the monetary value of Guiana, he revealed the foreign wonders offered by the lands which would have been appealing to many

123-3.

[110] Johnson, A.L. "Nobody's Gold: Sir Walter Ralegh's *Discoveie of Guiana* and the Rise of Fictionality", *Early American Literature*, 56.3 (2021), 699-729.

[111] *Ibid*.

[112] Joyce Lorimer, (ed) *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana,* The Hakluyt Society, 3.15 (London, 2006), p. 107.

[113] *Ibid*, p. 151.

[114] Hagseth, "Seadogs and their Parrots".

rich readers.

As Curth demonstrated, there are many factors which influence how a person interacts with nature, such as their location, past experience, exposure to certain theological thoughts and even their social and economic class.[115] While there is much that can be said about Ralegh's individual personality, his references to deer and exotic birds were likely used specifically to appeal to an upper class audience in order to encourage further investment. Lorimer's comparison of the original manuscript and the published *Discoverie* highlights the extent to which Ralegh's words were edited in order to foster greater interest in his appeal to explore Manoa.[116] Very few of Ralegh's animal descriptions were edited. Some were shortened, including the above description of birds. Originally, the passage noting the various colours of fowl began with information on the amount of pheasants the crew were able to shoot each day. Evidently, these details were cut in favour of promoting the wonder, beauty and exoticism of the birds over their practical application as food, contrasting against Lorimer's suggestion that the edited text was designed to be more restrained.[117] Using animals, Ralegh and his editor, Robert Cecil, constructed Guiana as a paradise full of believable wonders and collectables, emphasising the beauty of similar species or animals from existing trades such as 'exotic' birds. It can thus be concluded that animals did not only influence how explorers understood the foreign lands they were traversing, but their descriptions were also used by authors and editors to convey particular images to English readers. English preconceptions of animals were consequently one of the significant factors which encouraged foreign lands to appear rich in abundance and opportunity in travel narratives.

The notion that nature indicated opportunity on land was equally used when discussing

[115] Louise Hill Curth, *The Care of Brute Beasts: A Social and Cultural Study of Veterinary Medicine in Early Modern England* (Leiden, 2009), p. 13.
[116] Lorimer, (ed) *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana*.
[117] *Ibid*, p. xxii.

rivers. Considerably less research has been done on river spaces in early modern English thought and so it is difficult to discern how river animals were considered by seafarers. Moreover, the variety of ecological habitats found in and around rivers equally make them difficult environments to consider as they are so diversely populated. For seafarers, rivers could be just as dangerous to long-distance voyagers as the ocean. While the ocean was more isolating, rivers could be confusing. Ralegh, when exploring Guiana, commented on how easy it was to get lost in the river estuaries. He wrote, "if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers". [118] Yet, by comparison to the ocean, these were not vastly open spaces and so animals, particularly fish, did not take on the same mysterious connotations. Rather, when mentioned in the sources, animals were considered in relation to the surrounding land.

Rivers are a liminal space, connecting water to land. Blakemore astutely made the point that the river was a link between the two divided worlds of a sailor, land and open water.[119] Although he was mainly discussing the placement of the river Thames in shorter and more common trade voyages, the idea of the river as a place of connection can be expanded. For those on a long-distance voyage, the river connected them to the three divided worlds of a seafarer: their home (depending on where they set sail from), the ocean, and the inner land of foreign places of exploration.[120] Gillis assessed that, to European explorers, rivers were purely understood as a route to the land interior.[121] However some sources reveal rivers had purposes beyond navigation. Callum Roberts, in his broad ecological history of the seas, rightly concluded that, for English colonial settlers of America, rivers were extremely important to survival.[122] Not only did they provide a water source but they also often acted as

[118] *Ibid*, p. 64.
[119] Blakemore, "The ship, the river and the ocean sea", p. 108.
[120] *Ibid.*
[121] Gillis, *The Human Shore*, pp. 68-98.
[122] Callum Roberts, *The Unnatural History of the Sea*, (London, 2007), p. 52.

waste removal for human sewage. The starving time of Jamestown, for example, is an excellent demonstration of the importance of rivers as drought not only drastically cut the population's water supply but, as sewage stagnated, disease and sickness spread.[123] Roberts noted that rivers were often described as abundant or clean and many early colonists compiled lists of the various creatures that inhabited rivers and the surrounding area.[124] These animals thus became associated with the abundance of the 'New World'. Similarly, Walter Ralegh in his promotional conclusion about Guiana considered the country 'healthful' evidenced by the crew's wellbeing after surviving largely on "fresh fish without seasoning" caught from the rivers.[125] Rivers, and by extension the animals within them, were often understood as indicators of the health of foreign places. Consequently, this shows the interdependent relationship understood between animals and their environments by English voyagers.

As with the dangers of winding rivers, foreign lands were not always considered desirable places, which reflected back on the reputation of the Indigenous animal inhabitants. Explorers of the northern Atlantic in search of the Northwest Passage often wrote of the barren and unsettling landscape of ice. John Davis' writing shows how understandings of these environments influenced how the fauna was depicted.

> The loathsome view of the shore, and irksome noyse of the yce was such, as that it bred strange conceites among us, so that we supposed the place to be waste a void of any sensible or vegetable creatures.[126]

[123] *Ibid*. See also, Dennis B. Blanton, "Drought as a factor in the Jamestown colony, 1607-1612", *Historical Archaeology*, 34 (2000), pp. 74-81.
[124] Roberts, *Colonial Ecology*.
[125] Ralegh, *The Discovery*, p.140.
[126] John Davis, "A Report of M John Davis concerning his three voyages made for the discovery of the Northwest passage, taken out of a treatise of his intitules The Worlds Hydrographical Description" in Richard Hakluyt, (ed) *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries on the English Nation*, in Twelve Volumes, 7 (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1904), pp. 440-1.

Commenting on both flora and fauna, Davis assessed the potential presence and quality of non-human life through his experience of the climate and landscape. As similarity could invoke positive images, difference could invoke negative ones. Unlike Madox's parrots resembling the familiar crows of his home, the unsettling noise of the ice bred a feeling of alienation for John Davis, impacting his understanding of possible familiar wildlife. George Best similarly had a disdain for the northern environments yet he theorised more resourcefully about the environment and its impact on native animals.

> … the Somers are warme and fruitful, and the Winters nights vnder the pole are tollerable to liuing creatures… for there the beasts are couered with haire so much the thicker, in how much the vehemencie of cold is greater.[127]

Here is an example of how early modern English seafarers understood climate adaptation. Nature and its inhabitants were inextricably linked and so animals were a product of their natural environment. Furthermore, their unique features could also be their best tradable asset. Best concluded that because of the harsh environment "the best and richest furres are broughte out of the coldest regions".[128] Similar to the techniques employed by Ralegh, foreign animals were largely used to promote their natural landscapes. Although settlement plans could easily be brought into question because of undesirable landscapes, travellers frequently used descriptions of animals to justify the purpose of their voyage, encourage further explorations and depict the state of resources whether that be tradable goods or paradisal lands. Henrique Leitao's assessment of oceanic voyages concluded that, during the

[127] Best, *A Trve Discovrse*, p.43.
[128] *Ibid*.

sixteenth century, ships provided some of the most important trading opportunities for early modern Europeans.[129] Given the growing desire for trade and new resources in an expanding world market, it is understandable that animals, who were so heavily interlinked with their natural environment, became regularly depicted as tradable goods. Unlike the ocean, foreign land - and thus its inhabitants - were more tangible. This did not mean that oceanic creatures escaped the growing market, far from it. But in the early voyages of English exploration, land animals were more easily accessible and relatable to a home readership. In an effort to encourage further global English influence, land animals were thus often tainted by the commercial intent associated with the environments they were exploring, consequently dictating how they were interacted with by some seafarers.

On land, animals were occupying a space which the English believed humans had mastery over, even if the landscapes were foreign to the explorers experiencing them. Consequently, descriptions of animals became tied with how explorers experienced foreign landscapes. For individuals, many wanted to assert a sense of familiarity. By correlating the identities of recognisable animals to the foreign, individuals could ease a personal sense of displacement. Alternatively, descriptions in published accounts often had larger agendas associated with the future prospects of exploration and resource exploitation in certain areas. Just as with oceanic animals, land dwelling creatures were understood to be products of their natural environment, adapting to particular climates. It was these adaptations that made them desirable commodities or symbols. For the northern animals with thick coats, their fur quickly identified them as commodities to be potentially exploited if more voyages were commissioned. Additionally, the placid and calm deer of Guiana represented an Edenic paradise across the ocean, fit for English occupation. Whether the author used clear financial

[129] Henrique Leitao, "All Aboard!: Science and Ship Culture in Sixteenth-Century Oceanic Voyages", *Early Science and Medicine*, 21.2 (2016), pp. 113-32. See also Blakemore and Davey, *The Maritime World of Early Modern Britain*, pp. 23-4.

incentives or played upon the wonder of exoticism, animals were regularly at the heart of landscape descriptions. On land and in rivers, animals indicated the health and potential of foreign environments and thus were regularly employed in voyage accounts.

### *Conclusion*

Both spaces and environments played a significant role in shaping how foreign species were understood and interacted with in the early English Atlantic. English culture largely taught that human dominion was necessary over the natural world as it could help restore a level of Edenic lifestyle for the benefit of both man and animal. Both ancient and Christian teachings encouraged the idea that animals were designed for servitude. Consequently, English seafarers regularly approached foreign species with the intention to control or use them. Animals, therefore, represented opportunity. However, wild animals also embodied the concept of the spiritual wilderness and so could present as threats, particularly if they occupied environments unnatural to humans or invaded designated human spaces. On the ship, animals granted permission aboard were accepted. Usually these were either domestic species or animals that proved valuable or beneficial to the crew. The relationship between humans and animals was also extremely important socially as displaying control or mastery of animals was often used as a form of social posturing. Uncontrolled, individual creatures were met with more hostility, sometimes to the detriment to the entire species' reputation. Within the oceanic space, animals were assessed cautiously. Oceanic creatures were more strongly associated with their environment which was often a conduit for divine messages. Although oceanic creatures habited a perceived non-human environment, their very closeness to the ocean meant that the English could use them to better understand the Atlantic as a occupiable and navigable space. With greater interaction came a greater familiarity with the oceanic environment. On land, human dominion was more attainable. Animals signified the

health, prospects and wealth of foreign landscapes. Additionally, those with similarities to common English species gave seafarers the opportunity to find familiarity and thus belonging in new environments. Overall, English exploratory agendas used the presence of certain animal species to depict future commercial or colonial prospects. Additionally, many animal bodies and behaviours helped seafarers understand and navigate the environments they encountered. Although the space and environment of interaction could shift how seafarers used and documented the animal kingdom, the desire to demonstrate and enforce human dominion was evidently a key aspect of the broader aspirations present throughout these enterprises: to explore, control and exploit the natural world.

# II

## *'Everything that moveth and liveth shall be meat for you'*

## Meat and the Formation of an English Atlantic discourse

In 1582, a ship's captain, lieutenant and a handful of other men killed a crocodile up-river from the coast of Sierra Leone. It took three hours for the men to stab the creature to death with sharp pikes before it was brought back to the ships to be consumed at the dinner table of General Edward Fenton and a select few.[1] The killing was referenced in multiple accounts.[2] Richard Madox's private diary provides the most detail. Although Madox did not witness the killing of the crocodile, he did attend the feast of the carcass and recorded the event as follows.

> This mean season M. Hawkins and capten Ward with ther people killed a great crocadyle of 12 foot long lacking 2 ynches in the oyster river which was the male. The femel also was seen aland. He was browght aboord and skynned. The flesh was marvelows fayr and whyte. Muche of yt was eaten. I ate a peece of the hart but because it smelled so muche of musk, we cast the rest away. Under his armpits and in the joynt of his jaws ar bags of amber greece lyke kyrnels. His 2 lower butter teath [incisors] stryke up quyte throe his snowt as thoe they wer riveted. He prayeth in the water but feedeth on land. He refuseth noe meat, and assawlteth none that resyst him.[3]

This case study perfectly encapsulates the most important theme in human-animal interactions during this period of the Atlantic – the assertion of human dominion. It has been

[1] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582,* pp. 171-2.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 171-2; John Walker, "The Diary of John Walker" in *An Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 307.
[3] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582,* pp. 171-2.

well established that up until the late seventeenth century, England (and most of Europe) had an extremely anthropocentric view of the world. As addressed in Chapter One, Thomas concluded that as theologians attempted to further understand human sin, many called for a reestablishment of human control over nature.[4] From the Reformation to the late seventeenth century, there was a reconsideration of the place of animals in a human world. In Madox's description of the crocodile's character, he denoted images of greed, strength and dominance. Yet, the crocodile was lying on their dinner table as the men investigated and tasted its body. As Madox ate the crocodile's heart he symbolically asserted human dominion which was only amplified when he deemed the meat unsuitable and cast it away. The animal he purposely described as a vicious dominating force was reduced to its use for human sustenance and curiosity. Additionally, Madox also noted the presence of an "amber greece" like substance. Ambergris was a highly valuable commodity most often found in sperm whales.[5] Throughout the early modern period it was used as medicine, for cooking and most famously in fragrances.[6] Once a living and ferocious animal, the crocodile ended its life as a product.

The most common way seafarers interacted with animals was through their diet. This could be through cooking and eating common meats as part of their everyday routine, or through curiosity and inspection of foreign meats, as documented in Madox's diary. It must first be noted that the term 'meat' experienced a change of meaning during this period. Karen Rabar's assessment of language demonstrates that, pre-fifteenth century, the word 'meat' was often used to denote food, whereas animal bodies were broadly labelled as flesh.[7] From the

[4] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 20.
[5] Azzolini, "Talking of animals: whales, ambergris, and the circulation of knowledge in seventeenth-century Rome", pp. 297-318.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Karen Rabar, "Animals at the Table: Performing Meat in Early Modern England and Europe" in Sarah Cockram and Andrew Wells, (eds) *Interspecies Interactions: Animals and Humans Between the Middle Ages and Modernity* (London, 2018), pp. 107-15.

fifteenth century onwards, meat became more frequently used to reference animal flesh. Rabar suggests that cultural and economic changes in the early modern era "required the role of dead animals at the table to be recoded, to be divided off from other categories of food and bodies", further demonstrating the significance of animals in the diet during this period.[8] Most of the sources used throughout this chapter reference a specific animal as meat, however it shall recognise where the term 'meat' has been used vaguely and thus may not reference animal consumption.

As a part of the diet, animals met the basic needs of human survival. How animals were consumed was informed by contemporary medical and biological understandings about food and the body, and by local social custom. Due to the variety of influences on consumption, there were many differences in opinion about the 'proper' way to eat. New animals and their meat thus had to be assimilated into contesting discourses of nutrition and bodily health. Consequently, disagreement within these communities, present in the historical sources, show that a range of dietary perspectives were tested by the extremities of long-distance voyaging.

Most historiography on diet and health has discussed the role of food on land. Ground breaking work by Ken Albala determined that ideas about diet differed between social classes.[9] In addition, he explored how contemporary theory was both rejected and received into society as a result of local custom and personal taste.[10] More recently, historians such as Michael A. LaCombe extended such theories to look at diet in the colonies, assessing the complex role of food in encounter and settlement.[11] However, the role of health and the diet in the transient setting of voyaging has much still to be explored. While work has been done on food practicalities, it is only in recent years historians have begun to consider how the

[8] *Ibid*.
[9] Ken Albala, "Food and Class" in *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 2002), pp. 184-216.
[10] Albala, "Food and Nation" in *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, pp. 217-40.
[11] Michael A. LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy: Food and Authority in the English Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, (2012).

complexities involved with diet, such as internal and external influences on health, transferred to an oceanic setting.[12] Work by David Abulafia and Jeremy Bolster, for example, have expressed the broadly accepted narrative that western Europe desired to exploit the natural resources found in the Atlantic during this period.[13] Yet, less work has discussed how meat, one the most desired dietary product groups in England, assimilated and even normalised resource harvesting during the early years of English exploration. Assessing how meat and potential meat sources were documented highlights multiple perspectives on how it was consumed. For most seafarers, survival alongside a cultural love of meat encouraged the community to express a right to 'proper' sustenance. However, for elite ship commanders, meat was symbolic of status and control, and thus sheds light on how crew hierarchy was expressed. As demonstrated by the crocodile feast in Madox's diary, meat consumption could manifest as social occasions, where the ship captain presided over the invited guests. In addition, traditionally educated commanders would assert control through medical reasoning, adapting diets where possible for the health of the crew. Both the crew and commanders' dietary perspectives often came into conflict, particularly when resources were scarce, thus demonstrating the importance of meat in voyaging society and reflecting the complex role of authority within crews.

This chapter shall first look at the importance of diet to seafarers of differing ranks in order to establish the role of meat during long distance voyages as well as the tensions that were often prevalent between crew members. Then, it shall assess how consumptive activity had to be adapted according to foreign environments and the foreign meats on offer, thus bringing about a growing maritime advice literature created by the educated upper ranked

[12] See, Conrad Heidenreich and Nancy Heidenreich, "A nutritional analysis of the food rations on Martin Frobisher's second expedition, 1577", *Polar Record*, 204 (2002) pp. 23-38; Fury, "Victualing, Morbidity, Mortality, and Health Care" in *Tides*, pp. 137-97.
[13] David Abulafia, "The New Atlantic" in *The Boundless Sea: A Human History of the Oceans* (UK, 2019), pp. 582-93; Bolster, *The Mortal Sea: Fishing the Atlantic in the Age of Sail*, p. 9.

crew. Finally, it shall investigate the growing symbolism of meat in different voyaging circumstances and published accounts. Assessing reports of meat consumption in times of excess against scarcity will demonstrate that meat was used to communicate civility and authority. While animal flesh began to be assimilated into new narratives of maritime success, written by highly ranked individuals, the symbolic significance of meat was often at tension with the personal desire for sustenance from working crew members. Consequently, meat consumption shows the challenges of creating an English discourse of control as projections of English national authority over Atlantic spaces could be undermined by the rights-based claims of ordinary mariners.

### *The Importance of Diet*

Animal bodies were a staple substance in the diets of all English seafarers. Stockfish and salted meats were essential provisions on ships because of their nutritious quality and transportability.[14] Meat and fish were also often caught or hunted on route, providing voyagers access to and enjoyment of fresh food. Yet, meat was more than just food that seafarers - and English people more broadly - enjoyed. The growing field of food history has demonstrated that early modern people consumed their food carefully and thoughtfully.[15] A good diet was understood to be the key to overall health and so meats and other animal products, theoretically, needed to be consumed correctly in order to reap the benefits. Food could balance a person's humours if planned correctly, or it could damage their internal complexion and bring about sickness or even death.[16] Aside from bodily health, meat was

[14] Peter Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 2004), p. 11. For a summary of a typical seamen's diet see, Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, p. 139-40.
[15] Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance;* C.M. Woolgar, *The Culture of Food in England, 1200-1500* (New Haven, 2016); Adam Fox, "Food, Drink and Social Distinction in Early Modern England" in Steve Hindle, Alexandra Shepard, and John Walter, (eds) *Remembering English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 165-88.
[16] Ulinka Rublack, "Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and Emotion" trans. by Pamela Selwyn, *History Workshop Journal*, 53, (2002), 1-16.

also linked with social expression, demonstrating the class and civility of its consumers.[17] However the unpredictable circumstances of long distance voyaging meant that meat was often not consumed in the same manner as it was in England. Not only did the micro-societal dynamics of ship crews impact on traditional ideals of meat consumption but the limited supply of familiar meats also resulted in less choice when it came to meat rations. By assessing the importance of diet for seafarers, it can be determined how the voyaging context impacted the English culture of meat consumption. Rather than differences based on social status determining consumptive activity, seafaring communities experienced the development of new dietary processes defined and tested by the educated upper ranks of crew society. These were largely a combination of terrestrial dietary advice and the harsh, varied conditions of voyaging.

Meat had long been a valued part of the English diet. As Martha Carlin has shown, meat had been foundational in the English diet since the medieval period.[18] By the early modern period, birds were popular meat sources among the aristocracy as well as fish which were valued for being lighter meals.[19] Additionally, the diets of middle and professional classes relied so heavily on high-quality meats that their "English love" was remarked upon by foreign visitors.[20] For generations English people had associated meat eating with status, as discussed by C.M Woolgar. His widely accepted conclusions show that from the fourteenth century onwards England developed an awareness of hierarchal eating as a result of growing class divisions and increased concentrations of wealth.[21] To quote Ken Albala's later work on this topic, "as demographic pressure, economic specialization, and social stratification

[17] Albala, "Food and Class", pp. 184-216.
[18] Martha Carlin, "'What say you to a piece of beef and mustard': The evolution of public dining in Medieval and Tudor London", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 199-228.
[19] Montarani, Massimo, and Brombert,(eds) *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking, and the Table* (Columbia, 2015), p. 70.
[20] *Ibid*, p. 214.
[21] Woolgar, *The Culture of Food in England.*

advanced, dietary prejudiced based on class intensified".[22] As a result, the performative dimension of meat consumption became accentuated. Although social and economic developments defined the development of meat consumption on land in England, meat's role on board sixteenth and early seventeenth century English Atlantic ships was more complex. In addition to representing status, proper meat consumption was also important to maintain bodily health in an environment where life was constantly threatened. Voyage commanders therefore had the responsibility of maintaining a healthy crew diet.

Achieving and implementing a suitable diet for the trans-Atlantic voyage setting was not easy.[23] The confined space of a ship limited the amount of victuals procured for a long-distance expedition, making dietary advice difficult to adhere to. Moreover, hunting and fishing in the wild meant that certain meats or fish could not be guaranteed. Rather, they had to make do with what was available. Meat was also not always a particularly safe food to eat. While it was considered one of the most nourishing, it could also be hard to digest. For example, beef was considered a slow-moving substance and so could be detrimental to a sick or weak body unable to digest it.[24] Elemental humoral theory dictated that all foods were consumed and absorbed as humours. If a person's stomach was not strong enough to digest a certain food then only the 'raw' or negative humours would be absorbed.[25] Instead, beef's crass quality made it ideal for the labourer who would have had a strong enough stomach for digesting and benefiting from heavier foods.[26] Alternatively, the more leisured were advised to eat lighter foods, such as fish. While most crew members on board a long distance voyage

[22] Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, pp. 187.
[23] For research on ship crew health see, Fury, "The Impact on Physical, Spiritual and Mental Health on Shipboard Order in the Early English East India Company Voyages, 1601-1611", *The Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture*, (London, 2018); Fury, "Victualing, Morbidity, Mortality, and Health Care", in *Tides*, pp. 137- 96. For an overview of the variety of diseases and sicknesses seamen commonly contracted (and their eventual treatments) see, James Seay Dean, "Chapter Six: Plague of the Sea and Spoyle of Mariners", in *Tropic Suns* (Gloucestershire, 2014), pp. 134-67.
[24] Albala, *Eating Right*, p. 68.
[25] *Ibid*.
[26] *Ibid*.

regularly engaged in intense physical labour, the amount of physical activity varied depending on a person's role on the ship. Specialist crew members, such as surgeons or chaplains, were likely engaging less frequently in intensive activities compared to the sailors. Yet, unless ill or able to secure fresh sustenance, crew members were broadly provisioned with the same meat rations.[27] There was seemingly little consideration for provisioning appropriate meat for individuals or groups of crew members because this was not possible. Limited storage meant that only a certain amount of meat or fish could be brought on a voyage.[28] The rest of the meat rations were thus supplemented by what was hunted or caught. While this gave seafarers little control over the types of meat or fish available it allowed for greater diversity between crew diets, particularly for the higher ranked who were often able to demand the best catches. However, any stores, fresh or persevered, were also vulnerable to stowaway vermin, poor containment, or simply the harsh elements of heat or salt water. For seafarers, the 'English love' for meat was thus regularly at tension with its availability and healthfulness.

The act of travel was also considered unhealthful. Rebecca Earle's work on climate effectively portrays the variety of influences sailors had to consider in order to maintain their health.[29] Earle identified that health manuals for travellers were particularly concerned with different airs, sudden changes in the diet and home sickness.[30] Her assessment of Diego Rodriguez de Almela's contemporary history of mankind concluded that the voyages of discovery and colonial ventures "took place at a time when conventional wisdom affirmed that prolonged absence from home were likely to induce almost unbearable homesickness".[31]

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[27] Fury, *Tides*, pp. 139-40.
[28] *Ibid*. For a summary of typical provisions for a tropical voyage see, Dean, *Tropic Suns*, p. 43.
[29] Rebecca Earle, "Climate, travel and colonialism in the early modern world", in Sara Migliette and John Morgan, (eds) *Governing the Environment in the Early Modern World: Theory and Practice* (New York, 2017) pp. 22-37.
[30] *Ibid*.
[31] *Ibid*, p. 23. See also, Diego Rodríguez de Almela, Fernan Pérez de Guzman, *Valerio de las historias escolásticas*, (Salamanca, 1587).

According to Hippocratic theory, emotional instability could have a detrimental impact on bodily health. Unlike colonists, sailors did not intend to settle in overseas places but continued throughout their life to enter and exit a variety of different areas never truly growing accustomed to their environment. What's more, as Ulinka Rublack's work has shown, the healthfulness of the early modern English diet depended on motion, interruption, consistency, purity, heat, cold, emotion, nourishment and movement.[32] Theoretically, the diet had to be adapted according to the consumer's environmental context. However, the sometimes rapid and regular changing environments and circumstances long distance voyagers encountered meant that suitable dietary adaptations could not always be carried out. As shown by Earle, sudden changes in the diet were also considered unhealthy.[33] While people were encouraged to eat an expansive diet, this should have been achieved through gradual means – something which seafarers were unable to do. A poor diet, coupled with the undesirable, cramped living conditions of a ship thus meant that sickness was a significant risk and concern on trans-Atlantic voyages. Consequently, the very nature of voyaging meant that many English dietary ideals could not easily be followed.

Due to the difficulty of maintaining a healthful diet, dietary judgment thus became a point of contention between high ranked voyage leaders and career sailors. On James Lancaster's 1591 voyage to the East Indies, Edmund Barker, the voyage lieutenant, assumed that the diets of certain men were the reason there were so many deaths among the crew whilst crossing the Atlantic.[34] After a period of storms and limited victuals, many of the men had grown weak and sickly. Having crossed from Brazil to the Cape of Good Hope in southern Africa, a significant amount of the crew had already died. Barker concluded that the soldiers on board were in a healthier condition because they were not used to seafaring whereas the mariners

[32] Rublack, "Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and Emotion".
[33] Earle, "Climate, travel and colonialism in the early modern world", pp. 22-37.
[34] Edmund Barker, "The memorable voyage of M James Lancaster about the Cape of Buona Esperanza", in Haluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries on the English Nation*, 6, pp. 387-408.

died in more considerable numbers because of "their evill diet at home".[35] Here, Barker equated a poor diet with the profession of sailing. But, significantly, their 'evill diet' was not a result of the voyage setting. Instead, it stemmed from their dietary behaviour on land "at home". Unfortunately, no detail is given with regards to what the evil diet consisted of, but evidently typical mariner food choices did not align with what Barker considered healthy. Rather than laying responsibility with the captain, himself or other highly ranked crew members, Barker cast judgment onto those in the seafaring profession, implying a better standard of living among those in predominantly terrestrial jobs, such as soldiers. Aside from tension between terrestrial and transient people, Berker's judgment also likely attempted to play on class division. As a lieutenant, he would have been literate and thus able to access publications of dietary advice in contrast to sailors, whose food habits would usually have stemmed from local custom over formal education. These tensions among crews played a prominent role on board long distance voyages, shaping social dynamics and meat consumption. They could also be used to place blame for particular health failings during a voyage.

Another way social tensions shaped crew dynamics was in the control of food. Captains and other leadership figures had a significant welfare responsibility to the crew, motivated by commercial success and personal relationships.[36] By assessing how multiple commanders equated dietary welfare with leadership we can see that, for some, food control became symbiotic with good management. Within Jobson's account of the River Gambia, he detailed some important qualities of crew leaders, one being the ability to properly control food victuals. While navigating the river, the crew were divided into two shallops to sail further into the interior. The larger of the two was led by an unnamed master and the other by

[35] *Ibid*, p. 390.
[36] Witt, J. "During the voyage every captain is monarch of the ship: the merchant captain from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century", *International Journal of Maritime History*, 13.2 (2001), 165-194.

Jobson. Both had a very different experience as a result of their ability to properly control food victuals.

> The bigger whereof, the principall Factor was to follow his trade in, and carried therefore in the same a Butte of Sacke, and a Hogges-head of Aqua vita, making choice of such men as were the most able, and likeliest bodies to hold out, and he in himselfe carefull enough, as his experience might well advice him… he carried at sometimes, such an over-sparing hand that they fell to practicing how they might decieve him, which being purchased, as it were from his niggardly nature, they would divide as a spoyle with great greedinesse amongst themselves, and thereby wrought their own confusions, that of those people he carried with him, they eyther died before he came backe to the shippe, or shortly after, some two at the most excepted, who escaped with dangerous sicknesse.[37]

Jobson's summary of the men's behaviour parallels the judgement cast by Barker. The men, who were considered the best stock, practiced deceitful behaviour in response to the Master's frugality with the food rations. Here, Jobson implied a lack of etiquette and respect towards the Master which could only be tamed with correct leadership and food provisioning. Jobson continued, comparing this experience with his own.

> …whereas to the contrary shallop, and wherein I must take such men as were given me, not such as I desired, observing amongst our selves, a loving and orderly course of diet wherein everie man had his equall share.[38]

[37] Gamble and Hair, "Introduction" in *The Discovery of River Gambra*, p. 160.
[38] *Ibid*.

Jobson then went on to boast how he "never had any man sicke" or die despite travelling 140 leagues further up river than the other shallop, and with the seemingly weaker men.[39] Jobson evidently understood there to be an extremely strong link between crew health, food equality, and voyage success. He argued that good leaders provided equal rations and took suitable control over the food, to avoid behavioural issues from the working crew, who he believed could be negligent towards their own health. Although Jobson's anecdote does not contribute to our understandings of meat in the voyaging environment specifically, it sheds considerable light on the tension between leaders and workers and the role food could play in voyage narratives - highlighting successful leaders within the English exploration of the Atlantic. Consequently, it was these very links between leadership, dietary control and success which resulted in food becoming an important narrative feature in many voyage accounts.

In order to avoid sickness, death, and apparently deceptive crew members, captains protected their victuals through preservation, rationing and limiting the mouths they had to feed. Richard Hawkins detailed how, during his 1593 voyage to the South Sea, he decided to abandon a group of "Indians" they had picked up in order to preserve suitable rations.

> Here, for that our Indians serves us to no other use but to consume our victuals, we eased our selves of them; gave them hookes and lines which they craved, and some bread for a few dayes, and replanted them in a farre better country than their own.[40]

Similarly, in a more disastrous situation, John Jane detailed a brutal decision made by General Thomas Cavendish. As the ship's supplies dwindled and men faced starvation, Cavendish decided that all the sick men should be "uncharitably put a shore into the woods in

[39] *Ibid*.
[40] Richard Hawkins, *The Observations*, p. 180.

the snowe, raine, and cold, when men of good health could skarcely indure it, where they ended their lives in the highest degree of misery".[41] One of the reasons why these voyagers suffered starvation was because of the actions of Master Cooke in Santos. Arriving before Thomas Cavendish, the fleet was scheduled to refresh its stores in Santos, Brazil, after having travelled to the Strait of Magellan. However, Master Cooke decided to loot the town and in response the locals fled.

> …the Indians were suffered to carry out of the towne whatsoever they would in open viewe, and no man did controll them… thus in three dayes the towne that was able to furnish such another Fleete with all kinde of necessaries, was left unto us nakedly bare, without people and provision.[42]

Unlike in Richard Jobson's account, where the crew sabotaged their own health in response to poor leadership, Hawkins and the author of Cavendish's voyage demonstrate the extent to which the crew were at the liberty of authority figures and their decisions. Mistakes could and did cost lives. In addition, both Hawkins and Cavendish's willingness to rid the crew of their Indigenous guides or sickly members in favour of food not only shows that the responsibility of provisioning lay with the captain, but also the expendability of certain bodies within ship settings. Although the captains were tasked with protecting crew health through suitable provisioning, this could be at the detriment of certain people thus creating further tension between those in control of the food and those not. Consequently, these divisions demonstrate that captains and other leadership figures during long-distance voyages were broadly concerned with documenting narratives of success, opportunity and survival. However, this

[41] John Jane, "The last voyage of the worshipfull M.Thomas Candish esquire, intended for the South sea, the Philippinas, and the coast of china, with 3 tall ships, and two barks: Written by M. John Jane", in *Principal Navigations*, 11, p. 392.
[42] *Ibid*, p. 390.

often could cause conflict with the rest of the crew who generally equated food provisions with survival and enjoyment.

Diet and food provisioning was an extremely important influencer of ship and crew dynamics. Not only was it a point of contention and judgement between differing classes but it was also the driving force behind many decisions from the upper ranks. The significantly growing links between dietary welfare, voyaging success and quality of leadership opened doors for food, in particular meat, to become a symbolic centrepiece for English success in published narratives. However, differences in diets, expression of dietary judgement, and the impact of long-distance travel reveals that the reality of meat control faced many challenges.

### *The Impact of Atlantic Travel on Meat Consumption*

Some upper ranked English voyagers attempted to create a unique dietary discourse to advise future voyagers how best to adapt their consumption to the various environments and situations they encountered. The 'English love' and desire for meat meant that it was often at the heart of the Atlantic exploratory experience. Consequently, meat become a key indicator of the healthfulness of foreign lands and was assimilated into discovery discourses for future commercial, colonial and exploratory prospects. Authors of seafaring accounts were also keen to advise how an English person may suitably adapt foreign meats to make them palatable to the nations taste, promoting the possibility for survival and prosperity in foreign lands as well as providing detail on new food sources to be potentially exploited for the home market. This section shall assess the two most fundamental impacts on meat consumption during long distance voyages: the surrounding environment and understandings of the living animal chosen for consumption. Consequently, it shall become evident that the animal and the environment had a symbiotic relationship, both affecting the health of each other. It was this relationship that became an influential feature in dietary discussions and exploration discourses engaged in by seafarers as both leaders and workers attempted to understand and

incorporate new meats into their diets.

The environment was a significant concern for all seafarers and so featured prominently in how captains and other high ranked travellers communicated about health and meat. Richard Hawkins was one of the key writers on the impact of the external environment on English bodies.[43] Early on in his account he noted that the English were more prone to sickness and scurvy than any other nation because of the temperate climate they grew up in and typical meat consumption habits.

> …being bred in a temperate clymate, where the naturall heate restrayned, giveth strength to the stomacke, sustayning it with meates of good nourishmnet… whereas comming into the hot countries… greater force for digestion is now required.[44]

English bodies were healthful because of their diet, yet hotter climates made these food more difficult to digest. Unlike other voyagers from hot countries, such as the Spanish, English stomachs were less adapted to the higher temperatures found in the southern Atlantic. Their bodies thus hindered the ability to digest, resulting in 'bad' humours being absorbed instead of nutrition.[45] A specific concern for meat was that it would sit in the body too long, petrifying because of its slower digestion rate. In order to avoid sickness, seafarers, in particular commanders, had to consider the impact of their surroundings.

In the last few decades, historians such as Karen Kupperman have explored the role of climate in the mindset of English travellers and colonists.[46] As popular belief dictated, the body was best adapted to the climate it was born into.[47] A drastic change in humidity and

[43] Richard Hawkins, *The Observations.*
[44] *Ibid*, p. 57.
[45] Albala, "The Human Body: Humors, Digestion, and the Pjysiology of Nutrition" in *Eating Right*, pp. 48-77.
[46] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates in the Anglo-American Colonial Experience", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 41.2 (1984), pp. 213-40.
[47] *Ibid*.

temperature could be dangerous. Kupperman, in her assessment of colonial mindsets, demonstrated that a culture of fear for hotter climates developed in England in the early seventeenth century.[48] Earlier contemporaneous works, such as Wateson's book on tropical diseases (1598), concluded that sickness was more prevalent in hotter climates.[49] External heat was understood to draw out the heat of the body and so digestion and the ability to assimilate humours was disrupted.[50] Heat and humidity could also disrupt the quality of the air. George Best detailed the negative impacts of heat in his assessment of the Caribbean island, the Isle of Saint Thomas. He wrote, "the whole Bay is more subject to many bloming and smothering heates, with infectious and contaigious ayres than any other place in al Terrida Zona".[51] In addition, Walter Ralegh, described his personal difficulty with humidity on his first expedition to Guiana. When travelling up river, "the father we went on (our victuals decreasing and the air breeding great faintness) we grew weaker and weaker when we had most need of strength and ability".[52] Heat and humidity did more than impact the functioning of the stomach. It was uncomfortable as well as dangerous. While Kupperman labelled the colonial distrust of heat as "fear", seafarers such as Ralegh or Best, who only had to temporarily experience the heat and humidity of foreign places, voiced more of a disliking within their accounts.

As hotter climates were unavoidable if seafarers wanted to tap the riches of southern Africa or Brazil, solutions to poor functioning stomachs needed to be found. Most of these solutions meant changing how the crew consumed meat. Returning to Richard Hawkins' *Observations*, he argued that in order to remain healthful, all voyagers needed to avoid salt.[53] Their bodies needed cold, moist foods to maintain a humoral balance in warm climates

[48] *Ibid*.
[49] George Wateson, *The Cures of the Diseased in Remote Regions* (London, 1598).
[50] Albala, *Eating Right* p. 61.
[51] Best, *A trve discovrse of the late voyages of discouerie*, p. 19.
[52] Joyce Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana* (London, 2006), p. 72.
[53] Richard Hawkins, Observations, p. 59.

whereas salt was considered hot and dry. As a result, preserved meats were not to be eaten and fish from salt waters were not to be caught.[54] Additionally, the English tradition of dressing fresh meat with salt also had to be avoided.[55] The action of countering environmental influences through dietary changes showcases the importance of humoral and elemental theory to crew leaders when voyaging. To be able to make responsive changes, captains and other leadership figures needed to be knowledgeable about animals, meats and, more broadly, the impact of natural environments on English bodies. Consequently, the average seafarer's experience with meat could largely depend on dietary instruction from their leaders. Furthermore, the upper ranked seafarer's relationship with animals as meat substances was amplified as it was their responsibility to maintain a healthy crew.

Hot climates were not the only concern to English travellers with regards to their meat consumption, but cold environments could also have equal detriments. George Best's disdain for the heat of Saint Thomas was matched by his hatred of the cold when voyaging around Greenland and northern Canada. In his accounts, Best argued that cold climates were full of strange and "unsavory" meats. Additionally, he blamed England's lack of success in exploration, compared to other European powers such as Spain, on the climate of locations to which they voyaged.

> … the former nations have happily chanced to trauel by more temperate clymates, where they had not onlye good meates and drinkes, but all other things necessarie, for the vse of man.[56]

How published seafarer accounts documented cold climates shows the level to which the

[54] *Ibid*.
[55] *Ibid*.
[56] Best, *A Trve Discovrse*, p. 4.

environment, animals, and food quality were interlinked. The word "unsavory" was a direct comment on the potential meat quality of Indigenous animals. As a result, voyagers travelling to colder climates would have had to provision themselves more heavily with preserved meats or fresh seawater fish, products that were considered to be off limits by Hawkins in hotter, dryer climates. It can also be concluded from Best's writings that fresh meat was considered much more healthful in warmer climates as a temperate heat could breed abundance in nature, hence the success of the Spanish. The voyager's relationship with meat and 'fresh' animals was highly susceptible to the environment in which they were travelling. Moreover, climate not only impacted the humours and meats the English body needed to consume, but also the quality of meats available. As a result, seafarer writings about meat were more than an observation or discussion of diet. Rather, meat could act as a symbolic substance, indicative of the healthfulness and potential commercial or settlement opportunities of different foreign lands and their suitability for English bodies.

Another significant environmental factor that influenced how seafarers chose and consumed their meat was the sea. Seawater could have detrimental impacts on a voyager's health. For example, many of the mariners on James Lancaster's voyage fell sick because of the great storm they encountered. As Barker's account detailed, the men were unable to stay dry as they were constantly lashed in salty seawater. The excess of cold water was understood as one of the causes of such deadly sicknesses and "infection" among the crew.[57] Richard Hawkins' *Observations* also had educational advice on how to tackle the impact of seawater.

> In the morning at discharge of the watch, to give every man a bit of bread, and a draught of drinke, either beere or wine mingled with water (at the leaste, the one halfe), of a quantitie mingled with beere, that the pores of the bodie may be full, when the vapours of

[57] Barker, "The memorable voyage of M James Lancaster about the Cape of Buona Esperanza", p387.

the sea ascend up.[58]

The seawater that Hawkins advised to protect against was not the only dangerous factor with regards to water. Rather, the presence of certain animals could be understood to corrupt both salt and freshwater sources. When the sea began to become "infested" with jellyfish and other serpent-like creatures during Hawkins' southern American voyage, the crew were instructed to no longer use the water to dress their meats.[59] Similarly, in the Gambia, Richard Jobson discussed in detail how the grotesque musk of crocodiles could easily infect river water.[60] All the fresh fish caught and dressed that day were thus rendered inedible at the arrival of this creature. Jobson's solution was to pass the fish onto local Indigenous people to be eaten.[61] Whether Jobson and his crew believed their stomachs were capable of eating corrupted fish or if they did not care if the Indigenous people grew sick is unclear. However, it shows the caution Jobson had for his crew's English bodies in foreign environments and in the presence of certain animals. Additionally, the account highlights that while some animals were representative of healthful environments, others acted as the opposite. The mere presence of certain animals could thus be extremely impactful to the voyaging experience and how certain situations were understood.

Being able to adapt to different environments was a key skill noted in published travel accounts as it implied future prospects in foreign countries. In addition to Jobson and Hawkins, Walter Ralegh noticed the presence of serpents and worms in the river water in Amapaia province and thus adjusted his crew's diet accordingly.[62] However, the Spanish continued using the water, to their detriment.

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[58] Hawkins, *Observations*, p. 59.
[59] *Ibid*, p. 58.
[60] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra*, p. 19.
[61] *Ibid*.
[62] Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie*, p. 46.

> …the Spaniards, not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with grievous kind of flux by drinking thereof, and even the very horses poisoned therewith.[63]

Given Ralegh's account made multiple comparisons of English successes to Spanish failures, it is clear he was purposely building an image of English prowess and suitability to the local environment.[64] In his discussion, Ralegh commented on how he learnt "of divers other rivers of that nature among them which were also (while the sun was in the meridian) very safe to drinke, and in the morning, evening, and night wonderfully dangerous and infective." Similarly to Jobson's account, water quality was considered volatile and subject to impact from the presence of certain animals. These accounts thus highlight the importance of seafaring leaders understanding the animal kingdom and the reputations or impacts certain species could have. Furthermore, Ralegh's comparisons between his ability to assess the water against the Spanish highlights how these skills became associated with narratives of national superiority.

While the environment and body of the consumer was extremely influential in how educated seafarers discussed meat, the most important factor in choosing animal flesh was the wholesomeness of the creature. Wholesomeness referred to the physical, mental and spiritual impact a food could have on the body.[65] As food was understood to be assimilated into the body, people had to be especially careful about what they could be absorbing, particularly when their food had a diet of its own.[66] For elite seafarers developing an official discourse of health and how to use foreign lands and animals, sharks proved to be a controversial topic.

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[63] *Ibid*.
[64] *Ibid*, p. 19, p. 46.
[65] Albala, *Eating Right*, p. 64.
[66] *Ibid*.

Richard Hawkins detailed specifically that sharks "are not good to be eaten", likely because of their diet.[67] Sharks were known amongst sailors as eaters of men.[68] As with all animals, their demeanour and humoral balance could transfer qualities and complexions to their consumers. Carnivorous animals were a controversial meat source as, according to elemental theory, their bodies needed to be very hot so they could digest such high quantities of meat.[69] Consequently carnivore bodies were considered too hot and strong to be digested by people.[70] Therefore, to consume a shark the person must not only have an incredibly strong stomach in order to avoid digestion issues, but they would have been assimilating the diet of the shark also. We know from Hawkins' previous discussions of climate dietary adaptations that much of his advice was based on elemental theory. For example, when describing the taste of penguins he noted that "it is easily discerned that they feede on fish".[71] As a result, this was likely the reason for him dispelling shark from the diet.

Animal demeanour was thus an important quality to assess as it often resulted in comparisons between domesticated English animals and foreign wild ones. As Eleanor Barnett has shown, some dietitians considered the best meat to come from domestic creatures.[72] For instance, John Ball's *Treatise of Faith* argued that "the more sensible the creatures are, the more pleasant and delightsome to our palate, the more should we be affected with the sense of Gods love and favour".[73] Keith Thomas made the significant point that domestic beasts were almost considered part of the human community. By being domesticated they were well tempered (at least compared to wild animals) and people knew

[67] Hawkins, *Observations,* p. 69.
[68] For a great study on sharks see, Marcus Rediker, "History from below the water line: Sharks and the Atlantic slave trade", *Atlantic Studies*, 5.2 (2008), pp. 285-297.
[69] Albala, *Eating Right*, p. 71.
[70] *Ibid*.
[71] Hawkins, *Observations*, p. 112. For an excellent discussion of how Puffins were understood through their taste and diet, see Ken Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe,* Food Through History (London, 2003), p.71.
[72] Eleanor Barnett, "Reforming Food and Eating in Protestant England, 1560-1640", *The Historical Journal*, 63.3 (2020), 507-527.
[73] John Ball, *Treatise of Faith,* (London, 1632), p. 374.

what their diet consisted of.[74] In John Ball's eyes, this made creatures more spiritually enjoyable as food when compared against the unpredictability of wild beasts. However, Albala's work has shown that John Ball's preferences were contested as domestic beasts could also be thought of as fattier than their wild counterparts.[75] He summarised, "some authors concluded that wild animals, although hotter and tougher, were generally more healthy than domestic ones because of the great amount of exercise they get. Their flesh is not only leaner but cleaner and thus is digested with less difficulty".[76] We see this type of interest build around foreign animals, particularly in exploratory and colonial literature which often made comparisons to the wildlife back in England. As Jeffrey Bolster concluded in his assessment of colonial river wildlife and coasts, often narratives of 'New World' animal abundance were framed by European's depleted natural environments.[77] Abundance narratives similarly follow the findings of Albala as foreign animals often acquired their appeal through comparisons to over-exploited English animals. As with the environment, comparisons between foreign and English animals impacted presentations and perceptions of new environments. Animal bodies thus became intwined with the landscapes they inhabited and thus the lands English merchants and colonisers would aim to exploit.

The higher ranked crew members began to educate each other through accounting their own experiences and offering advice. Many literate voyagers read the published works of other seafarers. For example, Richard Madox took a copy of Andre Thevet's *New Antarctic* and often compared his own experiences of places and animals to Thevet's account.[78] Similarly, John Davis was well versed in the voyages of Martin Frobisher and a copy of *The Travels of John Mandeville* was taken on Frobisher's voyages.[79] Ken Albala's assessment of

[74] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 98.
[75] Albala, *Eating Right*, p. 135.
[76] *Ibid*.
[77] Bolster, *The Mortal Sea*, p. 9.
[78] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 228. See also, Andre Thevet, *The New Found World, or Antarctike* (1568).
[79] Rachel Winchcombe, *Encountering Early America* (Manchester, 2021) p.171.

early modern terrestrial diets argued that, over time, communities once reliant on Galenic theory began to adhere to more local customs of food choices by the turn of the seventeenth century.[80] On land, local custom was well embedded. For example, sea town diets had long been more reliant on fish than those who lived inland.[81] However, as seen through voyager assessments of climate and animals, the dietary advice created and shared by the literate voyagers was still well-embedded in Galenic theory, even though not all voyagers adhered to the same dietary principles. As a result of encountering and eating the unknown, voyager diets had to become more experimental as they attempted to incorporate foreign animals onto the dinner table. As Cheryl A. Fury has shown, sailors would eat most animals, including carnivorous or 'unwholesome' ones.[82] While some elite seafarers attempted to create an official dietary discourse, many voyagers had already committed the errors these men warned against, often at no consequence. Richard Madox's account of Edward Fenton's voyage, which took place less than ten years prior to Hawkins' south sea expedition, detailed that the crew commonly ate shark while stationed at Guinea. According to Madox, shark "is good sawsed with vynagre, oyl, and peper or garlique".[83] The differing attitudes to sharks as a meat substance shows that while some maritime writers were attempting to create an official discourse of diet, the reality for most seafarers was very different.

The relationship that seafarers formed with animals varied heavily depending on the agenda of the interaction. If a sailor was in desire of meat to settle their hunger then their relationship with meat was very personal, often influenced by taste and availability. However, meat was also used symbolically. Animal bodies could indicate to investors the resource potential of foreign lands and how to assimilate foreign animals into English markets. As Virginia DeJohn Anderson's assessments of colonial animal lists has shown,

[80] Albala, *Eating Right*.
[81] Albala, "Food and Nation" in *Eating Right.*
[82] Fury, *Tides*, p. *147.*
[83] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 149.

colonists were keen to identify the divine purpose of various species.[84] As a result, many were sorted according to their compatibility with English tastes. To quote Anderson, this "amounted to culinary imperialism" which was on par with taking 'New World' possessions and naming territorial landmarks.[85] For seafarers, particularly those looking to justify future colonial endeavours, a similar process took place in how meats were described. Using traditional theory and personal experience, the highly ranked individuals who sought to establish a dietary discourse used their conclusions to comment upon how to best adapt meat for the English palette.

Taste and cooking were extremely important in dictating how seafarers of all levels understood and interacted with foreign meats. Moreover, cooking advice equally shaped how these animals were then understood in the wider, growing, English Atlantic world. Dressing, cooking, and pairing meats with the correct condiments was important to maintain a healthy diet. All three processes were a means of 'correcting' food, balancing their humoral influence for safer consumption.[86] Through written accounts, many voyagers commented on their experimentation with new meats, attempting to find the best correction for new or uncommon species. They then wrote up their conclusions for other seafarers to read. George Best, for example, concluded that wild fowl in the cold northern climates "taste best fryed in pannes" because their skins were much thicker than the fowl in England.[87] Additionally, Richard Hawkins concluded that penguins were "reasonable meate, rosted, baked, or sodden, but best rosted".[88] Providing details on how to 'correct' foreign animals was not merely cooking advice but it gave insight into the environments these animals were habiting. In Walter Ralegh's promotion of Guiana as an area of future English interest he summarised the

[84] Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*, p. 65.
[85] *Ibid*.
[86] LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy*, p. 156.
[87] Best, *A Trve Discovrse, p*. 67.
[88] Hawkins, *Observations,* p. 112.

place as ‘healthful’, noting specifically that their meat provisions did not need to be corrected.

> [we] made meals of fresh fish without seasoning, or tortugas or lagartos, and all sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open air every night we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge.[89]

Unlike the colonial literature assessed by Anderson, Raleigh made the point that these animals did not need to be adjusted or corrected for English tastes and bodies. Instead, the bodies of both traditionally healthful and unwholesome meats were clean and pure enough that nobody fell sick. Throughout his account, Ralegh presented Guiana as a place of exotic adventure that should be preserved rather than subdued. This narrative was partly constructed in his descriptions of animal bodies as his experience with healthful meats showed the suitability of English people for the environment, without the need to Anglicise or ‘correct’.[90]

Another method used by seafarers to assert belonging was to compare new meats to the familiar. The diary of Richard Madox is a perfect example of how voyagers used animals to create a personal familiarity for themselves. He documented how the sharks they caught “being fryd did eat just like a sole”.[91] The equivalence made to sole thus constructed an identity for sharks in Madox’s understanding of the species. This aligns with the arguments of Richard White who, in his discussion of explorers, argued that in order to understand the unfamiliar, travellers would establish an equivalence with something.[92] But Madox also stated that “the best way is to dresse hym as fresh samon”.[93] This is a particularly interesting

[89] Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh’s Discoverie,* p. 140.
[90] *Ibid*.
[91] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582,* p. 149.
[92] White, “Discovering Nature in North America”.
[93] *Ibid.*

example because it shows that equivalences made between animal bodies did not have to be singular. Instead, they could be multiple. During the voyage, various cooking techniques would thus be used on different meats to find the best equivalence according to the consumer's personal taste. Additionally, Madox also compared his experience with writings of his predecessors. Alongside his love of shark, Madox challenged Andre Thevet's writings about porpoises.

> … what he says about the marsovini is true, that they forecast storms, but they neither follow ships nor are they without flavor, for I do not remember anything to have tasted better to my palate then their meat.[94]

As seafarers began to experience and experiment more, those who were able documented their personal conclusions about meat in their accounts. As animal bodies could have multiple taste potentials, this meant that meat was a substance to be explored, trialling different correction methods for the greatest satisfaction. However Madox's diary provides a unique perspective as an educated and literate chaplain clearly versed in some exploratory literature and Biblical anthropocentric teachings of the animal kingdom. Writing privately, his conclusions stemmed from personal interest. Unlike Ralegh, Madox did not write and publish his findings for the benefit of future English expeditions. Instead, his account gives insight into the personal interests and challenges individual seafarers faced. As argued by Alison Games, it was the diversity of crews and multitude of personal identities and agendas that uniquely formed English goals of national prestige and power, rather than the other way around.[95] For those such as Hawkins or Ralegh, long-term upper class career voyagers,

[94] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582, p*. 228.
[95] Games, *The Web of Empire*, p. 8.

cooking literature became a commentary on future resources and their environments, thus opening the door to extend official discourses on animal and land usage to the Atlantic world. For others, such as Madox, documenting their experience with foreign meat was another form of exploration as the palette was tested and expanded. Both examples showcase a desire to interact with the natural world in order to assimilate new meats into an existing food culture.

Foreign species were not the only animal bodies experimented with by seafarers. Besides offering descriptions of tastes and cooking methods, Hawkins' account shows how preservation methods were also challenged. Traditionally, beef was preserved in salt but many seafarers continued to have issues with keeping the beef edible. So much so, it was believed impossible to pass beef over the equinoctial line.[96] Hawkins, however, decided to try a different method - pickling.

> It was preserved in pickell, which through it be more changeable, yet the profit payeth the charge, in that it is made more durable, contrary to the opinion of many, which hold it impossible that beefe should be kept good passing the equinoctiall lyne.[97]

Hawkins' account indicates that even information regarding familiar meats were not merely accepted during this formative period of English Atlantic exploration. Instead, as voyagers encountered new lands and seas, some were also provoked to explore their own traditions and culture. While much of Hawkins' dietary advice, particularly regarding meat, relied heavily on official medical discourses, he was still keen to experiment in order to improve the voyaging success of the English nation. Preconceptions thus became newly challenged in the face of differing environments, allowing for a grander shift in how the animal kingdom fit

[96] Hawkins, *Observations*, p. 143.
[97] *Ibid*.

into the anthropocentric world.

Understandings and relationships with meat changed as a result of increased Atlantic exploration. As English seafarers experienced more places, environments, animals, and meats they both enforced and questioned previously written advice and dietary knowledge. The desire for healthy crews resulted in leadership figures placing emphasis on bodily and medical discourses thus beginning the creation of a dietary discourse for long-distance seafarers. However, the disconnect between this growing discourse and working sailor dietary demands could result in social tensions among crews. While the reality of sailor diets sometimes contrasted against the upper ranked ideal of consumption, it was personal agendas and experimentalism with meat that informed growing discourses of appropriate meat consumption and future opportunity. The strong link between animals and their environments meant that one could impact the other. Consequently, one could also be symbolic of the other. For published narratives, animal bodies and meat consumption thus became an effective method of communication. The healthfulness and availability of animals indicated abundance and the ability of seafarers to benefit from this implied fruitful prospects for English activity in the Atlantic. As a significant substance in the English diet, seafarers of all social classes and ranks were keen to explore foreign meats for their own enjoyment. To reiterate Games, it was the diverse range of agendas and personalities that shaped the English seafaring experience.[98] Moreover, it was the outcomes of how these different people experienced the natural world of the Atlantic that shaped future English Atlantic goals.

### *Meat Control and Authority*

As demonstrated throughout the chapter, food control could become synonymous with leadership. Yet, hierarchies within crews were rarely straightforward. Mariners had

[98] Games, *The Web of Empire,* p. 8-9.

expectations about the provision of meat and, in certain conditions, were willing to demand it. By investigating how meat was used as a social signifier we can see how animal bodies manifested as one of the most important foods in the diet of seafarers during this period. In order to assess the fragility of authority and leadership, this section shall compare instances of plenty against scarcity. The ability to provide meat could be seen as a virtue, signifying good leadership and the propitiousness of possible future habitation in new landscapes. However, when consumed in excess, meat could signify a breakdown of order and appropriate social boundaries. Conversely, shortage could indicate poor leadership or an unpropitious environment also potentially leading to disorderly behaviour. It was in these moments that leadership faced significance challenges, whether that be internally from the crew or externally from Atlantic competitors and the natural world. Each considered case study shall demonstrate how meat was as an important symbolic substance within both the maritime community and English society more broadly.

How meat and fish provisions were distributed between seafarers demonstrates that similar links to food and class in England manifested on board ships. Historians of English food practices have thoroughly investigated hierarchal eating between classes.[99] As mentioned, meat eating became increasingly representative of status. While societal and economic developments appear to explain changing dietary preferences on land in England, a slightly different story can be seen on board early modern Atlantic ships. Hierarchal eating on board long distance voyages manifested from different social factors, thus changing its role and impact. Although wealth caused tensions and divisions among some crews, there was a larger emphasis placed on authority. Ship crews were closeknit working communities and so multiple factors, such as rank, experience, competence and reputation all weighed against normal terrestrial social gradation.  Additionally, a seafarer's job description for a particular

[99] Woolgar, *The Culture of Food*.

voyage could determine the level of control they had over food substances. As shown above in the discussion of dietary adaptations for different environments, the captain or general had the most responsibility when it came to food and also the highest level of authority. One way in which they asserted that control was through their consumption of meat.

Richard Madox's diary provides the most comprehensive account of hierarchal eating during Atlantic expeditions. The voyage was made up of four ships with each captain, John Drake and Thomas Skevington reporting to the Vice Admiral, Luke Warde, and the General, Edward Fenton. Madox made few mentions of the activities of Skevington, however he documented multiple instances in which Drake, captain of the *Francis*, provided food for the General. In the first instance, Madox wrote about how the fleet had stopped for fishing. "We tooke another shork and John Drak sent us a lytle dolphyn of a foot long".[100] Although no detail is given about the dolphin's consumption, a captain of a smaller ship provided the admiral ship, and in turn the highest status and authority figure, General Fenton, with a prized catch. Fenton was then at liberty to decide which crew members were allowed to share the meat gift with him at his dinner table. As the fleet's spiritual leader, Madox often held a high enough status to be recipient of an invite.[101] Similarly, later in the voyage, Madox again documented that Drake brought a torpedo fish to the admiral ship, the *Galleon Leicester*, to dine with "us".[102] Unfortunately, no detail is provided about who "us" referred to however from other dining instances it can be assumed that the party included anyone with a high rank – crew members in positions of leadership and with a designated title. Madox passingly mentioned other crew members that were at these dinners, such as the General, captains of the other ships, and some of the ship masters.[103] He also sometimes mentioned which ship he dined on, showing that, when stationed on land, high ranking crew members would move to

[100] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582,* p. 149.
[101] *Ibid*.
[102] *Ibid*, p. 264.
[103] *Ibid*.

dine on different ships.[104] This would also fit with the common practice, as identified by Paul Lloyd, that gift animals were typically eaten by closed circles of similar ranking diners.[105] A level of respect was thus offered to the crew leader through meat offerings. Moreover, Fenton offered respect back to his closest subordinates by inviting them to share in the gift. These dinners and exchanges highlight the significance of rank in meat consumption, the highest ranking member receiving the best available fresh meat or fish. In addition, invitations to dine and share in said meat could contribute to the enforcement of division between the upper and lower ranks of shipboard society.

Although receiving gifts of meat from his crew, Edward Fenton did not take a passive role in his meat consumption. Instead his recorded actions showcase him exercising his authority through decision making over unusual fishing catches. On 30 September 1582 Madox wrote about one unusual fish that required the General's attention.

> Capten Ward sent for the general to see a fysh which whom I went and others. Yt was 7 foot long, 4 foot 9 ynches in compasse, a head lyke a cowe but lytle eys, noe eares, to great // fyns which, ript, wer joynted lyke a mans hand and arm fro the elboe down. Yt was the femel, a very thik skyn. She brethed at the nostrils and grizoned as a beast. The breth was sweet as a melch cow at fresh grasse, the blud hote, the meat was whyt and mervelows savory and enterlarded.[106]

Part of Fenton's role as General was evidently to make decisions when it came to consuming and controlling unusual catches. In this instance, Fenton decided the unusual fish should be eaten, allowing for Madox to comment on its meat quality. Moreover, as Madox only ever

[104] Here he notes dining on the *Galleon* one day and the *Edward* the next. *Ibid,* p. 246-7.
[105] Paul Lloyd, *Food and Identity in England, 1540-1640* (New York, 2015), p. 30
[106] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582,* p. 200.

detailed eating with other highly ranked crew, it is likely the fish was claimed for those individuals on the fleet. The privilege of luxury or novelty consumption therefore went to those with the highest roles of authority when meat availability was stable. Therefore meat control went beyond the welfare responsibility of captains to provision crews properly as it also allowed commanders to engage in hierarchal eating. While these same crew members created a dietary discourse within their voyage narratives, emphasising the animal body as a signifier for their environment, they could also claim many of the best creatures for themselves. Not only were highly ranked individuals able to use meat to demonstrate control over their crew but it also gave them the right to investigate and explore the most interesting meats first. Consequently, the documentation of foreign animal consumption aided discourses of dominion over the natural world as published narratives included the exploration of animal bodies in order to acquire knowledge.

However, Richard Jobson's smaller expedition reveals how meat abundance could also result in a loss of control. Jobson's publication similarly accounted fishing procedures when he wrote, "the fish were powred upon the Decke, whereof many rude Saylers will be their owne carvers".[107] The crew's boldness in taking their own fish from the catch could have been a result of individual personalities or due to being part of a smaller voyage. However, the account demonstrates that authoritative figures did not always have a strong grip on the meat and fish gathered on route. Additionally, Jobson, who seemingly had significant authority within the crew, considered the sailors' behaviour rude. As discussed previously, Jobson believed in the importance of properly controlling victuals in order to avoid deceitful behaviour from sailors. However social etiquettes were not always a reality among crews, aiding tension between ranks which were sometimes expressed in voyage narratives. The ideal of leadership asserting authority and ownership over foreign wild animals was at times

[107] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra*, pp. 93-4.

in conflict with the individual sailors, who sometimes acted with greater agency than perhaps desired. Unlike in England, high-quality meat was not reserved for those who could afford it as, on a voyage, meat and fish were often caught not bought. Depending on the circumstances, such as a smaller crew with less authority figures or weaker leadership, the collective working crew could thus have a greater notion of entitlement which could challenge the individual claims made by higher ranked crew members. When authority was weaker and flesh was available in abundance, lower rank seafarers could actively take control of their own meat consumption if desired.

As Albala famously argued, "in societies that are not rigidly hierarchical, such food prejudices are usually not highly defined".[108] The extent to which shipboard societies in the early Atlantic were "rigidly hierarchical" is still a topic of debate. Although Chery A Fury argued that "the maritime community paralleled Tudor society in terms of a clear hierarchy", others such as Eleanor Hubbard have argued that it is difficult to determine class divisions due to small crews and the fact that many seafarers took up positions of responsibility.[109] As Jowitt, Lambert and Mentz' new volume on maritime society stated, seafaring communities were "pluralistic and multifaceted" as many inhabitants took up different roles.[110] Moreover, Richard Blakemore's work on the maritime labour market has shown that although the maritime community was undoubtedly hierarchal, the amount of skilled lower level workers created a new type of labour market, built on individual participants in a venture economy.[111] The question, therefore, is not whether seafarer societies were hierarchal, but how the hierarchy manifested itself. As seen through the two accounts of Madox and Jobson, the

[108] Albala, *Eating Right, p.* 184.
[109] Fury. *Tides,* p. 46; Hubbard, "Sailors and the Early Modern British Empire", pp. 348-58.
[110] Claire Jowitt, Craig Lambert and Steve Mentz, "Oceans in Global History and Culture,1400-1800: Expanding Horizons" in *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400-1800* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2020), pp. 1-30.
[111]Richard Blakemore, "'Pieces of Eight, Pieces of Eight': Seaferes' Earning and the Venture Economy of Early Modern Seafaring", *The Economical Historical Review,* 70.4 (2017), pp. 1153-84.

communication of hierarchy was different on each voyage, likely influenced by particular leadership figures and the size of the fleet and crew. As a result, the evidenced control over meat manifested quiet differently, one with the crew clearly using and respecting status rights over meat and the over evidencing sailors who took flesh consumption into their own control.

Additionally, the expression of voyage hierarchy could change according to the situation. One of the fish which was hauled onboard by Jobson's crew was an electric eel which stirred much commotion.

> … putting therefore his hands unto him, so soone as he toucht, the fellow presently cried out, he had lost the use both of his hands, and armes: another standing by sayd, what with touching this fish? And in speaking, put thereto his foote, he being bare-legged, who presently cried out in the like manner; the sence of his leg was gone: this gave others of better rancke, occasion to come forth, and looke upon them, who perceiving the sence to come againe, called up for the Cooke, who was in the roome below, knowing nothing what had hapned, & being come wild him to take that fish, and dresse which he being plaine stayd fellow, orderly stooping to take up, as his hands were on him, suncke presently upon his hinder parts, and in the like manner made grievous mone: he felt not his hands, which bred a wonderfull admiration amongst us.[112]

In this instance, shipboard hierarchy was resorted to in order for the crew to determine what happened and assess the potential threat. As Jobson argued earlier in his account, the primary reason for food control among the upper ranked should be for the overall health of the crew. Yet, encountering the unusual fish also allowed the higher ranked to reassert their status over the others. Contrasting to the apparent welfare responsibilities Jobson highlights, the

[112] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra,* p. 93-4.

authority figures were willing to risk the safety of one crew member's life in the process of investigating the fish. Meat and fish were thus similarly treated as a social code as they were in England but on voyages the code was applied more flexibly, only strictly enforced in certain social contexts, for instance in moments of confusion or vulnerability, or in a larger expedition with a greater amount of strong authority figures to establish control.[113] Hierarchal eating manifested on board as a result of responsibility and authority, rather than just as a symbol of class and wealth - as meat represented in England. Similarly, rank and control could be expressed through assessing unusual animals without the presence of hierarchal eating. As rank and status was more fluid on voyages than on land, social etiquettes regarding meat control were thus easier to disregard or undermine. As a collective, the crew were able to wield their own power in certain circumstances, asserting a right to manage their own meat rations. When meat was available in plenty, coercive authority alone was not enough to ensure compliance. This further supports the argument that crew hierarchies were relatively fluid, shifting depending on circumstances and the individuals which made up each voyage society.

As Fury wrote, all crew members had a right to refreshment, and they commonly exercised that right.[114] In James Dean's assessment of the importance of food he discussed the famous *Golden Lion* mutiny. In 1587 one of Drake's military expeditions to Cádiz, southern Spain, experienced severe tension from the crew of over 400 sailors and soldiers. In a letter from the crew to the captain, complaints were made about the quality and quantity of meat rations.

What is a piece of beef of half a pound among four men to dinner, or half a dry stockfish

[113] See, Davis, "Cultural Encounters". Davis makes use of the work of anthropologist, Mary Douglas. For an overview of her work see, Phyllis Passariello, "Anomalies, analogies, and sacred profanities: Mary Douglas on food and culture, 1957-1989", *Food and Foodways*, 4 (1990), pp. 53-71.
[114] Fury, *Tides*, p. 47.

> for four days in the week, and nothing else to help withal: yea, we have help - a little beverage worse than pump water. We were pressed by her Majesty's press to have her allowance, and not to be thus dealt withal you make no men of us, but beasts.[115]

The first issue raised was the quantity of beef and stockfish provided for each mess. As Paul Lloyd has demonstrated, beef was a staple in the diets of all English classes and clearly one of the most significant issues for the crew of the *Golden Lion*.[116] Beef was expected. Consequently, crew members were willing to question and criticise their superiors if they were not provided with suitable meat provisions. A captain's control of meat could thus be precarious, only stable when the crew were satisfied. The growing dietary discourse created by the upper ranks of maritime society shows the level of control they believed was needed over working sailor diets. Yet, the customary importance of meat and notions of appropriate treatment and distribution could encourage behaviour which undermined attempts to assert hierarchal control over provisions.

Because of meat's value among seafaring communities animal bodies became the target of many robberies, indicating the strength of the crew who were able to capture or obtain the prize. Robbery was particularity frequent during the war years when provisions became more valuable.[117] The account of William King's voyage to the bay of Mexico in 1592 detailed some of their activities. Arriving in the Caymans, they had already taken "threescore great tortoises… whereof two served an hundred men a day".[118] They had also killed many turtle doves, wild geese and other fowl before reaching the coast of Cuba. But, on arrival, they continued to pillage for more animal products.

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[115] Dean, *Tropic Suns*, pp. 41-43. Dean references this quote to Kenneth Andrews, *The Elizabethan Seaman* (Great Britain, 1982).
[116] Lloyd, P. *Food and Identity in England 1540-1640*, p. 60.
[117] Fury, *Tides*, p. 141.
[118] "The voyage made to the bay of Mexico by M William King Captaine, M Moore, M How, and M Boreman Owners… 26 January 1592", in *Principal Navigations*, 10, pp. 191-2.

> [we] tooke a small barke of twenty tunnes, with foure men and forty live hogs, with certeine dried porke cut like leather jerkins along, and dried hogs tongues and neats tongue, and 20 oxe hides. Then… we tooke a ship of 80 tunnes laden with hides, indico, & salsa perilla… thence the current set us to the East to the old chanel. There we tooke a frigat of 20 tunnes, having certaine pieces of Spanish broad cloth & other small pillage: there continuing off the Matancas… we tooke two boats laden with tortoises, which we sunke, saving some of the tortoises, & setting the men on shore.[119]

The narrative of this particular voyage describes a story of excess. Not only were the crew able to catch and kill enough food to feed hundreds of men, they then went on to loot other ships for further victual and trade goods, many of which were animal products. Their activity then continued until they had no need for all of the meat they captured and so let the excess sink with the final looted ship. The example of William King's voyage showcases how versatile a crew's relationship with meat could be depending on its availability. When in vast excess, the value of meat diminished. Additionally, its wastage showed the superiority of the attacker, besting those who were robbed of necessities. Considering the writings of the *Golden Lion* crew, meat was the most important desired food. As a foundation of the English diet, fresh meat took on the status of a deserved product, resulting in a high level of desire and (in some instances) greed. Moreover, meat ownership was symbolic of dominion over nature and increasingly used by Atlantic expedition leaders to represent English superiority.[120] Consequently, while other sellable animal products, such as hides, became more important when meat was abundant, the action of taking and wasting another nations'

[119] *Ibid*.
[120] Abulafia, *The Boundless Sea*.

meat stores aided an imagery of nationalistic strength in voyage narratives. As David Abulafia's work on the English in the Atlantic has shown, there was a national pressure to compete against the Spanish and Portuguese.[121] Robbery narratives thus displayed this competition as English crews were able to strip their competitors of valuable commercial resources and waste meat stores which were not needed, thus showcasing English success through their ability to provide and succeed.

Interestingly, when meat was severely scarce, starvation narratives were also used to comment upon themes of dominion, both over the natural world and England's Atlantic competitors. Food shortages could come about for a variety of reasons. Meat could be preserved badly and go rotten, the climate could be too hot that preservation techniques fail, it could be difficult to locate, or stores could be badly managed. Storms could also cause shipwrecks and as food stores were sometimes not separated equally between ships in a fleet, provisions could be lost. Finally, animals could play an active role. Rats or insects could eat and infect meat.[122] One of the ways we know ship cats were present on sixteenth century English ships was that they were often referenced as some of the first meats to be eaten when seafarers were faced with starvation.[123] Accounts of meat, and overall food shortages give insight into how shipboard society reacted in the face of starvation. These instances identify how reliant seafarer communities were on meat, and how its absence could cause social ideas about health customs to breakdown. Moreover, the documentation of these instances demonstrate that English seafarers could use descriptions of diet to justify their hard-comings in the early stages of English Atlantic exploration.

One of the most famous accounts of seafarer starvation comes from the 1567 voyage of

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[121] *Ibid.*

[122] Fury, *Tides*, p. 141.

[123] John Hawkins, "The 3 unfortunate voyage made with the Jesus, the Minion, and foure other shipped, to the partes of guinea, and the West Indies, in the yeere 1567 and 1568. By John Haukins" in Clements R. Markham, (eds) *The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 155-166.

the *Jesus of Lubeck*. Led by John Hawkins on his third voyage to Guinea and the West Indies, the *Jesus*, along with the other supporting ships, were attacked by the Spanish. Able to reach the bay of Mexico the crew were forced on land in need of food. John Hawkins documented the event as follows.

> So thus with manie sorrowful hearts wee wandered in an unknown Sea by the space of fourteen dayes, tyll hunger enforced vs to seeke the lande, for birds were thought very good meate, ratts, cattes, mise, and dogges, none escaped that might be gotten, parrates and monkeys that were had in great prise, were thought then very profitable if they served the tourne one dinner.[124]

In this instance, for the mariners, meat became a crutch for survival. No detail is given regarding bread, biscuit or non-meat foods so it is impossible to know the extent of their non-meat supply. However, the lack of detail regarding non-meat substances arguably emphasises the importance of meat in their diets. As with the letter from the *Golden Lion* crew, meat was at the forefront of dietary expectations. However, the animals that Hawkins' crew were consuming were far from conventional and went against common dietary advice and social conventions. Vermin animals in particular were thought of as dirty and dangerous to put into the body. Additionally, cat meat was not considered wholesome as their diet consisted of vermin creatures.[125] Similarly, Rob Meens' work on classifying animals in the Middle Ages discussed the social decision that dogs were unfit meat for human consumption. Many of the contemporary perspectives Meens considered stemmed from the Bible, where sinners 'returned to sin like a dog returns to vomit'.[126] Dogs where thus not only morally unclean but

[124] *Ibid*.
[125] Peter Edwards, "Domesticated Animals in Renaissance Europe" in Boehrer, *A Cultural History of Animals*, pp. 75-94, 93.
[126] Rob Meens, "Eating Animals in the Early Middle Ages: Classifying the Animal World and Building Group

their willingness to eat anything made their diet and by extension their meat unclean, just like cats. In addition, the crew also resorted to eating parrots. Not only were parrots highly valued creatures, and so a better trade good than food source, but contemporaries considered them to be inappropriate to eat. As many parrots displayed intelligence through speaking, they were considered to have a similar use to monkeys and apes- as impersonators of humans. To eat an animal that could speak also resonated with implications of cannibalism to some.[127] Resorting to eating valuable commercial animals thus shows that the necessity of meat was capable of reducing animals with significant marketable value alive to simple sustenance.

Mary Fuller's work on suffering in traveller tales summarised that the body could be used as evidence for invisible truths so, in order to escape criticism, authors would regularly undermine the truth in favour of a narrative or agenda. [128] Without providing a specific reason for the attack, Hawkins framed his crew as the victims of excessive Spanish violence, thus justifying the failure of his voyage. In addition to supporting Fuller's argument, this narrative also highlights how meat could be used to invoke a nationalistic sentiment by placing the blame of shocking uncivilised behaviour on a European competitor. By detailing the unconventional meats the crew resorted to eating, Hawkins illustrated and emphasised the level of desperation they faced. As argued by LaCombe in his assessment of socially acceptable diets, "to eat foods normally considered unfit was a sign that the norms of civilized life had been abandoned out of desperation, with potentially fatal results".[129] Additionally, Richard Guy has discussed "the idea of the sea as a dangerous and polluting medium was widespread in European maritime narratives long before the seventeenth

Identities" in Angela Creager and William Chester Jordan, (eds) *The Animal/Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002).

[127] See, Bruce Boehrer, "The Parrot Eaters: Psittacophagy in the Renaissance and Beyond", *The Journal of Food and Culture,* 4.3 (2004), pp. 46-59.

[128] Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Narratives of Travel to America*, p. 38.

[129] Lacombe, *Political Gastronomy,* p. 52.

century".[130] This was predominantly because the unconsolidated seascape posed a threat to social constraints. Although Guy was discussing the Indian Ocean, stating that this sea acted as "a theatre for men to reveal their most bestial natures", the same can be said about the early Atlantic.[131] Because of the violence of the Spanish, Hawkins and his crew were subjected to a bestial diet for survival. In line with Fuller's conclusions, suffering therefore served the narrative purpose by justifying failure and conveying that civility was ultimately not abandoned. Keith Thomas's work on civility concluded that, during the sixteenth century, the civilised state was assessed by a matter of degree not absolute condition.[132] While there were differing opinions on this, barbarism, the opposite of civility, was not understood to be permanent.[133] Moreover, comments of barbarism were considered comments on a group's own way of living, assessing differences and appreciating your cultural and social background.[134] For John Hawkins and his crew, their desperate meat consumption implied barbarous behaviour. While some starvation narratives, such as the ones assessed by Richard Guy, depicted man against nature others, such as John Hawkins', depicted the English against the Spanish - an long standing imperialistic tension. Although descending into savagery, Hawkins and his crew were not the villains of the narrative and had the ability to regain their civility once arriving home in England. These disaster narratives had an audience and so by listing the unconventional meats Hawkins and his crew were forced to eat expanded beyond conveying an experience but entered into the realm of shocking entertainment. The specific animal bodies used for meat consumption was a signifier of desperation and a forced breakdown of social rules, further invoking feelings of revenge for the English nation and

[130] Richard Guy, "Calamitous Voyages: the social space of shipwreck and mutiny narratives in the Dutch East Indian Company", *Itinerario*, 39.1 (2015), pp. 117-40.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and civilisation in Early Modern England*, (New Haven, 2008), pp. 5-6.
[133] *Ibid*.
[134] *Ibid*, pp. 8-9.

representing the Spanish as unforgiving and brutal.

Meat featured as a prominent character of other survival stories linked with the failed Hawkins voyage. It was decided that the crew only had enough victuals for half of them to attempt to cross the Atlantic back to England. Half of the crew were thus left in Mexico. Job Hortop, one of the men left, wrote an account of his experience upon arriving back in England over twenty years later. Hortop's account is filled with references to hunting and meat consumption, mainly to demonstrate his alternative successes through documenting his dominance over the natural world.[135] For example, after his separation from some of the crew, Hortop detailed capturing a calf-like fish called a mallatin and crabs, continuing to showcase the significance of meat in his diet and his ability to provide for himself. It is likely that mallatin was a type of South American manatee. Moreover, little attention is given to any non-meat substance unless it was to specifically note its absence. For instance, upon arrival at Panuco, there was "nothing but roots, and Guiavos, a fruit like figs" to feed on, implying a dissatisfaction at the lack of meat.[136]

The other half of the crew who made it back to Europe equally interacted with meat in an important manor. As Hawkins detailed, upon arrival at Ponte Vedra, "our men with excess of fresh meate grew into miserable disseases and died a great part of them".[137] Whether it was the consumption of meat after a period of starvation that killed some of the crew or not is impossible to assess. However, their desire to indulge in meat over other food substances after a period of starvation further highlights the importance of animal bodies to mariner communities. To the average mariner, animal flesh was a substance of required sustenance and enjoyment. However, how they chose to consume it often contrasted against dietary

[135] Job Hortop, "The travailes of Job Hortop, which Sir John Hawkins set on land within the Bay of Mexico", in *Principal Navigations*, 9, pp. 445-66.
[136] *Ibid*, p. 459.
[137] John Hawkins, "The third troublesome voyage of the right worshipful sir John Hawkins, with the Jesus of Lubec, the Minion, and foure other ships… by M John Hawkins", in *Principall Navigations.* 10, p. 74.

discourses created by high-ranked seafarers during this period.

*Conclusion*

Seafarers of all levels considered meat to be a significant factor of their diet. Not only was it a substance of sustenance and enjoyment but it was also woven into crew societal structures. As the diet was so important for voyagers' health, the climate, environment and understandings of animals could all drastically change how captains advised meat should be consumed. Additionally, the embedded English classist tones of meat control and consumption meant that, within ship communities, meat translated as a symbol of respect and authority. Consequently, higher ranked crew members valued the control of meat, which they justified through having better education of dietary health and a more sensible disposition. As a result, during a long distance voyage, the relationship between meat and status was often at tension with the working sailors and mariners who saw meat as an enjoyable and foundational food source. Weaker leadership and abundance allowed crews to exercise a collective authority over their own consumption. In addition, communal notions of fair division and treatment also encouraged crews to challenge individual leaders and assert their right to proper provisioning. The tension between hierarchal meat control and the crew's relationship with meat thus often had social implications which could threaten the stability of leadership. Meat therefore took on a precarious position in shipboard societies as such a significant resource, demonstrating the fragility and fluidity of crew dynamics and power. Animal bodies were also important for the creation of English discourses of success or opportunity in the Atlantic when Spain and Portugal were the dominant European forces. As captains and other leadership figures on board were concerned with controlling and adapting crew diets for their environmental contexts, meat quality became synonymous with environmental abundance. By linking the availability of meat and its healthfulness with the

prospects of foreign lands, voyage narratives relied on animal bodies to communicate about areas of future possibility. Discussions of meat therefore became interlinked with English success. Abundance implied power and opportunity and references to meat were often used to support these attributes. But the symbolism of meat could work in multiple ways. Meat could demonstrate the power of English crews in voyage narratives. Additionally, its inclusion in voyage narratives could show the detrimental impacts of a competitor power as attacked crews faced eating unconventional and 'dirty' meats out of desperation and starvation. As animal bodies as food pieces became synonymous with survival and eventually success, meat was increasingly embedded in voyage narratives during this period. However this regularly remained at tension with the reality of mariner attitudes as meat continued to be valued mainly as a necessary and enjoyable food source.

# III

## *'The hunting of them, as we may well term it'*

## Animal Violence and Dominion of the Natural World

Job Hortop was a powder-maker and crew member of Sir John Hawkins' infamous third voyage which ended at San Juan de Ulúa, Mexico.[1] After being attacked by the Spanish, half of the surviving crew were abandoned as remaining provisions were not enough to support the amount of men. As one of the men left in southern America, somewhere north of the river Panuco, it took Hortop over twenty years to return to England. Within a year of arriving, he wrote an account describing his travels throughout the voyage and his journey home. Although only thirteen pages long, his narrative is littered with animal violence likely to iterate an identity of strength, prowess and success after an otherwise disastrous voyage. The most descriptive section was his anecdote of killing a 'monstrous' crocodile in Sierra Leona prior to the Spanish attack.

> Seven of us went in the pinnesse up into the River, carying with us a dogge, unto whome with ropeyarne we bound a great hooke of steele with a chaine that had a swivel, which we put under the dogs belly, the point of the hooke coming over his back fast bound, as aforesaid: we put him over boord, and vered out our rope by litle and litle, rowing away with our boat: the Lagarto came & presently swallowed up the dogge, then did we rowe hard, til we had choked him: he plunged and made a wonderful stirre in the water: we lept on shore, and haled him on land.[2]

[1] Hortop describes himself as a powder-maker, whose job was to make gunpowder. During the voyage he worked as part of the gunner's crew.
[2] Job Hortop, "The travails of Job Hortop, which Sir John Hawkins set on land within the Bay of Mexico" in *Principal Navigations,* 9, 455-466, pp. 449-50. Hortop's account was also printed separately, prior to Hakluyt's collection. See, Hortop, *Rare travailes of Job Hortop* (London, 1591).

To the contemporaneous eye, this account was presumably shocking and exciting. The depiction of the animal stirring in the water is highly reminiscent of English hunting descriptions which, according to Charles Bergman, were regularly documented through a dialogue of passion and release.[3] As he argued, "this dimension of the hunt is most often articulated through the animals themselves, especially the crying of the hounds in the chase, along with the blowing of horns and hallowing of huntsmen".[4] It was this aspect, the "intoxicating rush", that "contributed to the addictive quality of the hunt".[5] However, Hortop's hunt inverts many typical English hunting traditions. The most obvious difference is the use of domesticated animals. Unlike in England, where dogs were used as aids for huntsmen, this one was sacrificed as bait. The hunt also took place on water instead of land and rather than the men chasing the prey, the prey chased them. Although the death of the crocodile is documented in a similar manner to English hunts, the process of the animal's death is far from the embedded traditions of hunting. Instead, it is an account of unrestrained human violence demonstrating the ambiguity of animal violence within understandings of civility. Written to appeal to terrestrial traditions of blood sport, Hortop's account showcases the development of seemingly acceptable creative, resourceful and more aggressive standards of animal killing, particularly when facing dangerous and wild prey. In addition, the prominence of animal violence in his account illuminates the links between human dominion and English concepts of success within travel narratives.

Hunting, fishing and baiting are all examples of defined forms of animal violence with procedures and traditions that were common in England throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Some activities were more rigid, such as aristocratic deer hunting,

[3] Charles Bergman, "Spectacle of Beasts: Hunting Rituals and Animal Rights in Early Modern England" in Boehrer, (ed) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 55.
[5] *Ibid.*

and others less so, for example the children's game of stoning cockerels.[6] Additionally, some were associated with gore and bloodshed, such as baiting, whereas others were considered tranquil and peaceful activities, such as fishing. Animal violence in England manifested in many forms and it was present within all social classes.[7] Consequently, the socially mixed society of ship crews resulted in differing traditions of animal violence engaging closely together. While there is a large body of work on sailor culture, less work on has been done on animal violence outside of commercial operations, such as whaling or the fur trade, or the colonial context.[8] Nevertheless, there is a wealth of historiography on English animal violence that can be compared and contrasted against the seafaring experience.[9] This chapter will discuss how practices of animal violence developed during long distance voyages and shed light on how mariners navigated their humanity within a wider, lesser known natural world. First, it shall assess both the influence of the environment and English animal culture on seafarer violence. Second, it will address the social role of violence, investigating the importance of rank and personal identity. Finally, it shall determine how assertions of human dominion influenced and entwined with discourses of superiority, which became more prominent in the imperialistic narratives that emerged in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Each area will show that anthropocentric concepts of human dominion could manifest very differently from person to person. However, alongside an embedded English culture of animal violence, and a desire to survive and succeed in dangerous foreign

[6] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 147.
[7] *Ibid*; Boehrer, (ed) *A Cultural History*. For a discussion of contemporary critics see, Arthur Macgregor, *Animal Encounters: human and animal interaction in Britain from the Norman Conquest to World War I*, (London, 2011) pp. 197-314.
[8] See, John Appleby, "'A Voyage to Greenland for the Catching of Whales': English Whaling Enterprise in the Seventeenth Century", *International Journal of Maritime History*, 9.2 (1997) pp. 29-49; McNairn, "Meaning and Markets", pp. 3-25.
[9] McNain, "Meaning and Markets"; Catherine Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt: Wyatt to Spenser* (Oxford, 2013); Boehrer, "Violence, Animals and Sport in Europe and the Colonies", in Robert Antony, Stuart Carroll and Caroline Dodds Pennock, (eds) *The Cambridge World History of Violence, 1500-1800*, 3 (Cambridge, 2020) pp. 553-570; Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*; Bergman, "A spectacle of beats" in Boehrer, (ed) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*.

environments, violence quickly became a key part of the English seafaring experience. Ultimately, the combination of less traditional restraints over how violence could be executed and the cultural significance of dominion as a demonstration of power and achievement meant that violence became a part of how English seafarers defined success within the increasingly important Atlantic sphere.

### *The Necessity of Violence*

Hunting and fishing were necessary and common activities during many long distance voyages. The crews' dependence on meat and fish, and desire for fresh sustenance over dried, salted flesh meant that animal violence for the purpose of provisioning was a large part of the seafaring experience.[10] Furthermore, animal violence was embedded in English society as a recreational and sometimes healthful activity. Besides sustenance, seafarers engaged in violence for a variety of other reasons. By considering the impact of the voyage setting on violent activities, the extent to which English traditions were maintained or developed can be assessed. Seafarers had to adapt to different environments, new animals and operate with limited tools. Then, each 'necessary' aspect of animal violence (sustenance, recreation and health) can be investigated as important parts of the seafaring experience. Each shall demonstrate that the Biblical and philosophical tensions between humanity and the animal kingdom were deeply ingrained in English culture, impacting how seafarers interacted with Atlantic nature. Consequently, by determining how seafarers translated English animal culture it is evident that the context of long-distance voyaging reinforced and intensified violent behaviour towards the natural world during this formative period of the English Atlantic.

[10] See, Carlin, ''What say you to a piece of beef and mustard''; Davis; Woolgar.

The unpredictability of new environments and unfamiliar prey animals meant that voyagers had to adapt and develop hunting methods for their situation. The previous chapter's discussion of meat dependency highlighted how seafarers had to take advantage of animal availability in order to secure a meat store, rather than being too particular about what they consumed. Those seeking the Northwest Passage, for example, relied largely on fishing or seal and walrus hunting for fresh provisions. Furthermore, some captains made sure to provision fully, in case the colder locations were limited in food sources – as some texts claimed.[11] For instance, Martin Frobisher usually fully provisioned his fleets with salted meat and fish before the voyage so they would not be compromised in the event of poor hunting or fishing conditions.[12] Supplementary food provisions and hunting tools were thus planned according to the voyage's location. Yet, the restricted space on ships still meant that seafarers had to operate with limited tools. Consequently, there was experimentation with traditional hunting, fishing and fowling practices. As shown with Hortop's account of the crocodile, he and the other men upscaled traditional fishing methods and inverted the use of domestic animals in order to catch significantly larger prey.[13] Another unusual, but less dramatic, kill method is documented in John Hawkins account where his men, lacking the proper fowling gear, struck seabirds who landed on the ship with poles in order to kill and eat them.[14] Similarly, Richard Hawkins used fishing poles to bait and catch seabirds. Birds were enticed by a "peece of pilchard" tied to the end of a hook with a piece of cork. Once the bird bit, it was drawn onto the ship.[15] Alternatively, Francis Drake and his crew learnt to flip turtles on the beaches of the West Indies. As the animals could not turn themselves back over, the crew

[11] Best, *A Trve Discovrse*, p. 37.
[12] See, Heidenreich & Heidenreich, "A nutritional analysis of the food rations on Martin Frobisher's second expedition, 1577", *Polar Record,* 204 (2002), 23-38.
[13] Hortop, "The travails of Job Hortop", pp. 449-50.
[14] "The voyage made by the worshipful M John Hawkins" in Markham, (ed) *The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I* (London, 2016) pp. 15-16.
[15] Hawkins, *Observations,* pp. 105-6.

were able to collect them at a later, more convenient time.[16] Each turtle allegedly provided food for one hundred men.[17] The variety of these techniques show that adaptations of hunting depended heavily on the ship's provisions, tools, location and targeted prey. Additionally, techniques could depend on the purpose of the kill. For instance, flipping turtles provided an easy, convenient and quick solution to sourcing meat. Contrastingly, killing the crocodile was much more physically demanding, likely justified by the award and prestige of bringing down such large and dangerous prey. Each of these accounts show that seafarers had to be resourceful when it came to animal violence but they could also get creative. Furthermore, while traditional English methods could not often be adhered to, they continued to provide the basis of kill techniques for seafarers to experiment with.

Largely, voyagers had to kill animals for survival. Throughout western European societies, utilitarian hunting had become an undervalued act. Catherine Bates has written prominently on the topic, tracking the decline of hunting in westernised society. By the seventeenth century, utilitarian killing was sometimes depicted as an animalistic behaviour which reduced humans to the same level as predatory beasts.[18] In summary, Bates argued that as an "archaic mode of provisioning" hunting became "thoroughly devalued" with the establishment of agriculture. McNairn's assessment of hunting within later early modern imperialistic travel narratives identified how Indigenous communities in North America were regularly portrayed as archetypical hunting societies in order to comment on the deleterious effects of hunting. As he quotes, these societies were considered to be "perpetually

[16] The method of flipping turtles is documented as an annotation on a map in the Leicester Journal. It reads, "as soon as we can spie them on land either going vp or comming downe, wee run to take holde of them, who runneth but slowly, and so ouerturne them by the side of the backe shell, and lay them on their backs, and so leauing them, go on to seeke more vntill morning, and then gather them all togither". See, Mary Keeler, (ed) *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage 1585-86* (London, 1981). In the Hakluyt Account of the "fourth voyage made to Virginia, in the yere 1587", the author details capturing five great tortoises, "some of them of such bigness, that sixteene of our strongest men were tired with carying of one of them". See, *Principal Navigations,* 8, pp. 389-404.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt: Wyatt to Spenser*.

wandering" with no time for "cultivation, or any of those arts, which are so necessary to the ease of man in an improved state".[19] Instead, as Bates argued, in Western European society hunting continued to exist because of its ability to signify high status individuals. In effect, "so long as it is appreciably more difficult, dangerous, or inefficient that other forms of food-getting, hunting will signify prestige… hunting is thus able to survive any improvements or advances that might be made in the complex business of food production".[20] Yet, voyagers apparently did not consider their hunting methods as 'archaic' because utilitarian hunting was a skill in itself. Richard Hawkins' *Observations*, as previously discussed, was primarily written to teach others how to conduct a successful voyage. From departure, Hawkins made sure to "set in order my companie and victuals", which involved ordering his men to fish. With hook and line "we tooke store of fish for that day and the next, but longer it would not keepe good". Both dried and fresh provisions were carefully considered, making sure to have enough to feed the crew, but not so much as to succumb to greed or produce excessive waste. As argued in Chapter Two, some authoritative figures were concerned with controlling and maintaining suitable food rations in order to supply their crew with the best diets possible and encourage suitable behaviour. Effective utilitarian hunting was thus another reflection of leadership quality and civility, contributing to the growing discourse of control over both the crew and the natural world created by high ranked individuals. Seafarers would portray the purpose of their hunting activities differently depending on what they valued. As Richard Grassby rightly concluded, "hunting practices not only illuminate attitudes towards animals and the environment; they also provide insight into the rituals and mores of pre-industrial society".[21]

Another reason why English seafarers escaped accusations of incivility was because

[19] McNarin.
[20] *Ibid*, p. 9.
[21] Richard Grassby, "The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England", *Past & Present*, 157 (1997) pp. 37-62.

utilitarian hunting also provided healthful and recreational benefits. Hawkins noted that he ordered the men to fish to keep them busy and healthful, avoiding idleness.[22] While seafarers killed for dietary provisions first and foremost, accounts of these events were entwined with additional reasons, such as recreational value or health benefits. Both Thomas and Burke have highlighted that, during the early modern period, there was no clear distinction between work and leisure time. Thomas argued that "life in such a world follows a pre-determined pattern in which work and non-work are inextricable confused".[23] The idea of leisure time as we know it did not emerge until the later industrialisation period, when work productivity was more closely monitored.[24] Thomas defined the work performed by people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as "a collective task, a service or duty deriving from a defined social relationship".[25] This relationship between work and leisure was only amplified during long-distance voyages when, for much of the time, the crew were contained within their working environment. Izaak Walton's discussion on the joys of fishing in the mid seventeenth century often referenced the peaceful nature of the act.[26] Unlike other forms of bloodsport- which had the fast paced appeal of noise, excitement, and brutality- fishing catered to the desire for solitude, something that would have been hard to come by on a ship. Although we do not have written evidence to definitively prove Hawkins' men enjoyed fishing, Hawkins clearly ordered men to fish for their wellbeing as well as to build food stores. The quiet nature of line fishing likely acted as a recreational activity, reminiscent of the 'artform' anglers wrote about in the later seventeenth century.[27] The healthful benefits of fishing shows that animal violence was a justifiable activity for wellness and so was

[22] Fishing was understood as a valuable activity to keep people from idleness and stimulate bodily health. See, Daniel Beaver, "The Great Deer Massacre: Animals, Honor, and Communication in Early Modern England", *The Journal of British Studies,* 38.2 (1999), pp. 187-216.
[23] Keith Thomas, "Work and Leisure", *Past & Present,* 29 (1964) pp. 50-66.
[24] Peter Burke, "The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe", *Past & Present,* 146 (1995), pp. 136-50.
[25] Thomas. "Work and Leisure".
[26] Izaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler. Or the Contemplative Man's Recreation* (London, 1653).
[27] *Ibid.*

purposefully weaved by some into the growing maritime educational discourse of successful long-distance voyaging. To consider survival killing to be completely separate from recreation would thus be incorrect. For seafarers, animal killing was not as black and white as Bates suggested. Instead, utility, sport, status and wellness were all motivations that often appeared together, consequently allowing seafarers who relied on utilitarian killing to counter potential accusations of incivility.

Bloodsport was a large part of English culture at all levels and heavily influenced how seafarers engaged in animal violence in the Atlantic. Hunting was one of the most significant forms of bloodsport because of its symbolism, traditions and social connotations. Many historians have considered the position of hunting in English culture and society.[28] For instance, Edward Berry paid specific attention to hunting depictions of royals.[29] His analysis of the 1603 painting *Henry Frederick, Price of Wales, with Sir John Harington in the Hunting Field* highlighted the importance of hunting imagery to people of power. Contemporaneous literature often considered hunting as good practice for future warfare as participants not only had the opportunity to practice skilful killing but also leadership and communication in the field.[30] For royals, hunting was thus an excellent recreational activity. Depicting nine-year-old Henry Frederick sheathing his sword after decapitating a deer was a purposeful demonstration of his power over the natural world. Moreover, the obedient hunting party at his side, made up of both men and dogs, equally confirmed his leadership status. Historians have considered similar themes of power when analysing Queen Elizabeth's famed prominence on the hunting ground, which, as shown by Charles Bergman,

[28] See, Bates. *Masculinity and the Hunt.* Daniel Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence Before the English Civil War*, (Cambridge, 2008). Beaver, "The Great Deer Massacre".
[29] Edward Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study,* (Cambridge, 2001).
[30] *Ibid.* Bergman, "Spectacle of Beasts: Hunting Rituals and Animal Rights in Early Modern England" in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*.

symbolised how she "presided over life, death, power and pardon".[31] However, hunting was not only a popular activity among the royals but also the wider gentry. The containment of deer in parks meant that venison was highly prized.[32] As a result, deer hunting became intertwined with politics and relationships as hunting expeditions were offered as a form of hospitality. Furthermore, some gentry were also known to hire poachers to attack their enemies' herds.[33] To sum up with the words of Keith Thomas, hunting was so important to the upper levels of English society that it became an "obsessive preoccupation of the English aristocracy".[34] However, the upper classes made up very little of the population on ships. Although the rest of the population did not have the same access to deer parks, they still often basked in the enjoyment of animal killing. Bloodsports such as baiting and cock-fighting were popular activities among the common classes in England.[35] While historians have struggled to determine the purpose of these activities, Thomas suggested these events were organised out of kinship. Comparing baiting to an early modern football match, he argued these events offered opportunities for families and neighbourhoods to bond and local rivalries to be aired.[36] Animal killing was thus embedded as a recreational activity across the social classes. Unsurprisingly voyagers were keen to replicate the thrill and enjoyment these sports provided as an activity for bonding, interaction and fun.

As with hunting, bloodsport traditions were equally subject to changes dictated by the environment, resources, and prey animal. Upon arriving at the 'ilands of Pengwins', near to Cape Froward in modern-day Chile, Hawkins and his men set out to kill penguins. Due to the difficulty of the prey, this event quickly turned into an enjoyable sport.

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[31] Bergman, "Spectacle of Beasts", p. 54.
[32] Heal, "Food gifts".
[33] See, Roger B Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social History of Unlawful Hunting in England,* (Oxford, 1993).
[34] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World,* p. 145.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*

> The hunting of them, as we may well terme it, was a great recreation to my company, and worth the sight, for in determine to catch them, necessarily was required good store of people, every one with a cudgell in his hand, to compasse them round about, to bring them, as it were, into a ring; if they chanced to break out, then was the sport; for the ground being undermined, at unawares it fayled, and as they ran after them, one fell here, another there; another ofering to strike at one, lifting up his hand, sunke upp to the arme-pits in the earth; another leaping to avoyd one hole, fell into another.[37]

The beginning of this quote has been used as the title for this chapter because it perfectly demonstrates the differences between English hunting and voyage hunting. Unlike in deer, fox or even rabbit hunting, Hawkins' crew had to herd the penguins, denoting images more reminiscent of sheep than typical bloodsport animals. Hawkins recognised that labelling this activity as hunting was a liberal use of the term, however the output of fun, communal bonding and dead animals was the same. Although the techniques were unrecognisable, the account still nodded towards similar connotations. Skill and organisation were used to round the penguins into a circle for bludgeoning. Then, the act turned into sport when the penguins escaped the ring, thus bringing the element of the chase. While less dignity could be seen in this particular event as the men stumbled around on uneven ground, falling into holes, their actions and enjoyment hark back to other animal sports in England. In particular, the humour found in each other's failings is reflective of the fellowship involved in popular and more accessible bloodsports such as baiting.[38] Then, finally, the event is ended with a suitable amount of dead animals. We can see here that the utilitarian aspect of this hunt became irrelevant to the account as Hawkins focused on the aspect of sport. While the penguin 'hunt' was an 'archaic' mode of provisioning, Hawkins contextualised the event within the

[37] Hawkins, *Observations*, p. 112-3.
[38] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World.*

parameters of traditional bloodsports.

For higher ranking officials, who wrote and published educational discourses on the voyaging experience, it was important to recognise the various values of animal killing, whether it be health, recreation or survival. Another example is found during James Halls's voyage to Greenland, where the men utilised the 'good sport' of baiting for entertainment. The 1612 expedition is one of the only voyages during this period that has documented evidence of baiting. One of the published voyage accounts, detailing the first expedition of William Baffin (the pilot of the expedition), written by John Gatonbe described "at noon, we being near the ice, our men went with the shallop to it, and killed four seals, and brought another two abroad quick, we having good sport betwixt them and our mastiff dogs".[39] As found with Hawkins and his men, the act of hunting for provisions was often coupled with recreational sport. However, unlike Hawkins, Gatonbe practised baiting more in line with traditional practices in England, using the correct dog breed against a wild animal. These two accounts demonstrate that there was not necessarily a desire to change English standards of bloodsport unless the prey or environment called for it. Moreover, while killing methods could differ, the appeal of animal violence remained the same between terrestrial and English seafaring culture.

Narratives of natural abundance, which were prevalent throughout the Atlantic, coupled with the 'necessity' for bloodsport meant that traditional English cultures of violence were reinforced as prey animals were seemingly unlimited. Heading to the north Atlantic, Robert Fortherby was a crew member on the 1612 Hall voyage to Greenland. Although the main purpose of this voyage was to hunt a whale, a variety of dogs were provisioned for the trip,

[39] John Gatonbe, "The First Recorded Voyage of William Baffin" in Markham, (ed) *The Voyages of William Baffin*, 1612-1622 (London, 2010) pp. 1-19.

including mastiffs, greyhounds and water spaniels.[40] All of these dogs were traditionally used for hunting, sport, or protection. With more traditional tools on hand, Fotherby along with John Wilmote, one of the Master's mates, and six other men went deer hunting.

> … purposeing to kill some deare and some wild fowle… wee tooke with us such dogs as wee had in our ship, viz. A grewhounds, a mastiffe, and a water spaniell, and two fowleing-pieces, with shott and powder… and presentlie espied one buck, whereupon we dispered outselves severall waise, to bett betwixt him and the mountaines… in our waie wee went over two or three bare spots that were full of flatt stones, whereon ther gre a certaine white mosse, which it seems, the deare doe feed upon… wee came near the buck which wee first espied, wee sawe four more not farre from him, and two in another place, and therefore we founded at the fairest heard… we kill'd three of them, being all bucks.[41]

Technical and traditional skills are implied within this account as the hunters identified the local deer's food, and thus the location of the deer. Moreover, they had access to the proper tools and domestic hunting dogs. After killing the three bucks, Fotherby highlighted the ease of killing the creatures.

> Being thus well refreshed, wee were willing to have killed more venison, because we needed not to use much labour in hunting for our game; for the deare that had latelie

[40] Robert Fortherby, "A short discourse of a voyage made in the yeare of our Lord 1613", in *The Voyages of William Baffin*, 1612-1622 (London, 2010) pp. 54-68.
[41] *Ibid.*

escaped us were no gon farre from us.[42]

Again we see that the prey animals were used for provisioning purposes, refreshing Fortherby's group. Yet, descriptions of the hunting methods, tools, and a blasé attitude towards the effort involved implies skill, strength and efficiency - all valued skills in traditional hunts and men more broadly. Additionally, the native wildlife is portrayed as easy prey for the English to dominate. As covered throughout the previous chapters, early modern English society was extremely anthropocentric, placing humans as the most dominant and intelligent beings. Contemporary anthropological thought broadly considered domestic animals as labour and wild for hunting. Unlike Hawkins' concern for over fishing, Fotherby and his men were little concerned with waste or greed. Hunting in England, particularly in deer parks, had to strike a balance so that animal populations never depleted. In 1624, due to a poor winter, warrants for 'fee deer', specifically fallow and red deer, were halted until the population increased and the remaining deer gained strength. According to the official notice, "those which have escaped the extremitie of the weather, are so weakned and surfeyted by the same, as they will hardly holde out the next winter".[43] Caution therefore had to be taken with the frequency and size of the hunt throughout the year, particularly as the early seventeenth century saw such a decline in popular hunting animals, including boar.[44] But in the foreign wilderness, this wasn't always considered necessary as the apparent abundance of animals was often used as a promotional tool for some places, as discussed in Chapter One. Even in the north, which was usually considered less fruitful, writers documented the array of animals

[42] *Ibid*, p. 58.
[43] "A Proclamation for the restraint of serving of Fee Deere" (London; 1624).
[44] Boehrer, "Violence, Animals and Sport in Europe and it Colonies", in *The Cambrdige World History of Violence: Volume 3: AD 1500- AD 1800*, p. 556.

available.[45] It was likely the visible availability and lack of legal containment which led Fotherby to consider all the wild deer as fair game. The lack of restriction on wild animals in the Atlantic meant that there was more opportunity for violence. Killing would only be limited by the decisions of individuals or authoritative figures. While both encouraged killing for survival and pleasure, the English were less constrained by tradition and procedure when it came to interacting with nature overseas. Consequently, different attitudes with regards to the extent of animal violence were able to form.

Animal violence was considered a necessary aspect of long distance English voyages, providing food, entertainment, social bonding and preventing idleness. The prominence of bloodsport in English culture, coupled with the desire for meat, as discussed in Chapter Two, meant that violence was justified for both survival and quality of life. The extent to which violence was influenced by English culture was dependent on many factors, such as the resources and provisions available. Although many seafarers were forced to be resourceful in their killing methods there was not a particular desire to change English standards. This is evident because the conception and presentation of violence in written accounts were always influenced by traditional English perceptions of good bloodsport. The skills of a good English hunter were equally important to seafarers, as was the enjoyable element of unpredictability, which was more prominent with unfamiliar prey. However, the importance of killing for survival resulted in a reinforced maritime culture of violence, heavily influenced by English tradition but shaped by the voyaging context. Moreover, as the foreign environments of the Atlantic at this time were lacking in English tradition and legislation, violence could be far less restricted. Consequently, discourses of natural abundance and the lack of legal restrictions on animal populations further encouraged violent acts. While not all seafarers adhered to the conception that the natural world was an endless source to exploit, both ideas

[45] Best, *A Trve Discovrse*, p.37.

promoted an attitude of human dominion that was achieved through violence. For those such as Richard Hawkins, mass fishing was not necessary. He believed the crew should only take what was needed, possibly to maintain natural balance or likely to prevent greed among his crew. Alternatively, for men such as Fotherby, restricting provisions was less of a concern. Both, however, used justifications for violence on foreign animals to strengthen the notion of human dominion over the natural world and educate on the potential for further English Atlantic activity.

### *Animal Violence and Seafaring Society*

The prominence of animal violence meant that it became tightly woven into English seafaring society. Violence was largely shaped by hierarchy, concepts of masculinity, and the perceived threat of the animal kingdom. By assessing each of these themes, it becomes evident that perceptions of human dominion drastically impacted how seafarers interacted with the natural world. However, attitudes of dominion did not always present themselves in the same manner. Just as with meat, animal bodies were considered differently by different people depending on their personal relationship with the animal kingdom and anthropocentric view point. Sometimes seafarers formed a greater attachment to the creatures they were killing, presenting animals as a powerful adversary to master. Others gave fauna more passive roles, as beasts fulfilling their divine duty without any semblance of thought, emotion or feeling. While the animal's perceived agency could differ, the result remained the same. Animal bodies became collateral for some of the fundamental objectives and requirements of long distance voyages, whether that be for commercial gain, provisioning or assertions of hierarchy and human superiority. Consequently, violence became a key aspect of long distance voyages and their narratives, prefiguring England's future violent exploitation of the wider Atlantic world.

Hierarchy within ship crews played a significant role in shaping animal violence. Unlike

deer hunting in England, the opportunity to lead hunts for large, symbolically significant prey was not restricted by class or rank. Instead, evidence shows that during some voyages all crew members had the opportunity to demonstrate hunting skill and prowess. The private diary of Richard Madox is one of the few sources that provides detailed insight into the specific people who hunted during the 1582 Fenton voyage. While in Guinea, Madox noted that John Gore and Arthur Cotton both attempted to hunt an elephant with guns.[46] The crew list for the voyage included the names of all significant members, such as captains, lieutenants, merchants, and those with specialised roles such as surgeons or chaplains.[47] Interestingly, neither John Gore nor Arthur Cotton were mentioned by name in the list. Consequently, Gore and Cotton were likely sailors by trade and so were not named specifically. Given the difficulty of hunting elephants, due to their large stature and thick skin, it is clear the two men were not hunting for meat provisions. Instead, they were hunting big game, potentially for the profitable resources elephants provided (such as their tusks) and also for the challenge, something which many other voyagers were keen to pursue. Nicholas Parker, Captain at Land, also attempted to hunt elephants, however his expeditions were noted separately by Madox, suggesting that Gore and Cotton carried out their pursuits independently.[48] Having lower ranked sailors hunt big game shows that a broad range of crew members had access to the social benefits hunting provided, such as glory and evidence of strength and skill.

In England, the links between hunting and hierarchy were always present. Many sources have shown the importance of hunting to the upper classes.[49] While Roger B Manning's work, *Hunters and Poachers*, rightly identified non-gentry men, such as yeomen or

[46] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 176.
[47] *Ibid*. Appendix 1, p. 281.
[48] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 177.
[49] See, Bergman "Spectacle of Beasts"; Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*; Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*.

husbandmen, were present within hunting parties, their roles were largely of servitude.[50] Rather than being class exclusive, English hunting activities were class demonstrative. Yet, rank was more important than class among ship crews and status was more fluid than it was in terrestrial society.[51] Many men occupied positions of responsibility and, as sailors built upon their experience, there was plenty of opportunity for career progression.[52] This social fluidity was reflected in the hunting activities of ship crews. As shown by Gore and Cotton, rank was also not always exercised in every activity. While a subject of continued debate, work by Fury has demonstrated that successful assertion of hierarchy on board long distance voyages had a lot to do with respect rather than deference to rank.[53] As discussed in the previous chapter, the importance of meat showed that even lower ranked sailors were willing to demand their needs and protest if their conditions were considered unsuitable. Furthermore, captains who did not show advanced knowledge of sailing were at risk of insubordination and, in extreme cases, mutiny.[54] The tenuous and more flexible structure of hierarchy among crews thus contributed to the level of freedom seafarers were given. Activities, such as hunting were consequently less restrictive, ultimately benefiting lower ranked crew members who had the opportunity to lead hunts. The crew as a whole would have been able to take advantage of any success, such as having access to meat or commercially viable goods. In addition, the shift in social access to hunting likely contributed to the differences in hunting methods, as demonstrated by Hortop who likely did not have an elite background.

The other key influential difference between hunting in England against on a voyage was

[50] Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*.
[51] *Ibid*. See also, Witt, "During the voyage every captain is monarch of the ship", *International Journal of Maritime History*, 13.2 (2001), pp. 165-94.
[52] Richard Blakemore, "Life at Sea" in Blakemore and Davey, (ed) *Tudor and Stuart Seafarers: The Emergence of a Maritime Nation, 1485-1707* (London, 2018) pp. 180-197.
[53] Fury, *Tides.*
[54] *Ibid.*

the level of danger involved. In England, one of the main appeals of the chase method in hunting was the "intoxicating rush".[55] Although bound by regimented traditions, the unpredictable nature of prey animals gave hunting its main appeal - excitement. For seafarers, the context was very different. As demonstrated, hunting could often be impromptu and more reminiscent of outright killing or slaughter. Yet, the environment of the unknown only added to the 'intoxicating rush' of hunting as the whole event became unpredictable, translating into exciting adventures in published narratives. Possibilities of adventure were endless and some seafarers purposely drew upon this fact to dramatize their experiences. Job Hortop commonly depicted exotic animals as monstrous beasts in his short thirteen-page narrative.[56] On the way to "Placencia", an undetermined location in southern America, Hortop and a few of his crew members "found a monstrous venemous worme with two heads: his body was as bigge as a mans arme, and a yard long".[57] The unusual and dangerous 'worme' was swiftly killed by Master Robert Barret with his sword.[58] To add to the mythical terror of the two-headed beast, its body then began to leak black blood "as if it were coloured with ynke".[59] Hortop's narrative has come under some modern scrutiny.[60] As it took over twenty years for Hortop to return to England, these events of slaying monstrous creatures happened decades before their documentation. It is likely he used tales of heroism against the natural world to rebuild his – and the crews' – reputation as successful men before the voyage was ultimately decimated by the Spanish. Therefore, Hortop's desire to include said events further showcases the significance of danger and the animal kingdom to exciting travel narratives, whether the accounts were true or not. The influential work of Marcus Rediker on the eighteenth century

[55] Bergman, "Spectacle of Beasts", p. 55.
[56] Hortop, "The Rare Travailes of Job Hortop".
[57] *Ibid,* p. 449. Hortop misnames the place as Placencia, which was a town in Spain. It is not clear exactly where he was meaning.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] James A Robertson, "Review of The Rare Travailes of Job Hortop", *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 9.2 (1929) 237-9.

Atlantic has argued that "the wooden world of the sea vessel resulted in a distinct maritime culture based on the shared experience of danger, confined living spaces, and an all-male community.[61] Although summarising the shipboard culture of men living over a century after Job Hortop, the same can be said for seafarers at the start of English Atlantic exploration. Hortop's two-headed venomous worm was not the only dangerous animal he and the crew allegedly encountered. In Santa Martha, two of his crewmates killed another 'monstrous' snake which was slithering "towards his cave with a Conie in his mouth".[62] Identified as an adder, the snake "was as bigge as any mans thigh, and seven foote long: upon his tayle he had sixteene knottes, every one as bigge as a great walnut".[63] Upon killing and opening up the adder's body, two more conies were found. Hortop and the crew also experienced danger through their own decision making as he was involved in capturing the crocodile with a dog used as bait – the account discussed at the beginning of this chapter.[64] Danger was thus not only all around seafarers but also became a part of how many defined their experience to others. The natural world, and the animal kingdom in particular, was embraced as part of the exciting risks seafarers faced on long distance voyages. As a result, animal violence was not only justified but glorified as some made a conscious effort to make violence a part of their identity and reputation.

The availability of hunting to multiple levels of the crew, alongside a close relationship to danger, meant that seafarers utilised the social benefits killing animals provided. Although Bates' suggestion that utilitarian hunting and status hunting were separate activities has flaws, her connection between hunting success with social positioning accurately describes the relationship seafarers formed with animal violence and each other. Shepard's work on manhood has illustrated how "male status and authority in early modern England were

[61] Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, 1700-1750*.
[62] Hortop, "The Rare Travailes of Job Hortop", p. 450.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Ibid,* pp. 449-50.

primarily gauged competitively".[65] Moreover, historians such as Elizabeth Foyster have shown that manhood was never static, but rather it had to be constantly asserted through "masculine activities".[66] These activities often included boasting of sexual prowess or drinking abilities.[67] Shepard's and Foyster's conclusions, stating competition drove English masculinity, can also be applied to the male-dominated community on board ships.[68] Unless at port, illicit sex with women was not on offer, and drunkenness on board could be extremely dangerous for the whole ship.[69] Danger, a fundamental part of voyaging life thus became the main arena for men to compete in. Consequently, the "intoxicating rush" of hunting, emphasised by unpredictable environments and animals, provided the perfect opportunity to demonstrate manhood. Manhood could be shown through the risk of killing and upon success would also result in a physical reward - a corpse. While the dead animal would likely be eaten or traded, for a short time the hunter would have had a physical depiction of their success to boast about. Aside from demonstrating manhood to witnesses of the kill, seafarers also gained a story which could be dramatized and exaggerated in future retellings. Whether accounts of defeating mythical-like creatures were orally communicated between other seafarers, or written and published for a literate audience, the purpose of them was clear. Many voyagers used hunting stories, which demonstrated success over the natural world, to construct and perform their identities. In the case of Job Hortop, he depicted himself and his crew as brave, strong and fearless. As a result, the animals Hortop and the crew defeated became the main antagonist of the hunting stories. Animals were thus not only used for masculine bonding during the kill. Their role in any good hunting story, whether exaggerated or not, meant that animals became a significant communication piece in voyage

[65] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England,* (Oxford, 2003) p. 140.
[66] Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London, 2014).
[67] *Ibid.* Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.*

narratives and oral bonding rituals. The importance of hunting as a symbolic activity thus did not change when transferring from a purely terrestrial to a transoceanic setting. Instead, lifestyle and environmental differences led to the loosening of restrictions about the identity of the hunter, the location, method, and prey animal. Moreover, the depiction of animal bodies as the enemy resulted in animals becoming collateral for man's desire to social posture and dominate the perceived threat of the wilderness presented by Atlantic nature.

However, animal violence was not without its critics. Charles Bergman's analysis of hunting critiques concluded that judgment arose "not because they felt great sympathy for animals, but because they loathed the effect of hunting on hunters. Critics deconstructed the hunt and its central claims, particularly the supposed nobility of hunters and the slippery term *beast"*.[70] Erica Fudge's work on animality in early modern England highlighted that humanness, like civility, had to be proved. Creating a division between humans and beasts was thus extremely important for voyagers who regularly engaged in and promoted a culture of animal violence. After witnessing both bonito fish and seabirds hunt flying fish, Richard Hawkins considered this dilemma and used the intellectual superiority of humans to justify why man's violence towards animals was different.

> The manner of hunting and hawking representeth that which we reasonable creatures use, saving onely in that disposing of the game. for by our industry and abilities the hound and hawke is brought to that obedience, that whatsoever they seize is for their master; but here it is otherwise: for the game is for him that seizeth it.[71]

[70] Bergman, "Spectacle of Beasts".
[71] Richard Hawkins, *Observations*, p. 70.

For Hawkins, the main evidence keeping men from descending into uncivilised form of hunting was the use of domestic animals. Bergman's analysis of hunting rituals summarised that "the metaphysical assumptions about humans and animals helped to give the hunt its symbolic resonance as an ennobling human and social activity".[72] The ability to domesticate demonstrated control. Moreover, using trained animals against wild creatures further demonstrated the dominion of humanity over the natural world. In Thomas's work, *In Pursuit of Civility*, he introduced the term civility as 'a slippery and unstable word'.[73] Throughout much of the early modern period, sailors and mariners attracted a stereotypical label as noisy, brash and different. Much of this was a result of their way of life, but also how they communicated when on land. As Blakemore's work on orality has shown, their speech, made up of profanities and complicated jargon, not only separated them from a lot of land society but also became a defining feature of membership to their own seafaring society.[74] To discuss how seafarers maintained their civility, and thus humanity, when hunting is difficult as English society propagated multiple and changing understandings of the term.[75] However, the importance of being able to control animals was a widespread English communicator of humanity. Additionally, as discussed, voyagers justified their violence in published narratives as assertions of human superiority over the wilderness. Their 'humanness' was thus proved through their violent exploration and control of Atlantic nature.

Yet, while pride was a common and acceptable emotion associated with the retellings of animal violence, the physical act was sometimes the result of visceral hatred. Among crews, violence towards animals could be personal and targeted, demonstrating tension between

[72] Bergman, "Spectacle of Beasts", p. 55.
[73] Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility*, p. 6.
[74] Blakemore, "Orality and Mutiny: Authority and Speech Amongst the Seafarers of Early Modern London", in Cohen and Twomey, (eds) *Spoken Word and Social Practice: Orality in Europe (1400-1700)* (Leiden, 2015) pp. 253-79.
[75] Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility*, p. 7.

humanity and certain species. We know that Richard Hawkins largely took a practical stance to killing, using it as a method to obtain food or entertain his crew. But, his crew's relationship with sharks showcases the emotionally violent result of these men working in such close proximity to wild animals. Sharks were very controversial animals among English seafaring communities. Marcus Rediker has conducted interesting work on sharks in the later eighteenth century, noting how captains used them as a threat to keep their crew in order.[76] But the threat of sharks towards men had a long history. Hawkins described them as "the most ravenous fish knowne in the sea; for he swalloweth all that he findeth".[77] He claimed that often there have been found shoes, shirts, legs and arms of men in their bellies.[78] Many seafarers also had tales to tell about men losing their limbs: "it hath chanced that a yonker casting himselfe into the sea to swimme, hath had his legge bitten off above the knee by one of them".[79] Hawkins also recounted a story from the *Tyger* which sailed under Sir Richard Greenfield to Virginia in the 1580s. When one of the men were sat in the chains to wash, a shark bit off his leg.[80] For mariners, the hatred towards sharks was personal which, for Hawkins' crew, resulted in the men seeking out opportunities for violent revenge.

> Every day my company tooke more or lesse of them, not for that they did eat of them (for they are not held wholesome…) but to recreate themselves and in revenge of the injuries received by them; for they live long, and suffer much after they bee taken, before they die.[81]

Upon catching and hoisting the sharks on board with harping irons, the men inflicted all kinds

[76] Rediker, "History from below the Water Line: Sharks and the Atlantic Slave Trade".
[77] Richard Hawkins, *Observations*, pp. 68-70.
[78] *Ibid.*
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] *Ibid.*

of creative cruelty. Some had logs tied to their tails, or a batizia (a small casket). Others had their eyes plucked or tails tied together. In more extreme cases they would slit their bellies so when put back in the water "his fellowes would have every one a snatch at".[82] Although shocking to a modern reader, these actions were not as horrific or unusual given the violence terrestrial society often displayed towards animals. Aside from baiting and hunting, Keith Thomas's work on cruelty has shown that it was common practice.[83] When combined with feelings of revenge, these men were passionately asserting their dominance, fighting an intangible war against a dangerous species. Recent work by Bruce Boehrer on the spread of animal violence across European colonies in the early modern period considered the phenomenon to be a result of Cartesianism, a philosophy which denied non-human animals the capacity for reason, consciousness and suffering.[84] Moreover, he argued that some of the brutalisation of animals had little reason behind it aside from the gratification it provided to humanity's inherent sadism.[85] While in some instances Boehrer's conclusions apply, in others he understates the emotional relationship many people had with the animal kingdom, as demonstrated by mariner relationships with sharks. Inherent sadism certainly seems present, however for the mariners this was influenced by the belief that these animals can and should suffer as they were capable of making conscious decisions to attack men. Unlike philosophers and theorists in England, mariners were living on the line between survival and death and regularly interacted with dangerous animals. The nature of sharks was thus understood differently as mariners assumed they had agency. Human dominion was thus not always an adventure of heroism or skill but was sometimes asserted through anger and terror. The animal world was not always conceptualised as an opportunity but it could also be a threat. Violence was thus one of the many by-products of the tension between humanity and the

[82] *Ibid*, pp. 68-70.
[83] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 147.
[84] Boehrer, "Violence, Animals and Sport in Europe and it Colonies".
[85] *Ibid.*

natural world.

As shown throughout the chapters so far, on long distance voyages seafaring society was subject to many tensions. Tensions were present between the crew, due to personal clashes or because of the authority structure, and most significantly between humanity and the natural world. In order for men to compete with each other they adopted tests of danger. These often involved tackling threatening animal species to create narratives of masculine dominance, success and adventure. Many animals were thus depicted as enemies to humanity, propagating emotions of hatred and actions of vengeance within the maritime community, particularly among career sailors. While higher ranked seafarers justified violence through practical necessity and markers of humanity, such as restraint or the use of domestic hunting animals, for many sailors animal violence could be unrestrained. Additionally, the perceived opposition between sailors and animals outwardly contradicted the conception that animals had no agency or intellect. The role of violence in seafaring society shows how multifaceted anthropomorphism was. Seafarers were at the forefront of encountering Atlantic nature, which was often not subject to the same level of control as nature in England. While there was a variety of different conceptions among seafarers regarding animal agency and human civility all resulted in justifiable violence for the benefit of the human society.

### *Violence and Dominion*

Accounts of men fearlessly facing down the dangerous animals of the Atlantic were more than just tools for personal boasting and male bonding. They were also instrumental in communicating superiority. Irving-Stonebraker's work on savagery and civilisation in the early modern period summarised that, for Europeans, humanity was increasingly understood to be developing away from nature, purposefully separating themselves from the animal kingdom. Moreover, by improving natural scientific and historical knowledge, men were able

to reassert their 'divinely ordained dominion'.[86] The theme of dominion is extremely significant to how seafarers interacted with and later documented nature. Paula Findlen noted that at the start of the early modern period nature was already for sale in Europe.[87] Commodification of the 'exotic' was thus well established before English explorers branched further across the Atlantic. Yet, when voyagers encountered new natures, this was often not within a controlled and civilised marketplace. Animals were wild and the voyagers were living dangerously. However, as discussed in Chapter One, humans were, by God's command, at the top of the Chain of Being.[88] They were the rightful superiors of nature but were also now encountering an untamed wilderness, at least by English standards. The tensions between man and nature were forcibly explored in ways they hadn't been before as seafarers sought to bring the wilderness into a perceived natural order. In addition, as Melanie Ord has shown, travel literature was often instrumental in promoting a sense of national identity.[89] Throughout the early modern period, the Atlantic became an arena for European nations to compete commercially. While voyagers confronted the dangers of unknown natures, their published accounts fed into a home discourse of English activity and advancement. How these perspectives interlinked shall highlight that animal interactions became heavily symbolic of superiority, both over the natural world and other European seafarers. As a result, the exploration, understanding and control of nature became synonymous with success.

Asserting dominion over the animal kingdom did not always require killing animals. Many species were depicted dramatically in order to characterise the danger of the

[86] Irving-Stonebreaker, "From Eden to Savagery".
[87] Paula Findlen, "Inventing Nature: Commerce, Art, and Science in the Early Modern Cabinet of Curiosities", in Smith and Findlen, (eds) *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science and Art in Early Modern Europe,* pp. 297-323.
[88] Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*.
[89] Melanie Ord, "Remembering Sir Francis Drake: Travel, Commemoration and National Identity in the Work of Henry Robarts", *Literature and History,* 23.2 (2014) pp. 1-17.

wilderness. John Hawkins, for example, summarised the crocodile as "a great devourer" who "spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beasts, nor men".[90] Additionally, Clement Adams' account of Hugh Willoughbie and Richard Chancelor's navigation of Muscovie in 1553 opened by praising Chancelor for his bravery entering the savage world of the unknown; "hee shall commit his safetie to barbarous and cruell people, and shall hazard his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beastes of the Sea".[91] Adams purposefully identified the danger and wildness of the ocean through the animals inhabiting it. Richard Chancelor was thus branded as a brave and heroic man whose civility contrasted against the dangerous life among both 'cruell people' and the hazards of the wilderness. While this chapter has largely considered the significance of killing, fearlessness towards the animal kingdom was arguably the most important factor for demonstrating superiority. Richard Jobson's account is full of subtle comparison between himself and the non-English members of his crew. One stark instance is in the lack of fear he displayed when faced with the threat of crocodiles.

> I could not make any of my blacke people, go out of the boate, denying flatly to go into the water, saying that Bumbo would have them; after some two of these passages, there was another streight, where was a necessity of more hands, so that striping my self, I leapt into the water.[92]

After Jobson and his crew took the lead, his African employees followed him into the water considering that "the white man, shine more in the water, then they did, and therefore if

[90] "The voyage made by the worshipful M John Hawkins" in *The Hawkins Voyages*, pp. 40-1.
[91] Clement Adams, "The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdom of Moscovia" in *Principal Navigations*, 2, p. 243.
[92] "Bumbo" was the indigenous name for crocodile. Jobson, p. 91.

Bumbo come, hee would surely take us first".[93] Here, the lack of fear displayed strength, bravery and national prowess, particularly when contrasted against the actions of foreign people. Historians such as Arnold and Brady emphasise the link between gender and power relations.[94] Arnold's analysis rings true even outside of comparative gender studies as, in the context of exploration and travel, we can see that voyagers linked power dynamics, masculinity and human dominion extremely closely. Jobson implied his superiority by demonstrating fearlessness where others failed. In addition, Jose MH Gutierrez highlighted the importance of travel literature in communal identity building.[95] Both Gutierrez and Ord have demonstrated that the marvellous was used to solidify the norm in national identity.[96] Instead of comparisons between the strange and normal, Jobson contrasted his strength against his companions' weakness. By highlighting these differences, Jobson used assertions of human dominion to comment on and imply superiority over foreign people, thus contributing to a newly growing English discourse of supremacy and success within the Atlantic.

Although hunting activities during voyages were not exclusive, descriptions of hunting prowess were used to characterise high-ranking crew members. As historiography on travel literature has largely agreed, authors wrote for a specific audience and so purposely emphasised certain cultural elements that were familiar.[97] By commenting on a captain's or master's skilled hunting abilities the author could construct a favourable reputation for that person. The account of Master John Davis' voyage, written by John Janes portrays Davis as a

[93] *Ibid,* p. 91.
[94] John Arnold and Sean Brady, "Introduction" in Arnold and Brady, (eds) *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from antiquity to the Contemporary World* (London, 2011) pp. 1-14.
[95] Ord, "Remembering Sir Francis Drake"; Jose MH Gutierrez, "Traveling Anthropophagy: The Depiction of Cannibalism in Modern Travel Writing, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries", *Journal of World History*, 30.3 (2019), pp. 393-414.
[96] *Ibid.*
[97] Maclean, *Looking East,* p. 156; Peter Mancall, "The Raw and the Cold", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 70.1 (2013) pp. 3-40.

very knowledgeable and determined man.

> The first day of July wee sawe great store of Porposes; the Master called for a harping yron and shot twise or thrise: sometimes he missed, and at last shot one and strooke him in the side, and wound him into the ship: when we had him aboord, the Master sayd it was a Darlie head.[98]

A harping iron, or harpoon, is not an easy weapon to master. Not only does the harpooner's shot have to be accurate enough to hit a potentially fast moving and submerging animal, but it also has to be thrown with enough force to penetrate and hold the animal's flesh. Once the porpoise was lifted on board, John Davis then further demonstrated specialised knowledge by identifying the creature as a darlie head.[99] Both technical skill and specialised knowledge were considered important traits of hunters in early modern England, as agreed by Daniel Beaver.[100] In addition, these were also valuable skills for crew leaders. Similarly, as displayed by Jobson's account, an animal did not have to die in order to showcase prowess. John Janes was evidently not concerned about depicting Davies' failures as those moments only highlighted the difficulty of the task at hand. About a day after killing the 'darlie head' more porpoises were sighted.

> The Master went to shoote at them, but they were so great, that they burst our yrons, and we lost both fish, yrons pastime and all: yet nevertheless the Master shot at them with a pike, and had weligh gotton one, but he was so strong that he burst off the barres of the pike and went away: then he tooke a boat-hooke, and hit one with that, but all would not

[98] John Janes, "The first voyage of M John Davis" in *Principal Navigations,* 8, pp. 382-3.
[99] Unfortunately not enough detail is given to be able to identify this species.
[100] Beaver, "The Great Deer Massacre".

prevaile, so at length we let them alone.[101]

Although the porpoise broke free of Davis' first attempt to capture it, Davis continued to fight, first with a pike and then a boat hook. Unluckily for Davis, he was not successful. Yet, just as Job Hortop emphasised his own bravery through descriptions of monsters, Janes brought Davis' leadership and determination to the forefront with this animal encounter. While his attacks did not 'prevaile', Davis was resourceful and passionate in the hunt, all of which were admirable qualities.

The John Janes account is significant because it shows the development of English attitudes towards killing aquatic creatures. In England, whaling and other similar harpooning activities were still relatively new commercial pursuits, particularly compared to the Basques.[102] It was only less than ten years prior to Davis' voyage that the Muscovy Company was granted a Crown monopoly to hunt whales.[103] John Janes' account was likely attempting to establish Davis, and by extension English seafarers, as viable harpooners. As more English seafarers explored the Atlantic and sought to not only survive from nature, but actively dominate it, the themes of dominion and prowess associated with terrestrial hunting were used to emphasise success in maritime hunting. Providing all the performative elements of skill and danger as hunting on land, it became increasingly possible to dominate waterscapes in a similar way. As recent trends in Atlantic History and the Blue Humanities has suggested, for the English the seventeenth century began a period of domination not just over land, but over water.[104] Ownership of oceanic territories and shores were contested and the English began hunting the leviathans of the seas - whales. Europe was increasingly finding ways to assert superiority over the water thus bringing the physical and metaphorical wilderness

[101] Davis, "Cultural Encounters", p. 383.
[102] Charles Hawes, *Whaling* (London, 1924), p. 21.
[103] Gordon Jackson, *The British Whaling Trade* (London, 1978), p. 5.
[104] Hubbard, "Sailors and the Early Modern British Empire", pp. 348-58.

under western standards of control. This generated more competition between the European powers. Individuals could thus benefit reputationally, taking on the same traits as skilled terrestrial hunters. Additionally, publishing narratives of English dominion over the aquatic world likely aided the growing national identity of England as competitors in the growing maritime sphere.

As prominent characters in seafarer narratives, animal bodies also became prized as trophies of human dominion within terrestrial society. One of the most desired kills among voyagers travelling the southern Atlantic were Elephants. Although described as gentle and wise creatures by natural historians, by the sixteenth century their bodies were highly prized commodities.[105] Their tusks, or 'teeth', were particularly valuable within both European and Western African communities.[106] Moreover, their sheer size offered a challenge to any experienced hunter and a trophy to any rich collector of the 'exotic'. Many voyagers tried their hand at hunting elephants. William Towerson, for example attempted but failed, as did some of the men from Edward Fenton's 1582 voyage to Guinea.[107] Although no detail is given about a hunt, John Lok's 1554 voyage to Guinea brought a sizable head back to England. Lok captained three ships on a trading voyage to Guinea. The voyage was largely successful, returning with over 400lb of gold, 36 butts of guinea pepper, 250 elephant tusks and a large elephant skull.[108] Whether Lok's crew hunted the elephant themselves or traded for the skull with the local Indigenous population, we do not know. However, the account, likely written by one of the ship masters Robert Gainsh, gives insight into the value of 'exotic' animal trophies in England. He first introduced the trophy through describing its impressive size.

[105] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History: A Selection,* trans. by John F Healy (London, 2004) p. 108.
[106] Martha Chaiklin, "Ivory in World History – Early Modern Trade in Context", *History Compass*, 8.6 (2010) pp. 530-42.
[107]. Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 176
[108] Gainsh, 'The second voyage of Guinea' in *Principal Navigations,* 6, pp. 154-77.

> At this last voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of such huge bigness, that onely the bones or cranew thereof, beside the nether jaw & great turks, weight about two hundred weight… with all the flesh, braines, and skinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my judgement it could weigh litle lesse then five hundred weight.[109]

Gainsh then informed the reader of its location.

> This head divers have seene in the house of the worthy marchant sir Andrew Judde, where also I saw it, and beheld it, not only with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my mind and spirit, considering by the worke, the cunning and wisedome of the workemaister: without which consideration, the sight of such a strange and wonderfull things may rather seeme curiosities then profitable contemplations.[110]

Returning with commodities was extremely important for any trading voyage however the ability to provide trophies demonstrated another level of success and competence. While we do not know how or by whom the elephant was killed, we know that, similarly to hunting narratives, the decapitated animal head also became a performative status symbol. Such a large remnant of an animal in the home of Andrew Judde would have served as a reminder of his wealth to both himself and his visitors. Gainsh also complicates the value of the skull by contemplating its religious significance. Work by Amanda Rees has demonstrated the continued value of taxidermized animals to human society throughout history. While

[109] *Ibid*, p. 164.
[110] *Ibid.*

predominantly considering preserved pets or specimens, her conclusions equally apply to animal trophies. She summarised that "maintaining animal bodies after death is hard work, but the work required to maintain the animals is repaid by the work that animal bodies do for humans".[111] Rees' conclusions are particularly relevant when assessing the Gainsh account as he praised the workmanship of the skull as both an intellectual and spiritual piece. While the head was not likely taxidermized, its preservation in the home elevated the elephant's head to an accessible piece of intellectual contemplation. The relationship between the English and animals was thus not only one of hierarchy, as people competed to reassert their ordained dominion. English society also valued the ability to tamper with and display animal bodies to allow them to contemplate spiritual and philosophical meanings. Rather than the value of the head being attributed purely to the animal and its body, the ability to view it safely close up in someone's home added to the heads impact on the individual author. Additionally, the animal's symbolic significance came from its placement within Judde's house as a trophy not as a living animal in the wild. As with the process of domestication, people have long been interested in what they can do with animals, not just too them. By coupling the curiosities of the natural world with human talent, Gainsh was able to find new, spiritual, value in the animal body because of human influence and control. Human dominion over the animal kingdom was therefore more than a religious pursuit to restore the Edenic lifestyle but human control also provided profitable contemplations and commodities for society.

Even today, people continue to place a large amount of significance on preserved animal bodies, whether they're considered collections, trophies or reminders. For Sir Andrew Judd, the elephant skull likely acted as all three. As a collection piece, the skull served as a representation of its foreign home. Its impressive size (and likely price) gave the skull attributes of a trophy, there to not only display wealth, culture and travel but also intellect and

[111] Amanda Rees, "Animal Bodies, Human Identities", *Endeavour,* 36.4 (2012) pp. 126-7.

dominion. Lastly, as an ornamental display piece the skull served its lifetime as a reminder of all these qualities to both Judde and his guests. Judde's display of the elephant head was a traditional demonstration of status but with a more unusual animal. As with the discussion of English hunting, large prey animals, such as red deer, were reserved for the top members of society due to their value.[112] Whether the animal remains were preserved on the wall, or offered on the dinner table, the owner's possession of the carcass as something changed (or even improved) by human influence communicated clear messages of power, wealth and human superiority. Animals were therefore more than antagonists in dramatic hunting stories. Instead, their bodies aided displays of power and status as communication pieces among the wealthy in society, demonstrating another form of the desire to own and control animal bodies.

In addition to conveying social status, animal bodies were valued as scientific specimens. National efforts to collect and understand foreign nature meant that, alongside heroic kills, there was also an educational value to the animal violence seafarers engaged in. John Janes, a merchant sailing in the north Atlantic on the 1585 voyage of John Davis, accounted his and his men's heroic hunt of polar bears, using nothing but a single-shot gun and boar spears before detailing how they used the bears' bodies.

> … when we came neere the shore, we found them to be white beares of a monstrous bignesse: we being desirous of fresh victuall and the sport, began to assault them[113]… I being on land, one of them came downe the hill right against me: my piece was charged with hailshot & a bullet: I discharged my piece and shot him in the necke; he roared a

[112] Boehrer, "Violence, Animals and Sport".
[113] John Janes, "The first voyage of M John Davis, undertaken in June 1585 for the discoverie of the North-west passage" in *Principal Navigations*, 7, p. 389.

litle, and tooke the water straight, making small account of his hurt.[114]

The crew then followed the bear in their boat, killing it and two more with boar spears. Later on they spied another bear on land, this time asleep. Janes aimed his gun at the bears head but it did not shoot. The bear then woke up but did not move. By this time Janes had reloaded his gun and shot two bullets into its head.

> [H]e being but amazed fell backwards: whereupon we ran all upon him with boare-speares, and thrust him in the body: yet for all that he gript away our boare-speares, and went towards the water; and as he was going downe, he came back againe. Then our Master shot his boare-speare, and strooke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and swimme into a cove fast by, where we killed him, and brought him aboord. The breadth of his forefoot from one side to the other was foureteene inches over. They were very fat, so as we were constrained to cast the fat away.[115]

This account is highly reminiscent of the masculine side of the hunt, identified by Bates.[116] As Bates began her book, "the hunt has been associated with heroic masculinity from very early in the literary tradition of the West".[117] Many seafarers continued this literary tradition in their travel narratives by asserting their heroic masculinity in real life. John Janes perfectly demonstrates this through his eagerness to hunt polar bears, the largest carnivorous land mammals reaching on average eight feet long and up to 1,700 pounds, with guns and spears.

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[114] *Ibid.*
[115] *Ibid*, pp. 389-90.
[116] Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt,* p. 1.
[117] *Ibid.*

Aside from attaining a good story and, in colloquial terms, bragging rights among his social circle, the bears provided an opportunity for education. Firstly, the men made use of the bears' flesh. Although most of the corpse was fat and thrown away, some of it was utilised as provisions. Then, the bodies were thoroughly investigated. Janes described "we found nothing in their mawes; but we judged by their dung that they fed upon grasse, because it appeared in all respects like the dung of an horse, wherein we might very plainly see the very strawes".[118] A similar instance is seen with the crocodile discussed in chapter two which was dissected on the dinner table of Edward Fenton in Richard Madox's diary.[119] The educational aspect to seafarer hunting is extremely important as it provided another justification for violence. Dead animals were a safe opportunity for individuals to explore and investigate the foreign wilderness. As identified in the historiography of sea travel in the late seventeenth century, ships became a central vessel of knowledge growth and scientific advancements. Bringing back natural specimens and first-hand witness accounts of various peoples, places, and nature, they were essential to the development of natural history and philosophical thought. Philippa Hellawell's chapter on 'Systematizing the Sea' highlighted the importance of the ship by looking at the Royal Society who hoped that "there will scarce be a Ship come up the Thames, that does not make some return of Experiments as well as Merchandize".[120] While the reality may have been slightly different, the link between ships and knowledge became a common one. The frontispiece of Francis Bacon's *Instauratio Magna,* for example, featured a galleon sailing through the Pillars of Hercules.[121] The purpose of hunting was more than displaying social status. Animal bodies also contributed to the advancement of scientific knowledge which justified the violence involved in their acquisition. Moreover, the

[118] Janes, "The first voyage of M John Davis", p. 389.
[119] Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 171-2.
[120] Philippa Hellawell, "Systematizing the Sea: Knowledge, Power and Maritime Sovereignty in Late Seventeenth-century Science" in Blakemore and Davey, (eds) *The Maritime World of Early Modern Britain,* pp. 257-282.
[121] *Ibid*. See also, Francis Bacon, *Instauration Magna*, (London, 1620).

categorisation of the animal kingdom further encouraged the need and benefit of seafarer-animal violence in the Atlantic.

The established cultural belief in human dominion played a significant role in developing and justifying a culture of animal violence among English seafarers in the Atlantic. For the seafarers, who confronted the physical wilderness, assertions of dominion were a method of demonstrating human identity and facilitating survival. Narratives of fearlessness towards the animal kingdom, or prowess in hunting demonstrated individual character as well as successful voyage activity. Through violently interacting with the animal kingdom, voyagers not only showcased the benefits of or information about certain species but their narratives also aided a discourse of English success and control over both the terrestrial and maritime Atlantic during the start of intense European competition. Historians such as Irving-Stonebraker have noted the role of human dominion during the rise of Atlantic travel. Irving suggested that, for some contemporary philosophers, dominance over nature was one and the same with the expansion of a territorial empire.[122] In addition, Hellawell rightly discussed the complex connection between knowledge and travel, arguing that the link "went beyond the will to know and discover" but "imply[ed] the will to conquer too".[123] She argued, "the connections between science and empire were rooted in shared notions of power, for both were projects with an aspiration to human dominion".[124] Although discussing the late seventeenth century, the examples discussed so far demonstrate a strong desire of seafarers to dominate the nature they encountered. In addition, acts of violence were often necessary in order to establish knowledge of these unexplored animal bodies. The new concept of an English imperial Atlantic thus went hand in hand with the developing conceptions of nature during this period. As a result, the various justifications of animal violence contributed to the

[122] Sarah Iriving, *Natural Science and the Origins of the British Empire* (London, 2014).
[123] Hellawell, "Systematizing the Sea", p. 257.
[124] *Ibid,* p. 258.

promotion of ‘natural’ superiority, commercial exploitation and bloodshed which came to define much of European activity in the Atlantic during the latter half of the early modern period.

*Conclusion*

Encounter with the vast variety of animals in the Atlantic amplified the existing tensions between mankind and the animal kingdom. Anthropocentric thought had long dictated how English people interacted with different species. English traditions, social dynamics, and growing legislation all contributed to a prominent yet defined culture of animal violence, made up of blood sport and animal management. These traditions heavily influenced how seafarers perceived new animals, as creatures for use and entertainment. However, the influence of transoceanic travel significantly impacted how animal violence manifested within voyaging society. Unlike in England, long distance crews were not bound by restrictions of tradition. Hunting was not exclusive and animal violence was freely engaged in. Instead, seafarers were limited by circumstance, such as resource availability. They also faced new challenges in the form of different species and environments. Consequently, traditional standards of blood sport were adapted through necessity and individuals operated more freely and creatively. This created a unique culture of violence which was rooted in English practices. Additionally, the nature of exploration in unfamiliar lands amplified both the opportunity and threat of the natural world to all seafarers. While the animal kingdom was prized for the commodities it offered, wild animals were unpredictable, dangerous and representative of the spiritual wilderness. For individuals, conquering threatening species became representative of success and masculinity. Henceforth, violence became increasingly valued as an aspect of male bonding and personal expression, deepening the divide between humanity and animality. Conquering became a symbol of success,

although how this was practiced and presented could differ. New animals were described as the opposition of man, either as mindless beasts to be properly regulated or as dangerous enemies in heroic stories. Due to the importance of animal violence in seafarer society, it became a significant feature in published voyage narratives. Unlike with meat, where many seafarers sought to anglicise new tastes, hunting accounts began to move away from English traditions in favour of narratives of human dominion. The concept of human dominion over the natural world then allowed for authors to construct these instances as definable qualities of the English nation. For instance, some would compare their personal fearlessness towards nature against more cautious foreign individuals. Others would use hunting to detail the valuable attributes of their leaders or illustrate the potential educational outcomes dead animals provided, thus demonstrating the benefit of these activities to the future English commonwealth. Scientific inquiry was much safer and easier with dead bodies thus providing reason behind many violence activities. Furthermore, taxidermized animal trophies were valued by wealthy English homes for the contemplations of their guests. Published evidence of human dominion, coupled with novelty status commodities for the wealthy and scientific specimens and accounts, contributed to an emerging narrative of national prowess and success and seafaring authors attempted to justify their actions as beneficial to England and the country's future. Consequently, the increased depiction of animals as creatures to be conquered created a discourse of both human and eventually national dominion over the foreign Atlantic world.

# IV

## *'The better to allure our hungry stomackes'*

## Animal Culture, Cultural Representations and Belonging

Many English voyage accounts documented the ways other cultures interacted with animals, both dead and alive. The consumption of meat was an area of commonality between many cultures. Gifting and communal feasting became an arena to communicate with and judge foreign peoples. Additionally, sourcing meat was often a reason that encouraged voyagers to interact with various local societies as some crews became reliant on the meat they were able to provide. Hunting was another significant activity that encouraged contact with different cultures. Captains and literate seafarers were keen to document how other societies killed animals, to learn the methods themselves and to bring more information on how to dominate the natural world back to England.[1] How different peoples interacted with the animal kingdom significantly influenced how English seafarers interpreted and depicted new landscapes and human societies. As seen in Chapters Two and Three, animal bodies were socially and culturally intertwined with English society. They were a key part of peoples' health, recreation, understandings of social relations and authority, and, most importantly, civility. The expansive literature on cultural encounter has regularly demonstrated that the narratives colonisers and explorers constructed about foreign peoples were also attempts by individuals to understand their own culture, humanity and civility.[2] Additionally, many accounts were shaped by the aspirations of the expedition, whether that

[1] Richard Hawkins in particular has interesting descriptions on how Floridians killed whales. See, Hawkins, *Observations*, p. 75.
[2] This is a vast literature. The following are only a few key examples. See, Mancall, "The Raw and the Cold", pp. 3-40; Elloitt, *The Old World and the* New; Irving-Stonebraker; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empire, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, 2011).

be commercial, colonial, or a combination.[3] The large amount of literature on Atlantic cultural encounters has meant that this chapter shall only scratch the surface of the complexities and nuance involved. However, focusing on how English voyages used animals as narrative devices to comment upon foreign cultures and landscapes shall demonstrate that human-animal interactions figured prominently in the discursive construction of an English Atlantic.[4]

In order to gain a broad view of how animal culture impacted encounter in the Atlantic, this chapter shall firstly consider sources from two contrasting locations: Senegambia in Africa and Greenland and the isles of northern Canada. Both Jobson's *Discovery of the River Gambra* and the various accounts written by Martin Frobisher's crew were attempts by voyagers to make sense of the events, landscapes and peoples experienced. Moreover, these contrasting accounts show how representations of foreign societies could play different roles in the designs of promoters of overseas ventures. For Jobson, his expedition was focused on establishing beneficial trade relations in order to tap the wealth available in the interior of the Senegambia region. His account was critical to promoting the opportunities of the area in order to convince investors English activity could be sustained and worthwhile. The Frobisher voyages had multiple aims, mainly the discovery of the Northwest Passage and to locate profitable resources. As the role of the Inuit was unclear in these designs, they were often represented in an ambivalent. Not only were the English concerned with detailing practicalities, such as locating food, but they also considered how the landscape would shape their civility.[5] Analysis of both case studies will explore how

[3] Thornton, *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World, 1250-1820*; Andrew Hadfield, "Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World: Reading, Experience, and Translation", *Connotations*, 5.1 (1995), 1-22; Young, "Richard Hakluyt's Voyages: Early Modern Print Culture and the Global Reach of Englishness", *pp.* 1057-80.
[4] Davis; Mitsi, E. "Nowhere is a Place: Travel Writing in Sixteenth Century England", *Literature Compass 2*, 135 (2005), 1-13; White, "Discovering Nature".
[5] Joyce E. Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier 1500-1676* (Cambridge, 2001).

descriptions of animal culture were used to praise or critique foreign peoples depending on the context of the interaction and the goals of the written account. The chapter shall highlight commonalities between how English travel authors perceived and documented foreign societies and animals according to English cultural conditioning, thus indicating how narratives constructed a place for Englishness across the varying environments of the Atlantic. Additionally, it shall demonstrate the importance of animal culture in how English individuals explored similarities and differences between themselves and others.

The chapter shall then go on to investigate how seafarer accounts used the symbolic significance of animals to support the growing discourse of English prosperity within the Atlantic, compared to other European nations. Walter Ralegh's *Discoveries of Guiana* will be investigated as the main case study as he used animal descriptions in two interesting ways: to construct Guyana as an exotic landscape suitable for habitation and to discredit Spanish activity to demonstrate the potential for English involvement in the area. As a result, the key accounts considered will demonstrate that, for the English, being able to navigate, control and live alongside foreign nature was a significant indicator of civility, opportunity, and belonging within the wider Atlantic world. In addition to animal culture being used to judge and depict foreign peoples, it was also used by the English to construct an image of future imperial opportunity, thus showcasing the importance of nationhood to both individual experiences of the Atlantic and to how foreign places were documented.

*Senegambia*

English interests in the Senegambia region were largely concerned with trading for resources such as gold. Islamic dominance of the southern Mediterranean had cut off one possible land route to West Africa and so European merchants had to rely more heavily on sea travel. As discussed by Toby Green, the new routes from the Atlantic were not a revolutionary change for African traders "but rather offered the expansion of an existing

pattern".[6] Many African kingdoms from Senegambia down to the Gold Coast were already operating profitable trading operations, using the waterways for large-scale movement of goods and as paths of communication.[7] This meant that they were able to conduct trade with European nations on their own terms. As concluded by John Thornton, "Europe offered nothing to Africa that Africa did not already produce".[8] Trade with Europe was thus "largely moved by prestige, fancy, changing tastes, and a desire for variety".[9] Consequently, European merchants had to navigate complex negotiations in order to reach an exchange of commodities.[10] Meetings could be tense performances of social posturing and offerings of respect in order to establish mutually beneficial relationships. One of the common offerings made between cultures was meat. As LaCombe described when discussing English culture, meat was a vital part of social life, holding meaning for both the giver and receiver.[11] It is therefore unsurprising that animals and their bodies became a significant piece in these games of communication, particularly for the English who valued meat so highly. One interesting and under-explored source that regularly documented the animal culture of African kingdoms is *The Discovery of the River Gambra* (1623) written by Richard Jobson.

Funded by the Company of Adventurers of London trading to Gynney and Binney, Jobson's voyage was the third sent after a series of difficulties. One of the ships from the first voyage, the *Catherine*, was seized near Cassan where a number of Afro-Portuguese seemingly overwhelmed the crew. Having heard of the attack, the company sent a relief ship whose crew faced considerable sickness due to the unseasonable time, according to Jobson.[12] Captain Thompson, of the first expedition, had been sending letters, detailing what he learnt

[6] Green, *A Fistful of Shells*, p. 123.
[7] *Ibid*, pp. 134-5.
[8] John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge, 1998) pp. 44-5.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid*, p. 55.
[11] LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy*.
[12] Gamble and Hair, "Introduction" in *The Discovery of River Gambra by Richard Jobson 1623*, p. 21.

of the interior and the Tinda merchant he sought out. The voyage which Jobson was a part of had already been sent before learning of Thompson's death which occurred in March 1620. This third expedition arrived at the mouth of the river in mid-November 1620. There, the ships sailed to "Kasang" before the crew had to separate into smaller boats to travel a further 200 miles upriver. Crossing many regions, Jobson and the crew encountered a variety of different local polities including three 'great kings'.[13] The most powerful regional group encountered were the Mandinka, frequently named the 'Mandingo' by European sources. Historians tracking the language of Mandinka locate the main groups as situated in the interior. As a 'ruling group', their influence reached down the Gambia to the mouth of the river. They followed the Islamic faith although it appears this was not strongly enforced, as evidenced by the drinking Jobson engaged in with various Mandinka-speaking people. Jobson also encountered marabouts, or 'Marybuckes', who were Islamic activists operating within communities. Marabouts were a distinct segment of the Mandinka-speaking people, known as Jaxanke (people from Jaxa). Their society was supported by a class of enslaved people who farmed and performed craft work.[14] The final people considered in this chapter who Jobson encountered were the Fulbie who formed settlements near the Mandinka villages. In the words of Gamble and Hair, they had developed a "semi-symbiotic relationship" with the Mandinka.[15] They would often trade with each other and sometimes join in with ceremonies. The Fulbie received protection, although this sometimes came at the price of having their goods or cattle seized. The Fulbie accepted Islam however were predominantly concerned with the internal affairs of their own community, rather than involving themselves in the wider regional politics which the Mandinka dominated.[16] Understanding the

[13] *Ibid*, p. 55
[14] *Ibid*, p 62-5
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid*, p. 66.

relationship between the Mandinka and the Fulbie is significant to interpreting how Jobson perceived each culture.

Within Jobson's account of the River Gambia, meat consumption was a key tool used to assess and depict many of the African kingdoms he encountered. As discussed in Chapter Two, the English often related meat to civility and social standing. Food more broadly was extremely symbolic and could convey multiple societal meanings, "relating to host and guest, giver and recipient, cook and diner, producer and consumer".[17] Furthermore, the significance of meat to seafarers likely only emphasised its importance as a symbolic substance when encountering foreign peoples. Jobson's regular descriptions of African meat consumption highlights two things. Firstly, the importance of meat as a bridge of communication between cultures. As will be discussed, meat was symbolically used by both Jobson and the prominent Jaxanke merchant Buckor Sano to pay each other respect and identify themselves as capable leaders. In Jobson's account, meat intertwined with social performance as each culture assessed the feasibility of establishing a beneficial trade relationship. Additionally, Jobson's account shows the role of meat, dining etiquette, and animal culture more broadly in determining how African cultures were understood and depicted by English seafarers. Judgments of civility, commercial potential and national strength were all supported with accounts of animal interaction or meat consumption. Ultimately, these two perspectives highlight that, for Jobson, displays of human dominion over the natural world were intrinsically linked with social and commercial power. However, human dominion was not always easily communicated, or carried out in the 'correct' way. As the following examples will show, praise or critique of animal culture often depended on the success or failures of Jobson' interactions with different groups.

[17] LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy,* p. 8.

In late October 1620, Jobson travelled as part of a two-ship crew to the mouth of the Gambia river. During a previous expedition, only a year before, Captain George Thompson had learned of a prominent Jaxanke merchant - Buckor Sano- who lived up-river in the Tinda region.[18] He had made an expedition to meet this merchant but either on the way back, or not long after returning, he was killed.[19] Jobson learned of this meeting from some of Thompson's surviving crew and decided to continue the expedition in search of Sano. Upon arriving in Tinda, Jobson sent three of his assistants, native to the lower course of the river, to locate Sano and invite him to meet. Jobson himself did not speak any of the local languages but a few of his assistants spoke Mandinka, a common language near the mouth of the river. They were sent with victuals for travel and unspecified gifts for both Sano and the local king, who was likely the ruler of Jalakoto.[20] Expecting the group to return on Sunday, there was no sight and by Tuesday "our men began to grumble".[21] The crew assumed the men had died or been killed "and likewise that we had no flesh left, and our other provisions were very scanty".[22] Possibly the murder of Thompson by one of his own company had contributed to the anxieties felt by Jobson's crew.[23] Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Two, meat was also used as a reason to change course as the crew called to return back down river. However, by Wednesday, Jobson "went out with two more, and killed a great and goodly beast" and upon stringing up the animal to "coole", the three men returned. They were accompanied by Sano's brother, who was also a servant to the King. He brought word that Sano would be arriving the next day. That evening, Jobson "had them aboord my boate, and made them

[18] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra,* p. 22-4.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid*.
[21] *Ibid*, p. 137.
[22] *Ibid*.
[23] *Ibid*, p. 23. Thompson was murdered by one of his own company after a quarrel, either on his way back from the Tinda region or not long after their arrival back at their base.

curteous entertainment, giving them some small commodities and when the evening came, we feasted with our venison".[24]

Felicity Heal and Diane Purkiss both show that the feast, as a feature of hospitality, should never be understated.[25] Food was the "most basic form of offering" as it provided a relief of need.[26] The gifting of food could then be followed by dining, offering a bridge of communication between the provider and recipient. In practically every culture the physical act of dining is encompassed by laws and customs.[27] Participants are on show. Jobson needed to create a good impression to help build and solidify a beneficial relationship with both Buckor Sano and the local king. Given the English love of meat, it is no surprise that the venison was featured as the key part of this meal. While not much information is offered with regards to how the ruler's servant acted during the meal, Jobson's account demonstrates that meat was an important aspect in how he depicted himself to an English audience. While the venison likely came from a local species of antelope, rather than the typical deer found in England, to English readers the term "venison" depicted power and importance. As Heal argues, "venison was perceived as the most determined and most gift-ascribed of all items of consumption" in England.[28] Jobson's version of events were thus purposefully drawing on images of wealth and skill through his choice of the word "venison". During this time the crew had very limited victuals and most importantly no flesh. Yet, in Jobson's narrative, his insightful leadership and hunting skills meant the company stayed long enough for this important encounter and were able to provide a specific, valued form of meat as a hospitable feast. In addition, he inverts the usual custom of a traveller being feasted by the host. Instead,

[24] *Ibid*, pp. 137-8.
[25] Heal, "Food gifts, the household and the politics of exchange"; Purkiss, "The masque of food".
[26] Heal, "Food gifts".
[27] Purkiss, "The Masque of Food".
[28] Heal, "Food Gifts".

by acting as the host and hunting successfully, Jobson presented himself as the initiator of relations and as comfortable, even successful, within the foreign landscape.

The symbolic performance of meat and feasting only grew more important between the two cultures when Sano arrived. Jobson needed to earn the respect of the reputable merchant and Sano had to live up to his reputation in order to demand considerable value for his commodities. For this reason, Sano arrived with a procession of men and music and demanded proper greeting before proceeding onto Jobson's boat.

> [Sano] sat downe upon the banke under a shady tree; after a little stay I went ashore to him, and our salutations being past, I desired him to go aboord, whereof he kindly accepted; and withall shewed me a beefe he had brought to give me for the present I had sent him.[29]

First, Sano asserted his status by forcing Jobson to come ashore to him, seemingly requiring an invitation before boarding. Then, Sano further displayed dominance by presenting a gift of beef, thus also demonstrating himself to be a provider. For both these cultures, meat was the chosen symbolic gift, picked above other potentially more valuable commodities. However it is important to consider the difference between how Jobson termed the different meats. Unlike the venison, the word beef implies the meat came from a cattle herd, thus not requiring a hunt. Rather than connoting skill, beef was more representative of domestication and agriculture which could also be symbolic of power and wealth when coupled with Sano's position and status. As Karen Kupperman argued, the customs and symbolisms of food and feasting among Indigenous Americans were equally important and influential during these

[29] Gamble and Hair, *The Discvoery of the River Gambra*, pp. 138-9.

moments of interaction.[30] The same can be said during European-African encounters. The power held by African merchants meant that, politically, Sano had the upper-hand in this meeting. It was Jobson who needed to impress him. Yet, Jobson depicted himself as an equal in his account. While both the venison and beef denoted importance and civility to readers, Jobson likely purposefully inferred himself to be a more skilful individual. However, this was not at the expense of Sano as Jobson also needed to convince his readers that he made beneficial relationships with 'civilised' local communities with whom were worth trading.

For both cultures, meat was associated with power, dominion and skill, making it a key part of the relationship establishing process. It was also used as a sign of respect, offering each other a high-status necessity. Finally, it provided the opportunity for feasts, where individuals could further explore the potential for a fruitful trading relationship.

> Each night after wee had supt aboard our boate, where Buckor Sano did eate with me … I did divers times send both fish and fowle unto his wives so did I likewise unto the King while hee remained by us.[31]

Through the amount of gifts presented and feasts attended it is clear that animal flesh was not only symbolically important in the written account but was also significant to the establishment of these networks. Work by LaCombe on colonial relations with Indigenous Americans determined that gifting food was extremely significant as, first and foremost, it signalled efforts to establish friendship and peace.[32] Clearly, this conclusion is not only applicable to encounters in America as Jobson continually offered respect to Sano and the people surrounding him with gifts of various flesh substances. Continual offerings of meat

[30] Karen Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Cornell, 2000).
[31] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra*, p. 145.
[32] LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy*, p. 79.

and fish further highlights to Jobson's readers the importance of these communities and the seemingly similar values they held when it came to offerings and feasting. As the purpose of Jobson's voyage was to convince investors of the wealth and opportunity held in the Senegambia region, highlighting cultural similarities with the local merchants and kingdoms he encountered supported the notion of potential English success and opportunity achieved through these relationships. [33]

The actions of both Jobson and Sano reflect what Jared Staller has termed "conspicuous consumption".[34] Staller summarised conspicuous consumption as "any consumptive activity done with the intent that others take notice".[35] He suggested that the beginning of the early modern period was a time of increasing commodification. People thus felt a greater need to exhibit their consumption habits publicly for others to remark upon. This need to display habits of consumption may be behind Jobson purposefully detailing the meat gifted and feasted on between himself and Sano. Yet Staller suggests that during the early seventeenth century performative consumption developed a culture of judgement, causing English travellers to construct depictions of African peoples as uncivilised by comparing both English and African dietary habits.[36] In some instances this was partially true. In Jobson's discussion of the "Maudingo" (Mandinka) he documented that they ate one meal a day and "seldome eate either flesh or fish, the rather because they cannot get it, then out of any will to refuse it".[37] Jobson considered the men 'idle' for the majority of the time, suggesting "they live wandering up and downe… having little understanding, either to hunt in the woods, or fish in the waters".[38] As the Mandinka relied on an enslaved peoples, they had

[33] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra*, pp. 14-5.
[34] Jared Staller, "Conspicuous Consumptions in Atlantic Africa" in Rachel Herrmann, (ed) *To Feast on Us as Their Prey*: *Cannibalism and the Early Modern Atlantic* (Arkansas, 2019), pp. 175-94.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid*.
[37] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra*, p. 105.
[38] *Ibid*, p. 104.

little need to hunt or fish outside of the months they spent tilling for corn and grain. However, Jobson diminished the civility and status of the Mandinka by referring to them as unskilled and idle. Although Jobson detailed the Mandinka as suitable trading partners, it is possible he critiqued their lifestyle in order to maintain a sense of cultural superiority in his account. However, contradictory interpretations of diet could form depending on what is valued. While Jobson came from England, a culture which philosophically valued agriculture and societal development, he still depicted a negative perspective of the Mandinka for not using more archaic forms of hunting.

As Steve Shapin discussed, consumption decisions expressed the civilised state and could be used to establish personal and collective identity.[39] For instance, in modern society eating local produce has become a political statement in our globalised world which faces multiple environmental concerns. Unlike Staller, who focused predominantly on the negative judgement cast over other cultures, Shapin's broader assessment rightly captures the relationship between self-identity or national identity with food. Jobson's interaction with Sano showcases that judgements during this early period of encounter were not always negative, particularly when English merchants were reliant on African traders for valuable commodities. Given the Mandinka would only sell small pieces of iron or beads which, Jobson wrote, "we can want none of that provision", it appears Jobson cast judgement depending on how useful or helpful different societies were and used animal culture to illustrate his opinion.

Representation of usefulness to English expansionist goals were also illustrated through descriptions of civility and how foreign cultures interacted with living animals. For instance, Jobson depicted a highly unfavourable image of the Fulbie's way of life because of

[39] Steven Shapin, "You are what you eat: historical changes in ideas about food and identity", *Historical Research*, 87 (2014), pp. 377-92.

their closeness to their livestock. Although Sano was previously praised for offering domesticated meat, raising cattle was considered less reputable. The Fulbie, he described, lived a nomadic lifestyle, driving herds of cattle and sometimes goats.[40] Although the Fulbie traded their cattle with Jobson and his crew, he summarised them to be "bestiall" people.

> When we have come up in the morning… to make a bargaine for a beefe, or beeves… hee would come unto us, from forth the middle of the heard, and those parts of him which were bare, as his face and hands, but especially his face, would stand so thicke of flyes, as they used to sit in the hot Summer time upon our horses… which the Fulbie would let alone, not offering to put his hand, to drive them away, therein seeming more sensless, than our Country beasts.[41]

Jobson noted that the Fulbie were under the '"subjection"' of the Mandinka who would take the greatest share of their cattle meat and any commodities traded for. To label the Fulbie as "bestiall" was to highlight their lack of humanity. This speaks to Erica Fudge's work on animality during the Renaissance which showcased that "human status [was] not a given, constant thing", rather it "entails certain conditions to be met and that, by extension can be lost if those conditions are not met".[42] Similarly, Curth's work on veterinary medicine argued how animals were often defined as "the antithesis of humans" because they were divinely intended for servitude.[43] However, Jobson countered his assessments of Fulbie civility by suggesting that they were forced into that lifestyle by the ruling class, the Mandinka. Counteracting his judgement of the men, Jobson noted the cleanliness of the Fulbie women when providing them with food.

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[40] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra*, pp. 100-1.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] Fudge, *Renaissance Beasts*, p. 81.
[43] Curth, *The Care of Brute Beasts*, p. 14.

> … what soever you received from them, you should have it so neate and cleane that in your milke you should not perceive a mote… if at any time, by any mischance there had beene a mote, or haire, which you had shewed unto her, she would have seemed to blush, in defence of her cleanely meaning.[44]

Rather than assessing the Fulbie as profitable and valuable contacts in the region, Jobson presented them as useful aids to the voyage as they provided the crew with meat and clean meals. Depicted to have a more humble role within the narrative, their perceived beast-like nature was blamed on the conditions they were apparently kept in, even though the Fulbie were not enslaved under the Mandinka's rule. Consequently, just like meat, animal culture was intertwined with how Jobson represented the Fulbie. Mary Fuller's work on English interactions with the Inuit argued that England were keen to display traits of mercy and consideration in their voyage narratives to promote an enduring quality to English civility.[45] It is probable the Fulbie were redeemed due to their role in helping Jobson and his crew. Similarly, Jobson emphasised the importance of mercy through questioning the morality in how he perceived the Mandinka treated the Fulbie. Meat consumption and animal culture thus did not dictate the civility of a society rather descriptions were used to further enforce the judgements Jobson made from a variety of different social, political, and economic factors.

Just as animal culture was used to reinforce negative perceptions, Jobson emphasised skilful forms of hunting to promote positive representations of other foreign societies. In the Tinda region, after meeting with Sano, Jobson met a "Marybucke" from the Niani kingdom

[44] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra,* p. 103.
[45] Mary C. Fuller, "Ravenous Strangers: The Argument of Nationalism in Two Narratives from Hakluyt's Principal Navigations", *Studies in Travel Writing*, 6.1 (2002), pp. 1-28.

who was acquainted with George Thompson, the previous English voyage captain.[46] This man took Jobson to meet "Ferambra", identified as a commander, for he was a good ally of Thompson and the area where he lived was said to have 'great store of gold'.[47] Ferambra was likely a regional representative to the *mansa*, the king of Wuli. The Wuli occupied the middle region of the river and were made up of a confederation of great families.[48] On Christmas day Ferambra had sent presents of gourds, wine and raw flesh. He also sent word that he had killed an elephant and had sent "some part thereof".[49] The next day Jobson went to Ferambra's house where he was offered elephant flesh to eat.[50] Impressed by his ability to provide meat from such a large wild animal, Jobson inquired about the hunting methods.

> I desired to know how he killed them; And he showed me one of his blacke people, and sayd, There was none but hee alone durst does it; and taking downe a Javelin… it was laid with poyson all over… when he saw the Elephants feeding in the high sedge, he would steale in amongst them, & by creeping, still keeping himselfe behind them, he would recover so neare, as to strike his Javeline into the body of the beast, and leaving it there… the warme bloud dissolving the pyson uppon the Javelin, it presently spreads it self, to the cruell torture of the beast, the extremitie whereof killes him; the people in the meane time… set round about to watch him, and so soone as he is downe, come to him, presently cutting away so much of the flesh as is inflamed with the poyson, which they throw away, reserving the rest for their owne sustenance.[51]

[46] *Ibid*, pp. 147-8.
[47] *Ibid*, p. 174.
[48] *Ibid*, p. 60.
[49] *Ibid*.
[50] *Ibid*.
[51] *Ibid*.

Jobson then went on to describe how Ferambra had many elephant tails hanging in his house, indicating each of his people's kills. It is evident that Ferambra and his people made a more favourable impression on Jobson compared to the Fulbie and Mandinka because their skill in hunting was reminiscent of the culture surrounding English hunting, and to an extent aspects of voyage hunting. Dominating the most impressive beasts in the landscape, their leader kept trophies, just as English aristocrats did and sailors collected stories. Jobson then went onto compare and berate the "blacke people" travelling with him, who continually displayed fear towards the animal kingdom.

> Except in this place, I never heard but the people were wondrous fearefull of [elephants]… my Blacks would alwayes tremble, and runne away… they were as fearfull as a forrest Stagge.[52]

Similarly to the Fulbies, Jobson compared his travellers and aides to non-human creatures, suggesting an animalistic nature. Potentially, Jobson did this to conceal his ultimate dependence on them for guidance and communication. Rather than displaying the strength and skill of a hunter, they were reduced to the status of prey, embedded with fear. As discussed in the previous chapters, fearlessness towards the animal kingdom was a common theme in how Jobson depicted himself and his English crew. Consequently, he judged other cultures against his personal standard. Similarly to Shapin's conclusions regarding consumption, Jobson's account showcases how identity was also linked to the human ability to dominate the natural world. While Veracini and Teixeira have argued for the importance of nature as a background to illustrate opinion and aspiration in European travel accounts,

[52] *Ibid*, pp. 174-5.

Jobson's publication shows that nature was also used in the foreground.[53] Due to the significance of human dominion in English culture, society, and religion, fearlessness was a vital display for seafarers to possess - particularly those in leadership roles who later documented their travels. Evaluating animal culture provided the most obvious evidence for human dominion. The Biblical subjection of non-human creatures meant that a culture's ability to control, kill, and use animal species could be correlated with societal advancement and civility.

Consistently throughout the account, Jobson made reference to his and his men's right to the nature they encountered. When by the river, at "Mendegar", not far from where the crew met Sano, Jobson took note of the local agricultural processes whereby all the kings and "principall persons" were seemingly required to till the earth and sow corn.[54] Jobson then contextualised this with a scriptural quote from God to Adam, reminding the reader of the Fall of Man and God's will for human dominion.

> Now God hath lent and given unto us, the beasts of the field, (which likewise they enjoy) but he hath [endowed] us with an understanding and knowledge, to make the beasts, and cattell, to serve and obey our wills in plowing and opening the earth, thereby easing, and as it were taking the sweat of our browes, which knowledge hee hath denied unto them.[55]

As discussed in Chapter One, natural order and divinely ordained human dominion were significant features of early modern philosophy, theology and science.[56] Work on America

[53] Cecilia Veracini and Dante Martins Teixeira, "Perception and description of New World non-human primates in the travel literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: a critical review", *Animal Studies*, 74.1 (2017), pp. 25-63.
[54] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra*, p. 163.
[55] *Ibid*.
[56] Irving-Stonebraker, "From Eden to savagery and civilisation".

has shown that many English accounts propagated the idea that the 'New World' needed saving from the spiritual wilderness.[57] However, John Thornton's work on Atlantic culture has discussed how Europeans knew little of the life and politics of the coastal regions and often trade relationships were fleeting.[58] During this period the "Europeans did not seek to influence African culture" or recreate aspects of European culture as they found the environment hostile and uninviting.[59] Yet, Jobson's account shows that comparisons between the two cultures and their piety were still made for English audiences. As the subjugation of the animal kingdom was an important indicator of God's favour and was easily visible, assessments of animal culture were a useful representational strategy utilised by some English seafarers.

The evidence considered suggests that the English tendency to assertively make claims over local natural resources was not just a representational tactic made to a domestic audience, but also affected relations with African people. The English claim to possess a right to ownerless animals resulted in miscommunications between Jobson and the people of Cassan. Early on in his journey, Jobson documented the many types of sustenance offered by the river, which included "a variety of good fish among which great store of mullets".[60] But, the inherent right Jobson and the crew believed they had over wild fish caused issues.

> When the people at any time saw us bring our net on the shore, and provide to fish, as the net came neare the shore, they would rudely in and many times with their uncivilnes, indanger the breaking, and spoyling of our net, with their greedinesse to lay hold on the fish, that wee were inforeced to speake to the King.[61]

[57] Fudge, *Brutal reasoning*, p. 54.
[58] Thornton, *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World*, pp. 249-50.
[59] *Ibid*.
[60] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra*, p. 93.
[61] *Ibid*.

It appears Jobson's frustration was caused from misunderstanding both the local fishing methods and concept of fish ownership. Within a couple of pages Jobson described their method of fishing which involved scooping and trapping with baskets. Then, "if at any time we be neare those places, they will loveingly impart them to us".[62] The concept of ownership over the natural world has long been recognised as influencing how the English interacted with foreign societies in areas where natural resources were of interest. The most famous example being interactions with Indigenous Americans over the concept of land ownership. Yet, this example illustrates that wild animal ownership also impacted relations within the wider Atlantic. Having grown frustrated with the interpreted 'rudeness' of the local people, Jobson sought out their king. Upon speaking, it was agreed that when Jobson and his crew had taken enough fish for their present use and set aside a reservation of fish for the king, the rest should be given to the people of Cassan. Work by Toby Green on the Gold Coast has discussed how local kings had three key advantages that outsiders struggled to overcome: disease, environment and control of the landscape, including water supply and trade routes.[63] Although outside of the Gold Coast area, this encounter displays a similar dynamic, one where the King of Cassan appeared to hold control over the river and its contents. Yet the King's control came in direct opposition to Jobson's typical English understanding of fish and ownership. As discussed in Chapter One, river fish were unbound, able to travel freely through people's land. As dictated by Christian theology, they were one of the animals gifted to man. Yet, in England some fishing rights, such as in the Thames, were legally granted to designated companies. However, royal charters suggest that these rights were regularly dismissed throughout the seventeenth century.[64] To Jobson and his crew, they describe

[62] *Ibid*, p. 95.
[63] Green, *A Fistfull of Shells*, p. 134.
[64] The Company of Free-Fishermen of the River of Thames, *The case of the masters, wardens, assistants, and commonalty of the art or mystery of Fishermen of the River of Thames* (London, 1693).

themselves to be invoking their divine right to perceived ownerless animals. It is therefore possible that Jobson was implicitly making statements about the sovereign rights of the local ruler, by assuming his control did not extend beyond the people and land or that his authority did not need to be respected. Animal ownership and other cultural clashes could thus also significantly impact how the English interacted and represented foreign peoples.

Animal culture was a key tool used by Richard Jobson to reflect upon the African kingdoms in the Senegambia area. Treatment of the animal kingdom was heavily related to interpretations of civility, power and religion. Consequently, displays of human dominion, from both the English and African peoples, resulted in animal bodies being used as performance pieces in the exploration and establishment of potentially beneficial relationships. During the meeting of Jobson and Buckor Sano, similarities in the cultural significance of meat aided the formation of their relationship. Moreover, Jobson's focus on meat during their interaction highlights the significance of the substance as a narrative device, commenting on the hospitality, power and identity of himself and interpretation of Sano. The Mandinka received the greatest criticism, likely because they did not aid Jobson and his crew. Critiques were primarily focused on the lack of goods the Mandinka had to offer, their apparent "idle" culture, and perceived treatment of the Fulbie people. In order to illustrate his poor opinion, Jobson commented on their animal culture, or rather lack of as they did not hunt or fish. Contrastingly, Jobson's assessment of the Fulbie showcases how assessments of animal culture interlinked with societal dynamics. Although the Fulbie had an uncivilised nature due to their relationship with their cattle, this was blamed on the power wielded by the Mandinka. As people, the Fulbie were depicted as welcoming and helpful demonstrated through their clean cooking. Animal culture and human dominion were not the dominant influence that dictated how Jobson interacted with and depicted non-European people. Rather, animal culture seemingly had an ambiguous position, interpreted depending on a

wider context. For Jobson, it was an effective narrative piece used in tandem with other descriptions to construct the identity of himself, his nation and the characteristics of different African peoples. Through descriptions of animal culture in his account, Jobson was able to reinforce his understanding of the cultural, commercial and religious aspects of the land and people he encountered. In addition, he used certain civil traits to depict locals as potential trading partners or to question their land rights. By promoting the superiority of the English throughout, Jobson endorsed imperialist opportunity by detailing the resources of the land, their underutilisation by ruling groups, and the relationships he established to help lay claim to them.[65]

*Greenland and Northern Canada*

During the late sixteenth century, Greenland and northern Canada's main appeals to the English were fish, ore and, most importantly, the possibility of the Northwest Passage. The cold and seemingly barren landscapes meant that trade with the local populations was less of a concern for English voyagers compared with the Senegambia region. As Charles Officers' and Jake Page's *A Fabulous Kingdom* described, "plant life is non-existent in areas of permanent ice, and the tundra and other exposed surfaces are not friendly to the kind of plants that normally sustain humans".[66] Additionally, as previously mentioned, John Davis in his W*orlds Hydrographicall Description* referred to Greenland as 'Desolation', describing the "lothsome" shore and "irksome noyse" of the ice.[67] The perceived barrenness of the Arctic regions meant that voyagers were more interested in exploring and locating possible resources rather than establishing profitable trade links with the Inuit. Instead, voyagers

[65] For a discussion on the complex depiction and English construction of Africa see, Emily Bartels, "Imeialist Beginning: Richard Hakluyt and the Construction of Africa", *Criticism: a Quarterly for Literature and the Arts*, 34.4 (1992), pp. 517-38.
[66] Charles Officer and Jake Page, *A Fabulous Kingdom: The Exploration of the Arctic,* 2nd edition (Oxford, 2012) p. 8.
[67] John Davis, "A Report of M John Davis concerning", pp. 440-1.

offered trinkets - objects of low value to Europeans - to ease tensions and build relations. Although the Arctic areas have regularly been overlooked in discussions of the English Atlantic, as Sophie Lemercier-Goddard highlights, the early voyages were "a significant stage in the formation of the first British Empire" as promotional literature used them to validate England's right to establish its own empire.[68] Although the northern travel narratives are often dismissed, the few documented exchanges with the Inuit illuminate some of the overlooked and key challenges seafarers faced during Atlantic exploration, making them important sources required to understand the early English Atlantic experience and how it shaped later activity.[69] Ultimately, voyager interactions with the Inuit were impacted by a distinct culture clash, two of the most referenced differences being dissimilarities in meat consumption and the Inuit's relationship with nature. English travel account authors emphasised these contrasts between themselves and Inuit, bringing into question Inuit trustworthiness, civility and humanity.

Similarly to Jobson's depiction of the Fulbie, multiple accounts from northern voyages suggested the Inuit seemed to have a symbiotic relationship with the natural landscape. While attempting to locate the Northwest Passage in 1612, William Baffin and his crew became reluctantly reliant on the Inuit because of their hunting prowess. In his account, John Gatonbe, the ship's quartermaster, described how the Inuit brought them meat: "one of the salvages brought two young seals, which he had kill'd at sea…we wondering how he could kill them at sea, it blowing so much wind".[70] However, unlike in the Senegambia region, the Inuk man who sold the seals was not considered helpful or accommodating. Rather, Gatonbe implied they were over-hunting, thus forcing the voyagers to be reliant on them. He wrote, "having but two days victuals; none could we get… there was little to get but

[68] Sophie Lemercier-Goddard, "Any Strange Beast There Makes a Man: Interaction and Self-Reflection in the Arctic (1576-1578)", *Revue LISA* 13.3 (2015), pp. 1-20.
[69] Ibid. See also, Mary C. Fuller, *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage* (New York, 2008) p. 15.
[70] Markham, (ed.) *The Voyages of William Baffin, 1612-1622,* The Hakluyt Society (London, 2016) p. 16.

that they brought us".[71] While the Inuit's hunting ability may have been advanced, the lack of animals suggested that they had no apparent control or system of maintenance over their meat source. Previous accounts of northern voyages, such as George Best's came to the conclusion that the northern areas around Greenland and the surrounding islands would be difficult to inhabit.[72] Although some animal and plant species grew, the climate was too harsh for English people.[73] Gatonbe's description of Inuit hunting drew on these conclusions as they were uniquely adapted to hunting in such difficult conditions, most notably on the sea during high winds. Yet, to him, the scarcity of prey would have only emphasised the need to restrict hunting activity for population management. Without doing so, Gatonbe suggested the Inuit had no control over the animal kingdom. Instead, they seemingly acted as predators, hunting and eating when they desired. As argued by Thomas, "human civilization indeed was virtually synonymous with the conquest of nature" and so through depicting the Inuit as part of nature they were stripped of human civility.[74] Consequently, their hunting ability remained mysterious and even dangerous to the English seafarers who were forced to rely on it. But Gatonbe was not the first English seafarer to encounter and document the Inuit as so. Gutierrez has showcased that Gatonbe's ethnographical information was heavily influenced by previous texts.[75] Although considered successful predators of their land, previous seafarers had questioned the civility of the Inuit in their accounts by highlighting animalistic behaviour.

Comparisons of the Inuit to animals were fairly common within English travel accounts throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Although Best was not

[71] *Ibid*, p. 18.
[72] Best, *A Trve Discovrse.*
[73] *Ibid*.
[74] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 25.
[75] Gutierrez, "Traveling Anthropology: The Depiction of Cannibalism in Modern Travel Writing, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries", pp. 393-414.

present during the first voyage, his description of the Inuit at first encounter depicted them as animalistic and strange.

> Being ashore, upon the top of a hill [Frobisher] perceived a number of small things fleeting in the sea a far off, which he supposed to be porpoises or seals, or some kind of strange fish: but coming nearer, he discovered them to be men.[76]

By identifying the Inuit as strange fish, Best immediately defined a difference between them and the English voyagers. Similarly to Gatonbe's account, the Inuit were portrayed as being blended with their surrounding environment to the extent that their humanity was questioned. In another instance during the first voyage, Frobisher invited an Inuk man onto the main ship whose presence caused issues: "and they came aborde his ship, and bought him Salmon and raw fleshe and fish, and greedily devoured the same before our mens faces".[77] As Best wrote these interactions as a second-hand account with hindsight, after his own interaction with the Inuit, his depiction of their civility should be carefully scrutinised. During the first voyage, Frobisher failed to build a positive relationship with the Inuit. Best detailed that towards the end of the first voyage some of the crew boarded an Inuit boat, never to be seen again.[78] From this point Best labelled the Inuit as "decievers" and continually characterised them as uncivilised, untrustworthy people, even though the English had also kidnapped Inuit people to bring back to England.[79] Lloyd Davis's work on identity in English travel accounts showcases that "the trope of contrasting national and domestic comforts to the unease that can accompany travel… is one of the main strategies through which these types of

[76] Best, pp. 48-9.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] *Ibid*.
[79] *Ibid*.

autobiographical texts probe the make-up and limits of identity".[80] It was through his language and comparisons, particularly of meat consumption, that Best discussed and represented the civility of the Inuit people which, as highlighted by Goddard, "underscored the ideological implications" of his discourse.[81] Starting out as "savages" the Inuit became "ravenous, bloody, and man-eating people" by the end of Best's account.[82]

How the Inuit consumed their meat was an extremely important indicator of civility used by multiple English seafarers in their accounts. Best most notably constructed images of incivility by accounting their meat consumption habits as follows:

> They do sometime parboyle their meate a little and seeth the same in kettles made of beasts skins… the women carry their sucking children at their backes and does feede them with rawe fleshe, which first they doe a little chawe in their mouths.[83]

As discussed, consumption decisions were strongly tied to the civilised state and were regularly used to construct and infer personal and collective identity.[84] Best had already brought their appearance into question by stating they were confused for seals at a distance. Now, in this description Best implied their diet to be that of a carnivorous animal, spanning from childhood to adulthood. Many historians have suggested that early modern English travellers made a strong connection between eating raw and spoiled meat with cannibalism.[85] Rachel Winchcombe proposed that this notion likely came from the travels written by John

[80] Davis, "Cultural Encounters" p. 155.
[81] Goddard, "Any Strange Beast There Makes a Man".
[82] Best, *A Trve Discovrse,* pp. 227-81.
[83] Best, *A Trve Discovrse,* book 3, p. 65.
[84] Shapin, "You are what you eat".
[85] See, LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy*; Rachel Winchcombe. *Encountering Early America*; William Strutevant and David Quinn, "This New Prey: Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1576, and 1577" in Christian Feest, (ed) *Indians & Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (London, 1999) pp. 61-140.

Mandeville, of which a copy was known to have been purchased for the Frobisher voyages.[86] However, Best was not the only seafarer to use meat to question Inuit civility. Dionysus Settle, a gentleman who documented his personal experience of the second Frobisher voyage was equally shocked by their food culture.[87]

> They eat their meate all rawe, both flesh, fish, and foule, or something parboyled with blood & a little water which they drinke, this is hard frosen, as pleasantly as we will does Sugar Candie, or other Sugar.[88]

The imagery of people drinking blood and enjoying it as much as sugar candies paints a shocking contrast to English norms. In addition, Settle continued to highlight the 'savagery' of the Inuit by documenting their dining procedures.

> They neither use table, stoole, or table cloth for sommelinesee: but when they are imbrued with blood, knuckle deepe, and thier knived in like sort, they use their tongues as apt instruments to licke them cleane: in doing whereof they are affared to loose none of their victuals.[89]

The absence of tables and chairs takes away a level of humanness that shrouds meals. Without utensils or any dining attire, what is to separate humans from the animal kingdom? As Settle depicted the Inuit licking their hands clean of blood he conjured images of dog-like people. In the eyes and narratives of both Best and Settle, the Inuit were not people, they were ravenous, flesh eating beasts. Consequently, English voyagers sought to account for this

[86] Winchcombe, *Encountering Early America*.
[87] Robert McGhee, *Arctic Voyages of Martin Frobisher: An Elizabethan Adventurer* (Montreal, 2001) p. 95.
[88] Settle, "The second voyage of M Martin Frobisher".
[89] *Ibid.*

with reference to the arctic environment. However, this raised problematic questions regarding their own suitability to exist in the region. Were English bodies simply not suited for Arctic living or did they risk degenerating into the Inuit's state of perceived barbarity by inhabiting the region? As discussed by Joyce Chaplin, when the English wrote about the 'New World' they explained bodily variation in environmental terms, using discourse on cosmography and climate. The human state, and thus civility, was understood to be intrinsically linked with a person's surroundings.[90]

For a comparative example we can see how meat and close relationships to animals impacted how Settle perceived the 'civility' of the Orkney people. On the way to the northern arctic regions, the voyage made a stop at Orkney Island to refresh their victuals. Although other voyage accounts do not provide much attention to the inhabitants, Settle commented on the local culture through their relationships to animals.

> [T]he good man, wife, children, and other of their familie, eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and their cattell on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of civilitie… they dress their meate verie filthily and eate it without salt.[91]

The Orkney people's closeness to their livestock was the most significant factor which called their civility into question. Additionally, their meat consumption was also judged.

Unlike in Best's discourse, Settle did not present the Inuit as evil, but rather untrustworthy animalistic people shaped by their circumstances.[92] As Fuller highlights, "the English concluded the Inuit cared only about eating, no matter what or how", which is

[90] Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500-1676*, p. 21.
[91] Settle, "The second voyage of M Martin Frobisher".
[92] Best called the Inuit "eaters of themselves" who "use many charms of witchcraft" and worship the devil". See, Best, *A Trve Discovrse*, pp. 281-7.

evidently the perspective of Settle.[93] Although Settle speculated that the Inuit may be cannibals, he presented them as merely estranged from a human and godly lifestyle. Recent research by Winchcombe has argued that the English believed they were forced to eat such inappropriate meat due to the barren environment in which they lived, however, as mentioned, that could suggest that the English could not and should not consider settlement in these regions.[94] Best, in the beginning of his publication, attempted to make the argument that these lands were largely habitable as Frobisher's third voyage intended to create a settlement of 100 people. Through listing the presence of multiple animal species, and the Inuit themselves, Best concluded that the land was possible to inhabit, although it would not be easy for those not already acclimatised.[95] Settle, however, detailed more of the harsh realities faced by those living in the far north. Not only did he mention that the Inuit sometimes had to eat grass out of pure hunger, but he highlighted that they also had to eat their own work animals.[96]

> [W]hen those Dogges are not apt for the same use: or when with hunger they are contreyed, for lacke of other victuals, they eate them: do that they are as needefull for them, in respect of their bignesse, as our oxen are for us.[97]

As LaCombe's discussion on hunger and plenty highlights, there was a difference between eating unfit foods out of necessity and voluntarily.[98] We see these assessments being made in other voyager accounts, for example Richard Hawkins determined that in 'Moremoreno', an undetermined location on the coast of South America, "their country is most barren, and

[93] Fuller, "Ravenous Strangers".
[94] Winchcombe, *Encountering Early America* p. 173.
[95] Best, *A Trve Discovrse*.
[96] Settle, "The second voyage of M Martin Frobisher".
[97] *Ibid*.
[98] LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy,* p. 53.

poore of food. If they take a fish alive out of the sea, or meate with peace of salted fish, they will devour it without any dressing".[99] Adopting an 'uncivilised' but necessary lifestyle demonstrated extremity, whereas voluntary poor eating was a sign of 'savagery'. In Settle's account he appears undecided as to which categories the Inuit fit into, possibly reflecting his own ambiguities about whether the Arctic could be a fit home for English society. While they chose to eat raw meat they were also forced to eat their working dogs on occasion out of hunger. As already mentioned in the discussions of health, some animals made better meats than others. Dogs did not feature in the diet of English people because the quality of their meat was deemed inadequate, largely as a result of the dogs' own diets.[100] Although Settle also depicted the Inuit in a very dog-like manner, licking the meat off animal bones, in the eyes of the English their savage depiction was semi-justified by their apparent level of desperation.

Settle also attempted to 'humanise' the Inuit people by comparing their use of dogs to the English use of cattle. He purposefully related an element of their animal culture to the animal culture of the English, making concessions to their humanity. To Settle, they might have been strange, animalistic people but they also "might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the home of salvation in Christ our redeemer".[101] The Inuits' meat consumption habits may have disgusted and confused the English seafarers, but to some it did not strip the Inuit of their humanity completely - especially when their potential for 'civility' could fulfil an evangelisation agenda which would legitimise English activity in the area. Settle's contradictions in his representation of the Inuit demonstrate that English observers were possibly confused by the Arctic peoples as their perceived animalistic behaviour contrasted with their divine status as human beings. Additionally, they may have also been

[99] Hawkins, *Observations,* p. 171.
[100] LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy,* p. 157.
[101] Settle, "The second voyage of M Martin Frobisher".

puzzled about their own motives for being in the Arctic which seemingly did not have many resources on offer. Granting the Inuit potential for 'civility' enabled some of the English to identify them as people in need of salvation, perhaps offering a potential reason for future English activity in the region. It also indicated that a savage lifestyle was not necessary to inhabit the Arctic, although any settlers would face harsh environmental extremities.

To the English, the Inuit represented a state of 'incivility' into which the seafarers could risk descending into and so published voyage accounts needed to counter this possibility. Fuller argues that the travel narratives that came out of the Frobisher voyages strongly manifested an intentional national superiority over the Inuit.[102] For Best, their 'deceptions' failed and the English were able to trap more captives than the Inuit were. However, as Fuller states, the English still sought to make mercy and humanity their defining national traits as they needed to demonstrate English civility as a means to legitimise their actions.[103] The Inuit were thus 'humanised', which Settle did through blaming desperation for some of their behaviours and finding similarities in how domesticated animals were used. These examples highlight that both Best and Settle purposefully used animal culture to assess and depict the Inuit in a certain way, depending on their personal experience, interests and agendas for future English activity in the arctic region. Additionally, it highlights the confusion other demonstrations of humanity and society caused among seafarers who were forced to navigate new questions of civility and opportunity. While there were many other 'strange' things about the Inuit, the English predominantly focused on their consumption of meat due to its significance as a cultural communicator.

Eating raw meat not only tainted the later depictions authors constructed about the Inuit but also influenced miscommunication and tense encounters between the Inuit and the

[102] Fuller, "Ravenous Strangers".
[103] *Ibid.*

English during the voyages. One of these significant moments, documented by Best, details how he perceived a 'cannibalistic' Inuit attempt to lure the crew to their detriment using a human as bait.

> Their spokesman earnessly persuaded us, with many enticing shewes, to come, eate, and sleepe ashore…he broughte us a trumne bayte of raw flesh, which for fashion sake with a boatehooke we caught into our Boate: but when the cunning Cater perceyved his first cold morsell could nothing sharpen our stomackes, he cast about for a new trayne of warme fleshe to procure our appetites, wherefore, he caused one of hys fellowes in halting manner, to come forth as a lame man from behind the rockes, and the better to declare his kindnesse in carving, he hoysed him uppon where we were, lefte him there lymping, as an easie pray to be taken of us. His hope was, that we would bite at this bayte, & spedily leape a shore within their danger, whereby they might have apprehended some of us, to raunsome theyre friends home againe, which before we had taken: but I doubt, our flesh is so sweet meate for them, that they will hardly part from so good morsels...[104]

It was possible that the Inuit were perceived to be using a lame man as bait because of paranoia, generated by the fear of retaliation from English kidnapping. Best, contextualising this exchange as an offering from a deceptive cannibalistic society, implied the lame man was another form of meat offering. This account highly contrasts with the images of feasting and friendship documented by Jobson between himself and Buckor Sano. Every aspect of the typical feast and gifting process was inverted. Purkiss' analysis of dramatized representations of the feast reveal that English society was interested in how meat could be used to trick, lure

[104] Best, *A Trve Discovrse*, book 2, p. 32.

and even expose dinner guests or recipients of gifts of hospitality.[105] In such accounts, the meat itself was often represented as inverted and unnatural, for example raw or rancid. Additionally, Satan was commonly attributed to be the perfect host for these feasts.[106] But Best's account shows that these inverted representations were not only used in literature and theatre but became a supposed reality for the seafarers of Frobisher's voyages. Although referring to hunting in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, McNairn identified the importance of voyage narratives in the construction of British maritime imperialism.[107] Taking Best, Settle and Gatonbe's accounts into consideration, narratives of meat consumption were also important in the construction of an 'other' to compare an English national identity against during an earlier period than McNairn considered. These narratives would have aided the development of the later English imperial identity as they attempted to confirm England's superiority and success when emerging in the Atlantic world.

As the first colonial "contact zone", English seafarers' definitions of humanity and civility were tested in the Arctic as they were forced to confront highly different cultures of people.[108] As in Jobson's account, animal culture and meat consumption was an easy and visible method of assessing and communicating the civility of 'new' people. Relations with the Inuit, however, had been tense and interactions failed at establishing a beneficial relationship. The published narratives thus explored cultural differences in order to make sense of what happened and justify their failures. The consumption of raw meat, for instance, was considered a significant indicator of predatory behaviour and suspected cannibalism. Yet, the voyagers still needed to prove that their expeditions were worthwhile. Consequently, the presumed incivility of the Inuit was justified often through the desperation of their living conditions. These conclusions provided potential for the Inuit to become 'civilised' by a

[105] Purkiss, "Masque of Food".
[106] *Ibid.*
[107] McNairn, "Meaning and Markets".
[108] Lemercier-Goddard, "Any Strange Beast There Makes A Man".

change in circumstance, also making them open for religious teachings. Additionally, this perspective allowed the seafarers to theoretically avoid descending into savagery when occupying the same environment as the Inuit, promoting a sense of English superiority in their narratives. Ultimately, the cultural differences between the Inuit and the English resulted in miscommunications and tense interactions. However as these differences were explored within English voyage narratives, they shaped representations of the Inuit depending on the agendas of the authors which were often marked by contradiction, uncertainty and ambiguity.

*Competition and Atlantic opportunity*

Just as assessments of animal culture were used to interpret and depict the identity of both Indigenous Americans and African peoples, they were also made to aid a growing discourse of English opportunity in the wider Atlantic. Work on the early years of Atlantic exploration has shown that with new opportunities came more tension between European rivals.[109] In order to compete and attract more investment voyage accounts needed to establish England as an active player in the wider Atlantic world.[110] One of the key methods propagandists used to promote England's position was appealing to natural or divine law, legitimising the actions of English expeditions and delegitimising European competition.[111] Given the discussed significance of animal bodies as symbolic representations of foreign landscapes, climates, and nature more broadly, it is unsurprising that animal culture was enveloped into these nationalistic discourses. The literature on the development of imperialistic Atlantic competition is substantial and beyond the scope of this research. However, the following case study demonstrates that animal culture played a relatively small yet important part in how English travel authors depicted themselves against their

[109] Elliot, *The Old World*, pp. 93-102.
[110] *Ibid*.
[111] Anthony Pagden, "The Struggle for Legitimacy and the Image of Empire in the Atlantic to c.1700" in *The Oxford History of British Empire*, 1 (Oxford, 1998), p. 37.

competition. Walter Ralegh's commentary on the Spanish showcases how animal bodies and relationships with Indigenous Americans were used to reflect upon and highlight English superiority. His work demonstrates the conflicting imageries that were presented about southern American nature, suited to the bodies of English people and yet dangerous to the Spanish. Moreover, it highlights the precariousness of 'civility', a concept used to legitimise and promote English relationships with Indigenous Americans and delegitimise the expansionist goals of the Spanish empire.

As discussed throughout this research, many voyager accounts contributed to a new and growing discourse of English success in the Atlantic. English seafarers in particular criticised the methods of Spanish conquest in order to authorise their potential claim to foreign lands.[112] Ken Macmillan's work argued English expansion was predominantly justified as being achieved through "discovery", claiming lands with no Christian sovereign. Discovery meant that England had a claim to settle lands, but for this to be rightful settlements had to be presented as fulfilling Christian ideals. In order for claims to be realised, effective occupation was necessary.[113] The Spanish, however, were criticised for employing illegitimate acts of war in order to dominate new lands as conversion did not justify dispossession.[114] In order to undermine the activity of the Spanish, many English seafaring authors highlighted the differences between English relationships with Indigenous peoples. Walter Ralegh's published version of *The Discoverie of Guiana* used animals to comment on the rulership of the Spanish and highlight the solidity of his relationships with American societies. *The Discoverie* was published to convince English readers that a discovery, exploration and ultimately conquest of Manoa would be highly profitable. As argued by Greenblatt, Ralegh's descriptions of the golden city and the surrounding mines in

[112] Ken Macmillan, "Benign and benevolent conquest? The ideology of Elizabethan Atlantic expansion revisited", Early American Studies 9, 1 (2011), pp. 32-72
[113] *Ibid.*
[114] *Ibid.*

the area were designed to distract the readers from the fact that he had returned empty handed.[115] Lorimer's comparison of Ralegh's original manuscript and the published edited version demonstrates which factors were considered important and persuasive for readers. The three key arguments that Ralegh and his editor, Robert Cecil, emphasised were: that Manoa was an offshoot of the rich Inka Empire of Peru, the Spanish had a long history of searching for this city of gold thus solidifying its reality, and that many accounts of the place came from Indigenous leaders.[116] Although Spanish activity was important in promoting the myth of El Dorado, Ralegh's account needed to confirm the possibility of England reaching it first. Thus, contradictory to one of the three arguments, there were multiple comments on Spanish incompetence, representing them as weak and no serious obstacle to the possibility of an English empire in the Amazon. Upon arriving in Puerto de los Hispanioles, Ralegh noted how "the Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with us, and to enter into terms of peace, more for doubt of their own strength than for ought else".[117] Largely, Ralegh centred his disdain on the city's governor, Don Anthonio de Berreo. According to Ralegh, the year before Berreo "betrayed eight of Captain Widdon's men". Considered a "valiant and honest" man by Ralegh, Jacob Whiddon had been sent on a preliminary exploration of the Orinoco.[118] It is also likely he was with Ralegh on the 1595 voyage to Guiana.[119] After promising to allow Whiddon's men safe access to wood and water, Berreo had sent a canoe of "Indians" and dogs to invite the English on a deer hunt. However, upon arriving at shore Berreo's soldiers "lying ambush had them all".[120] Consequently, Ralegh regularly documented Berreo's own failures. This began when Ralegh and his men are able to feast the Spanish

[115] Stephen Greenblatt, *New World Encounters* (Oxford, 1993), pp. vii-xvii.
[116] Joyce Lorimer, (ed) *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana* (London, 2006), p. xl.
[117] *Ibid*, p. 25.
[118] John Know Laughton, "Whiddon, Jacob", *Dictionary of National Biography* (1904), p. 279
[119] *Ibid.*
[120] *Ibid*, p. 27.

soldiers and obtain information about the riches and passages of Guiana.[121] Then he detailed how "In his country Berreo lost sixty of his best soldiers, and most of all his horse that remained of his former years' travel".[122] As discussed in Chapter One, horses were extremely important animals to Europeans, symbolic of wealth and human triumph.[123] To lose a horse was thus more significant than just losing a method of travel but showcased a loss of strength and power, hence Ralegh framing the horse as the most substantial loss against sixty prominent soldiers. The Spaniards' wavering strength and control were then compared to various Indigenous Americans who, according to Ralegh, were much more civilised.

Ralegh wrote favourably about the Capuri and Macureo, who were known for their carpeting skills. He considered them strong people for their ability to thrive in what he understood as difficult conditions.

> Notwithstanding the moistness of the air in which they live, the hardness of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish and fowl for their living, in all my life either in the Indies or in Europe did I never behold a more goodly or better favoured people, or a more manly.[124]

Ralegh's description showcases the diversity of opinions English seafarers had with regards to identity, civility and animal culture. As discussed in Chapter One, contemporaneous western philosophy largely dictated that hunting out of necessity was an act of savagery and incivility. However, here Ralegh praised the Capuri and Macureo as they suffered the harsh realities of survival in their environment. Rather than being depicted as animalistic, like the Inuit, Ralegh presented the Capuri and Macureo as existing in an Edenic condition.

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[121] *Ibid*.
[122] *Ibid*, p. 67.
[123] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 29.
[124] Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie,* p. 103.

Stonebraker's work on British colonialism and Edenic narratives highlighted that for some contemporaneous thinkers, 'New World' nature was considered the key "to recovering humanity's lost dominion over creation".[125] Moreover, Elliott has suggested that the post-Reformation Christian desire to return to a better state meant that with the European discovery of America, Eden became locatable to some across the Atlantic.[126] Consequently, America and Europe became antitheses, with America representing innocence and Europe corruption.[127] This is the stance in which Ralegh depicts the Indigenous people of Guiana and the Spanish colonisers.

Although Ralegh regularly depicted the Capuri and Macureo and the lands they inhabited as exotic, they were also shown as "goodly", civilised people. Minimal revisions were made to the original manuscript on Ralegh's interactions with Indigenous people.[128] Ralegh and Cecil thus likely understood that the support of 'civilised' local societies would have been critical to convincing readers of Ralegh's proposed venture.[129] Fitzmaurice and various other historians have argued that Ralegh modelled himself on the Spanish conquistadors as he understood gold to be the basis for Spain's greatness.[130] However, English humanists were highly concerned by the riches of the 'New World'. Profit and wealth were corrupting forces which could divert individuals away from serving the good of the commonwealth.[131] Although the Capuri and Macureo were not natives of El Dorado, Ralegh represented them as suitable allies of the English in their anticipated conquest of Manoa. In addition, the Spanish were presented as illegitimate intruders who the English could rightfully supplant. In contrast to Jobson's criticism of the Mandinka's lack of hunting

[125] Irving-Stonebraker, "From Eden to Savagery".
[126] Elliott, *The Old World,* p. 25.
[127] *Ibid*, p. 26.
[128] Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie,* p. xl.
[129] *Ibid.*
[130] Fitzmaurice, "Chapter Two: The Moral Philosophy of Tudor Colonisation" in *Humanism and America*.
[131] *Ibid.*

ability, Ralegh framed hunting and fishing as valued Edenic activities to illustrate positive and potentially beneficial relationships with the Capuri and Macureo.

Furthermore, cannibalism and inverted meat consumption was not only an accusation made by the English of the Inuit but, according to Ralegh's narrative, was also utilised by the Spanish to seemingly discredit England's reputation in southern America. After leaving the Capuri and Macureo, one of the pilots of Ciawani took the crew to the Arwacas where "we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the country wine".[132] However, upon reaching the Arwacas, tensions were high.

> This Arwacan pilot with the rest, feared that we would have eaten them or otherwise have put them to some cruel death, for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana itself might come to speech with us, presuaded all the nations that we were man eaters and cannibals; but when the poor men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meat, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive and deceit the purpose of the Spaniards.[133]

In the original text the Arwacas were not only concerned about the English being "man eaters" but also that "the English nacion sought for Indians, and to take their children to sell in England for Barbados". [134] As previously mentioned, the English were keen to demonstrate mercy and humanity in their narratives as they considered these to be defining nation traits which would legitimise their claims over foreign lands against the Spanish.[135] It is therefore unsurprising that evidence of slavery was removed from the published version. The first

[132] Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie*, p. 73.
[133] *Ibid*, pp. 119-20.
[134] *Ibid.*
[135] Fuller, "Ravenous Strangers".

manuscript also detailed that Ralegh and his crew gave the Arwacas Spanish wine rather than meat.[136] The edited version expunges the suggestion that Ralegh was trying to intoxicate the Arwacas by replacing the wine with a less controversial yet typical gift substance, meat. As one of the most common symbols of hospitality, Ralegh depicted his English company as respectful and generous to the Arwacan's, showcasing more favourable relations than the Spanish. Ralegh's published account not only displayed a humble and thus more deserving narrative of interaction but simultaneously discredited Spanish activity through highlighting brutal, dishonest and weak rulership. Additionally, Spanish goods were censored therefore focusing the account on what the English could offer the Arwacas, independently from Spanish trade.

Despite Spanish attempts to deceive the favourable people of South America, Ralegh continued to evidence positive relations with various Indigenous Americans through feasting and trading. For instance, arriving at the port of Morequito, the 110 year old king of Aromaia supposedly walked a 28 mile round trip to bring Ralegh and his men "venison, pork, hens, chicken, fowl, fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruits".[137] Furthermore, after arriving on the island of Assapana, they were presented with an armadillo.[138] As discussed in Chapter One, Ralegh specifically used deer to construct an exotic and enticing image of Guiana. Stating that they came down to feed by the water side "as if they had been used to a keeper's call" further connoted a civility to the land by demonstrating the domestication of its wild animals.[139] The variety of meats on offer contributed to the narrative of abundance that surrounded the 'New World', contributing to presentations of America as an Edenic paradise.[140] These descriptions thus further lend to the conclusions of LaComeb, that "nearly

[136] Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie*, pp. 119-20.
[137] *Ibid*, p. 139.
[138] *Ibid*, p. 131.
[139] *Ibid*, p. 113.
[140] LaCombe, *Political Gastronomy*, p. 19.

all English travellers found that food played an important role in early encounters and dominated many of them".[141]

While animals were not the main focus of Ralegh's *Discoverie* they were used throughout to support his constructed depictions of exoticism, Indigenous civility and English opportunity. In Chapter Two Ralegh's depictions of Spanish failures were also discussed, specifically their inability to judge safe drinking water.[142] Having not noticed the presence of serpents and worms the Spaniards poisoned both themselves and their horses.[143] Ralegh, however, was able to locate safe water and determine the best time of day to drink from the sources. Once again we see contradictions in Ralegh's account. Although the land was inhabited by bountiful, tame wildlife, creatures could also pose a threat. For example, Jobson noted how his boat was attacked three times by hippos, with one of the blows being particularly dangerous "for he stroke his tooth quite through".[144] Fuller's work on pre-colonial English voyage accounts demonstrated the difficulty in presenting expeditions positively, particularly if they returned empty handed like Ralegh's. In order to counter resistance and suspicion, propagandists needed to take a descriptive approach.[145] By comparing his experience of navigating nature with the Spanish experience, he was able to show how English bodies were able to master this environment in a way which Spanish bodies had failed to do.

Animals did not play a large role in intra-European competition. However, some authors, most notably Ralegh, did employ animal culture as an additional tool of communication within published accounts. The loss of a horse by a Spanish governor for instance, was more than a descriptive event. With cultural ties to power, wealth and prestige,

[141] *Ibid.*
[142] *Ibid*, p. 69.
[143] *Ibid.*
[144] Gamble and Hair, *The Discovery of the River Gambra*, p. 92.
[145] Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, p. xvii.

the event carried wider symbolism for the overall Spanish rulership in the area. Yet, while English authors attempted to use animals to discredit the actions of their competition, they also used the natural world to emphasise English successes both navigating foreign lands and building relationships with Indigenous Americans. In the case of Ralegh, this resulted in contradictory portrayals of Guiana and its animal inhabitants. Both domesticated and wild, tame yet dangerous, the documentation of animals and meats only further evidences the challenges early English explorers and colonisers faced in constructing an image of a global England.

*Conclusion*

How foreign cultures interacted with the animal kingdom could significantly influence how English voyagers depicted and interacted with them. However, English accounts also interpreted animal actions in a way which fit the ends of their representations. Because of increased western European intellectual, religious and cultural interests in understanding, categorising and eventually commodifying the natural world, animal bodies became symbolic of human power and civility. When authors wanted to present beneficial relationships with foreign societies their animal culture was represented as similar. People were praised for expressions of human dominion through hunting and agriculture. This was the case in Richard Jobson's narrative which highlighted the opportunity of trade in the River Gambia through commentary of the animal culture and meat consumption of significant African groups. Although Jobson was consistently keen to demonstrate English superiority, through performative consumption and impressive hunting, different cultures were depicted with wealth and status consequently showcasing the opportunity involved for the English if these relationships were fostered. Jobson's account highlights how dominion over and

exploitation of the animal kingdom were regularly displayed as favourable behaviours however only within the context of potential English benefit.

Alternatively, when interactions went poorly voyagers used their narratives to explore cultural differences, marginalise foreign cultures and justify any failings. Difference in meat consumption and animal culture resulted in questions of civility, intellect and divine favour. The Inuit in particular were subject to negative depictions which were built through commentary on their closeness to nature and animalistic behaviour. Animal culture was thus not only an aspect of society which seafarers used to assess others against their own culture, but was predominantly a narrative tool used to depict a particular image of another culture or land. Moreover, this tool was used similarly by seafarers operating in different parts of the Atlantic as each attempted to demonstrate the possibilities different environments and societies held for English people. Consequently, references of animal culture became entwined with narratives of nationhood as some prominent seafarers sought to emphasise English success and opportunity. Jobson, for instance, emphasised English fearlessness towards the animal kingdom. Additionally, Ralegh focused on the sharing of meat between his crew and various Indigenous Americans to illustrate the seemingly better relationships he was able to form in comparison to the Spanish. Throughout he proposes that these peoples could be made into vassal subjects of Queen Elizabeth I demonstrating the possibility of entering into a political alliance. In summary, animals were not only a significant part of the seafaring experience, influencing how voyagers interacted with non-Europeans throughout the Atlantic, but were also sometimes used as a symbolic narrative tools designed to construct images of civility, success, and opportunity to an English readership.

# V

## *'Admiration in the beholders'*

## The Value of Animals in the Early English Atlantic

The early modern English relationship with nature has often been defined as a process of commodification, encouraged by greater European Atlantic exploration.[1] Paula Findlen summarised that "nature was for sale" on a grander scale than ever before across Europe.[2] As a commodity to be bought, sold, bartered and exchanged, nature became "the centrepiece of a series of transactions that connected the world of commerce to the study of nature".[3] Additionally, work on the animal role in England throughout the period has told a similar story.[4] As discussed by Linda Kalof, the commodification process of the animal kingdom was long and slow. Labour shortages in the fifteenth century caused by urban migration saw the agricultural role of animals become more important.[5] Higher wages also meant that meat consumption increased.[6] By the sixteenth century there was an heightened interest in collecting, categorising and scientifically investigating animal bodies, and pet-keeping became an established part of the middle-class household.[7] Furthermore, as showcased by Boehrer, the greater availability of animals in Europe, brought on by increased trade and Atlantic activity, coupled with their broader variety of uses in human society resulted in animals assuming the status of mass commodities.[8]

The process of commodification has also often been associated with other grand

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[1] Games, *Web of Empire*; Elliot, *The Old World*; Brotton, *Renaissance Bazaar*; Paula Findlen, "Inventing Nature: Commerce, Art, and Science in the Early Modern Cabinet of Curiosities" in Findlen and Smith, (eds) *Merchants and Marvals*. See also, David M Williams, "Maritime History: Context and Perspectives", *The International Journal of Maritime History*, 32.2 (2020) pp. 370-5.
[2] Paula Findlen, "Inventing Nature", p. 299.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Linda Kalof, *Looking at Animals in Human History* (London, 2007) pp. 72-92.
[5] *Ibid*.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid*, p. 89
[8] Boehrer, *A Cultural History of Animals*, p. 2.

narratives of change, such as the supposed depersonalisation of nature as the emblematic world view subsided and the secularisation of English society.[9] The root of commodification lay in a belief of human dominion over the natural world which was promoted by contemporary philosophy and Christian teachings.[10] Descartes is commonly referenced in scholarly literature discussing the assumed decline in nature's agency.[11] His machine metaphor sought to define a difference between animal and human, concluding that animals were automatons and thus unable to think.[12] Additionally, the scientific investigation and categorisation of nature has often been thought to have replaced the divine significance of nature with fixed laws.[13] Yet, while there was a noteworthy change in how the animal kingdom was theoretically understood, Daston's analysis of the 'myth of disenchantment' instead demonstrated that "as nature's IQ plummeted, its authority soared" as natural law became the basis of legitimation.[14] Consequently, as Daston's work with Park has highlighted, the sixteenth and seventeenth century saw a distinct culture of wonder develop as natural curiosities became aspects and anomalies of the natural law.[15] In addition to invoking investigation, wonderous nature also prompted emotion thus strengthening its relation to moral order.[16] The Scientific Revolution was therefore not the only development to impact upon contemporaneous understandings of nature and the animal kingdom. Rather, broad social, religious and structural changes all played a role and each had their own impact.[17]

In order to further understand the changing role of animals in early modern society, their value to the people who interacted with them during the early years of English Atlantic

[9] *Ibid*. See also, Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 2003).
[10] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*.
[11] Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal*, p.1.
[12] *Ibid*.
[13] Daston, "The Nature of Nature".
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*

exploration must be investigated. Throughout the thesis, animal value has already been discussed in terms of practicality, through food, and as symbolic beings used to illustrate character and prospects. This chapter shall extend upon the underlying discussion by exploring how seafarers justified and communicated animal value – defined as worthy usefulness within this chapter – in their narratives as well as how they understood it themselves, within the parameters of their own personalities. Firstly, the most commonly identified uses for many animal species were as commodities. As an obvious expression of human dominion, the fishing industry shall demonstrate how value was found in more than just the monetary worth of particular species but also in the ability of animal bodies to aid further English expansion goals. Secondly, animal gifts will highlight the importance of domestication and ownership as expressions of human dominion, status, and simple pleasure, thus further complicating the commodification narrative by demonstrating the emotional response people had to animals. Finally, wonder and religious symbolism documented by English seafarers will showcase the spiritual and intellectual significance found by individuals in contemplating the natural world. Each perspective shall demonstrate that value was found in the animal kingdom for all aspects of human life, including economics, emotions, social interaction, religion and intellectual development. Ultimately, wonder towards the natural world did not diminish throughout the considered period however it also did not necessarily preclude commodification either. While the process of commodification placed an emphasis on monetary worth defined by a market, it did not strip animals of their properties beyond their use to humans. The worth and usefulness of animals to English people was complicated and often individual, leading to a ranged interpretation of value influenced by emotion, beliefs and experience as well as economics and imperial goals.

*Commodification*

Throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth century natural resources were increasingly exploited for profit.[18] This shift is evidenced by developments in particular trades, such as fishing or fur, commodity lists in travel writing, and the increased exportation of exotic animals, to name a few examples. Commodification is the process of reducing something of all properties beyond a specific use determined by a market. For animals, this has previously been interpreted to entail a de-animation process, depriving them of agency.[19] Fish were probably the most highly commodified animals during this period.[20] Their perceived low intellectual ability meant that they were barely regarded as part of the animal kingdom.[21] Additionally, their meat was considered a versatile and transportable protein substance, making it a key product in European food markets.[22] Recent historiography has also discussed how animals were valued for more than their existing market worth but also their ability to aid and support the everyday life of new settlement societies.[23] Seafarers were evidently considering the worth of animals in a variety of situations thus demonstrating the complexity of the commodification process. The commodity value of animals should thus be assessed from two key perspectives, one of increasing mass production and the other of potential. Firstly, this section shall discuss the role of the Newfoundland fishing industry. Due to the similarity between the Newfoundland and English coastal ecosystems, this industry example shall highlight that commodification of the natural world was not necessarily a product of increased Atlantic exploration and growing world markets, but the

[18] See, Stuart Schwartz (ed.) *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1994); McNairn, "Meaning and Markets"; Boehrer, *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*.
[19] Graham, "Ways of Being, Ways of Knowing".
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 1-13.
[23] Jack Bouchard, "Shetland Sheep and Azorean Wheat: Atlantic Islands as Provisioning Centers, 1400-1550", *Global Food History*, 6.3 (2020) pp. 169-93; John F Richards and John R McNeill, *The World Hunt: An Environmental History of the Commodification of Animals* (California, 2014).

existing commodification of nature also contributed to Atlantic activity and expansion. Then, it shall assess voyager commodity lists in other areas of the Atlantic to showcase the investigative outlook seafarers needed to have towards newer natures. In order to demonstrate the success of their voyages and the potential of certain landscapes and coasts, authors documented the practical potential of animals for both current and future markets. Both perspectives highlight the importance of commodification in determining animal value during this period but also demonstrate the cyclical relationship between commodification and Atlantic exploration.

One of the essential animal industries significant to England during the sixteenth century was fishing. The main product sold in markets from fishing was stockfish, a dried and salted form of white fish. Most commonly this was imported from English fisheries for domestic use, for re-exportation to Europe or for international exchange directly from the fisheries themselves.[24] Train oil was also a by-product of fishing, sourced from cod livers, which was also bought, sold and exchanged in a similar manner.[25] Additionally, fishing produced consumables such as fresh food or bait which was especially important for the maintenance of seasonal fishing communities during the peak season and for long distance expeditions. As discussed by John Richards and John McNeill, the cod industry in particular surged throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Cod specifically was gelatinous without being fatty and easily de-boned. Its high protein content and ability to be easily dried and preserved made it a core part of European diets across multiple social classes.[26] According to Richards and McNeill, during this period "the New World fishery became a new industry that consumed considerable European capital and entrepreneurial energy".[27] English fishing

[24] Pope, *Fish into Wine*, p. 28.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Ibid*, p. 132; Richards and McNeill, *The World Hunt: An Environmental History of the commodification of Animals*, p. 132.
[27] Richards and McNeill, *The World Hunt*, pp. 157-8.

fleets, supported by the state and mercantile communities "moved aggressively" to penetrate the industry in Newfoundland as the waters provided a new source for predominantly the same fish products.[28] Peter Pope in his assessment of Atlantic fishing highlighted that the fifteenth and sixteenth century European voyages to Newfoundland, Greenland and northern Canada were keen to publicise the immense maritime resources found in these waters.[29] Northern American coasts had a similar ecosystem to the waters around England, Ireland and even Iceland. Newfoundland and the surrounding area thus offered an opportunity for expansion of an existing staple industry. Moreover, as argued by Gillian Cell, changing external factors such as war in western Europe, war at sea and the growth of intercontinental commerce meant that portable protein sources such as stockfish were in a much greater demand by the late Elizabethan period.[30] Newfoundland fisheries presented the "perfect replacement" for the Icelandic stockfish which was declining.[31]

English seafarers operating during this period were therefore keen to document the fishing quality of the different coastal areas they encountered, likely to find new areas for fishermen to tap. George Best summarised Baffin Island as having a coast which "seemeth to have good fishing, for we lying becalmed let fall a hooke without any bayte and presently caught a great fish called a Hollibut, who served the whole company for a dayes meate".[32] Although George Best was not present on the first voyage, it is likely he chose to highlight the ease of fishing in order to help justify Martin Frobisher's voyages which were not entirely successful in locating profitable resources or establishing a settlement. In addition, the sizable fish, feeding the whole crew, contributes to the notion that settlement was possible on Baffin Island, at least during the warmer months when it would be peak fishing season. Similarly,

[28] *Ibid*, p. 140.
[29] Pope, *Fish into Wine*, p. 17.
[30] Gillian Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 24-5.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] Best, *A Trve Discovrse*, pp. 288-9.

John Davis reported on the fishing quality around Greenland and northern Canada after his return in 1586. He determined the catches to be "the largest and the best fed fish that ever I sawe, and divers fisher men that were with me sayd that they never saw a more suave or better skull of a fish in thier lives: yet had they seene great abundance".[33] His use of statements from industry experts were likely used to dispel sceptical thinking about what these waters had to offer and confirm the potential of the area. Accounts of seafarers, such as Best and Davis, who were operating during the beginning of this surge were thus extremely significant sources of information for the English fishing industry and important promotional documents. Although technically operating as exploratory voyages, their agenda was to determine beneficial trade potential for English operators, whether that be through highlighting significant resources or locating the Northwest Passage. Given the growing European importance of Newfoundland as a hub for fish exploitation, Best and Davis clearly attempted to locate potential alternative locations for English fisheries as finding a new resource tap could have significantly aided England's ability to compete within the growing world market.

Northern Atlantic fish nuance the early modern commodification narrative as, unlike many other animals, they were already commodified in English culture. Furthermore, while the value of fish to English society was almost entirely practical or economic, the way in which seafarers portrayed these fish in their narratives was inflected through the wonder paradigm.[34] Both Best and Davis emphasised the size of fish they encountered predominantly through imagery rather than pure factual detail. These descriptions likely would have encouraged interest from investors who had ambition in expanding their industries. Additionally, commenting on the sheer natural abundance of fish would have sparked ideas

[33] "The second voyage of M John Davis for the discovery of the Northwest pass." 1586" in *Principal Navigations*, 7, p. 406.
[34] *Ibid*.

of opportunity and perhaps fascination in the surrounding area. While the value of fish was heavily related to monetary worth, North American Atlantic fish were discussed through terms of paradisal abundance, which were often used by later voyage accounts to promote the exoticism of both the southern and northern American landscapes. Overall, the commodification of north Atlantic fish was not new, nor were the industries in which these fish contributed to. However, the use of wonder in descriptions of these staple fish demonstrates how the important links between nature and emotion were used as a promotional tool in order to justify current and future English expansionist activity.

Finding bountiful fishing locations was important, but English seafarers and fishermen also needed to demonstrate their skill in exploiting these new locations. In 1578, Anthony Parkhurst wrote a letter to Richard Hakluyt the elder explaining the state and commodities of Newfoundland.[35] Parkhurst was a merchant, explorer, and strong advocate for English settlement in Newfoundland.[36] Having been impressed by the fishing after visiting on his way home from a voyage in 1565 he decided to join the fishing industry where he also sought to gather information and share "much more than ever any Englishman hath done".[37] Within his letter Parkhurst described the sheer amount of European vessels fishing around Newfoundland, which was close to 7,000. Along with his assessment of human activity, he also wrote much about the landscape, plant life, and animals. One of the species he described in detail was squid, a cheap export for food in England.

> For the Squid, whose nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them, I set him a candle to see his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it as

[35] Anthonie Parkhurst, "A letter written to M Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, conteining a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M Anthonie Parkhurst Gentleman, 1578" in *Principal Navigations*, 8, p. 9.
[36] David B Quinn, "Parkhurst, Anthony", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol.1 (1000-1700) Accessed: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/parkhurst_anthony_1E.html (22/11/2022).
[37] *Ibid*.

doe our fresh water fish, and other commeth also in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would devoure him.[38]

Relying less on the grandeur of abundance and impressive size, Parkhurst took a very practical viewpoint, determining the nature of the animal and how best to use the information for human advantage. He demonstrated the importance of forming a relationship with animals in order to learn information. Discovering the squid to be best hunted at night with a candle showcases that he spent time studying squid behaviour. Additionally, he gave the squid character, identifying its pleasure for the candle. While the value of the squid was as a commodity - providing food for human society - Parkhurst reveals how individuals, particularly those who sought new knowledge of the animal kingdom by interacting with it directly, could develop complex views of particular species. Unlike the fish described in bestiaries (when present) which were unthinking creatures, Parkhurst established an elevated interpretation of squid confirming they had basic emotion. To argue that Atlantic exploration only encouraged a de-animated sense of nature, as the commodification narrative can imply, dismisses the nuance of human-animal relationships. While Parkhurst's squid was purely a resource, seafarers often developed close relationships to foreign animals in order to understand and exploit their practical and economic value. To perceive animals as having a level of emotion and agency therefore did not necessary counteract the ability to define them as resources. However, this growing closeness to the animal kingdom might have contributed to the developing social concern about the exploitation of animals which became more prominent in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[39]

Seafarers played a significant role in commodifying the animal kingdom as they were

[38] Parkhurst, "A Letter written to M Richard Hakluyt", p. 9.
[39] See, Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, pp. 80-106.

under pressure to contend with other European nations. By writing the letter, Parkhurst highlighted the growing ability for England to compete against other European fisheries and whalers. As Jamie Goodall discussed in her assessment of alcohol during the seventeenth century, "the Atlantic world saw an increase in commercial correspondence" and the dissemination of mercantile information.[40] Consequently, alongside fish, other aquatic animals within the Atlantic became increasingly defined by their resource potential to the English audience. David Ormrod has argued that the commercial expansion during this period was closely linked with a growing sense of national identity and assertiveness.[41] For England as a nation, the value of the fishing industry in the northern Atlantic, and by extension the fish themselves, was predominantly economic. However, for seafarers during this early period of exploration, fish could be more than just resources to be extracted. They were living creatures who could differ in size, quality and behaviour. They needed to be explored and interacted with in order to reap the most commercial value. Consequently, a more complex understanding of fish as living beings was developed in tandem with their exploitation.

Although Newfoundland fisheries appeared to be the most lucrative, exploratory voyagers were also keen to identify valuable fishing locations and new species in the southern Atlantic. Robert Harcourt, who travelled to Guinea in 1609 argued that "this Country may compare with any other of the world, for the great variety of excellent fish both of the sea, and fresh waters".[42] During this period most aquatic animals were understood as fish, including many mammals.[43] Unlike the cod caught in Newfoundland, Harcourt's *Relation of a Voyage to*

[40] Jamie Goodall, "Tippling houses, rum shops and taverns: how alcohol fuelled informal commercial networks of knowledge exchange in the West Indies", *Journal for Maritime Research*, 18.2 (2016) pp. 97-121.
[41] David Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770*, Cambridge Studies in Modern Economic History (Cambridge, 2003) p. 3.
[42] Robert Harcourt, *The relation of a Voyage to Guiana, Performed by Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt Esquire. 1609* (London, 1626).
[43] Graham, "Ways of Being, Ways of Knowing".

*Guiana* discussed the resource value of more diverse aquatic fauna, such as manatees.

> Here is also a Sea-fish… it is of great esteeme amongst vs, and we account it halfe flesh, for the bloud of it is warme… it taste is like beefe, will take salt, and serve to victuall ships, as in our knowledge hath beene proved by our Countrimen.[44]

Although it had already been "proved" by previous English voyagers, Harcourt reiterated the value of the manatee as a valuable food source for ship crews. After confirming the conclusions of previous men, Harcourt then went on to note the manatee's potential resource value as various other useful commodities.

> Of this fish may be made an excellent oyle for many purposees; the fat of it is good to frie either fish or flesh; the hide (as I have heard) will make good buffe: and being dried in the Sunne, and kept from wet, will serve for Targets and Armours against Indian arrows.[45]

As discussed by Richards and McNeill, the value of animals during this period stretched beyond the realms of products for the growing world market.[46] Instead, animal commodities were also significant aids to colonial expansion and further exploration, two processes which would help solidify England's trading position against its competitors.[47] Harcourt thus presented the manatee as a useful and versatile creature, beneficial to survival as a consumable and as protectant clothing. The importance of settlement and expansion highlights the cyclical nature of the commodification process. Certain species, such as cod or other sizable white fish, were valued as economically exploitable resources because their

[44] Harcourt, *The Relation of a Voyage.*
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] Richards and McNeill, *The World Hunt,* pp. 157-8
[47] *Ibid*, pp. 157-8.

mass numbers and role in the existing food market supported the possibility to expand existing industries. Consequently, this led to the growth of a competitive market dominated by Europeans. Additionally, as English agents increasingly sought expansion opportunities, many seafarers identified the practical uses and products of other animals which could be incorporated into the new and emerging colonial markets.

The need and desire to commodify the natural world encouraged seafarers to list the variety of resources on offer in the areas they explored. Commodity lists referenced each seemingly useful species and their resource potential. For example, one report from the 1583 voyage to Brazil, which navigated the River Plate, included a section called "the best beastly commodities, Parrots, monkies and Serrabosa".[48] Similarly, Robert Fotherby's description of Greenland argued that whales and "sea morses" were the chief commodities of the area and explained why.[49]

> The whale yields oyl and finnes; and the morse yields oyl, hydes, and teeth of good valewe, whereof he hath but two, and they growe in his uppermost jawe. Ther be also white whales and seales, which were thought not to be worthy of time and labor to kill them, seeing that wee wer implied about the above mentioned commodities.[50]

In addition to the similarities of Harcourt's report, Fotherby shows how the commercial desirability of animals impacted how seafarers interacted with local fauna. By determining a rank of value and assessing risk or effort against reward the white whales and seals were spared. Comparably, some voyagers were given orders on how to efficiently kill and collect

[48] "Certaine remembrances of a voyage intended to Brasil, and to the river Plate, but miserably overthrown neere Rio grande in Guinea, in the yeere 1583", in *Principal Navigations*, 6, pp. 408-13.
[49] Fotherby, "A short discourse of a voyage made in the yeare of our Lord 1613" in *The Voyages of William Baffin* ed. By Clements R Markham (London, 2010) pp. 54-80.
[50] *Ibid*, p. 71.

animal products. In 1611, Jonas Poole received a commission to explore the islands known today as Svalbard and Bear Island.

> In the meane time while you are staying about killing of the Whale, you may cause some of your people to bee searching the Coast with their Shallops for whale finnes, Morses teeth, Ambergreese, or any other Commodities, that may be found upon the Coast.[51]

Jonas Poole was largely known for his prominence as an English whaler. However, unlike fisheries, English whaling did not reach mass scale until the late eighteenth century.[52] McNairn's analysis of the natural world in the late early modern period concluded that "the physical environment was related in starkly utilitarian terms as a bundle of potential commodities and the strategic locations, navigable rivers and safe harbours by which to be exported".[53] Looking at these earlier examples of commodity lists and commissions produced by the maritime community, his conclusions still apply. Although McNairn's assessment was of the expanding mercantile phase of England's commercial empire in the late 1700s, many seafarers had long been identifying the natural world through an economic lens. However, this did not always result in commercial action. Unable to compete against the Dutch and German vessels active around Svalbard, English whaling remained a small and sometimes inactive industry. While there were various parliamentary incentives, the industry only began to grow rapidly from the 1750s onwards when the bounty on whales was increased to forty shillings a ton, double the rate it was twenty years prior.[54] Therefore, the value of whales to English seafarers during the early period of English Atlantic exploration was debatable.

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[51] "A commission for Jonas Poole our Servant, appointd Masters of a small Barke called the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes burthen, for Discoverie to the Northward of Greenland, given the last day of March 1611" in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims* ed. By Samuel Purchas, in Twenty Volumes, 14 (Glasgow, 1905) pp. 24-9.
[52] Gordon Jackson, *The British Whaling Trade* (London, 1978) p. 55.
[53] McNairn, "Meaning and Markets".
[54] Jackson, *The British Whaling Trade*, p.55

While the physical products obtained from whale bodies were understood to have significant value, presumably the difficulty of the task, and the growing European competition meant that many were uninterested in running or funding whaling voyages. The commercial value of animals was thus largely dependent on market conditions which could sometimes undermine the potential worth of physical creatures. Consequently the trade value of animals was not always reliant on the product of the animal itself. Rather, the appeal of exploitation became reliant on a multitude of other factors.

The commodification of the natural world was a long process which preceded English Atlantic exploration but was also impacted by it. Many animals were investigated and valued for their practical and economic worth. Furthermore, as recent historiography has highlighted, animal products were not necessarily only valuable for their fiscal worth, but also their ability to aid expansion efforts. However, the process of commodification only highlights the diverse relationship seafarers had with the animal kingdom. As valued commodities, seafarers were able to draw upon a traditional wonder paradigm of abundance and size in order to promote further investment in animal product industries. Additionally, in order to effectively catch and utilise the targeted species, individuals spent significant time with particular animals in order to investigate and collect the necessary information. Some animals were thus understood differently, demonstrating that commodification did not necessarily promote a de-animated understanding of the animal kingdom. Instead, animals were sometimes understood as possessing emotion, self-interest and motivation, all of which could be used to help obtain the creature. It was thus the additional properties of animals, explored in more detail by individuals attempting to profit off them as commodities, that would have contributed to profitability and market availability.

*'Exotic' Animals and Valuable Gifts*

In England during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the 'exotic' animal trade was much more limited than in Mediterranean Europe.[55] The ownership and gifting of such animals was largely contained to the upper classes. Among the aristocracy, animals were already culturally acceptable gifts.[56] Dogs such as greyhounds and spaniels, both frequently used in bloodsports, were among the most common.[57] Upon arrival in the Americans, live animals became common gifts exchanged between Indigenous peoples and European sailors, likely offered as signs of friendship.[58] Furthermore, some seafarers attempted to domesticate wild creatures themselves to bring home and share with others. However, possibly as a result of the small market, accounts of live animals taken by English seafarers are limited. In addition to living creatures, enjoyment could also be found in the bodies of animals. For example, elephant heads, such as the one discussed in Chapter Three, were considered valuable products and thus significant gifts between allies, friends, or for diplomatic favour. Animal gifts and collectors' items show a more personal side to the historical human-animal relationship. The following examples highlight that seafarers and the English upper classes found an array of different values in the animal kingdom. Not only were non-human creatures assessed as products to be investigated and exploited but they could also be companions, symbols of success and civility, entertainers, and even representations of the divine. Consequently, animal gifts demonstrate that human experiences, such as emotion, desire, ambition, and belief also contributed to a growing sense of ownership over animal bodies. Moreover, the different value found in particular animals or animal products made them suitable for different exchange circuits.

[55] Grigson, *Menagerie*, p. 6.
[56] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 103.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] Marcy Norton, "The Chicken or the Iegue: Human-Animal Relationships and the Columbian Exchange", *The American Historical Review*, 120.1 (2015), pp. 28-60.

The only animals to reach England in any substantial number were foreign birds. These were one of the earliest types of live animals taken from America and quickly became associated with European dominance.[59] As highlighted by Boehrer, the parrot trade indicated a physical manifestation of the "Old World's acquisition of the New".[60] In addition, Megan Hagseth has suggested that it was this association that resulted in the regular mention of American birds in European voyage accounts and journals.[61] It is probable that English accounts attempted to emulate early successful colonial powers, particularly the Spanish, and thus possession of exotic nature helped assert an English claim to an imperial status. Although discussing the parrots of Peruvian islands, outside of the Atlantic, Richard Hawkins noted the interesting qualities of a parrot who "of colour different to those of the West Indies; for they are of a russet or gray colour, and great speakers".[62] On one level, this account highlights the conclusions of Boehrer and Hagseth as the parrot is assessed against birds of other geographical origins thus showcasing the spread of the exotic bird trade and English exploration. However, while the imperialistic symbolic significance of parrots is relevant, Hawkins also clearly found value in the parrot's personal qualities, particularly its ability to speak. The implication of talent shows the general interest Hawkins had in the parrot's quality as a companion or collector's item. Similarly, Walter Ralegh in Guiana noted the "thousand severell tunes" sung each evening from cranes and herons of "white, crimson and carnation".[63] Hagseth's assessment of the bird trade in Europe stated that exotic birds only featured in the seafaring community as pets, souvenirs, trade goods, food, or for scientific inquiry.[64] However, these categories fall short. While the imperialistic symbolic significance of parrots is relevant, it is important to remember the wonder of the natural world

[59] *Ibid.* See also, Hagseth, "Seadogs and their parrots".
[60] Boehrer, "Men, Monkeys, Lap-dogs, Parrots, Perish All".
[61] Hagseth, "Seadogs and their Parrots".
[62] Hawkins, *Observations*, pp. 51-2.
[63] Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie,* p. 103.
[64] Hagseth, "Seadogs and their Parrots".

documented by individuals. The value of these birds was largely rooted in their foreignness, highlighting the personal fascination individuals had with newly encountered creatures. Ralegh's account in particular sought to capture the exoticism of Guiana from a perspective of interest and preservation.[65] However, often descriptions of exoticism served imperialistic goals as interest and wonder became a pretext for claims to possession.

Other bird species such as pelicans also gained the interest of some seafarers during the early years of English exploration. In Florida, John Hawkins documented wildlife which was not commonly seen in England. He noted American pelicans to be "the lovingest birds" due to the care they took of their young.[66] Although not native, pelicans were important symbolic animals in England. Religiously, the pelican was associated with health and even considered a representation of Christ. As Thomas Dekker's *Foure Birds of Noahs Arke* characterised, "The Pellican, a figure of Christ vpon the Cross".[67] Furthermore, the bird could be symbolic of loving leadership. For instance, an anonymous book published in 1649 titled *The Princely Pellican,* depicted the bird to be feeding its young while holding a crown and sceptre.[68] However, Hawkins concluded "for all this lovingnesse shee is very deformed to beholde".[69] Although Richard Hawkins highlighted the talents of the grey Peruvian parrot, potentially to communicate the species' potential as pets or for collections, his father's interest in pelicans shows that seafarers were also genuinely interested in documenting their experience and opinions of the natural world. Otherwise, what would be the purpose of determining a bird as "ougle", aside from general interest for himself and his readers? Here we can see the extent that value was found in beauty, for John Hawkins found it necessary, perhaps through shock or surprise from viewing a pelican in real life, to contrast the bird's appearance to its assigned

[65] Lorimer, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie*.
[66] John Hawkins, "The second voyage" in *Principal Navigations*, 10, p. 61.
[67] Thomas Dekker, *Foure birds of Noahs arke* (1609).
[68] *The princely pellican. Royal resolves presented in sundry choice observations, extracted from His Majesties divine meditations,* (London, 1649).
[69] Hawkins, "The second voyage".

qualities.

Although England did not partake much in the early 'exotic' animal trade, many seafarers attempted to domesticate and send or bring home foreign species. For instance, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a soldier, coloniser, and explorer of the Northwest Passage, supposedly acquired a sable during his 1583 voyage intended to establish an American settlement. Likely obtained in Newfoundland, Gilbert sent the creature back to his brother. Unfortunately no other information is given aside from the fact it never arrived, indicative of the challenge it was to keep animals alive during long-distance travel.[70] As argued by Heal, live animals as gifts were extremely significant because "they could enact the status of the donor more directly than the inanimate".[71] Predominantly, foreign animals featured as gifts between nobility or for diplomacy reasons.[72] However, Gilbert's Sable shows that live animals were also sometimes gifted to family members. The purpose of live animals brought back to England thus sometimes extended beyond the realms of trade or diplomatic offerings. It is possible Gilbert sought to contribute to his family's reputation through exotic animal ownership. However, it is equally possible Gilbert sent the Sable for the interest and enjoyment of his brother. As Grigson's work on Menageries concluded, while animals provided a method of showcasing wealth, prestige and foreign connections, "presumably they also provided enjoyment for their new owners".[73]

Similarly, in 1613 Robert Fotherby, an English explorer and whaler, noted how he and the crew had caught and 'domesticated' a group of Greenland foxes with the intent of bringing them home.

[70] Edward Haies, "A report of the voyage and success thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight" in *Principal Navigations*, 8, p. 60.
[71] Felicity Heal, "Presenting Noble Beasts: Gifts of Animals in Tudor and Stuart Diplomacy"in Jan Hennings and Tracey A Sowerby, (eds) *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410-1800* (Oxfordshire, 2017) p. 190.
[72] *Ibid*.
[73] Grigson, *Menagerie*, p. 7.

> Wee caught manie young foxes, which wee made as tame and familiar as spaniel-whelpes. I brought one of them out of the country, til we came to the coast of England, and ther he died.[74]

Both Gilbert's and Fortherby's accounts highlight the importance of personal relationships with animals. Although it is highly unlikely Fotherby considered the foxes direct equivalents to dogs, his comparison of them to spaniels shows his desire to familiarise these animals. In addition, there is the added element of domestication. Just as exotic birds were a broad symbol of European domination over foreign lands, 'domesticating' an animal could symbolically reinforce human dominion over nature. Acts of dominion, such as domesticating wild animals, documented in published accounts permeated a broader discourse of English success and superiority. Strother Robert's assessment of misidentified Indigenous dogs in New England showcases the symbolic significance of domestication, particularly of typically 'wild' species. Roberts highlighted that English writers persisted in believing Native Americans incapable of animal domestication as so many Indigenous dogs were mistakenly referred to as wolves.[75] He argued that the English fostered a "cultural chauvinistic sense of civilisational superiority" through the concept of domestication.[76] Additionally, he highlighted that because both wolves and Indigenous dogs stood in the way of the agricultural economy planned for New England, identifying the two differently was unnecessary.[77] Using this analysis, it can be determined that by comparing the foxes to spaniels, Fotherby promoted a sense of civilised superiority over the natural wilderness. As

[74] Fotherby, "A short discourse", p. 62.
[75] Strother E. Roberts, "That's not a wolf: English misconceptions and the fate of New England's Indigenous Dogs", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 79.3 (2022) pp. 357-92.
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] *Ibid.*

discussed in Chapter One, there was a broad cultural interest in reversing the effects of the Fall of Man.[78] This included bringing 'fallen' wild animals back under the divine rightful control of man. Fotherby showcased this to be possible, even if the foxes themselves were unsuccessfully brought to England. The account therefore not only indicates the curious interest seafarers had with foreign species, but also their personal desire to assert dominion and domesticate them, particularly if the wild species had similar characteristics to known domestic animals in England. Consequently, it is likely accounts of domestication and dominion, as well as the physical animals being brought to England, contributed to a growing discourse of success and belonging within the Atlantic. While animals long had symbolic value in English society, symbolisms for some foreign creatures became increasingly intertwined with English agendas for the Atlantic world.

Novelty and grandness were important traits of animals gifts for people of status, particularly the monarch. Heal identified that live animals were a different kind of gift, which could enact status through the uniqueness or even quality of breeding. With increased exploration, some animal species were assessed for their quality as a gift to the monarch. Although little contemporaneous detail is given regarding what made an animal a worthy gift, often they were animals of significant size, beauty or strength.[79] For example, in 1610 Jonas Poole brought back three polar bear cubs from his expedition to Bear Island. It is possible the bears were chosen for the species' historic presence at the Tower of London. Additionally, their white fur and large size once fully grown would have made them interesting alternatives to the usual bears kept by the monarch, prized for baiting. These cubs were placed in the care of the Masters of the Royal Game of Bears, Bulls and Mastiff Dogs.[80] They were then brought out on special occasions to perform in theatre shows for James I. On Shrove Tuesday

[78] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*.
[79] Heal, "Food Gifts".
[80] Grigson, *Menagerie*, p. 21.

of 1610, the cubs appeared in the play *Macedorus*. New scenes were added "which the audience found hilarious".[81] Additionally, on New Year's Day (1611), *The Masque of Oberon* was performed in the Banqueting Hall at White Hall. When Prince Henry, the title role, rode onto stage he was in a chariot drawn by the two cubs.[82] Grigson's assessment of English menageries concluded that underlaying the curiosity for the natural world was a greed for novelty which was spurred on by the discovery of new lands across the seas.[83] As a result, seafarers had increased reason to assess and provide novelty foreign creatures for upper class collectors. Furthermore, Daston and Park's work summarised that nature inspired wonder when operating on the margins of the 'known' world, setting the divisions between domestic and exotic.[84] Wonderous creatures, such as the polar bears, invoked inquiry and emotion, which likely contributed to a desire to own and witness novelty, as discussed by Grigson.[85]

As living creatures, some animals held emotional value for individuals, particularly if their species had a long tradition of high regard. As Europeans encountered and explored the Atlantic, stories and events spread throughout the maritime community, reinforcing certain attitudes about animals rather than bringing them into question. The second voyage of John Hawkins, 1564, travelled the coast of Guinea before crossing the Atlantic to Dominica and Cuba. His account included a list of animals, including the "venemous beasts" found in Florida. Within this list, Hawkins noted a "miracle" he heard regarding a falcon which was attacked by an adder.

I heard a miracle of one of these adders upon the which a Faulcon seazing the said adder

[81] *Ibid.*
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Ibid*, p. 262.
[84] Daston and Park, (eds), *Wonders and the Order of Nature.*
[85] *Ibid*; Grigson, *Menagerie*.

> did claspe her taile about her, which the French Captaine feeling, came to the rescue of the faulcon, and tooke her flaying the adder, and this faulcon being wilde hee did reclaime her, and kept her for the space of 2 months, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to cast her off.[86]

Birds of prey were extremely significant animals for many cultures. Perhaps considered second to the horse, hawks and falcons were not only valuable status animals but were also domesticated hunters who served their owners.[87] The captain, saving the wild falcon from the snake highlights the varying relationship people had with the animal kingdom during this period. There was an order, often expressed through the Chain of Being (as discussed in previous chapters) which evidently impacted the emotional responses individuals had to certain species.[88] Although birds of prey were predominantly valued for their use and status within human society, those values spread to foreign wild species as well. Additionally, Hawkins noted the falcon was 'reclaimed' from the wild, put under human protection and brought into a more civilised realm. While human dominion is a key theme here, it is interesting that the captain only asserted it for the benefit of the falcon. This shows some of the contradictions found within English understandings of the natural world. Although both animals, the snake was considered part of a wider natural wilderness.[89] However, the falcon was an animal deserving of human care, amenable to human control before being set free for its own survival. The account suggests the falcon was released out of necessity, again highlighting the difficulties of keeping animals during this period. Consequently, while much

[86] John Hawkins, "The Voyage Made by the Worshipful M John Haukins Esquire, now knight" in *Principal Navigations,* 10, pp. 59-60.
[87] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, p. 101.
[88] Anderson, *Creature of Empire*, p. 53; Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*.
[89] The snake was the animal which tempted Eve to take an apple from the forbidden tree. Shannon considered the extent to which Early Modern English people considered the Fall a result of the snake over the Devil. See Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal*.

of the animal kingdom was subjected to human dominion and exploitation, that did not mean early modern people did not develop fondness, alliance or even kinship towards some animals. Falcons were inherently valued for their traditional use within society. As a result, an individual animal's value did not always stem from its personal body, personality or talents, but could come from its species' wider cultural significance.

Aside from live animals, animal bodies or body parts were also valued gifts, particularly among people with wealth and status. One of the most famous gifts offered to a monarch was the narwhal horn presented to Elizabeth I. This gift, considered a 'unicorn' horn, was brought back from the islands around Greenland and northern Canada by Martin Frobisher after his second voyage in 1577. As George Best wrote, "this horne is to be seene and reserved as a Jewell by the Queenes Majesties commandement, in her Wardrope of Robes".[90] Settle's voyage account included in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* documented its finding as follows:

> On the West shore we found a dead fish floating, which had in his nose a horne straight and torquet, of length two yards and lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceive it hollow, into the which some of our sailors putting spiders they presently died. I saw not the trial hereof, but it was reported unto me of a truth: by the vertu whereof we supposes it to be a sea Unicorne.[91]

Pluskowski's assessment of unicorn horns in Medieval Europe argued that there was a significant interest in 'unicorn products' as visual displays.[92] Traditionally, narwhal tusks were understood to have magical properties. During the 1468 feast given in honour of the

[90] Best, "A true discourse of the three voyages of discoverie" in *Principal Navigations*, 7, p. 297.
[91] Settle, "The second voyage of M Martin Frobisher" in *Principal Navigations*, 7, p. 219.
[92] Aleksander Pluskowski, "Narwhals or Unicorns? Exotic Animals as Material Culture in Medieval Europe", *European Journal of Archeology*, 7.3 (2004) pp. 291-313.

marriage of Margaret of York and Charles, unicorn horns were placed in the four corners of the sideboard as they were understood as wards against poisoning.[93] In addition, they were often decorated and used as ecclesiastical staffs throughout the medieval period to the late sixteenth century.[94] Given the magical properties associated with unicorn horns it is likely the spiders were a test to the horn's powers. Later in the account Settle noted that the spiders were signs of great stores of gold, symbolically linking them to corruption.[95] It is probable that the death of the spiders confirmed the horn's purity.[96] While the divine powers of the unicorn horn did not seemingly last throughout the seventeenth century, it is significant that the value was based on both rarity and supernatural ability.[97] Although the narwhal tusk did become secularised throughout the early modern period, much of its value and importance as a symbol of prestige likely remained due to the significant supernatural legacy it held in earlier generations.

To seafarers around the same time, 'unicorn horns' were also deemed as valuable because other cultures regarded their significance. Upon reaching Florida, John Hawkins noted the Indigenous people had "pieces of Unicornes hornes, which they were about thier necks".[98] These horns were not narwhal tusks as Hawkins noted that the creature of origin was Indigenous and a land animal which "comming to the river to drinke, putteth the [horne] into the water before she drinketh".[99] The Floridians apparently claimed to have many 'unicorns', however it is unclear what species they might have been referring to. Hawkins noted that these horns claimed fame among the French, who obtained many pieces and so his own crew "brought home thereof to shewe".[100] He thus concluded that the land must have more

[93] *Ibid.*
[94] *Ibid.*
[95] Settle, "The second voyage of M Martin Frobisher".
[96] Katherine Rundell, "Consider the Narwhal*", London Review of Books,* 41(1) (2019).
[97] Pluskowski, "Narwhals or Unicorns?".
[98] Hawkins, "The voyage made by the worshipful M. John Haukins", p. 59.
[99] *Ibid,*
[100] *Ibid.*

commodities to offer.

> It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities, as well as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabite the same, can not yet come to light: but I trust God will reveale the same before it be long, to the great profite of them that shall take in hand.[101]

As with the various fish discussed in the previous section, Hawkins considered the natural world through a commercial lens, identifying valuable goods and expressing the possibility to locate more. However, Hawkins communicated the value of the unicorn horns through other people's interest in them. No other value is discussed besides their identification as unicorn horns and the interest of the French. Consequently, as with the horn presented to Queen Elizabeth I, the Floridian horns were also considered valuable due to the historic status unicorn horns had which was solidified by French interest. In addition, it appears Hawkins assumed the real value of the animals was not yet revealed to the Indigenous inhabitants. God's willingness to show said value thus gave Hawkins and the English a form of divine legitimacy to possess and exploit the profitable goods.

To determine, as the grand narrative of commodification does, that the natural world became increasingly valued for its utilitarian and commercial uses over time significantly diminishes the complex relationship people had with the animal kingdom. Anne Mackay's assessment of the commodification process expressed through English literature argued that it was the attachment of cultural and social meanings to animals (either as individuals or as whole species) which led to their use as significant objects to and for humans.[102] This

[101] *Ibid.*
[102] Anne Elyse Tuttle Mackay, *Animal Encounters in Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica* (Leiden, 2022).

presents a more rounded view of the varying influences. As demonstrated with the falcon, its value came from the historic relationship between European upper classes and hunting birds. Additionally, the traditional supernatural qualities of narwhal horns evidently contributed to their value as significant products and representations of status and wealth. Consequently, animal value was absorbed into the status economy of early modern England, solidifying the desire for and notion of ownership over the animal kingdom. However, what Mackay's assessment of literature does not show is the importance of interest and interaction. As seafarer accounts of domestication highlight, sometimes value was assigned based on an animal's ability to be assimilated into human society. In addition, the exchange of live animals shows the extent to which novelty, fascination and emotion contributed to an animal's value and eventual absorption into certain exchange networks.

*Wonder and Religion*

As demonstrated, wonder was a significant influence on how people during the early years of English Atlantic exploration saw and presented the natural world. Often, with wonder also came religious significance. Historiography has regularly discussed the intellectual challenges posed by the discovery of the 'New World'. [103] Elliott, for instance, summarised that sixteenth-century Europeans "collected facts as [they] collected exotic objects" however these needed to be assimilated into pre-existing modes of thinking lest they remained exotic curiosities.[104] Elliott suggested that natural products from America were most easily absorbed into European understanding as many had some practical use.[105] However, as demonstrated by Daston and Park, nature also produced wonderous curiosities. Operating on the margins of the natural world, "suspended between the mundane and the

[103] Thomas, *Religion;* Elliot, *The Old World*; Kupperman, (ed) *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750* (North Carolina, 1995).
[104] Elliot, *The Old World*, p. 31-2.
[105] *Ibid.*

marvellous", wonderous nature invited inquiry and emotion. [106] As the natural world became increasingly defined by laws, wonders lost their unique categorisation as they were now perceived to mark the very edges of possibility.[107] As a result, their presence drew intellectual, emotional and spiritual interest from English society for wonderous nature indicated the parameters of both natural and moral order. For many, wonders signified the creativity of God. Multiple seafarer journals demonstrated a genuine fascination with the animal kingdom which confirmed their belief in the Holy Creator. In addition, others also used religious significance in their voyage narratives to imply divine support for individual leaders or expeditions. Looking at two case studies, religion and wonder shall be shown to have been a significant influence on animal value. Firstly, the many descriptions of Atlantic flying fish demonstrate that seafarers found pleasure in passively witnessing the behaviour of foreign animals. This pleasure was usually modulated by cultural associations, however not always. Seafarers also documented a more 'genuine' or unexplainable pleasure which was more regularly used as evidence of God's divine abilities. Secondly, the omen of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's final voyage highlights the importance of religious symbolism in constructing particular voyage narratives. Both determine that animal value did not have to be related to commercial gain, prestige, or practicality. Spiritual and intellectual contemplation, and symbolism in narrative construction, were all less tangible yet socially valued aspects of the animal kingdom.

Perhaps the most intriguing of animals to the English seafaring community was the flying fish. There are around 64 different species of flying fish spread across both the Atlantic and Pacific. They are also especially prevalent around Barbados which adopted the name the "land of the flying fish".[108] Throughout the late sixteenth and into the seventeenth century,

[106] Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*.
[107] *Ibid.*
[108] "Barbados- flying fish and cou-cou", *Country life* (2022) p. 34.

seafarers documented the precarious situation of the fish, being hunted from all angles by both birds and other predacious aquatic fauna. John Hawkins, for example, described his joy at watching the hunting of these fish.

> There is a sea foule also that chaseth this flying fish as wel as the Bonito: for as the flying fish taketh her flight so doth this foule persue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleasure then hauking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often then 100 times for the foule can flie no way but one or other lighteth in her pawes the nomber of them are so abundant.[109]

For many, the hunting of flying fish provided as much entertainment as bloodsport in England. Just as John Hawkins detailed the fish' predators, so did Sir Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, who travelled to the West Indies in 1594.[110] He described how shoals of flying fish were pursued by other creatures "as if theare had bin some flock of larkes dared by the hobby".[111] Gutiérrez' work on cannibalism argued that the language of the marvellous remained dependent on old concepts.[112] When used in analogies, stereotypes were enforced and certain worlds became reinvigorated with new meanings.[113] Although discussing a different topic, John Hawkins comparison to hawking shows this very process. By associating the hunt of seabirds with the pleasure of watching hawking, the natural behaviour of seabirds and flying fish became characterised as an appealing event to witness for human entertainment. Although wrapped in wonder, his pleasure was rooted in the same appeals

[109] Hawkins, "The voyage made by the Worshipful M John Haukins", pp. 541-2.
[110] George F. Warner, (ed) *The Voyage of Sir Robert Dudley, to the West Indies: 1594-1595* (London, 2010), pp. 19-20.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Gutiérrez, "Traveling Anthropophagy: The Depiction of Cannibalism in Modern Travel Writing, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries".
[113] *Ibid.*

offered by traditional bloodsport demonstrating the impact of cultural preconditioning and English animal culture on how individuals perceived the wild. Similarly, years later John Hawkins' son, Richard Hawkins, made an almost identical comparison between traditional bloodsport roles and the hunters of the wild flying fish.[114]

> The dolphins and bonitoes are the houndes, and the alcatraces the hawkes, and the flying fishes the game; whose wonderfull making magnifieth the Creator, who for their safetie and helpe, hath given them extraordinary manner of fynnes, which serve in stead of wings, like those of the batt or rere-mouse; of such a delicate skinne, interlaced with small bones so curiously, as may well cause admiration in the beholders.[115]

Richard Hawkins took the comparison further by discussing the divine and natural qualities of both wild hunting behaviour and English bloodsport. Relating trained domesticated hunting animals to wild species highlights the entertainment and sport found in watching the wild animals interact. Unlike wild animals, domesticated hunters used their instinct under the command of human owners. Yet, as discussed in in Chapter Three, Bergman argued that much of the appeal of hunting was in the animality of it, accentuated through the barks and howls of hunting dogs or the cries of prey.[116] Hawkins' comparison of the wild species to domestic animals thus emphasises the natural appeal of hunting while relating it to a familiar, human controlled tradition.

Additionally, Hawkins assessed the function and beauty of the flying fish as evidence of divine creation. Sarah Parson's work on nature, providence, and piety in English seafaring culture highlighted the importance of preachers in seafaring towns. She summarised that

[114] Hawkins, *Observations*, p. 70.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] Bergman, "Spectacle of Beasts", p. 55.

there was a push to interpret the world as being God's creation for the use of man; "nature was an encouragement to piety just as preachers hoped".[117] Some ecclesiastics from the early seventeenth century used symbolism to attach value and use to flying fish. In a 1629 sermon, the fish were characterised as the wicked attempting to escape the judgement of God.

> If they take the wings of the morning and flie to the sea, God commands the sea, and that makes warre against them, as it did against the Egyptians. If they returne to the earth, the earth shal be cursed to them as it was to Cain. If they looke vp to heauen, they flie from a lion to a beare, God likewise ready to execute vengeance vpon them for their wicked courses.[118]

Here, the value of the same natural behaviour is in the spiritual teachings of the event, which symbolically emphasised the power of God and His command over the natural world. While Richard Hawkins noted the religious significance of the flying fish, as a product of God's creation, he, and the other authors of flying fish accounts, did not seemingly seek a practical or moralistic use. For Richard Hawkins, his personal interest and enjoyment of the fish proved to be valuable confirmations of the beauty, and thus divinity, of the natural world. Unlike the enjoyment of hunting, the wonderous beauty of the fish was not obviously derived from its cultural associations. Instead the fish's beauty was appreciated independently before being interpreted through Hawkins' culturally derived religious beliefs.

However, the religious wonder found in the animal kingdom was not always a product of personal fascination or appeal. Some seafarers identified religious communication within the foreign natural world in order to use divine messages as support for or to reshape a voyage

[117] Sarah Parsons, "The 'Wonders in the Deep' and the 'Mighty Tempest of the Sea': Nature, Providence and English Seafarers' Piety, c. 1580-1640", *Studies in Church History*, 46 (2010) pp. 194-204.
[118] Bezaleel Carter, *A sermon of Gods omnipotencie and prouidence*, (London, 1629).

narrative. In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert led an expedition to plant a colony in North America. Two days after leaving Plymouth the largest bark had an outbreak of disease and was forced to return home. Later, heavy seas and fog separated the *Squirrel* and the *Swallow* from the rest of the fleet. While all ships were reunited in Newfoundland, the *Swallow*'s captain had been overthrown and some of the sailors had raided French vessels along the way. With tensions high, some of the crew abandoned the expedition in Newfoundland while the rest continued to have misfortune. Navigating along the coast of North America, the largest remaining vessel, the *Delight*, ran aground on Sable island, drowning 80 men and taking along with it most of the provisions.[119] Consequently, Gilbert's captains convinced him to return to England. However, a violent storm off the Azores meant that the *Squirrel* sunk and Gilbert never made it home. Edward Haies, captain of the *Golden Hind* during this voyage set out to salvage Gilbert's reputation upon return. Among the "businesslike inventory" of Newfoundland's natural commodities, Haies descriptions of American animals implied signs of divine assistance.[120] Most interestingly, Haies emphasised the sighting of a 'lion' as an omen after the wreck of the *Delight*.

> So upon Saturday in the afternoon the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along betweene us and towards the land which we now forsooke a very lion to our seemings, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by mooving of his feete, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body… what opinion other had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbeare to deliver: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, rejoycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the devill.[121]

[119] Haies, "A Report of the voyage and success thereof".
[120] *Ibid*. See also, Andrea L Smalley, *Wild by Nature: North American Animals Confront Colonization*, (Baltimore, 2017) p. 12.
[121] Haies, "A Report of the voyage and success thereof", p. 70.

Given the description it is likely the 'lion' was a walrus, for Haies noted his "long teeth".[122] This omen was depicted as a positive sign, apparently embraced by Gilbert. After such a disastrous voyage the 'lion' presented Gilbert with a challenge, offering the opportunity to prove his heroic status. He welcomed the fight, showing courage, determination, and piety.[123] Sarah Parsons argued that omens were considered part of the patterns of the natural world and to identify extraordinary providence was a consequence of a lack of knowledge and agency. Yet Haies' account shows that omens had a more extensive reach. Due to the symbolic significance of animals, their presence was often used to construct narratives, as shown throughout the previous chapters. Haies used the event to illustrate the buccaneering and heroic character of Gilbert. Gilbert and the crew in the moment may have considered the 'lion' an omen after various natural events stripped them of their agency and thus potential for success. However, Haies purposefully featured the omen as a narrative piece over other forms of secular evidence, showing his agency in choosing to believe in the supernatural phenomena or appeal to those who would. It is also likely the religious symbolism stretched further than Gilbert's character but also to the significance of his colonial plans. Given America was often discussed in terms of the spiritual 'wilderness', settlement and the promotion of English civilisation could have been interpreted as part of God's fight against the devil. The appearance of the omen thus not only allowed Haies to comment upon Gilbert's character but also on the importance of Gilbert's plans to colonise the 'New World', reframing an essentially failed voyage which resulted in Gilbert's death into a purposeful endeavour.[124]

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[122] *Ibid*. See also, Allen M Glover, "The Walrus in New England", *American Society of Mammalogists*, 11.2 (1930) pp. 139-45; Steve Mentz, "Hakluyt's Oceans: Maritime Rhetoric in T*he Principal Navigations"* in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. By Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey (London, 2017).
[123] Mentz, "Hakluyt's Oceans".
[124] *Ibid;* Smalley, *Wild by Nature,* pp. 12-7.

While many animals became increasingly identified for their secular practical uses the animal kingdom as a whole broadly retained its religious significance throughout the first century of Atlantic exploration. Value in animals was found in all aspects of human life which was channelled through a lens of both English and maritime culture, tradition, and society. Alongside practical uses or commercial potential, animals were also valuable for spiritual and intellectual contemplation. Unfortunately, most of the sources came from highly ranked individuals, usually from the upper class in England with a literate education. The extent to which religious value and wonder permeated through all crew levels is a lot more difficult to grasp. However, the two considered case studies highlight the diversity in which wonder and religion was found in the natural world. The natural behaviour of flying fish and their predators invoked a culturally modulated pleasure influenced by the popular bloodsports hunting and hawking. Establishing this connection reinforces that the naturalistic element of using animals in sport was one of the main joys of hunting. Consequently, it can be determined that value could be found in the natural behaviour of animals when it related to socially established cultural recreation. In addition, value was also found in the beauty of the fish because of the spiritual contemplations their presence fostered. To those who perceived the world through a divine lens, the unexplainable pleasure felt just by witnessing the beauty and design of flying fish acted as a confirmation of personal religious beliefs. While cultural preconceptions could encourage value to be found in the animal kingdom, unexplainable wonder and personal fascination also gave non-human creatures value. For Hawkins, this was communicated through religious contemplation. Contrastingly the animal omen identified by Haies was identified and used as a vessel for divine messaging. Unlike the flying fish, the ‘lion’ was not valued for its natural behaviour. Instead it was used as a supernatural narrative piece, designed either consciously or unconsciously to comment upon the character of Gilbert and the potential future prospects of American colonisation. As demonstrated through the

discussion of commodification, religious wonder was also a tool that could be harnessed by seafaring authors due to the strong emotional and moral messaging it could invoke.

### *Conclusion*

Grand narratives of commodification and the rise of science in the early modern period have argued social and intellectual developments contributed to a secularisation of the natural world.[125] Through the search for an animals' purpose and greater investigations of their bodies, nature became increasingly defined by natural laws and market value. Likewise increased Atlantic exploration and competition saw monetary and practical value take precedent.[126] While this narrative has merit, particularly when applied across a large timespan, it fails to consider the multiple and diverse influences on how individuals saw the natural world. In England, the value of animals had long been entwined with human society. As Christian and philosophical teaching often stated, animals were intellectually inferior creatures designed for the subservience of man. Although practicality and monetary worth became more prominent during this period, as a result of increased market competition, imperial goals, and expansion, animals had many other values that continued to be recognised into the seventeenth century. For some species, value was ingrained by historic use and tradition. The significance of species such as hunting birds within the upper class meant that upper class seafarers also considered similar foreign species as valuable creatures. For others, animals had value depending on what they could offer man. However, this was not always practical or even secular as animals could have value in all aspects of human life, including spiritual confirmation, intellectual stimulation and recreation. In summary, it was the varying combination of diverse valuable qualities which constructed the identities of particular

[125] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*; Elliot, *The Old World*.
[126] Games, *Web of Empire*; Smith and Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels*; Brotton, *Renaissance Bazaar*.

species. As a result, many animals became increasingly commodified for the more complicated values they offered to varying parts of English society rather than their body's use as simple products, such as clothing, food or medicine.

# Conclusion

As natural parts of life and society, animals were used by early modern English people as food, recreational play-things, companions, protection, and profitable goods. As a consequence, they became absorbed into broader social and cultural processes such as establishing status, exploring identity and enacting authority. The development of this domestic animal culture significantly contributed to how the English experienced the Atlantic world, made sense of foreign environments and promoted a place for English people within them. Animals represented the state of their home environments; the presence of certain species could depict prosperity, opportunity, and exoticism or even sickliness and corruption. Furthermore, assessments of animal culture could be used to comment upon the civility of foreign societies to either highlight the potential for future beneficial relationships or justify failed attempts at communication by representing others as 'uncivilised'. Many seafaring authors also used their ability to navigate the natural world as an indicator of their legitimacy to occupy foreign spaces. Often, anecdotes were put in comparison against Spanish activity in order to demonstrate England's ability to compete with its greatest European competitors. The documentation of animal encounters thus reveals the messages seafaring authors attempted to convey about the lands, environments, and peoples they encountered. As a result, animals became part of constructed narratives, highlighting the imperial prospects of England through seemingly successful expeditions and prosperous lands. Overall, this dissertation has contributed a new perspective of the early unconsolidated Atlantic world by assessing the maritime experience of those who traversed it. Each of the chapters throughout this thesis has considered a different aspect of human-animal interactions to highlight the extent to which non-human creatures shaped and were shaped by human history. The key themes to come out of this research, such as belonging, violence, exploitation and ownership were all significant in shaping the future Atlantic world.

Answering the call of Atlanticists and Maritime Historians to discuss oceanic spaces as influential environments, Chapter one used spatial history to assess how seafarers engaged with the animal kingdom in different environmental and societal contexts. It found that the significant threat of the natural world during long distance oceanic travel meant that voyagers were extremely cautious of the animals they allowed into human spaces, most notably the ship. However, the chapter also demonstrated that animals helped seafarers navigate the dangers of the ocean and foreign landscapes. Aquatic creatures especially were understood as extensions of the ocean, consequently providing information of its activity. As voyages engaged with aquatic animals more regularly the English developed a deeper familiarity with the oceanic environment and what it could offer. Moreover, accounts which detailed successful navigation, hunting and fishing in the ocean thus demonstrated that the English were capable of successfully conquering oceanic space. Similarly, on land, animals were a vital tool used by explorers to situate themselves and the places they visited in their mental geography. They became key descriptive parts of published accounts, used to depict the appeal and potential of foreign landscapes. By summarizing new environments according what the animal population had to offer, whether that be high-valued resources or an Edenic paradise, voyage narratives projected the possibility of ownership and domestication over 'exotic' lands. Ultimately, the documented use of animals within transatlantic narratives laid the ground work for future settlement and management over natural resources as control and exploitation became the defined pillars of success.

Animal bodies were mostly important to seafarers as food. The significance of meat to the upper ranked meant that it was often included in their accounts as narrative devices, demonstrating the healthfulness of foreign places according to Galenic theory. Commentary on wholesomeness and cooking instructions indicated the suitability of English bodies for 'exotic' environments. However, the role of meat on board was never straight forward,

reflecting the precarious position of authority and hierarchy within ship crews. Multiple voyage accounts demonstrate that the lower ranked crew had some level of agency when it came to their diet. The extent this was exercised seemingly depended on leadership strength, meat availability and crew size. By investigating the specific role of meat, this chapter has contributed another perspective which supports the notion that crew hierarchies during this period were not static or given. Instead, leaders had to earn and maintain their position through demonstratable knowledge, suitable welfare and status performance, such as dining separately or reserving the right to the best caught fresh meats and fish.

Similarly, Chapter three's investigation of hunting and killing reveals more information about sailor communities and their impact. While killing was often necessary on long distance voyages, it also presented the opportunity to partake in the bonding rituals and showmanship associated with traditional bloodsports. Masculinity, skill and fearlessness were all valued within the male-dominated maritime communities. Within voyage narratives, hunting descriptions were used to demonstrate the status and skill of individuals and to indicate the ability for English people to prosper in lesser-known environments. Discourses of superiority on both a personal and national level thus became intertwined with violent expressions of human dominion. The development of this violent attitude towards the natural world may have been foundational in the eventual emergence of big game reservations and trophy hunting. While forms of trophy hunting among English aristocracy have been around since the Medieval period, the hunt as a feature of imperial culture in foreign landscapes became most evident in the nineteenth century.[1] Although seemingly a modern construction, trophy hunting in particular relies on the same notions of proving skill, success, masculinity and, now more commonly, wealth. In addition to appealing to personal satisfaction, voyage

[1] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester, 2017), pp. 6-24.

accounts also justified violence as a means of obtaining valuable knowledge about the natural world. Modern day societies continue to rely on animal testing and other forms of violence for knowledge (although this has started to be challenged more frequently). Understanding how and why animal violence was justified during this period, when our relationship with nature shifted, thus provides insight into the underpinnings of our current relationship with the animal kingdom.

The three previous chapters demonstrated that animals played a significant role in how voyagers interacted and interpreted the natural world, defined their own identities and explored the future position of England in the Atlantic world. However, the impact of this has to be explored. Chapter four engaged with the expansive field of human encounter and demonstrated that animal culture impacted English interactions with foreign societies in a similar manner across the whole Atlantic. The case studies showed cultures were broadly praised and critiqued through their interactions with non-human creatures, usually depending on how successful the English perceived their encounters to be. Moreover, published accounts relied on accentuating difference in order to justify failings and promote a sense of cultural superiority. Highlighting instances where the English navigated foreign landscapes more successfully than their Spanish competition, or made beneficial relationships with powerful local societies, contributed to a growing national discourse of English prosperity and justified action.

The key narrative that is associated with animal history during this period is the process of commodification, which is addressed and critiqued in the final chapter. Typically, increased commodification has been discussed alongside the Scientific Revolution as generating a de-animated and eventually secular understanding of the animal kingdom.[2] While scholars such as Daston and Park have challenged the impact of the apparent Scientific

[2] Ibid; Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*.

Revolution, this dissertation has reconsidered our understanding of the impact of Atlantic exploration demonstrating that Atlantic animals occupied a broader place in the minds of English people than as new economic possibilities.[3] Many animals were already for sale across Europe, valued predominantly for their market worth. For creatures such as fish, existing commodification encouraged greater English Atlantic activity. However, Atlantic activity also resulted in the commodification of new or lesser sold species. Both the process of commodification and Atlantic exploration influenced each other. Yet, defining animals by their resource value did not strip animals of their agency or emotional being. Instead, the increased desire to sell, own and consume animals encouraged a sense of closeness to nature. Animals bodies and behaviors also offered opportunities for intellectual and spiritual contemplation. To view animals during this period of history purely as commodities dismisses the nuanced position non-human creatures held in English society. Atlantic exploration did more than promote the view that animals were useful market goods but their role in helping voyagers understand the foreign world around them resulted in a closer relationship than ever before as fauna became increasingly valued for enriching and supporting almost every part of human life.

The conclusions this dissertation has drawn showcases that animal interactions and encounters were valued by English seafarers as narrative devices to help them explore the place of England and Englishness within the emerging Atlantic world. Overall, this research has contributed to the growing scholarly initiative to reconsider the important role of nature in both Atlantic and Maritime History. Moreover, by using a variety of case studies from across the Atlantic, it has shown that it is possible to write an expansive history of the ocean, taking into consideration its diversity of environments, landscapes and cultures, when the sources are rooted in one perspective. Returning to nation-focused histories will, as this

[3] Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*.

research has demonstrated, allow for deeper inspection into how and why cultural and social normalities formed. This research in particular has found that the combination of English animal culture, maritime society and the unique context of long distance voyaging underpinned a new and growing social narrative that dominion equated success. In addition, this was often achieved through violent means which could be justified as necessary for the future of the English commonwealth.

As the parameters of this study has only considered the initial fifty years of English Atlantic activity it has set a foundation for further research into the role of animals in England's later imperial history. As Margaret Jacob summarized, the naivete of the initial period, covered by this dissertation, combined with a lust for profit turned explorers into empiricists.[4] Extensive analysis of change over time would provide vital advancements to the conclusions of this dissertation. Imperialism often entailed the destruction of animal species, whether that be through big game hunting, further mass production of animal products or even habitat destruction. Likewise, it relied on the dehumanisation of black African people to allow for justified commodification and trade of human bodies. Recent work by Phillip Emanuel on British gifting of enslaved children mirrors similar themes of cultural superiority, fashion and human dominion as found in my analysis of Gainsh's elephant head trophy.[5] More investigation into the specifics of British and Atlantic animal culture in shaping how dehumanized individuals were treated would likely be a rewarding pursuit, contributing to our understanding the dehumanising process and the historical philosophical role of the human and animal states.

Similarly, this dissertation has opened up new discussions relating to violence, science and the appeal of collecting. James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew rightly summarized in 2008

[4] Margaret C, Jacob. "Afterword: Science, Capitalism and the State" in James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew (eds) *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York, 2008), pp. 333-44.
[5] Philip Emanuel. "As Fact as Ships Return he Will Send Every One a Boy: Enslaved Children as Gifts in the British Atlantic", *A journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies*, 44.2 (2023) 334-49.

that the history of science beyond Europe had become synonymous with heroic narratives of discovery, evidenced by Francis Bacon, Cook and Bougainville.[6] However, scientific advancements facilitated through travel were heavily linked to the typically violent processes of imperial consolidation and colonial expansion.[7] John McAleer's work on botanical networks highlights how exchanges of specimens were not always 'imperial' in character, nor were collecting or knowledge endeavors always related to imperial or political concerns.[8] McAleer's arguments reflect a similar finding to this dissertation as seafarers would interact and document animals for fun, personal interest or even spiritual contemplation. However, as McAleer also concludes, these actions helped shape broader empire activity just as much as empirical goals shaped personal interests and pursuits.[9] This can be seen in the historical narrative that empathy for animals did not develop until the nineteenth century, when conservation efforts organised into official bodies. Some of the sources considered in this dissertation have demonstrated empathy for animals did exist in certain contexts. Moreover, many conservation efforts have still inherently involved violence, most obviously demonstrated by the formation of game parks which allow 'ethical' forms of hunting of 'sustainability'. Likewise, conservation has largely continued the historical concept that human control is necessary. However, recent rewilding efforts, which stress a lack of human influence, showcase that control is not necessarily always the right answer. This dissertation has therefore opened a door to a much wider discussion about how and why control, and in many instances violence, have been historically justified as beneficial to empire, human society and even to nature itself.

[6] Delbourgo and Dew (eds), *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York, 2008), p. 1-28.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] John McAleer. "A Young Slip of Botany: Botanical Networks, the couth Atlantic, and Britain's Maritime World, 1790-1810", *Journal of Global History*, 11.1 (2016), 24-43.
[9] *Ibid.*

The final development that could come from this study is similar research into the Atlantic experience of different nations. This would not only advance and solidify our understanding of contemporaneous animal culture in different places, but would provide a more complete picture as to how animal culture impacted the development of the Atlantic world. The examples considered in this study have confirmed that animals were not simply commodified with the onset and acceleration of English Atlantic exploration. Instead, animals were invested with a variety of associations related to developing concepts of natural and moral order which shaped how individuals navigated the Atlantic as Englishmen and how they depicted foreign lands, environments and human societies back to English audiences. To understand the changing animal culture of other societies would enable a stronger analysis of human encounter, as each culture's perspective could be taken into equal consideration.

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