

Caveat Mundum Atlanticum:
Navigating the Atlantic World Historiography

by: Isaac Emrick
Hist 793R British Imperialism
02/03/2008

Caveat Mundum Atlanticum: Navigating the Atlantic World Historiography

“The associates did not build their ventures into unified organizations, but instead managed them as loosely bound sets of plans, projects, and ventures that combined their linked networks of partners, relations, dependents, agents, and contacts. This approach made the system flexible, and enabled this group of imperial enterprisers to control risks and earn profits.”¹

Recent historiography in British and American history has been struggling to develop a framework which can better describe their respective histories. Imperial history has long been critiqued for its focus on great men, mainly rich politically active white British men. A growing community of historians has developed a more global approach by seeking an Atlantic world view. The Atlantic Ocean, seen as a common denominator, becomes the connective tissue between North and South America, Europe and Africa. David Hancock’s quote unintentionally, but quite poetically, locates not only the core of his merchants’ success but also the basic power and weakness of the Atlantic world he is describing. Within the framework of this quote, this article will analyze the current trends, strengths and weaknesses of the Atlantic field. Primarily, the Atlantic world research works “as loosely bound sets” rather than as a single body. Second, there is stress on “linked networks” facilitating comparison and connections among widely different research topics. Lastly, on a more critical note, the Atlantic world view remains tied to its “imperial” roots. This article, much like the historians discussed below, seeks to navigate the historiographic landscape of the Atlantic world mindful of the caveats of such a vast topic.

I. Atlantic World: A field developing

Since the mid-twentieth century, historians have been pushing the literal and figurative boundaries of their craft by shifting focus to new people, new places and new paradigms of

¹ David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge UP, 1995), 16-17. Hereafter Hancock, *Citizens*.

thought. Two European historians, Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein, pushed the scope of historical writing towards a reassessment of standard geographical units and their connections. Fernand Braudel was especially pivotal in this with his work on the Mediterranean Sea as a binding feature for Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa.² The sea became the connective tissue for transmission of trade goods, culture and human migration. Wallerstein was equally pivotal in developing world systems theory and the core/periphery model so common in early modern historiography.³ Whereas Braudel used a body of water to connect diverse peoples' histories, Wallerstein began the foundation for an Atlantic world especially connected by trade. His work on economic aspects of world systems theory continues to dominate the discussion of the Atlantic world.

Though historical focus on the Atlantic world began with British Imperial and Colonial American historians, albeit in a rough form; it was not till the 1990s that Atlantic history began to mature on its own. Most scholarship of the field attributes Jack Greene and Bernard Bailyn with the official creation of Atlantic studies, though the sentiment for a wider historical view had been building since the 1960s. David Armitage marks its inception as J. G. A. Pocock's call in 1973 for a "new British History" with a focus on the "Atlantic archipelago."⁴ As imperial history, with its focus on powerful politicians and merchants, came to be discredited historians began delving deeper into society. To counteract imperial focus, social historians sought a view from below, following the *Annales* school, and incorporating an ever broadening number of

² Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: 1972).

³ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

⁴ David Armitage, "Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?" *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 431. Hereafter Armitage, "Greater Britain."

peoples previously ignored.⁵ This produced a wide range of micro-histories that have dealt little with larger questions about social and political trends. Despite the criticisms of the imperial school, the wide focus showed connections drawn across wide geographical spaces.⁶ As Pocock called for, the Atlantic world attempts to widen the focus without losing sight of the wide cast of historical characters or the detail provided in local and regional histories.

The Atlantic world has seemingly easy boundaries to define, at least geographically. Maps, though, obscure the complexity of the Atlantic Ocean as a geographic, social and historical entity. The geography is itself a complication for historians. Of course the ocean is within the Atlantic world, and the Caribbean Sea is inevitably included, but should the Mediterranean Sea be included? If these seas are included the logical extension is that all oceans, since they are connected by navigable passages, and most seas should be included. If water is the bounding agent, then this should be considered a Global not Atlantic perspective.⁷ This conundrum becomes even more complicated when one ventures onto land. Shorelines connect the land and ocean, but how far inland does the Atlantic world extend. The Americas are good examples of where this world view can breakdown. Initially, the Atlantic world would only extend to the shoreline and a few miles inland. This assumes the extent is marked by the influence of Europeans, though a closer examination of Native American trading habits suggests that influence raced far ahead of the tide of Europeans prompting some to conclude that all of the

⁵ Carole Shammas, "Introduction," in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, eds. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (John Hopkins UP, 2005), 2. Also see Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

⁶ Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities" *The American Historical Review* 111, Issue 3 (Jun 2006): 747, 749; Richard R. Johnson, "Empire," in *A Companion to Colonial America*, ed. Daniel Vickers (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 99-113.

⁷ David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, "Introduction," in *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 3.

Americas were part of the Atlantic world, especially during the eighteenth century.⁸ This begs the question of how far to extend the influence of the Atlantic world, and when does it properly become a global perspective. This will become especially apparent in the discussion of the extra-Atlantic issues in the work of Fred Anderson and David Hancock. Alison Games suggests that “the Atlantic does not have the coherence ... identified for the Mediterranean, nor that Braudel proposed and delineated centuries later; nor, indeed, is it possible to speak with confidence of an Atlantic system or a uniform region.”⁹ David Armitage counters this boldly by suggesting that the British Atlantic world has well defined geography and chronology, though he only loosely bounds the Atlantic world to the “fluid” human constructions found in contemporary literature and maps. Armitage suggests that the geography should be flexible to maximize its analytical utility.¹⁰

The Atlantic world suffers similarly from a lack of definition temporally. The Atlantic world could, in its most loose interpretation, be applied to Viking contacts to North America in the tenth century but more frequently begins with Columbus’ travels to the Americas. More conservative historians, especially concerning the British Atlantic world, begin in the seventeenth century with their colonial involvement in North America and the beginnings of the triangular trade. Equally as contentious is whether this Atlantic world has an ending, and if so, when it occurred. Considering the development of the Atlantic world view out of post-WWII international cooperation such as NATO, the Atlantic remains an important connective tool among modern historians. The British Atlantic world though most often is temporally bound by

⁸ Nicholas Canny, “Writing Atlantic History or Reconfiguring the History of Colonial British America,” *Journal of American History* 86, No. 3 (Dec. 1999): 1113; J. G. A. Pocock, “The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary,” *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 499.

⁹ Games, “Atlantic History,” 741.

¹⁰ David Armitage, “Three Concepts of Atlantic History,” in *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 11-12.

British imperial efforts.¹¹ The bounding here is designed by the author to suit the needs of the research at hand with little critical analysis of the larger implications of such a fluid time period. Despite these criticisms, the Atlantic world does bring together a vast array of previously uncharted topics and allows for close analysis of their connections and comparison.

The field has been dominated by two historians, Jack P. Greene at John Hopkins University¹² and Bernard Bailyn at Harvard University.¹³ Their research and frequent seminars into the development of an Atlantic worldview have produced most of the new historians and intellectual converts to the field since the 1990s, yet their respective schools differ little in approach. This is important in surveying the nature of current historiographic developments in the British Atlantic world. The lack of dogmatic approaches to Atlantic research is a sign of both its relative youth and the flexibility that its practitioners claim. This approach though has remained a largely American phenomenon with few British converts. Part of the reason for this is attributable to the New British History that overlaps in many ways. J. G. A. Pocock's call-to-arms shares many of the boundaries of Atlantic history and may have wider application when looking at the continuation of the British Empire into the late eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁴ Nicholas Canny, at the National University of Ireland at Galway, is one notable exception to this with his work connecting Ireland and North America.¹⁵

The field has been growing, but remains young. Alison Olson notes that, "Right now, they admit, the time is not ripe for a comprehensive history because Atlantic history is still 'so

¹¹ Pocock, "New British History," 493; Armitage, "Greater Britain," 435-438; Bernard Bailyn, "Preface," in *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), xvii-xix.

¹² Shammas, "Introduction," 1-2; Pocock, "New British History," 496.

¹³ Bailyn, "Preface," xiv-xv; Troy Bickham, review of *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, *The Journal of British Studies* 45, No. 2 (Apr., 2006): 415.

¹⁴ Armitage, "Greater Britain," 431-432; Jane Ohlmeyer, "Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories," *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 446-447; Games, "Atlantic History," 744.

¹⁵ Pocock, "New British History," 495; Ohlmeyer, "Ireland," 448.

difficult both to conceptualize and to write.’ The field itself is undefined; it has no agreed upon boundaries in time or space.”¹⁶ This is simultaneously a weakness and a strength as a field. Bernard Bailyn has admitted the field’s limits by suggesting that it is “no doubt only one of several ways of viewing comprehensively the development of the peoples of the Western world in the early modern period, and no doubt it will in time be superseded by or absorbed into other formulations.”¹⁷ The Atlantic world and its historiography continues to both enlighten and complicate the historical discussion.

II. “As loosely bound sets of...”

Let us return to the Hancock quote with which we began. The British Atlantic world was a diverse place with many people from many places, the historiography has mirrored this tendency. The subjects of articles and books are scattered micro-histories that are make comparisons and connections with other micro-historical work. There are no prescribed research techniques or analysis methods. David Armitage notes that: “Atlantic history has not yet suffered the death by a thousand textbooks that has befallen other fields. It has no agreed canon or problems, events or processes. It follows no common method or practice.”¹⁸ This is melange of historiographic focus is showcased in two recent edited collections: *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael Braddick; and *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas. Armitage works with Bernard Bailyn at Harvard University and Michael Braddick at University of Sheffield. Carole Shammas and Elizabeth Mancke at different times worked with Jack Greene at John Hopkins University.

¹⁶ Alison Olson, “We are all Atlanticists Now,” review of *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, *H-Albion* (October, 2003), <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=96841071197773>.

¹⁷ Bailyn, “Preface,” xix-xx.

¹⁸ Armitage, “Three Concepts,” 12

Though based on the same theoretical framework, the *British Atlantic World*, they produce vastly different results.

Bernard Bailyn prefaces *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800* by laying out the rationale behind the field focusing on the role of the Harvard seminars in stimulating discussion. He places the field within the transnationalism following World War II. Bailyn closes by suggesting:

“It seems to organize freshly and coherently material that is otherwise scattered; interactions and contrasts it reveals are illuminating; and for all its complexity, the world it comprehends has a unity that distinguishes it in the course of recorded history.”¹⁹

Armitage and Braddick organize their collection of articles around four basic themes in the Atlantic world: frameworks, connections, identities, and politics. David Armitage attempts to establish a framework for the Atlantic world through his “three concepts.” These concepts discriminate focal length, whether national (Cis-Atlantic), international (Trans-Atlantic) or transnational (Circum-Atlantic). Cis-Atlantic are more regional studies such as Joyce Chaplin’s article about Indian enslavement that focuses on North America. Articles like the Horn and Morgan article “Settlers and Slaves” connect Great Britain, Africa and North America are transnational and thus Trans-Atlantic. General articles encompassing the entire Atlantic like the ones in the Armitage and Braddick collection, are Circum-Atlantic. As Roger Emerson reviewed the collection he noticed that: “These analytic models seem to have had little real impact on the other essays; it is unlikely that they will guide much future research.” There is only one mention of the framework in J. H. Elliott’s Afterword.²⁰ Alison Games, Nuala Zahedeh, Carla Gardina Pestana follow Armitage with three examples of connections that can be discussed across the Atlantic: migration, economy, and religion respectively. Alison Games structures her article

¹⁹ Bailyn, “Preface,” xx.

²⁰ J. H. Elliott, “Afterword: Atlantic History: A Circumnavigation,” in *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002),

around four periods of migration: Internal Migration I, 1500-1800; British Overseas Migration, 1600-1800; Internal and Repeat Migration; Imperial schism, 1754-1808; British minority in America after 1800.²¹ Nuala Zahedeih writes that contrary to the “periphery was periphery” mentality, the outer reaches of the Atlantic world had much more economic growth than Britain itself. This comes closer to a micro-history but maintains a wider focus by comparing British and American trade statistics.²² Reversing the standard trope that religion was a bonding agent for much of the British world, at least for immigrants, Carla Gardina Pestana proposes that the spread of religion was “multivalent and decentralized” and produced “unintended consequences and unexpected outcomes.”²³ These three articles barely or glibly mention the wider context of non-European influences. The next section develops discussion of the identity of the denizens of this Atlantic world. Michael Braddick, Sarah Pearsall, Keith Wrightson, and Joyce Chaplin delve into authority, gender, class, and race. Each poses general questions while broadly covering their subject matter. Elizabeth Mancke, Eliga H. Gould, and Christopher L. Brown admirably attempt broad syntheses of broad political topics in the third section. T. H. Elliott’s “Afterword” focuses his piece on the power and limitations of connections and comparisons in the Atlantic world. He labels this world a paradox in many ways: “This is a story in which paradoxes abound – integration and fragmentation, the ties that bind and the forces that divide.”²⁴ In this collection Armitage and Braddick have brought together many of the foremost scholars of the Atlantic world a loose collection of often disconnected subjects under one umbrella. Each article though

²¹ Alison Games, “Migration,” in *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

²² Nuala Zahedeih, “Economy,” in *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

²³ Carla Gardina Pestana, “Religion,” in *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 88-89.

²⁴ Elliott, “Afterword,” 249.

gives a rough and general guide to the world and attempting to structure the very subjects which have flourished in their flexibility.

Carole Shammas and Elizabeth Mincke bring a very different series of articles which more in line with the flexible efforts of the Atlantic world. Their sections center around equally large headings: Transatlantic Subjects, Transatlantic Connections, Imperial Visions and Transatlantic Revisions. The articles selected for this collection, though, are decidedly micro in their focus. Where the Armitage collection is generalized, the Mancke collection contains more specific applications of the Atlantic world view. Carole Shammas introduces the Atlantic world with a short historiography that focuses on the connections between micro-histories, especially in regards to trade and commercial ventures. She does boldly suggest that the Atlantic world “carries fewer presuppositions about cultural hierarchies and displays more openness to multi-directional effects.”²⁵ The first section, Transatlantic Subjects, attempts to carry this to full effect. James Horn and Philip Morgan, Joyce Chaplin, Mark Thompson, David Gaspar, Ray Kea develop migration, slavery, authority, allegiance, and religion with their discussions. Gaspar for example deals with Atlantic world issues of slavery, race and allegiance when two men ask a British Captain to be returned to Cape Verde as Portugese subjects. Their wrongful enslavement illuminates large international and cross-cultural situations for a wide range of Atlantic characters. Slightly larger in scope is Chaplin’s opening of the pandora’s box of the enslavement of Native Americans in early America and the wider implications of this for native people, African slaves, and even the British. Her admission of racial reclassification also has dire historical implications. If Native Americans were reclassified as black in order to incorporate them into the slave trade, then previous histories of slavery may be missing the story of a significant portion of the slave population. The next section concerns the connections throughout

²⁵ Shammas, “Introduction,” 2.

the Atlantic world. April Hatfield, William Offutt, Avihu Zakai, and Wolfgang Splitter prove equally focused in their articles on mariners, the legal system, religion, and social order. April Hatfield's work on the role of "Mariners, Merchants and Colonists" exhibits the kind of hidden connections the Atlantic illuminates. Hatfield shows that the shorelines were places for the transmission of goods and, more importantly, information. "Taverns and the ships themselves became centers of social interaction and information exchanges between mariners and residents."²⁶ This work matches well with Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh's *The Many-Headed Hydra*. She outlines the mutual benefit for both and how this affected, and was affected by, the larger Atlantic world. Elizabeth Mancke, Robert Orwell, John Crowley, and Karin Wolf pose revisions to the old imperial modes and suggest that the process of British expansion was more a process of give and take, conflict and accommodation. Crowley inventively analyzes the early artwork of the British occupied lands for insight into the way people represented the world. These landscapes allowed the British public to feel connected to the Empire, in fact "the topographic result showed that Britain had a picturesque empire, where beauty harmonized with power."²⁷ Mancke's overview of the chartered businesses of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries connected the ocean and many adjacent shorelines to the decline of these businesses as the metropolitan prerogative power. She writes that the mid-eighteenth century forced the British metropole to reevaluate how it incorporated non-British people in the periphery. It is notable that the editors did not include an afterword. The reader is left with a variety of points of view into this wide expanse of territory and time.

²⁶ April Lee Hatfield, "Mariners, Merchants, and Colonists in Seventeenth-Century English America," in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, eds. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (John Hopkins UP, 2005), 141.

²⁷ John E. Crowley, "A Visual Empire: Seeing the British Atlantic World from a Global British Perspective," in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, eds. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (John Hopkins UP, 2005), 303.

Both collections of articles deal with the Atlantic world, but where Armitage and Braddick attempt to bring some order to the discussion, Mancke and Shamma reveal the messy complexities left in the wake of such diverse articles. Shared for both books though is a representation of the Atlantic world “as loosely bound sets of plans, projects, and ventures.”

III. “Linked networks of...”

This quote appropriately applies to its author’s work as well as the merchants it was intended to describe. David Hancock exhaustively researched the variegated and pervasive businesses of four main London merchants. Though he suggests that these men were neither unique nor representative of the London merchants:

“The story of the associates shows the role of an often ignored yet nonetheless powerful kind of international merchant – marginal, opportunistic, global, improving, and integrative – at work in the British Atlantic trading world during the middle decades of the eighteenth century.”²⁸

Oddly, Hancock only vaguely states an obvious point about Atlantic connections. He allows his detailed research to make the point throughout the text. These four merchants and their associates connected the Atlantic world in an expansive system of trade. By doing so, he notes, they left behind more than just wealth and prosperity for their families, but were pivotal in the “integration and improvement of British Atlantic community.”²⁹ Despite making these pervasive connections, the book remains moot on the issues posed by such interactions. In J. R. McNeill’s review of *Citizens*, he writes that: “Readers hungering for such detail will find Hancock's book a bountiful feast. Those looking for new light on large questions will find rather less to their taste.”

²⁸ Hancock, *Citizens*, 13-14.

²⁹ Hancock, *Citizens*, 385.

The interconnected commercial Atlantic world posed by Hancock poses some unresolved questions. As Hancock notes, the businesses were “ventures that combined their linked networks of partners, relations, dependents, agents, and contacts,” but this begs the question of the validity of the Atlantic world. The Atlantic world has been posed as first and foremost an economic one. The dominance of trade remains powerful, but the roots of old British Imperial history are hidden in Hancock’s prose. The characters of this book are all white British men, though not noble or of high status, the author has merely traveled a few rungs lower on the hierarchy. The diversity and importance of African and Native American trading, much less Indians themselves is hidden behind the industriousness of these British men. This differs little from the old Imperial line. Here involvement of a wider cast comes from the “backward integration” of slavery in their North American ventures. Hancock does bring to the front the social situations of these lower class men in a way which calls attention to social mobility in early modern Britain. Especially important for this is the merchants’ born status in the lower class and thus their classification as outsiders. Inside this narrative of business acumen and interconnection of the Atlantic world, we find a complication. Many of the transactions of these men began in India with their stick in the East India Company.³⁰ This counteracts the author’s perceptions that these merchants were Atlantic traders rather than global minded men.

The strength of David Hancock’s monumental work on the trade networks established by these four opportunistic London merchants is the theme of the complicated, shifting and wide ranging connections. This is probably the most commonly mentioned utility of the Atlantic world and Hancock prominently displays an understanding of this. As mentioned above, his discussion is so powerful that one begins questioning whether the eighteenth-century British world was actually global rather than constrained by the Atlantic.

³⁰ Hancock, *Citizens*, 218, 271.

IV. “This group of imperial enterprisers...”

One of the primary concerns of British Atlantic historians is the role of empire in the realm. Carole Shammas wondered in her introduction whether the Atlantic was just a more acceptable version of the Imperial history. Fred Anderson’s *Crucible of War* is an example of how this world is so closely tied to the ebb and flow of imperialism in the early modern world. Of Anderson’s many goals, there is little mention of the Atlantic world as a framework. He even introduces the conflict as a world war making its mark not only in North America, Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean, but also India and in the Philippines. The Seven Years’ War was, according to the Anderson, pivotal in the redefinition of imperialism. Important to his interpretation of the Seven Years’ War is the vast groups of people who influenced the war:

“The story that follows depicts the Seven Years’ War above all as a theater of interaction, an event by which the colonists of New France and British North America came into intimate contact both with metropolitan authorities and with Indian peoples, whose participation as allies, enemies, negotiators, and neutrals so critically shaped the war’s outcome.”³¹

This is very much in line with the broadening of agency which the Atlantic school claims over its imperial predecessor. Anderson constantly reminds the reader that imperialism is very strong in the late eighteenth century British Atlantic. As the rest of Hancock’s quote suggests: “This approach made the system flexible, and enabled this group of imperial enterprisers to control risks and earn profits.” The risks here belong to the legacy of Imperial history and it focus on British white aristocratic males at the expense of the agency of non-European people. Anderson,

³¹ Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of the Empire in British North America, 1754-66* (New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 2001), xxii.

through a much wider cast of characters with complicated layers of agency, lives up to the Atlantic ideal and meanwhile maintains his hold on the imperial focus of the later colonial period in North America. The profits here would be the ability to refocus the story on imperial intentions and efforts without losing the motivations of the wider cast.

The imperial mentality is also coupled with the sub-conscious teleological insistence that the Seven Years' War is the foundation of the American Revolution. Avoiding this circular argument was a major goal of his work, and a trap he fell into many times with comments such as: "the American republic that Washington himself would lead."³² What is remarkable about Anderson's work is that despite some minor recidivism towards teleology, Anderson does actively engage a wide geographic, social and temporal environment. More questionable may be Hancock's problem with the validity of an Atlantic as opposed to global view. The Indian and Philippine theaters are treated very quickly and then we return to the action in the Atlantic world. Though admittedly the Asian conflicts were minor compared to the intrigues of North America and Europe, they apparently were significant enough to warrant mention and spread the focus way beyond any feasible geography we could call Atlantic. Some historians have suggested that his treatment and understanding of the French needs more development.³³ This is not to ignore Anderson's achievements in introducing non-Europeans, like the Mohawk Theyanoguin and the Ottawa Pontiac to the story as real and equal actors. What the reader finds by the end of *Crucible of War*, is a complicated, well connected imperial effort which has to reassess itself. How individuals and the British monarchy responded in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War attempted to counteract the established rhythm of North America. As an Atlantic perspective,

³² Anderson, *Crucible*, 7.

³³ Jeremy Black, review of *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*, by Fred Anderson, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 33, No. 2. (Summer, 2001).

Anderson book walks a fine line between the old Imperial history with its concern pinned to great men and the cacophony of the Atlantic view.

V. Historiographic Caveats and Contemplations from the AHR

In 1999 the American Historical Review gathered David Armitage, Jane Ohlmeyer, Ned C. Landsman, Eliga H. Gould and J. G. A. Pocock to engage in debate surrounding the Atlantic world. The introduction to forum states: “They provide a compelling example of how recent emphases on globalism in general and the Atlantic world as site of historical analysis in particular have had a significant impact on ongoing historiographical discussions.” Each of these essays can be described with the Hancock quote from the beginning. The forum is a loosely bounds set, that deals with the linked Atlantic network and each belies a preoccupation with imperialism in one form or another.

Jane Ohlmeyer’s treatment of “Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories” deals with the so-called “British problem” of Irish history. Where exactly do British historical issues fit into the Irish story? She refers to the implications of J. G. A. Pocock’s request for a new British history that better incorporated the periphery into the larger British account. Ohlmeyer proposes that “Instead of feeling in any way threatened by the New British/Irish and Atlantic Histories and viewing them as some sort of specters that will haunt future generations of Irish (and for that matter American, Scottish, and English) historians, perhaps the time has come to embrace them more fully and use them to enrich national history.” Her work shows the value of comparisons and connections on cultural and political levels. For her the Atlantic world is both deeply connected and loosely bound, though she only roughly touches on the role of imperialism in her corner of the Atlantic.

Ned Landsman develops a trans-Atlantic view of the migration patterns coupled with the growing sense of national identity of Scottish immigrants in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His article focuses on the networks that were similarly described by Alison Games in *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*. Landsman race and ethnicity at the center of the story but offers that Scottish migration “is not easily encompassed by versions of ethnicity intended to assess the portions of Old World heritage.”³⁴ As we have seen, Landsman bridges between macro and micro historical thought to explain, connect, and compare these migratory patterns.

Eliga Gould is one of the “group of imperial enterprisers” in his discussion of the role that loosing the American colonies played in the development of British imperialism of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He suggests that anyone looking at British history needs to accept the paradox of collective experience coupled with often frustrating fragmentation.³⁵ For collective experience, Gould uses the mode of argument of the Americans during the revolutionary period that there should be no difference between a British subject from the colonies or from London.³⁶ The fragmentation came when the British found themselves forced to accept collusion with lesser peoples, such as Native Americans and Africans, in order to maintain their hegemony. This often flew in the face of the situation on the ground for many British subjects on the fringes of the empire. Gould uses the complexity of imperial efforts to further the cause of the Atlantic world view in that it both widens and focuses the narrative and assists in combating the pitfalls of exceptionalism in concern to the American Revolution in British and American histories.

³⁴ Ned C. Landsman, “Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800,” *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 474.

³⁵ Eliga H. Gould, “A Virtual Nation: Greater Britain and the Imperial Legacy of the American Revolution,” *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 476.

³⁶ Gould, “Virtual Nation,” 471.

The Atlantic history forum began with David Armitage and ends with a critical statement by J. G. A. Pocock. Armitage suggests a much deeper connection between the work of nineteenth century historian J. R. Seeley's *Expansion of England* and Pocock's call for "New British History." In the most open of prose, Armitage is further exposing "New British History," and by association the Atlantic World, to the criticism that it is merely a more acceptable form of Imperial history. He goes on to suggest that:

"The Reintegration of imperial and domestic and the union of the New British History with Atlantic History could provide a historiography capable of eluding the pull of nationalist teleologies in both British and American history."³⁷

J. G. A. Pocock, while also purporting a stronger Atlantic view, follows on the Eliga Gould's formation of the international Atlantic instead of the circum-Atlantic of Armitage. Within these last two articles we see the dangers of the Atlantic world, paradoxes, and mis-representations.

For the last time, we return to Hancock's quote and how truly useful his merchants have become on this journey through the Atlantic world. The historians mentioned above have not unified their research under a single analytical umbrella as much as allowed a meeting space for diverse types of stories to be heard from a wide geographic, social and temporal region. The flexibility of this view has been questioned and queried for validity, but Armitage offers that this is a positive process allowing for redefinition and growth in the field. The micro-history can both obscure the wider picture but has the potential to create a more detailed map.

³⁷ Armitage, "Greater Britain," 438.

Cited Works:

“Introduction.” *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 426.

Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of the Empire in British North America, 1754-66*. New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 2001.

Armitage, David. “Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?” *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 427-445.

Armitage, David and Michael J. Braddick, eds. *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Armitage, David and Michael J. Braddick. “Introduction.” In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 1-7. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Armitage, David. “Three Concepts of Atlantic History.” In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 11-27. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Bailyn, Bernard. “Preface.” In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, xiv-xx. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Braddick, Michael J. “Civility and Authority.” In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 93-112. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Brown, Christopher L. “The Politics of Slavery.” In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 214-232. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Chaplin, Joyce E. “Race.” In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 154-172. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Chaplin, Joyce E. “Enslavement of Indians in Early America: Captivity without the Narrative.” In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 45-70. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Crowley John E. “A Visual Empire: Seeing the British Atlantic World from a Global British Perspective.” In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 283-303. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Elliott, J. H. “Afterword: Atlantic History: A Circumnavigation.” In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 233-249. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Games, Alison. “Migration.” In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 31-50. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Gaspar, David Barry. "‘Subjects to the King of Portugal’: Captivity and Repatriation in the Atlantic Slave Trade (Antigua, 1724)." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 93-114. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Gould, Eliga H. "A Virtual Nation: Greater Britain and the Imperial Legacy of the American Revolution." *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 476-489.

Gould, Eliga H. "Revolution and Counter-Revolution." In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 196-213. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Hancock, David. *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785*. Cambridge UP, 1995.

Hatfield, April Lee. "Mariners, Merchants, and Colonists in Seventeenth-Century English America." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 139-159. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Horn, James and Philip D. Morgan. "Settlers and Slaves: European and African Migrations to Early Modern British America." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 19-44. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Kea, Ray A.. "From Catholicism to Moravian Pietism: The World of Marotta/Magdalena, a Woman of Popo and St. Thomas." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 115-136. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Landsman, Ned C. "Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800." *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 463-475.

Mancke, Elizabeth. "Empire and State." In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 175-195. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Mancke, Elizabeth and Carole Shammas, eds. *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Mancke, Elizabeth. "Chartered Enterprises and the Evolution of the British Atlantic World." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 237-262. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Offutt, William M. "The Atlantic Rules: The Legalistic Turn in Colonial British America." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 160-181. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Ohlmeyer, Jane. "Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories." *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 446-462.

Orwell, Robert. "Seeds of Empire: Florida, Kew, and the British Imperial Meridian in the 1760s." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 263-282. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Pearsall, Sarah M. S. "Gender." In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 113-132. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Pestana, Carla Gardina. "Religion." In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 69-89. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Pocock, J. G. A. "The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary." *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999): 490-500.

Shammas, Carole. "Introduction." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 1-16. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Splitter, Wolfgang. "Order, Ordination, Subordination: German Lutheran Missionaries in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 209-234. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Thompson, Mark L. "'The Predicament of Ubi': Locating Authority and National Identity in the Seventeenth-Century English Atlantic." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 71-92. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Wolf, Karin. "'Of the Old Stock': Quakerism and Transatlantic Genealogies in Colonial British America." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 304-320. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Wrightson, Keith. "Class." In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 133-153. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Zahedeih, Nuala. "Economy." In *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, 51-68. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Zakai, Avihu. "Jonathan Edwards, the Enlightenment, and the Formation of Protestant Tradition in America." In *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, 182-208. John Hopkins UP, 2005.

Additional Works Referenced:

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. 2 vols. trans. Sian Reynolds. New York: 1972.

Canny, Nicholas. "Writing Atlantic History or Reconfiguring the History of Colonial British America." *Journal of American History* 86, No. 3 (Dec. 1999): 1093-1114.

Colley, Linda. *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850*. New York: Anchor Books, paperback edition, 2004.

Games, Alison. "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities." *The American Historical Review* 111, Issue 3 (Jun 2006): 741–757.

Higman, B. W. "The Sugar Revolution." *The Economic History Review* (May, 2000): 213-236.

Shammas, Carole. "The Origins of Transatlantic Colonization." In *A Companion to Colonial America*, edited by Daniel Vickers, 25-43. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press, 1974.

Walsh, Lorena S. "The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications." *William and Mary Quarterly* (Jan, 2001): 139-170.

Book Reviews:

Bickham, Troy. Review of *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas. *The Journal of British Studies* 45, No. 2 (Apr., 2006): 414-416.

Black, Jeremy. Review of *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*, by Fred Anderson. *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 33, No. 2. (Summer, 2001): 369-370.

Bowen, H. V. Review of *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Community, 1735-1785*, by David Hancock. *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 49, No. 2 (May, 1996): 395-396.

Emerson, Roger L. Review of *The British Atlantic World 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael Braddick. *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 36, No. 1 (Spring, 2004): 193-195.

Gingrich, Kurt. "Assaying British Atlantic History." Review of *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, H-Atlantic (May, 2003), <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=152731056922420>.

McNeill, J. R. Review of *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Community, 1735-1785*, by David Hancock. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28, No. 1 (Summer, 1997): 99-101.

Middleton, Richard. Review of *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*, by Fred Anderson. *The Journal of American History* 87, No. 4 (Mar., 2001): 1468-1469.

Mulcahy, Matthew. Review of *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, edited by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas. *Business History Review* 80, Issue 1 (Spring 2006) <http://www.hbs.edu/bhr/archives/vol80/vol80-2006-1.html>.

Nicolson, Colin. Review of *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*, by Fred Anderson. *The English Historical Review* 116, No. 467 (Jun., 2001): 736-737.

Olson, Alison. "We are all Atlanticists Now." Review of *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick. *H-Albion* (October, 2003), <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=96841071197773>.

Papenfuse, Edward C. Review of *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Community, 1735-1785*, by David Hancock. *The Journal of American History* 84, No. 1 (Jun., 1997): 204-205.

Price, Jacob M. Review of *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Community, 1735-1785*, by David Hancock. *The American Historical Review* 102, No. 5 (Dec., 1997): 1481-1482.

Schwarz, Leonard. Review of *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Community, 1735-1785*, by David Hancock. *The English Historical Review* 112, No. 449 (Nov., 1997): 1220-1221.

Steele, Ian K. Review of *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*, by Fred Anderson. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser. 57, No. 4. (Oct., 2000): 864-868.

White, Richard. Review of *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*, by Fred Anderson. *The American Historical Review* 106, No. 1 (Feb., 2001): 136-137.