

Athwart the Trend: Maritime History's position in a sea of Atlantic World Prospects

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From puddles, streams, creeks, rivers, and lakes to bays, estuaries, harbors, seas, and oceans, water covers nearly three-quarters of the earth's surface and is vital to all of the planet's living organisms. Although all creatures and plants need water to sustain life, humans have developed a proprietary relationship to the liquid substance. We have dammed rivers, diverted streams, drained ponds, reclaimed marshes, and made lakes. But humanity's biggest achievement has been its triumphant mastery over the oceans. The simple ability to build and sail a vessel over large bodies of water represents generations of human technological innovation and skill. Oceans have defined and shaped humanity, and even though a majority of earth's population lives in their respective land-locked continental interiors, at one time, deep within our collective past, we were all maritime people.¹ Yet, historians only began studying the interplay between humans and their maritime environment, which they deemed "maritime history," in the mid-twentieth century. But with only a few practitioners and a vast expanse of the human experience to explore, the new discipline became lost in a sea of possibilities. Thirty years later, however, another group of scholars recognized humanity's connection to its watery past and decided to focus their efforts upon examining the culture of a single ocean—the Atlantic—and, hence, Atlantic World history was born.

Both maritime history and Atlantic World history are relatively new to the academy and both hold an ocean or oceans as their central focus. Yet, while maritime history exhibits static growth patterns, Atlantic World history increases in prominence and popularity. In 2010, 30% of History departments in the United States who advertised positions in colonial American history stated that they preferred candidates to have Atlantic history as one of their teachable fields; only 7% of history departments requested candidates to be versed in maritime history.² This increased interest in candidates' ability to teach the Atlantic World in the classroom corresponds to earlier progress in the field, such as the release of the first textbook with an Atlanticist perspective, the creation of an Atlantic World discussion network on H-Net, and a permanent International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World established at Harvard University.³ While Atlantic World history and maritime history began around the same time, the history of the Atlantic World is currently more chic. Daniel Vickers attributes this to the fact that Atlantic World history has a clear theoretical framework, while maritime history remains ill-defined.⁴ This article attempts to define both disciplines, discuss their differences and similarities, and argue that maritime historians have a lot to learn from practitioners of Atlantic World history.

Maritime history suffers most from an embarrassment of riches. The discipline can include, but is not limited to the history of fishing, whaling, navigation, sea exploration, ships, ship design, shipbuilding, shipping, lighthouses, international maritime law, naval history, maritime economics and trade, and the social history of sailors, documenting the importance of the ocean in global, national, and regional history.

But what it lacks, according to Daniel Vickers, is a clear, theoretical principle developed over time in an identifiable body of scholarly literature. Many historians, including Robert G. Albion, Edouard Stackpole, William Armstrong Fairburn, William Hutchinson Rowe, Samuel Elliot Morrison, John G.B. Hutchins, Howard I. Chappelle, and Frederick William Wallace, wrote works that have been classified as maritime history.⁵ Yet, Vickers argues that the majority of these books is largely antiquarian, narrative in nature, and lack scholarly analysis. He attributes the diminutive growth of maritime history in the academy to the lack of an organizing theoretical principle.⁶

Several leading maritime historians, including Vickers, have tried to provide such a principle. And just as with all other fields of history, maritime history has followed broader trends in the field. In the late 1960s, for example, Jessie Lemisch projected a labor history/Marxist perspective into the field. Following the mainstream acceptance of ethnohistorical aims into the profession in the 90s, Jeffrey Bolster injected a racial dialogue into maritime history by dispelling the color myth of the sea, drawing attention to the thousands of black sailors who found a nominal degree of freedom upon the ocean. Following Bolster's influential work, historians have expanded their gaze away from a white-washed maritime world and have discovered that the Age of Sail and Steam factored greatly into the lives of Native Americans, Cape Verdeans, Chinese, and women.⁷ The sheer multiplicities of genders, races, and ethnicities present in maritime activity suggest to scholars that the maritime world created a communal culture that, to a certain degree, accepted diversity and promoted social equality.⁸

But perhaps, the most popular theoretical framework within which to understand the maritime world was proposed by Daniel Vickers in his 1994 book, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts*, where he suggests that the maritime world was not a static labor environment; men moved back and forth between the sea and the shore constantly. This realization about the fluidity of labor in New England led Vickers to propose the most popular theory in modern maritime history; namely, historians can never understand a sailor's life afloat without consideration of his life ashore. The two are inextricably linked.⁹ A comprehensive maritime history of the United States, therefore, needed to include chapters on blue water sailors afloat *and* their wives, tavern-keepers, and landlords ashore.¹⁰ Both the shore and the ocean, then, created the maritime community.¹¹

But, maritime history is not the only contemporary historical field that studies the ocean. In fact, it is not even the most popular. Today, more scholars identify themselves as Atlantic World specialists than maritime historians. This may be due in part to the fact that unlike maritime history, the history of the Atlantic world does not lack a theoretical base.

Proponents of the Atlantic World, namely Bernard Bailyn and Jack P. Greene, describe the field as an analytical construct that helps historians study important developments in the early modern era, such as the growth of the Atlantic basin as an area of exchange.¹² These areas of exchange, when viewed through an interdisciplinary lens that combines the fields of historical demography, labor history, economic history, and

political history, emphasize the interconnectivity and the reciprocal relationship of colonial markets, governments, and political philosophy.¹³ Preceding generations of historians, argue Atlanticists, viewed the unprecedented imperial growth of the modern world solely through a specific colonial/national context. Hence, academics wrote British, Spanish, Dutch, Russian, and Portuguese imperial history, but never drew connections between imperial enclaves or between imperial enclaves and their “old world” equivalents. Many of the latest works classified as Atlanticist history aim to draw these connections by emphasizing the impact of single commodities on world markets, the rise of the Atlantic slave trade, the creation of a creole elite in a trans-Atlantic context, the transplantation of Christian ideology in the non-western Atlantic marchland, the fomentation of pan-Atlantic revolutions, and the intellectual origins of the concept of the “Atlantic Ocean”.¹⁴ Indeed, David Armitage has grouped these strands of inquiry into a tri-partite typology with which one might examine Atlantic history; namely, circum-Atlantic history, a broad, transnational approach focusing on interconnectivity and the interdependence of the Atlantic basin; trans-Atlantic history, set in comparative studies of different polities within the Atlantic world; and cis-Atlantic history; which examines a specific region or nation within its broader Atlantic context.¹⁵

While proponents of the Atlantic World have consistently gained new scholarly followers with each passing year, not everyone in the academy accepts the conclusions drawn by these academics. Peter A. Coclanis argues that an Atlanticist perspective

however enriching, is constricting interpretatively and somewhat misspecified analytically...By fixing our historical gaze so firmly toward the West, the approach may, anachronistically, give too much weight to the Atlantic Rim, separate Northwest Europe too sharply both from other parts of Europe and Eurasia as a whole, accord too much primacy to America in explaining Europe’s transoceanic trade patterns, and economically speaking, misrepresent through overstatement the place of Europe in the order of things.¹⁶

Coclanis believes that suggesting that an integrated political, economic, and cultural world developed only on the Atlantic Ocean discredits similar “world” phenomena that occurred in the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, and the Mediterranean Sea.¹⁷ In agreement with Coclanis, J.G.A. Pocock desires “Atlantic History,” which he views as a synonym for “British history,” to expand both its geographical and intellectual boundaries to encompass a global perspective.¹⁸ Unlike Pocock, Ian Christie conceptualizes Atlantic history not so much as a continuation of the British imperial narrative, but as a cleverly disguised booster-shot to the long-held, though academically refuted, belief in American exceptionalism. “The early modern Atlantic,” Christie argues, “can even be read as a natural antechamber for American-led globalization of capitalism and serve as an historical challenge to the coalescing New Europe. No wonder,” he continues, “that the academic reception of the new Atlantic history has been enthusiastic in the United States, and less so in Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, where histories of national Atlantic empires continue to thrive.”¹⁹

While some historians criticize Atlanticists' theoretical framework, other historians question the interdisciplinary fields chosen for the study of the Atlantic World. These fields, they point out, are firmly oriented in political and diplomatic history and pay short shrift to social history. The geographic area where this social history/political history divide is most evident is in the dark, rolling waters of the Atlantic itself. Surprisingly, the "new" field, which derived its name from an ocean, seldom talks about life or war upon said sea.²⁰ Though admitting that economic history and inter-oceanic trading ties will always have currency in the academy, N.A.M. Rodger suggests that Atlanticists should broaden their subject matter to include "war on and across the oceans, cultural exchanges, and the sea itself as a cultural influence."²¹

Perhaps the largest problem with the Atlantic perspective originates in its treatment of the indigenous population of North America. Writing in 1992, the year of the Columbian quincentenary, Alan Karras defined Atlantic history as a "unit of historical analysis, which takes the three broadly defined 'cultural hearths'—of Amerindians, Africans, and Europeans—into account."²² While recognizing that "indigenous peoples shaped the course of Atlantic history in the Americas," Atlanticists, like Karras, often cast Native people in outdated roles in their histories, if they discuss them at all.²³ And if they do paint Native Americans into the Atlantic picture, they apply the narrative of conquest to Native history with a very broad brush. Paul Cohen explored Native American history and Atlantic World history and concluded that the two disciplines, though sharing similar chronological origins, developed in dichotomous directions.²⁴ Atlanticists, Cohen argued, look for "the tipping point" in indigenous history, the point in time where Native people were displaced from their homelands and conquered by a superior European force, leading them to fade into the backdrop of history, while Native American historians argue that indigenous societies adapted to societal pressures and preserved both their cultural continuity and tribal sovereignty.²⁵ While Atlanticists perpetuate outdated models of community death and displacement, particularly in the North American Northeast, Native American historians counter their arguments with study after study showing indigenous cultural unity and perseverance.²⁶ Why then, does this disconnect between Native American history and the Atlantic World exist? Cohen argues that it boils down to historical methodology. Historians who study indigenous peoples have had their work informed by the ethnohistoric method, whereas Atlanticists, who previously had little exposure to the intricacies of indigenous history, conceptualize and frame their work in Euro-centric methodologies.²⁷

Ethnohistory, as currently practiced, was borne of the work done by anthropologists for the Indian Claims Commission, created by the United States Congress in 1946.²⁸ Authorities formed the Commission in an attempt to determine whether indigenous tribes in the United States had received a fair price for their land at the time of its cession to either European settlers or government agents. Native American litigants had to prove that their tribes had occupied and had used ceded areas in question at the time of their tribal treaty ratification by the US Senate or at the time of the establishment of the US itself. Anthropological data describing the current dispositions and practices of the tribes proved inadmissible in court. Justices required historical proof of tribal occupation. Anthropologists served as 'expert' defense witnesses, trying to prove that

tribes had historically occupied the territory under question. To gather such proof, anthropologists soon found themselves in the dusty recesses of the archives.²⁹ And, hence, modern ethnohistory was born. Fledgling ethnohistorians began debating the definition of ethnohistory immediately following its inception.³⁰ They believed that ethnohistory could be defined as “the use of historical and ethnological methods to gain knowledge of the nature and causes of change in culture defined by ethnological concepts and categories.” Moreover, it differed from history since its “historical methods and materials go beyond the standard use of books and manuscripts. Practitioners recognize the utility of maps, music, paintings, photography, folklore, oral tradition, ecology, site exploration, archaeological materials, museum collections, enduring customs, language, and place names.”³¹ While the discipline of history, as currently practiced, utilizes similar evidence, ethnohistory pioneered the interdisciplinary evidentiary base. It also applied the anthropological concept of cultural relativism, wherein historians sought to understand indigenous beliefs and activities in terms of their own culture, to Native American history.

On the surface, the core principles and interdisciplinary approach of ethnohistory seems analogous to the directive principles of Atlantic World history, yet the two approaches have not even started to reach a synthesis. Ian K. Steele believes that this will never happen because Atlanticists write biased imperial narratives and ethnohistorians have always proven to be “rightly suspicious” of such things.³² Nevertheless, Paul Cohen remains hopeful. He argues that not only do Native Americans need to be integrated into the Atlantic perspective, but also that Atlanticists must incorporate cultural relativism into their work, while ethnohistorians should weave trans-Atlantic linkages into their histories.³³ However, Cohen laments that this will be easier said than done because:

The very sinews of Atlantic history—transatlantic commerce, seaborne migration, the circulation of commodities, capital flows, colonial settlement, European geo-politics, the African slave trade, and the plantation complex—have left little space for Amerindians. The Atlantic narrative has privileged maritime mobility and particular kinds of actors who in some way had a direct stake in the ocean itself—explorers, conquistadors, merchants, colonial settlers, seamen, African slaves, and Atlantic diasporas. Relatively few Amerindians ever crossed the Atlantic; few Amerindians took direct part in transatlantic commerce; and no transatlantic Amerindian diasporas came into being.³⁴

Fortunately, Cohen is wrong. Native Americans **did** cross the Atlantic (and the Pacific) in significant numbers; they **did** participate in transatlantic commerce, both as crewmembers and as merchants; and, following the end of the Pequot War and King Phillip’s War, an indigenous transatlantic diaspora to the West Indies **did** occur. But it has been maritime historians—not Atlanticists—that have started quietly drawing these important connections.³⁵

What, then, are the true differences between maritime history and Atlantic World history? Both types of history are clearly interdisciplinary, integrating many different fields; both have oceans and the human experience around and on oceans as one of their primary focuses, and both seek to show how humanity has been connected from one continent to another by watery linkages that do not necessarily conform to national boundaries. But apart from these similar goals, maritime history and Atlantic world history are oceans apart because they take fundamentally different approaches to a similar problem. Atlantic world historians write more about the economic and political connections of people or commodities around the Atlantic Rim and avoid, or only reluctantly discuss, life at sea. Maritime historians, however, immerse themselves in the oceans, lakes, and seas, examining how humanity has learned to live, thrive, work, and conquer the great waters. It would seem that the difference between Atlantic World historians and maritime historians is merely a watery reiteration of the methodological differences between political and social historians.

Can a synthesis of the two fields ever be reached? Or should a synthesis be sought at all? Although the organizing principles, or lack of principles, differ, I believe that maritime historians and Atlantic world historians can learn from each other and strengthen both fields in the process. Maritime historians, as Atlantic world historians have done, should spend more time discussing how their chosen field of study should define itself. While Atlantic world historians should follow maritime historians lead away from the land and bring the ocean and life on it back into their discourse, instead of solely viewing it as the wet means to a dry, continental end. Maritime historians and Atlantic world historians have a lot to learn from each other, but we can only begin talking to each other properly if we both know what we stand for.

NOTES

¹ David R. Yesner, "Maritime Hunter-Gatherers: Ecology and Prehistory", *Current Anthropology*, vol. 21, no. 6 (1980).

² The author compiled this information via H-Net's Job Guide and the Chronicle of Higher Education's Job Page.

³ For the textbook, see: T.H. Breen and Timothy Hall, *Colonial America in an Atlantic World: A Story of Creative Interaction* (New York: Pearson, 2004). The H-Net Discussion Network, H-Atlantic, can be accessed at <http://www.h-net.org/~atlantic/index.html>, while the International Symposium on the History of the Atlantic World can be found at <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~atlantic/>.

⁴ Daniel Vickers, "Beyond Jack Tar," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 2 (April 1993), p. 419.

⁵ Edouard Stackpole, *The Sea Hunters: New England Whalers During Two Centuries, 1635-1835* (New York: Lippincott, 1953); William Armstrong Fairburn, *Merchant Sail, vol. 1-6* (Center Lovell, ME: Fairburn Marine Educational Foundation, 1945); William Hutchinson Rowe, *A Maritime History of Maine: Three Centuries of Shipbuilding and Seafaring* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948); Samuel Eliot Morrison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941); John G.B. Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914: An Economic History* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1941); Howard I. Chappelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1935); Frederick William Wallace, *Wooden Ships and Iron Men: The Story of the Square-*

rigged Merchant Marine of British North America, the ships, their builders and owners, and the men who sailed them (Boston: Charles E. Lauriat Co., 1937).

⁶ Daniel Vickers, "Beyond Jack Tar," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 2 (April 1993), p. 419.

⁷ For works on Cape Verdeans, see: Frances Ruley Karttunen, *The Other Islanders: People Who Pulled Nantucket's Oars* (New Bedford: Spinner Publications, 2005); T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes in seventeenth century commerce and navigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972). Selected works on Chinese mariners and maritime workers include: James R. Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, "Soft Power at Sea: Zheng He and Chinese Maritime Strategy," *Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute*, vol. 132, no. 10 (2006); Hans Konrad Van Tilburg, *Chinese Junks on the Pacific: Views from a Different Deck* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007); R. Horowitz, "The Ambiguities of an Imperial Institution: Crisis and Transition in the Chinese Maritime Customs, 1899-1911," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 36, no. 2 (2008); Joshua Smith, "'Hands full with the Chinese': Maritime Dimensions of the Chinese-American Experience, 1870-1943" in Glenn Gordinier, ed., *Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Power in Maritime America: Papers from the Conference Held at Mystic Seaport September 2006* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 2008) p. 143-154; Gang Deng, *Chinese Maritime Activities and Socioeconomic Development c. 2100 B.C. — 1900 A.D.* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997). For works on women in the maritime world, see: Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab had a wife: New England women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Martha Hodes, *The Sea Captain's Wife: A True Story of Love, Race, and War in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006); Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, eds., *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Joan Druett, *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea, 1820-1920* (Hanover, NH: University of New England Press, 2001); Mary Brewster, *She Was a Sister Sailor* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport, 1970), Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates: Passion and Peril, Nineteenth Century Women at Sea* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999). For a discussion of Native Americans in the maritime world, see p. 30 of this chapter.

⁸ In 1993, the Frank C. Munson Institute at Mystic Seaport organized a conference that examined race, ethnicity, and power in maritime America. Deemed a success, Mystic Seaport repeated the conference in 1995, 2000, and 2006. The latter conferences added gender as an analytical category. See: Gordinier, ed., *Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Power in Maritime America*, p. v-vi.

⁹ In his groundbreaking case study, "An Honest Tar: Ashley Bowen of Marblehead," Vickers demonstrated the changing labor patterns of colonial sailors. By examining Bowen's life, Vickers found that his amount of time at sea, though considerable, was surpassed by his amount of time ashore. Yet, this made him no less a mariner. When not aboard a ship, Bowen continued to work in the maritime industry as a ship-rigger. See: Daniel Vickers, "An Honest Tar: Ashley Bowen of Marblehead," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 4 (Dec. 1996).

¹⁰ Vickers, "Beyond Jack Tar".

¹¹ Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³ Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005) p. 30-54.

¹⁴ For single commodity histories see: Michelle Craig, *Caffeine Dependence: Coffee and Commerce in Early America* (University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming); Henriette de Bruyn Kops, *A Spirited Exchange: The Wine and Brandy Trade between France and the Dutch Republic in Its Atlantic Framework, 1600-1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal, Zephyr Frank, eds., *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500-2000*

(Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Frederick H. Smith, *Caribbean Rum: A Social and Economic History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005); Peter E. Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). For select works on the Atlantic slave trade, see: Matthew D. Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle against Atlantic Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); David Richardson, Anthony Tibbles, Suzanne Schwarz, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007); Linda A. Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007); Kristin Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); S. D. Smith, *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Marika Sherwood, *After Abolition: Britain and the Slave Trade since 1807* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007); Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); Michael A. Gomez, *Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Emma Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730-1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); James A. McMillin, *The Final Victims: Foreign Slave Trade to North America, 1783-1810* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004). For the creation of a creole society, see: Sean X. Goudie, *Creole America: The West Indies and the Formation of Literature and Culture in the New Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Hillel Eyal, "Spanish Immigrants in Late Colonial Mexico City and Their Relations with Creoles," University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D. dissertation. For the transplantation of Christian ideology in the Atlantic World, see: Michele Gillespie and Robert Beachy, eds., *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Kenneth Mills, Anthony Grafton, eds., *Conversion: Old Worlds and New* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003); David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003); Susan Juster, *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Carla Gerona, *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2004); Kristin Block, "Faith and Fortune: The Politics of Religious Identity in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean," Ph.D. candidate, Rutgers University; Daniel Wasserman, "Translating the Words of God: Evangelization and the Politics of Language in the Early Modern Spanish World," Ph.D. Candidate, University of Virginia. For the intellectual origins of the Atlantic World and the various revolutions occurring within it, see: James Taylor Carson, *Making an Atlantic World: Circles, Paths, and Stories from the Colonial South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007); Martin Brackner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); P. J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India, and America, c. 1750 - 1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Geoffrey Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Richard R. Beeman, *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Lee Ward, *The Politics of Liberty in England and Revolutionary America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Michael M. Morrison and Melinda S. Zook, *Revolutionary Currents: Nation Building in the Transatlantic World* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004); Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, *How to write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

¹⁵ David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History" in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (London: Basingstoke, 2002) p. 11-29.

¹⁶ Peter A. Coclanis, "Drang Noch Osten: Bernard Bailyn, the World-Island, and the Idea of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History*, vol. 13, no. 1 (Spring 2002), p. 176.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ J.G.A. Pocock, "The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 104, no. 2 (April 1999), p. 498.

¹⁹ Ian Christie, "Featured Reviews," *American Historical Review*, vol. 114, no. 5 (Dec. 2009), p. 1405-1407.

²⁰ Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review*, vol. 111, no. 3 (June 2006) p. 745.

²¹ N.A.M. Rodger, "Review," *The English Historical Review*, vol. 115, no. 461 (April 2000), p. 451.

²² Alan L. Karras, "The Atlantic World as a Unit of Study" in Alan Karras and J.R. MacNeil, eds., *Atlantic American Societies: From Columbus to Abolition, 1492-1888* (New York: Routledge, 1992) p. 4.

²³ Amy Turner Bushnell, "Indigenous America and the Limits of the Atlantic World, 1493-1825" in Greene and Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History*, p. 194

²⁴ Paul Cohen, "Was there an Amerindian Atlantic? Reflections on the limits of a historiographical concept," *History of European Ideas*, vol. 34 (2008) p. 394-395.

²⁵ Ibid and Bushnell, "Indigenous America and the Limits of the Atlantic World," p. 212

²⁶ See: Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by degrees: Indian land and identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Daniel Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth Century Eastern Massachusetts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); Paulette Crone-Morange and Lucianne Lavin, "The Schaghticoke Tribe and English Law: A Study of Community Survival" in *Connecticut History*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2004); Donna Keith Baron, J. Edward Hood, Holly V. IZard, "They Were Here All Along: The Native American Presence in Lower-Central New England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 3 (July 1996).

²⁷ For a complete discussion about the development of the ethnohistoric methodology, see: Kelly K. Chaves, "Ethnohistory: From Inception to Postmodernism and Beyond," *The Historian*, vol. 70, no. 3 (September 2008) pp. 486-513.

²⁸ "What Is Ethnohistory?," American Society for Ethnohistory,
http://www.ethnohistory.org/sections/about_ase/ethnohistory_faq.html.

²⁹ James Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Early America: A Review Essay," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1978): p. 112.

³⁰ Erminie W. Voegelin, "An Ethnohistorian's Viewpoint," *Ethnohistory* 1, no. 2 (1954): p. 168.

³¹ "What Is Ethnohistory?."

³² Ian K. Steele, "Exploding Colonial American History: Amerindian, Atlantic, and Global Perspectives," *Reviews in American History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (1998) p. 8-9

³³ Cohen, "Was there an Amerindian Atlantic?," p. 394.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ For whaling, see: Daniel Vickers, "The First Whalers of Nantucket," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 4 (October 1983); Jason Mancini, "Beyond Reservation: Indians, Maritime Labor, and Communities of Color

from Eastern Long Island Sound, 1713-1861” in Gordinier, *Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Power in Maritime America*; Mark A. Nicholls, “Mashpee Wampanoags of Cape Cod, the Whalefishery, and Seafaring’s Impact on Community Development,” *The American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 2 (Spring 2002); John Braginton-Smith and Duncan Oliver, *Cape Cod Shore Whaling: America’s First Whalemen* (Charleston: The History Press, 2008); Nathaniel Philbrick, *Abram’s Eyes: The Native American Legacy of Nantucket Island* (Nantucket: Mill Hill Press, 1998). For pirates, see: Olive P. Dickason, “The Micmac naval war against the British, 1713-1763” in Charles A Martijn, ed. *Les Micmacs et La Mer* (Quebec : American Indian Research of Quebec, 1986); Horace P. Beck, *The American Indian as a Sea-Fighter in Colonial Times* (Mystic, CT: The Marine Historical Association, Inc., 1959). For indigenous explorers, see: Jack D. Forbes, *The American Discovery of Europe* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007). For Native American maritime heritage, see: Harrington, Faith, “Sea Tenure in Seventeenth Century New England: Native Americans and Englishmen in the Sphere of Marine Resources, 1600-1630.” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1985