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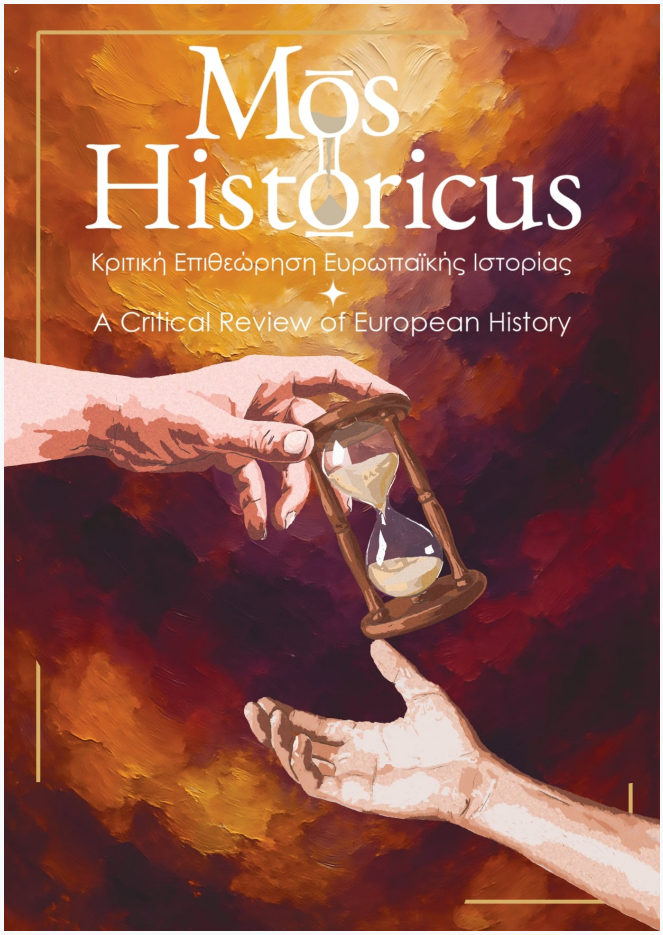

‘Attend you and give ear a while...’ singing about the naval, the imperial-national and the local in 18th century Bristol

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'Attend you and give ear a while…' singing about the naval, the imperial-national and the local in 18th century Bristol

'Attend you and give ear a while…' τραγουδώντας για το ναυτικό, το αυτοκρατορικό-εθνικό και το τοπικό στο Μπρίστολ του 18ου αιώνα

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ABSTRACT: The Royal Navy constituted one of the core pillars of the British Empire's expansion, supporting its domination on the seas and concurrently fuelling the imagination of its populace. This article analyses the stereotype that emerged during the first half of the 18th century through the study of a popular media of communication of the period: ballads. By focusing on the case of Bristol, the analysis examines sailor ballads with a Bristol orientation, thereby showcasing the types of "seamen" that emerged during this time, the underlying hierarchies that define them, and the ideologies they promote. By examining the social and cultural dimensions of the British Empire's ideology and the networks through which the ballads were disseminated, the study argues that the "stereotypes" perpetuated by these ballads serve as "cultural" link between the local and the imperial national.

Keywords: Ballads, Seamanship, Inns, Impressment, Royal Navy, British Empire

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ: Το Βασιλικό Ναυτικό αποτέλεσε θεμέλιο λίθο της επέκτασης της Βρετανικής Αυτοκρατορίας, καθώς ενίσχυσε την κυριαρχία της στη θάλασσα, ενώ

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Ο Βασίλης Καραμπούλας έχει λάβει πτυχίο Ιστορίας και Κοινωνικής Ανθρωπολογίας από το Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας, το 2020 και το 2024 αντίστοιχα. Ακολούθως, έλαβε μεταπτυχιακό τίτλο στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ιστορία από το Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, το 2024. Από τον Ιανουάριο του 2025, είναι υποψήφιος διδάκτορας στο ίδιο πανεπιστήμιο, και ασχολείται με τη ναυτική κουλτούρα της Βρετανικής Αυτοκρατορίας κατά τον 18ο αιώνα. Στα ερευνητικά του ενδιαφέροντα περιλαμβάνονται η ιστορία της ναυτιλίας, η σχέση κινηματογράφου και ιστοριογραφίας, η προφορική ιστορία και η ιστορία των ήχων. vkaraboul@arch.uoa.gr

παράλληλα «έθρεψε» τη φαντασία των υπηκόων της. Εξετάζοντας τις μπαλάντες, ένα δημοφιλές μέσο διασκέδασης και διάδοσης της πληροφορίας της εποχής, σκοπός του άρθρου είναι να διακρίνει και να αναδείξει τις στερεοτυπικές απεικονίσεις του ναυτικού κόσμου. Εστιάζοντας στην περίπτωση του Μπρίστολ, και συγκεκριμένα σε μπαλάντες με σημείο αναφοράς τους αυτό, αποσκοπεί να διαχωρίσει τις κατηγορίες «ναυτικών» που εμφανίζονται, τις ιεραρχίες που προβάλλονται και τις ιδεολογίες που προωθούν. Υπό τις κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικές διαστάσεις της βρετανικής αυτοκρατορικής ιδεολογίας και των δικτύων διοχέτευσης της μουσικής αυτής, η μελέτη αυτή αποπειράται να αναδείξει τον τρόπο με τον οποίο οι ναυτικές μπαλάντες μπορούν να αποτελέσουν «πολιτιστικό» συνδετικό κρίκο μεταξύ του τοπικού στοιχείου και της αυτοκρατορικής-εθνικής ταυτότητας.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: Μπαλάντες, Ναυτοσύνη, Πανδοχεία, Ναυτολόγηση, Βασιλικό Ναυτικό, Βρετανική Αυτοκρατορία

Introduction

"Attend you and give ear a while..." This was one of the many ways in which ballad singers used to begin their stories and grab the attention of their audience.[1] Even in the 21st century, music and singing rarely refer to something homogeneous. In analysing the cultural aspects of seamen during the period of Early Modern Europe, Peter Burke highlights this dimension of their lives.[2] However, he also points out that sailor songs were not necessarily confined to the seafarers' sphere of action. In the context of Murray Schaffer's theoretical framework, sailor songs were not solely "exclusive" to their soundscapes. Rather, they occupied different positions in the various soundscapes of the English space.[3] The subject of this paper is a

[1] "The Honour of Bristol: / Shewing how the Angel Gabriel of Bristol fought three Spanish Ships, who boarding her / many times, she cleared her Deck, and killed five hundred of the Men, wounding / many more, and forc'd 'em to fly into Cales; and lost but three Men, to the Honour / of the Angel Gabriel", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/37428/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025).
[2] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Moden Europe*, Routledge, New York 2009, pp. 45-6.
[3] The term "soundscape" was introduced by Murray Schafer, and it has since been used in various interdisciplinary approaches. Murray R. Schaffer, *The Tuning of the World*, Random House Inc., New York 1977; Murray R. Schafer, "The Soundscape", in Jonathan Sterne (ed.), *The Sound Studies Reader*, Routledge, New York 2012, pp. 95-104.

particular musical dimension of seamanship, focusing on sailor ballads related to Bristol.[4] These ballads will be analysed and contextualized within the broader framework of their genre. It is important to note that the ballads under consideration do not refer to discrete historical events; instead, their themes and elements outline various aspects of seamanship. As Peter Burke observes, these folkloric sources emerged in historical research in the 1970s, particularly in the study of history "from below".[5]

Laurie Ellinghausen points out that the question of whether the events depicted in these ballads are based on actual historical events or are fictional is of less interest.[6] What is of greater interest is that these ballads serve to construct an imagined past, therefore forming a shared memory. As W. F. H. Nicolaisen observes, the narrative "... does not merely reconstruct [the past] ... but actually constructs it."[7] This "shared memory" reflected the needs of the emerging empire. Krishan Kumar notes that after the union with Scotland (1707), both the government and its artists and poets worked to create a unified identity that deviated from "Englishness" and tilted toward "Britishness".[8] In a manner consistent with David Atkinson's research on ballads and their "pasts" and with Ellinghausen's study on the literature and the seaman's labour,[9] the sailor ballads referenced in Bristol will be examined in terms of how they re-enact the past, constructing their particular imagined world in the present.[10] For this purpose, the port of Bristol proves fertile soil for such a research. As Michington observes, Bristol lives through its "golden" age during the 18th century.[11] It is particularly noteworthy that, during the initial decades of the century, its maritime activities flourished. Morgan's depiction of a prosperous maritime environment is apparent in his description of "Merchants, shipowners… sailors and customs officers jostled one another… Business vitality was most evident in the centre of

[4] A different musical expression is poetry. The maritime motif is also evident in certain poems of the period, which may have been disseminated through pamphlets. William Goldwin, *A description of the antient and famous city of Bristol. A poem*, R. Lewis, London 1751; Edward Martin and Bill Pickard, *600 Years of Bristol Poetry*, Arts and Leisure Committee of the City and County of Bristol, Bristol 1973.
[5] The relationship between history and folklore has attracted the interest of several researchers in the 21st century. Notable discourse on this subject transpired at a conference in London bearing the title "Folklore and the Historian" on May 6, 2000. Peter Burke, "History and folklore: a historiographical survey", *Folklore*, 115:2 (2004), p. 136; David Hopkin, "Folklore and the Historian", *Folklore*, 112:2 (2001), p. 218; David Hopkin, "Editorial Note", *Folklore*, 115:2 (2004), p. 131.
[6] Laurie Ellinghausen, *Ships of State: Literature and the Seaman's Labour in Proto-Imperial Britain*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2024, p. 96.
[7] David Atkinson, *The Ballad and its Pasts: Literary Histories and the Play of Memory*, Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge 2018, p. 27.
[8] Krishan Kumar, "Nation and Empire: English and British National Identity in Comparative Perspective", *Theory and Society*, 29:5 (2000), p. 589.
[9] Ellighausen, ibid., pp. 51-85.
[10] Atkinson, ibid., pp. 27-8.
[11] Walter E. Michington, "Bristol: Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century: The Alexander Prize Essay", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4 (1954), pp. 69-89.

Bristol… wooden ships, merchants' counting houses… taverns and inn houses, all clustered by the rivers Avon and Frome".[12] However, Bristol expanded its trade beyond this geographical area. In his latest research, Rogers examines Bristol's involvement in the slave trade and its popular privateering "business".[13] These aspects render Bristol a prime location for the emergence of sailor ballads.

The first section of this paper considers the existing historiography and aims to clarify its position within the broader spectrum of maritime and oceanic history as it has been developed in recent decades. It raises the question of seafaring identity in the emerging British Empire through the case of Bristol-based sailor ballads. Starting with Armitage's description of the emerging empire as "Protestant, commercial, maritime, and free", this paper examines the contributions of maritime history to the study of the trans-local character of the empire and takes Ellighausen's research on sailor ballads a step closer to the local and territorial character of sailor identity as it is represented in them. Since this study is about the port of Bristol, the second section focuses on the "geographies" of the ballads, specifically how, where, and to whom they were circulated in this port of the empire. Once the "places" have been clarified, the third section provides a complete list of the EBBA[14] ballads that refer to Bristol, highlighting various aspects of the sailor's identity and, as Ellighausen also notes, the dominant theme of their relationships with the littoral communities -namely through marriage. The main question under consideration is whether Ellighausen's research can be narrowed down to a single place, a single "geography" that is used to "ground" the ballads in a "fictional" truth and serve as an initial link between the local, the national, and the imperial. The ballads of Bristol sailors will act as a transitional point between the establishment of the stereotype of the intrepid sailor and the British Empire's maritime trait.

Maritime History and the Empire of the Seas

A substantial corpus of historiography engages with key aspects of the British Empire in the 18th century.[15] The British Empire is widely recognized for its transatlantic possessions,

[12] Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic trade in the eighteenth century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993.
[13] Nicholas Rogers, Maritime Bristol in the Slave-Trade Era, Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge 2024.
[14] "English Broadside Ballads Archive", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu (Accessed: 04.02.2025). In this research, EBBA functions as the point of reference for the archival needs of the study. While the scope is limited, the main traits that Ellighausen distinguishes in the broader sailor genre during this period are encompassed. Ellighausen, *Ships of State*, ibid., p. 105.
[15] Jeremy Black has discussed the British Empire's relation with the British Isles and the European peninsula. Jeremy Black, *The British Empire: a History and a Debate*, Routledge, New York 2015, pp. 74-7.

particularly after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War (1756-63) and the annexation of territories such as French Quebec. However, the Empire's expansion began as early as 1702, marked by the ongoing annexation of new territories, including India, which began in 1757.[16] What is of particular interest is that the British colonies were unified by a shared religious identity, predominantly Protestantism, which served as a counterpoint to the Catholicism of France and Spain. Evangelicalism was a recurring theme in the policies of the colonial empires, underlying both duty and purpose.[17] David Armitage described this emerging empire as "Protestant, commercial, maritime, and free".[18] It is this maritime orientation that is of interest in this study.

By the late 17th century, a series of contentious debates began to shape the ideological foundations of the British Empire. A notable example was the "Standing Army debate" in 1697.[19] At the onset of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), the Scottish politician Andrew Fletcher cautioned his compatriots about the strategic significance of the English and Dutch presence in global maritime trade, posing the provocative question, "Can they [the Dutch] not establish an empire of the seas for themselves, with an exclusive commercial monopoly?".[20] This emerging "Empire of the Seas" that preoccupied Fletcher, and the ways in which it was represented in the sailor ballads referenced in Bristol in the first half of the 18th century, will be the focus of the following study.

Since this paper deals with sailor ballads, its interests lie mainly in the broader spectrum of what has come to be known as maritime history.[21] Harlaftis mentions that for most of the twentieth century, maritime history had a negative reputation, as many non-professionals

[16] Jeremy Black, *The British Empire*, ibid., pp. 77-8.
[17] Linda Colley expands on how Protestantism acts as a unifying component of British national identity. Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837*, Pimlico, London 2003. Although Coley's thesis remains unrefuted, a different perspective has been offered by Catriona Kennedy, whose research focuses on the examination of English Francophobia. Catriona Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and civilian experience in Britain and Ireland,* Palgrave, New York 2013.
[18] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010, p. 173.
[19] Despite the apparent value of maintaining a standing army to temper Louis XIV's ambitions, a number of intellectuals openly voiced their objections to the idea. In their discourse, John Trenchard and Walter Moyle expounded on the challenges confronting the Roman Empire in the past, emphasising the value of the British example deriving insights from them. See Armitage, ibid., p. 144.
[20] In the period preceding the War of the Spanish Succession, Fletcher expounded on the concept of an empire of the seas based on Scotland, thereby obviating the necessity to pursue territorial expansion through conquest. Ibid., pp. 144-5.
[21] Frank Broeze (ed.), *Maritime History at the Crossroads: A Critical Review of Recent Historiography*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 1995, p. xx.

preferred to write about it.[22] It was not until the last two decades of the preceding century that maritime history found a new place in historiography and addressed itself with new questions. Fusaro and Polonia explore this new "turn" in maritime history, raising questions about its connection to global and world history, the importance of littoral communities, and research interests that incorporate the cultural aspects of the maritime world.[23] In this context, Games proposed a new way of looking at the British Empire, focusing on both its local and global characteristics.[24] For Games, the British Empire emerged at its periphery, on the seas, using the experience of its seafarers to traverse the world.[25]

It is important to note that Games refers not only to the Atlantic, but "beyond" its spatial boundaries.[26] As David Armitage explains, we are now talking about both oceanic "histories" and a single global history of the ocean. This presents oceanic histories, and the various littoral communities that are part of them, as trans-local, blurring the distinction between global and local.[27] But where exactly does the British seaman fit into the broader realm of the emerging empire?

In his research on the seafarers of the early British Empire, Hubbard attempts to move away from previous studies that focused on the Atlantic and the labour history of sailors.[28] He observes that in the 18th century, and especially after the third decade of the century, sailors are actively promoted as "strong, steadfast and ready for war". These qualities emerge as critical parts of their masculinity and identity.[29] Yet questions remain; how can sailor ballads help us understand the identity of sailors and contribute to a broader study of the British Empire? Where can we place them in the spectrum of maritime history?

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[22] Gelina Harlaftis, "Maritime History or the History of *Thalassa*", in Gelina Harlaftis, Nikos Karapidakis, Kostas Sbonias and Vaios Vaiopoulos (eds.), *The new ways of history: Developments in historiography*, I.B. Tauris Publishers, London 2010, p. 214.
[23] Maria Fusaro, "Maritime History as Global History? The Methodological Challenges and a Future Research Agenda", in Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polonia (eds.), *Maritime History as Global History*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 2010, pp. 267-71.
[24]Alison Games, "Beyond the Atlantic: English globetrotters and transoceanic connections", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 63:4 (2006), p. 677.
[25] Ibid., p 692.
[26] Ibid., p 675.
[27] Sujit Sivasundaram, Alison Bashford & David Armitage, "Introduction: Writing World Oceanic Histories", in David Armitage, Alison Bashford & Sujit Sivasundaram (eds.), *Oceanic Histories*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018, p. 5. For further reading regarding oceanic history, see David Armitage, "World History as Oceanic History: Beyond Braudel", *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 15 (2018), pp. 341-61; Jeppe Mulich, *In a Sea of Empires: Networks and Crossings in the Revolutionary Caribbean*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2020.
[28] Eleanor Hubbard, "Sailors and the Early Modern British Empire: Labor, Nation, and Identity at Sea", *History Compass*, 14:8 (2016), p. 348.
[29] Ibid., p. 353.

For the second part of this question, Ojala's and Tenold's case study of the *International Journal of Maritime History* (IJMH) provides valuable insight. Using the IJMH database, they make some very interesting observations. From 1989 to 2012, IJMH papers focus primarily on economic history, although this is a declining topic over time. On the other hand, shipping technology, ports, and naval topics show an increasing trend. The topics that have declined proportionately are maritime labour, fishing and whaling, and maritime culture. They also point out that maritime culture is particularly prevalent in papers focusing on the 16th century.[30] It is this particular aspect of maritime history that this paper is based on, moving away from the 16th century and focusing on the first half of the 18th century. Despite Ojala's and Tenold's study, this does not mean that one cannot find relevant research on the maritime culture of the 18th century. It is in one such study that the answer to the first part of my previous question lies.

In 2024 Ellighaused published her book "Ships of State" with the interesting subtitle "Literature and the Seaman's Labour in Proto-imperial Britain".[31] Ellighausen juxtaposes two distinct yet similar themes, namely maritime culture and maritime labour. While this is interesting, Ellighausen's book deviates from the aims of this paper. It is within the fourth chapter that this paper stands to gain considerably from Ellighausen's research. Entitled "A wife or friend at E'ery Port: The Common Sailor in the Ballads of Early British Empire", she draws our attention to the sailor ballads and their value in the study of the seafarers of the British Empire.[32] Ellighausen directs our attention to the 17th and 18th centuries, using a variety of ballads that span the decades and these centuries. She observes that sailor ballads suggest a balance between the stereotypes of the loyal and steadfast sailor and that of the "fluid" seaman, moving between ports with no clear allegiance during this first phase of the emerging empire.[33] While Ellighausen emphasizes that sailor ballads use common names and real places to ground their stories, it is beyond her interest to delve deeper into this dimension.

The aforementioned scholars have previously explored the significance of maritime history in the context of global history research. The meeting point of these "grounded" sailor ballads and the rise of the British Empire can be observed at this global crossroads.[34]

[30] Jari Ojala & Stig Tenold, "What is Maritime History? A Content and Contributor Analysis of the International Journal of Maritime History, 1989–2012", *International Journal of Maritime History*, 25:2 (2013), p. 24.
[31] Ellinghausen, *Ships of State*, ibid.
[32] Ibid., pp. 86-105.
[33] Ibid., p. 105.
[34] The term is used to describe the nexus between the global sphere and locality. For a study on the history of the term and its theoretical framework see, Victor Roudometof, *Glocalization: A Critical Introduction*, Routledge, New York 2016.

Concurrently, a cultural perspective on the ideology of the nascent British Empire, as expressed through its maritime dimension, introduces a fresh dimension to a subject that has received insufficient attention in broader studies of maritime history during the 18th century. Building on the previous scholarship and Ellighausen's analysis, and focusing on one of those places - Bristol, as Ellighausen notes.[35] I plan to examine more closely the intersection of the local and the imperial within the empire's maritime geography, focusing in particular on how the figure of the sailor is constructed in Bristol-centred sailor ballads.

"Where we sing and drink" Inns, pubs and ballad singers

It is necessary to identify the primary locations where these "naval" soundscapes emerged. The inns and alehouses of the period warrant consideration, as they were central hubs for travellers.[36] Among the travelers -especially in the case of Bristol- were sailors. Between 1752-64, there must have been over 800 alehouses and inns, even if for short periods. The number of licenses in circulation increased from 220 in 1703 to 625 in 1753.[37] Two examples can be cited, illustrating the link between maritime life and the various inns of Bristol. In the case of Captain Goodere's trial,[38] the *White Hart*, was an inn that exuded nautical presence, serving as the gathering place for the captain's crew. Even its owner, Mr. Roberts, appeared well-versed on seafaring life, commenting on their vices.[39] Similarly, Hester's *Sign of the Superb* also had a similar connection to sailors. Hester, a sailor's wife, mentioned in one of her letters to her husband that most of her visitors were seamen associated with merchants or the Royal Navy.[40] As Fumerton has demonstrated, these alehouses functioned as a form of "home" for these wandering individuals. While not actual residences, these establishments provided a sense of

[35] Ellinghausen, *Ships of State*, ibid., p.96.
[36] Patricia Fumerton, "Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32:3 (2002), p. 494.
[37] McGrath and Williams, ibid., pp. vii-viii.
[38] Captain Goodere was judged and executed for the murder of his brother on the April of 1741. Following his death, many pamphlets surged to speak of his "true" tale. A typical case is his nephew version of the tale. Samuel Foote, *The genuine memoirs of the life of Sir John Dinely Goodere, Bart. who was murder'd by the contrivance of his own brother, on board the Ruby Man of War, in King-Road near Bristol, Jan 19, 1740. Together with the life, history, tryal, and last dying words, of his brother Capt. Samuel Goodere, who was executed at Bristol, on Wednesday the 15th day of April 1741, for the horrid murder of the said Sir John Dinely Goodere, Bart.*, T. Cooper, London 1741.
[39] *The authentick tryal of Samuel Goodere, Esq; Matthew Mahony, and Charles White, at the city of Bristol, on Thursday the 26th, and Friday the 27th of March 1741. For the murder of Sir John Dinely Goodere, Bart. on board the Ruby man of war, in King-Road, Bristol*, E. Hill, London 1741, p. 8. Available from: https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/catalog/3266882 (Accessed: 06.12.2025).
[40] Hester utilized her knowledge and networks, particularly her experience as an innkeeper, to orchestrate her husband's desertion from the Royal Navy, a feat she managed to accomplish. Nicholas Rogers (ed.), *Manning the Royal Navy in Bristol: Liberty, Impressment and State, 1739-1815*, Bristol Record Society, Bristol 2014, pp. 17-8.

belonging and community. In that setting, the ballads were imbued with both auditory and visual vitality as the walls of inns and alehouses were often adorned with printed ballads.[41]

However, the dissemination of these ballads was not exclusively limited to inns. Many ballad singers who performed in urban settings were often engaged in parallel commercial activities, offering the printed versions for sale. These ballad singers were predominantly from the lower classes, often lacking property and living a nomadic lifestyle (Illustration 1).[42] As Ellighausen points out, "the ballad's delivery as song would have made its message easy to memorize and share locally… Thus, another perspective 'from below' is transmitted in a way that circumvents the need for reading and writing…".[43]

By the 1750s, the rapid expansion of ballad-singing was a subject of concern in public discourse, one which had been expressed as early as the 1730s and revived immediately after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War.[44] Their widespread and rapid transmission rendered them a valuable propaganda instrument of the era, sometimes even considered as dangerous for the central authority. The circulation of sailor ballads by London printers also contributed to their popularity.[45] Nevertheless, it should be noted that their appeal extended beyond London, with ballad singers surging to various smaller cities. This could prompt a reaction from the local authorities. In Bristol, for instance, in 1764, a group of ballad singers and songwriters were expelled from the city, and those who provided them with the relevant printed ballads were given orders to follow.[46]

[41] Fumerton, "Not Home", ibid., p. 512.
[42] David Atkinson, "Street Ballad Singers and Sellers, c. 1730-1780", *Folk Music Journal*, 11:3 (2018), pp. 72-3.
[43] Ellinghausen, *Ships of State*, ibid., p. 92.
[44] Atkinson, ibid., pp. 76, 81.
[45] Ibid., pp. 87-8.
[46] Ibid., pp. 84, 97.

Illustration 1. William Hogarth, *The Enraged Musician*, 1741. Source: "The Enraged Musician", at https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/405232 (accessed: 02.04.2025).

From 1695 onward, ballads experienced a marked increase in popularity, with their audience expanding considerably between 1700 and 1760. This rise parallels the broader dissemination of newspapers during the same decades. War played a crucial role in stimulating the production of new material as well as in renewing interest in older ballads.[47] While the precise thematic elements of the sailor ballads are not always easy to pinpoint, the prevailing motifs include "separation and reunion", the anticipation of the sailor's return, as well as naval battles and shipwrecks.[48] Through these themes, a specific archetype of the intrepid sailor is depicted, particularly emphasizing on the role of women, who are portrayed as dynamic and active subjects.[49] Using Bristol as a focal point, I will next analyse the extent to which these elements are articulated in the sailor ballads.

[47] James Davey, "Singing for the Nation: balladry, naval recruitment and the language of patriotism in eighteenth-century Britain", *The Mariner's Mirror*, 103:1, pp. 47, 51.
[48] The dissemination of ballads was facilitated by the press. An exemplary instance of this case is the ballad of the *Ramillies* shipwreck. Atkins, ibid., pp. 135-6.
[49] Στέλλα Χατζοπούλου, *Έμφυλες αναπαραστάσεις στις αγγλικές έντυπες «λαϊκές» μπαλλάντες: οικογένεια και εργασία (1600-1850)*, PhD Thesis, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Athens 2020, pp. 355-6.

"Let's sing for the sailors of Bristol": An examination of maritime motifs

James Davey distinguishes sailor ballads by their departure from local themes and their emphasis on the national and, by extension, patriotic elements. According to Davey, the genre reached its zenith between 1740 and 1763, a period that coincided with the promotion of impressment and the rise of the Royal Navy during the latter half of the 18th century.[50] This propaganda, Davey argues, was more easily disseminated to volunteers lacking prior experience with the sea and the hardships associated with life on board.[51] Davey's observations regarding the emergence of the "ideal" sailor, the references to various Royal Navy exploits, and their mass transfer to the ballads of the time, as well as the national connection of the discourse cultivated, are indeed pertinent. However, it is important to note that not all sailor ballads lauded the Royal Navy. There are numerous examples of such grievance, particularly in 18th-century ballads, which serve as prime illustrations. These ballads, for instance, have been known to voice discontent with forced naval impressment and the recruitment tactics employed by press-gangs.[52] Straying away from Davey's "national" ballads, the focus of this paper is on sailor ballads cantered on Bristol, with the objective of establishing a nexus between the local and the broader imperial context under examination.[53]

Ellighausen presents the beginning of the ballad *The Mothers Kindness, Conquer'd by her Daughters Vindication of Valiant and Renowned Seamen* (1676-96) at the beginning of the fourth chapter of *Ships of States*. She points out that the conclusion of the argument between mother and daughter 'seems to anticipate broadly those "Protestant, commercial, maritime and free" ideals of the British Empire'.[54] Following Ellighausen's analysis, and using Armitage's description of the British Empire as a starting point, I will focus solely on the sailor ballads

Available from: https://www.didaktorika.gr/eadd/handle/10442/50091 (Accessed: 06.12.2025); Atkins, ibid., p. 138.

[50] Davey, "Singing for the Nation", ibid., pp. 52-5.

[51] Ibid., p. 60-1.

[52] Ibid., pp. 52-7.

[53] The ballads examined in this paper are primarily drawn from EBBA. EBBA comprises all pertinent information regarding the dating and provenance of each ballad that is discussed below. It also includes photographic material and transcribed texts. "English Broadside Ballads Archive", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu (Accessed: 04.02.2025).

[54] In *The Mothers Kindness*, Ellighausen examines the relationship between June and her mother, exploring the underlying factors that contribute to their discord. Their argument advocates the importance of a dedicated sailor who is committed to serving in the British Navy. Notwithstanding the sailor's unconventional personality, which included "courting all sorts of woman", the mother was persuaded by her daughter. The sailor's actions are perceived not merely an assertion of his own liberty, but also a defence of the liberty of the British people. It is within the context of domestic life that Ellighausen identifies the emergence of these characteristics that will come to define the British Empire as "Protestant, commercial, maritime and free". See, Ellighausen, ibid., p. 87.

referenced in Bristol and examine whether they are as inviting as the conclusion of *The Mothers Kindness*.

As previously stated, the relationship between seafarers and their wives is multifaceted. One of the most prevalent ballads in this context is *The Merchant's Daughter of Bristol*, alternatively entitled *Fair Maudlin*, or simply *Maudlin*. Chronologically, the ballad must have been in circulation since at least the late 16th or early 17th century and it remained widespread into the first half of the 18th century.[55] In addition to this, the ballad was also included in the third volume of *A collection of old ballads* (1725), along with commentary on its origins.[56]

In *Maudlin*, a seafarer becomes engaged to the daughter of a Bristol merchant. Maudlin reciprocates the sailor's affections, yet ultimately, parting becomes inevitable. Departing with a poignant melody to bid farewell to his beloved, the sailor embarks on his journey to his new domicile in Padua. Yet, Maudlin refuses to give up. Utilizing a meticulously devised scheme and disguises, she successfully escapes the clutches of her parents, embarking on her own journey to Italy despite the inclement weather. Two significant challenges emerge in the second part of the ballad. First, the sailor's love for Maudlin is put to the test, and he convinces her of his true feelings. Second, because of the sailor's unwavering allegiance, the couple undergoes a trial before the town authorities, who attempt to persuade him to renounce his faith, but without success. Ultimately, they return to England. The narrative concludes with the death of Maudlin's father during her absence, followed by her subsequent, happy marriage, which is blessed by both her mother and the navigator who assisted her in evading her familial obligations in the ballad's opening.[57]As a sailor ballad, the maritime and commercial aspects predominate; however, there are traces that allow for the expression of the religion beliefs of the couple and their "free" nature as individuals.

[55] The origins of this ballad can be traced back to the late 16th and early 17th centuries. "The first part of the Marchants Daughter of Bristow", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/37037/citation (Accessed: 04.02.2025); "The second part of the Marchants Daughter of Bristow", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/37038/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025); "The Merchants Daughter of Bristow", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30164/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025).

[56] *A Collection of Old Ballads. Corrected from the beft and moft Ancient Copies Extant. With Introductions Historical and Critical. Vol. III.*, J. Roberts, D. Leach & J. Batley, London 1725, pp. 201-210.

[57] There are several versions of *Maudlin* during the first half of the 18th century. "Fair Maudlin, / The Merchant's Daughter of Bristol", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31083/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025); "Maudlin / The Merchant's Daughter of Bristol", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31669/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025); "Maudlin / The Merchant's Daughter of Bristol", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35492/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025). In the 17th century versions of the ballad, Maudlin's name is absent from the ballads' title. "The Merchants Daughter of Bristow", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31670/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025); "The Merchants Daughter of Bristow", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20245/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025).

A parallel example can be found in *The Bristol Bridegroom*, also known as *The Ship-Carpenter's Love to the Merchant's daughter* (Illustration 2). In this narrative, the daughter of a Bristol merchant falls in love with a sailor carpenter.[58] To prevent their marriage, the merchant sends the carpenter to sea. Much like Maudlin, the merchant's daughter disguises herself as a male sailor, pursuing the carpenter at sea. The ballad consists of two main challenges. The first mirrors Maudlin's narrative, wherein the sailor is injured during the invasion of Dieppe. Following her promotion to the rank of assistant surgeon, the merchant's daughter awaits the sailor's demonstration of his affection. The sailor's initial test, as described, was to choose between his beloved, who resided on land, or the sea. The second challenge involves the merchant father, who, upon learning of his daughter's presumed death, expresses remorse for his misjudgement and laments that his daughter could not have been united with the sailor.[59] The merchant's forgiveness marks the conclusion of the second test of the ballad and the narrative of *The Bristol Bridegroom*.

In both cases, the merchant's daughter plays a central role in the narrative. The sea acts as a physical and metaphorical barrier between her and her sailor-lover. The challenges posed by inclement weather, armed conflict, and the physical distance of her destination are obstacles she confronts throughout her voyage and in the aftermath of her return. Concurrently, the sailor's capacity for love and faith -at least in the case of *Maudlin*- is tested. Despite the geographical separation between them and the emotional distress of estrangement, when he demonstrates his suitability for the daughter's affection, the narrative transitions to the subsequent phase. The ballad culminates with the sailor's return to Bristol, the union of the sailor and the merchant's daughter, and their joyful marriage.[60]

[58] "The Bristol Bridegroom; / Or the / Ship-Carpenter's Love to the Mer- / chant's Daughter", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31374/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025).
[59] According to Dianne Dugaw, the case of *The Bristol Bridegroom* is an indicative example of the broader motif of the warrior woman that we see in the 18th century. Dianne Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650-1850*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1989, pp. 91-117.
[60] This is realized through various methods. In *Maudlin*'s case, the smooth reunion is achieved through the external intervention of the merchant's death. In *The Bristol Bridegroom* it is completed by his repentance and forgiveness.

Illustration 2. EBBA 33930. The relevant illustration adorning the ballad *The Bristol Bridegroom*, printed in London by L. How with a ranging date between 1741 and 1762. Located at: National Library of Scotland – Crawford. Source: "The Bristol Bridegroom: / Or, The Ship-Carpenter's Love to the Mer- / chant's Daughter", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/33930/citation (accessed: 02.04.2025).

Nonetheless, it should be noted that the action is not monopolized by the merchants' daughters. A peculiar case is *The Bristol Garland*, in which the protagonist is the son of a wealthy merchant who leaves his father's profession to marry a shepherdess, thus defying his father's orders. The son subsequently turns to farming and becomes rich through an incident. He discovers a rich treasure on the land he was farming. The narrative culminates in the unexpected enrichment of the merchant's son, who chooses a life of farming and companionship, and the impoverishment of the merchant and his wife. The son's forgiveness of his parents serves as a catalyst healing family bonds.[61] While functioning as a counter-sailor ballad, *The Bristol Garland* is similar in meaning to *Cordial advice: to all rash young men, who think to advance*

[61] "The Bristol Garland. / In four parts", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30837/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025).

their decaying fortunes by navigation. Ellinghausen uses this example to draw our attention to another category of sailor ballad, one that serves as a warning to aspiring sailors.[62]

However, even the ballads extolling a "sailor's" love can take on a critical form. As Davey has noted, the practice of forced impressment was a contentious issue within the Royal Navy.[63] In *The Bristol Tragedy, The Unfortunate Bride and Bridegroom*,[64] the crux of the narrative revolves around the condemnation of this practice. Set in Bristol, the plot focuses on a female protagonist who has been deprived of both her marital union and her partner. Despite her prospective spouse's unfamiliarity with seafaring life, stemming from his landownership, he was involuntarily dispatched to sea. Life abroad ship was associated with his complete isolation, as he was expressly forbidden to communicate by correspondence with anyone close to him. The woman's tragedy is compounded by the revelation that the sailor's vessel sank on the day that had been designated for their marriage. Her critique encompasses both the violent nature of forced impressment and its uncontrolled nature with the impressment of individuals with no connection to the sea and the necessary strength to survive there. As the ballad approaches its conclusion, it is revealed that the sailor perishes near France. She quickly follows his fate, dying from grief.

The legitimacy of the ballad's existence is substantiated by its function as a medium for consolation and recreation for the bereaved loved ones of the two lovers who met an unjustly demise. Despite its message, the ballad's presence is warranted, as it provides a tangible connection to the past and a source of solace during times of grief.[65] Once again, the couple's marriage is central to the narrative. However, in the case of *The Bristol Tragedy*, that is disturbed by an unjust impressment. The ballad, which is consistent with the common theme of an unfulfilled love, offers a critique of a practice that proved troubling for the population of port-cities. It serves as a poignant reminder that not only sailors were susceptible to their impressment.

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[62] Ellighausen, *Ships of State*, ibid., p. 91.
[63] Davey, "Singing for the Nation", ibid., pp. 53-7.
[64] Ellighausen delves deeper into the various "Tragedy" ballads. See, Ellighausen, ibid., pp. 101-2.
[65] "The Bristol Tragedy: Or, the Unfortunate Bride and Bridegroom, He being Prest away on the Day of Marriage, and loosing his Life in the late Expedition, with Grief and Sorrow it broke the Heart of this young Bride, to the unspeakable Grief of her Friends and Relations", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/22147/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025). Although I have not been able to locate a relevant sailor ballad in EBBA that refers to reprehensible female behaviour in the case of Bristol, there are such examples from other English ports. "A Warning for Married Women. / Being an Example of Mrs. Jane Reynolds (a West-Country-Woman) born near / Plymouth, who having plighted her Troth to a Seaman, was afterwards married to a / Carpenter, and at last carried away by a Spirit, the manner how shall presently be reci-/ted", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/35484/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025).

Turning our attention from the previously discussed romantic themes, *The Honour of Bristol* is the sole ballad that focuses exclusively on the martial aspect of naval life.[66] Dating to the late 17th century or the early 18th century, *The Honour of Bristol* recounts the story of the Bristol ship *Angel Gabriel*, captained by the "famous", in the words of the ballad, Netheway. The ship's master was John Mines and, according to the ballad, its remarkably skilled gunner was Thomas Watson. Together, they set sail to confront England's enemies. The virtues of courage, daring, and vigilance is paramount for these competent sailors. In a seven-hour confrontation, the English sailors aboard the *Angel Gabriel* vanquished three enemy Spanish vessels, eliminating 500 of their adversaries with three casualties. The remaining enemies retreat to Cales. The ballad culminates with the magnanimous gesture of the ship's owner, who rewards the crew members with a generous compensation.[67]

The maritime life depicted in the ballads under consideration is characterized by specific attributes. A recurring motif in these ballads is the challenges faced by sailors in establishing familial bonds. The transgression, in this case, serves as the catalyst for the union between the sailor and his beloved. Similar to the sailor's obligation to maintain fidelity towards his beloved during his maritime travels, the merchant-father must be confronted. Despite the various twists and turns characteristic of ballads with a female protagonist, the narrative bears a striking resemblance with contemporary examples. Once again, Hester projects a good case. Mobilizing the help of friends and relatives, she takes initiative to motivate her husband-sailor to desert the Royal Navy. Hester expresses her readiness to accompany him in this endeavour and formulates the details of her husband's escape strategy independently.[68]

Another core aspect is the role of merchants. They are recognized as the pinnacle of the maritime hierarchy, yet the instability of their wealth is exemplified in ballads such as *The Bristol Garland*. Outside the confines of the maritime realm, practices such as the violent impressment of the press-gangs are denounced and dramatized to elicit a response from the

[66] This ballad is also included in a collection of well-known English sea songs from the 17th to the 19th century. Charles H. Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads*, Routledge, New York 2019. It is plausible that there exist additional versions from a later or earlier period. However, these versions are not included in the EBBA.

[67] "The Honour of Bristol: / Shewing how the Angel Gabriel of Bristol fought three Spanish Ships, who boarding her / many times, she cleared her Deck, and killed five hundred of the Men, wounding / many more, and forc'd 'em to fly into Cales; and lost but three Men, to the Honour/of the Angel Gabriel", at https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/37428/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025). While we have no obvious clues to the historical origins of this ballad, there are surviving instances of songs that were based on contemporary vessels. A prime example is the *Antigallican.* This vessel inspired the writing of a satirical song in 1757 entitled, *The British Flag Insulted*. "The British Flag Insulted, a Satirical Song, 1757", at https://www.britishtars.com/2014/01/the-british-flag-insulted-satyrical.html (Accessed: 02.04.2025).

[68] Since she was the owner of an inn in Bristol, we can assume that she was aware of, and probably influenced by, various ballads with content similar to her own life. Conversely, Hester herself may have been the inspiration for such sailor ballads.

audience. While elements of weather and warfare are present in both *The Bristol Bridegroom*, *Maudlin* and *The Honour of Bristol*, it is exclusively in the letter that warfare occupies a central role in the narrative. The *Honour of Bristol* is a national ballad, in the meaning of Davey's analysis, that deftly showcases the prowess of the ideal sailor, portraying a triumphant victory of English seafarers over their Spanish adversaries despite their seemingly unfavourable circumstances. It is in these aspects, that despite speaking *of* Bristol, the ballads promote ideals that transverse its borders and aim to both landmen and sailors. This reminds us, in Kumar's words, that not only the government, but also its writers and poets, were working towards the same goal.[69]

Conclusion

In this study, using Ellighausen's research, I wanted to focus on a single port -that of Bristol- and examine the sailor ballads that refer to it. While Armitage's description of the British Empire as "Protestant, maritime, commercial, and free" can serve as a useful guide for grouping the aforementioned ballads, the main focus of this paper is better served by Juan Sánchez's call to focus on the beliefs of the "national subjects".[70] It is therefore my intention to confirm Ellighausen's observation of a conflicting -between national and local- seafaring identity on the grounds of "Bristol" sailor ballads.

Two aspects predominate, the maritime and commercial are easily discerned in these ballads. In particular, the maritime element is evident in sailor ballads, where both merchants and sailors are portrayed as central figures in the narrative. Furthermore, the merchant, acts as a bridge between maritime and commercial spheres. In *The Honour of Bristol* and *The Bristol Bridegroom* the merchant-father transfers his fortune to his daughter and her sailor-husband, while the owner of *Angel Gabriel* offers its crew "two hundred pounds in coin and plate".[71]

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[69] Kumar, "Nation and Empire", ibid., p. 589.

[70] Juan L. Sánchez, "Domesticating the Atlantic: British Representations of Spanish America and the Shaping of British Imperial Ideology", *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 46 (2016), p. 278. While not the focus of this article, apart from Armitage, Kumar and Sánchez, there is a large body of literature on the ideology of the British Empire. Indicative studies include: Renaud Morieux & Jeppe Mulich (eds.), *Ordering the Oceans, Ordering the World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2024; Kent Fedorowich and Andrew S. Thompson (eds.), *Empire, migration and identity in the British world*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2013; Steve Pincus, "Rethinking Mercantilism: Political Economy, the British Empire, and the Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 69:1 (2012), pp. 3-34; Tony Ballantyne, "The Changing Shape of the Modern British Empire and its Historiography", *The Historical Journal*, 53:2 (2010), pp. 429-452.

[71] "The Honour of Bristol: / Shewing how the Angel Gabriel of Bristol fought three Spanish Ships, who boarding her / many times, she cleared her Deck, and killed five hundred of the Men, wounding / many more, and forc'd 'em to fly into Cales; and lost but three Men, to the Honour / of the Angel Gabriel", at

Concerning the religious beliefs of the sailors, they are not typically known for their devoutness.[72] However, the ballads under examination here demonstrate that religious conviction constitutes a pivotal facet. In *Maudlin*, the sailor-lover refuses to convert and betray his faith, even at the risk of his life. A parallel can be drawn to the narrative in *The Honour of Bristol*, where the vessel that prevails over the Spanish is christened the *Angel Gabriel*, with allusions to Christian symbolism present throughout the narrative.[73]

The characteristics that Davey identifies in the national sailor ballads of the first half of the 18th century show notable similarities to those observed in the sailor ballads that have Bristol as their focal point. The depiction of the English sailor and his adversaries emerge as a recurring theme, either as a central focal point, as exemplified in *The Honour of Bristol*, or as a peripheral element within the ballad's narrative, as seen in *Maudlin* and *The Bristol Bridegroom*. Concurrently, ballads, such as *the Bristol Tragedy*, intersect with contemporary problems that troubled both sailors and landmen -in this case, the unrestricted impressment of the Royal Navy.[74] While the aforementioned ballads do not judge directly life at sea, we examined one such example that points directly its fangs towards it. *The Bristol Garland* acts as a counterexample regarding the courageous and honourable life of a sailor. Both *The Bristol Garland* and *The Bristol Tragedy* are examples that stray from Davey's national motif.

In Ellighausen's words, most of these ballads seem to welcome the "protestant, maritime, commercial and free" character of the emerging British Empire.[75] They represent a case study in maritime culture and act as an initial link between Bristol's locality and the global geographies of the Empire's maritime activities. Gelina Harlaftis rightly mentions that maritime history has provided a way of linking "the local, the regional, the national, the

https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/37428/citation (Accessed: 02.04.2025). As mentioned above, a sailor's wage did not exceed 1 pound per month. Jackson, "Ports 1700-1840", ibid., pp. 727-30.

[72] Reverend Penrose is an interesting example expressing such an opinion. He clearly states that he was not used on seeing sailors with any strong belief. John Penrose, *The reverend Mr. Penrose's account of the behaviour, confession, and last dying words, of the four malefactors who were executed at St. Michael's Hill at Bristol, on Wednesday the 15th of April, 1741, viz. Samuel Goodere, Esq; Commander of the Ruby Man of War. Matthew Mahony, And, Charles White. All three for the Murder of Sir John Dinely Goodere, Bart. A Worcestershire Gentleman of 4000 l. a Year. And Jane Williams, for the Murder of her Bastard Child. With copy of the Papers that Captain Goodere deliver'd to the Rev. Divine who attended him at the Place of Execution*, Booksellers in Bristol & by Eliz, London 1741, p. 13.

[73] "Three" crew leaders are mentioned and "three" are the dead counted among the English crew, while the enemy hoards "three" ships. Similarly, the Spanish attempt to board the *Angel Gabriel* "seven" times in a "seven"-hour battle.

[74] Davey, "Singing for the Nation", ibid., pp. 53-5, 57.

[75] Indicative studies include: Armitage, *The Ideological Origins*, ibid.; Colley, *Britons*, ibid.; J. C. D. Clark, "Protestantism, Nationalism and National Identity, 1600–1832", *Historical Journal*, 43:1 (2000), pp. 249-76; Kate Horgan, *The Politics of Songs in Eighteenth-century Britain, 1723–95*, Routledge, New York 2014; Isaac Land, *War, Nationalism and the British Sailor*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2009.

international, the global".[76] In this case, my analysis drew upon ballads such as *The Honour of Bristol*, *The Bristol Bridegroom*, and *Maudlin*. Concurrently, we must keep on mind that Bristol flourished as a commercial hub, experiencing a "golden" age during the early 18th century.[77] In this hub, the maritime history of Bristol is explored through the medium of ballads. This is further highlighted by the recurrent presence of the sailor and the merchant. The two realms of the maritime world, situated at the lower and higher echelons of the hierarchical structure, converge in the realm of sailor ballads.[78]

While this historical context adds a deeper layer of meaning to the sailors and merchants depicted in the ballads, we are still far from confirming the extent to which sailor ballads referring to Bristol were popular there - while an interesting question, that was not the goal of this paper, but rather the next milestone. What we can be sure of, however, is that sailor ballads were a very important part of Bristol's culture and were evident in many ways -especially through the inns- to the population, whether sailor or landsman.

Nevertheless, the themes addressed can serve as an initial link. Impressment is one such example, as it emerged as a pressing concern, a point exemplified by ballads such as The Bristol Tragedy, which underscores the local dimension of the genre. As a major port of the emerging Empire of the Sea, Bristol is also the focus of the Royal Navy and its propaganda for new recruits.

Both the fear of impressment and the ambitions of the Royal Navy, the anxiety of a sailor's life and the justification of a loyal and faithful sailor yearning to return home, clearly point to Ellihausen's observations. These sailors, as depicted in the ballads referenced in Bristol, are caught between the loyal and steadfast stereotype of the emerging empire and the dangerous vagabond with one foot in many ports. They form an imaginary identity that points to both the local anxieties and the national-imperial aspirations of the empire.

At this final point, it is important to recall Atkinson's observations regarding the nexus between ballads and shared memory. A thorough examination of a series of sailor ballads, with a particular focus on the shipwreck of Ramillies, reveals a notable correlation between the preservation of memory and the popularity of ballads. However, there is no definitive conclusion as to whether the ballad serves to preserve memory or whether the shared memory contributes to a ballad's long-lasting fame. Nevertheless, the link between them is apparent.

[76] Harlaftis, "Maritime History", ibid., p. 220.
[77] Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic*, ibid.; Michington, "Bristol", ibid., pp. 69-89.
[78] A detailed analysis of the agencies involved in the sailors, the merchants and the Royal Navy is addressed by Nichalas Rogers. See, Nicholas Rogers, *The Press Gang. Naval impressment and its opponents in Georgian London*, Continuum UK, London 2007, pp. 59-80.

The ballads referenced in Bristol act in a similar manner, as a blurry border between the sailor's past and the shifting trends of their present through the rise of the British Empire.[79]

[79] Atkinson, *The Ballad and its Pasts*, ibid., pp. 131-158.

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