



**Toward a Blue Cultural Studies: The Sea, Maritime Culture,  
and Early Modern English Literature**

Journal:	<i>Literature Compass</i>
Manuscript ID:	LICO-0220.R2
Manuscript Type:	Article
Keywords:	Renaissance < Compass Sections, geography < Key topics, 17th Century < Compass Sections, poetry < Key topics, Milton, John < People, Shakespeare, William < People, Renaissance, The < Key Topics



review

Toward a Blue Cultural Studies:  
The Sea, Maritime Culture, and Early Modern English Literature

O what an endlesse worke haue I in hand,  
To count the seas abundant progeny,  
Whose fruitfull seede farre passeth those in land,  
And also those which wonne in th'azure sky.  
*The Faerie Queene* (4.12.1)

The new millennium is bringing humanities scholarship back to the sea. Renewed interest in the oceans informs interdisciplinary programs like HMAP (History of Marine Animal Populations) and Duke University's "Oceans Connect" initiative. It influences new thinking in the ecological sciences, public policy, and even international law. In the humanities, the leading edge of these discourses emerges out of the thriving and influential discipline of "Atlantic history," but other types of history have also been turning to the sea, including economic history, imperial history, the history of ideas, the history of science, and historical geography. These discourses seek out the maritime in order to reconsider standard discursive models. Looking closely at the sea, rather than just the land, challenges established habits of thought. This article examines some new developments in maritime studies, including the so-called "New Thalassology"; distinguishes these trends from now-traditional New Historicist and "Atlantic" scholarship; and suggests how these new methods can contribute to what I call a "blue cultural studies."<sup>1</sup> This new maritime perspective does not view the oceans simply as bodies to be crossed, but as subjects in themselves. Reconsidering the ocean as ocean can open up new analytical frames for scholars of early modern English literature, including a newly dynamic (and disorderly) sense of ecological relationships and a

1  
2  
3 different way of articulating multicultural connections in the early modern global world.  
4  
5 After summarizing these trends, I will briefly explore two practical examples of early  
6  
7 modern maritime literary criticism. Re-reading Milton's "Lycidas" with an oceanic  
8  
9 focus, I suggest, can revise our understanding of the early modern poetics of nature.  
10  
11 Exploring the Bermuda pamphlets and *The Tempest* with direct emphasis on the sea and  
12  
13 maritime geography offers new perspectives on the colonial project and its cultural  
14  
15 consequences.  
16  
17

18  
19  
20 The idea of a global and extra-territorial sea was a distinctive cultural  
21  
22 development in the early modern period.<sup>2</sup> As historians like John Hattendorf have  
23  
24 shown, the "boundless deep" defined a new global reality for early modern culture.<sup>3</sup> The  
25  
26 oceans have represented resistance to containment at least since Hugo Grotius's *Mare*  
27  
28 *Liberum* (1609) assailed the Portuguese monopoly of the East Indies trade.<sup>4</sup> The  
29  
30 "freedom of the seas" was always contested, and John Seldon's counterblast *Mare*  
31  
32 *Clausum* (1635) forcefully argued for legal control of maritime routes and resources, as  
33  
34 had the Papal pronouncements against which Grotius argued.<sup>5</sup> Oceanic freedom  
35  
36 functioned in the early modern period as a compelling cultural fantasy, in which the  
37  
38 ceaseless change and instability of the sea countered human existence on land.<sup>6</sup> This  
39  
40 sense of the ocean's challenge to landed order has ancient roots. Plato in the *Laws*  
41  
42 celebrates the location of a new city eleven miles inland: "had the city been on the  
43  
44 sea...no human power could have preserved you from corruption. Even the distance of  
45  
46 eleven miles is hardly enough. For the sea, although an agreeable, is a dangerous  
47  
48 companion, and a highway of strange morals and manners as well as of commerce."<sup>7</sup> It is  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 precisely these “strange morals and manners,” not to mention “commerce,” that now  
4  
5 draw scholars to the sea.  
6  
7

8           Powerful trends in late capitalism and postmodern culture made the maritime  
9 world less present in Western culture during the second half of the twentieth century.  
10  
11 The literary scholar Robert Foulke has described the “missing context” of the maritime in  
12 late twentieth-century Anglophone culture as a “historical...linguistic...and experiential”  
13 gap in our collective understanding.<sup>8</sup> The typical reader today has lost much of the  
14 specialized information, language, and first-hand experience of the sea that were once  
15 common in Western culture. Except as a space for recreation, the sea seems less present  
16 to early twenty-first-century English and American readers than it did to our ancestors.  
17  
18 Airline travel, containerization, the automation of ports, and even the romance of outer  
19 space have all contributed to the decreasing centrality of the maritime world in the  
20 Western imagination.<sup>9</sup> The modern era has also witnessed the discovery of maritime  
21 recreation, including such things as weekend beach-going and recreational swimming.<sup>10</sup>  
22  
23 But by turning the sea from a vision of chaos into a playground, the modern world has  
24 lost part of its cultural history.  
25  
26

27           Despite (or perhaps in reaction against) this diminution, the ocean is proving  
28 particularly amenable to twenty-first-century academic discourses and concerns. The  
29 scholarly benefits of the sea for many fields hinge precisely on its unfamiliarity, and on  
30 the shock of novelty that comes from jolting one’s mental habits and practices into a new  
31 structure. Historians explain the appeal of maritime scholarship through its  
32 reconfiguration of materials across and beyond national and linguistic borders. The  
33 oceans also connect the physical sciences with historical and cultural studies, as efforts to  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 “historicize the oceans” are currently bringing together historians, ecologists, marine  
4 biologists, environmentalists, and activists.<sup>11</sup> As Kären Wigen recently noted in an  
5  
6 *American Historical Review* Forum, “Maritime scholarship seems to have burst its  
7  
8 bounds.”<sup>12</sup> Wigen’s introduction lists multiple sub-fields that have been drawn to the sea,  
9  
10 including the histories of science, ideas, labor, business, the environment, colonialism,  
11  
12 and slavery (717). She also identifies several “common properties of ocean-oriented  
13  
14 histories,” which include a shared interest in maritime regions as modern and imperialist  
15  
16 constructs, attention to emic (i.e., culturally distinct) conceptions of the sea, an  
17  
18 understanding of maritime regions as “fractured, [and] fragmented,” a vision of them as  
19  
20 “intrinsically unstable” spaces, and interest in their capacity to “connect at a global as  
21  
22 well as regional level” (719-21). These features show historical scholarship substituting  
23  
24 new structures for existing hierarchies.  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30

31  
32 Current trends in the maritime humanities are emerging out of, and in critical  
33  
34 dialogue with, the recently-established discourse of “Atlantic history.”<sup>13</sup> Recent  
35  
36 scholarship, while championing the Atlantic’s challenge to the traditional division of  
37  
38 “European” and “American” histories, has begun to articulate a critique of the Atlantic  
39  
40 model.<sup>14</sup> Of course, Atlantic history has always come in many shapes and colors, from  
41  
42 the “Black Atlantic” defined and explored by Paul Gilroy to “Red” (i.e., Marxist)  
43  
44 histories of maritime labor by Marcus Rediker.<sup>15</sup> As Paul Cohen has recently observed,  
45  
46 however, Atlantic history as it is currently constituted risks hardening into a new Anglo-  
47  
48 American orthodoxy.<sup>16</sup> Literary scholarship can influence ongoing responses to the  
49  
50 Atlantic world by insisting on the abiding role of poetic forms and fluid spaces. An  
51  
52 understanding of Western culture in which the “seas were shifted from the margins to the  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 center of academic vision” can significantly transform traditional land-based, national  
4  
5 histories.<sup>17</sup>  
6  
7

8 The contribution of Anglophone literary scholars has thus far lagged somewhat  
9  
10 behind other fields in the maritime humanities. Despite abiding interest in figures like  
11  
12 Melville and Conrad, literary scholars have been slow to announce a “maritime  
13  
14 paradigm” or to constitute “maritime literature” as a subgenre.<sup>18</sup> New theorizations of the  
15  
16 maritime in literary culture have begun to appear recently, often drawing explicitly on  
17  
18 recent historiography. Projects like Margaret Cohen’s exploration of the nineteenth-  
19  
20 century international maritime novel, Joseph Roach’s investigations of “circum-Atlantic  
21  
22 performances,” and Ian Baucom’s spectre-filled Atlantic have begun to revitalize our  
23  
24 ideas of maritime English literature.<sup>19</sup> Within early modern studies, Bernhard Klein’s  
25  
26 work suggests possible new directions.<sup>20</sup> For early modern literary scholars, the place of  
27  
28 the sea remains wide open.  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36

### 37 **What is the New Thalassology?**

38  
39  
40

41 The term “new thalassology” (from the Greek *thalassos*, the sea) was coined by the  
42  
43 historians Nicholas Horden and Peregrine Purcell as part of their ambitious project to  
44  
45 revise Mediterranean history for a new generation. Their paradigm-announcing work is a  
46  
47 jointly-authored book, *The Corrupting Sea* (2000), which updates and responds to  
48  
49 Fernand Braudel’s massive study, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in*  
50  
51 *the Age of Philip II* (1972).<sup>21</sup> Horden and Purcell’s work, which takes its title and an  
52  
53 epigraph from Plato’s already-cited fear of the sea, has generated renewed debate about  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 the role of the Mediterranean in ancient and modern history.<sup>22</sup> In connecting Horden and  
4 Purcell's work to my own hopes for a blue cultural studies, I emphasize that, as Horden  
5 and Purcell rely on and extend Braudel, so early modern literary thalassologists should  
6 engage and critique influential New Historicist scholars from Stephen Greenblatt to  
7 Richard Helgerson to Mary Fuller.<sup>23</sup> Horden and Purcell complicate Braudel's  
8 Mediterranean by focusing on "microecologies" and local variations in maritime trade,  
9 aiming, in their words, to "close the gap...between the specialist interests of the ecologist  
10 and modern traditional political, social, and economic concerns in the study of the  
11 past."<sup>24</sup> Parallel efforts by early modern literary scholars can move beyond the now-  
12 established narratives of New Historicist and Atlantic history toward the cultural  
13 meanings of the oceans themselves. Horden and Purcell, focusing on the quickly-crossed  
14 Mediterranean, suggest that the distinctive feature of its maritime culture is  
15 "connectivity."<sup>25</sup> A transoceanic (not merely transatlantic) perspective can modify this  
16 concept to reimagine the cultural break of the Renaissance as the replacing of the  
17 Mediterranean basin – with its relatively short crossings, small tides, and easily  
18 connected city-states – with a global oceanic world, punctuated by vast deeps, dangerous  
19 long voyages around the horns of Africa and South America, ocean currents, and  
20 seasonal weather patterns. Braudel's assumption that Mediterranean sailors operated  
21 largely through "coasting" from landmark to landmark is probably exaggerated, but the  
22 challenges of navigating deep waters in comparison with the Mediterranean seem  
23 undeniable.<sup>26</sup>

24  
25 In early twenty-first century academic discourses, four major factors, separately  
26 and together, underlie the new maritime turn: globalization, environmentalism,  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 technology studies, and postcolonialism. Each of these concerns influences multiple  
4 disciplines in the humanities and sciences, and each connects directly to the oceans. My  
5 own primary interest is in using the oceanic environment to rethink early modern nature  
6 poetry (as here with “Lycidas”) and to reconsider paradigms of early modern  
7 globalization (through the Bermuda pamphlets), but I will briefly sketch all four  
8 possibilities.  
9

10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18 Postcolonial scholarship, whose steady inroads into premodern studies have  
19 recently been supplemented by the “postcolonial middle ages,” helps remind us that early  
20 modern imperialism and colonial resistance to it are both transoceanic histories.<sup>27</sup> Many  
21 recent developments in early modern history reflect the ongoing integration of  
22 postcolonial theory into all areas of humanities scholarship.<sup>28</sup> A variety of different  
23 articulations of postcolonial history have maritime resonance, and some also emphasize  
24 early modern origins.<sup>29</sup> Integrating postcolonial claims into our literary histories should  
25 also include new emphasis on early modern transoceanic culture and the structuring role  
26 of the maritime world.  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37

38  
39 Students of the history of technology also point out that innovative technologies  
40 like cartography and navigation underwrote early modern expansion.<sup>30</sup> In literary  
41 scholarship, the study of technology has most recently meant reinvigorated forms of  
42 “book history” and “print culture studies,” which treat Gutenberg’s invention as the key  
43 to early modern cultural transformations. But technologies outside the printing house  
44 fueled the radical expansion of European culture between the fourteenth and seventeenth  
45 centuries. The Portuguese carrack, which enabled the exploration of southern Africa and  
46 pioneered the sea-route to India in the fifteenth century, was a machine that might rival  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 Gutenberg's in terms of its worldwide impact. While Western literary culture has treated  
4 shipbuilding as an essential technology since Homer, the constant presence of ships has  
5 also muted our awareness of the dramatic expansion of nautical technologies in the early  
6 modern period.<sup>31</sup> The compass and many essential tools of navigation were medieval  
7 technologies – Chaucer wrote a *Treatise on the Astrolabe* – but new applications of these  
8 technologies at sea guided European ships after the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>32</sup>  
9  
10 Transoceanic shipping changed the European understanding of the world, and the early  
11 modern ship, as Josiah Blackmore has cogently argued, should be understood as a  
12 cultural icon. In fact, as Blackmore puts it, printed books and wooden ships are  
13 suggestively alike: “each is made of boards and cords, iron (bosses and nails); there is  
14 paper and writing in each.”<sup>33</sup> Both, also, are information-moving devices that spread  
15 European culture and colonies around the globe.  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30

31  
32 The sea is also, in Rachel Carlson's phrase, all around us, the largest element in  
33 our natural environment.<sup>34</sup> In our current cultural moment of ecologism,  
34 environmentalism, and ecocriticism, what seems surprising is not a new interest in the  
35 sea, but that maritime concerns have taken so long to penetrate literary ecologies.  
36  
37 Environmentalists recall that over seventy percent of the earth's surface is covered with  
38 water. Despite the realities of our terraqueous globe, most major studies of literary  
39 ecocriticism to date have engaged pastoral and terrestrial themes. Following either the  
40 English tradition of Wordsworth (Jonathan Bate) or the American school of Thoreau  
41 (Lawrence Buell), “green” literary scholarship has mostly been dry as well.<sup>35</sup> To some  
42 extent, this focus on the land has also occupied environmental historians to the exclusion  
43 of the seas. As the historian Jeff Bolster notes, however, the “ocean may be the next  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 frontier for environmental historians.”<sup>36</sup> Literary scholars may wish to consider this  
4  
5 advice also.  
6  
7

8 The globalization paradigm, finally, reminds us that long-distance trade and  
9  
10 travel, historically and even today, operates largely by sea.<sup>37</sup> Growing interest in early  
11  
12 modern empires, including Barbara Fuchs’s call for an “imperium studies,” need not  
13  
14 relegate themselves exclusively to land.<sup>38</sup> David Armitage’s provocative recent  
15  
16 distinction between the imperial elephant – the symbol of British India – and the  
17  
18 maritime whale suggests the benefits of considering sea-borne empires in dialogue with  
19  
20 landed polities.<sup>39</sup> Innovations in cartography have long been considered key parts of  
21  
22 early scientific innovation, but the maritime resonances of globes and navigational  
23  
24 materials remain to be fully explored.<sup>40</sup>  
25  
26  
27  
28

29 One possible objection to this call to investigate the symbolic force of the early  
30  
31 modern ocean may be that the sea has not always meant the same things to all people. W.  
32  
33 H. Auden’s influential study, *The Enchafèd Flood, or the Romantic Iconography of the*  
34  
35 *Sea*, insists that modern literary ideas of the ocean emerge uniquely in the Romantic  
36  
37 era.<sup>41</sup> Jonathan Raban, following Auden, states in his introduction to *The Oxford Book of*  
38  
39 *the Sea* that the sea is “taken for granted” and not written “directly about” between the  
40  
41 Anglo-Saxon lyric poem “The Seafarer” and the first stirrings of the Romantic sensibility  
42  
43 in Addison and Defoe.<sup>42</sup> Early modern literary scholarship should challenge Raban’s and  
44  
45 Auden’s widely-shared assumptions. While it is true that the sea takes on new resonance  
46  
47 in the Romantic period, Raban’s quest for proto-Romantic excursions makes him miss  
48  
49 the place of the sea in the early modern imagination. The early modern sea was not (yet)  
50  
51 the sublime theater of crisis and catastrophe that it became in Byron’s poems and  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
Turner's paintings. Rather, as my readings of "Lycidas" and the Bermuda pamphlets will show, early modern literary culture responded to the transoceanic turn of European culture by exploiting the sea's symbolic opposition to and inversion of the orderly world of land. For many early modern writers, the land is orderly and human; the sea chaotic and divine.

15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
Ariel's song in *The Tempest*, which Ian Baucom has bracingly re-read as "the anthem of postmodernity," captures this early modern understanding of sea as pure alterity.<sup>43</sup> Raban might also have found this representation of the sea-as-other in a passage he quotes from *Richard III*, in which Clarence's vision of submarine opulence – "Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl, / Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels" – presents these objects of desire as tokens of fearful mortality: "Methought what pain it was to drown!"<sup>44</sup> Seeing the sea as simultaneously wealth and death highlights two early modern patterns of maritime symbology: the sea is a highway to commercial prosperity and also a vision of God's torment. Raban and Auden overlook the bifurcated worldly-and-theological understanding of the sea in early modern culture. The literary sea would change by the time Melville and Conrad came to describe it, but as early modern European sailors circled the globe, the sea became crucial to Western culture's sense of itself and its place in the world.<sup>45</sup>

46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
In physical as well as cultural terms, the sea is a very different place from the land. Though our bodies are approximately two-thirds water, water is a hostile element that threatens human life. Many ancient texts define the sea through its basic inhospitability to human life, especially in traditions that link the sea to primeval chaos. Visions of paradise that strongly influenced early modern literature, including both

1  
2  
3 Hesiod's *Works and Days* and the Book of Revelation, hail an utopian future when "there  
4 will be no more sea."<sup>46</sup> As the fisherman in *Pericles* know, however, the ocean is also a  
5 space of abundance and recovery.<sup>47</sup> When the waves cast up Pericles, the fishermen  
6 insist that their maritime labor provides everything he needs: "flesh for holidays, fish for  
7 fasting days, and moreo'er puddings and flapjacks."<sup>48</sup> They even find armor in which  
8 Pericles can joust. The combination of hostility and fertility that the fishermen describe  
9 captures the sea's role as a metaphor for the contingencies of mortal life from classical  
10 and Biblical culture through (and beyond) the early modern period.

11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22 The meanings of the ocean in early modern literature reveal themselves through  
23 the symbolic opposition between the sea and the garden. As I will consider shortly  
24 through "Lycidas," gardens, and the pastoral tradition from Theocritus and Virgil  
25 forward, represent a fantasy of a happy, orderly coexistence between humanity and the  
26 natural world. Maritime literature from *The Odyssey* to *The Tempest* to "Lycidas" shows  
27 that mortal life becomes tenuous at sea. The opposition between the sea and the garden  
28 appears in one of early modern England's favorite classical poets, Ovid. In the *Tristia*,  
29 which Ovid wrote after being exiled from Rome in 8 CE, he laments that his new verses  
30 "were not written, as formerly, in my garden, / while I lounged on a favourite day-bed,"  
31 but instead were composed "at sea, / in wintry light, rough-tossed by filthy weather,  
32 spindrift / spattering the paper as I write."<sup>49</sup> Banished from his city and its gardens, Ovid  
33 sees shipboard versifying as an emblem of the estrangement of mankind from the watery  
34 world. Book 1 of the *Tristia*, with its repeated depictions of near-shipwrecks and stormy  
35 seas, suggests that this maritime topos provided a poetic focus for Ovid after his urban  
36 life was cut short. For early modern literary authors from Shakespeare to Milton, the sea  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 serves precisely as this other-space, a way to refigure traditional formulations about  
4 human beings in the world. It is with the sea's alterity in mind that I now turn to  
5  
6  
7  
8 "Lycidas" and the Bermuda pamphlets.  
9

### 10 11 12 **"The Remorseless Deep:" Lycidas Reconsidered** 13

14  
15  
16  
17 The standard critical understanding of "Lycidas" connects it to Milton's renovation of the  
18 traditions of English nature poetry and the pastoral elegy.<sup>50</sup> Critics have explored the  
19 poem's classical resonances (especially its echoes of Virgil and Theocritus); its  
20 revisionary relationship to the earlier pastorals of Jonson, Sidney, and Shakespeare; its  
21 prefiguration of *Paradise Lost*; and its ideological attack on the corrupt clergy of  
22 Milton's day.<sup>51</sup> That a poem about Edward King's death by drowning should have  
23 something more specific to say about the ocean has been less emphasized.<sup>52</sup> Scholars  
24 have long noted the influence of Sannazaro's "piscatory eclogues" (themselves indebted  
25 to Virgil), but almost always with the assumption that the claims of imperial epic or  
26 Christian humanism were paramount.<sup>53</sup> David Quint has influentially suggested that for  
27 Milton and his tradition, boats and sea travel were associated with romance's doomed  
28 struggle against epic.<sup>54</sup> A renewed focus on the waters themselves – as cultural symbol,  
29 physical setting, and emblem of inhospitable nature – seems overdue.  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47

48 The opposition between land and sea defines the poem's symbolic landscape. Its  
49 opening movement contrasts the landscape of pastoral poetry – "O ye Laurels...Ye  
50 Myrtle brown" (1-2) – against Lycidas's "wat'ry bier" (11). The poem's dramatic climax  
51 juxtaposes a flower catalog, including "Primrose that forsaken dies, / The tufted Crow-  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 toe, and pale Jessamine” (142-3), with a stark vision of Lycidas’s corpse on “the bottom  
4 of the monstrous world” (158). (Monstrous, in this context, seems synonymous with  
5 marine.) One of the poem’s most deeply classical moments relates pastoral fantasies of  
6 the “Laureate Hearse” (151), in which “our frail thoughts [can] dally with false surmise”  
7 (153). The reality-principle that intrudes on this rhapsody is explicitly maritime: “Ay  
8 me! Whilst thee the shores and sounding Seas / Wash far away, where’er thy bones are  
9 hurl’d” (154-5). The distinction is not only between a hospitable shore and an  
10 unwelcoming ocean; it is between the familiar and comforting landscape of classical  
11 pastoral on the one hand and the unknown North Sea on the other.<sup>55</sup> Even the famous  
12 appeal to nautical powers to rescue the corpse – “And, O ye Dolphins, waft the hapless  
13 youth” (164) – emphasizes the foreign space of the waters, in which even the homeward-  
14 looking “Angel” (163) may not exercise complete control.

15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

The poem’s depiction of marine alterity is more nuanced than the monster-filled blank spaces on medieval maps. “Lycidas” carefully distinguishes between fresh water that is healthy for humans and salt water that is hostile. Fresh water, like the “sacred well” (15) of the Muses, the pastoral “fountain” (24) by which the poet once sat with Lycidas, and even the “fresh dewes of night” (29) in which the two young poets labored, make the world safe for classicized English verse. This landscape, dominated by such figures as the river-God Camus (103-7), the legend of Arethusa and Alpheus, and the Virgilian river Mincius (86), represents an utopian water-world that vanishes when Edward King drowns in the “remorseless deep” (50). The struggle between Arethusa and the river-god Alpheus suggests that even fresh water contains violence, but the fantasy of union between the river and the fountain which Arethusa becomes – which early modern

1  
2  
3 mythographers read as an allegory of the union between truth and justice, or imperfection  
4 and virtue<sup>56</sup> – suggests that fresh waters can produce through conflict a livable,  
5  
6 interpretable world. This group of images models a complex but finally sustainable  
7  
8 water-world.  
9  
10

11  
12         Against land-based pastoral, presided over by Phoebus (76-84), the frequent  
13 allusions to Virgil and Theocritus, and the help-meets of fresh water, Arethusa, Camus,  
14 and the Muses's well, the poem juxtaposes Poseidon's salty kingdom. But even the sea-  
15 god deflects responsibility for King's death; his Herald Triton protests that neither "the  
16 Waves, [nor]...the Felon Winds, / ...hath doom'd this gentle swain" (91-2). Poseidon  
17 blames not his ocean but the faulty human tools that failed to navigate it: "It was that  
18 fatal and perfidious Bark / Built in th'eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark, / That sunk so  
19 low that sacred head of thine" (100-2). The emphasis here is on the ship as hubristic  
20 technology, its rigging no match for the alien world of the sea. The oceans thus figure  
21 the boundaries of human transgression; they function symbolically as places in the world  
22 into which mortal bodies cannot safely go. Human failure rather than divine hostility  
23 introduces the attack on the corrupt clergy of England; both suggest the incapacity of  
24 human ordering systems to match the divinely-created natural world.  
25  
26

27  
28         Images of redemption in "Lycidas" come not from classical poetry or human  
29 technology but from Christian revelation, first through St. Peter, "The Pilot of the  
30 Galilean lake" (109), and later through "the dear might of him that walk'd the waves"  
31 (173). The turn toward Christian triumphalism – "Weep no more, woeful Shepherds,  
32 weep no more, / For Lycidas your sorrow is not dead" (165-6) – clearly prefigures the  
33 transumptive attitude Milton will take toward classical precedent in *Paradise Lost* and  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 other poems. But oceanic and maritime symbols define the natural powers that resist  
4  
5 Christian redemption; both Peter and Christ remain at odds with the Sea of Galilee. Their  
6  
7 struggles against the ocean, Peter unsuccessfully as Pilot and Christ supernaturally by  
8  
9 walking on water, represent victories over a hostile nature. The imagined recovery of  
10  
11 Lycidas's body parallels the nightly descent of the sun into the ocean: "So sinks the day-  
12  
13 star in the Ocean bed, / And yet anon repairs his drooping head, / And tricks his beams,  
14  
15 and with new-spangled Ore, / Flames in the forehead of the morning sky" (168-71). This  
16  
17 image of the sun's daily combat with ocean, which the poet will repeat in the final stanza  
18  
19 ("And now the Sun... / ...was dropt into the Western bay" [190-1]), emphasizes  
20  
21 Christian revelation's triumph over salt water. Thus the description of Lycidas "sunk  
22  
23 low, but mounted high" (172) explicitly counters the "oozy Locks" (175) of the  
24  
25 waterlogged corpse. With his body "beneath the wat'ry floor" (167), Lycidas needs all  
26  
27 the force of Christian prophecy. The power of God to control and defeat the ocean –  
28  
29 what Christopher Connery calls the "suppression of the ocean" in Western culture<sup>57</sup> –  
30  
31 makes it possible for the "uncouth Swain" (186) to return to poetic concerns at the  
32  
33 poem's end. For readers with a maritime perspective, it will not seem coincidental that  
34  
35 the natural and poetic spaces that conclude the poem, "fresh Woods, and Pastures new"  
36  
37 (193), are land-locked. Milton's poem about drowning has, by its end, dried up the sea.  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47

#### 48 **Isle of Devils and Somers Island: Bermuda in the Early Modern Imagination**

49  
50  
51  
52  
53 Perhaps the most famous maritime scene in early modern English literature is the opening  
54  
55 of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.<sup>58</sup> While the geographical contexts of the play have been  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 expanded lately, with arguments advanced for New World and Mediterranean contexts,  
4  
5 as well as for the relevance of Africa, Ireland, and even Ovid's exile on the Black Sea,  
6  
7 the so-called "Bermuda pamphlets" remain central to the play's historical context.<sup>59</sup> If  
8  
9 one accepts that Shakespeare knew at least some of the descriptions of the wreck of the  
10  
11 *Sea-Venture* off Bermuda in 1609, and that he invokes this wreck via Ariel's reference to  
12  
13 the "still-vexed Bermoothes" (1.2.229), then the symbolic force of this unusual chain of  
14  
15 Atlantic islands provides a meaningful context for the play's larger portrayal of the early  
16  
17 modern maritime globe. What is important about Bermuda for *The Tempest*, I argue, is  
18  
19 not simply whether Shakespeare's language parallels Strachey's or Jordain's. Rather,  
20  
21 early modern ideas about the ocean, within which Bermuda occupies a privileged space,  
22  
23 underlie *The Tempest's* broader engagement with maritime culture. Numerous sixteenth-  
24  
25 and early seventeenth-century depictions paint the Bermudas as a deeply unsettling island  
26  
27 chain. It is both a key landmark for European sailors returning from the Caribbean and  
28  
29 also a constant danger to navigation. These islands, isolated from the North American  
30  
31 mainland and also from the island-chains of the Caribbean, represent a maximally  
32  
33 oceanic space. While New Historicist scholarship has valuably explored *The Tempest* as  
34  
35 a proto-colonial play that invokes Bermuda's connection to the Virginia Company, these  
36  
37 islands also speak directly to the symbolic resonance of the early modern ocean.  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44

45  
46 To invoke Bermuda in early seventeenth-century England was to name a very  
47  
48 different New World from Virginia, Peru, or even Newfoundland. The Bermuda islands  
49  
50 were strange, isolated, and as yet unconnected to any imperial or mercantile settlements.  
51  
52 The nine-month stay of the crew of the *Sea-Venture* in 1609 was not the first visit to  
53  
54 Bermuda by shipwrecked Europeans, though it may have been the longest to date, even  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 though the island may have been used as a haven for French privateers in the mid-  
4  
5 sixteenth century.<sup>60</sup> To transform these islands into a colonizable space entailed a  
6  
7 symbolic re-ordering of oceanic chaos. When the Isle of Devils was renamed Somers  
8  
9 Isle, something changed in early modern English culture's understanding of the deep sea.  
10  
11

12  
13       Bermuda's importance to the early modern maritime world flowed, first and  
14  
15 foremost, from geography. It was among the most isolated of the Caribbean and Atlantic  
16  
17 islands explored by European sailors after Columbus. Juan Bermudez of Spain, who  
18  
19 sailed with Columbus on his second voyage, is usually credited with discovering the  
20  
21 island group on one of the eleven or so Atlantic voyages he made between 1485 and  
22  
23 1519; the traditional discovery date of 1503 has stuck, though documentation is sparse.<sup>61</sup>  
24  
25  
26 The islands soon became part of a common eastward passage back to Europe from the  
27  
28 Caribbean; ships followed the Gulf Stream around the tip of Florida and up the coast of  
29  
30 North America before heading east with the prevailing winds. This voyage became the  
31  
32 standard route for the Spanish *flota* and, according to D. B. Quinn, it was the route  
33  
34 "followed by almost all shipping coming from the Caribbean" in the sixteenth and  
35  
36 seventeenth centuries.<sup>62</sup> On this route, the Bermudas served as both guide post and trap:  
37  
38 ships were instructed to sail north past the islands before turning east, but since this part  
39  
40 of the voyage often encountered northerly headwinds, the temptation to cut the corner  
41  
42 and sail close to the reefs on Bermuda's northern side often proved too much. When bad  
43  
44 weather struck, shipwrecks were common; the number of wrecks on the Bermudas is  
45  
46 "estimated cautiously at over thirty before 1600."<sup>63</sup> Thus the island group was a useful  
47  
48 haven for French and English privateers – French pirates may have attempted a  
49  
50 settlement in the mid-sixteenth-century, and Richard Grenville, after dropping off Ralph  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Lane's colony on the Outer Banks, captured Spain's *Santa Maria de San Vicente* near  
4 Bermuda in August 1589 – and a threat to unlucky mariners. On this scaffold of  
5  
6 geographical and navigational facts, legends of the “isle of devils” grew.  
7  
8  
9

10  
11 Early reports about Bermuda emphasized its inhospitable nature, often through  
12 Biblical and classical parallels, but also in language that suggests the land was too  
13 oceanic for comfort. The cumulative effect of many parallel descriptions represents these  
14 islands and their surrounding waters as a focal point for the supernatural powers of the  
15 ocean. Walter Raleigh described the area as “a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and  
16 storms” (1596); Samuel Champlain wrote that “The sea is very tempestuous about the  
17 said island, and the waves as high as mountains” (1610-11).<sup>64</sup> The first map of the island  
18 that has survived was made by Diego Ramiriz, whose vessel was wrecked there in 1603;  
19 it sketches an empty, claw-shaped space.<sup>65</sup> By contrast, Richard Norwood's map,  
20 published in 1626 but made from a 1618 survey of the island, parcels Bermuda up into a  
21 series of English settlements, thus effectively (in D. K. Smith's phrase) providing “the  
22 image of a domesticated Bermuda.”<sup>66</sup> When the *Sea-Venture* and her 150 souls arrived  
23 on the “Isle of Devils” in June 1609, the islands' unique geography and isolation within  
24 the early modern maritime world controlled their symbolic charge.  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43

44 Using this oceanic context to reconsider the two most famous descriptions of the  
45 *Sea-Venture's* wreck – William Strachey's “True Repertory,” which circulated in  
46 manuscript before being published by Samuel Purchas in 1625, and Sylvester Jourdain's  
47 *Discovery of the Bermudas, Otherwise Called the Isle of Devils*, published in London in  
48 1610 – emphasizes the conceptual tension between Strachey's and Jourdain's projects as  
49 humanist colonizers and Bermuda's function as symbol of the untamed ocean.<sup>67</sup> Both  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Strachey and Jourdain were connected to the Virginia Company, and their reports about  
4 the *Sea-Venture* suggest that, while these islands were difficult to colonize, colonial  
5 enterprise aimed precisely to transform such places. Through humanist tropes, these men  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10 displaced Bermuda's oceanic meanings. Strachey especially used humanist topoi to  
11  
12 engage his audience. His letter is addressed, in courtly fashion, to an "Excellent Lady"  
13  
14 (perhaps, according to Louis B. Wright, Sara, the wife of Sir Thomas Smith, a prominent  
15  
16 backer of the Virginia Company); he cites Horace's *Odes* several times; and he invokes  
17  
18 the herald of the Greek army at Troy when struggling to depict the storm.<sup>68</sup> "It is  
19  
20 impossible for me," Strachey writes, "had I the voice of Stentor and expression of as  
21  
22 many tongues as his throat of voices, to express the outcries and miseries" (6). Purchas's  
23  
24 marginal comment seems apt: "Swelling sea set forth in a swelling style" (7n). Strachey,  
25  
26 like other humanists, uses literary style to make his voyages and the New World itself  
27  
28 comprehensible to his English audience. Jourdain also turned to Homer to describe the  
29  
30 Bermudas: "For the islands of the Bermudas...were never inhabited by any Christian or  
31  
32 heathen people but ever esteemed and reputed a most prodigious and enchanted place,  
33  
34 affording nothing but gusts, storms, and foul weather, which made every navigator and  
35  
36 mariner to avoid them as Scylla and Charybdis, or as they would shun the Devil  
37  
38 himself."<sup>69</sup> These authors' depict the islands as traps for classical heroism to flatter the  
39  
40 heroic self-image of early modern explorers (and armchair explorers), and also to make  
41  
42 the exotic locale comprehensible for English readers.  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49

50 Both Strachey and Jourdain prefigure Milton in using Christian topoi to explain  
51  
52 their deliverance. Their turn to God's power, however, is not external like Milton's  
53  
54 invocation of Peter and Christ; rather, in their accounts the island itself acquires quasi-  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Christian virtue. For Strachey, the preservation of the crew reveals the hand of God in  
4 the world, and God's power to cleanse the devil's islands. "They be called commonly the  
5 Devil's Islands," he writes, "and are feared and avoided of all travelers alive above any  
6 other place in the world. Yet it pleased our merciful God to make even this hideous and  
7 hated place both the place of our safety and the means of our deliverance" (16). For  
8 Strachey, as for Jourdain, the assumption that Bermuda is not inhabitable was a "foul and  
9 general error" (16). Jourdain, while still using the phrase "Isle of Devils" in the title of  
10 his 1610 first edition, goes farther than Strachey in advertising the healthfulness of the  
11 islands: "Whereof my opinion sincerely of this island is that whereas it hath been and is  
12 still accounted the most dangerous, infortunate, and most forlorn place of the world, it is  
13 in truth the richest, healthfullest, and [most] pleasing land (the quantity and bigness  
14 thereof considered) and merely natural, as ever man set foot upon" (109). The second  
15 edition of Jourdain's pamphlet, published in 1613, makes the point explicit in a new title,  
16 *A Plaine Description of the Barmudas, now called Sommer Ilands*. The name refers to  
17 Sir George Somers, who guided the castaways through their order, but the islands now  
18 also recall the sun. The next logical step was colonization.

19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

Remaking the devil's island into a colonizable earthly paradise entailed reconceiving the Atlantic rim in the early modern English imagination. This project required skipping over eight hundred miles of open ocean to connect Bermuda to distant Virginia. The earliest description of the colony that arrived in Bermuda in 1612 was written by the surveyor Richard Norwood, who described the islands as "as it were the Key, [for] opening a passage, and making the way more safe to many parts of this new World, and especially to Virginia."<sup>70</sup> The ideological work of reimagining the islands as

1  
2  
3 paradise had been begun by Strachey and Jourdain, with their emphasis on Providential  
4 delivery facilitated by the island's natural hospitality. Richard Rich's pamphlet-length  
5 poem of twenty-two stanzas, *Newes from Virginia* (1610), shows how this ideological  
6 conversion connected Bermuda to Virginia. Rich's pamphlet, like Strachey's and  
7  
8 Jourdain's, uses the title to signal its overarching interest: if the key word for Strachey's  
9 letter is "wrack," and for Jourdain's pamphlet, "Bermudas," for Rich's poem, it is  
10  
11 "Virginia." The story of (as the title continues) "The Lost Flock Triumphant" assimilates  
12 Thomas Gates's and George Somers's survival with their subsequent rescue of the  
13 Virginia settlement.<sup>71</sup> Rich's poem also stakes out the humanist claims of poetry to  
14 exceed narrative description or private letters: "It is no idle fabulous taylor, / nor is it  
15 fayned newes: / For Truth herself is here arriu'd" (sig. A4). Like Strachey and Jourdain,  
16 Rich imputes the crew's survival to God – "heauen was Pylotte in this storme," he writes  
17 (sig. A4v) – and his relation of their survival (which, like Jourdain's account, omits the  
18 internal political strife among the shipwreck survivors that Strachey included, and which  
19 may have prevented Strachey's account from being published before 1625) accents the  
20 formal balance between the deaths of "Two only of their men" against two new births on  
21 the island: "And for the losse of those two soules, / which were accounted deere: / A  
22 Sonne and Daughter then was born, / and were Baptized there" (sig. B). The final appeal  
23 of Rich's poem is for more settlers for Virginia – "There is no feare of hunger here," he  
24 writes, "for Corne much store here growes" (sig. B2) – and Bermuda's hospitality has  
25 been subsumed into the larger narrative of the colony. Rich clearly values the landed  
26 Virginia colony more than the oceanic disorder that Bermuda had represented, and  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 careful reading of the pamphlets in maritime context can recover the conceptual labor  
4  
5  
6 needed to salvage Bermuda from the unknown sea.  
7

8 For literary scholars and readers of *The Tempest*, this narrative, in which colonial  
9  
10 interests and Christian triumphalism counteract the oceanic disorientation that Bermuda  
11  
12 once represented, provides a rich backdrop for characterizing Shakespeare's  
13  
14 understanding of the Virginia enterprise, the *Sea-Venture's* wreck, and oceanic space.  
15  
16 Competing depictions of the sea and the Bermuda islands in these texts encourage us to  
17  
18 consider not simply the opening storm but also *The Tempest's* other depictions of social  
19  
20 order and government in a maritime context. The shifting nature of the Bermudas, from  
21  
22 devil's islands to "Sommer Ilands" to the newest adjunct of the Virginia settlement,  
23  
24 shadows the play's interest in multiple forms of government, from Alonso's monarchy to  
25  
26 Prospero's (and Antonio's) dukedom. The tension between classical and Christian  
27  
28 interpretive frames in these texts also informs Shakespeare's play and its tension between  
29  
30 licit and illicit magic. Finally, the sense of Bermuda as a navigational "key" (to use  
31  
32 Norwood's word) asks us to reconsider the apparent location of the island in  
33  
34 Shakespeare's play, astride a different, but also crucial, sea-route between Algiers and  
35  
36 Naples. Shakespeare clearly did not intend his island to be Bermuda, but the shifting  
37  
38 meanings of Bermuda indicate how islands themselves were changing their meanings in  
39  
40 Shakespeare's England. This polyvalent, mutable island-ideology connects *The Tempest*  
41  
42 to a richer maritime historical context than conventional source study and New Historicist  
43  
44 deep contextualization have allowed.  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51

## 52 53 54 55 **Conclusion** 56 57 58 59 60

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6 Fuller consideration of the maritime world can provide new resources to early modern  
7  
8 literary scholars, including a relatively under-read but vast archive of maritime material,  
9  
10 from first-hand accounts to propagandistic poems, and a new perspective on the land-  
11  
12 based tropes and habits of both early modern writers and twenty-first-century critics. I  
13  
14 will close this essay with some brief suggestions for what a “blue cultural studies” – a  
15  
16 criticism that takes seriously the place of the ocean in early modern history and culture –  
17  
18 might look like.  
19  
20

21  
22       Oceanic tropes, from the perils of shipwreck to the frustrations of navigation, can  
23  
24 serve as powerful antidotes to pastoralism and other representations of landed stability.  
25  
26 Pastoral poetry in early modern England provided a fantasy of social and natural  
27  
28 harmony, of a perfectly transparent relation between humanity and the world. Even the  
29  
30 veiled political critiques typical of the pastorals of Sidney and Spenser operate in a  
31  
32 thoroughly landed world. Recognizing the sea in pastoral poems like “Lycidas” begins to  
33  
34 uncover the cultural implications of the transoceanic expansion of early modern culture.<sup>72</sup>  
35  
36  
37 Further work in this field would recover the tradition of piscatorial eclogues, which  
38  
39 developed out of allusions to Virgil and then continued in the poems of Sannazaro in  
40  
41 Italy and Phineas Fletcher and William Diaper in seventeenth-century England. Fishing  
42  
43 may never have been as central as keeping sheep to early modern English poetry, but  
44  
45 poets and writers engaged more directly with the oceanic world than we tend to  
46  
47 remember.  
48  
49  
50

51  
52       A clearer sense of the ocean’s disorienting impact on early modern global  
53  
54 connectivity can also make less tidy the cultural and historical contexts of early modern  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 literature. The fragile transoceanic networks that circulate around Bermuda provide a  
4  
5 good example of shifting and competing discourses within the English colonial project.  
6  
7  
8 Strachey and Jourdain were gentlemen explorers of a fairly familiar type, and it was in  
9  
10 their interest to emphasize the positive possibilities of transoceanic travel, but theirs were  
11  
12 hardly the only voices that constructed early modern English ideas of Bermuda.  
13  
14 Norwood, who also wrote navigational instruction manuals like *The Sea-Man's Practice*  
15  
16 (1637), speaks from the position of maritime expert, and one of the next-published  
17  
18 pamphlets about Bermuda was written by Lewes Hughes, the colony's first preacher (*A*  
19  
20 *Letter Sent into England from the Summer Ilands*, 1615). Two well-known seventeenth-  
21  
22 century poems, Andrew Marvell's "Bermudas" (1650) and Edmund Waller's "The Battle  
23  
24 of the Summer Islands" (1645), testify to continuing divergence regarding these islands'  
25  
26 symbolic meanings. The Bermuda network, which in the sixteenth-century also included  
27  
28 Spanish castaways, French pirates, and Portuguese slavers, shows overlapping cultural  
29  
30 spheres in conflict during the process of exploration and settlement.  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35

36 Finally, a blue cultural studies must consider the physical environment as a  
37  
38 substantial partner in the creation of cultural meaning. While ideologies of land  
39  
40 ownership, especially around enclosure, have long been a part of the discourse of early  
41  
42 modern literary criticism, too little attention has been paid to the ways in which  
43  
44 prolonged exposure to the deep sea challenged early modern legal, scientific, and literary  
45  
46 habits of thought. In this moment of ecocriticism and environmentalism, the mind-  
47  
48 stretching vastness of the sea provides powerful food for thought. Richard Grove's  
49  
50 provocative claim in *Green Imperialism* that modern environmentalism was born out of  
51  
52 the encounter between European explorers and what he terms "tropical island Edens"  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 suggests that we need to place the oceanic margins of the known world near the center of  
4  
5 our critical understandings of early modern culture. The sea, long treated as purely a  
6  
7 metaphor or simply unremarkable, provides new vistas for early modern literary studies.  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

For Peer Review

## Works Cited

- Alexander, David. *Decay of Trade: An Economic History of the Newfoundland Saltfish Trade, 1935-63*. St. John's: University of Newfoundland Press, 1977.
- Andrews, Kenneth R. *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Armitage, David, and Michael J. Braddick, eds. *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*. London: Palgrave, 2002.
- . *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- . "The Elephant and the Whale: Empires of Land and Sea." *Journal of Maritime Research* (2007).
- Auden, W. H. *The Enchafed Flood, or the Romantic Iconography of the Sea*. London: faber and faber, 1951.
- Bailyn, Bernard. *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Baucom, Ian. *Specters of the Atlantic: Finance Capital, Slavery, and the Philosophy of History*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- . "Hydrographies." *Geographical Review* 89:2 (April 1999): 301-13.
- Bender, Bert. *Sea-Brothers: The Tradition of American Sea Fiction from Moby-Dick to the Present*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
- Bolster, W. Jeffrey. "Opportunities in Marine Environmental History." *Environmental History* 11 (July 2006): 1-31.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Two volumes. Sian Reynolds, trans. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.
- Brotton, Jerry. *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World*. London: Reaktion, 1997.
- Brown, Eric C. "Underworld Sailors in Milton's 'Lycidas' and Virgil's *Aeneid*." *Milton Quarterly* 36:1 (March 2002): 34-45.
- Carlson, Rachel. *The Sea Around Us*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

- 1  
2  
3 Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, ed. *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.  
4  
5  
6 Cohen, Margaret. "Traveling Genres." *New Literary History* 34:3 (Summer 2003): 481-  
7 500.  
8  
9 Cohen, Paul. "Was There an Amerindian Atlantic?: Reflections on the Limits of a  
10 Historiographical Concept." *History of European Ideas* 34:4 (December 2008):  
11 388-410.  
12  
13  
14 Conley, Tom. *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France*.  
15 Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.  
16  
17 Connelly, Joy. "The Aesthetics of the Collective in Vergil and Milton." *Literary*  
18 *Imagination* 3 (2006): 477-92.  
19  
20  
21 Connery, Christopher L. "Ideologies of Land and Sea: Alfred Thayer Mahan, Carl  
22 Schmitt, and the Shaping of Global Myth Elements." *boundary 2* 28:2 (2001):  
23 173-2001.  
24  
25  
26 -----, "There was no more sea: The Suppression of the Ocean, from the Bible to  
27 Cyberspace." *Journal of Historical Geography* 32 (2006): 494-511.  
28  
29 -----, "The Oceanic Feeling and the Regional Imaginary." *Global/Local:*  
30 *Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*. Rob Wilson and Wimal  
31 Dissanayake, eds. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996: 284-311.  
32  
33  
34 Corbain, Alain. *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World,*  
35 *1750-1840*. Jocelyn Phelps, trans. Berkeley: University of California Press,  
36 1994.  
37  
38  
39 Coupe, Laurence, ed. *The Green Studies Reader: From Romanticism to Ecocriticism*.  
40 London: Routledge, 2000.  
41  
42  
43 Cunliffe, Barry. *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and Its Peoples, 8000 BC – AD 1500*.  
44 Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.  
45  
46  
47 Deacon, Margaret. *Scientists and the Sea, 1650-1900*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing,  
48 1997.  
49  
50 Diaper, William. *Dryades; or, the Nymphs Prophecy*. London: Bernard Lintott, 1713.  
51  
52  
53 Elliot, John H. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in American, 1492 –*  
54 *1830*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.  
55  
56  
57 Estok, Simon. "A Report Card on Ecocriticism." *Journal of the Australasian*  
58 *Universities Language and Literature Association* 96 (2001): 220-38.  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60
- Finamore, Daniel, ed. *Maritime History as World History*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.
- Fuller, Mary C. *Voyages in Print: English Narratives of Travel to America, 1576-1624*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Fingard, Judith. *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Fitzmaurice, Andrew. *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Foulke, Robert. *The Sea Voyage Narrative*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Fuchs, Barbara. "Imperium Studies: Theorizing Early Modern Expansion." *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren, eds. New York: Palgrave, 2003: 71-92.
- Games, Alison. "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities." *American Historical Review* 111:3 (June 2006): 741-57.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Gillis, John. *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World*. New York: Palgrave, 2004.
- Glissant, Édouard. *Poetics of Relation*. Betsy Wing, trans. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Glotfelty, Cheryl, and Harold Fromm, eds. *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Greene, Jack P., and Philip D. Morgan, eds. *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Grove, Richard. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1868*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Harris W. V. *Rethinking the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

1  
2  
3 Hattendorf, John. *"The Boundless Deep...": The European Conquest of the Oceans, 1450-1840*. Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 2003.

4  
5  
6  
7 -----, ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Maritime History*. Oxford: Oxford  
8 University Press, 2007.

9  
10 Helgerson, Richard. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*.  
11 Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

12  
13  
14 Horden, Peregrine, and Nicholas Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New  
15 Thalassology.'" *American Historical Review* 111:3 (June 2006): 733-6.

16  
17 -----, ed. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell,  
18 2000.

19  
20  
21 Hulme, Peter. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*.  
22 London: Methuen, 1987.

23  
24 -----, "Cast Away." *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*. Bernhard Klein  
25 and Gesa Mackenthun, eds. New York: Routledge, 2004: 187-207.

26  
27  
28 Jacob, Christian. *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches to Cartography  
29 Throughout History*. Edward Dahl, ed. Tom Conley, trans. Chicago: University  
30 of Chicago Press, 2006.

31  
32  
33 Klein, Bernhard, and Gesa Mackenthun, eds. *Sea-Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*.  
34 New York: Routledge, 2004.

35  
36 -----, ed. *Fictions of the Sea: Critical Perspectives on the Ocean in English  
37 Literature and Culture*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2002.

38  
39  
40 Kurlansky, Mark. *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World*. New York:  
41 Penguin, 1997.

42  
43  
44 Lambert, David, Luciana Martins, and Miles Ogborn. "Currents, Visions, and Voyages:  
45 Historical Geographies of the Sea." *Journal of Historical Geography* 32 (2006):  
46 479-93.

47  
48 Landström, Björn. *The Ship: An Illustrated History*. New York: Doubleday, 1961.

49  
50  
51 Levinson, Marc. *The Box: How the Shipping Container Made the World Smaller and the  
52 World Economy Bigger*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

53  
54  
55 Lindheim, Nancy. *The Virgilian Pastoral Tradition*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University  
56 Press, 2005.

- 1  
2  
3 Mentz, Steve. "Reason, Faith, and Shipwreck in Sidney's *New Arcadia*." *Studies in*  
4 *English Literature* 44:1 (Winter 2004): 1-18.  
5  
6  
7 ----- . *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean*. London: Continuum/Shakespeare  
8 Now!, forthcoming 2009.  
9  
10 Milton, John. "Lycidas." *The Complete Poems and Major Prose*. Merrit Hughes, ed.  
11 New York: Macmillan, 1957: 116-25.  
12  
13  
14 Muldoon, James. "Who Owns the Sea?" *Fictions of the Sea: Critical Perspectives on*  
15 *the Ocean in English Literature and Culture*. Bernhard Klein, ed. Aldershot:  
16 Ashgate Publishing, 2002: 13-27.  
17  
18  
19 Norwood, Richard. *The Journal of Richard Norwood*. Wesley Frank Craven and Walter  
20 B. Hayward, eds. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1945.  
21  
22  
23 Ovid, *Tristia, The Poems of Exile*. Peter Green, trans. Berkeley: University of California  
24 Press, 2005.  
25  
26  
27 Patterson, Annabel. *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry*. Berkeley: University of  
28 California Press, 1988.  
29  
30  
31 Peck, John. *Maritime Fiction: Sailors and the Sea in British and American Novels, 1719-*  
32 *1917*. New York: St Martin's, 2000.  
33  
34  
35 Peters, Edward. "Quid nobis cum pelago?: The New Thalassology and the Economic  
36 History of Europe." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34:1 (Summer 2003):  
37 49-61.  
38  
39  
40 Plato. *The Laws*. Trevor J. Saunders, ed. New York: Penguin, 2005.  
41  
42  
43  
44 Quinn, David B. "Bermuda in the Age of Exploration and Early Settlement." *Bermuda*  
45 *Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History* 1 (1989): 1-23.  
46  
47  
48 Quint, David. *Epic and Empire: The Politics of Form from Virgil to Milton*. Princeton:  
49 Princeton University Press, 1993.  
50  
51  
52 Raban, Jonathan, ed. *The Oxford Book of the Sea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,  
53 1992.  
54  
55  
56 Rediker, Marcus. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates,*  
57 *and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge  
58 University Press, 1989.  
59  
60 ----- . *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age*. Boston:  
Beacon Press, 2004.



- . *The Slave Ship: A Human History*. New York: Viking, 2007.
- and Peter Lindbaugh. *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001.
- Rich, Richard. *Newes from Virginia...* London: John Wright, 1610.
- Rhodes, Neil, and Jonathan Sawday. *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Rood, Tim. *The Sea! The Sea!: The Shout of the Ten Thousand in the Modern Imagination*. London: Duckworth, 2004.
- Rose, Susan. *The Medieval Sea*. London: Continuum, 2007.
- Rosenberg, Andrew, W. Jeffrey Bolster, Karen Alexander, William Leavenworth, Andrew Cooper, and Matthew McKenzie. "The History of Ocean Resources: Modeling Cod Biomass Using Historical Records." *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* 3:2 (2005): 84-90.
- Rozwadowski, Helen, and David van Keuren, eds., *The Machine in Neptune's Garden: Historical Perspectives on Technology and the Marine Environment*. Sagamore Beach: Science History Publications/USA, 2004.
- . *Fathoming the Ocean: The Discovery and Exploration of the Deep Sea*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2005.
- Sansone, David. "How Milton Reads: Scripture, the Classics, and That Two-Handed Engine." *Modern Philology* (2006): 332-57.
- Shohet, Lauren. "Subjects and Objects in 'Lycidas'." *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 47 (2005): 101-19.
- Shakespeare, William. *The Tempest*. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, eds. London: Thomson Learning, 1999.
- . *Pericles*. Suzanne Gosset, ed. London: Thomson Learning, 2003.
- Shumaker, Wayne. "Flowerets and Sounding Seas: A Study in the Affective Structure of Lycidas." *PMLA* 66 (1951): 485-94.
- Singh, Jyotsna. *A Companion to the Global Renaissance – 1550-1660: English Culture and Literature in the Era of Expansion*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2009.



- 1  
2  
3 Smith, D. K. *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England*. Aldershot:  
4 Ashgate Publishing, 2008.  
5  
6  
7 Snyder, Susan. "Nature, History, and the Waters of Lycidas." *Huntington Library*  
8 *Quarterly* 50 (1987): 323-35.  
9  
10 Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. A. C. Hamilton, ed. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Longman,  
11 2001.  
12  
13  
14 Urbain, Jean-Claude Didier. *At the Beach*. Catherine Porter, trans. Minneapolis:  
15 University of Minnesota Press, 2003.  
16  
17  
18 Vaughan, Alden T. "William Strachey's 'True Reportory' and Shakespeare: A Closer  
19 Look at the Evidence." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59:3 (2008): 245-73.  
20  
21  
22 Vickers, Daniel. *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County,*  
23 *Massachusetts, 1630 – 1850*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,  
24 1994.  
25  
26 ----- . *Young Men and the Sea*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.  
27  
28  
29 Wallace, David. *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn*.  
30 London: Blackwell, 2004.  
31  
32 Wigen, Kären. "Introduction: Oceans of History." *American Historical Review* 111:3  
33 (June 2006): 717-21.  
34  
35  
36 Wright, Louis B., ed. *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609: Two Narratives*. Charlottesville:  
37 University of Virginia Press, 1964.  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> For a more speculative introduction to this phrase, see in my forthcoming book, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean*.

<sup>2</sup> On early modern voyages of circumnavigation “the truly founding gesture of globalization, see Hulme, “Cast Away,” 190. See also Connery, “The Oceanic Feeling.”

<sup>3</sup> For a visually stimulating introduction to early modern maritime history, see John Hattendorf’s exhibition catalog, *The Boundless Deep*. Hattendorf has also produced numerous other studies and collection, including most recently the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Maritime History*.

<sup>4</sup> The struggle between terrestrial order and marine chaos has been a recurring trope in the West; early modern writers drew on a series of ancient Near Eastern myths in which gods of the earth (including Yahweh) created dry land by defeating gods of the sea. On the *Chaoskampf* between land and sea, see Connery, “*There was no more sea.*”

<sup>5</sup> On the early modern ocean as a legal space, see Muldoon, “Who Owns the Sea?”

<sup>6</sup> This conception of the sea would remain influential long after the Renaissance; Hegel’s *Philosophy of History* (1837) treated the sea in exactly these terms, as “the idea of the indefinite, the unlimited, and the infinite...the sea invites man to conquest, and to piratical plunder, but also to honest gain and commerce” (see Connery, “Ideologies of Land and Sea”).

<sup>7</sup> Plato, *Laws* (4).

<sup>8</sup> See *The Sea-Voyage Narrative*, esp. 18-20.

<sup>9</sup> See Levinson, *The Box*, for a history of the surprisingly powerful impact of container shipping on the modern economy.

<sup>10</sup> On the history of Western culture and beachgoing, see Corbain, *The Lure of the Sea*, and Urbain, *On the Beach*. Corbain suggests that the seaside was not “discovered” by Europeans until the mid-eighteenth century, but his rich reading of classical and early modern culture suggests otherwise.

<sup>11</sup> As I will discuss, maritime material is appearing in various discourses, including environmental history (see Bolster, “Opportunities in Marine Environmental History,” and Grove, *Green Imperialism*); histories of globalization (see Finamore, *Maritime History as World History*); histories of science (see Rozwadowski, *Fathoming the Ocean*, and Deacon, *Scientists and the Sea*); and literary history (see Klein and Mackenthun, *Sea-Changes*).

<sup>12</sup> See “Introduction: Oceans of History,” 717. Further citations in the text.

<sup>13</sup> Atlantic history has a vast bibliography. For a recent survey edited by two major figures in the field, see Greene and Morgan, *Atlantic History*. Among many other works, see also Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement*; Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World*; Armitage and Braddock, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*; and Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*.

<sup>14</sup> On the current status of Atlantic history, see, among others, Games, “Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities.”

<sup>15</sup> See Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*; Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea; Villains of All Nations; The Slave Ship*; Rediker and Lindbaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra*.

<sup>16</sup> See Cohen, “Was There an Amerindian Atlantic?”

<sup>17</sup> For further speculations about oceanic history, see Lambert, Martins, and Ogborn, “Currents, Visions, and Voyages.”

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Peck, *Maritime Fiction*, and Rood, *The Sea! The Sea!* Traditional studies and anthologies still appear, with scholars like Bert Bender and Robert Foulke building on older anthologies and bibliographies by Frank Knight, Benjamin Labaree, Patricia Ann Carlson, Haskell Springer, and others.

<sup>19</sup> Margaret Cohen has published an early stage of her work on the maritime novel as “Traveling Genres.” See also Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, and Baucom, *Spectres of the Atlantic*.

<sup>20</sup> See Klein and Mackenthun, *Sea-Changes*; Klein, *Fictions of the Sea*. For work on medieval maritime culture, see Rose, *The Medieval Sea*. For a broad reconception of space and place across the medieval and early modern periods, see Wallace, *Premodern Places*.

<sup>21</sup> See Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*; Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*.

<sup>22</sup> For responses to Horden and Purcell’s challenge, see Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean*; Peters, “*Quid nobis cum pelago?*”; and Horden and Purcell, “The Mediterranean and ‘the New Thalassology.’”

<sup>23</sup> While acknowledging the contributions of New Historicist treatments of transoceanic travel, from Greenblatt's *Marvelous Possessions* to Fuller's *Voyages in Print*, I would like to distinguish the trend that I identify in this article from mainstream New Historicism. As Greenblatt's subtitle ("The Wonder of the New World") indicates, his work focuses on what happened when Europeans found their brave New World. Blue Cultural Studies is concerned with what happens on the way there, at sea.

<sup>24</sup> *The Corrupting Sea*, 54.

<sup>25</sup> See *The Corrupting Sea*, esp. 123-72.

<sup>26</sup> For a cogent rebuttal to Braudel's notion of "coasting," see Gillis, *Islands of the Mind*.

<sup>27</sup> See Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Wallace, *Premodern Places*.

<sup>29</sup> For a recent example, the poet-theorist Édouard Glissant's reading of Caribbean history in *Poetics of Relation* emphasizes the centrality of the sea and literary culture.

<sup>30</sup> As Rhodes and Sawday polemically put it in *The Renaissance Computer*, "The defining moment of the European Renaissance is neither the fall of Constantinople in 1453, nor the discovery of the Americas in 1492. Rather, it was the 'Gutenberg Revolution' of the mid-fifteenth century which marked the emergence of modernity in the Christian west."

<sup>31</sup> For an illustrated survey of ship types, see Landström, *The Ship*. For recent explorations of early modern cartography, see Conley, *The Self-Made Map*; Jacob, *The Sovereign Map*; and Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England*.

<sup>32</sup> On Portuguese use of astrolabes to find latitude at sea in the fifteenth century, see Brotton, *Trading Territories*, 54.

<sup>33</sup> See Blackmore, *Manifest Perdition*, 103.

<sup>34</sup> See *The Sea Around Us*.

<sup>35</sup> The growing field of ecocriticism has produced several critical anthologies, including Coupe's *The Green Studies Reader*, and Glotfelty and Fromm's *The Ecocriticism Reader*. For a review essay see Estok, "A Report Card on Ecocriticism."

<sup>36</sup> See "Opportunities in Marine Environmental History."

<sup>37</sup> On early modern globalism, see Singh's *A Companion to the Global Renaissance – 1550-1660*.

<sup>38</sup> See "Imperium Studies: Theorizing Early Modern Expansion."

<sup>39</sup> See "The Elephant and the Whale: Empires of Land and Sea."

<sup>40</sup> For recent studies of maritime cartography, see Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England*, and Brotton, *Trading Territories*.

<sup>41</sup> See *The Enchafed Flood*, esp. 13-23.

<sup>42</sup> See Raban, ed., *The Oxford Book of the Sea*, 3-7.

<sup>43</sup> See "Hydrographies." I provide an alternative reading of this passage in *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean*.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Raban, *Oxford Book of the Sea*, 5.

<sup>45</sup> The historiographical definition of maritime culture remains surprisingly fraught. Scholarship has split around the question of whether maritime culture should be understood as distinctive and international, a model of the modern globalized labor force (as Rediker has argued), or whether maritime labor was less a separate way of life than a practice adopted by people who lived near water, who should then be considered less "men of the sea" than "working men who got wet" (see Vickers, Alexander, and Fingard). Land and sea should perhaps be thought of as a dialectical binary, with the current turn toward the maritime encouraging a new perspective on Western history rather than creating an entirely new academic field. Ideologies of sea power from Alfred Thayer Mahan to Hegel to Carl Schmitt have suggested that Western global domination was a maritime phenomenon, and it may not be coincidental that the collapse of European colonial empires followed air power's eclipsing of sea power (see Connery, "Ideologies of Land and Sea"). Maritime culture may not be as distinctive and self-sufficient as Marcus Rediker at times suggests – even Rediker's pirates spent time on land – but the perspective of the sea and the mutual dependence of land and sea cultures motivates a maritime turn.

<sup>46</sup> See Connery, "There was no more sea."

<sup>47</sup> This abundance has very recently come to a drastic end, with the collapse of the Grand Banks cod fishery in the 1990s, which ended at least five hundred years in which codfish were a seemingly limitless source of income (and protein) for North Atlantic peoples. For a multidisciplinary task force's study of the cod

fishery, see Rosenberg, Bolster, Alexander, Leavenworth, Cooper, and McKenzie; for a journalist's survey, see Kurlansky, *Cod*.

<sup>48</sup> Shakespeare, *Pericles*, 2.1.78-80.

<sup>49</sup> Ovid, *Tristia*, 1.11.37-40.

<sup>50</sup> See Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology*, Hughes, ed., *Milton: The Complete Poems and Major Prose*.

<sup>51</sup> See Lindheim, *The Virgilian Pastoral Tradition*; Connolly, "The Aesthetics of the Collective in Vergil and Milton"; Sansone, "How Milton Reads."

<sup>52</sup> Traditional scholarship has not entirely ignored this topic; see, for example, Snyder, "Nature, History, and the Waters of Lycidas."

<sup>53</sup> For recent consideration of Milton's classicism, see Brown, "Underworld Sailors in Milton's 'Lycidas' and Virgil's 'Aeneid.'"

<sup>54</sup> See Quint, *Epic and Empire*, esp. 248-67.

<sup>55</sup> On the distinction between Mediterranean cultures and those that faced the Atlantic, see Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean*.

<sup>56</sup> See Hughes, ed., 119.

<sup>57</sup> See "There was no more sea."

<sup>58</sup> On the history of interpreting this scene and the play more broadly, see Vaughan and Vaughan, introduction to *The Tempest*.

<sup>59</sup> For an authoritative summary of this scholarship and a defense of the traditional sources, see Vaughan, "William Strachey's 'True Reportory' and Shakespeare."

<sup>60</sup> See Quinn, "Bermuda in the Age of Exploration and Early Settlement," 6-7.

<sup>61</sup> See Quinn, 4-5.

<sup>62</sup> See Quinn, 2.

<sup>63</sup> See Quinn, 3.

<sup>64</sup> See Quinn, 10-11.

<sup>65</sup> See Quinn, 12.

<sup>66</sup> For an excellent reading of Norwood's map, see Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England*.

<sup>67</sup> On humanism and English colonization, see Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, and Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*.

<sup>68</sup> See Strachey, in Wright, ed., 5, 7. Further citations in the text.

<sup>69</sup> See Jourdain, in Wright, ed., 108. Further citations in the text.

<sup>70</sup> Norwood, *Journal of Richard Norwood*, lxviii.

<sup>71</sup> See Rich, *Newes from Virginia*. Citations in the text.

<sup>72</sup> For the suggestion that shipwreck serves as an anti-pastoral in Sidney's *New Arcadia*, see Mentz, "Reason, Faith, and Shipwreck."