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Chapter 1, Histories from

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1. Histories

The last two decades have transformed British maritime history. Concerns central to non-maritime scholarship have colonised this field, which has then allowed oceanic history to influence other areas of study in its turn. Economics, trading and business once dominated the history of the sea, but the sub-discipline has been transformed under the pressure of globalization. At least six new areas of study are noticeable in this respect, and they constitute themes that will then be pursued through the rest of the book. The first is the manner in which oceanic traders' contacts and routes increasingly came to resemble those 'networks' that contemporary social scientists and philosophers are convinced characterise late twentieth and early twenty first century societies in the developed world. The second major development is a renewed interest in the nature of oceanic regions, appropriate perhaps in a world grouping itself into political and trading *blocs*. The 'new' maritime history is, thirdly, critically concerned with divisions of labour and social histories of those 'below decks', an understandable development in a globalizing world often criticised for deepening international class divides through the free movement of capital without any concomitant liberalisation of migration laws. Fourthly, this chapter will go on to describe the influence of recent cultural studies on maritime history, evident in historiographies focussing on sexual, criminal or ideological 'transgressions of perceived norms. Fifth and finally, this introduction will then discuss recent histories of travel and tourism, which reflect a world in which such movement has become an accepted part of life for many rich countries' citizens. The seventh and perhaps most pressing area of recent innovation has been in the field of environmental history – a development which reflects the climactic emergency of overfishing and climate change that threaten finally to wipe out many of Britain's fish stocks and inundate her coastal regions. This explosion of interest, and these multifarious literatures, mean that it is often difficult to keep track of Britons' contact with the sea. It has certainly become harder to integrate all these different elements. It will finally be suggested here that the formation of 'Britishness' itself, and narratives of British engagements with the sea, may provide an analytical category that will help such understandings develop.

The renaissance of British maritime history

British maritime history has recently been enjoying something of a renaissance. Collections of essays and special editions of academic journals on this subject have poured from the presses.

A special edition of *The William and Mary Quarterly* looked anew at the Atlantic slave trade in 2001, and included new quantitative and qualitative estimates of its scale and significance, as well as some new assessments of how both Europeans and black Africans perceived and experienced the trade.¹ The same journal published a special issue in July 2005 on 'the Atlantic economy in an era of revolutions', and contained a forum looking 'beyond the Atlantic' in October 2006. Both volumes lit up the North Atlantic basin in particular, and allowed the eighteenth century English-speaking maritime world to be seen as a systemic

whole. No longer were the great upheavals and revolutions to be seen only as ‘internal independence movements’; they were now part of the ‘deeply entwined’ ‘economies of multiple nations’, created in part by ‘the communication of merchants and sailors, exchange of commodities, extension of credit, and enriched consumer cultures of island and mainland settlements in the Western Hemisphere’.²

But how were these ‘communications’ managed? The role of oceanic passenger and merchant traffic, allowing news, rumour, peoples and goods to flow around the world, was to the fore. As Peter Coclanis put it in the ‘beyond the Atlantic’ forum: ‘the sea is very much in these days. We have Atlantic historians and historians of the Indian Ocean world... Some scholars are studying the world of the North Sea, and there are Pacific basinites and rimmers galore’.³ Not to be outdone by *The William and Mary Quarterly*, *The American Historical Review* published a forum on ‘oceans of history’ in its third issue for 2006. Kären Wigen opened it thus: ‘maritime scholarship seems to have burst its bounds; across the discipline, the sea is swinging into view’. The contributors included Alison Games on the Atlantic world, making clear both how ‘desirable’ and how elusive an inclusive, totalising and explanatory transoceanic history might prove, and Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell’s insistence that histories of particular oceans and seas had to take connections with other regions into account.⁴ The online journal *History in Focus* had already covered some of the same ground, though much more briefly, in a 2005 collection that included essays on popular views of sailors, women’s wait for their husbands and lovers to come home, dockers’ lives, and the British seaside holiday.⁵

Two recent edited collections have summed up the influence of this maritime history. David Armitage and Michael Braddick’s 2002 book, *The British Atlantic World*, has already become a classic of the genre. Their ‘inter-hemispheric system’ was not exclusively maritime, to be sure: it embraced Canada and the American ‘mainland’ as well as British ports, Caribbean islands and the high seas. But the themes covered – trade, transfer, migration – and

the evocation of ‘waters... crowded with British traders engaged in all sorts of illegal operations’ constantly called to mind seafaring, sea power and transgression.⁶ In 2007, David Cannadine brought together an extremely august set of contributors, including Maxine Berg, Catherine Hall and Simon Schaffer, for a lecture series and edited volume on *Empire, the Sea and Global History*.⁷

There is at least one extremely powerful analytical explanation for the recent interest in the British maritime world, and that is late twentieth and early twenty first century globalization. This has, in A.G. Hopkins’ formulation, become ‘the catch-word of the day’.⁸ But it has also provided many historians with a strong framework for many of the most exciting and groundbreaking developments in global and maritime history. Miles Ogborn’s recent book *Global Lives*, which takes on the enormous subject of ‘Britain and the World, 155-1800’, begins with just this sense of history’s contemporary relevance:

Social theorists and media commentators have propounded views of a new globalised economy, society and culture emerging in the late twentieth century. At the same time those concerned with the past have engaged in efforts to put these contemporary forms of globalisation into a longer-term – and sometimes very long-term indeed – history of modes of global connection. Globalisation, it is stressed, has a past. It has a history.⁹

It is this renewed interest in globalization that has transformed the historiography of the sea. For what are the hallmarks of a ‘globalizing’ world? In a very brief and inadequate characterisation, we could outline six major trends. In economic terms, one of globalization’s hallmarks has been a massive boom in international trade, creating ever-more complex networks of physical and seaborne commerce. The threat of chaos in ungoverned markets, and the need to negotiate on more-or-less equal terms between different trading *blocs*, has led to a second development: trade has increasingly tended to take place within regional political frameworks. The rise of groupings such as the European Union and the North American Free Trade Association are good examples.¹⁰ The trade boom and its regional nature have in themselves sparked debates in a third area: about the appropriate international division of

labour and the possibilities for increased exploitation and income inequality in global markets.¹¹

In political and social terms, this globalized world is marked, fourthly, by an increased awareness of overlapping and uncertain international jurisdictions. This trend runs in parallel with a sense of an increasingly ‘weightless’, ‘floating’ or kaleidoscopic world: the critic Noreena Hertz, turning positive imaginings of that world on their head, has imagined it as ‘confused, contradictory and mercurial’, a world full of a ‘litany of doubts’.¹² The geographer David Harvey has demonstrated how massive increases in trade and communications, alongside deepening regionalization, might require the fusion of theories of location and power: of how, when and why places and spatial meanings are constructed.¹³ This might be joined by a fifth trend: a sense of the importance of marginalized genders, sexual groups and races among protestors and the academy.¹⁴ Sixth and last, increases in free time, travel and leisure, at least for citizens of the privileged developed world, have commodified, packaged and aestheticised the tourist experience.¹⁵

British maritime historians have been grappling with a very similar list of problems, and areas of historiographical innovation clearly observable in the literature closely mirror contemporary developments.¹⁶ These might be summarised, firstly, as histories of trading and other networks, personified by merchants and their cargoes – a trend reinforced by the increasing importance of regional histories within the discipline.¹⁷ Secondly, maritime ‘mapping’ and ideas of oceanic space have also become the subject of intense historical interest. This work owes a great deal to Bernard Bailyn’s long-standing innovations within, and advocacy of, histories of the Atlantic – though historians working this field tend to emphasise ideological and cultural identities, rather than just economic ties, in their work.¹⁸ A third area of current concern is the social character and composition of plebeian crews ‘down below’, often conjoined with a fourth theme – ‘difference’ or ‘otherness’, embodied in transgressions of crime, race and gender. Markus Rediker’s famous 1987 work, *Between the*

Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, has unquestionably been the most influential text in this regard.¹⁹ Fifth and last, leisure, spectacle and the seaside holiday form a sixth and final research agenda central to the new histories of the sea.²⁰ These categories do not exhaust the possibilities of the ‘new’ maritime history. But they do give us a strong clue as to their roots in contemporary history and political economy. For each area is central to the new globalized world that historians cannot escape; and every one has become central to the renewed historical lives of the ocean. These trends will all be to the fore in the following pages.

Environmental danger and human history

Even more pressing than historiographical trends, and much more vital in terms of public policy, is the last reason for historians’ rejuvenated interest in the sea: the environmental emergency presently underway in the world’s oceans. The worsening situation seems constantly to forestall even the new environmental history’s attempts to grapple with its implications for the past. The destruction of fish stocks is only the most obvious example. One recent study has calculated that two-thirds of the near-surface fish in the North Atlantic disappeared in the second half of the twentieth century.²¹ There has probably been a 90 per cent reduction in the numbers of large predatory fish that humans like to eat – cod and tuna, for instance – since the onset of industrialised fishing.²² The losses may be most ominous in the evolutionary ‘hotspots’ where different species and environmental systems interact: these sensitive areas might very quickly be decimated if one part of the food chain is removed.²³ The oceanic law expert John Kunich has argued that this amounts to the ‘decimation of life on earth; a Mass Extinction-level episode in human history, and one that is happening without most citizens even noticing’.²⁴

Other environmental dangers may be even more lethal to the planet’s oceans. The combination of man-made global warming, rising acidity levels associated with hotter climates, ‘red tides’ of algae caused by fertilisers, and huge whirlpools of discarded plastic

recently caused even the usually-sober *Economist* to conclude: ‘man is assaulting the oceans. They will smite him if he does not take care’.²⁵ The periodical included a special report on the sea in January 2009, calling for more marine reserves, transferable fishing permits rather than ‘quotas’ that cause perfectly good fish to be thrown overboard, and US ratification of the UN Law of the Sea. As of 2009, the USA still has not signed the treaty – though the Obama Administration has pledged to do so.²⁶

Sea level rises associated with global warming mean that many low-lying areas of Britain, especially but not exclusively in East Anglia, may eventually have to be abandoned to the sea. In 2004 the Government launched ‘Making Space for Water’, This declared that there was simply no point spending billions on flood defences that might only last for a couple of decades.²⁷ A more ‘holistic’ approach, emphasising better planning for sustainability, more resilient buildings, and a better flood warning system, might be part of a strategy of managed retreat.²⁸ Lord Smith of Finsbury, who became head of the Environment Agency in 2008, announced then that the Agency was looking at the areas that would have to be given up over the next 100 years. ‘We are almost certainly not going to be able to defend absolutely every bit of coast – it would simply be an impossible task’.²⁹

In this situation, it is not surprising that the last few years have witnessed the emergence of an environmental historiography – a development that has been vital in fixing maritime history’s new and more prominent position within the academy.³⁰ It is, perhaps, the last and one of the most interesting of our ‘globalized’ themes. ‘Ecology’, indeed, is now often itself analysed ‘as a science of empire’ and European maritime expansion rather than as an inherited ‘given’ – ideas that owe a great deal to the pioneering work of Alfred Crosby, who made clear just how much Europeans had shaped and changed the environments around them.³¹ By connecting man’s industry and trade with their presence on the oceans, such work may offer future researchers a new way to link historical realities *at sea* with past imaginings *of the sea*. Morten Karnøe Søndergaard has recently tracked the collapse of North American

mackerel stocks in the late nineteenth century, and its knock-on effects for the numbers of fish remaining in European waters.³² The new emphasis on the environment, obvious in the globalized politics of the twenty-first century, is so pervasive it can be found in areas as apparently unlikely as the history of international maritime diplomacy.³³

This is, once more, not an entirely new development, and it has roots in both maritime and non-maritime historical thought. Braudel's work was seminal in terms of the landscape's importance to human history, an approach that also stressed the importance of the coastline and the ocean.³⁴ Harold Innis' interwar work on the Canadian fur trade and cod fisheries was informed by a Marxist concern for the expropriation of seaborne resources.³⁵ But humans' interaction with the natural world has now moved centre stage, and voyages previously and straightforwardly celebrated for their role as 'discovery and exploration' have thus been re-examined. R.H. Grove has detected 'the beginnings of global environmentalism' in the presence of the polymath Sir Joseph Banks on Captain Cook's *Endeavour*, and of the German naturalists Johann Reinhold Forster and Georg Forster on Cook's second voyage of discovery.³⁶ Richard Drayton's history of Kew Gardens as a site of 'imperial improvement' has also been enormously important here. One of Drayton's central themes is the 'new imperialism of the Enlightenment' and how it 'hoisted the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew on to the stage of world history' as a centre of horticulture, seeding, science and natural history.³⁷ The circulation of environmental ideas, the shipment of fragile plants and past societies' views of nature seems more than ever appropriate in an age of 'globalization' that threatens the climate and the seas more acutely than ever.

Merging green and blue histories

Taken together, these developments have effected a fundamental change in maritime history. Rodger has gone so far as to term the last few years of the twentieth century a 'golden age' of naval history, and the word 'naval' could easily be replaced by 'maritime'.³⁸ As late as 1978

Ralph Davis argued that this sub-discipline was concerned with ‘the history of men in ships and boats and of those who employed, directed, or served them’.³⁹ That sentence could never be written now, though the momentum for change is coming from surprising and unexpected sources. The emphasis on economic and social history alone held true only until the late 1980s, when new histories influenced by cultural studies, the linguistic turn towards *meaning* rather than *events*, and historians of ‘otherness’ and the environment began to colonise the field. But it is clearly now a judgement that belongs in the past.

Recent globalizations, and the concomitant shift in the academy’s worldview, help to explain this revolution in British maritime studies.⁴⁰ It is an influence that does not stop at some vague or generic impulse, for as we have seen specific non-maritime historiographies have been crucial in providing inspiration. The sea and the coast have moved closer together, a testament to hydrography’s interest in changing views and ideas of the ocean. Land has termed this a ‘coastal’ history, in which blue and green histories have to be considered as parts of one coherent whole: ‘coastlines would not exist without their proximity to the ocean, but their character is not determined solely by the ocean’s action’.⁴¹

It is a fitting image, for as we have seen new histories of the sea have rested on ideas, tools and techniques adopted from the discipline as a whole, as well as on specifically maritime approaches. One source for this new ‘fusion’ of land and sea, for instance, can be found in recent archaeological approaches to the development of island societies. Paul Rainbird has drawn on linguistic and physical evidence in his work ‘fusing [the] land and people’ of early Micronesia; Cyprian Broodbank relies on more traditional (and land-based) physical evidence in the ancient Aegean.⁴² But both emphasise equally just how much humankind has utilised the seas, as well as the extent to which the seascape changed the societies they are investigating.⁴³ The ‘ocean’s action’, once more, is twofold: it acts to form and shape societies, before people change the waters themselves in turn.

Even so, self-confidence within maritime studies *per se* still remains elusive. This is partly because of the multi-faceted methodological inheritances inherent in Land's 'coastal' history, but also to some extent because oceanic histories must often be written using evidence based on 'dry land'. Even novel environmental histories, in the hands of innovative historians such as W. Jeffrey Bolster's work on sixteenth to eighteenth century fish stocks, have still to rely on records made on land: in Bolster's case, on colonial authorities competing or co-operating with native peoples over fishing rights.⁴⁴ As Seán McGrail has noted, archaeologists working on ships' remains are much more likely to work in estuaries, on riverbanks, near ports and on land than they are in the deep ocean.⁴⁵

Even so, more coherent and more integrated histories of Britons' relationship with the seas are required, and they might focus around the idea of maritime contact and national identity. Linda Colley has provided one route by which this may be possible, showing how cultural and social history may be brought to bear on the vexed question of the formation of British national identity overall. Her most recent book, *Captives*, at least hints at the way in which British 'freedom' was defined as trade and service on the high seas, as distinct from Moorish captivity.⁴⁶ The future may then reside in utilising two of the major traditions we have analysed here – the history of the state and the cultures of its peoples, those two sides of nation-building – in harness. We would not then have to pick between class, the central organising category of Rediker and the new social historians, nation, so central to histories of mapping and meaning, and culture, however defined – plebeian, transgressive or carnivalesque. We might be able to treat them as part of the same experience.

Some historians have already suggested what might be possible in an overall treatment of this theme, for instance on Bethamite reform in the dockyards or the Royal Navy's role as one of the central tropes of 'Britishness'.⁴⁷ Ken Lunn and Ann Day have offered a short but penetrating list of interconnections between national identity and the sea, embodied in 'Jolly Jack' the patriotic sailor, supposedly good relations between officers and

men in the Royal Navy, as well as the romantic heroism of Drake and Nelson.⁴⁸ Three recent books point the way further towards a history of Britain and the sea. The first two focus on the Royal Navy. Timothy Jenks' *Naval Engagements*, looking at the navy's symbolic role in forming and reforming notions of patriotism during the Napoleonic Wars; Jan R uger's *The Great Naval Game* picks up similar themes for the late Victorian and Edwardian periods.⁴⁹ In terms of economic and social history more broadly, Christopher Harvie's recent and extraordinary evocation of the waters between Britain and Ireland as an 'inland sea' has imagined the sea as connecting the Scottish, Irish, Welsh and Northern English more than it divided them.⁵⁰

But treatments of the subject of nation-making and the sea as a whole have in general been brief and descriptive, rather than analytical: these recent works are the exception, rather than the rule. There is a cursory glance at the subject in Robert Colls' *Identity of England*, where it is argued that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, 'the sea became the further extreme of British territory. It was their most intimate and their most objective defining characteristic'.⁵¹ There are scattered references elsewhere, for instance the characteristically excellent concise summary of seventeenth and eighteenth century views of state, government and the sea in Raphael Samuel's classic *Patriotism*.⁵² But the idea has not been consistently pursued, or used consistently to uncover the relationships between the British peoples, their ideas, the British state, and the oceanic context. Perhaps the twentieth century – the age of mass armies, continental powers, European engagement and Frank Newbould's rural wartime vision of 'deep England' – was not the time for understanding such cross currents.⁵³

Such an awareness might allow us to tell a richer and more complex story about Britons' engagement with the world than politicians' musings on 'Britishness' allow, and which maritime anniversaries and celebrations encourage. What follows in these pages can only constitute a few steps in that direction. No attempt is made to be comprehensive, or even to claim that most of the story and its implications can be covered in a single volume. The

following pages will, rather, gather together just some of the many threads and themes evident in the maritime past, and attempt to integrate them within the wider context of British and world history. The diversity and richness of recent maritime history is indeed daunting. But seen through the lens of lives conducted and choices made at or around the sea, and synthesised with and allied to a sense of state formation and national cultures, those oceanic narratives may provide one key to understanding British history – and Britons' lives – within both their and our rapidly globalizing world.

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- ¹ Cf. e.g. D. Eltis, 'The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment', *William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (2001), pp. 17-46.
- ² C. Matson, 'The Atlantic Economy in an Era of Revolutions: An Introduction', *William and Mary Quarterly* 62 (2005), pp. 358-9.
- ³ P.A. Coclanis, 'Atlantic World or Atlantic/ World?', *William and Mary Quarterly* 63 (2006), pp. 726-7.
- ⁴ K. Wigen, 'Oceans of History', *American Historical Review* 111 (2006), p. 717; A. Games, 'Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges and Opportunities', *American Historical Review* 111 (2006), p. 741; P. Horden and N. Purcell, 'The Mediterranean and "the New Thalassology"', *American Historical Review* 111 (2006), pp. 722-3.
- ⁵ *History in Focus* 9 (2005), <http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Sea/articles.html>, accessed 2 October 2007.
- ⁶ B. Bailyn, 'Introduction', in D. Armitage and M. Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2002), xv.
- ⁷ See Cannadine's own comments at e.g. D. Cannadine, 'Introduction', in D. Cannadine (ed.), *Empire, the Sea and Global History: Britain's Maritime World, c.1763-c.1840* (Basingstoke, 2007), p. 2.
- ⁸ A.G. Hopkins, 'Globalization – An Agenda for Historians', in Hopkins (ed.), *Globalization in World History* (2002), p. 1.
- ⁹ M. Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 3.
- ¹⁰ A. Prakash and J.A. Hart, 'Globalization and Governance', in Prakash and Hart (eds.), *Globalization and Governance* (1999), pp. 9-10; on the effects, see G.E. Chortareas and T. Pelagidis, 'Trade Flows: A Facet of Regionalisation or Globalisation?', *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 28 (2004), pp 253-71.
- ¹¹ J. Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work* (2006), pp. 270-2; for a historical perspective, see P. Aghion and J.G. Williamson, *Growth, Inequality and Globalization: Theory, History and Policy* (Cambridge, 1998), esp. pp. 105-31.
- ¹² The phrase 'weightless world' was coined by D. Coyle, *The Weightless World* (Oxford, 1999 pbk. edn.), pp. 1-5 (see her comments on politics on pp. 14-17); the Heertz citation is from N. Heertz, *The Silent Takeover: Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy* (2001), p. 3.
- ¹³ D. Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (2001), pp. 27-37.

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- ¹⁴ Analysed by L. Sklair, *Globalization: Capitalism and its Alternatives* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 277-96, put polemically by N. Klein, *No Logo* (rev. edn., 2001), pp. 439-46 and critiqued by P. Legrain, *Open World: The Truth About Globalisation* (2002), esp. pp. 320-34.
- ¹⁵ On tourism, cf. classically J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (1990), and J. Craik, 'The Culture of Tourism', in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds.), *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory* (1997), pp. 113-36.
- ¹⁶ For a much more in-depth discussion of these issues, see G. O'Hara, "'The Sea is Swinging into View': Modern British Maritime History in a Globalised World', *English Historical Review* CXXIV (2009), forthcoming.
- ¹⁷ e.g. K. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (1993), e.g. pp. 80-5; D.O. Flynn and A. Giráldez, 'Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Journal of World History* 13 (2002), pp. 391-427.
- ¹⁸ See B. Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); see B. Klein and G. Mackenthune, 'The Sea is History', in B. Klein and G. Mackenthune (eds.), *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (New York, 2004), esp. pp. 2, 5.
- ¹⁹ M. Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World 1700-1750* (Cambridge, 1987), and P. Linebaugh and M. Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (2000). This work is itself deeply indebted to J. Lemisch, 'Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America', *William and Mary Quarterly* 25 (1968), pp. 371-407. See recently on 'runaways' and 'renegades', E.J. Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and their Captive Cargoes* (Cambridge, 2006).
- ²⁰ The best-known work in this field is J.K. Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester, 2000).
- ²¹ R. Ellis, *The Empty Ocean* (Washington DC, 2003), p. 300.
- ²² R.A. Myers and B. Worm, 'Rapid Worldwide Depletion of Predatory Fish Communities', *Nature* 423 (2003), pp. 280-3.
- ²³ B. Worm, H.K. Lotze and R.A. Myers, 'Predator Diversity Hotspots in the Blue Ocean', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science of the United States* 100 (2003), pp. 9884-8.

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- ²⁴ J.C. Kunich, *Killing Our Oceans: Dealing with the Mass Extinction of Maritime Life* (2006), pp. 3, 5-7.
- ²⁵ 'Leader: A Sea of Troubles', *The Economist*, 3 January 2009.
- ²⁶ Hillary Clinton's Senate Confirmation Hearing, Council on Foreign Relations Transcript, 13 January 2009, http://www.cfr.org/publication/18225/transcript_of_hillary_clintons_confirmation_hearing.html, accessed 28 March 2009.
- ²⁷ Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, *Making Space for Water: Developing a New Government Strategy for Flood and Coastal Erosion Risk Management in England* (2004), pp. 29, 36.
- ²⁸ DEFRA, *Making Space for Water: Taking Forward a New Government Strategy for Flood and Coastal Erosion Risk in England* (2005), pp. 33-5.
- ²⁹ N. Morris, 'Stark Warning on Britain's Shrinking Coast', *The Independent*, 18 August 2008.
- ³⁰ J. Donald Hughes, *An Environmental History of the World: Humankind's Changing Role in the Community of Life* (2002), pp. 180, 199, 212, 218; though the fundamental differences between the twentieth century and the preceding epochs are stressed in J. McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth Century* (Harmondsworth, 2000), pp. 137-47.
- ³¹ L. Robin, 'Ecology: A Science of Empire?', in T. Griffiths and L. Robin (eds.), *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 63-75; see A.W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge, 1986), esp. chapter 7, pp. 145-70.
- ³² M.K. Søndergaard, 'The Rise and Fall of the North European Mackerel Fisheries in the Nineteenth Century', *International Journal of Maritime History* 20 (2008), pp. 115-32.
- ³³ See in general A. Iriye, 'Environmental History and International History', *Diplomatic History* 32 (2008), p. 645, and for a specific example G.T. Jóhannesson, 'How "Cod War" Came: The Origins of the Anglo-Icelandic Fisheries Dispute, 1958-61', *Historical Research* 77 (2004), pp. 543-74. I am grateful to Professor Kathleen Burk on this point.
- ³⁴ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Eng. trans., 1972 edn.), vol. I, pp. 103-67.
- ³⁵ H.A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto, 1956 rev. edn.), esp. pp. 385-92; H.A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Toronto, 1954 rev. edn.), pp. 492-500.

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- ³⁶ R.H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1868* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 311-16.
- ³⁷ R. Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (2000), pp. 94-124.
- ³⁸ N.A.M. Rodger, 'Recent Books on the Royal Navy of the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Military History* 63 (1999), p. 684.
- ³⁹ R. Davis, 'Maritime History: Progress and Problems', in S. Marriner (ed.), *Business and Businessmen: Studies in Business, Economic and Accounting History* (Liverpool, 1978), p. 169.
- ⁴⁰ For this context see M. Hughes-Warrington, 'World and Global History', *Historical Journal* 51 (2008), pp. 754-5, 759.
- ⁴¹ I. Land, 'Tidal Waves: The New Coastal History', *Journal of Social History* 40 (2007), p. 740.
- ⁴² P. Rainbird, *The Archaeology of Micronesia* (Cambridge, 2004), e.g. pp. 70-8; C. Broodbank, *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades* (Cambridge, 2000), e.g. pp. 35, 69-106.
- ⁴³ Though Rainbird has criticised Broodbank's approach as still confined too much to the islands themselves, rather than 'communities of mariners': P. Rainbird, *The Archaeology of Islands* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 43-5.
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⁵² R. Samuel, *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* (1989), Vol. I, pp. 49-51.

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