

In the final chapter, “Intimate Worship,” Alison Shell follows the unlikely story of a cross-confessional manual, John Austin’s *Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices* (1668). Austin, a Catholic liturgist, “adapted the monastic office for devout lay people,” prescribing a very personal liturgy to be practiced outside of a church environment. *The Devotion* was therefore “an aid to personal rather than collective piety” (278). In its first form it served the recusant community, but within three decades it “achieved even greater popularity when adapted for a Protestant readership” (273).

Taken together, these essays reaffirm Ian Green’s conclusion: “the ether above early modern England must have been heavily congested as so many pious householders tried to construct their own stairways to heaven” (31). In an atmosphere of confessional transition, the business of personal salvation remained exactly that, intensely personal.

John C. Appleby. *Women and English Piracy, 1540-1720: Partners and Victims of Crime*. Woodbridge, UK.: The Boydell Press, 2013. v + 264 pp. + 13 illus. \$ 95.00. Review by MELINDA S. ZOOK, PURDUE UNIVERSITY.

This book makes a strong contribution to the history of English piracy in the early modern world. The unsuspecting reader might be misled by the cover image of Ann Bonney, the American woman who actually did cross-dress and participate in piracy. That and the title would seem to suggest that this is a fashionable attempt to retell (and sell) folk stories of viragoes at sea. But this is not so. This book is an honest, balanced, and thorough examination of how the lives of women intersected with pirates and sea rovers in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. Women’s lives were touched by piracy in more ways than we might imagine, with the female pirate having one the most minor roles in this rough, violent, and anarchic world of outlaws and outcasts. Appleby argues that many women were partners in the global game of sea robbery, most often as receivers of stolen goods, and many were victims of pirate violence and misogyny.

Chapter one surveys the history of English piracy, starting in mid-sixteenth century. From the outset, piracy exploited state weaknesses

and international conflicts and rivalries. Where the state was absent, pirates flourished. When the government went to war, pirates robbed enemy ships with impunity and masked their greed and violence in patriotism. During the war with Spain, as many as two thousand English pirates operated in the 1570s. The Elizabethan and Jacobean governments lacked both the resources and the will to do anything to stop piracy, and during wartime, they encouraged them. Most of the piracy in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century was short-distance, opportunistic and irregular. Pirate ships operated along the coasts and on rivers. Their booty was often commodities like blankets, hides, cloth, tools, rope, knives, and barrels of tar. Quite naturally, along the coast lines, especially in the southwest and along the Thames, “a hidden economy based on the disposal and dispersal of stolen cargoes” (14) grew up, which became an arena for female agency as receivers of such goods. By the early seventeenth century, English piracy ranged from southwest Ireland to North Africa, but it also began to focus increasingly on the Caribbean and South Sea. Inflamed by anti-Catholicism and avarice, English pirates, often with the assistance of the Dutch and French sea rovers, attacked Spanish shipping in the Caribbean. Appleby asserts that American-based piracy in the first half of the seventeenth century grew out of the chaotic nature of colonial settlement. Pirates found a ready supply of recruits, “poor and vagrant, runaway servants and transported criminals, as well as African slaves and seafarers,” who he aptly calls, “the social casualties of colonization.” (25). Yet once piracy began to threaten the very profitable business of sugar and slaves in the Caribbean, the governments of the late Stuart era began to take a more assertive stance against these outlaws. In the early eighteenth century, long-distance piracy grew in intensity, threatening the expanding imperial state, so much so that the government began to earnestly employ its legal and naval resources with the aim of eradicating these pests. After 1726, Appleby believes that “the pirate community was displaying signs of disarray and decline” (47-48). With more trials, executions, and pirates being strung up in chains, there were fewer and fewer willing recruits to this anarchic lifestyle.

Where do women come in? Women were on the shore. They were the wives, partners, protectors, brokers, prostitutes, and petitioners

for kidnapped victims. And when they were on ship, it was usually as passengers and migrants. The ones on shore were a bit safer. They received pirated booty, provided safe-houses, comfort, and companionship, and, when needed, they defended their outlawed husbands, kin, and friends. Their primary junction was as supporters: disposing and distributing their goods and providing sexual services. But women were just as likely to be victims of piratical violence. Women whose husbands were kidnapped by the corsairs and women who were gang raped, kidnapped, traumatized, humiliated, tortured, abused, bullied, or intimidated by pirates far outnumbered the very few that might have donned nickers, sword and sash. In other words, as Appleby makes clear, there is nothing to glamorize or romanticize here. Pirates were misogynists. Their culture was homosocial; it was a world of men and boys. Women ship-board disrupted this fraternal culture, and in the superstitious maritime world, a woman on a ship was a bad omen, capable of bringing about catastrophe—just as it was supposed witches on land could raise storms and sink ships—which is exactly what the witches in *Macbeth* do (“Though his bark cannot be lost, / Yet it shall be tempest-tossed”). Thus in the seventeenth century an elderly female passenger on a ship bound for Maryland was hanged as a witch when her ship encountered several stormy days. As Appleby puts it, the hyper masculine world of the pirate ship “held out little opportunity or appeal for women” (191).

This is a thoroughly researched, keenly objective study of piracy. It should dispel any further desire to see pirates as anything other than the unruly, violent-prone, gangsters that they were. What English piracy held out for women was rape, just as pirates raped the wealth of the Spanish galleons. In the end, there is nothing to glamorize here, and if Marxist ideologues, feminist scholars, or popular culture aficionados do so, it is in historical error.