For most nineteenth-century readers of American sea narratives, actual experience of maritime life was hardly a prerequisite for appreciating the textual matter at hand. In fact, most sea writing was prefaced by assurances to the landed reader who might be wary of salty or technical language. Truth-aver-ring prefaces, which glossed or justified sailors’ use of nautical terms, were conventions of the genre. Charles Barnard, for example, offered his nautical account “to the judgement of his fellow citizens, dressed in the simple language of a seaman’s journal”; he hoped “it may be received with that indulgence which it claims as a narrative of sterling truth.”1 Nathaniel Taylor similarly saluted the launch of his narrative: “Going forth to the world, it claims but one merit—fidelity to truth—and welcomes the reader to the iron realities of a sailor’s home and a sailor’s heart.”2 Another seaman author, John Sherburne Sleeper, confessed that his narrative “may not contain much which is extraordinary or exciting; but the pictures it furnishes of ‘life at sea,’ the illustrations it gives of the character of the sailor, the temptations by which he is surrounded, and the moral as well as physical dangers which beset him

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1. Charles H. Barnard, *A Narrative of the Sufferings and Adventures of Capt. Charles H. Barnard, in a voyage around the world during the years 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, & 1816; embracing an account of the seizure of his vessel at the Falkland islands, by an English crew whom he had rescued from the horrors of a shipwreck; and of their abandoning him on an uninhabited island, where he resided nearly two years* (New York: J. Lindon, 1829), 39.

on every side, have at least the merit—I had almost said the novelty—of truth” [Sleeper’s emphasis]. The value placed on “truth” in Sleeper’s narrative is directly tied to the accessibility of the picture of maritime life it presented.

Nowhere was this relationship between narrative value and verisimilitude made more explicit than in Richard Henry Dana’s *Two Years Before the Mast*, easily the most influential sea narrative (and one of the most widely read volumes) of the nineteenth century. Dana’s preface encourages the landed reading community to assimilate technical nautical language and customs through comparative reading practices: “There may be in some parts a good deal that is unintelligible to the general reader; but I have found from my own experience, and from what I have heard from others, that plain matters of fact in relation to customs and habits of life new to us, and descriptions of life under new aspects, act upon the inexperienced through imagination, so that we are hardly aware of our want of technical knowledge.” In Dana’s narrative, like those of his fellow seamen, the opacity and mystery of life at sea is presented as an invitation to nonspecialist readers, who are encouraged to make legible the experience of a class of laborers whose work was often obscure or invisible. The truth of “plain matters of fact,” for Dana, is in part rhetorical, and helps to construct a reading community of those to whom such truths might otherwise seem “unintelligible.”

However, the confidence of writers such as Dana, whose presumption of a domestic audience for his work proved well-founded, had no purchase in the one distinct class of American sea writing that made no such universalizing gestures toward its readership: Barbary piracy narratives, written by captive American sailors of the federal era. Whereas Dana’s narrative (and those of his contemporaries) offered “descriptions of life under new aspects” to a “general reader,” the Barbary captives—an earlier generation of sailors—located their narratives’ truth-value in their serviceableness to an audience of fellow mariners. As a consequence, Barbary narratives form a body of writing little known to readers and critics of the sea genre. Captive seamen consistently located the value of their writings not just in the texts’ relation of interesting or affecting particulars but also, crucially, in their utility to fellow laboring mariners. The value of sailors as national subjects was a problem for a young

3. Hawser Martingale [psued. of John Sherburne Sleeper], *Jack in the Forecastle; or, incidents in the early life of Hawser Martingale* (1860; reprint, Boston: Crosby and Nichols, 1865), preface.
nation with neither the hardware for a naval defense against piracy, nor the coffers to ransom its captive nationals—and the question of whether or not sailors could be *writing* subjects was not even in circulation in the early Republic.

Barbary narratives, unlike the more widely read sea writing of the antebellum period, were addressed to an audience of their fellow seaman. Mariners would have had access to these narratives as part of a vibrant circulation of books in the Atlantic world: sailors traded, gambled for, and retold tales of piracy, shipwreck, and adventure among their own crews, and among the ships of the Atlantic, a market well documented in sailor narratives. Common sailors historically have helped to produce and distribute a body of literature that prominently featured accounts of piracy, “true crime” registers such as the *Newgate Calendar* (an annual British archive of criminal activity), and later, the *Pirate’s Own Book* (a piracy anthology), as well as scores of fictional tales of corsairs. The subject matter of this body of popular narratives reflected the late eighteenth-century threats of Barbary piracy and British impressment, crimes that likewise circulated across the indeterminate national boundaries of the Atlantic Ocean. By esteeming sailors as both reading and writing subjects, Barbary piracy narratives proposed a means for the literary circulation of American sailors in an Atlantic world characterized, paradoxically, by terrific mobility and repressive confinement.

The fact that narratives of sailors who were both authors of the stories of their own captivity, and readers of their fellow sailors’ captivities, positioned themselves primarily for an audience of their own kind did not mean that the audience of sailors was a restricted one. In fact, the trans-Atlantic circulation of the narratives among literate, actively reading sailors allowed for a model of trans-Atlantic agency grounded in the material facts of life and labor at sea. In other words, the texts fixed sailors as worthy imaginative subjects, even literary muses, precisely because of their technical knowledge. Such a model validated the poetic value of the minutia of maritime labor over more sensational aspects of sea life. This point is illustrated by William Ray’s “Exercising Ship,” a verse headnote to his Barbary narrative, in which Ray questions why the “sweat” of sailors goes unsung:

What then? must poets ne’er record a deed,
Nor sing of battles, but when thousands bleed?
Can naught but blood and carnage yield delight?
Or mangled carcasses regale the sight?
Which shews more God-like, men to save—or kill?
Their sweat, by exercise, or blood to spill?

By stressing the salutary "deed[s]" that the "exercise" of maritime labor produces over the inert "mangled carcasses" of combat, sailors presented readers with an alternative narrative of their experience. This narrative championed their active and continuous work in transmitting their ships and themselves around the globe, rather than static accounts of their passing.

The two interrelated and crucial circulations in the international margins of the Atlantic world (again, the piratical- and slave trade-inspired exchanges of sailors' bodies, and of sailors' literature, between ships) allowed seamen to write their own bodily histories, as well as to govern their exchange value. Sailors were historically international figures, both in their geographic mobility and in their social affiliation with men of many different nations and cultures. In the face of piratical power, sailors did more to resist these forces than simply pass around the histories of their violations. Significantly, sailors participated in and took narrative control over their own physical and imaginative circulation by means of instructive narratives that offered concrete strategies for response to physical, cultural, and national threats.

THE PIRATICAL AND THE UNITED STATES

American ships of the federal period were at the mercy of the Barbary pirates of North Africa. The Continental Navy lay in shambles after the American Revolution and American merchant ships were no longer able to count on the protection of the British navy. The Barbary pirates had intimidated the Atlantic world for centuries, taking slaves and demanding tribute. At the same time, American sailors continued to be victimized by British impress-

5. William Ray, Horrors of Slavery, or, The American Tars in Tripoli, Containing an account of the loss and capture of the United States frigate Philadelphia; treatment and sufferings of the prisoners; description of the place; manners, customs, &c. of the Tripolitans; public transactions of the United States with that regency, including Gen. Eaton's expedition; interspersed with interesting remarks, anecdotes, and poetry, on various subjects / written during upwards of nineteen months' imprisonment and vassalage among the Turks (Troy: Oliver Lyon, 1808), 69.

6. The consistent factor in this mobility was their labor knowledge, for as Marcus Rediker has observed, "Sailors circulated from ship to ship, even from merchant vessels to the Royal Navy, into privateering or piracy and back again, and found that the tasks performed and the skills required by each were essentially the same," Marcus Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 83.
ment during the Napoleonic Wars. The United States Department of the Navy was formed in 1798 explicitly to combat the pirates; that navy went on to confront the Barbary states in the Tripolitan War of 1805, and to fight the War of 1812, which ended the practice of impressment, as well as other restrictive British shipping policies and blockades. The success of the navy in restoring autonomy to American ships in the Atlantic has often been cited as a crucial moment for the nation, when the United States could independently protect the integrity of its military and mercantile subjects.7

Yet this reading of history presupposes that prior to the formation and success of the U.S. Navy, American sailors were national subjects-in-waiting, exposed to the vicissitudes of the Atlantic world, and longing only for a powerful American agency to assert itself and make possible the affiliations that lay in wait. Mariners frequently remarked upon the tenuous nature of political and economic claims to sovereignty in the Atlantic world, in fact, with resignation. The experience of John Foss serves as one example; after his release from seven years of Algerian captivity, Foss tries to return to Philadelphia:

I embarked in the quality of a passenger, on board . . . [a] poleacre . . . bound to Philadelphia. We sailed on the 4th, and on the 11th, was taken by a Spanish privateer.

and carried into Barcelona, was cleared on the 12th and sailed again, and on the 20th was captured by a French privateer, and carried into Almeria, treated politely and cleared on the 22d, and sailed. On the 29th, the wind having been contrary for several days, we run into Malaga, where we waited for a fair wind until the 21st of May. We then sailed, and on the 22d was boarded by his Britannic Majesty’s ship Petterel, treated very well and permitted to proceed on our voyage.

On the 23d, at 6, A.M. was boarded by two Spanish privateers.8

Foss’s matter-of-fact recitation of this tiring sequence of encounters with ships of prey of several nations attests to the fluidity of maritime routine in the Atlantic at the turn of the nineteenth century. Given this context, the appeal of stories of piracy and kidnapping to sailor reading tastes would be clear. The rapid exchange of pirate tales and pirated imperial subjects from ship to ship—and nation to nation—introduced provocative narratives of crime, ownership, and material value in a maritime system otherwise tyrannically managed and inflexibly hierarchical.9 And yet in the face of this instability, sailors did not become mere consumers of tales of piracy and captivity; more significantly, they produced narratives of their movement within such systems. Sailors, who were always inter- and transnational figures, responded to their shifting geographical and geopolitical positions by participating in the production and exchange of literature that narrativized the circumstances in which they themselves lived.

Seamen saw their texts as valuable not only for their narrative particulars, but also for their utility to fellow laboring mariners. To use one example, Judah Paddock claims to write his narrative “in hopes it may be of some

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8. John Foss, A Journal of the Captivity and Sufferings of John Foss; several years a prisoner at Algiers: together with some account of the treatment of Christian slaves when sick—and observations on the manners and customs of the Algerines (Newburyport, Mass.: Angier March, 1798), 158. Foss’s ship would encounter Spanish and British privateers two more times before arriving in Philadelphia.

9. Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh have produced vital work on how sailors, renegades, and pirates challenged maritime commercial and political systems; yet their marxian historical narrative, pitched in the tradition of what Jesse Lemisch named “history from the bottom up,” slights the production and exchange system of the narratives of the sailors themselves. See their recent The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic (Boston: Beacon, 2000), as well as Marcus Rediker’s earlier Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea.
benefit to sea-faring men exposed to the like calamity,” and closes his tale of shipwreck and bondage with the following assertion: “[H]owever uninteresting the foregoing narrative, or parts of it, may appear to some, I do verily believe, if one of the same import and contents had fallen into my hands previously to our shipwreck, it probably, by guarding me against those rapid currents, which I then knew nothing of, might have been the means of preventing that dreadful catastrophe, and our no less dreadful captivity, in the most inhospitable part of the globe that has ever come within my knowledge.” The production and reception of such narratives afloat and ashore, in the form of the constant, multidimensional exchange between body, nation, and text, granted sailors some way of participating in and responding to their own transnational labor and literary histories. Frequently written during captivity, sailor narratives give the material conditions of maritime life a special textual emphasis. These material conditions carry an unexpected rhetorical and cultural burden, as well: they become the mechanism for a broader effort to fix the American sailor as a figure whose value as a laboring American is commensurate with his value as a member of a literate community. By engaging in literary production, and directing their literary attention to their fellow mariners, seamen authors valorize their own imaginative and material positions within a riotous maritime world.

The first coherent body of American sea literature consists of the narratives written by those sailors who had been held captive or enslaved in Africa, particularly in the North African Barbary states. The American captives were taken primarily in three different stages, although these categories do have exceptions. First, Algerine rovers commandeered several American ships in 1785–86, and took what would prove to be the longest-enslaved sailor captives. The Tripolitans began a new surge of piracy to mark the second wave (1801–6), which culminated in the first war America fought after the Revolution. Finally, in a less specifically defined phase, many American sailors were shipwrecked, or otherwise seized, on African coasts between 1810 and 1820; these victims usually were held individually (unlike the earlier stages’ more overtly “political” prisoners, with whom the later seamen compared their lot).

10. Judah Paddock, *A Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Ship Oswego, on the coast of South Barbary, and of the Sufferings of her master and the crew while in bondage among the Arabs; interspersed with numerous remarks upon the country and its inhabitants, and concerning the peculiar perils of that coast* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), iii.
Figure 1. Map of northwest Africa. This map, from James Riley's *An Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce, wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the month of August, 1815* and "drawn from the latest authorities to illustrate the narrative of Captain James Riley," appears in the most widely read (and most lavishly published) Barbary narrative. Riley's own overland journey, as well as the variable currents that caused his shipwreck, is indicated on the coastline near the Canary Islands. The map places Riley's travels in context, noting the route taken by the explorer Mungo Park. Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
Although some circumstances of the capture and liberation of American sea-
men in these periods differ, the narratives produced by captive sailors share a
strong rhetorical affinity. These captivity narratives, which number in the
dozens, have been neglected by the many scholars who have drawn on the
Indian captivity narratives of early American colonists in order to tell stories
about individual and national self-definition. Unlike the experience of Native
American captivity, which occurred relatively locally and was recorded over a
span of two hundred years, Barbary captivity was a more temporary limited
and geographically distant phenomenon that targeted only American sailors,
rather than continental residents.12 Barbary narratives have likewise received
limited attention in scholarship on the genre of American sea writing, which
seldom dates its critical interest earlier than James Fenimore Cooper’s novels.
What critical attention has been addressed to the Barbary captivity narratives
(in contrast to the fictional and dramatic representations of Barbary captivity
by such domestic writers as Royall Tyler and Susanna Rowson, who have
received notice for The Algerine Captive and for Slaves in Algiers, respectively)
has focused on either the narratives’ nationalistic rhetoric, or their interest in
ethnography.

Yet the capture and enslavement of Americans in Africa happens at crucial
moments in the histories of print and of nationhood, and deserves closer
attention for more than reasons of recovery. Barbary narratives position their
authors, explicitly and implicitly, as articulate members of a literary commu-
nity of laboring sailors. Participation in this reading community was neither
passive nor divorced from calls to action. For instance, William Ray, captured
by Tripolitans in 1801, prefaced his Horrors of Slavery with a poetic “Exor-
dium” that pointedly challenges his readers, and their experience of his text:

If in the following, then, you find
Things not so pleasing to your mind,

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12. This temporal limitation does not register for European sailors, for whom
Barbary captivity was a threat for centuries. Europeans produced tales of their long-
term vulnerability to captivity beginning in the Early Modern period; English exam-
ple include John Fox, “The Worthy Enterprise of John Fox, in Delivering 266 Chris-
tians Out of the Captivity of the Turks,” in Richard Hakluyt, Principal Navigations
(1589); John Rawlins, The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol, Called
the Exchange, from the Turkish Pirates of Argier (1622); News from Sally of a Strange
Delivery of Four English Captives from the Slavery of the Turks (1642); and Thomas
Phelps, True Account of the Captivity of Thomas Phelps (1685). Daniel Defoe’s Robinson
Crusoe is derived from this tradition, as is Don Quixote; Miguel de Cervantes himself
spent five years in Algerine slavery.
And think them false, why, disbelieve them;
And let our sufferings and abuses
For several facts make some excuses;
And when you’re captur’d by a Turk,
Sit down, and write a better work.13

Ray’s barbed closing couplet emphasizes that his literary achievement is made possible, and persuasive, by the material conditions of his captivity. In other words, mastery of the facts of Barbary captivity could anchor the subject in the face of what was not conceptually familiar. This understanding of sailors as a class of workers who actively participated in their own self-definition and circulation—in text and in body—has implications for recent studies of the Atlantic world, as well as for the study of later antebellum sea writing. In recognizing that their value had both material aspects (as laborers, either for a captain or for a slave-owning dey) and imaginative aspects (as representative romantic figures on international display), seamen produced texts that dramatized their curious position, and invited their readers to engage with the narratives on those very terms. The potentially libratory effects of the sailors’ narratives can be seen in the brisk transmission of the material sailor, and his imaginative text, throughout the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Atlantic world. At the vanguard of the new nation’s dissemination of its products and interests abroad, American sailors of the federal period simultaneously participated in the boisterous expansion of American print culture and helped define the nascent American literature. In a Whitmanian manner, seamen authors pay close attention to their physicality as a way to describe a vast and vigorous world. The class of sea literature, a genre written overwhelmingly by the sailors themselves, reflects and embodies the critical histories of national sovereignty, narrative adventure, the rise of literacy, and conceptual understandings of place. Sea literature expresses these critical histories as analogous to the progression of a greenhand to a Jack Tar—that is, the progression from technical incompetence to imaginative mastery.

LEAVES OF YARN

Sailors were a class of laborers who attained an above-average degree of literacy and who participated in a unique and robust culture of reading and writing. Yet the fact that seamen of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were intimately involved with book culture is scarcely a matter of prominent literary historical record, and the difficulty in general in fixing

early American literacy patterns across social categories in part accounts for this underexposure. Literacy rates for American sailors—and for all Americans in the late colonial, federal, and antebellum periods—are impossible to state definitively, but can be estimated with some confidence using several means. Some of these methods, such as signature estimates and charitable organization surveys, are used to determine literacy rates for the general population; others, such as naval library records and laborers’ subscription library histories, are more specific to mariners’ reading habits. These four types of sources serve Harry R. Skallerup in his study *Books Afloat and Ashore: A History of Books, Libraries, and Reading Among Seamen in the Age of Sail*, which

14. The different methods are variously satisfying or accurate. The signature standard, used widely by scholars of Early America for lack of better methods, is primarily judged using last wills and testaments: those able to sign are presumed literate to some degree. (Studying probate records to see which households owned books is a related approach.) Sailors’ signatures can be collected from port records and ship registers, and Marcus Rediker’s pioneering work on the eighteenth-century Anglo-American Atlantic, as well as Ira Dye’s quantitative work on American seamen, bases their literacy statistics on this method. Rediker’s statistics, derived from the admiralty records of thirty ships (rather a small sampling), are broken down by occupational categories: for example, captains, mates, cooks, quartermasters, and surgeons attained 100 percent literacy; for common seamen, the percentage drops to the mid-60s. The combined percentage of literate men in the sample of 394 employed by the merchant shipping industry studied by Rediker is 75.4 percent literate. He assumes that “the ability to sign one’s name indicates a minimal and functional degree of literacy.” See Ira Dye, “Early American Merchant Seafarers,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120, 5 (October 1976): 331–60; and Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 307. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the common sailor, as the profane, immoral Jack Tar of popular fancy, became the special target of Christian organizations whose promotion of Bible distribution and study in turn promoted literacy. Many of these organizations took note of the percentage of literate sailors in the collective body they served, and so the records of such charitable organizations (which flourished in the 1820s–1840s) provide a second basis on which to ground estimates of shipboard literacy.

Naval vessels historically have kept more complete records of their crews’ habits and specifications, and while literacy is not a statistic maintained by the navy, the contents of shipboard libraries do to some extent make their appearance in naval history, and therefore serve as a third means to estimate sailor literacy. Books in naval libraries, which range from manuals of practical seamanship, to histories, to travel and adventure narratives, would have appealed to common sailors as much as to the ships’ educated officers (who customarily kept their own private libraries, in fact). Further, the early nineteenth-century rise of workingmen’s subscription libraries, patterned after the eighteenth-century Franklinian model, had an impact on how sailors provisioned themselves with books, and demonstrate an identifiable demand for certain kinds of literature.
remains the only comprehensive attempt to describe sailors’ reading practices. Skallerup’s quantitative work is certainly vital to making claims about seamen’s reading culture, but a fifth means of estimating mariner literacy will prove the most illustrative and compelling for the interests of this essay. This avenue of research is composed of the written narratives of sailors themselves: the range and vibrancy of their writings, which repeatedly document the larger cultures of reading in which each narrator participates aboard ship, testify to the pervasive and powerful cultures of reading and writing at sea. 

Sailors on individual ships had their own small literary circles, and the impact of these closed communities rippled far beyond each ship’s center of readerly interest. Indeed, reading culture at sea reflects and is shaped by virtually all the defining features of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Anglo-American maritime world: individual sailors who enjoyed great mobility in an international context; goods rapidly exchanged; port cities that teemed with vice and promise. It is no wonder that books and libraries at sea became part of these exchanges, as books were not only designated for private use. Indeed, as Skallerup notes, “[m]ariners as individuals had traditionally engaged in their own private trading operations in order to supplement their wages. . . . Books, by virtue of their intrinsic and physical properties, were ideal goods to trade in.”

Many sailors recognized that their term of maritime service could be an opportunity for knowledge and learning. For some, this prospect for education offset the difficulties of their often unwilling service on board ship. Knowing how to read and write were skills not divorced from maritime success; indeed, they were necessary for advancement. Even the lowest class of mate, for example, had to be literate, and navigational skill required letters and mathematical ability. Robert Boyle, later a Barbary captive skilled enough in navigation to be offered the opportunity to “Turn Turk” (convert to Islam and therefore be made an officer on a Barbary ship as a renegado), acquired his nautical skills after he has been tricked into sailing service by a cruel uncle. Boyle, despite feeling the “Dread” of being treated as a “Slave” as an unskilled


seaman, figures out how to upgrade his position: “I set myself with all my Diligence to learn the Mathematicks, as also the Work of a Sailor, and quickly attain’d to some Knowledge I soon ingratiated my self with most of the Crew, who instructed me in all they knew.” The kind of specialized knowledge that sea life required—“the language of the sea”—could create a community in which learning was valued across the boundaries of hierarchy. Indeed, as Marcus Rediker points out about this fraternity, “Masters and chief mates, who were frequently the most knowledgeable about the technicalities of language and labor, were often the dominant figures in this community, though seamen learned much of the language of the sea from their peers. The ‘speech community’ contained within it a set of bonds, the basis for a consciousness of kind and a collectivism among all those who lived by the sea.”

How many sailors could read and write, in the best possible estimation? Rediker, in his influential study of early eighteenth-century Anglo-American seamen, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, reports that “[a]s many as three-quarters of the sailors employed in the merchant shipping industry between 1700 and 1750 were literate if judged by the standard of the ability to sign one’s own name.” Although Rediker contends that this signature standard falsely inflates the number of those able to read, many scholars of early American literacy now agree that evaluating literacy by the ability to sign one’s name actually underestimates the tally of the literate population. 

17. Robert Boyle, The Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle, in several parts of the world. Intermix’d with the story of Mrs. Villars, an English lady with whom he made his surprising escape from Barbary (London: Millar, 1728), 22.
18. Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, 164.
19. Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, 158.
20. Kenneth A. Lockridge’s quantitative Literacy in Colonial New England: An Enquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West (New York: Norton, 1974) established the signature standard as a default method, and his statistics remain widely quoted, although recent scholars have taken issue with his numbers. Dissenters include Margaret Spufford, who finds that those who sign their wills with an “X” had been able to write signatures on other documents in Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Cambridge, 1974); Lawrence Cremin, “Reading, Writing, and Literacy,” Review of Education 1 (November 1975): 517–21; and Gerald F. Moran and Maris A. Vinovskis, “Schooling, Literacy, and Textbooks in the Early Republic,” Conference on Reading and Publishing, 1790–1840, American Antiquarian Society, January 1998. Cathy Davidson usefully summarizes this debate in Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 56–63. Many scholars have pointed out that the standard education models in early America taught reading before writing, as the ability to read the Bible was stressed; therefore, someone unable to sign his or
Rediker’s 75 percent figure for sailors in the first half of the eighteenth century would naturally rise in the next one hundred years, aided by the concurrent rise of benevolent Christian organizations, whose mission it was to distribute Bibles for poor or working people to own and read. Although Christian organizations had long lamented what they saw as the degenerate state of maritime life, replete with cursing, carousing, and nonobservance of the Sabbath, the situation of the American captives in Barbary, as Christians beset by “infidels,” helped spur the targeted activities of seamen’s Bible societies. Indeed, the literacy rates usually cited for sailors of the early nineteenth century are those calculated by such charitable Christianizing organizations her name conceivably could be an adequate reader. David D. Hall makes this case most persuasively in Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 57. Also potentially misleading are the estimates of literacy based on probate inventories of books owned, since as Hall points out in Cultures of Print, these estimates overlook those who had access to circulating books they need not have owned, as well as overlooking those printed materials that had either been worn out or discarded. Hall, Cultures of Print, 83 n. 12. Cathy Davidson relates the example of Ethan Allen Greenwood, who “read nearly a volume a day even during his poorest student days. But he largely borrowed these books by joining three libraries—a fraternity library, a social library, and a circulating library—and literally thousands of other readers (especially novel readers) did essentially the same.” Davidson, Revolution and the Word, 27.

The importance of this kind of culture of circulation, a culture in which sailors were naturally steeped, would be especially strong for a colonial New England that had relatively few actual printed texts but that could boast extraordinarily high rates of literacy: the figures most cited set the rate of white male literacy at 90 percent by the end of the eighteenth century, and white female literacy at over 45 percent. According to Lockridge’s mark-signature calculations, New England became “a society of nearly universal male literacy. . . . The raw data show that as of 1660 only 60 percent of men signed their wills, whereas by 1710 the figure had risen to 70 percent and by 1760 it was up to 85 percent. Samples from Suffolk and Middlesex Counties, Massachusetts, indicate that male signatures on wills approached 90 percent by 1790.” Lockridge, Literacy in Colonial New England, 13. (New England, of course, provided ships with the largest percentage of their crews, and sailors were predominantly urban. Ira Dye calls the late eighteenth-century sailor a “creature of urban origins,” pointing out that while only 5 percent of the general population lived in urban areas between 1796 and 1815, 49.5 percent of white sailors and 27.9 percent of black sailors came from cities. Dye, “Early American Merchant Seafarers,” 339–40.) Julie Hedgepeth Williams, acknowledging the difficulty of fixing literary statistics, nevertheless confirms that “colonial Americans spoke fondly and frequently of reading. Their talk about printed works and their efforts to obtain books, pamphlets, and periodicals illustrate the fact that they were, indeed, readers.” Julie Hedgepeth Williams, The Significance of the Printed Word in Early America: Colonists’ Thoughts on the Role of the Press (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 9.
as the Seamen’s Friend Society, the American Tract Society, the Merchant Seamen’s Bible Society, among others, which distributed Bibles and carefully noted the relative proportions of literate men at sea. One agent of the Merchant Seamen’s Bible Society, a British distributor of Bibles to sailors, recorded that of 24,765 men visited on a total of 1,681 ships, “21,671 were stated to be able to read.” A survey of another 590 ships discovered 5,490 purported literate sailors out of 6,149; the general rate of literacy in these and similar religious society surveys is 80–90 percent.21

It is clear that seamen were substantially literate and that they preferred certain types of reading materials. Indeed, it is reasonable to situate sailors’ reading in the context of what has been called the explosion of print in the eighteenth century.22 Their access to and participation in a trans-Atlantic literary circulation positioned them as crucial (although historically marginalized) figures in a world that was witnessing democratic revolution, industrial revolution, the next great age of exploration, and the rise of the print public sphere. Sailors, in their geographic mobility and international flexibility, were visible in all these movements. Their participation comes as no surprise to the author of Life in a Man-of-War, who observes, “The ‘march of mind’ is abroad, and making rapid strides in both the hemispheres; why then should it not on its journey take a sly peep amongst the worthies of a man-of-war?”23

Derived from the subscription models that supplied many early Americans’ reading materials, the methods sailors used to acquire their own stock of books also reflected their position as a class of laborers whose profession required collective efforts. And their literary aesthetics must be understood in the context of seamen’s collaborative efforts to collect and circulate texts. These aesthetics, which value technical rigor as much as an awareness of contemporary literary conventions, show a sophisticated understanding of the literary marketplace, as well as of artistic convention. Archibald Robbins, for example, prepares his journal with an aim “to be correct—to give a faithful and accurate detail of facts,” although he recognizes that in doing so he had “observed a minuteness which many may think unnecessary.” To those who

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would question this excessive “minuteness,” though, Robbins offers an argument that appeals to his readers’ aesthetic understanding: “as the variance of a few shades changes the complexion and general appearance of a piece of painting, so a few minute, and apparently unimportant particulars, affect, essentially, the general characteristics” of a work.24 Even though Robbins here flatters the receptive eye of the general consumer of his text, most narratives justify their “minuteness” in terms of maritime reckoning. The technical specificity of the narratives is not meant to be prohibitive, though; the verisimilitude such specificity provides becomes essential to the account, rather than merely a relation of “curious” or “interesting” particulars. For this reason Robbins includes a map of his peripatetic years in the Sahara, which he explains “was not made to aid the geographer, but to assist the reader in tracing the eccentric course the author was compelled to travel with his Arab masters.”25 In other words, the narratives require that they must be experienced materially as much as imaginatively.

STOCKING THE SEA SHELF

Mariners did have options when it came to choosing what to read at sea. While the efforts of charitable associations were instrumental in encouraging literacy, as well as in providing seamen with a certain genre of reading material, charitable interest in sailors’ reading habits rarely reflected sailors’ reading tastes. On the other hand, organizations that supported laborers became involved in furnishing workers with practical and entertaining reading materials, books that seamen helped choose and that better reflected their tastes. In this endeavor labor associations continued the legacy begun by Benjamin Franklin, who in his formation of the first American circulating library stressed its value to tradesmen.26 To use a later example, the New York Mercantile Library Association, which was chartered in 1820 as a means for workingmen to have access to books, quickly decided to expand its efforts on

24. Archibald Robbins, *A Journal, Comprising an Account of the Loss of the Brig Commerce,; of Hartford, (Con.) James Riley, master, upon the western coast of Africa, August 28th, 1815; also of the slavery and sufferings of the author and the rest of the crew, upon the desert of Zahara, in the years 1815, 1816, 1817; with accounts of the manners, customs, and habits of the wandering Arabs; also, a brief historical and geographical view of the continent of Africa* (Hartford: F. D. Bolles, 1817), vi.


26. Franklin’s library, he writes, was constituted by “mostly young tradesmen” and had the effect of making “the common Tradesmen & Farmers as intelligent as most Gentlemen from other Countries.” Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1999), 80, 71.
behalf of the laboring class to include sailors; the resultant “Committee for the Distribution of Books to Seamen” formed seamen’s libraries and solicited public support for such using the same methods as the workingmen’s organizations.27 The association’s appeal to a generous public was advertised between June 27 and July 6, 1821, in the New York American and in the Commercial Advertiser.

27. Skallerup, Books Afloat and Ashore, 43.
TO THE FRIENDS OF SEAMEN

LADIES & GENTLEMEN.

It is the intention of some individuals to procure, by gift, for the exclusive use of seamen, a library, of 20 to 25 vols. for every ship belonging to the port. To effect which purpose, it is requested that all persons, friendly to this idea, who have new, old, or even odd volumes to spare, will please send them to this office, as soon as possible. They shall be distributed in a faithful manner, and with due discretion, under the care of the captain of each ship. The owners of the Liverpool line of ships have, in accordance with the plan, given each of their vessels a similar library.28

The success of the Committee for the Distribution of Books to Seamen was celebrated in the press, and publicly acknowledged in a letter of thanks from the naval vessel Franklin’s first lieutenant, William Augustus Weaver, whose letter was published in the New York Evening Post and other dailies:

Gentlemen of the Committee for the distribution of books to seamen—

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of the present of books* you have been pleased to make to the seamen of the Franklin. Allow me to return my thanks with those of the crew for your generous kindness.

The sailors of this ship could not witness our exertions for the diffusion of knowledge among them unmoved. When your letter was read to them, they requested unanimously that one dollar may be appropriated from the pay of each, towards the increase of the Seamen’s Library on board. This fund I will take an early opportunity of placing at the disposal of the Committee, from whose philanthropy originated the laudable design, tending so much to ameliorate the condition of seamen.

*One hundred and fifty volumes of Voyages, Travels, History, Geography and Navigation (63–64)29

It is important to note that these Seamen’s Libraries, while containing some religious tracts and instructional manuals, were primarily composed of travel narratives, histories of voyages, and other adventurous fare, which more appealed to the tastes of most sailors.30 This selection appealed to sailors enough for them to vote to contribute their wages to the augmentation of the library;

29. Quoted in Skallerup, Books Afloat and Ashore, 71.
30. This taste could be subversive and even dangerous. For example, Philip Spencer, the accused ringleader of the Somers mutiny against Captain Alexander Slidell MacKenzie in 1842, was presumed to be influenced in his capital offense by reading the Pirates Own Book and James Fenimore Cooper’s piracy novel The Red Rover.
the collection, according to Weaver, “tended to lighten the many tedious hours of a three years cruise.—The books were read and re-read.”³¹ In fact, the books were put to such good advantage that few remained at the end of the Franklin’s cruising life, as the crew “pirated” their favorite editions.

In time, most ships provisioned themselves with libraries prior to their voyages, and mariners continued to participate in the selection of the texts. In Life in a Man-o-War (a ripe source for Herman Melville to pilfer for White Jacket), the distribution of the library is attended with great interest: “Whilst we lay in New York, three or four hundred volumes were purchased, comprising the whole of the Family Library; the works of Scott, Marryatt, Cooper, Irving, Bulwer, &c.; and when the circumstance was made known throughout the ship, the greater part of our jolly tars came forward with avidity and subscribed their mites towards repaying the purchase money, and felt pleased to think that they had now in their possession a stock of intellectual food to beguile the heavy tediousness of the cruise, or to refresh their thirst for mental acquirements.”³² While the popular adventures and romances listed in Life in a Man-of-War remained staples in ship cabins as well as in drawing rooms, sailor reading habits did take other forms. The evolution of the taste of Richard Marks, who served in the U.S. Navy during its battles against Barbary piracy and British impressment, is a telling example. The types of reading material preferred by sailors—usually not the pious fare distributed by the charitable organizations—can be identified in the early and self-avowedly sinful tastes of the American naval officer, who notes of his reckless prereform years: “I shortly became acquainted with some of the most vile and infamous writings that ever appeared in this kingdom. The circumstance of their being prohibited only served to enhance their value. I read them again and again, and for hours together employed myself in making extracts from them. But I have not the smallest recollection, while belonging to this ship, of ever seeing a Bible, though I once endeavoured to call to mind that sacred volume; not with the view of remembering and applying any of its sublime and awful contents to my heart, but to dress up a ludicrous account of some late adventures among the midshipmen in its peculiar language and solemn phrasology!”³³ It is striking to mark here not only the attractively “vile”

³¹ Quoted in Skallerup, Books Afloat and Ashore, 72–73.
³² [Mercier], Life in a Man-of-War, 108.
³³ Aliquis [Richard Marks], The Retrospect; or, Review of Providential Mercies: with anecdotes of various characters, and an address to naval officers, 15th ed. (London: Nisbet, 1833), 32–33. This text was included in the list “No. 1 Sailor’s Library, selected under the supervision of the American Seamen’s Friend Society,” 1843.
writings—which Marks later describes as “obscene” for their descriptions of harems in Barbary—but also the playful literary dexterity of Marks and his fellow sailors, who enjoy parodies of biblical language and writings. These sailors demonstrate a certain awareness of the current literary marketplace, for as Marks reports (with some personal regret): “The junior lieutenant of the frigate had, some days before I joined them, purchased, at a very high price, what the bookseller told him was one of the most popular and sensible novels every published in England, and that a full chest of them had happily arrived at Gibraltar. I think it was the very day I went on board, that one of the officers enquired of the purchaser, ‘How he like his famous new novel?’ To which the other replied, ‘I don’t know what to think of it: there is too much of religion in it. I have read but a few pages.’”

The will sailors display in choosing and circulating the kinds of printed matter they prefer is strong. As Skallerup notes, “A large portion of the reading diet of seamen was doubtlessly comprised of the cheap, ephemeral literature of the streets which consisted of bizarre, lurid and sensational stories, political pamphlets, and books of amusement. Indeed, some of it might have been especially prepared for the seamen’s consumption.” Yet sailors have more than a consumer relationship to books: their aesthetic judgment bears on their choices for consumption. In a chapter called “The Literary Tars” in Life in a Man-of-War the sailors’ choices are dramatized to spirited effect, as the cook “always like[s] something heavy to digest,” and the ship’s barber, razor in hand, finds his allotted book “too dull altogether for me.”

Certainly, the strength and free exercise of sailors’ literary agency was often remarked on. A visitor to the Franklin while she lay at anchor in Valparaiso, struck by the number of volumes in the ship’s library, wrote to a British magazine that “here we see what was never before seen or heard of, and what will never be seen or heard of, except on board a ship manned by freemen—a library of books for the men; an arrangement utterly incompatible with a crew composed of pressed men, or men who have entered for fear of the press-gang.”

What is important about this observation of the coercive and rigid environment of a British man-o-war is not only its implication that men who go asea as virtual prisoners would have little use for fulfilling intellectual curiosity, but also its suggestion that British officers would fear the kind of intellectual freedom that the active practice of literacy allows. Therefore, in

34. [Marks], The Retrospect, 167.
36. [Mercier], Life in a Man-of-War, 110.
37. Quoted in Skallerup, Books Afloat and Ashore, 70.
being able to circulate and share books among themselves, sailors would be participating in a subversive exchange, a type of resistance to tyrannies such as the press gang.

**MARINERS’ SKETCHES**

The popularity and wide dispersal of such narratives among sailors at sea is indicated by the repeated cautions to sailors and captains in the prefaces to the narratives: clearly, the authors knew their audiences. The explicit address of the literate common sailor in these federal-era sea narratives is arresting, particularly because this is not a practice that continues into the mid-nineteenth century and the so-called “golden age” of American sail and sea literature. In the federal era, however, the writers of sea narratives—of which tales of captivity comprise a large percentage—presume a readership of their own kind. Judah Paddock, for one, wishes his *Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Ship Oswego* to “be of some benefit to mankind generally, and more especially to sea-faring men exposed to the like awful calamities”; 38 Charles Cochelet also positions his captivity narrative for the naval authorities and captains who should “in future receive instructions to avoid a shore [Africa], which has already proved fatal to so many human beings.” 39 In his second edition of his journal of Algerine captivity, John Foss promises that he has “been more particular in the geographical description of the several places, in this edition than [he] was in the last, particularly of Algiers and Oran.” 40 Further, James Riley’s narrative of his Moroccan enslavement is prefaced by his belief that it will be “particularly instructive to [his] seafaring brethren.” Indeed, the revised preface to the third edition of Riley’s *Authentic Narrative* offers factual corrections and a supplementary captivity narrative (of Judah Paddock’s earlier ordeal), all of which revised testimony is given in the hope that “mariners, particularly, being thus apprised, will guard against the constant currents which have caused such frequent and dreadful disasters as death, slavery, and other almost incredible sufferings.” 41 When describing how his ship ran

38. Paddock, *A Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Ship Oswego*, [advertisement].
41. James Riley, *An Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce, wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the month of August, 1815, With an account of the sufferings of her surviving officers and crew, who were enslaved by the wandering Arabs on the great African desert, or Zahabrah; and observations historical, geographical, &c. made during the travels of the author, while a slave to the Arabs, and in the empire of*
aground before ultimately wrecking, Riley details his position for the reader of his narrative, explaining “I mention this incident to warn the navigator of the danger he is in when his vessel is acted upon by these currents, where no calculation can be depended upon.” The strong language of instruction or caution emphasizes the kind of cultural work these narratives did for sailors, work that was both practical and imaginative: practical in its instructive utility, imaginative in its positioning of sailors as figures of international sympathy and romance.

Likewise, British impressment was equated with Barbary captivity in many sailors’ minds and writings, and its dangers inspired sailors to suggest mechanisms for response to their fellow tars. James M’Lean no sooner is released from African captivity than he is pressed onto an English man-of-war, whose commander insists that his American papers were forged and that he is a native Scotsman. His narrative, Seventeen years’ history, of the life and sufferings of James M’Lean, an impressed American citizen & seaman, concludes with an address to his American “friends” in the form of an appendix, which contains “the author’s advice to those of his countrymen who should happen to be forced on board of any of the ships of his Britannic majesty.” M’Lean’s best

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42. Riley, An Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce, 9. Riley’s narrative went to great lengths to offer aid to the mariner. “My observations on the currents that have heretofore proved fatal to a vast number of vessels and their crews on the Western Coast of Africa, are made with a view to promote the further investigation of this subject, as well as to caution the unwary mariner against their too often disastrous effects,” Riley wrote in the preface (xv). He also included a highly technical appendix, with explicit instructions to captains, which he glossed as “Observations on the winds, currents, &c. in some parts of the Atlantic Ocean, developing the causes of so many shipwrecks on the Western Coast of Africa:—a mode pointed out for visiting the famous city of Tombuctoo, on the river Niger, together with some original and official letters, &c. &c.” (591). In this appendix, Riley further explained, “I am particular in advising those ship-masters who are bound that way, by all means to make the Island of Madeira: it takes them but little out of their route, and from thence they will be sure of making Teneriffe or Palma, in steering the regular courses, when by due precaution against indraughts southward of those islands, they avoid the dangers of this terrible coast, and the dreadful sufferings or deaths which await all that are so unfortunate as to be wrecked on them” (599).
Figure 3. Capture of James Riley and his crew, from James Riley, An Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce, wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the month of August, 1815. Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
tip: “Now is your time to avoid trouble.” The possibility that a newly redeemed or released Barbary slave would be impressed before he has a chance to return to America was a special danger in which seamen saw little irony. The unlucky impressment target Robert Adams deserted his ship, at which point he was taken captive by Saharan Arabs; later, when a patron redeems him from Barbary slavery, his panic at the thought of transport by a British ship causes his patron to reason that Adams “had once been on board a British Man of War, either on service, or detained as a prisoner.” Fearing to sail again, Adams is calmed only by a promise that if upon his sea travel home, should “by any accident, be impressed, [then] his discharge, either by purchase or substitute, should be immediately effected.” The threat of finding oneself on a British ship was even a way to maintain shipboard discipline, as Judah Paddock threatened truculent sailors that they would “be put on board the first British ship of war that we should fall in with.” Joshua Davis, a victim of a press gang, sadly presented the case of the unheard-from “captive” victims of impressment; he addresses his readers, “My friends, doubtless you are ever anxious to know the fate of your fathers, husbands, brothers, uncles, cousins, or sweethearts, when they have left you in order to get a living on the briny ocean, which is now ruled by the ships of His Britanick Majesty—I can tell you in a few minutes. Many of them are on board those hellish floating torments, and wish to let you know where they are.”

These rather earnest than artful appeals to the reading community of sailors accomplish several ends. First, they position sailors as figures of intellectual and sympathetic importance, in a time when mariners were typed as rough, profane characters on the margins of “civil” society. The material facts of life at sea—and the narratives usually include maps and ethnographic illus-

43. James M’Lean, Seventeen years’ history, of the life and sufferings of James M’Lean, an impressed American citizen & seaman: embracing but a summary of what he endured, while detained in the British service, during that long and painful period (Hartford: B. & J. Russell, 1814).
44. Robert Adams, The Narrative of Robert Adams, an American Sailor, who was wrecked on the Western coast of Africa, in the year 1810; was detained three years in slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert, and resided several months in the city of Tombuctoo (Boston: Wels and Lilly, 1817), xxi.
45. Paddock, A Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Ship Oswego, 18.
46. Joshua Davis, A narrative of Joshua Davis, an American citizen, who was pressed and served on board six ships of the British navy: he was in seven engagements, once wounded, five times confined in irons, and obtained his liberty by desertion: the whole being an interesting and faithful narrative of the discipline, various practices and treatment of pressed seamen in the British navy, and containing information that never was before presented to the American people (Boston: B. True, 1811).
trations—are likewise valorized by this convention. By invoking a brotherhood of literate sailors, the narratives furthermore suggest that sailors had more power and autonomy over their own circulation in the Atlantic world than their potential for seizure might otherwise indicate. Indeed, a sense of autonomy or security would be particularly important for American sailors, as the uncertainty of the new nation’s international status—what contemporary writers referred to as “our present weakness”—was a chief cause of its victimization by the Barbary states in the first place. Finally, the volatility of a maritime world characterized, variously, by financial opportunity, frequent desertion from merchant and naval craft, press gangs, pirates, renegados, and castaways is anchored somewhat by the positioning of the common literate sailor as the central figure of appeal for the maritime world’s literature. For this figure, the “separation of mental and manual labor was never complete,” according to Rediker, and it is in this conjunction of intellectual and physical labor that sea narratives find their truth and power.47

Sailor narratives foreground their own materiality: the record keeping practices of nautical life find their expression in the format of the piracy narrative, which borrows the conventions of the log, the journal, the ship’s account. Judah Paddock’s distress on wrecking on the African coast is soothed by his and his crew’s reiteration of shipboard habits before venturing into the desert: “When nearly ready for a start, my mate wrote up the log book and I finished my journal. . . . All things were now prepared, and we on the point of moving, when one of the sailors said, ‘let us depart under flying colours;’ the others joined him, and we were detained till they had erected a pole on the hill, and hoisted a very handsome ensign.”48 The familiar maritime practices of keeping the log and maintaining symbolic display reassure Paddock and his men, and allow them a way to imaginatively claim the space of their displacement.

Like most travel and adventure narratives, the Barbary captivity texts aver their own truthfulness, their authenticity. In fact, it was only sailors who could presumably be able to accept without question some of the geographical claims of the narratives regarding the location of the sites of their enslavement. To use one example, the editor who relates Robert Adams’s story points out that as a sailor, Adams “had the habit of noticing the course he was steering at sea; and therefore found no difficulty in doing so, when traversing the Deserts of Africa, which looked like the sea in a calm.”49 James Riley similarly cites his “long experience on the ocean,” which taught him how “to

ascertain the latitude by the apparent height of the polar star above the horizon." For those who might have questioned how scrupulously a sailor could keep records while imprisoned and performing slave labor, John Foss mentions his customary journal-keeping while at sea, and found comfort in the practice while in what he calls his “severe captivity.” He explains, “I wrote in the night, while in the Bagnio or prison, after our daily labour was over, the principal events of the day, merely to amuse and relieve my mind from the dismal reflections which naturally occurred.” The storytelling habits encouraged by nautical life find poetical expression in Foss’s poem “The Algerine Slaves,” in which the American captives find comfort in “tales of humour dress’d in sailor stile, / [which] The lonesome hours of gloomy night beguile.”

The enslaved sailors are directed and comforted by habits formed by maritime labor practices; and narrating such practices further helps to stabilize the dislocation of self- and national identity while at sea. In the face of such dislocations, sailors turn to a community of fellow laborers before the mast. Yet the seamen’s strategies are not merely self-preservative. In addition, they establish new strictures of authority independent of the powers that patrol the Atlantic world. As described in the sailor’s narratives, these alternative powers are vested in the laws of latitude and longitude, and take as their subjects the fellow seamen who comprise the ideal reading public for the texts.

53. As Linda Colley has noted of British captivity narratives, “Identities appear in strongest relief when problematic or under stress in some way, and this was usually the case in situations of captivity. Captivity narratives . . . offer access to people suddenly reduced to a state of liminality, taken away from their normal position in life, stripped of customary marks of status and identity, and removed in many cases from the reinforcement of their own kind. So positioned, men and women could be led to re-examine issues of national, religious and racial belonging, who and what they were, and how far this mattered.” Linda Colley, “Going Native, Telling Tales: Captivity, Collaborations and Empire,” *Past and Present* 168 (August 2000): 187.