

commerce with elements of piracy, slaving, and war. English sailors faced conflict, privation, abandonment, and capture in every area where Europeans sailed. Most were seeking gain, but religious differences with Spanish Catholics and cultural differences with indigenous inhabitants helped to shape their sense of an English identity. This identity was tested in the period of Jacobean peace, as renegades and opportunists who served both Muslim and Catholic masters in the Mediterranean, the Levant, and North Africa gained reputations for perfidy and violence. Venetian and Ottoman officials pressured the English crown to discipline or repudiate its most troublesome subjects, forcing some of them to explain themselves in London. Colonial authorities in the New World criticized mariners' indiscipline, while the Jacobean government sought to suppress their piracies that ranged from Virginia to Morocco. The sailors in Hubbard's sources were pioneers of a global Britain, and exemplars of Englishmen behaving badly.

Deft exploitation of minutes and journals of the East India Company underpins a chapter rich in detail on the perils and profits of voyages to Asia. The Company appealed to English solidarity against Dutch, Moluccan, and Japanese partners and competitors, yet treated its seamen as expendable employees. The presence of foreign crewmen on English ships, and English sailors in foreign service, encouraged both cosmopolitan and national identities. New ways of performing Englishness emerged as Company merchants sought to display their men as more courteous than their Portuguese, Spanish, or Dutch competitors. Parades before East Indian audiences were designed to present the English as a respectful and well-governed people under a mighty sovereign, a show that was not always convincing.

A final chapter on sailors and the state examines official support for English seafarers abroad. The crown protected English fishing and claimed local sovereignty of the sea but relied on merchants and shipowners for the management of their men, and had difficulty projecting power at a distance. English sailors captured by hostile foreigners pleaded their nationality when seeking help from the Stuart crown. Charles I needed mariners for his wars against Spain and France but failed to pay them or meet their needs. It is not yet known, and Hubbard does not ask, how many of those who sailed to Cadiz or La Rochelle were veterans of more exotic voyages. Stories of fights and follies in distant waters are succeeded by accounts of sailors rioting in London.

Yale University Press launches this book with its own on-board freight of reviews. The back cover praises Hubbard's work as "empirically rigorous, conceptually sophisticated" and "an extraordinary accomplishment." It is hard to disagree. Yet some readers may find the welter of micro-narratives overwhelming, and the sustaining argument hard to follow. The wealth of material risks swamping the analysis. Missing from this survey are the thousands of English mariners who plied local waters with no less risk and drama. Hubbard's global panorama anticipates England's course for empire, but it underestimates the importance of seamen who sailed nearer home.

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KATHRYN HURLOCK and LAURA J. WHATLEY, eds. *Crusading and Ideas of the Holy Land in Medieval Britain*. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 34. Turnhout: Brepols, 2022. Pp. 265. \$124.00 (cloth).  
 doi: 10.1017/jbr.2023.195

*Crusading and Ideas of the Holy Land in Medieval Britain* consists of nine essays spanning the early medieval period to the early modern era. In their introduction, editors Kathryn Hurlock

and Laura J. Whatley explain their desire to focus not on the military or political aspects of crusading, but rather on the ways in which medieval British culture was shaped by the Holy Land, both in its physical sense and as an imaginative concept. The editors' multidisciplinary approach to this subject is reflected in the volume's contributors, who include historians, art historians, and literary scholars.

Chapter 1 from Meg Boulton examines physical recreations of earthly Jerusalem as well as metaphysical representations of the Heavenly City in England during the centuries preceding the First Crusade. She emphasizes three expressions of interest in the Holy Land: textural descriptions of pilgrimage; ecclesiastical architecture that referenced that of Jerusalem; and the uniquely insular monumental stone crosses of the period, which served as reliquaries as well as storytelling markers upon the landscape. These depictions of the Holy Land, Boulton argues, significantly shaped the early English Church's ideas about the past, present, and apocalyptic future.

In chapter 2, Natalia I. Petrovskaia traces English, French, and Welsh versions of the twelfth-century treatise *Imago Mundi* that circulated in Britain to the end of the fifteenth century. Petrovskaia argues that while the texts' descriptions of Europe reflect the changing political landscape through time, descriptions of the Holy Land in those same texts remain relatively static. This, she suggests, demonstrates that British writers held a more conceptual biblical/historical view of the Levant than one grounded in contemporary reality.

Taking the crusader king Richard I as her subject in chapter 3, Marianne Ailes examines how Richard was mythologized and memorialized in texts written in the decades following his death. Ailes emphasizes that translations of these texts moved both ways between Latin and vernacular languages depending on the goals and audience(s) of their translators. These multilingual translations, Ailes argues, built a "social memory" (83) around Richard's crusading legacy that contributed to a national identity superseding linguistic barriers.

In chapter 4, Elisa A. Foster explores holy sites in and around Walsingham. Several structures, she notes, were either crusader foundations or, as in the case of the Holy House of Walsingham, recreated portions of the Holy Land within England. Sites along the East Anglian pilgrims' way further cultivated devotion to Mary and the Incarnation together with the memory of Christ's death. Foster argues that Henry III, who was keen on linking places affiliated with Edward the Confessor to those suggestive of the Holy Land, patronized these sites as a means of endowing his reign with additional religious power.

For Laura Slater in chapter 5, the construction of local religious monuments took on a particular significance for crusaders' families in the twelfth century. If a crusader's body could not be recovered from the Holy Land, his family could imagine his empty tomb back home in England as akin to the empty tomb of Christ in the Holy Sepulchre. Crusaders' monumental endowments further cemented their family legacies, reminding their descendants and neighbors that the family had crusading heritage and enjoyed the resultant status associated with that.

Kathryn Hurlock brings the discussion into the early modern era in chapter 6, examining Welsh gentry who built their families' reputations upon claims (some real, some invented) of ancestors who were Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. Hurlock examines how membership in this fraternity functioned as a status symbol in a time when noble genealogy was vital to a gentleman's reputation. Claiming such a knight as an ancestor further helped post-Reformation Welsh gentry assert their Catholicism and thereby their independence from Protestant England.

In chapter 7, Laura Whatley focuses on the Lambeth Apocalypse (ca. 1260–1275) and its patron, Eleanor de Quincy. Whatley uses the manuscript as a means of exploring the gendered nature of English illuminated Apocalypses and their role in allowing noble women to participate remotely in the crusading enterprise. The female figures of Revelation, she argues, served as a "spiritual surrogate" (179) for Eleanor, allowing her to insert herself into the action of crusading and of Revelation.

Chapter 8 focuses on a copy of the *Livre d'Eracles* made in Burgundy for Edward IV. Erin K. Donavan examines how the text and images in this manuscript served as an exemplar of good and bad kingship. The manuscript's iconography, she argues, depicts imperial themes and ideas about the restoration of peace through illustrative and textual choices that highlight a royal English perspective while downplaying the role of other Christian leaders in the crusading enterprise.

In the volume's final chapter, Katherine J. Lewis examines crusading ideology in BL, Royal MS 18 XXVI and how it reflected Henry VIII's ideas of kingship. Lewis views the manuscript's themes of crusading valor as mirroring Henry's values of masculine honor and his interest in war. Lewis further suggests that the manuscript reflects Henry's foreign policy, particularly regarding his often-contentious relationships with Francis I and Charles V, both of whom had committed to fighting the Turks in their bids to become Holy Roman Emperor.

The images that accompany each essay are high quality and the majority are reproduced in full color. Notably absent is a map, which, while not vital to the contents, would be a useful reference. Some chapters (for example, chapter 2) would also benefit from charts to help the reader keep track of relationships between textual variants. While the editors have arranged the essays loosely by theme, a slightly more chronological approach would have made the essays flow better without disrupting the thematic resonances across chapters.

Ultimately, *Crusading and Ideas of the Holy Land in Medieval Britain* will be useful to anyone interested in questions of patronage, memory construction, textual transmission, and iconography, as well as in medieval Britain and the crusades.

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MICHAEL J. JARVIS. *Isle of Devils, Isle of Saints: An Atlantic History of Bermuda, 1609–1684*. Early America: History, Context, Culture. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2022.

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In his previous book, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680–1783* (2010), Michael Jarvis established Bermuda's significance in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World. *Isle of Devils, Isle of Saints*, is, he writes, a “prequel” (5) to that book. Together the two works provide the definitive history of early modern Bermuda, but this is far more than a prologue. Here, Jarvis argues that seventeenth-century Bermuda “needs to join Jamestown and Plymouth within an English-American triangle of origin” since it “explodes our tidy familiar set of regional Chesapeake and New England contrasts” (2). Moreover, Bermuda should occupy a position of primacy in our thinking since it was “the first of England's experimental colonial laboratories to produce a successful staple, form a stable community, turn a profit, transplant civic institutions, and harness bound African knowledge and labor” (3). Despite this rhetoric of experiment, Jarvis demonstrates that Bermuda's influence was never solely theoretical or abstract. Bermudians were ubiquitous throughout the English Atlantic World where they “establish[ed] new colonial beachheads” as “self-organized autonomous vernacular settlers” (5). In short, *Isle of Devils, Isle of Saints* promises a new and distinct account of English colonial expansion—and it delivers one.

Jarvis does so through a narrative history that traces the story of Bermuda over eight chapters (with an introduction and conclusion) running from the dramatic wreck of the *Sea Venture* in 1609, which brought the first English settlers, to the dissolution of the Bermuda Company