TROZE
The Online Journal of the National Maritime Museum Cornwall www.nmmc.co.uk

‘[H]eer will be noe fishing’: 17th century Barbary Piracy and the West Country Fisheries

By Dr Jo Esra

March 2016
Volume 7 Number 1

TROZE

Troze is the journal of the National Maritime Museum Cornwall whose mission is to promote an understanding of small boats and their place in people's lives, and of the maritime history of Cornwall.

'Troze: the sound made by water about the bows of a boat in motion'
From R. Morton Nance, *A Glossary of Cornish Sea Words*

Editorial Board

We welcome article submissions on any aspect relating to our mission.

Please contact the editor at troze@nmmc.co.uk or
National Maritime Museum Cornwall
Discovery Quay
Falmouth
Cornwall
TR11 3QY
United Kingdom

Dr Jo Ezra

Dr Jo Esra is Head of Research for the National Trust and is based at the historic house and gardens at Trelissick, an 18th century maritime property overlooking the Fal. She is also an Associate Lecturer with College of Humanities, University of Exeter Penryn Campus, and an Honorary Research Fellow with the University's Institute of Cornish Studies. She earned her PhD in 2013 with the University of Exeter, writing on the reactions of 17th century maritime communities in Cornwall and Devon to the depredations of the Barbary pirates.

'[H]eer will be noe fishing': 17th century Barbary Piracy and the West Country Fisheries

Dr Jo Esra

Introduction

The inhabitants of the West Country, along with those of other parts of the British Isles, experienced a marked increase in their contact with Muslim 'Turks' from the Ottoman Empire, and 'Moors' from the independent kingdom of Morocco, during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Direct interaction took place via trade, travel and diplomacy – and, inevitably, piracy. In particular, the activities of the corsairs from Islamic North Africa, the 'Barbary Coast', intensified within the Mediterranean during the sixteenth century. However, it was the seventeenth century which saw their depredations take place in closer geographical proximity to the West Country coast than ever before.

The corsairs primarily operated out of the semi-autonomous Ottoman regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, and the Moroccan port cities of Salé and Rabat. They were notorious for taking captives, who were subsequently held for ransom in North Africa, or enslaved, sometimes on the very ships that had captured them. Many captives converted to Islam – although this did not guarantee their freedom. Muslims did not become galley slaves - considered the worst kind of slavery. All seafarers were at risk, although those on unarmed vessels were clearly the easier and preferred prey. Furthermore, the French, and the Spanish in particular, had highly organised and effective systems of collective redemption for captives, founded during the medieval Crusades. This contrasted starkly with the experiences of Protestant Britons: the drawn-out and unstable processes of private individualised ransoming, and frequent misappropriation of publicly collected funds, condemned many to death and slavery.[1]

This article will explore how the activities of Barbary pirates impacted upon the West Country fisheries, from the point of their first arrival in the coastal waters of Devon and Cornwall up to the period of the Civil Wars, and the ways in which the maritime communities expressed their disquiet. Whilst there were various attempts to suppress the pirates, including unpopular taxations to fund naval fleets to patrol the coast or undertake (largely unsuccessful) missions to rescue captives from Barbary, the activities of the corsairs continued into the 1640s. Indeed, anxiety and subsequent anger regarding forgotten captives and the failure to guard the sea sharply escalated throughout the reign of Charles I, compounding his unpopularity amongst many of his subjects. This was intensified by treasury debt, mismanagement of ransoming monies and the redemption processes, and the lack of royal financial assistance, all of which contributed to the narrative of events leading up to the Civil Wars.[2]

[1] See: Gillian Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); James W. Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009).
[2] Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589 – 1689* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2005), pp. 49-51.

Initial Reports 1623-1625

The first recorded Turkish vessel on the West Country coast was sighted in 1623. The crew of this vessel purchased fish from a local boat and 'viewed' the coast, provoking anxiety concerning possible relations with local inhabitants, in addition to their surveillance and proximity to the shoreline.[3] Barbary pirates were again reported upon the coast of the 'western parts' in April 1625, just weeks into the reign of Charles I, but this time their visit was hostile.[4] Many reports were to follow. From the outset, these accounts inevitably concerned the fisheries, which were economically important locally but also of significance within early modern concepts of 'the nation'.

On the 18th April 1625 Sir James Bagg, the Vice-Admiral of South Cornwall, sent correspondence to the Duke of Buckingham reporting that a Dartmouth ship bound for the Newfoundland fisheries and three Cornish fishing boats had been taken within the waters of Plymouth harbour by a 'Sally' ship.[5] Salé, in Morocco, was functioning as an autonomous piratical Republic at this time, under the jurisdiction of the notorious Dutch renegade, Murat Reis the Younger.[6]

The Mayor of Plymouth, merchant Thomas Ceely, confirmed Bagg's report, writing to the Privy Council that day. 'May it please your honors to be advertised that this day I heard of certain Turks, Moors and Dutchmen of Sallee in Barbary lie on our coasts', he wrote, 'spoiling divers such as they are able to master'. He enclosed the testimonies of two local mariners, William Draper, of Plymouth, and William Knight, of 'St. Butockes' – nearby St. Budeaux.[7] Draper testified that eighteen days earlier he had seen a French-built bark at Dutch Flushing, 'with nine Turks and divers other Dutch and one blackamoor in her'. This was the vessel believed to have 'robbed the ship of Salcombe' – the Dartmouth ship - and the 'fisherboats of Looe'.[8] Knight reported that on the 15th April, whilst sailing his barge loaded with sand out of the 'river of Yalme' – the Yealm estuary near Plymouth - he had met with a local fishing boat. The crew informed Knight they had encountered a Salcombe ship which had been taken on 12th April by 'a ship of Sally of thirty tons or thereabouts, wherein were nine Dutchmen, six Turks, and three Moors, and one of them a black Moor'. One of the fishermen told Knight that he and eleven or twelve other men had been captured whilst fishing near Plymouth harbour. This unnamed fisherman, from Looe, escaped after the black Moor 'unloosed his bands', allowing him to creep out through the porthole of the Salcombe ship, which was lying alongside the Salé bark. [9]

For Mayor Ceely, the authenticity of this report resides within the detail received by Knight from the anonymous fisherman, in his description of how the Turks and Moors had 'cut off the tackle of the said boats and after left them fleeting on the stream'. 'I am induced the rather to believe' Ceely informed the Council, 'because two fisherboats mentioned in his examination were very

[3] The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) SP 14/90, f 24; Todd Gray, 'Turks, Moors and the Cornish Fishermen: Piracy in the Early Seventeenth Century,' *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, N.S. X (4) (1990), p. 460.
[4] John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1625, 1626* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858) 11 (hereafter *CSPD*).
[5] *CSPD 1625, 1626* 11.
[6] Peter Lamborn Wilson, *Pirate Utopias: Moorish Corsairs and European Renegadoes* (New York: Autonomedia, 2003), pp. 71-141.
[7] TNA: PRO SP 16/1, ff 68, 69.
[8] 'Appendix 3,' *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. Daniel J. Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 356.
[9] 'Appendix 3,' *Piracy,* ed. Vitkus, p. 356; TNA: PRO SP 16/1, ff 68, 69; *CSPD 1625, 1626,* p. 10.

lately found floating on the seas, having neither man nor any tackle in them'.[10]

Following these initial reports, the spring and summer of 1625 saw a huge amount of complaints to centralised authority from throughout the West Country. Communications arrived from Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Barnstaple, St Ives and Penzance regarding the arrival of the Turks, demonstrating the impact on shipping - and particularly fishing - in that year alone.[11]

On 30th April 1625 John Godolphin wrote from the Isles of Scilly to his brother Francis, the Governor of the Isles, informing him that '[t]wo ships of Sallee, one carrying 32 guns' had been identified on the Biscay coast, and that 'these and 20 others are coming to rove about the West parts of England'. Ominously, a Turkish 'man-of-war' had pursued a Plymouth bark into St. Mary's Road, the sea-lane through the Isles. John warned that the pirates intended to return to Barbary with prisoners, not just pillage local shipping.[12] On the 7th May John Trewinnard, the deputy searcher of St Ives, wrote to Secretary Edward Conway begging for assistance. 'The Turks are upon our coasts' he reported, '[t]hey take ships only to take the men to make slaves of them', ascertaining that eighteen men had been taken from one vessel, sixteen from another, adding there were '30 sail of them abroad, out of Sallee, a new rendezvous'.[13]

It also transpired that a Plymouth vessel had been taken near to the Isles of Scilly a month before the Salcombe ship reported by Bagg and confirmed by the testimonies of Knight and Draper. Dispatched the same day as Trewinnard's report, although received by the Council on 23rd May, Ceely sent the examination of William Court, a Plymouth shipwright, 'from which it will be perceived what spoil the Turks and Moors of Sallee daily do on the English coasts'.[14] Court's account, confirming aspects of Knight's, was given credibility as he was an ex-captive of Salé, taken the previous year with four others, six days after leaving Plymouth for Portugal.[15] During March 1625 Court was captive on one of six 'Turkish ships of Sally' which 'did bend their course for the coast of England', pillaging and sinking vessels they encountered and taking crews captive. These included 'six French barks, a little off from Scilly, and six score men', all of whom 'the said pirates took into their ships and chained them and left the barks fleeting on the stream'.[16] Court's vessel was captained by 'one Cooper', with a crew consisting of nine other Islamic converts; four English and five Flemish; and thirty 'Turks and Moors'.[17] Near to the Isles of Scilly the ship took a Plymouth vessel 'bound for Newfoundland on a fishing voyage, wherein one William Legg was master': after taking eighteen 'of her choicest men' in chains, the corsairs cast off the Plymouth ship with Court and 'six of her worst men', who landed at St Ives after five days. Court finishes his deposition with the daunting report that the Muslim pirates often boasted they 'would fetch the Christians from the shore'.[18] A month later the Plymouth authorities again complained to the Council that many merchants and fishermen had been taken

[10] TNA: PRO SP 16/1, ff 68, 69; *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p.10; 'Appendix 3' in 'Appendix 3,' *Piracy,* ed. Vitkus, pp. 354 -358.
[11] TNA: PRO SP 16/1, ff 68, 94; 16/2, ff 36, 75; 16/3, f 76; 16/4, f 35; 16/5, ff 6, 8, 24, 32, 36, 55, 81, 90.
[12] TNA: PRO SP 16/1, f 94; *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 14.
[13] TNA: PRO SP 16/2, f 33; *CSPD 1625, 1626* 20; Gray, 'Turks', p. 463.
[14] *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 20.
[15] TNA: PRO SP 16/2, f 36 (1); 'Appendix 3' in *Piracy,* ed. Vitkus, p. 357.
[16] 'Appendix 3,' *Piracy,* ed. Vitkus, p. 358; *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 20.
[17] TNA: PRO SP 16/2, f 36 (1); 'Appendix 3,' *Piracy,* ed. Vitkus, p. 358; Gray, 'Turks', p. 461.
[18] *CSPD 1625, 1626* 20; 'Appendix 3', p. 358.

from the region.[19] By the end of June, Buckingham instructed Sir Francis Stewart to go with as many ready ships as possible to 'clear the coast', although the instruction was not to pursue the Turks, but rather to rendezvous at Plymouth. Sickness prevented them from proceeding further.[20]

Complaints to Parliament

The 1625 Oxford session of Parliament opened on 1st August, displaced from London by plague. The culmination of complaints over the summer which MPs brought from their constituencies probably contributed to Buckingham's decision to act.[21] Differentiating between Ottoman corsairs and those of independent Salé, perhaps to emphasise the enormity of the threat, Vice-Admiral Bagg wrote privately to Buckingham the following day, alerting him to the increasing discontent of the West Country inhabitants, emphasising this was a terrifying and financially debilitating experience they lived with daily. He advised Buckingham to swiftly take measures against the pirates, and make it appear pre-planned before Parliament opened:

> Divers towns have written to their burgesses of the daily oppression of the Sallee and Turkish pirates. There are 20 sail on the coast, and within six days they have taken two ships' worth 5,000l. Hopes some ships will be provided, that it may appear to the House a remedy was ordered ere the complaint was presented.[22]

The complaints are recorded over the following days. On August 3rd that of Ceely 'and his brethren' appears, stating they were forced to 'supplicate to the Council for speedy redress' due to the 'lamentable complaints received' from eight hundred captives in Salé 'under the barbarous cruelty of the Moors'. The complaint had particularly emphasised the dangers posed to shipping from Newfoundland and New England.[23]

On August 6th a petition on behalf of the inhabitants of Devon from the local Grand Jury was registered, expressing similar anxieties. Initially addressed to Sir Richard Hutton, Justice of the Common Pleas, and subsequently forwarded to Lord Keeper Williams, the Grand Jury urged Hutton 'to make it known to the King or the Council what great inconveniences are likely to befall if speedy course be not taken to suppress the piratical infidels who infest those parts'.[24] The Mayor of Poole addressed his complaint directly to the Council, enclosing the examinations of Nicholas Nurrey, Robert Rapson and Thomas Marryner who had witnessed the *Anne* of Poole being captured near Plymouth, and testified to the strength of the 'fleet of the Turks'.[25] Cornwall's complaint was received on 10th August, with the Justices writing from East Looe to the Lord Lieutenant, to '[e]ntreat that speedy course may be taken to free the coasts of Turkish pirates'.[26] Ceely's correspondence emphasised to the Council the human cost of the depredations; within one year a thousand sailors were taken from the region, with twenty-seven ships and two hundred people taken in the last ten days alone – eighty of them from Looe:

> one poore Maritime Towne in Cornwall call[ed] Loo hath within ten dayes last past lost 80 Marryners and Saylers which were bound in fishing voyages

[19] TNA: PRO SP 16/4, f 149; Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry Before the Civil War* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996), p. 134.
[20] *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 49.
[21] Duffin, *Faction*, p. 135.
[22] TNA: PRO SP 16/4, f 149; *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 20; Duffin, *Faction*, p. 135.
[23] *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 79.
[24] *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 81.
[25] *CSPD 1625, 1626,* p. 81.
[26] *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 82.

> for the deepes, and there have ben taken by the turks within the sayd tyme 27 Shipps and barkes at least, and in them there could not be lesse that 200 persons.[27]

Continuing Losses

The incidents continued, with Turks preying on shipping in West Country coastal waters, alongside other predatory ships. In May 1626, John Bonython, the Deputy Governor of Pendennis, reported six Turk vessels and six Dunkirkers (privateers in the service of the Spanish, who mainly preyed upon Dutch shipping) lying off the coast between the Lizard and the Isles of Scilly, suggesting the Isles were their target, drawing attention to the duality of islands: vulnerable to invasion, yet a stronghold and fortified base for those who 'take' them.[28] Two months later, Captain James Duppa urged Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the Lord High Admiral, to provide protection for Falmouth harbour, reporting 'the Turks men of warre [are] on both sides of the mount [St Michael's Mount] dayly visiting their ports', and in November 1628 John Tresahar, the recently appointed Lieutenant Governor for Pendennis, reported 'Dunkirkers and Frenchmen lie thick on th[e]se parts, and daily take such ships as pass along the coast', compounding local fears.[29] Whilst it is impossible to calculate the number of captives taken by the corsairs, regionally or otherwise, such localised reports indicate West Country losses were substantial.

Contexts

Whilst being captured by Turks and Moors had been a hazard for seafarers from the late sixteenth century, these incidents were significant in that they signalled a shift in the way the corsairs operated, in both their targets and their geographical haunts. Prior to the 1620s, ships were usually captured within the Mediterranean basin, being mainly small, lightly armed merchant vessels from either the London or West Country ports. Those most at risk were using the trading routes to Spain, Portugal and Biscay.[30] For example, it was reported on 19th March 1619 that '400 sail of the Western ports' had been taken since 1615: between 1610 and 1620 Bristol alone had lost forty-five ships to piracy – between twenty-seven and thirty of which were to Barbary corsairs.[31] However, the coastal presence of the corsairs, taking coasters, short-sea ships and fishing boats increased these reports dramatically. This new development was due to a number of factors.

Domestic turmoil and unemployment resulted in links being forged between Dutch and Barbary pirates during the 1620s, with the shared knowledge and skills enabling the North African galleys to venture into the Atlantic.[32] The first decades of the seventeenth century were troubled for the Ottoman Empire, resulting in an increased autonomy within the Ottoman Barbary Regencies.[33] 1609 to 1614 witnessed the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. Many were

[27] TNA: PRO SP 16/5, f 36; *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 83; Duffin, *Faction*, p. 135.
[28] TNA: PRO SP 16/27, f 73; Duffin, *Faction*, p. 136.
[29] TNA: PRO SP 16/31, f 351; John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1628 – 1629* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1859), pp. 397 – 398. Also see Duffin, *Faction*, pp. 136-7.
[30] Duffin, *Faction*, p. 134; David Delison Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government 1616 – 1642* (Hants: Scolar Press, 1994), pp. 10 – 15; Ralph Davis, 'England and the Mediterranean 1570 – 1670,' *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England in honour of R. H. Tawney*, ed. F. J. Fisher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 127 – 130.
[31] TNA: PRO SP 14/107, f 40; P. V. McGrath, 'The Merchant Venturers and Bristol in the Early Seventeenth Century,' *The Mariner's Mirror,* XXXVI (1950), p. 69; Hebb *Piracy* f.n. 5, p. 16.
[32] Robert Elgood, *Firearms of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 1995), pp. 74 – 75.
[33] Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300 – 1923* (London: John Murray, 2005), pp. 196 – 222.

transported or migrated to Morocco and further along the Barbary coast, and this led to a rise in corsair activity in the years following, fuelled by necessity and revenge.[34] Furthermore, whereas Elizabeth had maintained good relations with Morocco and the Ottoman Empire, James did not – there was a decrease in diplomacy from the onset of his reign.[35] There had also been a problematic period of the transference of power from James to Charles, difficulties which emerged prior to, and were carried over into, Charles's reign, exacerbated by an underfunded navy, the perceived ineptitude of Buckingham, and general mismanagement of the situation.[36]

The 1630s and the Impact on the Fisheries

Reports of empty ships drifting off the West Country coastline, the crews presumed taken by corsairs, continued during the 1630s.[37] Indeed, in October 1631, John Harrison of the Barbary Company wrote to the King from Morocco, warning the Turks and Moors 'in short tyme will be maisters of the seas, yea, they are so in these parts already [Sal[l]ee], and next summer threaten the Channell even our English Channell'.[38] Fishermen were inevitably particularly vulnerable. They were taken from 'the deeps' between Britain and Ireland, the coastal fisheries, and from vessels involved with the Newfoundland migratory fisheries.

For example, in May 1636, three barks and twenty-seven fishermen were taken from East and West Looe, whilst fishing along the coast.[39] The following month, it was reported from Plymouth on 20th June 1636 that 'four sail of Turks' were on the coast, coinciding with reports from the crews of eighteen Looe fishing boats; returning from working the deeps between England and Ireland; of their having seen five of their fleet 'floating upon the sea with never a person in them, nor sail to their yards'. Thirty fishermen had been taken, with fears for a further three vessels with six or seven crew in each, as they had not returned to Looe 'which give the more cause of fear that they are likewise taken'.[40] Seven more fishing boats with their crews had been taken at St Keverne the previous Thursday. Three of the vessels were from St Keverne, three from Helford, and one from 'Mollan' [Mullion], all taken whilst fishing between Falmouth and the Lizard, near Black Head – a nearby headland barely three leagues from shore.[41] Fifty fishermen had disappeared. A witness reported: 'it goes for an absolute truth thereabouts, that they were all surprised by the Turks and carried away'.[42] A report of the Cornish Justices highlighted the distress these incidents were causing, with the fishermen fearful of going to sea, but also of being taken from their homes:

[34] Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 151 – 153; John C. Appleby, 'Jacobean Piracy: English Maritime Depredation in Transition, 1603 – 1625,' *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485 – 1649*, ed. Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012) pp. 277 - 299.
[35] Lisa Jardine, 'Gloriana rules the waves: or, the advantage of being excommunicated (and a woman),' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society: Sixth Series*, ed. Aled Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 209 – 211; Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 9, 19; Hebb, Piracy, p. 16.
[36] Matar, *Britain*, pp. 49 – 75, and his 'Wives, Captive Husbands, and Turks: The First Woman Petitioners in Caroline England,' *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 23 (1997), pp. 111 – 128.
[37] Gray, 'Turks', p. 463.
[38] Quoted Matar, *Turks,* p. 10.
[39] July 14, 1636, Justices of the Peace for Cornwall, John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1636 – 1637* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867), pp. 60 – 61.
[40] *CSPD 1636* – 1637, pp. 4 – 5.
[41] *CSPD 1636 – 1637*, pp. 4 – 5.
[42] *CSPD 1636 – 1637*, pp. 4 – 5.

> The loss falls more heavy upon the said towns, by reason of their former losses in two preceding years, wherein they lost four barks and 42 persons […] the owners and seamen rather give over their trade than put their estates and persons into so great peril, there being now 60 vessels and about 200 seamen without employment […] These Turks daily show themselves […] that the poor fishermen are fearful not only to go to the seas, but likewise lest these Turks should come on shore and take them out of their houses.[43]

The Significance of the West Country Fisheries

Whilst the emotional cost was largely ignored, the impact on the fisheries was of concern to the authorities. Whether operating from the larger recognised seaports or the smaller 'porths' of Cornwall, fishing was of vital economic and social importance to the West Country during the early decades of the seventeenth century. Many West Country ports— and their neighbouring settlements – grew in size and prosperity during this period due to the expansion of fishing.[44] According to a locally produced treatise of 1622, dedicated to James I, fishing was not only 'the sea's free gift', but it 'enlarged other trades', supporting a high number of auxiliary activities, from sail-makers to barber-surgeons, in addition to the profitable trade in train oil, particularly that of Newfoundland cod liver oil which was used industrially.[45] Furthermore, not only were traders and ship-owners investing in the fisheries, but victuallers.[46]

Dartmouth corporation noted in 1613 that four hundred vessels crewed by twelve thousand sailors sailed from their port yearly to 'Newfoundland, the deeps, Ireland, and other places', additionally maintaining twenty thousand local people.[47] Richard Whitbourne, an Exmouth seaman and fish merchant, emphasized in his *Discourse and Discovery of the New-found-land* (1620) that goods used by the fisheries provided employment for 'Bakers, Brewers, Coopers, Ship-Carpenters, Smiths, Net-makers, Rope-makers, Line-makers, Hooke-makers, Pully-makers, and many other trades': expanding the fisheries would increase the need for these workers.[48] There were also many alehouses in port towns, excessive for the local population, but responding to the needs of a transitory one.[49] Dartmouth was a major base for the Newfoundland fisheries, with two-thirds of their incoming voyages between 1620 and 1623 directly from Newfoundland, yet, as Todd Gray demonstrates, only a small proportion of the thousands of fishermen involved resided within the town.[50] Most were from neighbouring parishes, many further afield: on 1st September 1623 the mayor reported 'although there be a great number of mariners that usually sail out of this port to the Newfoundland, yet there are not the tenth part of them dwelling in this town'.[51] This multifaceted reliance on the fisheries ensured localised

[43] July 14, 1636, Justices of the Peace for Cornwall, *CSPD 1636 – 1637*, pp. 60 – 61.
[44] Todd Gray, 'Fishing and the Commercial World of Early Dartmouth,' *Tudor and Stuart Devon: The Common Estate and Government*, ed. Todd Gray, Margery Rowe, and Audrey Erskine (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992), p. 174.
[45] Peter E. Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 28 - 29, 443.
[46] Gray, 'Fishing and the Commercial World', pp. 176, 192.
[47] Gray, 'Fishing and the Commercial World', p. 183.
[48] Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of the New-found-land, with many reasons to prooue how worthy and beneficiall a Plantation may there be made, after a far better manner than now it is. Together with the laying open of certain Enormities and abuses committed by some that trade to that County of Deuon, and published by Authority* (London: 1622 [1620, 1623]). Also see:, 'A Discourse and Discovery of New-found-land,' Gillian T. Cell, ed. *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation 1610 – 1630* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1982), pp. 101 – 206, quote 125.
[49] Gray, 'Fishing and the Commercial World', pp. 176, 192.
[50] Gray, 'Fishing and the Commercial World', p. 183.
[51] D[evon] R[ecord] O[ffice], DD 62093, Gray, 'Fishing and the Commercial World', p. 190.

anxiety provoked by the Turks was economic, largely focused on the fishing industry. Fishing – whether inshore, offshore, or migratory – 'carried the entire West Country with it'.[52]

West Country fishermen had a long historical presence at Newfoundland, since at least the time of John Cabot's voyage in 1497, whereupon a recorded fishery was established, developing substantially during the early seventeenth century. As many as three hundred ships a year sailed to Newfoundland, with single ports sending up to eighty vessels: between 1615 and 1640 at least 70% were from the West Country, reinforced by longstanding trading links with the Iberian Peninsula and Mediterranean, the principal markets for dried Newfoundland cod.[53]

The English fishery was seasonal and migratory: fleets left in February and March, using Newfoundland as a base for several months, building 'settlements'. Fishing usually finished by the beginning of August, with the men leaving in the autumn. The English worked out of small boats, drying the catch gradually onshore through a combination of salt, sun and wind, differing from the French, Basques, Portuguese and Spaniards who also fished the Banks. Having a plentiful domestic supply of salt they transported the fish straight back, operating a 'green', rather than 'dry', fishery.[54] English ships would reach the European markets in late September or October, returning home by late November or December with imported goods. Many ships returned straight from Newfoundland – if the conditions were favourable the journey could take three weeks - carrying the crews, other migratory fishermen as passengers, train oil, and sometimes firewood and fish.[55]

The Newfoundland Fisheries and Territorial Expansion

The expansion of the fisheries had contributed to Jacobean discourses of territorial expansion, nation-building, overseas investment and settlement.[56] Settlement was promoted as a way to protect the fisheries; likewise, the fisheries would aid plantation: both were interlinked with the desire for empire. Permanent settlement of Newfoundland was attempted during the early seventeenth century. Formed in 1610, the London and Bristol Company established from the outset a relationship between fishery and settlement, mapping the land from the coast inwards, constructing this inward facing Newfoundland as *terra nova*: 'new land' in Latin - a blank space.[57] The Company's Royal Charter reinforces the fishing rights of the:

> coast and harbours whereof the subjects of this our Realme of England have for the space of fiftie yeares and upwards yearlie used to resorte in noe small numbers to fishe, intending by such plantacon and inhabitinge both to secure and make safe the trade of fishing to our subjectes for ever.[58]

[52] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, Money & Politics: Seafaring and naval enterprise in the reign of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 168.
[53] Cell, ed. *Newfoundland Discovered*, p. 1; Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (Lebanon, N. H.: University Press of New England, 2005), p. 28; Gray, 'Fishing and the Commercial World', p. 185.
[54] Cell, ed. *Newfoundland*, p. 1.
[55] Pope, *Fish into Wine*, p. 29.
[56] D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records* (Holland: Meridian Publishing Co., 1971 [1895]), pp. 87 – 88.
[57] Laurier Turgeon, 'Codfish, Consumption, and Colonization: The Creation of the French Atlantic World During the Sixteenth Century,' *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products, and Practices on the Move*, ed. Caroline A. Williams (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 47 – 49.
[58] London and Bristol Company Charter, 2nd May, 1610. Harl. 589, fol. 8, in Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, pp. 122 – 125.

Figure 11: Newfoundland and the Grand Banks.
Source: *Cambrensium Caroleia* by William Vaughn, 1625. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

John Guy, a Bristol merchant, alderman, and, in 1618, mayor, visited Newfoundland in 1608. He published *A Treatise to animate the English to plant there* (1609).[59] Guy was made Governor in 1610. Linking fishing and settlement, the colony he was instructed to found was duly named 'Sea Forest Plantation'.[60] Richard Whitbourne also promoted the idea that establishing a colony would not only expand and protect the fisheries, but enable territorial expansion through the 'increase of Shipping and Mariners […] who may fitly bee stiled, The nation of the Sea'.[61] Whitbourne argued that the settlement of Newfoundland would also have domestic benefits, related to fishing. It would address the problems of dearth and poverty by expanding auxiliary trades; protect and increase the supply of affordable protein which fish provided; and give work, new land and opportunities to the unsettled poor and unemployed seafarers.[62] However, the relationship between the West Country migratory fishermen and early settlers was highly problematic. The fishermen were vehemently opposed to settlement, petitioning the Council with frequent complaints regarding the settlers, animosity which continued into the next decade. Similarly, the settlers complained about the fishermen.[63] Volatile and contested, both the land and sea territories of Newfoundland were of multiple importance.

[59] Cell, ed. *Newfoundland Discovered*, pp. 3 – 4.
[60] 'Instructions to John Guy from the Associates of his Company, 1610,' BL, [B.M.] MS. Otto E., VIII. 5, quoted Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, pp. 94 – 96. Also see Ingeborg Marshall, *A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk* (Québec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), pp. 28 – 32.
[61] 'A Discourse and Discovery of New-found-land,' *Newfoundland Discovered*, ed. Cell, p. 109.
[62] Whitbourne, *A Discourse.*
[63] See W. Noël Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860), pp. 260, 306, 315, 328, 354 - 355, 366, 373, 395 – 396, 400 – 403; Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 98; Cell, ed. *Newfoundland Discovered*, pp. 3, 22.

Concerns for the Newfoundland fleet

Throughout August 1625 concerns were expressed for the Newfoundland fleet, and other vessels returning from New England.[64] The Mayor of Poole, upon his informing the Council that the *Anne* had been taken '8 or 9 leagues from Plymouth', warned that unless the Council acted, 'the Newfoundland fleet of 250 sail, and having on board 4 or 5 thousand men, of the Western parts, will be surprised'.[65] The vulnerability was partially blamed on the reluctance to arm the fleet.[66] Both incoming and outgoing fleets were at risk: in spring the vessels contained supplies, whilst the 'sack ships' travelling to and from their markets, were of considerable value.[67] Although the Turks may not have targeted the cargo specifically, the loss of a ship was financially devastating to the merchant, investor, owner and crew, as well as their families and communities, alongside the emotional cost.

Newfoundland ships were those reported taken in spring 1625: the ship reported by William Court as having been taken near the Scillies in March was a Plymouth-Newfoundland vessel, and the Salcombe ship described by Knight, taken in April, had also been bound for Newfoundland.[68] Further reports had appeared the following year, sounding increasingly desperate. On 28th April 1626, the Mayor of Dartmouth reported 'Sallee pirates have come into the Channel, and have taken three barks bound for Newfoundland, and probably many others'. 'Within 12 months', he continued, 'these barbarians have bereaved the King of many subjects and much impoverished that part of the kingdom'.[69] Indeed, the risk was not just to the Newfoundland fleet, the inshore and 'deeps' fisheries were threatened too. In August 1625 the Justices of Cornwall wrote that due to the Turks '[t]he inhabitants of the coast towns are deprived of their fishing', and likely to 'receive a far greater loss on the return of their shipping from Newfoundland'.[70] Similarly, during the shipping returns of 1626, East Looe reported 'scarce half' of their boats 'are employed for want of men in regard there hath been taken away by the Turks' - over sixty men.[71]

Coastal protection

Coastal protection was wholly inadequate, and pleas for further protection seemed to have been ignored. In September 1625 the 'distressed soldiers of Pendennis Castle' petitioned the king: whereas 'other garrisons have received, whose wants cannot be greater, nor more miserable than ours', they were 'forced to pawn our bedding and other necessities to buy bread to keep ourselves from starving'.[72] The following July, there were further requests for protection for Falmouth harbour:

> which if it be not presently supplied, heer will be noe fishing, if noe fishing, then much misery & poverty in these west parts; the Turks men of warre on both sides of the mount dayly visiting their ports that noe fishermen dare goe forth.[73]

[64] *CSPD 1625, 1626* 79, pp. 81, 83, 86; *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660*, p. 75.
[65] *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 81; *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660* , p.75.
[66] *CSPD 1625, 1626* , p. 85.
[67] Pope, *Fish into Wine*, p. 104.
[68] 'Appendix 3,' *Piracy,* ed. Vitkus , pp. 356 – 358; TNA: PRO SP 16/2 f. 36 (1); *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 20.
[69] *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 320.
[70] *CSPD 1625, 1626* , p. 82.
[71] TNA: PRO SP 16/34 f.105; Gray, 'Turks', p. 464.
[72] TNA: PRO SP 16/6 f. 137. Also see: Anne Duffin, 'Defence of Cornwall in the Seventeenth Century,' *Security and Defence in South-West England Before 1800* ed. Robert Higham (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1987), p. 72.
[73] TNA: PRO SP 16/31 f.35.

The neglect of defences for the fisheries and inhabitants provoked emotional responses from officials within the port towns. On 26th April 1626 the Commissioners of Plymouth wrote to the Privy Council from Plympton, enclosing the examination of John Rendell and John Richie whose ship the *Christian* 'bound for Newfoundland had been rifled by the Turks, and nine of her crew taken for slaves'.[74] '[T]he Turks [are] infesting the coast and carrying away the subjects and their goods', they observe, 'whilst the King's ships lie still in harbour to the charge of the King and the shame of the nation'. The Commissioners requested finance. The region was hosting a large number of idle and unpaid militia and '[b]oth the soldiers and the country begin to murmer, and will shortly become dangerous'. They drew attention to the human cost and emotional impact of the activities of the Turks, reporting that '[t]he pitiful lamentation made by wives and children for their husbands, fathers, and brothers is grievous'.[75]

John Bonython also bemoaned the lack of finance in November that year, reporting the 'spoil of ships from Newfoundland by Turkish pirates', and the 'defenceless condition of Pendennis; not a gun mounted, nor scarcely any ammunition; the soldiers in great misery, having had no money for three years'.[76] Earlier that year Bonython had requested a fort be built at Fowey, 'the necessity for which is very great', and complained that Pendennis was 'entirely unprovided' with 'not one piece of ordnance mounted' nor 'a pound of shot'. 'If lost' he warned, regarding Pendennis, 'it would trouble the kingdom to recover it, and what shame they should suffer if five or six ships were to come in and send 200 or 300 men to burn and spoil the adjacent towns'.[77] Robert Killigrew, Captain of Pendennis, also petitioned the Council of War for repairs, stating he had been 'a suitor for ten years for a supply for the castle and alterations in the fortifications'. Although having received £350 from the late Council, these works had 'long since finished'. For nine years no ordnance had been mounted. At the time of writing, 'there are not above 4 barrels of powder'. The fifty-strong garrison had gone unpaid for two years, whilst Killigrew had provided 'some small relief', if they 'had not lived on limpets (a poor kind of shellfish) without bread or any other sustenance' they would have starved.[78] It had been suggested two smaller vessels be provided to protect fishermen against Turks and other pirates, but this was refused, on the grounds of it being a costly precedent.[79]

Naval interventions

The economic impact of the threat to inshore and Newfoundland fishing continued into the 1630s, despite continual requests and subsequent promises of naval protection. Indeed, impressment into the naval fleet was itself proving damaging. Ship owners petitioned the Admiralty throughout the 1630s for their crews to continue their fishing voyages to Newfoundland 'without impressment', or being 'free from any press'.[80] Occasionally crews had already been pressed, and petitions for their release followed. The press was particularly problematic if ships had already been 'furnished' for Newfoundland - victualed and crewed at great cost.[81] As news of an impending press spread, the

[74] *CSPD 1625, 1626* , p. 319.
[75] *CSPD 1625, 1626* , p. 319.
[76] *CSPD 1625, 1626* , p. 480.
[77] *CSPD 1625, 1626* , p. 282. Also see p. 231.
[78] PRO SP 16/25 f. 105; *CSPD 1625, 1626*, pp. 323 – 324.
[79] PRO, SP 14/90/115; Hebb, *Piracy*, p. 29.
[80] See, for example John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1634 – 1635* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864), p. 556; *CSPD 1637 – 1638*, pp. 232, 243, 262.
[81] *CSPD 1634 – 1635*, p. 556.

merchants would hurry their departures to try and leave before the navy arrived. Warrants were issued during September 1625 to the Lord Lieutenants of Dorset, Devon, Somerset and Cornwall 'to be conducted to Plymouth with all speed', with instructions 'to take care that the men returning home in ships from Newfoundland do not slip away until Mat[thew] Brooke ['Clerk of the Cheque at Portsmouth'] can come and press them'.[82] Pressed men also protested. On 1st July 1640 the Deputy-Lieutenants of Cornwall wrote to the Lord Lieutenant regarding the problems of pressing 1600 men in Cornwall: '[w]e cannot sufficiently express to you the lamentable complaints of all sorts of people that are brought us for the impressing so great a number'.[83] Occasionally the press was violently resisted, supported by local magistrates and other officials who themselves were involved in the Newfoundland trade.[84]

The political sensitivity of the impact upon the Newfoundland fleet is apparent within the historical record. On 12th September 1633, Secretary Edward Nicholas wrote to naval commander Captain John Pennington, advising him to urge the Privy Council to:

> quicken the victualler, and so soon as he has the provisions to proceed to the westward. Now is the time that the fishermen return from Newfoundland, and if any of them be taken by Turks it will make a great noise here.[85]

On 17th August 1634, Pennington seemed to achieve some success, reporting that since 30th July he had 'lain, off and on […] as high as the Lizard', and encountered five Turkish ships. The Turks, realising they were facing the king's ships 'packed on all the sail they could and fled'. Pennington claimed he pursued them until dark, subsequently losing them, but had 'frightened them so that they never since appeared, neither can be hear any news of them'. He commented '[i]t was happy for those parts' that the fleet was present, if not, the Turks would have 'done a great deal of spoil and made many a poor soul captive'. He proposed guarding the mouth of the Channel, staying 'till towards Michaelmas, that all the Newfoundland ships are come home. By that time they shall not need to fear the coming of any more Turks this year'.[86] Inevitably, however, attacks on shipping continued, accompanied by devastating economic consequences for the West Country coastal communities and the fisheries. At the end of September 1635, William Gourney, Mayor of Dartmouth, wrote to the Council informing them that two Newfoundland ships 'with about 60 seamen of the town' had been 'taken by Turkish pirates within three leagues of the Lizard', adding there were many more Turks 'westward of Scilly', and expressing 'great fears for the Newfoundland ships unless the mischief likely to ensure is timely prevented.'[87]

[82] *CSPD 1625, 1626*, p. 103.
[83] William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1640* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1880), p. 438.
[84] David J. Starkey, 'The West Country-Newfoundland Fishery and the Manning of the Royal Navy,' *Security and Defence in South-West England Before 1800*, ed. Robert Higham (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1987), pp. 96 – 97.
[85] *CSPD 1633 – 1634*, p. 206.
[86] *CSPD 1634 – 1635*, pp. 190 – 191.
[87] *CSP, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660*, p. 214.

Proposed Solutions

Privately, solutions were put forward by officials to address the issue of the Barbary captives in response to the petitioning. These varied from proposing a heavily armed and expensive fleet of ships be dispatched as a deterrent, through to surprise attacks along the Barbary coast, and a cessation of trade with the Ottomans, but these measures were incompatible with an economically unstable government wishing to build diplomatic and commercial relations with Islamic territories.[88] A further suggestion was to cease paying ransoms which, it was argued, encouraged captive-taking, combined with either war or a peace treaty with the corsairs, or, again, cessation of trade with the Ottomans until Barbary piracy was suppressed. Letters of marque would be issued to privateers to avoid deployment of the king's ships, and alternative trade destinations would be found.[89] Although the intention was to find a solution with no impact on the monarch's finances, these proposals were detrimental to the merchants; they would have increased responsibility for the safety of their ships and crew, and of finding new trading routes and ports. Privateering would be disastrous to diplomatic relations, and once licenced, there would be no guarantee they would only target North African or Ottoman ships.[90] These proposals demonstrate the futile and disputed search among those in power to address the problem – and, importantly, the emerging split between the king and his subjects.

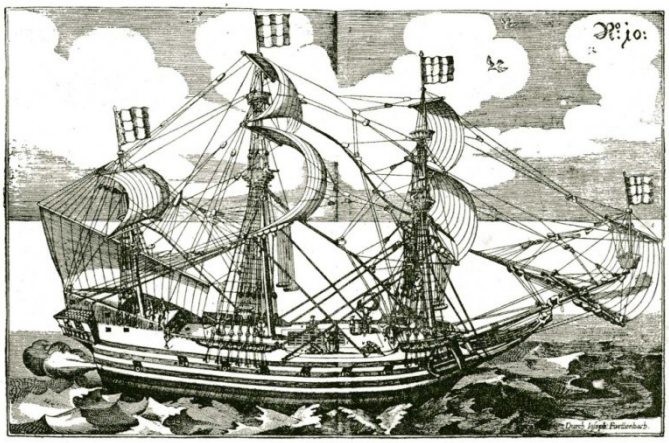

Figure 2: A Barbary Galleass, circa 1629.
Source: Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Barbary Corsairs*, 4th Ed. London, 1890.

The 1640s and the Civil War

In 1640 the Deputy-Lieutenants of Cornwall were still reporting on '[t]hese Turkish miscreants', and the emotional and economic havoc they wreaked, being 'forced to present':

> the mischief lately done on our coast by the Turkish pirates, who have fought with our ships, and taken away divers of our people at Looe, Penzance, and other places, whereof we are unable to certify the numbers.[91]

Again, '[t]he fishermen are afraid to put to sea, and we are forced to keep continual watches on all our coasts'.[92] The following year, on the eve of Civil War, the familiar narrative was still being reiterated by the mayor, 'his brethren, the merchants, and other inhabitants of Plymouth' whose livelihood depended

[88] TNA: PRO SP 71/1, f 111 r – v; *CSPD 1637 – 1638*, p. 192; Matar, *Britain*, p. 55.
[89] TNA: PRO SP 71/1, ff 130 – 132 v, quoted in Matar, *Britain*, p. 56.
[90] Matar, *Britain*, pp. 56 – 57.
[91] *CSPD 1640*, pp. 438, 450.
[92] *CSPD 1640*, pp. 438, 450.

'chiefly upon the fish trade with Newfoundland, New England, and elsewhere', and were 'much discouraged by the growing power of the Turks of Algiers and Sallee, who have seized many of their ships'.[93]

However, there was a shift in policy moving into the 1640s. On 5th March 1641 the Commons ordered as many ships as necessary should be furnished and speedily dispatched against the Turks via the western coasts, commanded by 'good, experienced, and knowing Seamen.' Additionally, all his Majesty's subjects - without letters of marque or reprisal – were permitted to 'take any *Turkish, Moorish* or other Pirates, their Ships, Goods, and Prizes […] without any Account to his Majesty, or the Lord Admiral, or any other' – provided they only took pirates, and gave information to the Admiralty within two months of their return.[94] Significantly, the failure to protect the coast and bring the captives home, combined with the Ship Money levies, was incorporated within the Grand Remonstrance - the list of grievances presented to Charles by Parliament on 1st December 1641.[95] This 'new unheard-of tax of ship-money' was authored under the 'pretence' of safeguarding the seas:

> and yet the merchants have been left so naked to the violence of the Turkish pirates, that many great ships of value and thousands of His Majesty's subjects have been taken by them, and do still remain in miserable slavery.

Parliament began to initiate new policies, making it clear that the monarch had failed in his duty; ransoming should be a centralised responsibility.[96] Indeed, prior to leaving London in January 1642, Charles gave assent to an Act 'for the reliefe of the Captives taken by Turkish Moorish and other Pirates', an admission of his failure, as it directly accused him.[97] However, whilst attempts were made during the 1640s to redeem captives and suppress the pirates, the cost and poor outcomes meant these efforts were met with increasing opposition. For example, Edmond Cason was sent to Algiers with substantial ransom funds, but lost all when his ship sunk - although he did redeem over two hundred and forty captives the following year, of which at least a hundred and six were from West Country port towns.[98] Despite 'the storme' of domestic war, and the captives in 'a forein State, so remote as Africa', Cason represented Parliament as taking this responsibility seriously, unlike the monarchy.[99] Nevertheless, many were opposed to these expeditions, funded by rises in taxes and levies, particularly those merchants who were not involved in the affected trades or fisheries.[100] Indeed, even the radical political faction, the Levellers,

[93] Parliamentary Archives, annexed to Main Papers, HL/PO/JO/10/1/113.
[94] 5th March 1640, *Journal of the House of Commons Volume 2: 1640 – 1643* (London: Printed by Order of the House of Commons, 1802), pp. 96 – 97.
[95] 'The Grand Remonstrance, with the Petition accompanying it,' *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660* ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936 [1889, 1899, 1906]), p. 211.
[96] *The official minute book of the House of Commons, covering the Short Parliament and beginning of the Long Parliament of Charles I, and the period running up to the outbreak of civil war in 1643 Vol. 2* (London: 1802) 48, 152; Willson Havelock Coates, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 54, 117, 203, 221, 227; Matar, *Britain* , pp. 65 – 67.
[97] Matar, *Britain* , pp. 65, 74, 173 – 176.
[98] Edmond Cason, *A Relation of the Whole Proceedings Concerning the Redemption of the Captives in Argier and Tunis* (London: 1647).
[99] Cason, *A Relation*, p. 11; Matar, *Britain*, p. 72.
[100] William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1644* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888), pp. 285 – 286; *The official minute book of the House of Commons, covering the central period of the English civil war Vol. 3* (London: 1802), p. 664; *The official minute book of the House of Commons, covering the end of the civil war, the king's surrender at Newark, and the formation of the New Model Army Vol. 4* (London: 1802), p. 196; Matar, *Britain*, p. 70.

petitioned Parliament on behalf of the 'multitudes of poor distressed prisoners for debt' ignored and forgotten at home, due to the focus on Barbary:

> Your zeal makes a noise as far as Algiers, to deliver those captive Christians at the charge of others, but those whom your own unjust laws hold captive in your own prisons; these are too near you to think of.[101]

Charles was executed in 1649. In March and October 1650 two further Acts concerning the Barbary pirates were passed, the first concerning redemption of captives, the latter assigning 15% of customs to build naval convoy ships for the merchant vessels, significantly changing future relations with Barbary and reducing the threat of Barbary piracy on the West Country fishing industry.[102]

Conclusion

Certainly, the historical record demonstrates that Barbary piracy impacted economically upon the West Country fisheries, and generated fear and grief within the coastal communities which were vulnerable to attack. More widely, Barbary piracy had political ramifications upon the reign of Charles I in particular. Whilst Barbary piracy and the taking of captives was not a new phenomenon, the presence of the corsairs in the coastal waters of the West Country coincided with the accession of Charles I, and their retreat with the Interregnum. Charles was viewed as unwilling or unable to address the severity of the situation. Whereas Parliament instituted proactive policies, albeit contentious and initially unsuccessful, the domestic threat of the Barbary pirates subsided from the 1640s. However, whilst the localised fishing industry, and lucrative commercial links with the West Country ports flourished during the latter part of the seventeenth century, the migratory Newfoundland fisheries, affected by decades of piracy and war, and an increase in settlement and inter-colonial economic ties, fell into decline. Nevertheless, the fisheries did find ways to adapt and survive during the following century alongside a resident Newfoundland population, with the West Country merchants and crews managing to maintain a dominant presence.[103]

References

Andrews, Kenneth R. *Ships, Money & Politics: Seafaring and naval enterprise in the reign of Charles I.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Appleby, John C. 'Jacobean Piracy: English Maritime Depredation in Transition, 1603 – 1625.' Fury, Cheryl A., ed. *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485 – 1649.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012. 277 – 299.

Brodman, James W. *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe.* Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009.

Bruce, John, ed. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1625, 1626.* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858.

Bruce, John, ed. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1628 – 1629. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1859.

Bruce, John, ed. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1634 – 1635. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864.

Bruce, John, ed. Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1636 – 1637. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867.

[101] Quoted Matar, *Britain*, p. 72; Brian Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution, 1640 – 1649* (London: Heinemann, 1976), p. 290.
[102] Matar, *Britain*, p. 73.
[103] Pope, *Fish into Wine*, pp. 144 -160.

Cason, Edmond. A Relation of the Whole Proceedings Concerning the Redemption of the Captives in Argier and Tunis. London: 1647.

Cell, Gillian T. ed. Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation 1610 – 1630. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1982.

Coates, Willson Havelock, ed. The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes. London: Oxford University Press, 1942.

Davis, Ralph. 'England and the Mediterranean 1570 – 1670.' Fisher, F. J., ed. *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England in honour of R. H. Tawney*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961. 117 – 137.

Duffin, Anne. *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry Before the Civil War.* Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996.

Duffin, Anne. 'Defence of Cornwall in the Seventeenth Century.' Higham, Robert, ed. *Security and Defence in South-West England Before 1800.* Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1987. 69 - 77

Elgood, Robert. *Firearms of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait.* London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 1995.

Finkel, Caroline. *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire.* London: John Murray Publishers, 2005.

Fuchs, Barbara. 'Faithless Empires: Pirates, Renegadoes and the English Nation.' *ELH.* 67 (1) (2000): 45 – 69.

Gardiner, Samuel Rawson, ed. *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936 [1889, 1899, 1906].

Gray, Todd. 'Turks, Moors and the Cornish Fishermen: Piracy in the Early Seventeenth Century,' *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, N.S. X (4) (1990): 457 – 475.

Gray, Todd. 'Fishing and the Commercial World of Early Dartmouth.' Gray, Todd, Rowe, Margery and Erskine, Audrey, ed. *Tudor and Stuart Devon: The Common Estate and Government.* Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992. 173 – 199.

Hamilton, William Douglas, ed. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I. 1640.* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1880.

Hamilton, William Douglas, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1644.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888.

Hebb, David Delison. *Piracy and the English Government 1616 – 1642.* Hants: Scolar Press, 1994.

Hornsby, Stephen J. *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America*. Lebanon, N. H.: University Press of New England, 2005.

Jardine, Lisa. 'Gloriana rules the waves: or, the advantage of being excommunicated (and a woman).' Jones, Aled, ed. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society: Sixth Series*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 209 – 222.

Journal of the House of Commons Volume 2: 1640 – 1643. London: Printed by Order of the House of Commons, 1802.

Manning, Brian. *The English People and the English Revolution, 1640 – 1649*. London: Heinemann, 1976.

Marshall, Ingeborg. *A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk*. Québec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

Matar, Nabil. *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Matar, Nabil. *Britain and Barbary, 1589- 1689.* Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2005.

Matar, Nabil. 'Wives, Captive Husbands, and Turks: The First Woman Petitioners in Caroline England.' *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*. 23 (1997): 111 – 128.

McGrath, P. V. 'The Merchant Venturers and Bristol in the Early Seventeenth Century.' *The Mariner's Mirror.* XXXVI (1950): 69 – 80.

Pope, Peter. *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Prowse, D. W. *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records.* Holland: Meridian Publishing Co., 1971 [1895].

Sainsbury, W. Noël, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660.* London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860.

Starkey, David J. 'The West Country-Newfoundland Fishery and the Manning of the Royal Navy.' Higham, Robert, ed. *Security and Defence in South-West England Before 1800.* Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1987. 93 – 101.

The official minute book of the House of Commons, covering the Short Parliament and beginning of the Long Parliament of Charles I, and the period running up to the outbreak of civil war in 1643 Vol. 2. London: 1802.

The official minute book of the House of Commons, covering the central period of the English civil war Vol. 3. London: 1802.

The official minute book of the House of Commons, covering the end of the civil war, the king's surrender at Newark, and the formation of the New Model Army Vol. 4. London: 1802.

Turgeon, Laurier. 'Codfish, Consumption, and Colonization: The Creation of the French Atlantic World During the Sixteenth Century.' Williams, Caroline A., ed. Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products, and Practices on the Move. Surrey: Ashgate, 2009. 33 – 56.

Vitkus, Daniel J., ed. Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Weiss, Gillian. Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Whitbourne, Richard. A Discourse and Discovery of the New-found-land, with many reasons to prooue how worthy and beneficiall a Plantation may there be made, after a far better manner than now it is. Together with the laying open of certain Enormities and abuses committed by some that trade to that County of Deuon, and published by Authority. London: 1622 [1620, 1623].

Wilson, Peter Lamborn. Pirate Utopias: Moorish Corsairs and European Renegadoes. New York: Autonomedia, 2003.