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Introduction

Instead of simply dividing the emerging empire into Eastern and Western halves, English sailors, traders, planters, governors, and investors often imagined a somewhat homogeneous tropical zone, defined by latitude rather than longitude. By the seventeenth century, the English, like other Europeans, conceptualized the places that fell in between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn as part of a common "Torrid or burnt zone."[1] As they ventured along the coast of West Africa and through the East and West Indies, they noted what they thought were broad consistencies in climates. In 1678, the author of a brief history of the new English colony in Jamaica felt little need to explain the "Climate." It was essentially the same as anywhere else "betwixt the Tropicks."[2] The island was subject to same thunder and lightning storms and strong winds "as all Countries in that Latitude."[3] In the seventeenth century, the English used the terms "climate" and "latitude" as near synonyms, assuming, simply, that places at the same latitude would have the same climate.[4] During an early modern era of European overseas expansion, the English participated in a broad European invention of

[1] R. Holland, *Globe Notes* (Oxford: L. Lichfield, 1678), 28; see also Guy Miege, *A New Cosmography, or Survey of the Whole World in Six Ingenious and Comprehensive Discourses* (London: Printed for Thomas Basset, 1682), 72.
[2] "The History and State of Jamaica under Lord Vaughan" [1678], p. 3 (quotation), p. 5, Library of Congress Online Resource, https://catalog.loc.gov/vwebv/search?searchCode=LCCN&searchArg=2021667739&searchType=1&permalink=y (accessed October 2022).
[3] "History and State of Jamaica," 3, 5.
[4] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "The Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period," *American Historical Review* 87, no. 5 (1982): 1262, 1266–1267.

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the idea of the tropics; they associated this torrid zone with both an abundance of life and the threat of death and decay.[5]

The English reasoned that it was the hot sun that led to tropical abundance. The heat drew precious metals and gemstones closer to the surface in the tropics and created exceptionally nourishing conditions for agriculture.[6] As a sixteenth-century English geographer explained, "the influens of the sonne doth norishe and bryng fourth gold, spices, stones and perles."[7] The exotic spices of the East Indies were linked with the silver and other precious metals that had brought such wealth to Spain in Central and South America; they were all attributed, in some part, to the effects of the climate.[8] In the seventeenth century, sugar joined silver and spice in the minds of the English as one of the great riches of the tropics. The torrid zone became a place in which vast fortunes could be made.

Yet, the tropics also loomed as a dangerous place. The heat was alarming and oppressive for people accustomed to the more moderate climes of the British Isles. The temperature, the sudden and violent bursts of the rain, and the miasmas produced by abundant and rotting vegetation led to sickness and death. In the seventeenth century, the English feared the malleability of human bodies and constitutions in various environments and climates; they associated diseases with places. Sudden changes in temperature or precipitation were deemed particularly hazardous.[9] Moving from one place to another could cause or cure disease. In the first half of the seventeenth century, English travelers were warning that the tropics, with its extreme weather conditions, were filled with "pestilent" and "Violent" fevers which "killed many" in the "hot season."[10] Late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century English traders

[5] Hugh Cagle, *Assembling the Tropics: Science and Medicine in Portugal's Empire, 1450–1700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 5–9.

[6] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates in the Anglo-American Colonial Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (1984): 218–220.

[7] As quoted in Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates," 218; This belief that precious metals would be found in hot and humid places persisted into the eighteenth century, and some observers remained convinced that gold and silver mines would eventually be discovered in Jamaica. See James Knight, *The Natural, Moral, and Political History of Jamaica and the Territories Thereon Depending from the First Discovery of the Island by Christopher Columbus to the Year 1746*, ed. Jack P. Greene. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2021), 391–392.

[8] Kupperman, "Puzzle of the American Climate," 1267.

[9] Gary Puckrein, "Climate, Health and Black Labor in the English Americas," *Journal of American Studies* 13, no. 2 (1979): 180–182.

[10] Sir Henry Colt to George Colt, August 20, 1631, in *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623–1667*, ed. Vincent T. Harlow (London: Printed for the Hakluyt

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in West Africa attributed the severe sickness and mortality they experienced there to the climate.[11] In the 1650s, a member of Parliament in England thought that one of the great injustices that prisoners of war faced when they were transported to Barbados was that they had to make the passage through the "heat and steam" that came with sailing "under the tropic."[12] English physicians believed that the heat and humidity of the tropics created its own peculiar diseases.[13] Historian Karen Ordahl Kupperman argued that the English began to articulate "profound anxiety" about what hot climates could do to their bodies.[14] In the tropics, whites would come to fear not only death but racial degeneration, a fear that became more entrenched over time as ideas about race hardened.[15]

English travelers, traders, migrants, and settlers were increasingly convinced over the last half of the seventeenth century that the tropics were an unhealthy place for white bodies, at least until they had acclimatized. The heat and heavy rains and the speed with which vegetation and flesh grew and rotted produced, as one English traveler to Bombay observed in 1701, a "Malignant Corruption of the Air" that ensured that Europeans all suffered from disease (see Figure A.1). The English were particularly susceptible. People from "England," the traveler explained, "Seldom or never faile to End their days very Soone here." The corrupt air ensured that wounds were "rarely cured." The deadly tropical air of Bombay – made worse by the stink of the rotting fish customarily used as manure – not only killed Europeans but led to monstrous wonders. Spiders in that corrupt air grew to "ye Bigness of a mans thumb & ye toads of ye Bigness of Small ducks." The Bombay traveler had heard that it even "Rained

Society, 1925), 99; "The Description of Trinidad," in *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana*, ed. Harlow, 130.

[11] Puckrein, "Climate, Health and Black Labor," 183.

[12] John Towill Rutt, ed., *Diary of Thomas Burton Esq*, vol. 4, *March–April 1659* (London: Henry Coulburn 1828), 256.

[13] Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates," 224.

[14] Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates," 213; see also Kupperman, "Puzzle of the American Climate," 1268; see also Mark Carey, "Inventing Caribbean Climates: How Science, Medicine, and Tourism Changed Tropical Weather from Deadly to Healthy," *Osiris* 26, no. 1 (J2011): 129.

[15] Natalie J. Ring, "Mapping Regional and Imperial Geographies: Tropical Disease in the U.S. South," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, eds. Alfred W. Crosby and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 307–308; Trevor Burnard, "Placing British Settlement in the Americas in Comparative Perspective," in *Britain's Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, c. 1550–1850*, eds. H. V. Bowen, Elizabeth Mancke, and John G. Reid (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 410, 428.

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frogs" from time to time.[16] In the minds of the English, the tropics became an alien place filled with marvels and horrors. It was unclear how permanent or mutable English susceptibility to the heat and the corrupt air might be. Many colonial architects, travelers, and physicians observed high death rates for Europeans travelers to the tropics; some encouraged lifestyle changes to combat the high mortality.[17] Yet, the death tolls remained high until the English acquired some resistance or immunity to the mosquito-borne diseases that became endemic in the tropics, diseases that were driven in part by the globalization of trade and forced labor markets.[18] By the 1660s, the tropics had become a place that English migrants avoided. If they did travel to the tropics, they hoped to profit enough to leave quickly and return to the British Isles. Caribbean assemblies, desperate for white migrants, began to pass laws to increase white settlement in order to better "propogate his Ma[jes]ties designes on . . . this side the Tropicke."[19]

How would the English populate and trade in the tropics – where vast fortunes seemed to await – if the heat was so dangerous, the air was so corrupt, and white newcomers died so quickly? Who would willingly migrate? Forced migration and labor became the key to English imperial designs in the tropics, a place that the English recognized as a distinct geographical space. In 1684, East India Company (EIC) directors, who were using the Caribbean colonies as a model of successful tropical colonization, had decided it might be necessary to buy slaves from the Royal African Company (RAC) for the EIC colony in St. Helena off the coast of Central Africa (see Figure A.2). They insisted that the "Experience" of the English and "all other European nacons" had proven it was "utterly impossible for any Europe plantacion to thrive between the Tropics upon any place without assistance and labour of negroes."[20]

[16] "Voyage of the Macclesfield to and from Borneo," [1701–1702], Ms Rawl. C. 841, ff. 9–9v, Bodleian Library.

[17] For examples, see Colt to Colt, August 20, 1631, in *Colonising Expeditions*, ed. Harlow, 99; Thomas Tryon, *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen Planters of the East and West Indies* (London: Andrew Sowle, 1684), 51–53, 60–61, 66–68; London to Bencoolen, May 9, 1690, India Office Records (IOR): E/3/92, f. 49, British Library.

[18] Justin Roberts, "'Corruption of the Air': Yellow Fever and Malaria in the Rise of English Caribbean Slavery," *Early American Studies* 20, no. 4 (2022): 653–672.

[19] "An Act Obliging the Inhabitants of This Island to Keepe and Maynetayne Christian Men Servants," July 5, 1677, Colonial Office Papers (CO) 154/2, p. 326, National Archives, United Kingdom.

[20] London to St. Helena, November 26, 1684, IOR: E/3/90, f. 251v, British Library. For another copy of this letter, see Ms. Rawl. A. 302, f. 89v, Bodleian Library. For an

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By the 1680s – a pivotal decade in the development of English slavery – this had become a near universal conviction across the English empire. In the tropics, the English empire would need to be built – and even defended – by slaves and, more broadly, by people who were indigenous to the tropics. By the 1680s, the English were convinced that the tropics would require a distinct political economy of empire. The tropics would be a slave empire, an empire built and maintained by non-Europeans. It would be an empire that was lucrative but fragile. It would also become the engine of British imperial power in the eighteenth century.

English assumptions about the homogeneity of tropical environments and climates not only created a common fear of tropical fevers, it also shaped their efforts to expand and manipulate the early empire and redistribute its resources. In 1649, for example, as English colonists first began to grow rich from sugar in Barbados, a group of merchants and planters tried to settle a new plantation colony on the island of Nosy Be, just off the coast of Madagascar (see Figure A.1).[21] The investors were excited because the island was near the "Latitude of Barbados," and it was about the same "bignesse and goodnesse."[22] Sugar was one of the crops they hoped would grow well there.[23] A former governor of an English Caribbean colony was appointed to lead the settlement; it was a disastrous failure.[24] Early Barbadian sugar planters – trying to find beasts of burden that could thrive in the heat – turned to importing African camels, but they struggled to figure out what to feed them.[25] In the 1660s and early 1670s – when Jamaican planters were still experimenting with cacao, indigo, and other crops – some English investors chose to transplant the rich spices of the East Indies to Jamaica, where English Caribbean planters could exercise more control over producing them

important study of the EIC's use of the Caribbean model, see Michael D. Bennett, "Caribbean Plantation Economies as Colonial Models: The Case of the English East India Company and St. Helena in the Late Seventeenth Century," *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* (2022): 1–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/14788810.2022.2034569 (accessed August 2023).

[21] For a more detailed discussion of this English effort to colonize Madagascar, see Alison Games, *Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 208–217.

[22] Robert Hunt, *The Island of Assada* . . . (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1650), 3.

[23] Hunt, *Island of Assada*, 5.

[24] Edmond J. Smith, "'Canaanising Madagascar': Africa in English Imperial Imagination, 1635–1650," *Itinerario* 39, no. 2 (2015): 292.

[25] Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London: Moseley, 1657), 22, 56, 58; James H. Stark, *Stark's History and Guide to Barbados and the Caribbee Islands* (Barbados: Brown & Sons, 1893), 157–158.

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and evade Dutch competition. They eventually abandoned their plans.[26] Undeterred by all these botched efforts at tropical transplantation, agents of the RAC tried their hand at Caribbean-style plantations producing export crops in West Africa, while the EIC employed a former Barbadian overseer to try to start sugar planting, first in St. Helena and then in Sumatra.[27]

English colonists, merchants, and traders looked for economic opportunities across the global tropics. The RAC and the EIC traded in different hemispheres, but their great trading houses were near each other in London, and the agents for each company would have shared news from across the emerging tropical empire with each other and with other merchants and traders at the Royal Exchange and at the nearby coffee houses.[28] Maurice Thompson, the governor of the EIC in 1657, had investments in Virginian tobacco and Barbadian sugar and in the trade in both European servants and African slaves to the Americas.[29] In the early 1650s, James Drax was the wealthiest sugar planter in Barbados. He owned a vast estate and 200 slaves.[30] He also became a governing member of the EIC in 1657, and he may have encouraged the Company's

[26] For cacao and indigo planting before the transition to sugar in Jamaica, see Cary Helyar to William Helyar, September 24 and November 7, 1670, p. 15, Helyar Manuscripts; Somerset Heritage Centre. For transplanting East India spices to Jamaica, see Richard Ford, "A Proposall for Removing Spices and Other Plants from the East to the West Indies," Egerton MS 2395, f. 337, f. 379, British Library. For more on these schemes, see Kate Mulry, "The Aroma of Flora's Wide Domains," in *Empire of the Senses: Sensory Practices of Colonialism in Early America*, eds. Daniela Hacke and Paul Musselwhite (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 266–271. Notes from Cary Helyar to William Helyar, December 15, 1670, DD/WHh/1090/4, and Copy of Cary Helyar to William Helyar, December 15, 1670, DD/WHh/1090/4, Helyar Manuscripts; Nicholas Blake to Charles II, February 28, 1669, CO 1/67, no. 95, [9].

[27] London to St. Helena, November 26, 1684, IOR: E/3/90, f. 251; London to St. Helena, August 3, 1687, IOR: E/3/91, f. 179v; London to Bencoolen, August 31, 1687, IOR: G/35/2, unpaginated; Henry Barham, "The Civil History of Jamaica to the Year 1722," Add MS 12422, 190, British Library; David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 142, 148; Dalby Thomas to RAC, May 10, 1706, T70/5, pp. 25–26.

[28] Simon P. Newman, *Freedom Seekers: Escaping from Slavery in Restoration* (London: University of London Press, 2022), 16–20.

[29] David Veevers, *The Origins of the British Empire in Asia, 1600–1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 81; L. H. Roper, "Reorienting the 'Origins Debate': Anglo-American Trafficking in Enslaved People, c. 1615–1660," *Atlantic Studies* (2022): 9, https://doi.org/10.1080/14788810.2022.2034570 (accessed August 2023).

[30] Hilary McD. Beckles, "Plantation Production and White 'Proto-Slavery': White Indentured Servants and the Colonisation of the English West Indies, 1624–1645," *The Americas* 41, no. 3 (1985): 29.

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colonization of St. Helena in 1658.[31] Martin Noell was a major investor in English overseas expansion until his death in 1665. He was an important figure in the early English slave trade from Africa and a member of Charles II's Council of Foreign Plantations. He also sat on the EIC's Court of Committees.[32] Josiah Child was a founding shareholder of the RAC, profiting from the transatlantic slave trade. In 1679, he became the largest shareholder of the EIC. He was appointed director of the EIC in 1681 and served as either the Company's governor or deputy-governor in every year of the 1680s.[33]

William Dampier serves as a striking example of how people from the British Isles traversed the global tropics in the seventeenth century and relied on slaves and slave trading to generate wealth. In the early 1670s, Dampier traveled through the Indian and Atlantic Oceans as a sailor before heading to work briefly as an overseer and sugar boiler in Jamaica on a sugar plantation called Bybrooke (see Figure A.3). He abandoned that post quickly and tried his hand at logging in the Bay of Campeche instead. He soon turned to raiding Spanish settlements on the Isthmus of Darien in Central America. In the 1680s, he participated in a raid on a Danish slave ship that was trying to trade with the RAC in West Africa, and he ransacked more settlements up and down the Pacific Coast of South America. In 1686, he returned to the East Indies, and in 1688 he began working at Bencoolen, the EIC's new pepper-trading trading foothold in Sumatra (see Figure A.4). By 1691, he found himself marooned off the coast of Australia in the Nicobar Islands, but he made his way by canoe back to Sumatra.[34] On his return to England, he stopped at Madras in

[31] J. E. Farnell, "The Navigation Act of 1651, the First Dutch War, and the London Merchant Community," *Economic History Review* 16, no. 3 (1964): 439, 439n1; L. H. Roper, *Advancing Empire: English Interests and Overseas Expansion, 1613–1688* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 169.

[32] Nick Robbins, *The Corporation that Changed the World: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational,* 2nd ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2012), 49–50; Veevers, *British Empire in Asia*, 81; Julie M. Svalastog, *Mastering the Worst of Trades: England's Early Africa Companies and Their Traders, 1618–1672* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 21, 113, 164, 175–178, 188, 208, 211–212, 232.

[33] Margaret R. Hunt and Phillip J. Stern, eds., *The English East India Company at the Height of Mughal Expansion: A Soldier's Diary of the 1689 Siege of Bombay with Related Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2015), 24.

[34] Adrian Mitchell, ed., *Dampier's Monkey: The South Sea Voyages of William Dampier* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2010), 129–131; ; William Dampier's Journal (Sloane MS 3236) in *Dampier's Monkey*, ed. Mitchell, 535–536; William Hasty, "Piracy and the Production of Knowledge in the Travels of William Dampier," *Journal of Historical Geography* 37, no. 1 (2011): 42–45; "Transcription of William Whaley to Colonel

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India, where he bought a half-share in an enslaved man he called Jeoly. The enslaved man was originally from Miangas, a small island in the Indonesian archipelago. In London, Dampier sold his share in Jeoly, and the enslaved man became a human exhibit: "The Painted Prince."[35] Dampier's experiences serve as a reminder that historians need to imagine English people venturing themselves and their capital through an early modern world with permeable imperial boundaries. Strictly defined historiographic boundaries, particularly those defined or shaped by the study of the origins of modern nation states, make this more difficult.

The historiographical concept of the Atlantic World has been a paradigm-shifting heuristic device for understanding European colonization in the western hemisphere from the sixteenth century until the early nineteenth century. The study of the Atlantic has allowed historians to appreciate understand broad contexts and to make transnational connections and comparisons. Historians of the colonial Americas are now more deliberately conscious of the ocean's existence as a conduit rather than a barrier, linking the British colonies on the North American mainland with Africa, Europe, and the Caribbean islands. The Atlantic framework challenged the teleological dictates of nationalist historiographies by demanding that we think of the colonial era as something more than the origins of the nation-state, demanding that we see more possibilities inherent in the past. The Atlantic World framework has also urged scholars to consider geographic spaces that might have made more sense to people in the past than people in the present, and it has led historians to better see the permeability of imperial boundaries.[36]

The Atlantic World has its limitations as a conceptual framework for understanding the larger worlds through which people like Dampier traveled. It is an anachronistic framework, invented by historians.[37] The

Helyar from Jamaica, January 27th, 1674," DD/WHh/1090/2, pp. 108, 111, Helyar Papers.

[35] David A. Chappel, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 27–28; Geraldine Barnes, "Curiosity, Wonder, and William Dampier's Painted Prince," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (2006): 33–44.

[36] For work exploring the historiography of the Atlantic World, see David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Peter A. Coclanis, "Atlantic World or Atlantic/World?" *William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2006): 725–742; Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[37] Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 742–743.

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field was largely created and dominated by historians of the colonial Americas – particularly historians of the British colonies such as Bernard Bailyn, Philip D. Morgan, and Jack P. Greene.[38] It was largely an Anglocentric construct and, for the most part, it remains one.[39] It grew out of the study of early America and is still closely associated with it. As a lens of analysis, it creates a deceptive compartmentalization of the globe and threatens to place undue bias on the West.[40] As Peter Coclanis has argued, the broad framework of the Atlantic World, paradoxically, "limits the field of vision of its devotees," partly because it "accords too much weight to Europe's ventures into the Americas in the early modern period and insufficient weight to Europe's ventures in the East."[41]

To keep yielding richer insights, some aspects of European expansion demand new geographic frameworks and a more global scope. Iberian empires very clearly spread beyond the Atlantic. Lima, Potosi, the Philippines, and the trans-Pacific Manila Galleon trade are pivotal to understanding the Spanish empire and even to understanding Spanish policies in the Atlantic. Brazil and Africa played key and connected roles in the Portuguese empire but, before the 1650s, the Portuguese overseas empire was as much an Indian Ocean empire as it was an Atlantic empire.[42] The Atlantic also played a secondary role in seventeenth-century Dutch overseas expansion. The role of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the Indian Ocean is pivotal to understanding the economic miracle of the seventeenth-century Dutch empire. For every Dutch migrant who went to the Americas, 25 went to Asia.[43] The Atlantic Ocean was more important than the Indian Ocean in French expansion, but the sheer volume of sugar and coffee production in eighteenth-century St. Domingue can lead historians to overlook the

[38] Coclanis, "Drang Nach Osten: Bernard Bailyn, the World-Island, and the Idea of the Atlantic," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (2002): 169–182: Games, "Atlantic History," 751; Coclanis, "Atlantic World or Atlantic/World," 727.

[39] Eliga H. Gould, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (2007): 784–785.

[40] Smith, "Canaanising Madagascar," 277–278; Richard B. Allen, "The Constant Demand of the French: The Mascarene Slave Trade and the Worlds of the Indian Ocean and Atlantic during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of African History* 49, no. 1 (2008): 44, 47–48.

[41] Coclanis, "Drang Nach Osten," 178; Coclanis, "Atlantic World or Atlantic/World," 726.

[42] Kenneth Maxwell, "The Atlantic in the Eighteenth Century: A Southern Perspective on the Need to Return to the 'Big Picture,'" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 3 (1993), 215; Coclanis. "Drang Nach Osten," 178.

[43] Coclanis. "Drang Nach Osten," 178.

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extensive sugar plantation complex that the French developed in the Mascarene Islands – just east of Madagascar – after the 1720s or their efforts to seize some of the textile trade in southern India from the British in the first half of the eighteenth century.[44] It is also difficult to understand British overseas ventures by looking at the Atlantic Ocean alone. The British dominated the eighteenth-century Atlantic, but Asia played an increasingly critical role in the growing empire. In fact, by 1700, the British imports from Asia were collectively as valuable as their Caribbean imports and the Atlantic system was dependent on Asia.[45] The empire was an interconnected entity. In the eighteenth century, Indian textiles were used to purchase West African slaves who would be sent to grow Caribbean sugar. Scholars of the early Americas have started to appreciate that the construct of the Atlantic World might need to be more expansive. They have been embracing not just hemispheric and transatlantic but now, often, global contexts.[46] The Omohundro Institute, the flagship for early American history, has embraced the "capacious" concept of "#VastEarlyAmerica" with its seemingly limitless possibilities for expanded geographies and chronologies.[47]

Efforts to broaden the scope of early American/Atlantic history have become interwoven with the resurgence of imperial history among British

[44] Coclanis, "Drang Nach Osten," 178; Richard Eaton, "Introduction," in *Slavery and South Asian History*, eds. Indrani Chatterjee and Richard M. Eaton (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 1; Douglas M. Peers, *India under Colonial Rule, 1700–1885* (New York: Longmans, 2006), 24–25; Jane Hooper and David Eltis, "The Indian Ocean in Transatlantic Slavery," *Slavery & Abolition* 34, no. 3 (2013): 358–359.

[45] Peers, *India under Colonial Rule*, 23, 25.

[46] See for example Bowen, Mancke, and Reid, eds., *Britain's Oceanic Empire*; Jonathan Eacott, *Selling Empire: India in the Making of Britain and America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Molly Warsh, *American Baroque: Pearls and the Nature of Empire, 1492–1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

[47] Karin Wulf, "For 2016, Appreciating the #VastEarlyAmerica," *Uncommon Sense – The Blog*, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture (January 4, 2016), https://blog.oieahc.wm.edu/for-2016-appreciating-vastearlyamerica/ (accessed October 2022); Wulf, "Must Early America Be Vast?" *Uncommon Sense – The Blog*, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture" (May 2, 2019), https://blog.oieahc.wm.edu/must-early-america-be-vast/ (accessed October 2022); Alyssa Mt. Pleasant, Caroline Wigginton, and Kelly Wisecup, "Materials and Methods in Native American and Indigenous Studies," *William and Mary Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2018): 223–225; Wulf, "Vast Early America," *Humanities: The Magazine of the National Endowment for the Humanities* 40, no. 1 (2019), www.neh.gov/article/vast-early-america (accessed October 2022). For more on this turn to a "#VastEarlyAmerica" framework, see Trevor Burnard, *Writing Early America: From Empire to Revolution* (Richmond: University of Virginia Press, 2023), 16, 34–36.

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