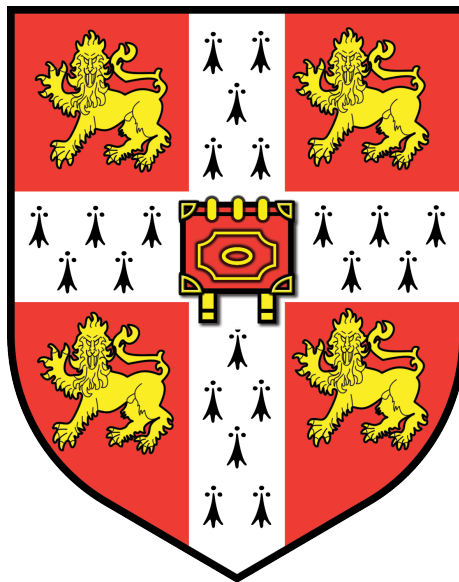


British Masculinities Beyond Patriarchy, 1689-1702

Owen Anderson Brittan

Emmanuel College



This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

*Submitted to the University of Cambridge
September 2017*

Abstract

Title: British Masculinities Beyond Patriarchy, 1689-1702

Author: Owen Anderson Brittan

This research project examines multiple constructions of masculinity during the reign of William III (1689-1702), a period often overlooked by historians of masculinity. Historical interpretations of masculinity in the early modern period have focused heavily on patriarchal models of masculinity and the accompanying gendered relationships and expectations associated with the household. Recently, historians have turned their attention to cultures of politeness and civility in the public sphere. Yet masculinity in this period was more diverse than these prominent models allow because it could be constructed through a number of different processes. Using normative literature and experiential records, this project seeks to add to the scholarship on non-patriarchal constructions, understandings, and norms of masculinity. Four non-domestic settings were particularly prominent and recurrent throughout the autobiographical sources and normative literature of the period: the military, government and public service, commerce, and religion. The norms associated with each setting were complex. Moreover, these norms sometimes varied between settings in ways that created tension. Negotiating masculinity in accordance with the normative expectations of various settings could be taxing. Each of these four settings constitutes a chapter in this dissertation, along with a final chapter that shifts the focus beyond the British Isles to how British colonists, travellers, and traders experienced the foreign hardships, climates, and peoples of the geographical periphery, which often necessitated further alternative constructions of masculinity. Grounded upon men's experience recorded in their own words in diaries, journals, and memoirs, this project highlights the numerous ways of establishing manhood and demonstrates the variability of masculinity as an identity that is both subjective and socially contingent. Examining settings of masculinity outside of the household and beyond male-female relations at the turn of the eighteenth century confirms that masculinity is multiple, nuanced, complicated, and (at times) anxious.

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

This dissertation is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

This dissertation does not exceed 80,000 words, exclusive of notes and bibliography. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

Material from this dissertation appears in articles published in the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* and *The Seventeenth Century*. This material is included with their permission. I am the sole author of both publications. For the definitive versions please see:

Owen Brittan, 'Subjective Experience and Military Masculinity at the Beginning of the Long Eighteenth Century, 1688-1714', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 2 (June 2017), 273-290. DOI: 10.1111/1754-0208.12462.

Owen Brittan, 'The Print Depiction of King William III's Masculinity', *The Seventeenth Century*, forthcoming. DOI: 10.1080/0268117X.2017.1301829.

Acknowledgements

I have accrued a number of debts during the course of my research and I would like to thank everyone that has impacted my time in Cambridge in whatever role they played.

Particular thanks go to:

My family — Papa, Mom, Theo, Janie, Luke, Bea

Colin Robertson and Ted Budden

The friends I have made in Abilene, Chicago, Newcastle, Cambridge, and London

My supervisor, Dr. Lawrence Klein — for his guidance, support, patience, and time

Dr. Robert Bucholz and Dr. Helen Berry — I am greatly indebted to both

Dr. Gabriel Glickman — for allowing me to teach and offering comments

Keiran Heinemann, Chris Weihs, Janie Brittan, and Beatrice Brittan — for reading a chapter draft each and offering comments

My examiners, Dr. Elizabeth Foyster and Dr. Karen Harvey — for their helpful comments

The Emmanuel College Library and Cambridge University Library staff members

The University of Cambridge Faculty of History, Emmanuel College, Sir Richard Stapley Educational Trust, Royal Historical Society, and Rotary Club District 5670 — for financial assistance

This dissertation is dedicated to everyone who has taken an interest in my success over the last three years.

Abbreviations

AHTL	Andover-Harvard Theological Library
BALS	Barnsley Archives and Local Studies
BL	British Library
CUL	Cambridge University, Department of Manuscripts and Archives
Dors. HC	Dorset History Centre
DWL	Dr. William's Library, London
Hants. RO	Hampshire Archives and Local Studies
Kent HLC	Kent History and Library Centre
LRO	Liverpool Record Office
SAL	Society of Antiquaries of London
WLC	Wellcome Library, London

Contents

Introduction	1
Contextualising Settings of Masculinity Beyond Patriarchy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	
Chapter One	29
Religion	
Chapter Two	67
Public Service and Government	
Chapter Three	105
The Military	
Chapter Four	139
Commerce	
Chapter Five	179
Outside the British Isles	
Conclusion	209
Bibliography	215

Introduction. Contextualising Settings of Masculinity Beyond Patriarchy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

What it means to be a man can be defined in a myriad of ways. This project uses normative literature and experiential records to investigate how men constructed their gender identities among other men and in relation to masculine ideologies during one brief but formative period in the history of early modern Britain, the reign of King William III. Enshrined by the traditional gender roles of the family, the patriarchal ideal of being a husband, father, and breadwinner was a dominant cultural code fortified by Christian beliefs and well-worn tropes in political, moralistic, and popular literature. However, few could achieve full manhood status by such standards. The household was an important setting for constructing masculinity, but there were other settings that were also meaningful. This dissertation seeks to move beyond these patriarchal models and outside of the ideology of the home by exploring the various experiences, understandings, and norms of masculinity in non-domestic settings. Four non-domestic settings were particularly prominent and recurrent throughout the autobiographical sources and normative literature of William III's reign: the military, government and public service, commerce, and religion. The norms associated with each setting were complex. Negotiating masculinity in accordance with the expectations of various settings could be taxing because norms sometimes varied in ways that created tension. Each of these four settings constitutes a chapter in this dissertation, along with a final chapter that shifts the focus beyond the British Isles to the geographic periphery and how British colonists, travellers, and traders experienced the foreign hardships, climates, and peoples, which often necessitated further alternative constructions of masculinity.

As Lyndal Roper succinctly makes plain, it is the task of the historian to dissect the historical meanings of masculinity and femininity because 'gender identity was not a biological given but a historical creation'.¹ Often conflicting traits were prized by various and differing groups of people based on several factors including class, age, and ethnicity. Depending on location and context, masculinity naturally created a hierarchy of social status. The study of masculinity, which developed out of feminist and gender studies and was further influenced by gay liberation and post-colonial studies, has grown rapidly since the 1980s as a way to explore inequalities, power relations, and discrimination.²

¹ Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 13.

² Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c.1660-c.1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 3.

Studying masculinity is useful for two reasons that are of particular importance to this dissertation. First, masculinity is not static. As a social construct, gender is anything but 'natural'. Studying masculinity challenges the assumptions that gender is timeless and unproblematic while questioning the universality of the roles, attributes, and compartments socially specified as 'masculine'. Second, gender is a powerful aspect of individual and collective identity, along with classifications such as class, occupation, sexuality, and ethnicity, among others.

Historicised masculinity indicates that different social positions and rank assigned different values to reputation-building attributes such as lineage, occupation, conduct, and wealth, which dictated notions of one's honour, reputation, and credit.³ As sociologists R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt explain, 'Masculinities are configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action and, therefore, can differ according to the gender relations in a particular social setting.'⁴ The multiplicity of masculinity is apparent when considering the numerous ways to 'be a man' that existed within and across cultures. Masculinity is both self- and socially-assigned. It is personal and public. Thus, the subjective and contingent nature of masculinity means that masculinity was not only influenced by personal taste, feelings, and opinions but also evaluated and created socially and publicly in accordance with specific historical contexts and events. Therefore, masculinity has a performative element that requires social recognition.⁵ As John Tosh argues, the necessity of public affirmation suggests that masculinity must also be treated as a demonstrated, circumstantial social status that varied depending on the social context.⁶ The necessity of informal proof and demonstration puts distance between the biological definition of the 'male' and the cultural and social expectations of the 'masculine'. Arguing that avoiding shame was essential to early modern manhood, Elizabeth Foyster notes that men achieved honourable manhood by gaining the approval of others; it was not an entitlement from birth.⁷ Keith Thomas explains that self-esteem often depended on the approval of others,

³ Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 6 (1996), 201-213, p. 203.

⁴ R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (December 2005), 829-859, p. 836.

⁵ The term 'gender performativity' was coined by Judith Butler in 1990. See: Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

⁶ John Tosh, 'What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History Workshop*, no. 38 (January 1994), 179-202, p. 184.

⁷ Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999), p. 207.

and that reputation was a common concern for all levels of society.⁸ Naturally, the public nature of one's gendered social identity led to anxiety. Men were on alert for insults attacking anything from their sexual behaviour to their honesty.⁹ The disjuncture between their individual experience and the experiences of others and the expectations of their social group further concerned men.

This apprehension was often due to the connection between masculinity and formal or informal power. While calling for an expanded focus on the social relations of power in the introduction to a special 2005 issue of the *Journal of British Studies* on masculinity, Alexandra Shepard and Karen Harvey noted that power was central to the history of masculinity.¹⁰ Power was an important aspect of the construction and maintenance of masculinity because masculinity is public, hierarchal, and relational. A person, an action, or a belief can be considered more 'manly' than another. To earn the label of 'manly' or a reputation for 'manliness' was freighted with significance. As David Kuchta notes in his work on the three-piece suit and male consumption, a public image of masculinity helped men gain and maintain power.¹¹

I. Dominance of a 'Hegemonic' Patriarchal Model of Masculinity

Although historians have recently turned their attention to cultures of politeness and civility in the public sphere—for the eighteenth century in particular—scholarship on masculinity in early modern Britain has mostly approached the topic by focusing on patriarchal gender roles, particularly in relation to families and the household. Noteworthy studies have come from historians such as Lawrence Stone, Anthony Fletcher, Margaret Hunt, Karen Harvey, Helen Berry, and Elizabeth Foyster.¹² While pinning down

⁸ Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 160.

⁹ Susan Amussen, 'Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725', in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, eds. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 196-217, p. 208.

¹⁰ Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950', *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005), 274-280, p. 276.

¹¹ David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), p. 10.

¹² Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977). Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1995). Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (London: University of California Press, 1996). Helen Berry and Elizabeth A. Foyster (eds.), *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*. Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital Violence: An English Family History, 1660-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Karen Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800', *Journal*

a precise definition of patriarchy can be problematic, social scientists have used the term in the past to denote to a system of government led by autocratic male householders; this arrangement subordinated both women and younger men who were not yet heads of households.¹³ The term has frequently been revised and now tends to be applied in the feminist sense to systems, societies, and institutions of adult male power.

Britain at the turn of the eighteenth century was undoubtedly a patriarchal society that privileged men over women. This dissertation employs the term patriarchy in the dual sense of meaning, both in terms of early modern 'domestic patriarchy' where manhood found an ideological basis in the authority of the father and in the feminist sense denoting men being favoured over women. This dissertation investigates how masculinity was constructed beyond patriarchal relations in the feminist sense in settings where, although men and women certainly interacted with each other, exerting power over women was not the deciding imperative of masculine identity. To accomplish this task, this dissertation is structured by looking at settings where masculinity was not predicated on the roles of domestic patriarchy born out of the power structures of the home. The celebrated notion of the husband, father, and breadwinner was an important code, but there were ways other than through domestic manhood to 'be a man'. As Foyster notes, a man's credit or reputation was founded on both sexual and non-sexual factors.¹⁴ A man's honour and reputation in the settings considered here were neither automatically bound to his householding status nor founded solely upon his ability to exert control over the opposite sex. Instead, although many of the men examined here were householders themselves and many were not, a man's masculinity was expressed as a performance contingent on his negotiation of the norms and everyday practices that informed each setting.

Much of the early research on historical masculinity drew on the work of sociologist R.W. Connell, whose classic theory of 'hegemonic masculinity' argued that forms of both femininity and masculinity centred on a 'single structural fact, the global dominance of men over women.'¹⁵ Initially developed in *Gender and Power: Society, The Person and Sexual Politics* (1987) and elaborated in *Masculinities* (1995), Connell's theory that hegemonic masculinity was the cultural expression of men's domination over women

of *British Studies* 44, no. 02 (April 2005), 296-311. Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³ Sylvia Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 19.

¹⁴ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 66.

¹⁵ R.W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), p. 183.

remains oft-cited and influential. For Connell, even if men did not strictly follow the normative definition, hegemonic masculinity still dictated what was socially and culturally powerful. Thus, hegemonic masculinity reflected what preserved male power, but not necessarily the reality of powerful men.¹⁶ Connell further explains that the actual number of men who adhered to the hegemonic pattern in full might be small, but the majority of men benefit from the advantages over women granted by the 'patriarchal dividend'.¹⁷

Connell argues that the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity in early modern England was the patriarchal landed gentry. According to Connell, the gentry consolidated themselves as hegemonic atop the patriarchal social order as a result of four post-medieval developments that carried significant weight for the construction of modern masculinity. First, cultural changes between 1450 and 1650 introduced new understandings of sexuality and personhood as the regulatory power of religion slowly declined. Second, European Atlantic empires were created and expanded during the Age of Discovery. Empire was a gendered undertaking because the violent male figures that subdued the natives and explored the New World became a 'masculine cultural type'. Furthermore, categorical male occupations, such as soldier, sea trader, and government official, dominated life on the frontier, significantly outnumbered women, and dictated that women went to the colonies only as wives and servants in male households. Third, increased urbanisation and the growth of cities and commercial capitalism altered the conditions of daily life in ways that facilitated more anonymity and individualism, which also aided the creation of sexual subcultures. Finally, the large-scale European wars of religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the dynastic wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries further reinforced the patriarchal order by producing stronger centralised states. As a result of these four developments plus hereditary land ownership, Connell argues, the patriarchy of the gentry became the dominant form of masculinity in Britain and the British Atlantic territories. Only in the last two hundred years have new forms and previously subordinated and marginalised masculinities challenged this dominance.¹⁸

Connell has been increasingly criticised in recent years as historical scholarship moves past the idea of a hegemonic form of masculinity. For example, Henry French and Mark Rothery, historians of the landed gentry, are not convinced that the masculinity of

¹⁶ Ibid., 185.

¹⁷ R.W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), p. 79.

¹⁸ Ibid., 186-91.

the gentry was as altogether hegemonic as Connell proposed. French and Rothery suggest that 'the fact that different forms existed simultaneously, and seem to have been applied according to context, suggests that elite men in this period conceived their gender identity by reference to a number of competing stereotypes, rather than in relation to a single, "hegemonic" form.'¹⁹ French and Rothery also argue that historians and sociologists often oversimplify the gentry.²⁰ While some elite standards may have been broadly accepted, insisting that all strands of masculinity be viewed through the lens of the patriarchal gentry masks the variability of masculinity and the unique socio-cultural expectations different masculinities engendered.

Much of the criticism levelled at Connell's historical foundation for hegemonic masculinity has stemmed from her overlooking the activities that men practised independently of women. Anne Lombard makes the point that manhood was defined against womanhood, but also, importantly, between 'manly' independent men and 'less manly' dependent men.²¹ Patriarchy manifested itself not just through male dominance over women but also male dominance over other elements of the social order. This includes the power of the master over the apprentice, the middle-aged over both the young and very old, the parent over the child, the head of household over the servant, the father over the son, and the financially independent over the poor. John Tosh's work on the historiography of masculinity has most insistently challenged Connell's hegemonic masculinity and treatment of patriarchy.²² A central pillar of Connell's interpretation is that masculinity, in its various forms and configurations, can only exist in relation to femininity as polarised character types.²³ However, Tosh argues in his work on nineteenth-century Britain that manliness was fundamentally a collection of value-judgements used between men that incorporated the treatment of women, but did not inherently depend on controlling them.²⁴ Tosh writes that 'it is never convincingly demonstrated why patriarchy should take precedence over all other structuring principles, to the extent that Connell affirms. One can accept the profoundly hierarchical

¹⁹ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, p. 15.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

²¹ Anne S. Lombard, *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 11.

²² See: John Tosh, 'The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English Masculinities, 1750-1850', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 217-238. John Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender', in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh, (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 41-58.

²³ Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 68.

²⁴ John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 5.

character of masculinities, and the investment of men in power and dominance, without concluding that maintaining power over women is the deciding imperative.’²⁵ Tosh suggests that men’s authority and control over other men might be more significant in some cases of power relations.²⁶ Indeed, as this dissertation will show, beyond the patriarchal power of dominant groups of men over women and subordinate groups of other men, masculinity was also achieved by gaining power over men of equal status and rank.

II. ‘Alternative’ Masculinities

In the mid-2000s, the growing field of masculinity studies furthered the debate on Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity. Shepard and Harvey jointly argued that ‘hegemonic codes’ were ‘highly complex, fluid, and full of contradictions’ and that more directed analysis is needed on the culturally dominant and alternative codes available to men, as well as how these models of masculinity interacted.²⁷ Early modern domestic patriarchy consisted of a potent set of social and cultural ideals, but even those who had the means to meet these standards rejected or disregarded them at times.²⁸ In *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (2003), which primarily examines the years 1560 to 1640, Shepard traces the different ways in which a variety of men of various social statuses ‘either benefited from, resisted, ignored, or were subordinated by patriarchal codes’ and argues that differences between age and class were equally important to manhood.²⁹ Moreover, domestic patriarchy was neither accessible nor desired by all early modern men.³⁰ Citing the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structures, Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen note that between 1650 and 1750 men did not marry until the average age of 28, many remained single, and the bastardy rate was historically low. Hitchcock and Cohen explain that such evidence suggests a substantial

²⁵ Tosh, ‘Hegemonic Masculinity’, p. 53.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Harvey and Shepard, ‘What Have Historians Done with Masculinity?’, pp. 277-8.

²⁸ Alexandra Shepard, ‘From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500–1700’, *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 02 (April 2005), 281-295, p. 291.

²⁹ Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 250-3.

³⁰ See: Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*. Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster, ‘Childless Men in Early Modern England’, in *The Family in Early Modern England*, eds. Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 158-183. Tarantino Giovanni, ‘Alternative Hierarchies: Manhood and Unbelief in Early Modern Europe, 1660-1750’, in *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others*, eds. Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 209-225. Shepard, ‘From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?’.

minority of men were unable to draw upon marriage and heterosexual activity as a dimension of their gender identity, which meant that, as a result, only a small majority of men had the chance to achieve full manhood status through the domestic sphere.³¹ The number of men achieving manhood according to patriarchal standards became lesser still when factoring in the requirements need to achieve financial independence. However, as Shepard argues, those who could not realise the patriarchal ideals disseminated by, amongst others, courtesy and conduct writers, were not inherently emasculated. Rather, those who did not or could not follow the patriarchal model could construct their masculine identity by tapping into other sources of prestige.³² Shepard argues of marriage: 'this was an aspect of masculinity which (like many other of its components) had to be striven for by the majority of men; it did not arrive automatically, and for many men it did not ever fully transpire. As a consequence, many men sought alternative sources of male status.'³³ Falling short of patriarchal standards did not necessarily indicate failure as a man.³⁴ There were simply too many different ways to be considered a man.

Yet Connell's theory of a hegemonic masculinity defined by dominance over others (men and women) is nevertheless useful in that it reveals much about gendered power structures. Connell proposes that, in relation to subordinated masculinities and femininities, the construction of hegemonic masculinity defined the patriarchal social order and created a hierarchy of masculinities.³⁵ Connell assigns the different patterns of masculinity, and gender for that matter, to four categories: hegemonic, complicit, subordinated, and marginalised.³⁶ However, Shepard argues that this categorisation is too simplistic and a multi-relational model is needed, rather than merely measuring to what degree behaviour followed or colluded with patriarchal expectations.³⁷ Somewhat helpfully, in a 2005 article written with James Messerschmidt, Connell admitted that the original formulation of hegemonic masculinity proposed a model of social relations that was oversimplified. Although still maintaining that patterns of masculinity were socially defined against femininity, Connell and Messerschmidt suggest that 'tactical alternatives'

³¹ Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, 'Introduction', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 1-22, pp. 10-11.

³² Alexandra Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England C. 1580-1640', *Past & Present* 167, no. 1 (May 2000), 75-106, pp. 105-6.

³³ *Ibid.*, 96-7.

³⁴ Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?', p. 292.

³⁵ Connell, *Gender and Power*, p. 183.

³⁶ Connell, *Masculinities*, pp. 76-81.

³⁷ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 251.

could vary within local contexts.³⁸ In both *Meanings of Manhood* and 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentleman?', an article surveying manhood 1500-1700, Shepard suggests replacing Connell's four categories of masculinity with the fluid, overlapping categories of patriarchal, subordinate, anti-patriarchal, and alternative, none of which were a life sentence prohibiting movement from one to the next. This revised categorisation better accounts for class division as well as the diverse, and potentially independent, forms of masculinity in the early modern period.³⁹ Each of Shepard's categories carried its own normative expectations.

According to Shepard's classifications, 'patriarchal' codes applied primarily to men who were married, middle-aged, and middling sort or elite.⁴⁰ Here Shepard proposes reclassifying the dominant patriarchal code as normative rather than hegemonic.⁴¹ 'Subordinate' masculinities were manifested in social deference and embodied by the servant class, for example.⁴² Studies by Jacob Field and Tim Meldrum have demonstrated that unmarried male servants could attain a form of honour based on loyalty, devotion, and faithfully performing the domestic duties of another's household.⁴³ 'Anti-patriarchal' masculinities were counter-cultures embraced by those to whom domestic patriarchy might be available but whom, nevertheless, voluntarily rebelled against the patriarchal code.⁴⁴ These were often criminals and violent or raucous younger men seeking to establish their unrestricted or sexual masculinity before marriage.⁴⁵ Sexual libertines, who had a complicated relationship with the mores of socially accepted forms of manhood, often fell into this category because the libertine philosophy that was notorious in the Restoration era involved the sexual exploitation of women and the rejection of marriage.⁴⁶

³⁸ Connell and Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity', pp. 846-8

³⁹ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 247-253. Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?', pp. 290-2.

⁴⁰ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 246-7.

⁴¹ Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentleman?', p. 291.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ See: Jacob Field, 'Domestic Service, Gender, and Wages in Rural England. c. 1700-1860', in *Economic History Review* 66, no. 1 (2013), 249-279. Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 2000).

⁴⁴ Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?', p. 291. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 247-8.

⁴⁵ See: Erin Mackie, 'Boys Will Be Boys: Masculinity, Criminality, and the Restoration Rake', *The Eighteenth Century* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2005), 129-149. Erin Mackie, *Rakes, Highwaymen, and Pirates: The Making of the Modern Gentleman in the Eighteenth Century* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009). French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, pp. 124-36. Tim Reinke-Williams, 'Misogyny, Jest-Books and Male Youth Culture in Seventeenth-Century England', *Gender & History* 21, no. 2 (August 2009), 324-339.

⁴⁶ James Grantham Turner, 'The Properties of Libertinism', in *"Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment*, ed. Robert P. Maccubbin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 75-87. James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Lawrence Stone, 'Libertine Sexuality

Equally important to libertines was their reputation among other men, which sometimes included sex with younger males.⁴⁷

The last category Shepard describes is the 'alternative' masculinities that were constructed separately from patriarchal codes.⁴⁸ This dissertation explores these alternatives at the turn of the eighteenth century by locating its subject matter beyond the gender roles of the household. As Foyster notes, men's and women's honour was multifaceted and neither depended solely on how their behaviour correlated to the patriarchal ideal.⁴⁹ The alternative masculinities associated with non-domestic settings should be seen as possible alternative or additional identities rather than direct replacements for patriarchy. Indeed, men might operate in these alternative settings while also conforming to the traditional patriarchal ideals that Connell would label as 'hegemonic'. Importantly, Shepard makes the point that the range of values associated with patriarchal formulations—strength, industry, autonomy, authority, reason, honesty, among others—were selectively invoked by a range of different men. Alternative masculinities, such as those examined here, might incorporate some of these values and express them in ways that both corroborated and critiqued patriarchal codes.⁵⁰ The aim of this dissertation is not to argue that the household or power over women had limited significance to men's identity. Rather, this dissertation examines alternative forms of masculinity in order to expand our knowledge of how and where masculinity could be constructed. Looking at a variety of non-domestic settings highlights the diverse, non-sexual ways of establishing manhood and the usefulness of shifting attention to the socio-cultural expectations of alternative models. Exploration of these alternative spheres gives insight into the changing types of men and their personal experience within shifting power dynamics. As the historiography suggests, more analysis on the nuances of different masculinities is needed to learn further how men understood and constructed their gender identities in a variety of different social spaces, among a variety of different people (women *and* men), and in relation to a variety of social and cultural discourses.

in Post-Restoration England: Group Sex and Flagellation among the Middling Sort in Norwich in 1706-07', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 4 (April 1992), 511-526.

⁴⁷ Randolph Trumbach, 'Sodomy Transformed: Aristocratic Libertinage, Public Reputation and the Gender Revolution of the 18th Century', *Journal of Homosexuality* 19, no. 2 (1990), 105-124. Randolph Trumbach, 'Erotic Fantasy and Male Libertinism in Enlightenment England', in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: MIT Press, 1993), 253-282.

⁴⁸ Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?', p. 291. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 249-50.

⁴⁹ Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 245-9.

The autobiographical sources from this period depict the alternative settings examined in this dissertation as largely, but certainly not exclusively, homosocial. That is to say, while women were not absent in reality, they appeared infrequently, if at all, in the source material when men discussed their gendered experiences of each setting. The distinct nature of each setting can partially explain this absence: the military and government were formally restricted to men and foregrounded men's relations to other men; commerce was more mixed but still dominated by men; and men outnumbered women on the geographic periphery and, although the patriarchal gender roles of the household were important to colonial manhood, the autobiographical works of this setting depicted their writers primarily measuring themselves against the non-British strangers they encountered. Lastly, religion was not an exclusively homosocial setting and religious norms were important to discourses of both approved femininity and approved masculinity. Even still, approved masculinity in this setting hinged on a man's personal relationship with God and his Christian moral virtue, and not fundamentally on his power over women or male-female relationships. Therefore, this dissertation focuses on distinctions among men and the distinctions between appropriate masculinity and a number of socio-ideological constructions: effeminacy, disordered masculinity, corrupt masculinity, and non-masculinity, such as immaturity or beastliness.

III. Periodization and Long-Term Narratives

The purpose of limiting this dissertation's period of study to the years 1689 to 1702 is to allow for a sharp focus on multiple settings of masculinity during a period that has been relatively overlooked in masculinity historiography. The reign of William III, with and without Mary II, was a crucial period for the formation of modern Britain. It was a time rife with political turmoil as the consequences of the Glorious Revolution began to resolve themselves. Incipient parliamentary party politics, relatively new under William's predecessors, became increasingly influential and a hallmark of Britain for years to come. War dominated foreign affairs due to European conflicts and imperialism. The rise of Britain's eighteenth-century empire was closely associated with the so-called Financial Revolution, which saw an increase in taxation, joint-stock companies, and speculation, as well as the creation of the Bank of England, Civil List, and the first issuing of government bonds. These events helped shape the life experiences of the men examined here.

The kingship of William III itself reflected contemporary gender themes. William III was the symbolic head of the nation but never fully achieved true patriarchal manhood. His critics attacked him and attempted to delegitimise his reign on the basis of his failure to adhere to a number of shared kingly and manly ideals. Along with failing to achieve fatherhood and produce an heir, William was accused of homosexuality, effeminate behaviour, and reclusiveness. Therefore, in order to legitimate and solidify his kingship and maintain formal and informal power, Williamite commentators invoked and appealed to masculine discourses of military prowess, regal virtue, and religiosity. Thus, the masculinity of William III himself illuminated the connection between masculinity and power, as well as some of the contemporary alternatives to the problematic paragon of patriarchal manhood.⁵¹

The flash points of William's reign and the narrative arches that traversed 1689 to 1702 indicate that this was a period of significant historical change, be it abrupt change or the logical conclusion of deep-seeded trends. Falling at the end of the early modern period as well as the beginning of the long eighteenth century, we think of William's reign as part of two narratives. Thus, it is not surprising to find advocates of change and advocates of continuity in equal measure among early modern masculinity historians. Historians such as Anthony Fletcher, David Kuchta, Michèle Cohen, and Tim Hitchcock propose a narrative of change between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Introducing a collection of essays, *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (1999), Hitchcock and Cohen note that, taking into account regional and class variation, their volume suggests a narrative of 'the gradual breakdown of older forms of gender identity and behaviour.'⁵² Likewise, historians of sexuality, notably Randolph Trumbach, suggest that gender and sexuality were becoming more rigidly defined at the turn of the eighteenth century as the dual sexual identities of 'heterosexual' and 'homosexual' became more complex yet also more starkly outlined in opposition to one another.⁵³ Moreover, as Cohen argues, fears of

⁵¹ Owen Brittan, 'The Print Depiction of King William III's Masculinity', *The Seventeenth Century*, forthcoming.

⁵² Hitchcock and Cohen, 'Introduction', p. 22.

⁵³ Hitchcock and Cohen, 'Introduction', pp. 3-6. Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). Tim Hitchcock, *English Sexualities, 1700-1800* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997). Robert Purks Maccubbin (ed.), *'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Randolph Trumbach, 'London's Sodomites: Homosexual Behavior and Western Culture in the 18th Century', *Journal of Social History* 11, no. 1 (September 21, 1977), 1-33. Randolph Trumbach, 'Sex, Gender, and Sexual Identity in Modern Culture: Male Sodomy and Female Prostitution in Enlightenment London', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 2 (1991), 186-203. Randolph Trumbach, *Sex and the Gender Revolution: Volume 1, Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment London* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998). Dennis Rubini, 'Sexuality and Augustan England: Sodomy, Politics, Elite Circles and Society', in *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, eds. Kent Gerard and Gert

effeminacy were stoked by a culture of male refinement that began to supplant traditional notions of honour and 'natural' manliness, particularly in urban settings.⁵⁴ Important to this dissertation, Susan Shapiro writes that effeminacy was traditionally 'associated with weakness, softness, delicacy, enervation, cowardice, delight in luxurious food and clothing—all those qualities which oppose the essential attributes of the warrior, the most "manly" of men.'⁵⁵ Cohen suggests that if "'natural" manliness was, as many repeatedly noted, rough and brutal, ungracious, rugged, then in fashioning themselves as polite, men became "other" – softer and more refined, but not necessarily more manly.'⁵⁶ Surveying the years 1660 to 1800, Anthony Fletcher asserts that manners and public behaviour grew in importance compared to cultivating inner qualities, although the former were sometimes seen to indicate the latter. Fletcher also notes that first recorded usage of the word 'masculinity' occurred in 1748 and that the word was not entirely different than 'manhood' or 'manly behaviour', but perhaps was meant to 'express a more rounded concept of the complete man.'⁵⁷ Although he notes widespread continuity for gender roles as a whole, Robert Shoemaker also argues for a narrative of change for masculinity due to ideological and social shifts.⁵⁸ In his work on violence and duelling, one example of the civilising change within masculine cultural codes that Shoemaker cites is the gradual shift from public violence to public insults to inaction among men who considered themselves respectable.⁵⁹

Conversely, the arguments for a narrative of continuity centre first upon the endurance and adaptation of long-standing masculine norms and secondly on the methodological differences between masculinity historians. While readily acknowledging the many shifts in daily practice, historians such as Alexandra Shepard, Karen Harvey,

Hekma (London: Harrington Park Press, 1989), 349-381. Thomas Alan King, *The Gendering of Men, 1600-1750: Volume 1, The English Phallus* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004). Thomas Alan King, *The Gendering of Men, 1600-1750: Volume 2, Queer Articulations* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2008).

⁵⁴ Michèle Cohen, 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth Century England', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 44-61, p. 50.

⁵⁵ Susan C. Shapiro, "'Yon Plumed Dandebrot": Male "Effeminacy" in English Satire and Criticism', *The Review of English Studies* 39, no. 155 (August 1988), 400-412, p. 400.

⁵⁶ Cohen, 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the French', p. 50.

⁵⁷ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, pp. 322-3.

⁵⁸ Robert Brink Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 305-18.

⁵⁹ Robert Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004). Robert Shoemaker, 'The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honour, and Ritual Violence in London, 1660-1800', *Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (2002), 525-545. Robert B. Shoemaker, 'Reforming Male Manners: Public Insult and the Decline of Violence in London, 1660- 1740', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 133-150, p. 149.

John Tosh, Henry French, and Mark Rothery argue for deep, long-term continuity. In the conclusion to Hitchcock and Cohen's *English Masculinities*, Tosh, looking at masculinity historiography as well as the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, argues that historians should not ignore the enduring aspects of gender. He writes, 'Historians of gender have tended to feel uneasy with models of continuity, not only because they find change more alluring, but because persistence and stasis imply a trans-historical essentialism.'⁶⁰ Indeed, it is hard to argue that a shift from a rougher seventeenth-century manhood to a polite, refined, and civil eighteenth-century masculinity did not occur. However, the normative discourses of these different 'types' of ideal men are markedly similar, despite changing male stereotypes. French and Rothery propose that from 1700 to 1900 there was little change in the deep-seated norms—virtue, self-control, independence, character, and gentlemanliness—that were 'located within the perennial building blocks of male self-valorisation'.⁶¹ They explain that these principles were readjusted and continually reinforced in some form during the long eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century.⁶² Shepard also makes the case that, although applied in different ways, the language of masculinity underwent little change from 1500 to 1700.⁶³ The second argument for a narrative of continuity is that there appears to be a methodological difference between early modern and long-eighteenth-century historians. Harvey notes that pre-1700 historiography primarily examines men in the home and post-1700 historiography tends to locate men in non-domestic social spaces.⁶⁴ Moreover, Shepard observes that pre-English Civil War historiography mostly focuses on manhood as a social status while post-Restoration historiography tends to treat manhood as a cultural construction.⁶⁵

It is worth remembering that change was fragmented and qualified by continuities. Most historians of masculinity see both continuity and change in this period but tend to emphasise one or the other while agreeing upon two things: the multiplicity and variety of masculinities that do not always fall into easy categorisation, and masculinity's cyclical pattern. First, presenting a narrative of change, Hitchcock and Cohen argue that 'it is in

⁶⁰ John Tosh, 'The Old Adam and the New Man', p. 238.

⁶¹ Henry French and Mark Rothery, 'Hegemonic Masculinities? Assessing Change and Processes of Change in Elite Masculinity, 1700-1900', in *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, eds. John Arnold and Sean Brady (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 139-166, p. 142.

⁶² French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, pp. 235-48.

⁶³ Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?', pp. 293-5.

⁶⁴ Karen Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity', p. 309.

⁶⁵ Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?', p. 289.

the irresolvable nature of this burgeoning variety of masculinities that the force for change must be located.’⁶⁶ Yet, similarly, Shepard echoes this sentiment while arguing that the narrative of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century masculinity is one of continuity. She explains that ‘while the many and varied components of masculinity remained largely unchanged, what is also striking is the increasing plurality and fluidity of their configuration, informing a diverse range of male identities that existed in tension with each other and with normative expectations.’⁶⁷ Second, narratives of continuity and change demonstrate that both arose from the cyclical patterns of masculinity. Examining men's tears, Bernard Capp notes that approved forms of masculinity alternate from ‘hard’ to ‘soft’.⁶⁸ Harvey further explains the patterned nature of masculinity by observing that the later eighteenth century seemingly pivoted away from politeness and rehabilitated and restored older conceptions of manhood.⁶⁹ Therefore, the proposed cyclical nature of masculinities positions the years 1689-1702 in a transition from the supposedly ‘hard’ masculinity of the early modern period to the seemingly ‘soft’ masculinity at the beginning of the long eighteenth century.

These debates over continuity and change—and the positioning of 1689-1702 within this cyclical pattern—highlight three parallel and embryonic, but nevertheless relevant, historical themes emerging during the time frame of this dissertation. First, a crucial feature, and in many ways the defining characteristic, of the long eighteenth century was the emergence of the so-called ‘public sphere’. The growing influence of London on cultural, financial, and political life had a strong civilising effect on masculinity. Urbanisation and the early eighteenth-century culture of politeness, in particular, were important and influential to the construction of masculinity; the social and cultural ramifications of the emergence of a ‘middling sort’ challenged traditional masculine values.⁷⁰ Sociability and public image became increasingly critical for establishing appropriate masculinity.⁷¹ According to much contemporary literature, the post-1700

⁶⁶ Hitchcock and Cohen, ‘Introduction’, p. 22.

⁶⁷ Shepard, ‘From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen?’, p. 292.

⁶⁸ Bernard Capp, ‘“Jesus Wept” But Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England’, *Past & Present* 224, no. 1 (August 2014), 75-108, p. 108. Harvey and Shepard also note this cyclical pattern and the shift from hard to soft features: Harvey and Shepard, ‘What Have Historians Done with Masculinity?’, p. 279.

⁶⁹ Harvey, ‘The History of Masculinity’, p. 311.

⁷⁰ See: Lawrence E. Klein, ‘Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (January 1996), 31-51. Brian Cowan, ‘What Was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England’, *History Workshop Journal*, no. 51 (April 2001), 127-157. Susan E. Whyman *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁷¹ See: Shoemaker, ‘Reforming Male Manners’. Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit*.

ideal version of manhood involved participation in this public sphere in places such as the coffeehouse, the assembly room, and the club.

The second theme was the evolution of religion, particularly how it related to the emerging discourse of refinement. The historiographical arguments over the importance of religion (or lack thereof) to the polite urban gentleman and the increasing secularisation of the long eighteenth century remain contentious. Not all historians agree on the supposed irreligiousness that was ushered in by the increased prominence of sociable, public masculinity. Philip Carter points out that, although evidence can be found to suggest incompatibilities, particularly in the mid-eighteenth century, many believed that religion supported the development of politeness, particularly when it came to fostering the generosity fundamental to refinement.⁷² Tony Claydon suggests that religious issues and sermons continued to be publicly discussed in the late seventeenth century while Jeremy Gregory argues for reinserting religion into the public sphere, proposing that many historians accept without question the idea that post-1660 society became increasingly secular.⁷³ Much of Gregory's argument centres on his claim that historians of politeness ignore religion. Surprised that recent studies tend to leave out sermons, religious tracts, and pamphlets when examining normative literature, Gregory observes that historians of the Hanoverian period are more interested in the fashionable gender ideals of the 'polite man', the 'sentimental man', and the 'sexual man' than the gender ideals of the 'godly man' that still lingered from the Stuart period.⁷⁴

Gregory also contends that religious warfare imagery declined in literature as writers replaced the martial hero of earlier centuries with the polite, refined man.⁷⁵ This is the third historical theme informing the time frame this dissertation covers. Christopher Fletcher suggests that warfare appeared to be quintessential to manhood in the medieval period because of the ingrained connection of manhood with strength,

⁷² Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), pp. 42-3.

⁷³ Tony Claydon, 'The Sermon, the "Public Sphere" and the Political Culture of Late Seventeenth-Century England', in *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600-1750*, eds. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 208-234, pp. 225-6. Jeremy Gregory, 'Gender and the Clerical Profession in England, 1660-1850', in *Gender and Christian Religion: Papers Read at the 1996 Summer Meeting and the 1997 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R.N. Swanson, vol. 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 235-271, p. 237.

⁷⁴ Jeremy Gregory, 'Homo Religiosus: Masculinity and Religion in the Long Eighteenth Century', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, (London: Longman, 1999), 85-110, pp. 86-7.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 98-9.

vigour, and quasi-military honour in medieval culture and language.⁷⁶ By the period of this dissertation, the turn towards a more refined masculinity and the gradual trend of the aristocratic class becoming less defined by and enamoured with martial valour and battlefield heroics culminated in the loss of much of the tradition of warfare that had previously structured the time and lifestyle of the aristocracy.⁷⁷ William III's efforts professionalising the army accelerated this trend. Connell explains that military prowess was increasingly linked to nationalism rather than seen within the ideological framework that governed the medieval European knight who had treated combat as a test of honour.⁷⁸ The loss of this warfare tradition and the increasing refinement of the gentry meant that the core of elite masculinity was altered to place greater emphasis on manners and civility than on rougher, more boorish male pursuits.

These three parallel themes indicate that the reign of William III sat in the middle of a period of transition and revision. In many ways, these themes prefigured another prominent alternative setting of masculinity that was in its fledgling stages—polite society. Classically articulated by the likes of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele during the reign of Queen Anne, Augustan-era politeness would be fully realised in the years succeeding this dissertation. This polite, refined, 'modern' model of masculinity was, in part, a reaction against Restoration libertinism. As Philip Carter notes in *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (2002), although critics believed politeness endangered traditional values, advocates of politeness instead converted and realigned attributes like sense, self-control, and courage with new standards of refined manhood.⁷⁹ As an influential discourse of masculine ideals based on participation in public society, the late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century appeal of politeness came from softening and improving social relations.⁸⁰ Long-eighteenth-century politeness was an important non-domestic discourse of masculinity and has received considerable attention from historians.⁸¹ Yet, as this dissertation will show, there were other significant non-

⁷⁶ Christopher Fletcher, 'The Whig Interpretation of Masculinity? Honour and Sexuality in Late Medieval Manhood', in *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, eds. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 57-75, pp. 63-69.

⁷⁷ Jennifer A. Low, *Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 3, Thomas, *Ends of Life*, pp. 62-6.

⁷⁸ Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 189.

⁷⁹ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 2.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 210-11.

⁸¹ The historiography of politeness is extensive. Particularly notable works include: Michèle Cohen "'Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830', *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005), 312-329. Markku Peltonen, 'Politeness and Whiggism, 1688-1732', *Historical Journal* 48, no. 2 (2005), 391-414. Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Paul Langford, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 12 (2002), 311-331.

domestic discourses of masculinity that have received considerably less scholarly attention. Whereas polite masculinity took root mainly in urban spheres at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the settings of masculinity this dissertation examines developed in both urban and rural environments. Although a fully articulated polite discourse failed to materialise in this dissertation's source base, nevertheless, male homosociality—crucial to the refined, public man of the early eighteenth century—surfaced in each setting and the importance of social recognition remained ever-present in the background. Thus, positioned between 'hard' and 'soft' understandings of masculinity, William's reign connected many seventeenth-century understandings of masculinity to a variety of discourses that shifted and evolved in the eighteenth century.

IV. Sources of Norms and Agency

With work on masculinity beginning in earnest in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the cultural turn of the humanities has been particularly influential on how masculinity has been studied. However, as recently as 2011, in his examination of masculinity historiography, John Tosh argued that research has focused on meaning and representation, rather than agency, for too long.⁸² This is the result of what Tosh believes is the subordination of practice to representation.⁸³ He attributes much of this subordination to the impact and influence of Joan Scott. Although Tosh admires Scott for shifting the focus of gender studies to power relations, he claims that she defined power in cultural terms, which disconnected power from practice. Therefore, much of the work on masculinity after the cultural turn of the 1990s fixated on cultural codes rather than action or events.⁸⁴

Harvey and Shepard argue that the history of masculinity as a sub-discipline needs more analysis on subjective experience and how individuals and groups related to these

Rosemary Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 12 (2002), 355-374. Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). For a 2002 historiographical review of politeness see: Lawrence E. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (December 2002), 869-898.

⁸² John Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?', in *What Is Masculinity?: Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, eds. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 17-34, p. 18.

⁸³ Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity', p. 52.

⁸⁴ Tosh, 'History of Masculinity', pp. 22-4.

cultural codes.⁸⁵ A return to the examination of social practice and agency is needed, at least in part, as both cultural constructions and social practices require consideration to flesh out the historical picture. Thus, this dissertation seeks a middle ground between representation and experience. To that end, the masculine identities investigated in this dissertation are examined by analysing both the gendered experience of men as portrayed in autobiographical writing and the norms, discourses, and expectations that were inculcated by conduct literature. Such an approach reveals that masculine identity developed out of the process through which individuals negotiated everyday practice, social expectations, and cultural prescriptions. Studies of masculinity are ultimately about relating and relationships, not only to other men and women but also to socio-cultural ideals.

As Robert Shoemaker explains, although it is impossible to know the influence conduct literature had on how men and women behaved, the repetition of gender virtues must have impacted the reader in some way.⁸⁶ The extent of conduct literature readership is also unknown, yet the powerful norms this literature prescribed both reflected and informed discursive standards and expectations. Catherine Armstrong stresses that books were 'social, religious and economic conduits' for ideas and beliefs.⁸⁷ Thus, the normative literature explained to the reader what it is to be a man. Uncovering how men negotiated their masculine identity in light of the norms in conduct literature—whether it assured them, caused them anxiety, or never even registered as a concern—helps to reconcile the social and cultural strands of history.

According to Michael Mascuch, human sciences from the mid-1980s onwards have increasingly appreciated the roles that narrative and autobiography play in identity construction.⁸⁸ Grounded upon men's experience recorded in their own words, this dissertation uses diaries, journals, autobiographies, memoirs, letters transcribed into personal notebooks, and other autobiographical sources to illustrate how men negotiated

⁸⁵ Harvey and Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity?', p. 277.

⁸⁶ Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, p. 310.

⁸⁷ Catherine Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 21.

⁸⁸ Michael Mascuch, 'Social Mobility and Middling Self-Identity: The Ethos of British Autobiographers, 1600-1750', *Social History* 20, no. 1 (January 1995), 45-61, p. 48. For discussions on identity and self-writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see: Jerrold E. Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Cambridge: Polity, 1997). Robert H. Bell, *The Rise of Autobiography in the Eighteenth Century: Ten Experiments in Literary Genre - Augustine, Bunyan, Rousseau, Locke, Hume, Franklin, Gibbon, Sterne, Fielding, Boswell* (Edwin Mellen Press: Lewiston, New York, 2012).

prescriptions and stereotypes. Importantly, as Margaret Hunt notes of the late seventeenth century, for the first time, the middling sorts of people joined those of elite status in producing large numbers of personal documents.⁸⁹ Edited, shaped, and selected by their writers, these sources grant the historian access to the construction of the private intellectual and emotional self.⁹⁰ Examining gender in English autobiographical writing, Felicity Nussbaum argues that in the eighteenth-century ‘identity and character are in particular crisis, and autobiographical writing often sparks nonhegemonic concepts about the self as well as new hegemonies in formation. An analysis of eighteenth-century self-biography, then, provides one pragmatic and local means of addressing these problems of identity.’⁹¹ Autobiographical writings helped their writer to come to terms with their anxieties as well as to steady their sense of self amid the vicissitudes of life.⁹²

To be sure, these writings could be as much of a performance as public action. Stuart Sherman points out that the writer was necessarily different from the ‘I’ who experienced the reported action.⁹³ This inherently raises questions of typicality and reliability. Yet, given that diaries, journals, and memoirs are social texts and their writer could expect them to be read (published or not), autobiographical sources produced discourses of self-fashioned identity that were inherently influenced by socio-cultural ideologies. Hannah Barker writes, ‘In depicting individual aspirations to a manly ideal, diaries can show us not just how men were, but how they wished to be.’⁹⁴ This can be unrepresentative of reality since autobiographers were writing—consciously or not—for an audience, whether it be their future self, their contemporaries, or posterity. However, because each autobiographical source was prepared for an actual or imagined audience, the discourse it portrays must necessarily reflect the setting and situation of its writer.⁹⁵ Thus, Nussbaum proposes that autobiography offered a space for individuation while also

⁸⁹ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, p. 9.

⁹⁰ Steven E. Ozment, *Ancestors: The Loving Family in Old Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 106-7. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns, ‘Introduction’, in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, eds. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 9-21, pp. 13-4.

⁹¹ Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. xiv.

⁹² Gabriele Rippl, ‘“Merit, Justice, Duty, Fidelity”: Images of Masculinity in Autobiographies of Early Modern English Gentlewomen and Aristocrats’, in *Constructions of Masculinity in British Literature from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Stefan Horlacher (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 69-87, p. 71.

⁹³ Stuart Sherman, ‘Diary and Autobiography’, in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660-1780*, ed. John Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 649-672, p. 658.

⁹⁴ Hannah Barker, ‘Soul, Purse and Family: Middling and Lower-Class Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Manchester’, *Social History* 33, no. 1 (February 2008), 12-35, p. 15.

⁹⁵ Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self*, pp. 16-18.

encouraging its writer to locate themselves within existing social relations.⁹⁶ Catriona Kennedy suggests that if viewed as a mould shaped by literary conventions rather than a 'malleable receptacle', autobiographical writings help connect the private self to the collective reality, which then has the potential to reveal wider class, gender, religious, and occupational identities.⁹⁷

The ultimate goal of this dissertation is to investigate how men performed and negotiated masculinity in accordance with the normative expectations and cultural ideals of each setting. Many masculine standards were problematic—independence and autonomy, for example, were two central values that were difficult to achieve—which means that the autobiographical source material is replete with the contradictions and compromises that constituted the realities of life. All autobiographical sources included in this study were written in or detail events that took place between 1689 and 1702. These sources have not necessarily been ignored by previous research. However, on the whole, the gendered experience they depict has not been examined at any great length. Likewise, because it is outside of the scope of this project to determine with absolute certainty what was read, any normative literature published or reprinted after 1680 until 1702 is considered here. While this dissertation discusses the normative ideals portrayed by what could be classified as 'conduct', 'courtesy', 'didactic', 'prescriptive', or 'advice' literature, as well as the normative weight of everyday practice, what it does not examine is the caricatures presented in popular culture. There are two reasons for this. First, adding sources like newspapers, plays, broadsides, and other forms of ephemera constitutes an extensive additional source base that precludes the necessary selectivity of a dissertation. Second, as Richard Grassby explains of the theatre, popular sources that are meant to entertain are more likely to reveal the personality of the author than consistently reflect social attitudes.⁹⁸

V. Settings and Chapters

The settings of masculinity considered in this dissertation were by no means the only alternatives to domestic masculinity, nor do they necessarily involve the largest number of participants. However, these alternative masculinities appear most frequently in

⁹⁶ Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject*, p. xxi.

⁹⁷ Catriona Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experiences in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 32.

⁹⁸ Richard Grassby, *The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 36.

surviving autobiographical sources from the period. Each chapter asks how men, as individuals and in cohorts, experienced each setting and how, if at all, they engaged with the directives in normative literature. To be sure, a man's identity was not fixed or unitary; to borrow a phrase from Linda Colley, 'identities are not like hats' in that people can wear more than one at a time.⁹⁹ Identities were adopted and adapted by individuals at particular times in particular places. Therefore, an individual can exercise masculinity in accordance with the varying normative discourses available to him—as was the case when the devoutly religious Scottish Calvinist Lt. Col. John Blackadder was encamped with his army regiment—or can move fluidly among a variety of settings at different stages of his life, as illustrated by Thomas Papillon, a merchant and politician. Likewise, although the gentry are not examined in their role as patriarch of the household, 'gentlemen' nevertheless appear in each chapter when performing the roles associated with each setting. These settings—a term used to denote a spatial, institutional, and/or mental context or environment—were not themselves monolithic, but rather encompass shared common experiences.

Christian masculinity, the subject of Chapter One, was the most pervasive masculine identity because everyday life was typically viewed through the lens of Christianity and infused with religious concerns, experiences, and understandings. Christian precepts dominated later seventeenth-century normative literature, which offered advice on how to live a moral life. Examples include many different penny-bibles and conduct books that contained specific prayers and instructions aimed at all levels of society that could read or would be read to, from military men to sons to politicians.¹⁰⁰ Among other things, conduct books focused on men's relationship with God, sobriety, benevolence, moral conduct, and Christian association. This chapter draws upon normative literature written by churchmen, such as Richard Allestree, Jacques Goussault and Mark Hildesley, and analyses the ego-documents left by the likes of Rev. Rowland Davies, Rev. Matthew Henry, and Elias Pledger.¹⁰¹ The ability to conform to the normative

⁹⁹ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging The Nation 1707-1837* (London: Vintage, 1996), p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ For example: *The Christian Soldier's Penny Bible. Shewing From the Holy Scriptures, the Soldier's Duty and Encouragement* (London: R. Smith, 1693). *Member of the Athenian Society, The Souldiers Manual, Or, Directions, Prayers, and Ejaculations for such as Lead a Military Life* (London: I. Dawks, 1694). Josiah Dare, *Counsellor Manners His Last Legacy to His Son* (London: E. Gough, 1673). *The Character of a Good Man, Neither Whig nor Tory* (London: Jonathen Robinson, 1681).

¹⁰¹ Richard Allestree, *The Whole Duty of Man... With Private Devotions for Several Occasions, Ordinary and Extraordinary* (Dublin: Ed. and J. Exshaw, 1748). Jacques Goussault, *Advice to Young Gentlemen, in Their Several Conditions of Life* (London: Tho. Leigh, 1698). Mark Hildesley, *Religio Jurisprudensis, Or, The Lawyer's Advice to His Son: In Counsels, Essays, and Other Miscellanies* (London: J. Harrison and R. Taylor, 1685). Rowland Davies, *Journal of the Very Rev. Rowland Davies, LL.D. Dean of Ross*, ed. Richard Caulfield (London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1838). Matthew Henry, *Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings of the*

expectations of religious masculinity represented the greatest challenge for reconciling everyday behaviour to the prescriptions portrayed in conduct books because of the importance placed on avoiding vice and immorality. Despite the pervasiveness of religious literature and its dominance as a subject matter, many autobiographical sources elucidate the monumental struggle of living a devout life in an increasingly public, social, and modern world.

Public service and government is the subject of Chapter Two. Calls for serving the public good were frequent in conduct and courtesy literature because both formal, institutionalised power and subtle, informal power—such as reputation, acclaim, and public approval—strengthened masculinity. The normative literature that conditioned public service was steeped in language that appealed to civic virtue and moral character, which reflected both classical republican and Christian understandings of political masculinity. Highlighting the importance of honour amongst the gentry, Anthony Fletcher, for example, notes the importance that the gentry placed on acting as commissioners of the peace, sheriffs, and lieutenants in local government to gain reputation and prestige for service to the crown.¹⁰² Local and national politicians such as Roger Whitley, James Yonge, and Richard Cocks illustrated the political and masculine hierarchies of the time through their efforts to exert power via public administration and courtly influence.¹⁰³ As the party system continued to develop throughout the 1690s men increasingly identified themselves and their enemies as either ‘Whig’ or ‘Tory’. These political labels carried increasing weight as one of many group memberships that defined one’s identity.

The military is the subject of Chapter Three. Despite the importance of the military to perceptions of national strength and character, only relatively recently have historians, such as Matthew McCormack and Jennine Hurl-Eamon, begun to consider the masculinity of military men in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁰⁴ McCormack

Rev. Matthew Henry, ed. John Bickerton Williams (Boston: Pierce & Williams, 1830). Elias Pledger, ‘Elias Pledger Diary’, London, UK, Dr. Williams’s Library, MS.28.4.

¹⁰² Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, pp. 145-53.

¹⁰³ Roger Whitley’s *Diary 1684-1697 Bodleian Library, Ms Eng Hist C 711*, ed. Michael Stevens and Honor Lewington ([s.l.], 2004), *British History Online*, [<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/roger-whitley-diary/1684-97>]. James Yonge, *The Journal of James Yonge (1647-1721)*; Plymouth Surgeon, ed. Frederick Noël Lawrence Poynter (London: Longmans, 1963). John Knatchbull, ‘Diary of John Knatchbull’, London, Manuscript Collections. British Library, Add MS 52924. John Knatchbull, ‘Typescript of Diary of Sir John Knatchbull (2nd Baronet), Covering the Period Dec 1687-Mar 1690’, Maidstone, UK, Kent History and Library Centre, U951/F46.

¹⁰⁴ Matthew McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century: ‘The Girl I Left Behind Me’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Jennine Hurl-Eamon, ‘Youth in the Devil’s Service, Manhood in the King’s: Reaching Adulthood in the Eighteenth-Century British Army’, *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 8, no. 2 (Spring 2015), 163-190. See also: Ann Hughes, *Gender and the*

argues that war offers the historian the best chance to reconnect cultural history with the material and psychological aspects of masculinity.¹⁰⁵ Despite cultural representations of debauched stereotypes, the subjective experience of the military as portrayed in the surviving autobiographical accounts suggests that there was much overlap between notions of military masculinity and the religious masculinity examined in Chapter One. The army and navy defended the 'true religion' against the Catholic French. Normative literature included titles such as *The Character of a True Protestant English Souldier* (1689) and *Religio Militis, or, The Moral Duty of a Soldier* (1690).¹⁰⁶ Notions of earning honour and glory through battlefield courage continued to exist, but shifted towards doing so for the distinct purpose of king and country rather than out of the need to seek glory for glory's sake, at least in the conduct literature. The autobiographical sources of John Stevens, Thomas Bellingham, and George Carleton demonstrate that performance, religion, and sociable comportment remained vital to these men.¹⁰⁷

Using terms such as commercial men, businessmen, or 'monied interest', Chapter Four examines the identity and evaluative framework of men who actively worked to accumulate wealth by buying, selling, dealing, speculating, and producing. The gendered experience of men in business in early modern Britain remains mostly unexplored despite the fact that increased production and consumption in the long eighteenth century was pivotal to Britain becoming one of the most powerful nations on the globe. Moreover, the innovations of the so-called Financial Revolution and a growing entrepreneurial spirit profoundly impacted the lives of commercial men. Connell proposes that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commercial capitalism fostered new types of men and forms of masculine work.¹⁰⁸ This setting was informed by both how-to books that taught specific skills, such as *Englands Golden Treasury, or, The True Vade Mecum* (1694) and *Comes Commercii; Or, The Trader's Companion* (1699), and more general normative literature that advocated honest accumulation, avoiding idleness, acting dependably, and diligently

English Revolution (London: Routledge, 2012). Robert A. Nye, "Western Masculinities in War and Peace", *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 2 (April 2007), 417-438. Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity', p. 308.

¹⁰⁵ McCormack, *Embodying the Militia*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ *The Character of a True Protestant English Souldier; With That of a Doublet-Pinking Bully-hec. or, a Cowardly-Spirited Animal, Who dares not Venture his Life in the Service of his Country* (London: E.W., 1689). C. B., *Religio Militis, Or, The Moral Duty of a Soldier* (London: H.C., 1690).

¹⁰⁷ John Stevens, *The Journal of John Stevens, Containing a Brief Account of the War in Ireland, 1689-1691*, ed. Robert H. Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912). Thomas Bellingham, *Diary of Thomas Bellingham, an Officer under William III*, ed. Anthony Hewitson (Preston: G. Toulmin & Sons, 1908). George Carleton, *The Memoirs of Captain George Carleton, and The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies* (D.A. Talboys, 1840).

¹⁰⁸ Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 188.

safeguarding the credit network.¹⁰⁹ These commercial virtues conditioned the lives of businessmen such as the overseas merchant Samuel Heathcote and the rural trader and part-time financier Samuel Jeake.¹¹⁰ In turn, a reputation for adhering to these commercial virtues informed the honour of the commercial man, which established his creditworthy status.

The last setting to be examined is the world beyond the British Isles. Besides the fact that significantly more men than women emigrated, sailed, and worked as merchant factors abroad, trade and colonisation were distinctly masculine affairs. While the normative literature for this setting was scarcer, literature aimed at sailors and traders, such as *The Character and Qualifications of an Honest Loyal Merchant* (1686) and *The Seaman's Monitor* (1701), and colonists, such as *Abraham in Arms* (1678) and *The Planter's Speech to His Neighbours* (1684), illustrated themes of adventure, danger, military prowess, industry, and temperance.¹¹¹ In the American colonies, pioneer societies that included men such as Samuel Sewall, Captain Lawrence Hammonds, and Cotton Mather were comparatively perilous and militarised due to the supposed 'savagery' of the natives and the absence of rigid, well-established hierarchies and long-standing authoritative institutions.¹¹² Likewise, men employed by trading companies, such as Henry Maundrell and William Daniel, evaluated their masculinity in relation to unfamiliar local circumstances and foreign and exotic 'Others'.¹¹³ Despite the extremities

¹⁰⁹ Englands *Golden Treasury, Or, The True Vade Mecum* (London: T. Lacy, 1694). Edward Hatton, *Comes Commercii; Or, The Trader's Companion* (London: J.H., 1699). For example: Richard Steele, *The Trades-Man's Calling Being a Discourse Concerning the Nature, Necessity, Choice, &c. of a Calling in General* (London: J.D., 1684). Isaac Barrow, *Of Industry, in Five Discourses* (London: J.H., 1693). William De Britaine, *Humane Prudence, Or, The Art by Which a Man May Raise Himself and Fortune to Grandeur* (London: John Lawrence, 1682). Thomas Tryon, *England's Grandeur, and Way to Get Wealth Or, Promotion of Trade Made Easy and Lands Advanced* (London: J. Harris and G. Conyers, 1699). William Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims Relating to the Conduct of Human Life* (London: Thomas Northcott, 1693).

¹¹⁰ Samuel Heathcote, 'Notebook of Samuel Heathcote', Winchester, Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, 63M84/235. Samuel Jeake, *An Astrological Diary of the Seventeenth Century: Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1652-1699*, eds. Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

¹¹¹ *The Character and Qualifications of an Honest Loyal Merchant* (London: Robert Roberts, 1686). Josiah Woodward, *The Seaman's Monitor: Wherein Particular Advice Is given to Sea-Faring-Men, with Reference to Their Behaviour* (London: W. Haws, 1701). Samuel Nowell, *Abraham in Arms; or The First Religious General with His Army Engaging in a War for Which He Had Wisely Prepared, and by Which, Not Only an Eminent Victory Was Obtained, but a Blessing Gained Also* (Boston: John Foster, 1678). Thomas Tryon, *The Planter's Speech to His Neighbours & Country-Men of Pennsylvania, East & West Jersey and to All such as Have Transported Themselves into New-Colonies for the Sake of a Quiet Retired Life* (London: Andrew Sowle, 1684).

¹¹² Samuel Sewall, *Diary of Samuel Sewall. 1674-1729*, Vols. 1-2 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1878). Lawrence Hammond, *Diary Kept by Capt. Lawrence Hammond*, ed. Samuel Green (Cambridge, Mass.: J. Wilson and Son, 1892). Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1724* (Boston: Plimpton Press, 1911).

¹¹³ Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Theater, 1732). William Daniel, *A Journal of William Daniel, His Late Expedition or Undertaking to Go from London to Surrat* (London, 1702).

of the geographic periphery and accusations of cultural estrangement, the men who lived or spent time away from Britain in the overseas territories of influence considered themselves to be British. Accordingly, this setting serves as a case study for how British men abroad—who were conditioned by Old World values and norms—understood their identity in relation to alien climates, places, and peoples.

The settings of religion, public service and government, the military, commerce, and the geographic periphery highlight the connection (or disconnection) between men's lived experience, self-image, and the evaluative framework by which they were measured. Along with some overlaps and shared themes across settings, men's reputation and honour in each setting were freighted with distinct norms, constrained by different ideological forces, and tested through context-specific experiences. Reputation and honour, ill-defined yet integral components of masculine identity, were comprised of deep-seated and enduring values such as independence, morality, security, rationality, self-control, plain dealing, virtue, and character—values expressed in different guises in these settings by men of various social statuses. Similarly, shared fears of corruptions and vices—luxury, effeminacy, dependence, and disorderliness—were freighted with related, yet different, setting-specific connotations. Although this dissertation privileges men who could write, thus sadly overlooking the labouring poor who often could not, the range of men considered here, nevertheless, is diverse in ways that significantly impacted their social practices and written records. These men vary widely by occupation, wealth, region, age, and marital status. In consequence, this study explores a variety of masculine categories, activities, and positions, naturally highlighting the range of normative discourses and practices that conditioned what it meant to be a man. Therefore, this project answers the recent call of historians of masculinity to return to a socio-historical agenda that emphasises narratives of action in conjunction with the normative discourses that shaped and gave meaning to their experiences.

Finally, for the sake of clarity, a few notes on conventions and scope. I am strict in confining myself to the years 1689 to 1702 with a small allowance for the rare straying outside of this chronological time frame. Original spellings have been retained throughout this dissertation, as have the original formatting and style, except in cases where alterations were necessary for clarity. For nineteenth-, twentieth-, and twenty-first-century print editions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century autobiographical sources I retained the published conventions and spellings, being at the mercy of the publication

editor.¹¹⁴ The beginning of the year is regarded as 1 January, although dates follow the 'old style'. This dissertation considers British men before 'Britain'. That is to say, I include sources left by men who originated from Great Britain or were of British heritage. This includes men of England, Wales, Scotland, the American and Caribbean territories, and also (rarely) men born in Ireland if the Irishman resided in Britain. Given that men of middling and elite status could move relatively seamlessly across these territories, such an approach is justified when accounting for men like Sir Richard Steele, who was born in Dublin, rose to literary fame in London, represented parliamentary constituencies for both Hampshire and Yorkshire, and died in Carmarthen, Wales. In *The State Anatomy of Great Britain* (1717) Irish-born philosopher John Toland wrote, 'Tho I commonly use the word *England* in its proper sense, yet I sometimes understand by it all the *British Dominions*'.¹¹⁵ This dissertation imitates Toland's disclaimer.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of the editing practices of early modern diaries and journals see: Dan Doll, "'Like Trying to Fit a Sponge into a Matchbox': Twentieth-Century Editing of Eighteenth-Century Journals', in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, eds. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 211-228.

¹¹⁵ John Toland, *The State Anatomy of Great Britain* (London: John Philips, 1717), p. 46.

Chapter One: Religion¹

British masculinity was easily expressed through adherence to Christian values. In *Compassionate Counsel to All Young Men*, originally published in 1681 and republished in 1691, the controversial church leader and theologian Richard Baxter asked:

Do you know the difference between a man and a Bruit? Bruits have no capacity to think of a God, and a Saviour, and a Life to come, and to know Gods Law, and study Obedience, and fear Hell, and sin, nor reason to rule their Appetites and Lusts, nor any hope or joy in foreseen Glory: But man is made capable of all this: And can you think God maketh such noble faculties in vain?²

Baxter's distinction between animals and humankind, universalised as men, is an important one because to be ruled by 'Appetites and Lusts' was to exist in an unmasculine state. A connection with God and fear of hell thwarted the base need to gratify appetitiveness, distinguishing appropriate and orderly masculinity from disapproved, disordered masculinity. Despite the slowly shifting denominational divisions and gradual increase of religious diversity within Britain, all men regardless of social standing could make straightforward, albeit flexible claims to long-standing masculine standards in the setting of religion on the basis of gendered Christian ideology. As Patricia Crawford notes, everyone in early modern England accepted that men and women had different social functions and believed this was because God made them differently.³ It seems clear that both moralistic writers and diarists considered Christianity to be important to manliness; Jesus was often suggested as an ideal standard for Christian men.⁴ Indeed, Sir Richard Steele's *The Christian Hero: An Argument Proving That No Principles but Those of Religion Are Sufficient to Make a Great Man* (1701) argued that religious faith was the only basis for true heroic masculinity.⁵ Thus, religion offered perhaps the most accessible masculine identity of all non-domestic masculinities examined in this dissertation because Christian moral virtue and religious commitment were integral components of honour.

How men experienced and legitimately expressed religious masculinity was directly tied to the religious trends of the 1690s. The years 1689 to 1702 were a period in which the established Church and the role of the laity underwent a momentous reconsideration, if not substantial change. Following the 1689 Toleration Act, low

¹ For the sake of clarity any reference to the 'established Church' denotes both the Church of England and the Church of Scotland.

² Richard Baxter, *Compassionate Counsel to All Young Men Especially I. London Apprentices, II. Students of Divinity, Physick, and Law, III. the Sons of Magistrates and Rich Men* (London: T.S., 1681), p. 69.

³ Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England 1500-1720* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 6.

⁴ William Van Reyk, 'Christian Ideals of Manliness in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 4 (December 2009), 1053-1073, p. 1056.

⁵ Gregory, 'Homo Religiosus', p. 92.

churchmen were willing to cooperate with laymen and Dissenters in activities like charity and education; however, the majority of Anglican churchmen took a tougher stance, wanting strict conformity.⁶ In Scotland, Episcopalians and Presbyterians struggled for control of the Church of Scotland. Reacting to the supposed debauched manners and immorality of the Restoration era, William and Mary undertook and endorsed moral reform, the framework of which was prepared by popular resistance to James II's 1687 Declaration of Indulgences.⁷

The 1689 Toleration Act preserved the dominance of the established Church by exempting Dissenters from the penalties of the Clarendon Code and earlier penal laws, rather than providing for actual general toleration or full citizenship.⁸ Although the second-class status of Protestant Nonconformists continued, nevertheless, the act began the remodelling of relations between the laity, church, and state and laid the foundation for larger societal changes.⁹ While the number of Dissenters was small—Jacob estimates as few as 5.6 per cent in the early eighteenth century—their impact was disproportionate to their numbers.¹⁰ Anglicans feared the influence of Dissenters, but most people recognised (some reluctantly) that some level of freedom of religious belief was indefinite.¹¹ The otherwise unprecedented—dare I say 'modern'—competition from rival dissenting ministers meant that the Church was forced to strategise to keep Nonconformists within the fold, which helped to partially explain the predominance of low-church proclivities and increasingly tolerant attitudes.¹² John Spurr describes the Restoration period broadly as a 'picture of fluidity' that resulted in adaptation and

⁶ John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2006), p. 205.

⁷ Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 65-8.

⁸ Gordon J. Schochet, 'From Persecution to "Toleration"', in *Liberty Secured? Britain Before and After 1688*, ed. J.R. Jones (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 122-157, p. 152.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 155-6.

¹⁰ W.M. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 6.

¹¹ Jacob, *Lay People and Religion*, p. 6. Spurr, *The Post-Reformation*, pp. 208-11. Alan Houston and Steve Pincus, 'Introduction. Modernity and Later-Seventeenth-Century England', in *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration*, eds. Alan Houston and Steve Pincus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-19, p. 14.

¹² John Walsh and Stephen Taylor, 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', in *The Church of England c. 1689-c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1-64, p. 16. Jeremy Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 17. Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 429.

mediation between what the churchmen and the laity both desired from their religion.¹³ This process would impact how men performed their Christian gender roles.

Julian Hoppit argues that Christianity also 'had a prominent role in defining public morality and in providing ways of conceptualizing wealth creation and political authority.'¹⁴ The British identified their cultural-political community as a Protestant nation and believed that the nation's moral character was integral to success and liberty. Britain was another, better Israel that was bound to undergo trials but from which God would secure deliverance.¹⁵ A desire to ensure the divine protection and Providence of their nation and society underpinned religious devotion. If the population strayed from the path of righteousness the people expected to suffer as individuals and as a corporate body. In a 1700 sermon Bishop Gilbert Burnet, one of William III's few English confidants, proclaimed, 'If Sins grow National, and are avowedly practised without Shame or Check, they will probably be put to the account of the whole Nation, and so they may draw down National Judgments, from which we have no reason to expect an Exemption, if we do not except our selves, by doing our duty in order to their correction'.¹⁶ Avoiding sin and performing one's religious duty informed honourable manhood. William Anstruther declared, 'As the Righteous Man is the Man of Honour, so he is also the great support, the strength and the Bulwark of his Nation'.¹⁷ Each man's Christian virtue added to the honour of the nation as a whole. Therefore, it was the responsibility of citizens and rulers alike to ensure God's favour.

The importance of religiosity to individuals, and the consequences it was thought to have on national prosperity and success, evolved along with developments in print and autobiography. After the Licensing of the Press Act lapsed in 1695, the explosion of cheaper and more readily available reading material led to the growth of a diverse range of religious publications procurable by the middling and lower sorts.¹⁸ This increase in cheaper, readily available print material furthered the dissemination of the Protestant Reformation to those of lesser means by making theology and religious prescriptions more broadly accessible through English versions of the Bible, abridgements of the *Book*

¹³ John Spurr, 'The Lay Church of England', in *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714*, ed. Grant Tapsell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 101-124, p. 105.

¹⁴ Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty?: England, 1689-1727* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), p. 207.

¹⁵ Colley, *Britons*, p. 30.

¹⁶ Gilbert Burnet, *Charitable Reproof: A Sermon Preached at the Church of St. Mary-Le-Bow to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, the 25th of March, 1700* (London: Ri. Chiswell, 1700), pp. 9-10.

¹⁷ William Anstruther, *Essays, Moral and Divine* (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1701), p. 167.

¹⁸ Jeremy Gregory, 'Anglicanism and the Arts: Religion, Culture and Politics in the Eighteenth Century', in *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, eds. Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 82-109, pp. 84-6.

of *Common Prayer*, printed sermons, and popular works such as allegories, histories, and conduct books.¹⁹

Although spiritual conduct books and printed sermons had existed since the Reformation, the proliferation of prescriptive literature in the seventeenth century resulted in a steady stream of titles that instructed men on Christian morality, spiritual conduct, and religious faith. *The Whole Duty of Man*, first published anonymously by the Royalist churchman Richard Allestree in 1658 and consistently republished well into the eighteenth century, was one of the most widely read normative works of the period.²⁰ Designed for one chapter to be read each Sunday, *The Whole Duty of Man* was meant to be accessible by all social statuses.²¹ Other titles such as *The Christian Monitor* (1686) by Anglican writer and cleric John Rawlet, *Essays, Moral and Divine* (1701) by the Scottish judge and committed unionist William Anstruther, and *Practical Discourse Upon Several Divine Subjects* (1691) by Cambridge Platonist and country parson John Norris also explained what a Christian man should be, emphasising improving oneself through God and moral and spiritual activities. Although churchmen wrote most moralistic literature, a variety of laymen weighed in on religious concerns. This included those who were not of elite or wealthy status, such as Wapping clothier Norris Purslow, who noted in his diary that he wrote on ideas about election, reprobation, hireling priests, baptism, and Predestination throughout the 1690s.²² Regardless of author, the pervasiveness of religion meant that most normative literature touched upon God and Christian morality to some extent even if that was not the primary subject matter.

Many of the basic religious precepts carried meaning for men and women. Piety and religiousness were important to notions of approved masculinity and approved femininity. Religious prescriptions carried both shared and different ideological freight for each gender. There were a number of common elements to male and female piety, such as reading moralistic literature, self-reflective writing diary-keeping, thanking Providence, and daily prayers.²³ Yet doctrinal debates were thought to be the exclusive preserve of male theologians, the vast majority of religious literature was written by men, specific devotional literature titles were intended for women, and women's religiosity

¹⁹ Colley, *Britons*, p. 44.

²⁰ Kevin Schürer, "'The Whole Duty of Man': A Seventeenth-Century Conduct Book", *Local Population Studies* 58 (1997), 48-57, p. 48.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Gregory, 'Gender and the Clerical Profession', p. 235. Norris Purslow, 'Astrological Diary of a Wapping Clothier', London, Wellcome Library, MS.4021.

²³ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, pp. 75-86.

was thought to be more emotional and enthusiastic.²⁴ For both men and women, the public acknowledgement of piety and moral virtue was an avenue to bring honour.²⁵ And yet, although men were considered to be the spiritual leaders of the household, for pious women—ideologically restricted to the domestic sphere—the godly ordering of the home and promotion of domestic piety carried particular significance, with wifely obedience, catechising and teaching servants and children (particularly girls), churching newborns, and determining when the family feasted or fasted falling within their remit.²⁶ Men played a role in familial religious concerns but, with men ideologically operating in both ‘public’ and ‘private’ spheres, a man could express his religious masculinity in other meaningful ways. What follows is an examination of how Christian men attempted to reconcile their quotidian experiences with the directives specific to men, as well as the standards portrayed by conduct literature targeted at the population as a whole.

More personal methods of written religious expression came in the form of spiritual diaries and religious biographies. Elaine McKay suggests that ministers espousing the benefits of autobiography as a spiritual exercise are one possible explanation for the growth of diary writing in the latter part of the seventeenth century.²⁷ Michael Mascuch notes that those who were literate had an incentive to translate their spiritual experiences into autobiographical texts. Often prepared from diaries or daily logs, Mascuch suggests that these texts were a means of self-reflection and self-trial that aimed to teach any future readers about Protestant piety.²⁸ Developed as a practice by English Calvinists, men and women used spiritual diaries as a mode of confession and to find spiritual comfort.²⁹ For instance, in October 1694 the religious writer and tradesman Joseph Barret registered the value of spiritual diaries by resolving to ‘endeavour, every Night, before I sleep, more strictly to take account of my frame and carriage in the Day past; And then every Lord's-day I will take a general review of the whole Week, and this in order to my growing every day and Week better then other’.³⁰ Like Barret’s diary, some

²⁴ Ibid., 75, 80, 204.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 91.

²⁶ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, pp. 87-8. Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 32, 153-4.

²⁷ Elaine McKay, ‘English Diarists: Gender, Geography and Occupation, 1500–1700’, *History* 90, no. 298 (April 2005), 191-212, p. 202.

²⁸ Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self*, pp. 65-75.

²⁹ Sherman, ‘Diary and Autobiography’, p. 651. See also: Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self*, pp. 71-96.

³⁰ Joseph Barret, *A Funeral Sermon upon the Death of Mr. Joseph Barrett Son of the Reverend Mr. John Barret, Minister of the Gospel in Nottingham; to Which Is Added an Account of His Holy Life, His Evidences, Experiences, Holy Resolves, Divine Meditations, and His Constant Course of Self-Examination, Being Part of an Exact Diary Written by His Own Hand*, ed. John Whitlock (London: Tho. Parkhurst, 1699), p. 163. The surname ‘Barret’ is sometimes spelt ‘Barrett’.

of the most reflective autobiographical sources considered by this dissertation are confessional. This chapter discusses autobiographical texts by both laymen and clergymen regardless of Protestant affiliation or affinity. Although churchmen bore a number of distinct vocational ideals and were measured against higher religious standards, following the Reformation their norms of masculinity gradually aligned with those of the laity. A variety of Protestant men—from Calvinist John Blackadder to Presbyterian Joseph Barret to Anglican sub-dean Thomas Naish—all converge on a similar set of Christian norms that expose the ‘interior’ and ‘exterior’ performance of masculinity. Yet caution is necessary when reading spiritual autobiography because writers might have been reluctant to include some moments of moral and spiritual weakness.

As Andrew Cambers argues, the religious culture that self-writing projected—and the prayers, sermon notes, history, poetry, and lists of providences that were frequently included—reflects the intersection of the public and private, the ‘internalisation and externalisation’ of the self.³¹ Religious masculinity was expressed through Christian virtue, which varied from inner feelings of piety and faith to public actions such as charity, decent conversation, and regular church attendance. In *A Cap of Grey Hairs for a Green Head, Or, The Fathers Counsel to His Son* (1671), which reached its fifth edition by 1692, minister and schoolmaster Caleb Trenchfield asserted, ‘For thy devoutness toward God. Nothing more ornaments our persons, nor credits our names, then holiness: for though it often expose us to the scorn and derision of naughty men, yet those, while they scoff and deride the good, secretly admire and honor them’.³² As Trenchfield suggested, devoutness was a mark of honour as well as a path towards salvation.

This chapter examines how Christian ideas helped men construct a masculine identity. The value framework of religious masculinity made distinctions among men by differentiating correct masculinity from wayward masculinity. Likewise, Christian manhood was distinguished from non-masculine conditions: beastliness, immaturity, and devilishness. The first section examines how men understood their relationship with God, a reflection of their subjective internalised identity as Christian men. Section Two explores activities that expressed Christian moral virtue, such as church attendance and charity. Section Three investigates immoral activities, such as appetitiveness, false

³¹ Andrew Cambers, ‘Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720’, *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 4 (October 2007), 796-825, p. 802.

³² Caleb Trenchfield, *A Cap of Grey Hairs for a Green Head, Or, The Fathers Counsel to His Son, an Apprentice in London: To Which Is Added a Discourse on the Worth of a Good Name* (London: J.C., 1671), p. 200.

religion, and profanity, which contributed to errant masculinity. Section Four examines popular participation and the nascent religious societies that provided a means for men to publically express their masculinity and assert social control. Finally, this chapter concludes by considering how understandings of religion and male participation changed, if at all, at the turn of the eighteenth century.

I. God's Servants

Anglican and Nonconformist prescriptive writers alike encouraged godliness and private devotion, with much of the literature addressing abstract religious values applicable to both sexes. While some still placed a great emphasis on church attendance and ritual, conduct books were more likely to advocate ecumenical spiritual activities such as honouring, thanking, and finding happiness through God. Belief in God inspired confidence and the realisation of masculine values such as courage, security, self-control, honesty, and strength. Thus, inner feelings and character formed one component of religious masculinity and constituted an important part of what it meant to be a Christian man.

First and foremost, to conform to the ideals laid out for Christian masculinity, all men were 'called of *God* to know and believe in him, to love and serve him, and at length, fully to enjoy him.'³³ In his posthumously published life history, which is part autobiography and part reflective memoir, Quaker preacher John Crook wrote that 'he that thus worships God in the Spirit, his Faith carries him beyond his Performances ... neither falls he short of the Glory of God, nor of his Assurance of Acceptance with him.'³⁴ As Crook suggested, Christian masculinity valued obedience to God. As part of the cultivation of inner security, through God man could find comfort from the pressures and expectations he faced. Equal parts autobiography and prescriptive appeal to follow God's will, Thomas Woodcock's posthumously published life account echoed such sentiment: 'Resignation to the Will of God, is no less a Privilege than a Duty, as every one will find, that makes the blessed Attainment: 'Tis a begun Heaven in the Soul, and makes it calm, amidst all outward Storms; but he that reposes not his Trust and Confidence in God, must

³³ Steele, *The Trades-Man's Calling*, p. 1.

³⁴ John Crook, *A Short History of the Life of John Crook: Containing Some of His Spiritual Travels and Breathings after God, in His Young and Tender Years: Also an Account of Various Temptations Wherewith He Was Exercised, and the Means by Which He Came to Knowledge of the Truth* (London: T. Sowle, 1706), p. 47.

owe very much to his Stupidity'.³⁵ Despite suffering the humiliation of being ejected from his living at St. Andrew Undershaft earlier in his career, Woodcock asserted what many believed, that God actively assisted with daily trials and tribulations. In this manner, a belief in God helped guard men from myriad fears while underpinning their self-identification as a 'Christian man'.

Autobiographical writings of the time sharply reflect contemporary beliefs in personal connections with God. Writing about his time in prison, Crook explained, 'But this Holy Spirit never left me, but in Prisons many times hath made me to sing, and often at the Bar fresh Courage did bring; who by its Virtue Judges hath bound, and envious Witnesses quite confound, that thought the Innocent to destroy; but by this Holy Spirit all turn'd to my Joy'.³⁶ Endowed with courage—a masculine trait—from God, Crook thus overcame the worldly discomfort of confinement. Similarly, Anglican minister Isaac Archer wrote that the 'troubles of the kingdome, and some private ones, were an occasion of putting mee upon a farther pitch of devotion by my selfe; and I find comfort in it ... I find it represseth cares of all sorts to have a God to tell my mind to; and am abundantly satisfied that he answers prayers.'³⁷ Likewise, the travelling Scottish Presbyterian minister James Allan happily wrote, 'Blessed for ever be my God who has this day freed me from all my fears: not some only but *All*'.³⁸ The fostering of internal feelings of courage and comfort in these men evokes the interior dimension of gender—that is, the emotional experience of masculine subjectivity—and the subjective negotiation of a masculine confidence and steadfastness of personality.

Belief in God also affected a man's physical condition by staving off weak health, which helped men return to their robust selves. In September 1691, Nonconformist minister Oliver Heywood noted that he 'was brought so low that many despaired of my life and it was reported in several places that I w[a]s dead' before God 'gradually brought me to my feet' by answering the prayers and private fasts on his behalf.³⁹ Nonconformist farmer Joseph Lister explained that in 1700 he was 'attacked by a most violent fever which was then very fatal in the neighbourhood ... for a week or ten days I was, in the judgment

³⁵ Thomas Woodcock, *An Account of Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of a Private Gentleman: With Reflections Thereon* (London: J. Downing, 1711), p. 8. This work has also been attributed to Daniel Defoe.

³⁶ Crook, *Short History*, p. 44.

³⁷ Isaac Archer, and William Coe, *Two East Anglian Diaries, 1641-1729: Isaac Archer and William Coe*, ed. Matthew Storey, Vol. 36, Suffolk Records Society (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), p. 176.

³⁸ James Allan, *Mr James Allan: The Journey of a Lifetime*, ed. John R. Barrett (Kinloss: Librario, 2004), pp. 143-4.

³⁹ Oliver Heywood, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, ed. Joseph Horsfall Turner, Vol. IV (Brighouse: Bayes, 1881), p. 141.

of almost all spectators, a gone man ... and yet, at last even to a wonder, God was pleased to rebuke the distemper, and raise me up again.'⁴⁰ Dissenting minister Thomas Jolly later described God's assistance during one journey, 'I had much toyl to my body and sickness at my stomach in this journey also, yet the lord helped me through all and dispatht my business beyond expectation'.⁴¹ As Heywood, Lister, and Jolly indicate, while being in bad health could make a man appear enfeebled, calling on the Lord's assistance and receiving it allowed man to return to his full virile self.

One duty men were expected to perform was to act as God's servants on earth. Reflecting this sense of obedience, Richard Allestree wrote in 1662 that 'God has placed *Man* in the World, not as a *Proprietary*, but a *Steward*'.⁴² Similarly, William De Britaine explained, 'To serve God, and keep his Commandments, is the onely Wisdom, and will at last, when the account of the World shall be cast up, be found to be the best Preferment and highest Happiness: And so farewell; remember your Mortality and Eternal Life.'⁴³ Samuel Heathcote, a merchant, echoed this idea in a letter of advice transcribed into his notebook to his agent, Leonard Gill, before Gill left to conduct business in Gdańsk, Poland, in May 1695. Heathcote wrote, 'As God is the Author of your being And of all you enjoy, or can hope for, And in Whose order alone it is to make you happy or miserable it highly concerns you in the first place to please him, by conscientiously discharging those duties he hath enjoyed you.'⁴⁴ Indeed, by performing their duties to God, men might find fulfilment and true happiness in this life and the next, engendering a level of spiritual security. In turn, as 'God's stewards', by following the will of God men were able actualise a form of Christian masculinity according to norms that expected men to possess religious faith.

Through religious commitment and private devotion men were able to resist unmanly temptations. In *Advice to a Young Lord* (1691), variously attributed to the politician Thomas Fairfax, 5th Lord Fairfax of Cameron, or his father Henry Fairfax, the 4th Lord Fairfax, the author advised, '*Religion*, my dearest Child, is the greatest concern we have upon us in this World, our Eternal happiness in the next depending on it; and for that

⁴⁰ Joseph Lister, *The Autobiography of Joseph Lister, of Bradford in Yorkshire*, ed. Thomas Wright (London: John Russell Smith, 1842), pp. 56-7.

⁴¹ Thomas Jolly, *The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly, A.D. 1671-1693. Extracts from the Church Books of Altham and Wymondhouses, 1649-1725. And an Account of the Jolly Family of Standish, Gorton, and Altham*, ed. Henry Fishwick (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1894), p. 106.

⁴² Richard Allestree, *The Gentleman's Calling* (London: T. Garthwait, 1660), p. 1.

⁴³ De Britaine, *Humane Prudence*, p. 107.

⁴⁴ Hants. RO 63M84/235.

reason ought to be the director of all our Actions.'⁴⁵ Similarly, a significant amount of prescriptive literature claimed that men could find happiness and purpose through religious belief. In *The Christian Monitor*, which went through at least seven editions during the reign of William III, John Rawlet proclaimed, 'O how happy might all sorts of People be ... if they would but become truly Religious and good. It is their own sin and folly, their lusts and passions that occasion most of those troubles and miseries which they meet'.⁴⁶ The Scottish Calvinist Lt. Col. John Blackadder endorsed Rawlet's denunciation of male lust and passion while conducting military business in the winter of 1700-01 in London. A bachelor during the time frame of this dissertation, Blackadder admitted that he was incapable of restraining his 'natural temper': 'I complain, that though well directed in business, better than could be expected, yet I am not thankful. Chagrined at my natural temper; my spirit too sensual, trifling, and carnal ... My life is a struggle, as it were, between faith and corrupt nature'.⁴⁷ Thus, as Blackadder's confession and failure demonstrates, men believed that inner feelings of piety and obedience to God reinforced the ability to control and thwart the primal carnality that perverted approved manhood.

As Blackadder revealed, in practice, fostering spiritual virtue was a fluid process often punctuated by devotional relapses during moments of psychological weakness. Throughout his diary Elias Pledger, a businessman, habitually thanked God and repeatedly explained that he felt 'enlarged' by prayer.⁴⁸ Yet even devoted followers at times questioned their own commitment to God. Struggling spiritually, in July 1692 Pledger wrote, 'I have been ready to Question whether all my Religion is not a show only. Now I am giving to observe another fast to humble my self before God'.⁴⁹ Pledger's moment of doubt was short-lived and he undertook the fast—itself a spirited display of devotion. This entry, and much of Pledger's diary, reflects a typical example of spiritual autobiography, which illustrated the writers' faults and spiritual journey to salvation. Through his admission of doubt and subsequent fast Pledger demonstrated the usefulness of diaries, journals, and autobiographies as confessional instruments that helped men subjectively negotiate their incongruity and the divergences between masculine ideology and practice.

⁴⁵ Thomas Fairfax, Baron Fairfax, *Advice to a Young Lord Written by His Father* (London: R. Baldwin, 1691), p. 13.

⁴⁶ John Rawlet, *The Christian Monitor Containing an Earnest Exhortation to an Holy Life, with Some Directions in Order Thereto* (London: Samuel Tidmarsh, 1686), p. 20.

⁴⁷ John Blackadder, *The Life and Diary of Lieut. Col. J. Blackader*. ed. Andrew Crichton (Edinburgh: H.S. Baynes, 1824), p. 70. The surname 'Blackadder' is sometimes spelt 'Blackader'.

⁴⁸ DWL MS.28.4.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 51.

In a society increasingly driven by the consumption of consumer goods, much prescriptive literature argued that spiritual activities ‘will not lessen the Pleasures of Life but sweeten and make them *solid*; and make them differ from the ... thin, short liv'd delights of the *boysterous* part of the world.’⁵⁰ Elias Pledger acknowledged as much, writing in his notebook in November 1689: ‘I was in a discontented melancholy frame yet was somewhat enlarged in my duties of worship.’⁵¹ As Pledger showed, men could edify themselves and find purpose in life through worship. As this passage suggests, the writers of autobiographical texts often reflected on the ways through which their relationship with God inspired their lives or brought particular moments of joy and happiness. Musing in his autobiography on how he might live his life differently, the bookseller John Dunton declared, ‘The glory of god and the happiness of men are so indissolubly linked together, that there is no parting them; if we miscarry with reference to the one, we infallibly lose the other; so they are not so much to be considered as two, but as one united *end*.’⁵² Through faith, God inspired in men happiness, comfort, and a level of confidence—an important trait of a secure male self-identity.

II. Moral Activities

If piety and inner character were one important component of masculinity, another component was the external display of religiosity and Christian moral virtue. After decades of Puritans preaching that faith alone would lead to salvation, a growing number of post-Restoration churchmen set about restoring morality to religion by encouraging personal righteousness.⁵³ Religious masculinity during this period required performance; conduct literature focused on Christian practices that demonstrated spiritual maturity. Although religious ritual remained essential to daily life for most (if not all) people, seventeenth-century moralistic conduct literature focused more on leading a godly life than adhering to strict ritual and practice. Some of this literature advocated a pious and devout life in conjunction with the practices of the established Church, while other

⁵⁰ Stephen Penton, *The Guardian's Instruction, Or, The Gentleman's Romance. Written for the Diversion and Service of the Gentry; Particularly Those Educated in Cambridge and Oxford* (London, 1697), p. 13.

⁵¹ DWL MS.28.4, fol. 21.

⁵² John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London* (Westminster: J. Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1818), pp. 297-8.

⁵³ John Spurr, “‘Latitudinarianism’ and the Restoration Church”, *The Historical Journal* 31, no. 1 (March 1988), 61-82, pp. 78-80. See also: Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780*, Vol. I. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 25-88.

literature did not. Conduct writers supported a broad understanding of faith and mostly avoided debates over particular theological details. As early as the mid-seventeenth century the merchant and politician George Berkeley, 1st Earl of Berkeley, asked, 'The way to Heaven certainly is not so streight in matters of Opinion as Practice; for what will it advantage to be orthodox in Opinion, and dissolute in Life?'⁵⁴ Likewise, Fairfax explained that 'the best religion is a good Life, and the securest fence against Temptation.'⁵⁵ Pursuits that all Christians might practice included praying privately, reading edifying literature, and performing acts of charity. This section begins with established Church practices, such as fasting, receiving the Eucharist, and attending church, before examining religious activities that could appeal to Christian men of all denominations. This section demonstrates that these actions were freighted with meaning for men as they negotiated their Christian masculine identity through moral endeavours and behaviour. These practices and activities allowed men to play the role of a 'Protestant man'.

Given the small number of people in Britain who identified as Dissenters at the beginning of the eighteenth century, adherence to established Church ceremony still played a significant role in many lives. Although quantitative data is lacking, circumstantial evidence such as clerical diaries suggests that most parishioners still attended church and met, but did not surpass, the minimum expectations—attending service once a week and refraining from work on Sunday.⁵⁶ While church attendance was compulsory for both sexes, at times men were penalised more severely than women for recusancy.⁵⁷ Being seen at church carried normative weight when considering a man's character. The anonymous *Laconics, or New Maxims of State and Conversation* (1701) wryly noted that a 'Man that goes duly to Church, shall be *well* spoken of tho' he has no other *Merit* to recommend him. He that neglects that *Duty* shall be *ill* spoken of tho' he has no other *Fault*.'⁵⁸ Mentions of attending church and its benefits permeate ego-documents. Samuel Heathcote advised his agent in Gdańsk to attend two services at a Dutch Calvinist church each Sunday to gain 'Spiritual Advantages' and improve his language skills. Heathcote insisted that 'the more strickly you keep the Sabbath day, the more successfull

⁵⁴ George Berkeley, Earl of Berkley, *Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations upon Several Subjects Written by a Person of Honour* (London: J. Flesher, 1667), p. 100.

⁵⁵ Fairfax, *Advice to a Young Lord*, p. 14.

⁵⁶ W.M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680-1840* (Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 173. Donald Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 188.

⁵⁷ Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 31.

⁵⁸ *Laconics: Or, New Maxims of State and Conversation. Relating to the Affairs and Manners of the Present Times* (London: Thomas Hodgson, 1701), p. 17.

you will be in your Secular affairs the weeke following And so the contrary.’⁵⁹ Church attendance could serve as a mark of piety and character. In his autobiography, John Dunton often praised his contemporaries for their regular church attendance and devotion. One example is a Mr. Herrick, of whom Dunton wrote, ‘His attendance at Church is devout and constant; yet his zeal has nothing of phrenzy and passion (which is too common in this age); he manages with prudence and decency in the midst of Religious Worship, and always keeps within the bounds of Religion and Reason.’⁶⁰ However, although praiseworthy, not everyone believed that attending church was a full, accurate indication of active religious participation or scrupulous devotion. *Laconics* suggested that ‘we should not Measure *Men* by Sundays, without regarding what they do all the *Week* after.’⁶¹

Another way in which men might actively ‘perform’ was by taking communion and observing national fasts. Receiving communion was a special occasion to be solemnised. Taking communion in August 1690, Isaac Archer recorded in his diary that he said a special prayer for the nation's deliverance, writing, ‘At this sacrament I begged of God deliverance of this church and nation from warres and dangers! and that we may be a praise in the earth! that he would heare his people's cries, and Christ's intercession for us in this day of distresse! Amen!’⁶² Yet Donald Spaeth has argued that attitudes towards communion were complex and, although it was infrequently given, many villagers were hesitant to receive communion if they believed that they or their community were too sinful.⁶³ Therefore, receiving communion was a normative expectation for men (and women) and to decline this religious act was to signal waywardness.

Similar to receiving communion, fasts also played a highly complex role in religious lives and offered participants the opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to God. During the reign of William and Mary, Bishop Burnet and the Queen seem to have increased the number of national fasts and days of thanksgiving to demonstrate monarchical concern for the spiritual welfare of their subjects.⁶⁴ In his notebook Thomas Jolly wrote, ‘As on other occasions soe on this publique fast the lord did help above ordinary, I could not think in an ordinary way how my body soe worn out should fast from

⁵⁹ Hants. RO 63M84/235.

⁶⁰ Dunton, *Life and Errors*, p. 233.

⁶¹ *Laconics*, p. 17.

⁶² Archer, *Two East Anglian Diaries*, p. 177.

⁶³ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p. 188.

⁶⁴ Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 105.

tasting any food above 24 houres and bee in publique exercise 5 of those houres.’⁶⁵ As Jolly showed, abstaining from food for one day was a stiff test of religious commitment. Nationally, fasts were as much a display of commitment to God as to the nation with many fast days devoted to British efforts in the Nine Years’ War. Dissenting minister Edmund Calamy noted in his diary that these were ‘generally speaking, observed very regularly, to implore the divine blessing in order to the success of our forces.’⁶⁶ Despite fasts being an opportunity for all practising Protestants to participate in a show of national religiosity, not all did. On one fast day in 1692, Isaac Archer searched the alehouses for non-participants, which ‘did exasperate some of them’ against him.⁶⁷ Others might choose to ignore fast days as a protest. Quaker activist and writer Luke Howard, in a published address to his children explaining his resistance to Anglicanism, wrote, ‘I never kept any of their Fast-Days, no not the Monthly Fasts in *Oliver Cromwel*’s day and time; nor ever since in any Raign, no nor any Days Commanded by Man; but opened my Shop and Worked as a Witness against them all Root and Branch, to be denied for ever’.⁶⁸ Invoking a principled steadfastness, while many men fasted, Howard did not. By ignoring a national fast Howard showed that the masculine identity of a Christian involved some level of personal mediation between written norms, group discourse, and the individual.

Two practices about which all religious denominations agreed were the importance of actively communicating with God through prayer and spending time in spiritual reflection. In *Moral Essays and Discourses* (1690), Francis Boyle, 1st Viscount Shannon, explained the importance of religious introspection. He wrote:

A Pious, Contemplative Man, never endures the great Danger, and common trouble of idleness, because he dayly entertains, and diverts himself in Holy Contemplations; he considers the Momentary Falseness of all the Delights and Vanities here on Earth, and of the Blessed Comforts, and Eternity of Felicities, that the good Christian may expect, and will possess in Heaven.⁶⁹

Importantly, Shannon connects prayer and pious thought to the rejection of unmanly characteristics, such as idleness and luxury (‘vanities’). In his autobiographical account, Thomas Woodcock noted the relationship between prayer and happiness, claiming that ‘Happy is the Man that practically understands these Three blessed Duties; of Watchfulness, Prayer, and Dependence: Such a one will seldom be foil’d; for God certainly

⁶⁵ Jolly, *Note Book*, p. 100.

⁶⁶ Edmund Calamy, *An Historical Account of My Own Life, with Some Reflections on the Time I Have Lived In*. Vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1829), p. 300.

⁶⁷ Archer, *Two East Anglian Diaries*, p. 178.

⁶⁸ Luke Howard, *Love and Truth in Plainness Manifested* (London: T. Sowle, 1704), p. 32.

⁶⁹ Francis Boyle, Viscount Shannon, *Moral Essays and Discourses, upon Several Subjects, Chiefly Relating to the Present Times* (London: H. Clark, 1690), p. 3.

will be found of one, that thus diligently seeks him in his own Way.'⁷⁰ However, for many, everyday life frequently interfered with prayerful solitude. Piety was expressed in the daily life of both sexes, but for men the time demands of urban life often conflicted with devotional hours, whereas middling and elite women were thought to have more time for religious expression.⁷¹ Struggling with the sociable requirements of being a gentleman in London, the resolutely devout John Blackadder admitted:

I know I am censured by many as stingy and inconvertible, because I keep so little company, and seldom mix in conversation. But when I do keep company, such as my business is with, ah! it is dear bought. A careless unthinking temper grows upon the soul ... Let foolish men snarl and say what they will, I'll converse more with God, and less with the world.

Unable to find quiet time to pray, Blackadder lamented, 'But, alas! I live with Christ as I live with mankind, reservedly, coldly, and too much like a stranger.'⁷² Thus, Blackadder demonstrated the taxing nature of negotiating masculinity in accordance with conflicting norms. Experiencing role strain while in London, Blackadder laboured to reconcile the need to participate in public society, and the social esteem participation begot, with his inclination to rebuff what he believed to be frivolous company in favour of his relationship with God.

Prayer was edifying for the individual and beneficial to the nation. In letters copied into his diary Joseph Barret, who was active in the crusade against immorality, detailed his attempts in 1695 to establish a weekly hour of prayer for the church and the nation. Barret was a staunch supporter of prayer, having previously recorded in his diary his resolution to pray three times a day and his willingness to pray at work.⁷³ Barret disclosed, 'I have several times found my Heart more excited, encouraged to, and drawn out in Prayer for this, then for any Parliament of late I know, alas, I can do very little my Self'.⁷⁴ He wrote to a 'Mr. B' on the success of his project in December 1695:

It hath pleased the Lord to put it into the Hearts of our Ministers, and of a great Number of serious and praying Persons in this Place, to set apart one Hour every Week, wherein, in an humble wrestling Manner to seek the Lord, as for his Church in general, and especially amongst us in these poor sinful Lands, so particularly for this present Parliament, which we intend to continue (the Lord enabling us) during their present Session ...⁷⁵

Barret's prayer project appeared in the diary of Oliver Heywood who noted that to counteract the dangers posed by papists and Jacobites it was 'desired it might be

⁷⁰ Woodcock, *An Account*, p. 15.

⁷¹ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, p. 74.

⁷² Blackadder, *Diary*, pp. 70-2.

⁷³ Barret, *Funeral Sermon*, pp. 99-100.

⁷⁴ Joseph Barret, *The Remains of Mr. Joseph Barrett, Son of the Reverend Mr. John Barrett, Minister of the Gospel at Nottingham Being the Second Part / Taken out of an Exact Diary Written by His Own Hand*, ed. John Whitlock (London: Tho. Parkhurst, 1700), p. 179.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 183.

communicated to Ministers and Christians in all other parts to spend an hour every tuesday morning in secret prayer betwixt 7 and 8 a clock on behalf of the nation and church of god'.⁷⁶ Through self-renunciation, prayer allowed men to attempt to subjectively reconcile the reality of their day-to-day experience with the norms portrayed in conduct literature.

One of the primary activities through which a man could display his Christian masculinity was by leading edifying activities within the home. Lawrence Stone notably argued that the father's duties as the religious head of the household were declining by the end of the seventeenth century due to diminishing religious enthusiasm, yet the autobiographical and normative sources suggest that Christian men continued to play an important religious role within the family structure.⁷⁷ Although this dissertation examines masculinities beyond domestic patriarchy, I flag the religious role of the father because fathers were instrumental in their sons' instruction and performing this role was a marker of spiritual maturity. In these instances, the setting of religion indicates the ways in which alternative masculinities drew upon and complemented patriarchal masculinity. Reading religious literature, sometimes aloud, provided men with material to discuss amongst family or friends and confirm their role as religious leaders of the family. In 1694, Elias Pledger noted in his diary, 'I have of late begun a [illegible] of reading a chapter and making some Short remarks upon it in my family, every night before prayer, which I find very useful'.⁷⁸ Nonconformist minister Matthew Henry thanked God for his father and lamented his passing: 'I bless God that I ever had such a father, whose temper was so very happy, and his gifts and graces so very bright; one that recommended religion, and the power of godliness ... I bless God that I had him so long, that he was not removed from me when I was a child'.⁷⁹ Others believed that family prayer was '*wholly* neglected by many, *partially* practised, that is, at night only by some, and *unseasonably* performed by others.'⁸⁰ The religious purview of the father raises a necessary disclaimer: more so than other setting examined in this dissertation, religion was variably homosocial. Yet, importantly, in this setting the fundamental distinction was not between men and women but, rather, between appropriate masculinity and disordered masculinity or between the masculine and the non-masculine, i.e. the beastly or devilish.

⁷⁶ Heywood, *Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, pp. 153-4.

⁷⁷ Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p. 245.

⁷⁸ DWL MS.28.4, fol. 68.

⁷⁹ Henry, *Memoirs*, p. 100.

⁸⁰ Steele, *The Trades-Man's Calling*, pp. 223-4.

Likewise, the act of reading homiletic or moralistic literature alone or to others allowed men to learn about the principles of Christian masculinity. W.M. Jacob cites the explosion of religious literature to argue against the conventional picture of eighteenth-century religious indifference. Jacob argues that the laity must have made up the majority of the book-buying market even if the clergy comprised a significant portion of the clientele.⁸¹ Evidence from periodicals, personal libraries, and lending libraries suggest a broad interest in faith and devotion.⁸² In his instructions for leading a holy life John Rawlet wrote:

As to those, who desire larger Directions, next to the holy Scriptures ... I shall refer you only to that pious and most useful Book, *The whole Duty of Man*. And heartily I wish, that every poor Family in the Kingdom, was furnished with one of those Books, together with a Bible and Common Prayer Book, which might all be purchased for much less than five Shillings; and therefore it's great pity they should be any where wanting.⁸³

As Rawlet suggested, those with disposable income could easily afford the King James Bible and the *Book of Common Prayer*. Many charity societies, including the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, also began distributing Bibles at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Moreover, conduct books and treatises on how to lead a godly life naturally acted as advocates for their own usefulness, upon which the autobiographical sources from the period agreed. Samuel Heathcote explained to Leonard Gill that he took the time to read one or two psalms each morning and each evening.⁸⁴ Similarly, reading spiritual literature was considered a worthy exercise for passing the time on the Sabbath. In that same letter, Heathcote recommended complementing Sunday church attendance with spending the rest of the day 'in reading the holy Scriptures, and other religious books'.⁸⁵ Thus, reading religious literature was a recommended activity from which men could learn and reinforce the normative ideals of Christian manhood.

Another method of actively expressing Christian masculinity was through charity. Merchant and popular self-help author Thomas Tryon explained that 'the greatest and surest Evidences of the Truth and Sincerity of our Religion, are Works of Mercy.'⁸⁶ Charity was not the exclusive preserve of men, but it was an activity that could garner respect and demonstrate moral virtue. Nearly all Christian prescription literature mentioned the importance of acting charitably. Charity linked together the social order and helped to

⁸¹ Jacob, *Lay People and Religion*, p. 104.

⁸² Ibid., 93.

⁸³ Rawlet, *The Christian Monitor*, pp. 52-3.

⁸⁴ Hants. RO 63M84/235.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Thomas Tryon, *Tryon's Letters upon Several Occasions* (London: Geo. Conyers and Eliz. Harris, 1700), p. 57.

unite men of different Protestant denominations.⁸⁷ For example, in a 1690 epistle included in the 'Memorable Account' of his life addressed to all Christians throughout the world, the Quaker activist Stephen Crisp advised:

And as to those who by *Sickness, Lameness, Age*, or other Impotency, are brought into Poverty by the Hand of Providence, these are your peculiar Care and Objects pointed out to you, to bestow your Charity upon, for by them the Lord calls for it ... he hath by his Sovereign Power commanded in every Dispensation, that a part of what we enjoy from him, should be thus employed.⁸⁸

William De Britaine took this sentiment further, writing, 'As to Acts of Charity and Vertue, let not your heart be a narrow Island, but a large Continent; be your own Almoner, and dispose of your own Charity'.⁸⁹ As a show of conspicuous compassion and a public display of righteousness, giving charity was a demonstration of social status.

Charity had always been regarded as a duty of the clergy and the elite in order to justify and uphold the divine order. As a marker of status and honour, charity was not exactly voluntary; the poor expected to receive alms and the clergy and wealthy were expected to give them.⁹⁰ Thus, philanthropy was an expression of masculinity because it testified to a man's moral and social maturity. Possessing enough wealth to be able to give some of it away was an indication of having reached adulthood. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the duty to educate poor children, in particular, carried inherent religious connotations and took on increased normative weight in both prescriptive literature and practice.⁹¹ In June 1699 Thomas Naish recorded the following story in his diary:

I having observed a young lad of my parish to be very devout at the publick prayers of the Church, and inquiring who he was, I found his parents to be poor, and the youth not fit for work, though he seemed to have a sense of goodness and piety beyond those of his years, upon which I entred him at the free school in Salisbury under the tutelage of Mr. Taylor my worthy master ... I have promised to keep him at school, and give him what encouragement I can, which I purpose [to] do as God shall bless me. God grant that this may tend to his glory, and that this youth may hereafter be the instrument of doing much good in his generation.⁹²

The young boy, Thomas Hibbert, would go on to be educated at Oxford and become the rector of Compton Pauncefoot in Somerset.⁹³

⁸⁷ Craig Mark Rose, 'Politics, Religion and Charity in Augustan London c.1680-c.1720', (PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1989), p. 164.

⁸⁸ Stephen Crisp, *A Memorable Account of the Christian Experiences, Gospel Labours, Travels and Sufferings of That Ancient Servant of Christ, Stephen Crisp, in His Books and Writings Herein Collected*, ed. John Field, (London: T. Sowle, 1694), p. 538.

⁸⁹ De Britaine, *Humane Prudence*, p. 33.

⁹⁰ Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, p. 213.

⁹¹ Rose, 'Politics, Religion and Charity', p. 107.

⁹² Thomas Naish, *The Diary of Thomas Naish*, ed. Doreen Slatter. (Wiltshire: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1965), p. 41.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Those who encouraged the wealthy to give charitably sought to direct elite ambition towards the public good.⁹⁴ Women, particularly the wealthy, undertook a number of practical charitable activities that carried matronly and maternal connotations, such as caring for the sick or the attending childbirths of the lower sorts.⁹⁵ For men, acting charitably was often couched in economic terms or language that reinforced the role of charity in supporting the divine social order. On the importance of gentlemen acting charitably, Richard Allestree wrote, 'we are to account the *Charitable* dispensing of his store, to supply the indigencies of wanting persons; which surely is to be lookt on as the grand and most considerable end of his receipts.'⁹⁶ Social prudence suggested that, as a marker of status, men who God materially rewarded should invest in and subscribe to institutions to help the poor and sick, such as children's hospitals and schools. Philanthropy was a means to honour God, save poor children from the ignorance of sin, teach deference to the divine order, and cultivate future motivated and literate apprentices.⁹⁷

Intentionally or not, charity played a role in forging honour and reputation for Christian men. Of Thomas Firmin's death in 1697, Bishop Burnet wrote in his *History of My Own Times* (1734) that the famed philanthropist and Unitarian member of the Church of England 'was in great esteem for promoting many charitable designs, for looking after the poor of the city, and setting them to work, for raising great sums for schools and hospitals, and indeed for charities of all sorts, public and private ... he laid out his own time chiefly in advancing all such designs. These things gained him great reputation.'⁹⁸ Likewise, in 1690, the Leeds merchant and antiquarian Ralph Thoresby wrote with admiration of another reputable man: 'the no less pious Right Honourable Phillip, Lord Wharton, began his noble charity, in sending Bibles to be distributed to the poor ... a most excellent spiritual charity, whereby many poor families, not otherwise provided, became acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make them wise unto salvation.'⁹⁹ Through philanthropic demonstrations such as these, men realised the masculine value of moral goodness which, in turn, enhanced their reputation as godly men.

⁹⁴ Joseph Ward, *Culture, Faith, and Philanthropy: Londoners and Provincial Reform in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 12.

⁹⁵ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, p. 88.

⁹⁶ Allestree, *The Gentleman's Calling*, p. 58.

⁹⁷ W.M. Jacob, 'The Eye of His Master: Children and Charity Schools', in *The Church and Childhood*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 363-377, pp. 367-8.

⁹⁸ Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time: From the Restoration of Charles II to the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht, In the Reign of Queen Anne* (London: William Smith, n.d.), pp. 648-9.

⁹⁹ Ralph Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby* (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830), pp. 194-5.

Yet, as High Church Tory and future bishop Francis Atterbury preached in an August 1694 sermon, published the same year, conspicuous compassion and performing charity did not free a man from sin or make him a religious man.¹⁰⁰ Devotion to God was still required. In the sense that charity was a universal normative practice without denominational distinction, the surge of philanthropy at the beginning of the eighteenth century served as a useful example of the changing notions of what could be expected from Christian men. In some respects, Christian action, and the social recognition of that action, were becoming increasingly significant in place of strict devotion and observance of established Church teachings and ceremonies. Indeed, the social recognition of religiosity was associated with being a 'good man' as the future Bishop of Ely, Simon Patrick, showed in January 1689. Patrick preached well in front of the then Prince of Orange who 'told me he had heard of me before, & now was glad to hear me; and thanks me for my sermon. I praye'd God to bless him & prosper his undertaking ... To which he replied That the prayers of such a good man would contribute much unto it.'¹⁰¹ Although public moral behaviour indicated 'good' masculinity, equally important to concepts of masculinity was the impact of vice and immorality, which indicated effeminacy and disordered masculinity.

III. Vice and Immorality

In his published instructions to his children advocating a simple Christian lifestyle, the physician Humphrey Brooke lamented, 'The world as it is ordered has many difficulties in it ... Pride and Luxury inforce too great expence, outsides only are esteemed, Temperance and all other Vertues created with man, and injoyed by the founder and first Propagators of the Christian Religion, are much decryed, and of low esteem.'¹⁰² As much as religious masculinity was about actively performing Christian duties, prescriptive writers like Brooke gave equal, if not more, direction to men on how not to behave. As Patricia Crawford suggests, self-control and discipline was important to all Christians. For women this involved establishing and maintaining household routines.¹⁰³ Conduct literature

¹⁰⁰ Francis Atterbury, *The Power of Charity to Cover Sin a Sermon Preach'd before the President and Governors of Bridewell and Bethlehem, in Bridewell-Chapel, August Xvi, 1694, Being the Election-Day* (London: Tho. Warren, 1694).

¹⁰¹ Simon Patrick, 'Simon Patrick: A Brief Account of My Life with a Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercies to Me', Cambridge, UK, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cambridge University Library, MS Add.36, fol. 154.

¹⁰² Humphrey Brooke, *The Durable Legacy* (London: M. White, 1681), np.

¹⁰³ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, p. 97.

directed at men gave instructions to exercise self-control through the rejection of vices such as excessive drinking, profanity, gambling, spending too much time on idle entertainments like attending the playhouse, and carousing with prostitutes. This discourse meshed with other discourses of refined, respectable behaviour that were developing at the time. Both religious prescriptions and discourses of civility and politeness condemned the zealous pursuit of male appetitive desires due to the association of appetitiveness with effeminacy, even though these desires were underpinned by long-standing, albeit exaggerated, primal masculine traits like sexual promiscuity, competition, and heavy drinking. These appetitive gratifications endangered the nation because they demonstrated a lack of manly restraint and, thus, the debasement of British masculinity. Therefore, avoiding vice was significant to notions of religious masculinity because immoral activities directly conflicted with the Christian ideals of temperance, prudence, and the renunciation of worldly vanities. In conduct literature moralists instructed men to avoid vice; however, autobiographers and diarists commonly gave in to vice while practising self-denunciation.

Christian masculinity was marked, in part, by the ability to resist carnal gratification and avoid effeminate earthly indulgence and luxury. As David Kuchta explains, although the precise definition of luxury varied, luxury signified effeminate consumption beyond necessity and means, which Puritans believed diverted attention from God.¹⁰⁴ Conduct writers justified their fixation on avoiding sin and maintaining self-restraint by arguing that those who lived up to the ideals of Christian masculinity would be rewarded, notably with eternal happiness. Arthur Capel, 1st Baron Capel of Hadham, explained that the 'true *Christian* is the most *valiant*, the most *wise* man that is. *Valiant* he is, for his whole life is a *warfare* against the *world*, the *flesh*, and the *Devil*: *Wise* and most *prudent* he is, for he so well *expends* his minute of *time here*, that he may live eternally *happy hereafter*.' ¹⁰⁵ Pitched metaphorically as the traditional masculine activity of warfare, opposition to flesh and the Devil enhanced both reputation and, according to Joseph Barret, life on earth. Barret explained in a May 1696 letter:

Indeed Religion doth forbid all beastly Pleasures, but it doth not need them, for it brings others infinitely better in their room which are peculiar to it self, which strangers intermeddle not with and then as to sober manlike Pleasures, its so far from depriving of them, that it gives the best right unto the sweetest Enjoyments, and the surest hold of them ...¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit*, p. 13.

¹⁰⁵ Arthur Capel, Baron Capel of Hadham, *Excellent Contemplations, Divine and Moral Written by the Magnanimous and Truly Loyal Arthur Lord Capel, Baron of Hadham* (London: Nath. Crouch, 1683), p. 41. The surname 'Capel' is sometimes spelt 'Capell'.

¹⁰⁶ Barret, *Remains*, p. 194.

Here Barret made explicit the distinction between orderly and disorderly masculinity. Although a crude form of masculinity might be demonstrated through physical gratification, appropriate masculinity rejected 'beastly Pleasures', such as brawling, illicit heterosexual sex, and excessive consumption. In turn, religion enhanced the 'sober manlike Pleasures', which served as the positive, informal rewards that arose from the conformity to religious norms of manhood.

All brands of Protestantism insisted upon practical piety and holy living because vice risked the failure, judgement, and divine punishment of the whole nation and the return of the Stuarts and Catholicism.¹⁰⁷ William's first Chancellor of the Exchequer, Henry Booth, 1st Earl of Warrington, explained:

It is to be wisht by all those who desire the Peace of their Country, *that Religion were more in fashion than it is*: For no Nation ever did thrive where it was neglected, and it is to be feared, that God will have a controversie with this Land, if Swearing and Drinking, which are now become so common, be not speedily suppressed, and the Corrupt Manners of the Nation reformed.¹⁰⁸

He further argued: 'But I am sure there ought to be a Reformation, because the Honour of God suffers so extreamly by it, and upon a Political account, it ought to be suppressed: Because, as whole Families are impoverished and ruined by it, so Mens Bodies are infeeble by it, and rendered unfit for Labour, and the Service of the Publick.'¹⁰⁹ By noting the bodily effect of appetitive vice, Warrington is suggestive of the larger early modern socio-cultural discourse that argued that irreligiousness rendered men effeminate and sapped Britain of its strength. Richard Baxter echoed Warrington: 'O what a pittiful sight it is, to see men in the flower of Youth and Strength, when they should most rejoyce in God and Holiness, to be still thirsty after a forbidden pleasure, and hasting to the Tavern or Alehouse, as a Bird to the snare of the Fowler, and sweetly and greedily swallowing the poisonous Cup which God forbiddeth!'¹¹⁰

As one of the most forthright diarists about his personal shortcomings, Suffolk gentleman William Coe mourned while cataloguing his frequent sins: 'I have often drunk too much to some degree of drunkenness but I repent, oh my God, I repent, I accuse, and judge, and condemn my self for all these my misdoings. Lord be mercifull to me a sinner.'¹¹¹ Richard Allestree, in *The Whole Duty of Man*, admitted that drinking could be

¹⁰⁷ John Spurr, 'Religion in Restoration England', in *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. Barry Coward (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2003), 416-435, p. 426. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion*, p. 124.

¹⁰⁸ Henry Booth, Earl of Warrington, *The Works of the Right Honourable Henry, Late L. Delamer and Earl of Warrington Containing His Lordships Advice to His Children, Several Speeches in Parliament, &c.* (London: John Lawrence, 1694), p. 493.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 503.

¹¹⁰ Baxter, *Compassionate Counsel*, p. 29.

¹¹¹ Coe, *Two East Anglian Diaries*, p. 210.

useful for health. However, Allestree continued, 'For though we are to preserve our Healths, yet we are not to do it by a Sin, as Drunkenness most certainly is.'¹¹² Although excessive drinking was one of the most common vices against which normative literature warned, drinking had a place in the ceremonial and social pursuits of men, which problematised toasting and the drinking of healths for men who were religiously scrupulous. Joseph Barret illustrated the ambiguous and problematic nature of healths in his diary in November 1694 when he wrote:

Tho' I hope I may say that I never was a hearty friend unto, or a promoter of drinking healths, yet alas, since of late my business hath called me more frequently where I have observed understanding sober Persons (whom I have had reason to think much wiser and better then my self) make no scruple at it, by degrees I began to think more favourably of that sinful practice, and was ready to conclude that, seperating it from Intemperance, there was not so much harm in it as some imagined, and hereupon have again and again complied with it, my great Sin in so doing the good Lord pardon and forgive me!

Barret explained that it was only after hearing a sermon preached against drinking healths that he stopped the practice.¹¹³ This passage was a significant instance of negotiation for Barret because he was forced to reconcile two conflicting discourses, the normative religious literature that condemned drinking healths and the contextual social practice that expected it. For Barret, this process suggests the importance of his self-identity as a moral Christian.

Although drinking to excess was a frequent by-product of masculine sociability, we see that many of the autobiographical writers chose to avoid discussing the matter altogether. Yet, while moralists represented drunkenness as a sin against God, the nation, and the individual's welfare, one diarist, in particular, nonetheless found no harm in intemperance. Col. Thomas Bellingham, a Lancashire gentleman, used his diary as something of a logbook of the people with whom he dined and drank.¹¹⁴ Drinking was an important and frequent social practice for Bellingham, whether in military camps (which I discuss in the Chapter Three) or in Lancashire. Oftentimes he 'stayd late and dranke too much.'¹¹⁵ Bellingham was certainly not without a sense of sin. On 6 April 1690, while home from the war, Bellingham recorded, 'We had the Kings letter and the statutes and Homily read in ye Church against Drunkenness.'¹¹⁶ Yet, Bellingham did not temper his consumption because having a drink was a common social practice. However, it was in

¹¹² Allestree, *Whole Duty of Man*, p. 123.

¹¹³ Barret, *Funeral Sermon*, pp. 165-6.

¹¹⁴ This chapter considers Bellingham's sociable activities in Lancashire. Chapter Three considers his sociable activities when on military duty.

¹¹⁵ Bellingham, *Diary*, p. 55.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.

excess that drinking became sinful and also indicative of a loss of self-discipline and ordered masculinity.

The tension between worldliness and religion was especially important for churchmen. Institutional religion was the preserve of men and many churchmen enjoyed the same leisure pursuits as their congregation, particularly as it related to drinking. One reason conduct books commonly took a negative view of churchman and warned against trusting them was their perceived hypocrisy, particularly their carnality. While in Kent with fever Thomas Bruce, 2nd Earl of Ailesbury, recorded that 'the neighbouring gentlemen and some clergy meeting there to dine and bowl' and from his bed he 'could see all on the Green, and what they did, and in the afternoon I saw little difference between the laity and the clergy, some lying drunk, and others bowling over them'.¹¹⁷ A Puritan minister himself, Richard Baxter explained that it is dreadful 'to think, how all that he doth and saith is self-condemnation, and that out of his own mouth he must be judged, and that all the woes which he pronounceth against Hypocrites, and impenitent carnal worldly men, his own Tongue pronounceth them against himself.'¹¹⁸ Baxter further explained that the ideal clergymen must be 'captivated by no gross sin.'¹¹⁹ Contemporary conduct books treated the clergy with a mixture of fear, reverence, and suspicion. Thomas Bray, a clergyman and one of the founders of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, believed that the low opinion of Anglican priests imperilled the Church, fearing that people no longer saw them as God's authorities.¹²⁰ Negotiating the standards of appropriate consumption was a particularly fraught process for churchmen because of the informal negative social sanctions—shame, criticism, disapproval—should they prove themselves to be hypocrites and the same 'impenitent carnal worldly men' against whom they preached.

Another problematic perception for the clergy was that many believed them to be covetous and seeking to profit from religion, an accusation most often made in conjunction with worries about pluralism and non-residence. The Scottish lawyer and legal writer Sir George Mackenzie asserted, 'By this Vice also Church-men fall under that Contempt, which over-turns their Church, and in Consequence takes away their Benefice.

¹¹⁷ Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury, *Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury: Written By Himself*, Vol. 1. (Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1890), p. 340.

¹¹⁸ Baxter, *Compassionate Counsel*, pp. 130-1.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹²⁰ Craig Rose, 'The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK 1699-1716', in *The Church of England C. 1689-C. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 172-190, p. 178.

And this Vice cannot but doubly augment their Torments to all Eternity.’¹²¹ Bishop Burnet himself attested to this problem when he noted the effect that the errant behaviour of the clergy had on the feelings of the laity. He recorded, ‘This made many conclude that the clergy were the sort of men that would swear and pray even against their consciences rather than lose their benefices; and by consequence that they were governed by interest and not by principle.’¹²² David Abercromby partially agreed: ‘tis commonly said ... that Church-Men discourse more together of their Livings, than of the means how to amend their own, perhaps, or other Mens irregular lives. Yet I will charitably suppose that this is but the defect of some few particular Men, and not of the Generality’.¹²³ The vice and sin of covetousness led to luxury and often prodigality, which effeminised men through self-interest and excessive superficial concerns. Yet, as Abercromby suggests with his caveat at the end of this passage, and Jacob argues, insufficient evidence has been found to indicate neglect or carelessness from the clergy.¹²⁴ To be sure, the vast majority of churchmen had limited prospects of advancement and spent most of their life working for moderate material reward.¹²⁵ The autobiographical sources of churchmen examined for this dissertation suggest that their recorded subjective experience contrasted with their mostly unfavourable covetous portrayal. While this could certainly be a conscious act of omission on the part of the autobiographer, it is more likely that the stereotype of the luxury-seeking clergyman is wide of the mark.

Luxury and drunkenness often went hand-in-hand with unchaste conversation, profanity, and idle discourse. The translated French author Jacques Goussault explained that ‘too much Conversation, and unprofitable Visits, will make your life soft and Effeminate; much Business, and sometimes Company will make it Honourable, Pleasant, and agreeable.’¹²⁶ Warrington remarked, ‘I come now to speak of *Swearing* and *Drinking*, and I do believe that the horrible Prophanation of *God’s Name*, was never so common as in this Age. That great and dreadful Name, before which we ought to Fear and Tremble, is used with more familiarity than the meanest thing you can think on.’¹²⁷ Connecting profanity with the loss of self-control, Viscount Shannon asserted, ‘Swearing, is in the Opinion of all sober and vertuous Persons, a Sin, the most unpardonable and least

¹²¹ George Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality with Its Opposite Vices, Covetousness, Niggardliness, Prodigality and Luxury* (London: J. Hindmarsh, 1691), p. 52.

¹²² Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, p. 584.

¹²³ David Abercromby, *A Discourse of Wit* (London: John Weld, 1686), p. 134.

¹²⁴ Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, p. 201.

¹²⁵ Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty?*, p. 210.

¹²⁶ Goussault, *Advice to Young Gentlemen*, p. 28.

¹²⁷ Warrington, *Works*, p. 499.

excusable; because all have a Power to refrain from it, and none any Delight in using of it'.¹²⁸ As with drinking to excess, few diarists were willing to admit to profanity but, as before, William Coe was an exception. On 13 May 1694, Coe disclosed, 'I spent all the afternoon in wicked and profane discourse, not spending one moment in reading or other good exercise.' Around Christmas 1693 Coe also admitted to neglecting his prayers in favour of idle discourse even though he knew he would have to give an account of each idle word on Judgment Day. Idle discourse was a recurring transgression for Coe as he confessed to it again in July 1694, along with speaking of worldly business.¹²⁹ In April 1698 he wrote, 'I have spoken uncharitably of my neighbours for any little injury done to me, particularly Mr Edmund Young.'¹³⁰ By way of contrast, in an autobiographical sermon the one-time Quaker and later ordained minister of the Church of England George Keith proudly stated that 'God has in mercy preserved me from all scandalous Conversation and Practice; whereof some of good Credit are ready to give a Testimony, who have known me for Forty six Years past, and my manner of Conversation.'¹³¹ In this autobiographical sermon, meant to explain his religious journey as well as instruct his audience, Keith echoed the message of contemporary religious writers by emphasising that the manner of one's conversation indicated his religiousness. As with polite sociability, pleasing and modest conversation was one of the principal expectations of masculine sociability.

Other condemned activities included gambling, carousing with prostitutes, and frequenting the playhouse. These diversions were believed to be primarily urban problems and considered indulgent and irreverent, as opposed to rural activities such as hawking and hunting, which were typically deemed to be more masculine pursuits. In a series of letters published in 1699, a 'Gentleman in London' cautioned a spirited young Leicestershire gentleman against moving to London, writing, 'Your Diversions in the Country, i.e. your Hawking, Hunting, Fishing, Fowling, and the like, are Noble, Manly, and Generous, and do not cloy or satiate their Possessors'.¹³² Hawking and hunting were thought to improve men because they were vigorous physical activities, while stereotyped urban pursuits debased men. Moralists believed gaming houses were responsible for many social problems because they promoted wantonness and ruined and

¹²⁸ Shannon, *Moral Essays and Discourses*, p. 182.

¹²⁹ Coe, *Two East Anglian Diaries*, pp. 206-8.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 218.

¹³¹ George Keith, *A Sermon Preach'd at Turners-Hall, the 5th of May, 1700 by George Keith; in Which He Gave an Account of His Joyning in Communion with the Church of England* (London: W. Bowyer, 1700), p. 16.

¹³² *Gentleman in London, The Country Gentleman's Vade Mecum, or His Companion for the Town in Eighteen Letters from a Gentleman in London to His Friend in the Country* (London: John Harris, 1699), p. 12.

defrauded many men, especially naïve, young gentlemen.¹³³ Presbyterian minister and Puritan writer Richard Steele summarised the dangers and immorality of gambling:

Fix your unalterable Resolutions therefore against all vain, prodigal, and hazardous Games whatsoever. For though Drunkenness, Whoredom, Idleness, Injustice will *certainly* do it, yet these two Follies of Suretiship and Gaming may *suddenly* destroy those that use them: A Man may by these in a few hours undo himself and Family to all intents.¹³⁴

As this passage suggests, although competition is an important method of demonstrating masculinity, gambling had the potential to unman the player through his irresponsibility. Moralists believed gambling promoted indulgence by sacrificing restraint to volatility of chance.

Diversions like gambling were frequently associated with the disorderliness of London. Yet gambling was a not just an urban vice. After looking through his diary, Coe vowed 'not to lett idleness and gameing take and steal away so much of my precious time as it formerly done.'¹³⁵ In Preston, gambling appeared to be a favoured pastime of Bellingham who recorded several frivolous wagers he made. They ranged from betting William Hebson on 1 November 1688 that the Dutch would invade England before November 12th to wagering Dr. Charles Leigh that he could walk from Preston to Fulwood in less than half an hour in a 'hard frost'.¹³⁶ Bellingham also enjoyed playing cards, tables, and trick-track.¹³⁷ On 7 February 1689, he met Mr Chaddock and Mr Richmond, local gentlemen, and ate 'and dranke and play'd about an houre. Got home before 5 of ye clock. Saw Mr. Kenneyon att Mr. Hodgkinsons, and play'd a game att Tables with him.' The next day he 'was late at play att Mr. Hodgkinson's, and lost some money to Mr. Kenneyon.'¹³⁸ In some respects, Bellingham and Coe's gambling suggest a large gulf between religious prescription and lived experience. While the normative literature portrayed gambling as a debilitating vice, Bellingham and Coe's experiences, and their general commitment to at least the societal minimum for religious devotion, show that men often found a tense personal compromise between Christian moralistic ideals and leisurely pursuits.

Frequenting playhouses was another irreligious urban vice admonished by prescription literature. The performances themselves were not the primary target of

¹³³ Robert B. Shoemaker, 'Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690-1738', in *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750*, eds. Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert B. Shoemaker (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 99-120, p. 113.

¹³⁴ Steele, *The Trades-Man's Calling*, pp. 70-1. This Richard Steele is not to be confused with Sir Richard Steele of *The Spectator* fame.

¹³⁵ Coe, *Two East Anglian Diaries*, p. 221.

¹³⁶ Bellingham, *Diary*, pp. 25, 39.

¹³⁷ Both tables and trick-track are versions of backgammon.

¹³⁸ Bellingham, *Diary*, p. 49.

religious denunciations, although many still scorned the stage as a manifestation of lewdness. The types of people the playhouse attracted and their general impropriety were the larger concern, especially for those in reformation societies. Richard Baxter complained:

Alas! *London* doth so abound with Temptations ... There are so many sensual, proud, and ungodly young men ready to entice you, so many Play Houses, Taverns, and Filthy Houses to entertain you, that if you go without Grace and Wit, the Flesh and the Devil, will soon precipitate you into the slavery of brutish Flesh. And then you forfeit Gods favour and protection, and he may leave you to more sin and misery, or to grow up to be the Servants of Oppression, the Enemies of Piety, and the Plagues of the Commonwealth.¹³⁹

Here Baxter refers to immaturity—boyish behaviour rather than manly behaviour—by highlighting the sensuality and ungodliness of the young men that frequented the playhouses. Indulgence and slavery to base pleasures were both immoral and in violation of the deep-rooted masculine principle of self-control, which, expressed in various guises, was a critical component of culturally prescribed manhood, if less complied with in practice.

Baxter also argued that if masters knew the vices of their apprentices they would keep greater watch over them ‘and keep them from ill company, Drunkenness and Plays, and would teach them to seek pleasure in good Books, good Company, and serving God.’¹⁴⁰ Conduct writers further argued that frequenting the playhouse would not enlighten those seeking improvement. In *A Discourse of Wit* (1685), the converted Protestant physician and writer David Abercromby explained, ‘This is the common defect of some young Gentlemen that live upon their Rents in, and about *London*. They think themselves sufficiently improved by frequenting the Play-House, and turning over Play-Books, which contribute more to the tickling of their Imagination, than to the framing their Judgment.’¹⁴¹ Abercromby here suggested a contrast between appropriate masculinity and the effeminacy that weakened the nation and populated London with defective men. Promoting passion and fantasy, the ‘tickling of their Imagination’ impeded the development of the sound judgment that informed character, gentlemanliness, and virtue.

In his diary, Thomas Naish decried the ills of men like the apprentices who had given over to carnality. Explaining the spiritual consequences, Naish wrote:

How hard is it for a man that has thus given himself up to this world to mind spirituall things; how uneasy and disagreeable is it to him; he cannot relish those spirituall pleasures; he may indeed pray often, because he thinks he is obliged to it, but he is so engaged to the world, he finds but little spirituall comfort to himself; such prayers surely can prevail but little that are offered with such

¹³⁹ Baxter, *Compassionate Counsel*, p. 165.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 32-3.

¹⁴¹ Abercromby, *A Discourse of Wit*, pp. 48-9.

indifferency. O Lord I praise thee for giving me such a discerning spirit, that I can judge so well of this world's vanities. Let me for ever grow more and more weary of them ...¹⁴²

For Naish, the rejection of worldly pleasures for the spiritual pleasures of God allied with masculine moderation and soundness. For the Christian man, rejecting vanity signified the embrace of ideals of manhood modelled on the behaviour of Jesus. Concern for worldly vanities implied spiritual immaturity and the corruption of moral judgement and, therefore, a weakening of personal integrity. It was with shame that Thomas Jolly sadly confessed in his notebook that his dreams were more often vain than they were holy.¹⁴³

The unmistakable public element of religion meant that Christianity was open to self-serving displays of piety. In *Characters of the Virtues and Vices of the Age* (1695), the French-English lexicographer, tutor, and writer Abel Boyer observed after living six years in England: 'Men talk as if they believ'd in God; but they Live as if they thought there were none: For their very Prayers are often downright Mockeries, and their Vows and Promises are no more than *Words of Course*, which they never intend to make good.'¹⁴⁴ Practicing false religion hurt both the honour of the individual and the integrity of worship itself. Humphrey Brooke warned, 'Never therefore go to Church meerly for shew, nor take upon thee the semblance of that which men call Religion, for thy profit: It will denote thee a Hypocrite, the worst and most contemptible sort of men, odious to God, to those who are good, and in time to thy self: It debases Religion, and makes it serve the vilest purposes'.¹⁴⁵ William Anstruther cautioned that 'A man may appear Godly and Religious in his External Actions, which are guided over with a Specious Morality, and yet be an *Hypocrite* and *Devil* in his heart'.¹⁴⁶ The category of 'hypocrite' stands in contrast to the masculine ideal of plain dealing and integrity. Within the setting of religion, hypocritical pretences thus marked a form of deviant behaviour that debased 'contemptible sort of men' by aligning them with devilishness and false display.

Discussing his earlier lapses, the Nonconformist minister George Trosse admitted, 'By my *profane* and *profligate* Way of Living, I had render'd my self the just *Object* of the *Wise*, and *good Mens Contempt* and *Abhorrency*. But now, I thank God, they esteem me worthy of Favour and Respect.'¹⁴⁷ Diarists often spoke of sin in a vague or allusive way to

¹⁴² Naish, *Diary*, p. 33.

¹⁴³ Jolly, *Note Book*, p. 100.

¹⁴⁴ Abel Boyer, *Characters of the Virtues & Vices of the Age, Or, Moral Reflections, Maxims, and Thoughts upon Men and Manners* (London: Abel Roper, E. Wilkinson, and Roger Clavell, 1695), p. 52.

¹⁴⁵ Brooke, *The Durable Legacy*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁴⁶ Anstruther, *Essays, Moral and Divine*, p. 49.

¹⁴⁷ George Trosse, *The Life of the Reverend Mr. Geo. Trosse, Late Minister of the Gospel in the City of Exon Who Died January 11th, 1712/13*, ed. Joseph Hallet (Exon: Jos. Bliss, 1714), p. 100.

focus attention on the act of repentance rather than the transgression committed. Hence, in 1696 Naish confessed:

Shrove Tuesday at night, this night hath been very pernicious to me; it hath covered me with shame and rebuke, but Lord be thou mercifull unto me, and grant that I may truly confess my sins, and lament my wickedness that I may obtain full pardon and forgiveness of all my sins for Jesus Christ's sake, through whose meritts alone I hope for the remission of my sins, and eternall felicity.¹⁴⁸

The spiritual diary could be an introspective tool for further individual reform. On Christmas Eve 1701 William Coe recorded:

Upon examination of my selfe and looking over the accounts of my later years in this book, I find sleeping att church and mispending the Lord's day, talking of worldly buisness and neglecting reading and meditations comes in very often and swells the catalgoue of my sinns. I doe now resolve (God's speciall grace assisting me) upon a stricter observation of that day.¹⁴⁹

These moments of written confession are the exceptions to the tendency of not recording, at least not often, specific failings in one's autobiographical writing.

In his autobiography, John Dunton clarified that although his contemporaries might be especially susceptible to indulging the very earthly pleasure and sin that normative literature warned against, religion still played a significant part in determining action. Dunton explained, 'The human Mind, though it has lost its innocence, and made shipwreck of the image of God; yet the desire of Knowledge is undestroyed.'¹⁵⁰ Thus, Dunton highlighted the process of negotiation between discourses of masculinity and practice. Indeed, a regular feature of male autobiography was the capitulation to immoral behaviour followed by a self-denunciation and pledge to God to reform. Promising self-command and moderation, this pledge almost always included a vow to reject some form of the material appetitive gratification that was characteristic of a disordered masculinity.

IV. Religious Societies and Popular Participation

Referring to the 1692 earthquake in Jamaica and 1693 earthquake in Sicily, the anonymously published *Proposals for a National Reformation of Manners* (1694) urged:

... Impiety abounds, even after our angry God hath shaken the foundation of the Earth; and that he hath hereby, so loudly called on the Christian World, (to this Nation and City also, in a more especial manner) to awake from deep Slumber, and to amend our ways, by an Universal Reformation, of our Lives and Manners, and not to imagine Jamaica and Sicily, were greater sinners than others, for unless we repent we shall all likewise perish.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Naish, *Diary*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁹ Coe, *Two East Anglian Diaries*, p. 221.

¹⁵⁰ Dunton, *Life and Errors*, p. 187.

¹⁵¹ *Proposals for a National Reformation of Manners Humbly Offered to the Consideration of Our Magistrates & Clergy* (London: John Dunton, 1694), np.

During the reign of William III, as part of what participants hoped would be the moral reformation that the anonymous author of this proposal called for, the laity began to organise themselves in novel and unique ways. The long eighteenth century was the beginning of an era of association during which the importance of sociability to conceptions of masculinity evolved. As Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford note, women might become involved in group activities with female friends and relatives in their parish or community, yet there were no female religious associations after the Reformation apart from informal gatherings until the Quaker Women's Meetings of the 1670s.¹⁵² For men, the growth of religious associations offered another means of masculine religious expression. Joining other men in a religious society was a public act of piety that enabled men to receive social recognition within the status group, if not society as a whole, for their religiousness and Christian morality. At the turn of the eighteenth century, religious association was in its infancy, yet becoming more prevalent in normative literature and autobiographical writing after the perceived moral decay of the Restoration and the threat of popery in the 1680s. Three types of religious associations dominated lay participation in the late seventeenth century: the Societies for the Reformation of Manners (SRM), informal religious societies where men gathered in Christian fellowship, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). While these organisations were not exclusively homosocial, particularly the SPCK, they were certainly male-dominated and provided opportunities for men to publicly demonstrate their masculinity and assert a form of social control. Moreover, they helped forge a collective identity based on order and decency. This section will focus on the masculine connotations of the first two, from suppressing vice (SRM) to joining together to pray and partake in edifying conversation (religious societies).

In a call to arms and brief history of religious societies to that point, the moral reformer Josiah Woodward testified to the connection between masculinity and the nascent religious associations. He wrote:

The forming therefore of *Good Men* into such *pious Combinations*, for the overbalancing those of *Vice*, the countermining the contrary *Attempts* of all *wicked Men*, and recovering the *Power*, as well as *Form of Religion*, is most earnestly recommended to all the *Friends of Piety* and *Virtuo*. And methinks it may be expected from all, that have any sincere regard to *God's Honour*, their *own* and their *Country's Happiness*, that they should exert themselves in their several Capacities ... we may now hope for the Assistance of some, at least, of the *Cautious* and *prudent Men* amongst us ... that they will at last answer the Expectation of Good Men from them, and suffer the Generations to come to call them Blessed.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 225-7.

¹⁵³ Josiah Woodward, *An Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners in London and Westminster and Other Parts of the Kingdom with a Persuasive to Persons of All Ranks, to be Zealous and Diligent in*

By highlighting the importance of piety, caution, prudence, and 'virtuo'—all attributes that were valued in men—Woodward made clear the contrast between good and wicked men—the laudable restraint of the former and the capitulation to vice and impulse of the latter. Woodward argued that the 'good men' needed to band together to control 'all *wicked Men*' for the good of the nation.

Beginning in 1691 in London, the Society for the Reformation of Manners sought to enforce their moral standards upon the population by quelling profanity and vice, which appealed to the established Church and Dissenters alike. Organised hierarchically with eminent professionals at the top, followed by tradesman, constables, and informers in descending fashion, the SRM allowed members to assert social influence primarily through their aggressive use of the courts, but also by publishing religious tracts and sermons. One assumption of SRM propagandists was that sin reduced a man to the carnal level of an animal and kept him from developing his spiritual virtue; the struggle between good and evil for the individual's soul reflected the fate of the nation.¹⁵⁴ The SRM informed upon, prosecuted, and shamed those they accused of indecency, viewing such intervention as an act of charity. Woodward explained:

Is it not an Act of Charity to try what the bringing the Offender to a legal Correction will do towards the recovering the poor Captive out of the Snare of the Devil, and bringing him to a right mind? And does not the neglect of doing this, the suffering him to go on in his wicked Courses, to the manifest danger of the ruin of his Temporal and Eternal Interest, rather than the bringing him to wholesome Punishment, seem rather an Argument of foolish Pity, than of Love ...¹⁵⁵

Couched in the religious imagery of removing the Devil, the social power of the SRM, therefore, was disciplinary. Beyond reporting incriminating information to authorities, the SRM also lobbied authority figures to champion reform themselves, or, if need be, the SRM attempted to expel unhelpful justices and constables.¹⁵⁶ Over thirty-five years after its founding, Richard Smalbroke, then Bishop of St. David's, justified the SRM's purpose and explained that even the 'Magistrates of the best Intentions and Abilities' required the 'Concurrence and Assistance of other good Men'.¹⁵⁷

Promoting the Execution of the Laws Against Prophaneness and Debauchery, for the Effecting a National Reformation (London: B. Aylmer, 1699), pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁴ T.C. Curtis and W.A. Speck, 'The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: A Case Study in the Theory and Practice of Moral Reform', *Literature and History*, no. 3 (1976), 45-64, p. 49.

¹⁵⁵ Woodward, *An Account of the Societies*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁶ Dudley W.R. Bahlman, *The Moral Revolution of 1688* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), pp. 50-1.

¹⁵⁷ Richard Smalbroke, *Reformation Necessary to Prevent Our Ruine: A Sermon Preached to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, at St. Mary-le-Bow, on Wednesday, January 10th, 1727* (London: Joseph Downing, 1728), p. 6.

The SRM always promoted their efforts by publishing their annual report with a list of peer and bishop endorsements.¹⁵⁸ As a machination of power and control, the SRM naturally appealed to some leading politicians and clergymen including Queen Mary, John Tillotson, who was the Archbishop of Canterbury at the time, and his successor, Thomas Tenison.¹⁵⁹ Likewise, after telling Church of Scotland minister and controversialist George Meldrum that ‘there were societies in England for reformation of manners; that I had a book that gave account of them, and I wished there were such societies in Scotland’, prominent Scottish judge Sir David Hume, Lord Crossrig, was inspired enough to start a society in Edinburgh.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, in a March 1700 entry in his diary, John Evelyn testified that ‘Divers persons of quality entered into the Society for Reformation of Manners ... The most eminent of the clergy preached at Bow Church, after reading a declaration set forth by the King to suppress the growing wickedness; this began already to take some effect as to common swearing, and oaths in the mouths of people of all ranks.’¹⁶¹

Even if the SRM had some success in discouraging vice as Evelyn suggested, unsurprisingly, SRM informers—private citizens who took the enforcement of law and moral standards into their own hands—were unpopular, accused of having an agenda, and often attacked.¹⁶² The act of informing was loaded with conflicting meanings for masculinity. On the one hand, reformation advocates argued that informing was an admirable means of imposing social discipline. Woodward sought to defend the informers by asking, ‘Can any one that carries the Face of a Christian think it scandalous to be an *Informer*? It is, in truth, a very honourable thing thus to appear in the behalf of God and Religion, by endeavouring to keep up the Honour due to both, promoting a most useful Reformation, and thereby preventing God's Judgments being executed on us.’¹⁶³ On the other hand, others thought that, in practice, informing was a usurpation of responsibility, which subverted proper order and upset the established hierarchy. Despite Woodward’s defence, and other printed justifications, many saw the SRM and its aggressive prosecution of vice as a seditious attempt to subvert the traditional authority of the

¹⁵⁸ Shelley Burt, ‘The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: Between John Locke and the Devil in Augustan England’, in *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660-1750*, ed. Roger D. Lund (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 149-169, p. 154.

¹⁵⁹ Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 32.

¹⁶⁰ David Hume, Lord Crossrig, *Domestic Details* (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1843), pp. 68-9. The surname ‘Hume’ is sometimes spelt ‘Home’.

¹⁶¹ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray (London: M. Walter Donne, 1901), p. 350.

¹⁶² Bahlman, *Moral Revolution*, p. 48.

¹⁶³ Josiah Woodward, *A Short Vindication of Those Pious and Useful Persons Who Give Informations of the Breaches of the Laws, Made against Prophaneness and Immorality* (London: J. Downing, 1701), p. 2.

Church and state.¹⁶⁴ Abel Boyer argued that the SRM was simply an organisation of scoundrels who suffered no one else to commit sins but themselves.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, whether an individual believed the act of informing was a moral honesty or an immoral deceit characteristic of disordered masculinity hinged on whether the individual accepted informing as a legitimate expression of authority. In either case, over the course of forty years the SRM secured the convictions of nearly 100,000 citizens who violated the laws of morality and SRM's standards.¹⁶⁶

Whereas the SRM focused on discouraging and punishing vice through suppression and coercion, the informal religious societies that began to appear in the 1680s in London were more interested in encouraging Christian fellowship. These groups of mostly younger men—often under the direction of a priest—became popular in town parishes in the early eighteenth century, by which time London was estimated to have forty such societies.¹⁶⁷ Encouragement for maintaining pious company was a long-standing prescription in normative literature. *The Character of a Good Man, Neither Whig nor Tory* (1681) explained that a good man 'thinks it his Duty sometimes to maintain a Christian correspondence, and a Religious Communion with sober, wise, and good Men'.¹⁶⁸ Intended to promote reverent male camaraderie, these societies were not a collective, national movement; they are easier to characterise as informal groups of men who met to pray, cultivate religious enthusiasm, give charity, and discuss God and scripture. Woodward explained, 'Many of them meet together at each others Houses also in the Evening of many *Feasts of the Church and Holy Days*; where they discourse seriously on the Subject-matter of the Day; by which they find themselves much informed in many essential Parts of the *Christian Religion*.'¹⁶⁹

Elias Pledger was very involved in one of these informal religious societies and he regularly recorded instances in which they met. In 1689, at the age of twenty-four, he transcribed a letter in his diary to an acquaintance explaining that he intended 'to promote a Society of Sober young men, who might find sometime together ... in Religious exercise for the Edification of each other.'¹⁷⁰ Like the anonymous author of *The Character*

¹⁶⁴ Bahlman, *Moral Revolution*, p. 83.

¹⁶⁵ Abel Boyer, *The English Theophrastus: Or, The Manners of the Age. Being Modern Characters of the Court, the Town, and the City* (London: W. Turner; R. Basset; and J. Cahntry, 1702), p. 143.

¹⁶⁶ Burt, 'Societies for the Reformation of Manners', p. 152.

¹⁶⁷ Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, pp. 222-3.

¹⁶⁸ *Character of a Good Man*, p. 1.

¹⁶⁹ Josiah Woodward, *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London &c. and of the Endeavours for Reformation of Manners Which Have Been Made Therein* (London: J.D., 1698), p. 109.

¹⁷⁰ DWL MS.28.4, fol. 15.

of a Good Man, Pledger noted the temperate behaviour ('sober') of its members. Pledger's society was established by October 1689. He recorded, 'Had [illegible] communions with God and with some good young men of fryday [illegible] discourses was primarily about the glory and happiness of heaven.'¹⁷¹ These meetings appear to have been very beneficial for Pledger and, in his opinion, would be useful for society as a whole. After a year of meeting regularly, he explained their importance to a friend by arguing that 'a want of Christian conferences' was the cause 'of the decay of Christian piety is our day'.¹⁷² Woodward further explained of these societies: 'their Zeal hath in many places given new Life to the celebration of the *Lord's Supper, Publick Prayer, Singing of Psalms, and Christian Conference*, Duties which were in many Places almost disused, or perform'd in a cool and languishing manner.'¹⁷³ As Pledger showed, through moral activities and male social interaction, these societies cultivated religious eagerness among younger men and helped them to construct a pious self-identity. Through sober homosociality, the men of these informal societies might learn and demonstrate the manly moral restraint advocated by the normative writers who conditioned this setting.

Taken together, the SRM, informal religious societies, and the SPCK (not discussed here) collectively succeeded in cultivating religiously informed moderation and assisting the development of philanthropic sociability that blossomed in the eighteenth century. Although not necessarily adhered to in practice, conduct literature preached ideals of temperance and bipartisanship, which the societies sought to reinforce. For the men in these societies, the performance of Christian charity and moral reform acted as a force of unification in light of the potential discord between Protestant branches following the Toleration Act. Each society reinforced a sense of collective identity both within the associational group and as a larger Christian community through their endeavours to ensure the divine preservation of the nation, promote charitable relief, and cultivate spiritual and moral improvement.

V. Conclusion. A Turn Towards Morality and Association?

Church historians are divided on how swiftly and to what extent the religious prerogative of the Anglican Church declined in the long eighteenth century. Donald Spaeth cites unwillingness to compromise on worship or fully endorse lay active participation as two

¹⁷¹ Ibid., fol. 20.

¹⁷² Ibid., fol. 50.

¹⁷³ Woodward, *An Account of the Rise and Progress*, p. 62.

related possibilities for why the Church failed to maintain its hold on popular support.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the Church of England was still the undisputed spiritual authority. Yet, legally, British Protestants now had the right to choose their branch of Protestantism. The impact of Dissenters was felt more strongly through culture than the actual number of committed worshipers. Quakers, in particular, were prolific producers of religious tracts, pamphlets, and biographical 'lives' and journals. During the reign of William III, a diverse range of men continued to guard a deep affection their religious faith, as illustrated by their personal devotional practices and concern for the Christian morality of their community.¹⁷⁵ John Spurr explains, 'Pious Protestants spoke the same language.'¹⁷⁶ Therefore, the broad norms of religious masculinity conformed across denominations.

As W.M. Jacob put it: 'They were not necessarily saints, but for the great majority of people God was very important, and to be right with God was a determining factor in ordering their own lives and the life of their community.'¹⁷⁷ God was a foundation upon which nearly everyone built his or her life. Although state-sponsored religion lost some of its footing as a defining structural element of people's lives and the Church's ability to enforce the social order and hierarchy slowly weakened in the eighteenth century, Christianity and religious devotion were still influential, if not the most influential, means by which men conceptualised an identity. Religious identities overlay other self- and socially-assigned family, regional, and occupational identities.

The framework of religious masculinity was characterised by piecemeal change that overlay continuity. The fundamental ideals portrayed in conduct literature and the core content of Christian doctrine promoted a level of constancy.¹⁷⁸ Much of the normative literature cited in this chapter was written earlier in the Restoration period and republished in the 1690s, indicating the durability of the principles of self-restraint, prayer, charity, and edifying conversation. Embodied in spirit by the Toleration Act, where we do see change is in the experience and growing agency of the lay population in terms of how they worshipped and their discretion to practice an alternative Protestant denomination. The reign of William III continued the process, further developed over the course of the long eighteenth century, in which ideals of Christian masculinity gradually placed more stress on being a moral, benevolent, charitable Christian man than on being a strict adherent to a particular Protestant doctrine. *The Character of a Good Man*

¹⁷⁴ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, pp. 9-10, 254-259.

¹⁷⁵ Jacob, *Lay People and Religion*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Spurr, 'Religion in Restoration England', p. 425.

¹⁷⁷ Jacob, *Lay People and Religion*, p. 19.

¹⁷⁸ Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, p. 310.

explained that an ideal man 'is a Man of a sober Piety, and well temper'd Zeal; doth not baptize his Religion with the Name of a Sect'.¹⁷⁹

Jeremy Gregory suggests that cultivating inner spiritual feelings remained important but, responding to the turmoil of the mid-seventeenth century, religious ideals of masculinity and the experience of these ideals began to be refocused on public participation and outward behaviour to benefit society.¹⁸⁰ To achieve this end, Brent Sirota argues, religion in Britain moved towards becoming more 'moral rather than confessional, associational rather than parochial, benevolent rather than sacramental—a space perhaps where individuals may be improved, but not saved.'¹⁸¹ The laity took greater agency in their spiritual lives to avoid God's damnation, striving for perfection from sin but knowing full well that one could never escape sin. The individual now had greater discretion in how they would achieve eternal salvation. As such, the experience of laymen and churchmen in this setting reflected both a private and public masculine identity—the psychic identification of oneself as a Protestant man and the struggle to 'perform' in accordance with prescribed moral and spiritual duties. Invoking obedience to God and self-mastery—one of the central values of masculinity—the clergyman-poet Clement Ellis explained in *A Gentile Sinner* (1660), which was in at least its seventh edition by 1690, that in the eyes of Christians the '*true Gentleman, is one that is God's servant, the World's Master, and his own Man.*'¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ *Character of a Good Man*, p. 1.

¹⁸⁰ Gregory, 'Homo Religiosus', pp. 96-7.

¹⁸¹ Sirota, *The Christian Monitors*, p. 260.

¹⁸² Clement Ellis, *The Gentile Sinner, Or, Englands Brave Gentleman Characterized in a Letter to a Friend Both as He Is and as He Should Be* (Oxford: Henry Hall, 1660), p. 178.

Chapter Two: Public Service and Government

Early modern scholars including the likes of David Kuchta, Anthony Fletcher, Michael Braddick, Ann Hughes, Elizabeth Foyster, and Ellis Wasson, among others, have shown that orderly masculinity was a prerequisite for valid political authority at both the national and local level. Men sought public office—a critical foundation of the social order—to fulfil their sense of civic duty and to gain prestige and respect.¹ Clement Ellis explained that the ‘true *Gentleman* is no lesse *Serviceable* to his *Country*, then *Honourable* in *himselfe*.’² Acting in a governmental capacity was one manner through which men could gain honour and reputation, thereby leading them into a social world of ambition, authority, feud, and personal conflict.³ As Fletcher argues, ‘Honour was only at stake between equals; reputation was at stake with everyone.’⁴ Yet, in his 2014 review of the advances in early modern masculinity historiography from the previous decade, Tim Reinke-Williams notes that the masculinity of politics has remained relatively underexplored.⁵ The later Stuart period, in particular, suffers from comparative neglect. This chapter investigates the gendered activities and understandings that informed the honour which came with holding office.

As John Tosh argues in his survey of the term ‘hegemonic masculinity’, presenting an image of authority and legitimacy was important to public servants and politicians because the political order reflected the gender order in society and political virtues were ‘the prescribed masculine virtues writ large.’⁶ According to Rachel Judith Weil, beliefs about gender, marriage, and family were central to political arguments and debates in later Stuart England, albeit connected in various and contingent ways.⁷ Examining the English Revolution, Ann Hughes argues that notions of ‘public’ and ‘private’ were distinct

¹ Anthony Fletcher, ‘Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding in Elizabethan and Stuart England’, in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, eds. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 92-115, pp. 92-3.

² Ellis, *The Gentile Sinner*, p. 156.

³ Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit*, pp. 9-11. Fletcher, ‘Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding’, pp. 92-6. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, pp. 145-53. Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 35. Ann Hughes, ‘Men, the “Public” and the “Private” in the English Revolution’, in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, eds. Peter Lake and Steven C. A. Pincus (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 191-212. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 37. Ellis Wasson, *Born to Rule: British Political Elites* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000), pp. 24-9.

⁴ Fletcher, ‘Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding’, p. 110.

⁵ Tim Reinke-Williams, ‘Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England’, *History Compass* 12, no. 9 (September 2014), 685-693, p. 688.

⁶ Tosh, ‘Hegemonic Masculinity’, p. 41.

⁷ Rachel Judith Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

but mutually reinforcing because legitimate engagement in public life (i.e., holding office) hinged on a citizen's prudent, judicious, authoritative autonomy in his household.⁸ Similarly, Elaine Chalus, Sara Mendelson, and Patricia Crawford, among others, note the importance of family connections to gaining office and that women often played an important, albeit informal, role in politics.⁹ Indeed, Mendelson and Crawford argue that contemporaries, under the belief that political power should ideally be limited to men, feared that women were involved at all levels of politics.¹⁰ Yet, important for this dissertation, although government was a patriarchal institution, public service was a masculine setting for reasons that extended beyond patriarchal power and the fact that women were formally excluded (female monarchs excepted). Crucial to this setting were conflict, argument, competition, social affirmation, achieved status, and reputation amongst *other men* and in conjunction with masculine values that informed understandings of political virtues. Indeed, political masculinity offered men an identity that could be an alternative or addition to their identity in the domestic sphere. A man's reputation for trustworthiness, independence, plain dealing, and rationality—all important criteria for masculinity—was an important component of his political capital and public identity, even if these same deep-rooted male values were often compromised to achieve and maintain power.

The men who served the public did so amidst an evolving debate about civic personality. Legitimate, orderly, uncorrupted public service stemmed from a man's civic virtue and moral character, which reflected classical republican and Christian understandings of political masculinity. In the Western tradition, real property (land) was considered to be an extension of and precondition for civic personality. According to classical republicanism, citizens possessed of real property could remain autonomous, which was necessary to develop the virtue desired of legitimate political actors.¹¹ As J.G.A. Pocock explained in his seminal work, *The Machiavellian Moment* (1975), through the etymological link between virility and *vir* (man), *virtus* was associated with masculinity and in Western thinking 'virtue' came to mean the essential property and moral goodness

⁸ Hughes, 'Men, the "Public" and the "Private"', p. 196. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, p. 97.

⁹ Elaine Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life, c.1754-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 21. Elaine Chalus, "'That Epidemical Madness': Women and Electoral Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century', in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, eds. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (New York: Routledge, 2014), 151-178, pp. 151-55. Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 345-430. Crawford, *Women and Religion*, p. 50.

¹⁰ Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 346.

¹¹ J.G.A. Pocock, 'The Mobility of Property and the Rise of Eighteenth-Century Sociology', in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 103-123, p. 103.

that gave power to an individual or group in a civic context.¹² As a political being, virtue was expressed by a man's independence and ability to act selflessly for the public good.¹³ Tory minister and pamphleteer Charles Davenant insisted that the men who represent the people in government should be 'Uncorrupt, Unbiass'd, and Disinterested.'¹⁴

The central question in political theory from 1688 onwards was whether a regime founded on public debt, patronage, and a professional army corrupted both those inside and outside of the government.¹⁵ According to 'country party' thinking, immorality and corruption in government was the result of less virtuous men participating in government as a result of patronage, 'public credit', and the resulting mutually dependent relationship between government and its expanding base of creditors.¹⁶ Republican critics worried that Britain was becoming rotten and corrupt since, as they presumed, MPs were no longer virtuous and were instead becoming demasculinised placemen dependent on executive patronage.¹⁷ While this debate over the relationship between nascent public credit and legitimate political participation began during reign of William III with writers such as Davenant, John Trenchard, and John Locke, it developed more fully during the reign of Queen Anne thanks to Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Joseph Addison, and John Toland.

Moral character also carried implications for the Christian version of political masculinity that was expressed through spiritual leadership. Ideologically, spiritual and moral maturity was a prerequisite for valid political action. Margaret Hunt suggests that, although the connection was long established, the link between private morals and political authority was revived in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁸ Local officials were expected to act as role models through their church attendance and comportment, as well as safeguard the moral tone of their community by licensing alehouses with prudence, regulating lodging and gambling, and punishing bastardy.¹⁹

¹² J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 37.

¹³ J.G.A. Pocock, 'Authority and Property: The Question of Liberal Origins', in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 51-71, p. 69.

¹⁴ Charles Davenant, *An Essay Upon the Probable Methods of Making a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade* (London: James Knapton, 1699), p. 264.

¹⁵ J.G.A. Pocock, 'Virtues, Rights, and Manners: A Model for Historian of Political Thought', in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 37-50, p. 48.

¹⁶ Pocock, 'Authority and Property', p. 66.

¹⁷ Lombard, *Making Manhood*, p. 158.

¹⁸ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, p. 198.

¹⁹ Rosemary Sweet, *The English Town, 1680-1840: Government, Society and Culture* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1999), p. 105.

Davenant explained, 'Nothing prevails more with the Multitude, nor operates better towards their Amendment, than the Example of the great Ones'.²⁰ As this chapter demonstrates, concerns about the dissolute and debauched behaviour of those in government were major points of tension between the reality of public service and idealised visions of the 'better sorts' that acted in this setting. Dissoluteness and debauchery were characteristic of a defective masculinity. Therefore, a defective public servant would lead the nation into disorder, sin, and ruin because baseness was 'worse both with respect to their Nature and Consequence in a Man of Quality, than in a Commoner; great Men are a sort of Looking-glasses to the lesser, so that if the Mirrours be imperfect, 'twill be difficult for 'em to shape themselves aright'.²¹ Thus, as Braddick argues, the ideal vision of a Christian commonwealth that associated disorder with sin not only sanctioned the power of officeholders but also called them to account.²²

Linking the notions of failed masculinity, insufficiency, and shame to the gratification of ambition and the irrationality of being 'over-forward', in *His Lordship's Advice to His Children* (1688), Warrington wrote:

Though we are bound to do all the good we can, yet you ought not to be over-forward in taking upon you any publick Employment, save with these two Cautions, First, that you be in some good measure qualified for it. Secondly, that you undertake it for the sake of Gods Glory and the good of your Country, and not to gratifie your Ambition: For as by reason of Insufficiency, you will certainly come off with shame; so by desiring it for a wrong end, God will not prosper it.²³

Warrington here alluded to the belief that religious conviction facilitated legitimate public service. The 'godly magistrate' exemplified good governance through his own scrupulous behaviour and by regulating and supervising the behaviour of the population to prevent the nation from descending into immoderation, immorality, and weakness.²⁴ In his 1699 account of the nascent religious reformation societies, Josiah Woodward echoed Warrington and moralised at length on the need for magistrates to enforce spiritual and temporal laws since government officials were both spiritual and temporal authorities. He wrote that 'the *Magistrate's Power* is primarily and originally from GOD; so is the *Office* and *Power of Subordinate Magistrates* immediately and visibly conferred upon them as a

²⁰ Charles Davenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England*, Vol. 1 (London: James Knapton, 1698), p. 274.

²¹ Robert Dallington, *Dallington Epitomisd: Or Aphorisms Civil & Military New Model'd for the Use of the Present Age* (London, 1700), p. 31.

²² Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 76.

²³ Warrington, *Works*, pp. 5-6.

²⁴ Cynthia B. Herrup, 'Law and Morality in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present* 106, no. 1 (February 1985), 102-123, p. 104. Francis Dodsworth, 'Masculinity as Governance: Police, Public Service and the Embodiment of Authority, c. 1700-1850', in *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain*, ed. Matthew McCormack (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 33-53, p. 36.

weighty Trust, by their *Prince*, and their *Country*, which they have an Obligation to the faithful Discharge of, in their natural *Allegiance* and *Fidelity*'.²⁵ Thus, the ideologies of Christian masculinity and public service were mutually reinforcing. By demonstrating the moral and spiritual maturity that signified adulthood (as examined in Chapter One), the godly magistrate exerted legitimate, God-sanctioned control over others with authority conferred by monarchy and state. In turn, this authority was a mark of achieving manhood.

Normative literature aimed at men in public service and government consistently highlighted the role that the state should play in constructing and reinforcing the moral foundation of the nation. Public officials recognised their position in the chain that preserved the social order. The author and tutor Philip Ayres explained that 'you may also by reason of your eminency of Place and Office, together with your Religious, Vertuous and good Example, be a great means of Reformation of mens manners, you may easily frame them to Religion, Honesty, Peaceableness, Loyalty and Subjection'.²⁶ The interests of the state often intersected with those of the Church, especially because of their shared concern for enforcing moral standards. To that end, in a memorandum written during the 1690s Thomas Papillon, First Victualler of the Navy, suggested:

There is no such way to preserve this Kingdom against the common enemy, to wit France and Rome, as that the Government do effectually take care to suppress all Sabbath profanation, and all Drunkenness, Swearing, and Debauchery, and indifferently to countenance and prefer to places of honour or profit such only as are Protestants of sober and honest conversation, of whatsoever persuasion they be.²⁷

Similarly, a 1697 proclamation by William III reiterated Papillon's assertion that the government should suppress vice and promote men of standing who were also paragons of decency. William proclaimed that 'all Persons of Honour, or in Place of Authority will to their utmost contribute to the Discountenancing Men of Dissolute and Debauched Lives, that they being reduced to Shame and Contempt, may be enforced the sooner to Reform their ill Habits and Practices, that the Displeasure of Good Men towards them'.²⁸ Whether central or local, much government effort was geared towards promoting public

²⁵ Woodward, *An Account of the Societies*, p. 35.

²⁶ Philip Ayres, *Vox Clamantis, Or, An Essay for the Honour, Happiness and Prosperity of the English Gentry, and the Whole Nation* (London: John Playford, 1684), p. 46.

²⁷ Thomas Papillon, *Memoirs of Thomas Papillon, of London, Merchant*, ed. A.F.W. Papillon (Reading: Joseph J. Beecroft, 1887), p. 376.

²⁸ Woodward, *An Account of the Societies*, np.

order by preventing discord and impropriety and protecting the proper divine social order.²⁹

In accordance with these classical and Christian understandings of masculinity, through public service many men achieved a form of masculinity by which they gained honour and prestige. However, the path to this honour and prestige was riddled with temptations because public servants consistently struggled to stay true to masculine values. The nature of politics in this period and the perceived link between private vice and public life created friction between the experience and the ideals of masculinity in this setting. This friction was due to the centrality of patronage and partisanship, both of which impinged on a public servant's ability to act without self-interest. As Matthew McCormack argues in his work on Georgian England, valid political activity and who was and was not a legitimate political participant was characterised by appropriate masculine behaviour; independence was an important aspect of this behaviour.³⁰

Patronage was fraught with ambivalence. For the patron, on the one hand, patronage could be construed as a paternalistic form of masculinity that positioned the patron towards the apex of a male hierarchy. However, on the other hand, by exerting mastery and control over other public servants, the patron corrupted the client's independence and, therefore, the client's ability to act dispassionately for the common good. Without the independence that classical republicanism classified as the central principle of citizenship, the subordinated client thus lacked virtue. For the client, this infantilising relationship symbolised a form of prostitution and debasement for power. Humphrey Brooke cautioned: 'Seek not publick employments, places, or offices, if possibly you can live upon a profession of your own: for so you depend not upon uncertain favour, and avoid the many disgusts and accidents that attend them'.³¹ Nevertheless, despite a lack of independence, the client was still able to actualise a form of governing masculinity and gain political power. Although this masculinity was normatively flawed, in practice, political power and public service was still proof of manhood. Thus, the ubiquity of patronage highlighted one difference between orderly and disordered masculinity.

²⁹ Joanna Innes, 'The Domestic Face of the Military-Fiscal State: Government and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *An Imperial State at War: Britain 1689-1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone (London: Routledge, 1994), 96-127, p. 97.

³⁰ Matthew McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 2-4.

³¹ Brooke, *The Durable Legacy*, p. 197.

Similarly, the normative literature, and most contemporary literature for that matter, railed against those that espoused 'the Quarrel of a Party'.³² Ideologically, partisanship was a perversion of classical notions of political masculinity because it hampered the individual's freedom to act selflessly and subordinated the interests of the public to the interests of the party. Nevertheless, partisanship was prevalent and influential. National elections and annual elections of town magistrates, sheriffs, and parish officials facilitated party rivalries and patronage; party strength and manipulation resulted in the removal or installation of men for reasons unrelated to performance and administrative ability.³³ Both Whigs and Tories claimed to be for the public good while accusing the opposition of holding ulterior motives. As Paul Halliday argues, applying faction labels to others was meant to delegitimise an opponent's political participation rather than to portray oneself as the more just party.³⁴ Denouncing Tories in government, Warrington wished that 'every Man the King makes use of, were altogether as honest and affectionate to his Service as I am, and as able to serve him as I am willing.'³⁵ Similarly, in an imagined conversation between 'Mr. Whiglove' and 'Mr. Double', Davenant suggested, 'If you talk or think of the Publick-Good, you will never become a right Modern Whig.'³⁶ Such accusations and rhetoric were standard. Ayres warned his audience that it was 'very well becoming you, to set your selves against all Faction and Division, earnestly to promote the peace of the Church and State, that we may be all united at home'.³⁷ Statesman and politician George Savile, 1st Marquess of Halifax, further highlighted the implications of party:

I cannot forbear to put in a Caveat against Men ty'd to a Party. There must in every body be a Leaning to that sort of Men who go upon a different Foundation; but when a man is drowned in a Party, plunged in it beyond his depth, he runneth a great hazard of being upon ill terms with good Sense, or Morality, if not with both of them. Such a man can hardly be called a Free-Agent, and for that reason is very unfit to be trusted with the Peoples Liberty, after he hath given up his own.³⁸

³² *Character of a Good Man*, p. 1.

³³ Lionel K.J. Glassey, 'Local Government', in *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680-1750: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes*, ed. Clyve Jones (London: Hambledon, 1987), 151-172, p. 159. Fletcher, 'Honour, Reputation, and Local Officeholding', p. 96. Tim Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660-1715* (London: Longman, 1993), p. 187. See also: Paul D. Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England's Towns, 1650-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³⁴ Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic*, pp. 15-6.

³⁵ Warrington, *Works*, p. 84.

³⁶ Charles Davenant, *The True Picture of a Modern Whig, Set Forth in a Dialogue between Mr. Whiglove & Mr. Double, Two under-Spur-Leathers to the Late Ministry* (London, 1701), p. 7.

³⁷ Ayres, *Vox Clamantis*, p. 92.

³⁸ George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, 'Some Cautions Offered to the Considerations of Those Who Are to Chuse Members to Serve in the Ensuing Parliament', in *Miscellanies by the Right Noble Lord, the Late Lord Marquess of Halifax* (London: Matt. Gillyflower, 1700), p. 28.

To Halifax, maintaining autonomy was paramount. As McCormack explains, autonomy was considered honourable and masculine because it allowed for men to freely exercise their conscience unencumbered by political commitments and obligations.³⁹ Partisanship jeopardised this independence and moved Whigs and Tories towards faction.

While the period produced many pamphlets, tracts, and treatises that commented on government and high politics, autobiographical sources from public servants in Britain's expanding state are more limited. Normative literature focused on principles such as public spiritedness, avoiding partisanship, and the perverting influence of power. However, the autobiographical sources of this setting tend to be descriptive rather than reflective records, perhaps because, as Paul Delany hypothesised: 'the nature of his trade inclines the politician to curb his spontaneity and to guard his emotional life from outsiders'.⁴⁰ The parliamentary diary of Narcissus Luttrell, for instance, contains almost no opinion or reflection and consists entirely of the day's abridged resolutions, debates, and votes.⁴¹ Nonetheless, the diaries and journals that have survived demonstrate how masculinity was performed in this setting and the manner through which government and politics created male hierarchies as the result of competition. Of particular note are John Knatchbull and Roger Whitley, who chronicled their experiences of electoral politics and national and provincial political influence during the 1690s, respectively. Likewise, Edmund Bohun, Justice Thomas Rokeby, and James Yonge, among others, served the public in some capacity during this dissertation's time frame.

In *Some Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims Relating to the Conduct of Human Life* (1693) William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, wrote, 'Yet the Publick must and will be served; And they that do it well, deserve publick Marks of Honour and Fortune.'⁴² Holding political office therefore endorsed one's manhood and confirmed social status because, as Margaret Pelling remarks in her study of physicians in politics, holding office symbolised adult maturity much as a marriage did.⁴³ As John Tosh proposes, a man's masculinity needed to be recognised by his peers in order to qualify for

³⁹ McCormack, *The Independent Man*, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Paul Delany, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 120.

⁴¹ Narcissus Luttrell, *The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell, 1691-1693*, ed. Henry Horwitz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

⁴² Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, p. 93.

⁴³ Margaret Pelling, 'Politics, Medicine, and Masculinity: Physicians and Office-Bearing in Early Modern England', in *The Practice of Reform in Health, Medicine, and Science, 1500-2000: Essays for Charles Webster*, eds. Charles Webster, Margaret Pelling, and Scott Mandelbrote (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 81-106, pp. 85-6.

a role in the public sphere.⁴⁴ Therefore, political and administrative difficulty or resistance implicitly challenged claims to civil maturity, competence, and qualification. While elements of competitiveness, pride, and ambition certainly fuelled men to pursue office, Fletcher points out that personal motivation is complex and that at the very least some sense of civil obligation was a common denominator for men in this setting.⁴⁵ Likewise, Rosemary Sweet suggests that many believed voluntary public service was characteristically English.⁴⁶ As a result of this belief, a collective identity of English (British) masculinity was fashioned for and by those who held political office and salaried government roles. Included in this chapter are the men who made claims to this identity and participated in the 'coordinated network of agencies exercising political power' such as MPs, Privy Councillors, courtiers with political sway, central and local administrators, magistrates, local government officials, and judges.⁴⁷ This chapter will examine the general attitudes, practices, and comportment that underpinned these wide-ranging government positions, rather than the specific day-to-day functions and duties performed or policies contested.

Beyond the fact that government and politics were formally restricted to men, the experience of public service was inherently masculine because masculinity was synonymous with the exercise of power and relative authority. Manhood could be attained through the competitive spectacle of local, parliamentary, and national politics, which provided avenues for achieving social authority and allowed for the propagation of hierarchies of manhood. The value framework of masculinity in government, politics, and public service associated appropriate masculinity with legitimate authority, Christian morality, impartiality, and integrity, while corruption, dependency, patronage, and partisanship characterised disordered masculinity. Likewise, the masculinity of public servants was distinguished against the non-masculinity of boyishness and immaturity. This chapter is organised on the basis of government hierarchy. First, this chapter considers national offices and appointments. The next two sections highlight the importance of achieved status to masculinity. The second section examines Parliament and elections. Amplified by increasing partisanship, elections acted as a forum for men to assert themselves over one another. The third section considers local officeholders. At the local level, prominent members of the community held most government offices on a

⁴⁴ Tosh, 'What Should Historians Do with Masculinity?', p. 184.

⁴⁵ Fletcher, 'Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding', pp. 114-5.

⁴⁶ Sweet, *The English Town*, pp. 110-11.

⁴⁷ Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 90.

voluntary basis, although paid clerks became increasingly common. This chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the changing composition of government and the relationship between power and masculinity.

I. Executive Office

At the very top of the administrative hierarchy were the monarch's ministers and, informally, those who had his ear at court. Those with regular access to the sovereign, in an official capacity or otherwise, had the chance to argue for their own policies, become brokers of crown favour, and secure patronage of lands, titles, offices, and wealth.⁴⁸ However, although those with immediate access to the king in a formal or informal capacity still wielded immense power, their command over the state was curtailed compared to the earlier seventeenth century. With the ascendancy of Parliament and the increased limitation of Crown powers, the Privy Council began to decrease in importance, capping the power that could be wielded by courtiers. Nevertheless, the exercise of much political power was still personal since all meaningful decisions required monarchical consent.⁴⁹ Therefore, Gary Cox argues that an 'embryonic form of ministerial responsibility' emerged in the eighteenth century in which the Crown's chief advisors became responsible for a more defined, precise set of responsibilities.⁵⁰ Moreover, Cox notes, Parliament captured for itself the ability to deny monetary support to force changes in policies or personnel, if necessary, although executive ministers maintained responsibility for the major policy decisions.⁵¹ Across the spectrum of the executive, appointed positions put men in a precarious state due to the vagaries of political life that frequently defied classical and Christian understandings of political masculinity. Autonomy and self-mastery were powerful norms of masculinity, but the political system, based on patronage, fostered the opposite—dependency.

Entry into politics and government was often thanks to a patron's influence. For instance, on his appointment to the bench in Scotland by William III, David Hume, Lord Crossrig, admitted in his memoirs that he 'had no hand nor knowledge of this' and 'could

⁴⁸ Alan Marshall, *The Age of Faction: Court Politics, 1660-1702* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 35.

⁴⁹ Robert Shephard, 'Court Factions in Early Modern England', *The Journal of Modern History* 64, no. 4 (1992), 721-745, p. 723.

⁵⁰ Gary W. Cox, 'War, Moral Hazard, and Ministerial Responsibility: England After the Glorious Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History* 71, no. 1 (March 2011), 133-161, p. 147.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

never understand fully how I came to be named, but I allways reckon my self obliged for it to my Lord Melvil, then Lord Secretary.’⁵² Likewise, Hume recorded that the ‘same hand that procured me to be a Lord of Session, obtained my being made a Commisioner of Justiciary.’⁵³ For statesmen of significant substance like George Melville, 1st Earl of Melville, holding public office or sitting on a national board did not necessarily provide proportionate financial rewards. Instead, the benefit of these posts came from the influence it garnered, not least on the appointment of others to lower positions. In theory, department heads distributed and controlled most government offices.⁵⁴ In his translated *The Characters, or The Manners of the Age* (1699)—which the French author explained was a portrait of mankind in general and not just France—the philosopher and moralist Jean de la Bruyère asked, ‘How many Friends, how many Relations, are born to a new Minister in one night?’⁵⁵ For example, Sir Stephen Fox, an MP, officer in the royal household, and Treasury commissioner, secured appointments for his son, nephew, and various other protégés and relatives while on the Treasury Board.⁵⁶ Men like Fox sought to use their influence and resources to build large followings, a common practice that doubtlessly indulged a minister’s vanity and sense of power.⁵⁷ Labelled ‘corruption’, the executive’s capacity to create clients and cultivate personal, political, and economic relationships of dependence seemingly disrupted the balance of the constitution by curtailing men’s autonomy, morality, and, thus, their ability to serve the nation virtuously.⁵⁸ Therefore, Jacques Goussault counselled: ‘If you be in any considerable Employment, entertain none in your Service, but Men of Experience, and such as are capable to do service to their Prince, and Country ... and take Counsel of none but such as are disinterested, and of good Judgment.’⁵⁹ Because selfless virtue was the foundation of traditional male citizenship, corruption compromised one’s appropriate masculinity.

The masculinity of those in appointed offices was customarily couched in terms of master-servant relationships. Even still, there was some form of honour to be had at each level of government and political stratification. In his translated French text, Nicolas Rémond des Cours explained, ‘Tis no lessening to a Man of Birth, to endeavour to gain

⁵² Hume, *Domestic Details*, p. 48.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁵⁴ Robert Bucholz, ‘Venality at Court: Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Sale of Household Office 1660-1800’, *Historical Research*, forthcoming, pp. 14-17.

⁵⁵ Jean de la Bruyère, *The Characters, Or, The Manners of the Age* (London: John Bullord, 1699), p. 182.

⁵⁶ Christopher Clay, *Public Finance and Private Wealth: The Career of Sir Stephen Fox, 1627-1716* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 245.

⁵⁷ Marshall, *Age of Faction*, pp. 36-7.

⁵⁸ Pocock, ‘Authority and Property’, p. 66.

⁵⁹ Goussault, *Advice to Young Gentlemen*, pp. 2-3.

their good Will, and not to slight the Advantages which he may reap from their Protection, provided that it be not purchased by an unmaning of himself.’⁶⁰ Thus, in spite of most normative literature condemning solicitation, courting ministers’ favour could be justified in some senses because political ethics were not precisely defined. In this regard, whether a man was motivated to serve the public or serve himself played an important role. For instance, upon returning to England after serving as Secretary of War in Ireland, despite the king’s ‘many gracious promises’ George Clarke complained bitterly that he ‘found Mr. Ostall established in the employment which was promised me, and I was put off with a commission of Secretary at War in the King’s absence, which I enjoyed ten years, which was all the King did for me as long as he lived.’⁶¹ Clarke did not ‘unman’ himself by fostering relationship of dependence with another patron who could help advance him. Instead, Clarke continued to serve the king even if it was not in the position he desired. Yet, as Clarke shows, a career built on favoritism and the inclination of superiors could be a frustrating and infantilising experience, which caused Abel Boyer to note that it ‘is a strange desire to seek *Power* and to lose *Liberty*; or to seek *Power* over *others*, and to lose *Power* over a *Man’s* own self.’⁶²

The appointment of John Knatchbull, 2nd Baronet, as a Commissioner to the Lord Privy Seal in 1690 further illustrates the precariousness of appointed office and the temptations of patronage. As a landowner and moderate Tory MP for Kent, Knatchbull was far from the leaching courtier typically satirised by contemporary literature. Yet Knatchbull’s appointment ultimately hinged on the goodwill of those with access to the king. Although he was recommended to the king by both Halifax and Charles Talbot, 1st Duke of Shrewsbury, Knatchbull believed his appointment rested on whether or not ‘Ld Nottingham would perhaps sitt upon my skirts and give the King a Character of me and because of that which had past betweene him and myselfe or that some way or other I should be sett aside’.⁶³ Knatchbull and Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham, the Secretary of State at the time, had a complicated history. Although marriage linked their families, Knatchbull had previously rebuffed Nottingham’s hints at patronage and office by refusing to accompany him to rescue James II when the king was captured in Faversham in 1688 and, the following year, refusing to take a hard line with Nottingham on behalf of

⁶⁰ Nicolas Rémond des Cours, *The True Conduct of Persons of Quality* (London: W. Kettilby, 1694), p. 68.

⁶¹ George Clarke, ‘Autobiography of Dr. George Clarke’, in *HMC Report on the Manuscripts of F.W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq. of Littlecote, Co. Wilts.*, ed. S.C. Lomas (Norwich: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1899), 257–289, p. 276.

⁶² Boyer, *Characters*, p. 60.

⁶³ BL Add MS 52924, fol. 43.

the Church of England.⁶⁴ After a dinner with Nottingham and others in 1689, Knatchbull wrote in his diary of Nottingham's patronage attempts: 'I was in paine and low in my Spiritts and a little kindled in my mind at this behaviour. His whole discourse being to no other purpose than that I should have his favour to the King ... having a great aversion & a naturall disdaine of this trafficking way I parted with his Lordship in something a Cloudy reserved manner'.⁶⁵ In light of these previous conflicts and his distaste for Nottingham's brand of patronage, Knatchbull saw his chances of appointment to the Privy Seal as hopeless. He was 'resolved to abide by his interest onely without applying myselfe to any else either directly or indirectly, and found no anguish att all upon my mind'.⁶⁶ Much to his surprise, Knatchbull received the post. Patronage was not universal and many men like Knatchbull tried to conduct themselves virtuously in accordance with the normative literature that advised men to only accept appointments out of a desire to serve the public good, rather than to seek out appointments as a form of self-aggrandisement and profit.

Like Knatchbull, objections from men close to the king could have derailed Thomas Rokeby's appointment to a judgeship in 1689. However, even though he was a known Dissenter, Rokeby's unequivocal commitment to Protestantism, king, and country enabled his advancement. Although Rokeby was 'named by severall Privy Councillors to the king' and owed his appointment to their recommendation, Rokeby instead psychologically disentangled himself from the patronage system and attributed his advancement to God's will instead of the intervention of these ministers.⁶⁷ In turn, Rokeby considered his office to be a platform for moral reform. After receiving a judgeship in the Court of Common Pleas, Rokeby described his belief that William, Mary, and Parliament were now engaged on behalf of God in opposing Satan and the Antichrist. Positing himself as a spiritual leader and appealing to the Christian forms of manhood examined in the previous chapter, he wrote, 'I look upon myself as ingaged in that cause by a call from God to be one of the 12 Judges of England, and I looke upon it as my duty not only to own that cause, but also in my place and station to own, practice, promote, incourage personall and family piety and holiness in the most real and serious manner of the exercise of them.'⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Stuart Handley, 'Knatchbull, Sir John, 2nd Bt. (c.1636-96), of Mersham Hatch, Kent', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, eds. Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley, D.W. Hayton (Boydell & Brewer, 2002); online edn, [<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/knatchbull-sir-john-1636-96>].

⁶⁵ Kent HLC U951/F46, p. 103.

⁶⁶ BL Add MS 52924, fol. 43.

⁶⁷ Thomas Rokeby, *A Brief Memoir of Mr. Justice Rokeby: Comprising His Religious Journal and Correspondence* (Durham: George Andrews, 1861), pp. 31-2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

Of all the autobiographical sources of this setting, Rokeby's journal most reflects that of a man worried about failing to uphold the expectations and obligations of office.

Again and again, Rokeby mentally protected himself from the degradation of patronage by appealing to the Christian discourse of masculine public service. Although he found 'many snares, temptations and difficulties' in public life, Rokeby endeavoured to 'earnestly pray for and humbly relye upon the strength and power of my blessed Redeemer to inable me to overcome every snare, temptation and difficulty, and to perform every duty incumbent on me, to God's glory and the publicke good.'⁶⁹ One of the difficulties Rokeby faced was his 'great infirmitys', which were a source of constant worry, not just because of his health but also because he feared he would not then be able to fulfil the duties, expectations, and financial obligations fixed upon him.⁷⁰ In many ways, Rokeby's insecurities motivated self-reflection. His fears of weakness expressed a displacement of concerns over his lack of self-control: over his body and its 'infirmities', over his ability to think rationally about his finances, over his self-claimed sinful disposition and covetous mind, and over his worries about the duties that came with each successive public appointment thrust upon him.

William was satisfied with Rokeby's performance and promoted him to the King's Bench six years later. Rokeby again attributed his promotion to God's support for his integrity and claimed he did not seek such advancement. In October 1695 he recorded:

... I was sworn a Judge of the King's Bench. This place is in the general esteeme of people thought to be a place of more honor and profit than the place I was in in the Common Pleas, yet I can truly say I did not seek it, nor were there any motives to me to undertake it; but I hope I may truly say I came into this station in an humble submission to the disposall of Divine Providence ...⁷¹

Thus, Rokeby's identity congruity derived from attributing his advancement to Providence rather than ambition, which psychologically legitimated his governing masculinity. A year after being named to the King's Bench Rokeby assessed his performance, writing that 'by the abundant goodness of my gracious God toward me (for to Him alone I doe ascribe all the ability I have to doe any service) I have done the dutys of that place, I hope, without dishonour to God, or reproach to religion, or any just cause of reflection upon the King, who removed me into that station.'⁷² Highlighting the intersection of religion and the public good, by dispensing justice as an agent of the government and God, Rokeby fulfilled his mandate to uphold the laws meant to govern

⁶⁹ Ibid., 52.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 56.

⁷¹ Ibid., 56-7.

⁷² Ibid., 59.

both the material and the spiritual. Through this legitimate exercise of power his manhood was confirmed on the basis of the Christian version of political masculinity.

Edmund Bohun's short-lived experience of holding national office was markedly different. Instead, Bohun's experience highlights the astuteness of William De Britaine's advice to acknowledge 'how precarious and unhappy your Life and Fortune will be, which depends upon so slender a Thread as anothers pleasure'.⁷³ On an individual level, the world of politics was highly unstable, which challenged claims to a secure identity. A quarrelsome, outspoken Tory writer, Bohun's experience of government employment was indicative of several ordinary trials an officeholder might face in making such identity claims. Initially, Bohun did not believe he had the requisite resources to receive a position bestowed by appointment. When the post of licenser of the press became available in August 1692 Bohun lamented that he 'had neither money nor friends; and so could not pretend to it'.⁷⁴ Bohun's subjective experience of the seemingly paradoxical process of achieving appointment revealed his attempts to claim a flawed masculinity. Dependence was criticised because it violated classical republican understandings of public service, but was ostensibly necessary in practice. Contradicting the ideological group values, Bohun lamented that it was a *lack* of patronage that denied his ability to claim governing masculinity. Ultimately, despite his self-perceived lack of influential friends, he was made licenser in September 1692 following a recommendation from Bishop Moore.

The public nature of politics and government exposed men to scrutiny. A man's enemies might attack under even the thinnest of pretexts. Within months Bohun fell victim to party politics and, in his own mind, a plot to bring about his dismissal. In January 1693, as a result of licensing an anonymous pamphlet entitled *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors* (1693), the House of Commons ordered Bohun arrested for approving a work that undermined William and Mary by suggesting they ruled through conquest. His humiliation in the Commons compounded the indignity of his resulting arrest. Bohun protested in his diary: 'I remained all that day in great anxiety and fear; not knowing what to do or say; no one giving me comfort or advice; and confined I was to a very small room, and not suffered to stir out though with my keeper. Many men reproaching me for the book who knew nothing of it, judged and condemned me by votes'.⁷⁵ Reduced to an effeminate state of fear and powerlessness, he complained that he 'had no manner of

⁷³ De Britaine, *Humane Prudence*, p. 17.

⁷⁴ Edmund Bohun, *The Diary and Autobiography of Edmund Bohun, Esq.*, ed. Samuel Wilton Rix (Beccles: R. Crisp, 1853), p. 93.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 103-4.

direction what to say or do' and his position required him to 'read six or eighte houres a day; and had few acquaintance in the house; and so, when I was doing the king's business in my chamber, lose the opportunity of looking to my own security'.⁷⁶

Bohun's displacement of guilt was psychologically useful because it removed some of his shame and shifted the blame from himself to others, which suggested to him that his shortcomings were the result of their actions and not his failures. With one method of gaining honour confiscated, Bohun reconciled himself to his loss of social position by falling back on recognisable masculine virtues. Upon surrendering his commission to Nottingham, he wrote, 'I assured him I had served him with the utmost industry, fidelity, and prudence I could. He said he believed it, but he could not help the vote of the commons.'⁷⁷ Nottingham's confirmation of Bohun's self-ascribed masculine qualities ('industry, fidelity, and prudence') revealed the reality of political life. Public servants stepped onto a stage and exposed their reputation to hostility. Despite Bohun making claims to prescribed manly virtues, nevertheless, Bohun found himself a pawn of more powerful men because the patronage system ensured that appointments often came about at the behest of personal favouritism and dismissals due to personal enmity. As this episode revealed, officers were subject to the whims of men of higher status, infantilising those who were no longer in control of their political life.

Unsurprisingly, in light of the patronage system, accusations of profiteering from office and accepting bribes were common at all levels of government, particularly appointed office, because 'Covetousness in such Men prompts them to prostitute the Publick for Gain.'⁷⁸ Conjuring images of sexual misconduct, to prostitute the public through venality was to engage in carnal gratification at the expense of the social and moral order. Common sentiment suspected that 'A Place at Court is a Continual Bribe' with courtiers exemplifying dependence because 'a Courtier ... wants a thousand different Props to bear him up in the World'.⁷⁹ For example, diarist and writer John Evelyn attributed some of the resentment towards Lord Somers, and the attacks he faced in the Commons, to Somers being in 'too much haste to be rich, as his predecessor, and most in place in this age did, to a more prodigious excess than was ever known.'⁸⁰ With his use of the words 'prodigious excess', Evelyn ascribed a level of effeminate indulgence. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, many identified acquisitiveness with a perverted form of

⁷⁶ Ibid., 106, 110.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 113.

⁷⁸ Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, p. 94.

⁷⁹ *Laconics*, p. 65. Rémond des Cours, *True Conduct*, p. 75.

⁸⁰ Evelyn, *Diary*, p. 352.

masculinity due to the connection with effeminising luxury that revealed itself through excessive consumption. As David Kuchta explains, effeminacy and luxury were two related, egregious political vices, along with corruption, tyranny, and anarchy.⁸¹ Writers linked the overconsumption that constituted luxury to the erosion of manly qualities needed to serve the state.⁸² Therefore, as a political vice, covetousness and consumption among public servants was all the more flagrant because it signalled the loss of restraint and subverted both the classical and Christian aspects of governing masculinity. Although such accusations were not unique to William's reign, in his memoirs Thomas Bruce, 2nd Earl of Ailesbury, attributed allegations of jobbery and malfeasance to William knowing 'little as to the state of the Kingdom and Finances, and those employed in the latter knew it but too well, and they made fortunes accordingly.'⁸³

Similarly, in 1694, Thomas Papillon faced accusations of profiteering from his position as Commissioner for Victualling the Navy. In office at William's behest but against his own wishes (since he was forced to neglect his mercantile concerns), Papillon and his son were charged by Sir John Parsons of profiting in 'undue ways' by making 'eight or ten thousand pounds a year by preferring persons in payment'.⁸⁴ Papillon's response was decidedly dismissive. He declared that he would welcome an investigation by the House of Commons and desired Parsons to either produce his witnesses or apologise. Ultimately, nothing came of the accusation, but with the nature of appointments at court, the supposed prevalence of corruption, and the ability to earn substantial sums of money through government office, it is unsurprising that someone like Papillon faced extortion accusations. With some bitterness Whig politician Goodwin Wharton recorded that in the winter of 1696 he 'brought in a bill against the corruption of selling & buying places but it miscarried with ye Lords, and ye judges were themselves not Scandalously & openly against it.'⁸⁵ Such cynicism conditioned the collective socio-cultural identity of the men in government, which meant that the masculinity of those in office was under constant siege.

Although patronage and corruption would continue to compromise understandings of approved political masculinity well beyond this dissertation's time frame, the executive branch of government, particularly middling and lower offices, was

⁸¹ Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit*, pp. 10-13.

⁸² Dana Harrington, 'Gender, Commerce, and the Transformation of Virtue in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2001), 33-52, p. 35.

⁸³ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, p. 240.

⁸⁴ Papillon, *Memoirs*, p. 368.

⁸⁵ Goodwin Wharton, 'Autobiography of the Hon. Goodwin Wharton, Vol. II', London, Manuscript Collections, British Library, Add MS 20007, fol. 177.

gradually becoming professionalised. John Brewer argued in his seminal work, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the British State 1688-1783* (1989), that, urgently requiring funds to support expensive continental wars, the English bureaucracy not only grew but also achieved a level of professionalism towards the end of the seventeenth century.⁸⁶ This change was piecemeal. According to L.J. Hume, the government continued to be 'a source of enrichment for politicians, businessmen, and the lesser employees, through embezzlement, the occupation of sinecures, the sale of posts in the establishment, the acceptance of secret commissions, and the like.'⁸⁷ Brewer explains that, although sinecurists, pluralists, and fee-based officers continued to inhabit many existing departments and offices, the central government grew slowly around them. Nevertheless, Brewer notes, many of the newly revamped or established departments took on a number of bureaucratic features such as a salary, career-ladder, entry standards, internal monitoring, and defined procedures, routines, and systems of record-keeping.⁸⁸ Those outside of the traditional group of power, namely the lower gentry and the middling sorts, mostly staffed these positions.⁸⁹ More men were now able to access a form of honour that came with breaking into the government's male hierarchy by taking on responsibilities that signalled adult maturity. Although these offices were salaried positions, which infringed on the classical republic ideals of *voluntary* public service, government administration as a profession carried with it a similar purpose of acting dispassionately to serve the public good. Thus, the trend towards bureaucracy at the end of the seventeenth century, germinal during this dissertation's period, signalled another form of public service masculinity that would be more fully realised in the eighteenth century—the professional civil servant.

Government offices were held at the pleasure of the monarch, but force of custom typically ensured that few men below the great offices of state were dismissed from service within a reign.⁹⁰ Thus, civil service became an increasingly secure career path as Britain relied more and more on specialist knowledge to facilitate good government. William Penn argued that there should be '*Merchants* for Trade, *Seamen* for the Admiralty, *Travellers* for Foreign Affairs, some of the *Leading Men* of the Country for Home Business,

⁸⁶ John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the British State 1688-1783* (New York: Knopf, 1989).

⁸⁷ L.J. Hume, 'Charles Davenant on Financial Administration', *History of Political Economy* 6, no. 4 (1974), 463-477, p. 464.

⁸⁸ John Brewer, 'The Eighteenth Century-British State: Contexts and Issues', in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689-1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone (London: Routledge, 1994), 52-71, pp. 58-9.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁹⁰ Bucholz, 'Venality at Court', pp. 14-17.

and *Common and Civil Lawyers* to advise of Legality and Right, who should always keep to the strict Rules of Law.’⁹¹ Technical competence begot a form of honour and status. In turn, the progressive credentialism of public service reinforced the masculine culture and practices of government as the increased professionalisation led to increased bureaucratisation, which embodied notions of rationality culturally-categorised as ‘masculine’. Abel Boyer explained, ‘We may seem *great* in an *Employment below* our *desert*; but we generally look very little in one *above* it.’⁹² Disparaging the supposedly foppish, effeminate, and dependent courtiers, one maxim declared that ‘*Brains and Heads*, not *Powder and Perukes* must Support a Government.’⁹³ Ideologically, albeit less so in practice, rational government administration was dispassionate, which reduced the destructive political vices associated with disordered moral weakness—corruption, commodification, and debauchery—and effeminate passions, such as luxury and instability.

II. Parliament

As this dissertation emphasises, public life was an essential component of masculinity because manhood required social proof. Accordingly, citing the public nature of Parliament, Ann Hughes writes, ‘It is important to stress the manliness of politics, particularly parliamentary politics, for this has too often been taken for granted in historical analysis.’⁹⁴ Positions contested by election, such as MP, alderman, or mayor not only required public confirmation of one’s suitability (including more strict income qualifications after 1711) but also confirmation of being more suitable than others. Standing for elected office was a conscious choice that obliged the candidate to obtain deference or patronage from high-ranking men in the community, often at great expense.⁹⁵ Elected positions offered both status enhancement and the chance to pursue personal agendas, such as estate and divorce settlements, local legislation initiatives, and building projects. Because social recognition was a crucial component of masculinity, elections for office carried significant ramifications for masculinity because they were time-honoured domains of homosocial competition that privileged strength of character, approval, and clout.

⁹¹ Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, p. 89.

⁹² Boyer, *Characters*, p. 57.

⁹³ *Laconics*, p. 7.

⁹⁴ Hughes, ‘Men, the “Public” and the “Private”’, p. 197.

⁹⁵ Wasson, *Born to Rule*, p. 4.

The efforts of these men to gain and maintain political influence demonstrate that rivalry, collusion, and competition conditioned their intragroup behaviour. Most constituencies returned MPs by selection and gentlemanly agreements rather than genuine election, and there was a relative minority of genuinely contested seats even during the 'rage of party' following the Glorious Revolution.⁹⁶ Electioneering was common as Kentish MP John Knatchbull repeatedly demonstrated in the brief time span his diary covered. While Knatchbull never faced any direct, credible challengers, he nevertheless portrayed the competition that separated men from each other as well as bound the cohort together. Similar to patronage and party, electioneering was a fraught process that exhibited the contradictions of political life. For the Convention election in January 1689, Knatchbull made agreements beforehand to allow him to run unopposed. As a result, Knatchbull did not feel the need to arrive with a body of men to poll for him and forbade the 'Gentlemen & the Country to come in as I had done by reason of the Extremity of the weather and the badness of the ways'.⁹⁷ Although he lacked visible and vocal endorsements and began to suspect that some of the men he had an agreement with 'had taken some jealousy or offence at me', Knatchbull was elected unopposed to one of two seats.⁹⁸ Ideologically, closed-door politics such as this seemingly circumvented the process of gaining social recognition from the franchise, which compromised the ideal of a man being elected on the basis of the public endorsing his merit and dignity. Daniel Defoe argued that when it came to voting for representatives in Parliament the question to ask 'as it ought to be, Is he a Man of Sense, of Religion, of Honesty and Estate?'⁹⁹ Instead, closed-door politics disallowed the franchise from asking this question about one's masculine character.

In practice, electioneering was often a necessity that helped secure a man's competitive rank and confirm his identity as a member of the governing class. Running for office and losing could be emasculating for one's self- and social-image. Boyer quipped of this contradiction: 'It is hard to determine which of the two is the greater shame, either to be deny'd a Place we deserve, or granted one we deserve not.'¹⁰⁰ Knatchbull again exhibited the intrigues typical for elections when he received word that same month that

⁹⁶ Chris Cook and John Stevenson, *A History of British Elections Since 1689* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 20.

⁹⁷ Kent HLC U951/F46, p. 76.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 81-2.

⁹⁹ Daniel Defoe, *The Free-Holders Plea Against Stock-Jobbing Elections of Parliament Men* (London, 1701), p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ Boyer, *Characters*, p. 32.

his brother-in-law, Edward Dering, was already angling to supplant him at the next election. Since public office confirmed masculinity, at stake was the honour associated with serving the community as an MP, which Dering threatened. The discomfort Knatchbull felt stemmed from not only the challenge to his social position from his own family but also the inherent challenge his masculine identity. Boyer explained, 'It is not so difficult to raise one's self to a Place of great Trust, as to maintain one's self in it.'¹⁰¹ Knatchbull recorded in his diary that he heard by 'severall witnesses that Sr Edward had solicited severall gentlemen for next Ellection so that I was advised to speak to my friends in Town wch I did accordingly and Received encouragement from almost all.' Knatchbull's disappointment with Dering came not so much from his 'pretending to the County next Election' but from his covert solicitation and what Knatchbull saw as an undignified circumvention of the political process: 'if I had been in his circumstances & he in mine, he should have been the first man I would have acquainted with my designe'. Knatchbull and Dering met at a coffee house a week later. After Dering suggested their interests were the same, Knatchbull responded that he was resolved to stand and 'gave my reasons for itt wch was that I was willing to come againe in Parliamt to comfirme what was done in a Convention'. Although Dering argued that 'itt would be soe much the stronger to be confirmed by new men', Knatchbull bristled at Dering's challenge to his achieved social status and replied, 'I could trust noe body in this Case so well as myselfe and therefore was resolved to try the County once more.'¹⁰² Knatchbull's rebuttal corroborated Halifax's warning that 'a very extraordinary earnestness to be chosen, is no very good Symptom: A desire to serve the Nation in Parliament, is an *English Man's Ambition*: Always to be Encouraged, and never to be disapproved.'¹⁰³ Such meetings to decide among gentleman who would stand for Parliament were common. Through his principled steadfastness, Knatchbull thus submitted his claim for recognition of his social and civil maturity. Ultimately, this contest never came to pass as Dering raised a regiment to fight in the Williamite War in Ireland where he fell ill and died.¹⁰⁴

The election of 1690 also saw Knatchbull manoeuvring behind the scenes to secure his position as the Member of Parliament for Kent. In February 1690 he met with Sir Vere

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 58.

¹⁰² BL Add MS 52924, fols. 31-2.

¹⁰³ Halifax, 'Some Cautions', p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Basil Duke Henning, 'Dering, Edward (1650-89), of Surrenden Dering, Kent', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. Basil Duke Henning (Boydell and Brewer, 1983); online edn, [http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/dering-edward-1650-89].

Fane and Col. Rob Smith to organise themselves against any opposition. Knatchbull wrote that they 'agree not to Solicite people in any perticular manner, but to meet att the Election day and use our Interest for one another as we had occasion'. Knatchbull was eager to avoid any surprises from potential challenges this time around and told them that 'if any thing happened in the Country towards opposition I desired he would give me notice of itt'.¹⁰⁵ Knatchbull was again successful, this time ensuring he projected an image of strength at the poll by telling 'those people that had a mind to come to the Election to come as early as they could lest I should appeare as naked as I had done the last time'.¹⁰⁶ In this way Knatchbull seized on the symbolic importance of popular acclaim, using the term 'naked' to describe his sense of weakness and exposure at the previous poll when he came unsupported. In turn, with masculinity contingent on public approval and *political masculinity* contingent on holding office, confirming his popular support was an exercise in impression management as the visible strength of the county behind him in this instance cloaked his election with the standards of propriety and legitimacy.

Less than a week later Knatchbull was appointed as a Commissioner to the Lord Privy Seal. As both an MP and acting government official, Knatchbull was immediately asked to put his national and local influence to use by Sir John Lowther, 2nd Baronet, of Whitehaven, an MP for Cumberland and a Commissioner of the Admiralty. Knatchbull recorded that Lowther 'desired me to use my Interest for Sr. Charles Hedges who was sent down by his friends at least to Stand for Dover in the Ensueing Parliament.' Knatchbull responded that he would not pretend to have any interest in Dover nor did he think it was proper for someone standing for an election himself to meddle in another's contest.¹⁰⁷ Although Knatchbull declined, such intervention in elections was not uncommon since as early as the sixteenth century it had become rare for 'native sons' to represent their own constituencies.¹⁰⁸ Alluding to the early modern Valentine's Day custom of acquiring a pretend sweetheart by chance instead of choice, Halifax highlighted the disorderliness of this process by writing that MPs 'are often chosen without being known, which is more like chusing Valentines, than Members of Parliament.' He suggested that such men were more likely to seek office so that 'they may redress their own Grievances which they know, than those of the Countrey, to which they are strangers.' He continued:

They are chosen at *London* to serve in *Cornwall*, &c. and are often Parties, before they come to be Representatives: One would think the Reproach it is for a County not to have Men within their own

¹⁰⁵ BL Add MS 52924, fol. 40.

¹⁰⁶ Kent HLC U951/F46, p. 143.

¹⁰⁷ BL Add MS 52924, fol. 45.

¹⁰⁸ Wasson, *Born to Rule*, pp. 22-3.

Circle to serve them in Parliament, should be Argument enough to reject these Trespassers, without urging the ill Consequences in other Respects of their being admitted.¹⁰⁹

Indeed, this same Charles Hedges was returned for six different constituencies during his career and even contested and won multiple seats for the same Parliament twice.¹¹⁰ As Knatchbull, Hedges, and Halifax reveal, a key motive of those seeking election was often about winning and influence, not representation. Knatchbull's diary suggests an imperfect connection between ideals and practice. The performance of a form of political masculinity *first* depended on competition and achieving office even if the means of achieving that office were ideologically flawed. Those that achieved a more orderly or durable masculinity were those that celebrated and embraced notions of civic virtue, Christian morality, and serving the public without self-interest.

As Ellis Wasson suggests, winning election to Parliament garnered honour for established members of the elite and acted as a mark of acceptance for new men. It was the most effective way for powerful men to distinguish among themselves who was important.¹¹¹ For this reason, and because competition fosters the hierarchical structure of masculinity, contested seats led to political rivalries. One such example was the rivalry between the Tory Thomas Grosvenor, 3rd Baronet, and the Whig Roger Whitley, documented in Whitley's diary. At least one of the two seats for Chester was held by one of them from 1681 until Whitley's death in 1697 and Grosvenor's in 1700. In 1689, Whitley, along with George Mainwaring, supplanted Grosvenor with such a large margin of victory in the poll that 'though the Mayor sent his officers 3 severall times to let them know the pole was begunne & to invite them to it but they refused; also Proclamacion was made that if any body would pole for them they would be received, but none appearing for them & some 100ds being poled for Mainwaring & my selfe'.¹¹² Although this was not the first time Grosvenor had lost to Whitley, the manner of his defeat was surely humiliating for Grosvenor and a blow to the identity Grosvenor had forged for himself as a local powerbroker. Grosvenor had spent his entire adult life in politics and hailed from a family that dominated Cheshire politics for the better part of the seventeenth century.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Halifax, 'Some Cautions', pp. 24-5.

¹¹⁰ Stuart Handley, 'Hedges, Sir Charles (bap. 1650, d. 1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, January 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12859>].

¹¹¹ Wasson, *Born to Rule*, p. 29.

¹¹² *Whitley's Diary*, fol. 101.

¹¹³ Stuart Handley, 'Grosvenor, Sir Thomas, third baronet (1655-1700)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, January 2008 [<http://www.nb.com/view/article/11674>].

In the following election in 1690, Grosvenor beat Whitley but only by a small margin, which Whitley attributed to underhand tactics. Whitley wrote that he 'went to the Penthouse to speake with the Mayor & Sheriffe about the Election; they were busy making new freemen, Grosvenor and Leeming with them; I would not stay to see any made'.¹¹⁴ By creating new freemen only days before the election with the understanding that they would likely poll for him, Grosvenor was able to use patronage to expand his voter base. However, as Boyer warned: 'Men in Power plunge their Clients into the Mud, with a Ring about their Necks; so that let them bring up what they will, nothing goes down with them that they shall be ever the better for'.¹¹⁵ Grosvenor's actions would directly lead to disorderliness at the hustings. Two days later Whitley and Mainwaring, along with one of the sheriffs, protested the new freemen and even went so far as to announce that 'if any should give us theire votes we disowned them'. However, their complaints were ignored as were their protests later in the day when the poll was closed early despite several in the crowd having yet to poll. The next day, with one sheriff declaring for Grosvenor and his partner and the other declaring for Whitley and Mainwaring, confusion ensued as supporters of both parties gathered. Some demanded to poll while others argued it was closed. Ultimately, Grosvenor was returned, although Whitley alleged corruption and reported that 'severall people gave information of bribes, threats, irregularities in the election'.¹¹⁶ Whitley petitioned Parliament, but Parliament decided in Grosvenor's favour. Such appeals were not uncommon.

This contest between Whitley and Grosvenor is telling for three reasons. First, Grosvenor and Whitley highlight how competition—for office in this setting—allowed for men to confirm their masculinity by achieving social authority as an MP or mayor. Second, in this case, the significant disjuncture between the political ideals of autonomy and plain dealing and Grosvenor's creation of clients that aided in his resulting victory exposed the contradictions of masculinity in this setting. Although Grosvenor's actions departed from widely trumpeted political ideals, he nevertheless won, which confirmed his social status. Finally, this contest and contradiction—and the chaos at the hustings—testified to the disorderliness that normative writers feared would inevitably result when men succumbed to political vices such as undue ambition and corruption.

Whitley spent the intervening years between his defeat and the 1695 election building his power base in Cheshire, which is examined in Section III. In 1695, Whitley

¹¹⁴ *Whitley's Diary*, fol. 115. 'Leeming' is Sir Richard Levinge, 1st Baronet.

¹¹⁵ Boyer, *Characters*, p. 59.

¹¹⁶ *Whitley's Diary*, fol. 116.

called upon all of his political skill to win back a seat in Parliament, including teaming up with his old foe Grosvenor. However, Whitley's political wrangling directly conflicted with the masculine norms of honesty and plain dealing about which Richard Allestree warned in *The Whole Duty of Man*: 'He that deceives a Man in any Trust that is committed to him, is guilty of a great Injustice; and that the most treacherous Sort of one, it is the joining of two great Sins in one, Defrauding, and Promise breaking; for in all Trusts there is a Promise implied'.¹¹⁷ A little over a month before Chester's election, when offered votes and asked his opinion on potential candidates, Whitley recommended Sir William Williams, 1st Baronet, and Sir John Mainwaring. Williams was his local political ally and the City Recorder while Whitley was mayor. Mainwaring was from the Mainwaring family with whom Whitley had associated throughout his political career. Two days later, after hearing supposedly erroneous reports that he and Grosvenor had agreed to run together and oppose Williams—Whitley claimed earlier in the day that 'I knew nothing of it; had neither sene, sent to him or received any message from him'—a friend of Grosvenor arrived in the evening to report to Whitley that Grosvenor would not oppose him and that many of his supporters would poll for him. Whitley responded:

I desired him to thank Sir Thomas for his civility to me; that all I could say (at present) was that when Sir William was in towne I promised him my vote which I could not recede from; but I had not the vanity to pretend to. nor to think, I could dispose of others who were equally free with myself; but all must be left as theire inclinations or interests led them ...

When Williams confronted Whitley two weeks later and offered him an ultimatum to 'declare more cordially for him' Whitley wrote, 'I told him I had not made one false step as to his interest; I was not obliged to publish in the streets what I did but desired them that were to take notice that I did not quit Sir William Williams but he quitted me & accordingly I would also take my measures'.¹¹⁸ By hedging his commitment thus, Whitley evidently believed he had not technically broken Williams's trust and, therefore, negotiated for himself neutral ground between honesty and his self-interest.

Whitley's final gambit was played five days before the election when several men asked Whitley for his opinion on the election and suggested an alternative to Williams, Sir William Cooper. Instead, Whitley informed them that, although he had frequently declared for Williams and that Williams would have his vote, if Williams did not stand he was free from his obligation. He proclaimed that 'if they would trust me to represent them in Parlement they might trust me as to the interests of the Citty (where they had trusted

¹¹⁷ Allestree, *Whole Duty of Man*, p. 167.

¹¹⁸ *Whitley's Diary*, fols. 195-7.

me with an eminent employment) that I would doe it as became me on this occasion'.¹¹⁹ On 20 November the poll returned Whitley and Grosvenor as MPs. Williams was returned for Beaumaris.¹²⁰ This dramatic episode illustrates several of the tactics men employed to gain political power. Claiming that he would champion Chester's interests, Whitley's willingness to side with his rival, abandon his long-time ally, and equivocate at Williams's accusation that he was acting in a duplicitous manner revealed the lengths to which gentlemen might resort to gain power and improve their standing within the governing cohort. Moreover, the contested elections Whitley participated in highlight the friction between masculine ideals—autonomy, security, independence, honesty, plain dealing—and the oft-conflicting experience of men in politics and government who engaged in patronage and duplicity.

For all of his manoeuvring to gain a seat in Parliament in 1695, Whitley was conspicuously absent once it met. Even though state officials and MPs were not prohibited from holding other national and local offices, allegations of neglect and absenteeism were accusations of role failure. Halifax was expressly adamant that non-attendance should prohibit men from re-election: 'It is such a piece of Sawciness for any one to press for the Honour of serving in Parliament, and then to be careless in Attending it'.¹²¹ Although Parliament assembled in late November 1695, January of the next year found Whitley still in Chester, prompting him to send a letter 'to Sir Thomas Grosvenor & the Recorder to excuse my absence from Parlelament.' On 14 February he attended Parliament for the first time and on the 17 February he 'went to the House of Commons; took the oaths'.¹²² His attendance for the rest of the month was irregular at best and by March mentions of attendance in his diary disappear. His record of attendance in Parliament can partially be attributed to poor health, but also to holding a double mandate as the acting Chester mayor. Furthermore, he spent much of his time in London conducting family business and socialising. Whitley's absence contradicted the growing demands for regular attendance, which constituents increasingly used to measure accountability to local concerns and worthiness of re-election.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Paul D. Halliday, 'Williams, Sir William, first baronet (1633/4–1700)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, No Date Given [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29555>].

¹²¹ Halifax, 'Some Cautions', p. 5.

¹²² Whitley's *Diary*, fols. 200-2.

¹²³ James M. Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society, 1650-1750* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 138-9.

The English celebrated Parliament because they believed it accorded them unique liberties, even more so after the Revolution Settlement and Bill of Rights. The men who occupied Parliament were decidedly less admired than the institution. MPs were frequently targets of accusations of jobbery and bribery because parliamentary elections typically involved spending money to 'treat' voters. Tied to understandings of legitimate political authority were fears that men in power might let private vices seep into public life. Reacting to the Commons having 'the impudence to pretend to meddle with the holy things of the church', the antiquarian and curate Abraham de la Pryme wrote in his diary:

The House of Commons are commonly a company of irreligious wretches who cares not what they do, nor what becomes of the church and religious things, if they can but get their hawkes, hounds, and whores, and the sacred possessions of the church. It is plainly visible that the nation would be happier if that there was no House of Commons, but onely a House of Lords, who yet, nevertheless, should not have so much power as they have ...¹²⁴

Daniel Defoe's *Ecomium on Parliament* (1699) echoes such sentiment: 'Twas voted once, that for the Sin / Of Whoring Men should die all; / But then 'twas wisely thought again, / The House would quickly grow so thin, / They durst not stand the Tryal.'¹²⁵ Defoe and de la Pryme revealed the vexed nature of carrying out the standards of masculinity. On the one hand, hunting and extramarital sexual intercourse could be construed as crude, conventionally masculine pursuits. On the other hand, many considered these irreligious, appetitive activities to be unmanly because they suggested excessive consumptiveness and also contradicted the burgeoning model of refined masculinity.

Similarly, Richard Cocks, himself an MP for Gloucestershire from 1698 to 1702, wrote in his diary that before he joined Parliament he believed that few MPs would be 'Knaves for indeed I knew some such there were would disguise themselves and be in fear of being censured by the honest judicious and better part of our representatives ... upon these considerations I expected if not a judicious honest sober and grave assembly at least in appearance'.¹²⁶ Such opinions on the knavery of Parliament men reflected the easily assumed negative perception of government. Halifax warned that an MP must 'be tender of his own Liberty, that other Men may the better trust him with theirs.'¹²⁷ On the contrary, Cocks found that all MPs had seemingly banished judgement, noting, 'yet it is hard[l]y honest for men who are chose to serve their countryes to go throw stick right or

¹²⁴ Abraham de la Pryme, *The Diary of Abraham De La Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary*, ed. Charles Jackson (Durham: Andrews & co., 1870), p. 150.

¹²⁵ Daniel Defoe, 'An Ecomium Upon a Parliament', in *Poems on Affairs of State*, ed. Frank Ellis, Vol. 6 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 49-57, p. 56.

¹²⁶ Richard Cocks, *The Parliamentary Diary of Sir Richard Cocks, 1698-1702*, ed. David Hayton. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 22.

¹²⁷ Halifax, 'Some Cautions', p. 37.

wrong with such a party'.¹²⁸ The particulars of this entry highlight the at-times competing influences of party and the classical virtue of political independence required for legitimate civic personality. As Cocks suggested derisively, political masculinity in the later seventeenth century was conditioned by party politics. In his diary, he recalled that Sir Anthony Keck, MP for Tiverton, once warned that in Parliament 'you shall see some members come in drunk some sleep and some tumultuous and seldome any mind the justice but his friend or party'.¹²⁹ Explicitly associated in Keck's warning and implicitly affiliated by their shared indictment of masculinity, this critique of party politics and MP profuseness suggested that, ideologically, partisanship—and its subordination of independence to party agenda—was a corrupting influence similar to patronage because it debauched men from their idealised autonomy. Indeed, William Penn ominously warned, 'Where the Reins of Government are too *slack*, there the Manners of the People are *corrupted*: And that destroys Industry, begets Effiminacy, and provokes Heaven against it.'¹³⁰

Accusations of corruption and dishonesty against both Whigs and Tories were commonplace in print, seemingly published as fast as they could be written down. To combat the political vices that partisanship facilitated Halifax offered advice to voters choosing their representatives: 'If I should be ask'd, Who ought to be, my Answer must be, Chuse *Englishmen*; and when I have said that, to deal honestly, I will not undertake that they are easy to be found.'¹³¹ Equating true 'Englishness' with an implicit concern for the public good, Halifax provides a good example of a commonly held belief about the expression of appropriate masculinity in this setting, namely that masculinity was expressed through the classical masculine virtues of (English) citizenship dependent on the near-impossible standard of autonomy. Halifax's advice instead exposed the disconnection between political theory and practice. The frequency of elections in Williamite England resulted in a near permanent state of electioneering divided along party lines.¹³²

Although personal and party rivalries prevented any hope of unity within the ranks of government at this time, as a dynamic society, national and local competition did

¹²⁸ Cocks, *Diary*, p. 22.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹³⁰ Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, p. 90.

¹³¹ Halifax, 'Some Cautions', p. 44.

¹³² William A. Speck, 'Religion, Politics, and Society in England', in *The Age of William III & Mary II: Power, Politics, and Patronage, 1688-1702*, eds. Robert P. Maccubbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips (Williamsburg, Virginia: The College of William and Mary, 1989), 49-59, p. 59.

not result in instability.¹³³ It was through these power contests and personal (or party) conflicts that the state both fashioned and preserved the hierarchisation of men and masculinities. In practice, party politics was crucial to the establishment of these hierarchies despite their impingement on individual male autonomy. Moreover, political parties, according to Mark Knights, created 'imagined communities'. Knights argues that party identity was fashioned by the descriptors men used for themselves and others; the designations they applied to each other for their political positions were communicated through recognisable labels—Whig-Tory, Churchman-Dissenter, Country-Court.¹³⁴ Although normatively denounced because it violated the central tenet of classical republicanism and one of the central values of masculinity, partisanship was nevertheless an important form of self-categorisation.

III. Local Office

The English state was organised around the counties, which served as the principal administrative unit and focus of local public life.¹³⁵ Josiah Woodward believed that the status of the local magistrate was such that his mere presence should inspire awe and respect to the point that it would deter men and women from transgressing. Woodward explained that it 'is certainly much so where Magistrates have a just Sense of Honour, or are as Zealous and Faithful in the Discharge of their Office as they ought.' Yet Woodward continued, 'But the less this may reasonably be hoped from all Magistrates at this day'.¹³⁶ The efficacy of the national regime depended on the magistracy and other community officeholders at the parish level being competent and willing cooperators.¹³⁷ Only those who met property qualifications were eligible for local offices, with eligibility varying between position and locality. While honour came with serving the community in such a capacity, these posts typically rotated among qualified men. All householders could fill minor local offices, such as parish constable or churchwarden, because these posts were shared as widely as possible within the bounds of eligibility to avoid becoming burdensome and impeding proper justice.¹³⁸ At the local level, masculinity in government

¹³³ Marshall, *Age of Faction*, p. 49. Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic*, pp. 27-8.

¹³⁴ Mark Knights, 'Politics After the Glorious Revolution', in *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. Barry Coward (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2003), 455-473, p. 464.

¹³⁵ Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order*, p. 112.

¹³⁶ Woodward, *An Account of the Societies*, p. 76.

¹³⁷ Mark Goldie, 'The Unacknowledged Republic: Officeholding in Early Modern England', in *The Politics of the Excluded, C. 1500-1850*, ed. Tim Harris (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 153-194, p. 166.

¹³⁸ Herrup, 'Law and Morality', p. 108.

and politics was proved by gaining relative authority in the community. Obtaining local office allowed others to make assumptions about one's masculinity and social status. Therefore, to serve in public office successfully was to confirm one's qualification, honour, and capacity.

Serving in a voluntary position was not a universal ambition. Those who were so inclined might pay a penalty to avoid office while those holding positions such as constable or churchwarden could choose (to an extent) how active they were and use their discretion when (or if) exercising authority.¹³⁹ Many feared that non-hereditary political office was merely undertaken for status enhancement and not as a gesture of public spiritedness. Michael Braddick argues that 'administrative tasks would be undertaken assiduously when and where assiduity would enhance local social standing.'¹⁴⁰ For example, quick to seize on an opportunity to distinguish himself, when he was sworn in as a Justice of the Peace for Suffolk in June 1689 Edmund Bohun remarked that he 'lived then in London, and neither desired nor regarded it; but took it up purely to shew I was hearty to their majesties' government.'¹⁴¹ Indeed, holding high local offices, such as mayor or alderman, could be an active and expensive affair because it required sufficient wealth to maintain the dignity of the office and negate the relative neglect of private affairs.¹⁴² And yet, as Richard Baxter explained, 'God looketh for great service from great men: Great Trust and Talents must have great account'.¹⁴³ Office holders, particularly those with significant local influence, were inclined to agree with Baxter's judgement. The prestige and deference that came with public service were traditionally considered to be satisfactory compensation.¹⁴⁴

As Rosemary Sweet notes, the bulk of local administration fell on volunteers who felt that public service was required of them as part of their membership in society and civic duty. Sweet explains that this sense of obligation was built around the links between public service, civic pride, virtue, and status among the leading citizens of established integrity and respectability.¹⁴⁵ For some, particularly the landed, participating in local affairs was a certainty and a near-fundamental aspect of their masculine identity. For

¹³⁹ J.M. Beattie, *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 121-2.

¹⁴⁰ Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 35.

¹⁴¹ Bohun, *Diary*, p. 85.

¹⁴² Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic*, pp. 43-4.

¹⁴³ Richard Baxter, *How to Do Good to Many, Or, The Publick Good Is the Christians Life* (London: Rob. Gibs, 1682), p. 37.

¹⁴⁴ A.G. Roeber, *Faithful Magistrates and Republican Lawyers: Creators of Virginia Legal Culture, 1680-1810* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), p. 26.

¹⁴⁵ Sweet, *The English Town*, p. 110.

instance, intermixed with entries about his horses and livestock, Dorset squire John Richards's diary details his appointments as churchwarden, commissioner of the land tax, and sheriff all in three consecutive years. Upon being appointed sheriff, he noted that trumpeters were sent 'to salute me sheriff'.¹⁴⁶ The regularity and variety of offices that Richards held was not dissimilar to another country gentleman, Sir Walter Calverley, although Calverley's public service was on a grander scale because of his lineage and estate. Shortly after his father died, Calverley 'acted in publick business' for the first time as a commissioner of the land tax at the age of just 23.¹⁴⁷ His memorandum book is replete with entries about the assizes and quarter sessions as well as time spent acting as a Justice of the Peace and on land tax commissions. By age 30, Calverley was a deputy lieutenant for the West Riding of Yorkshire. It was the regularity with which Calverley and Richards held local office that confirmed both their social status and civil maturity. Conversely, although the landed were expected to participate in public life, not all sought it out or chose to construct their masculine identity in this setting. For example, like Calverley, Sir Willoughby Aston was also born to a prominent local family. Yet, Aston's diary reflects a man who preferred to live a private life and concern himself with estate management, unlike his father who served as an MP for Cheshire. Aston recorded in his diary in 1689 with a note of disappointment: 'This morning ye town full of ye news of my being made sheriff ... I have no makeing in my [illegible] of ye sheriffaltie.'¹⁴⁸

For those who did look to public service to help define their identity, the local officeholder's world was an established arena for men to compete for distinction. Thus, local government and administration created an elaborate hierarchy of qualified men exercising influence. From the late 1670s onwards, Roger Whitley played a key role in Chester politics, acting as an alderman from 1680-1684 and then 1688 until his death in 1697, treasurer for 1689-1690, and Chester MP for 1681-1685, 1689-1690, and 1695 until death. Whitley was also mayor from 1692-1696, having run for mayor unsuccessfully in 1690 and 1691.¹⁴⁹ It was in this station that Whitley began to assert

¹⁴⁶ John Richards, 'Diary of John Richards of Warmwell', 7 January 1702, Dorchester, Dorset History Centre, D/884/1, fol. 201.

¹⁴⁷ Walter Calverley, 'Memorandum Book of Sir Walter Calverley, Bart', in *Yorkshire Diaries & Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1886), 43-148, p. 51.

¹⁴⁸ Willoughby Aston, 'Diary of Sir Willoughby Aston', 28 November 1689, Liverpool, Liverpool Record Office, 920 MD 174.

¹⁴⁹ Eveline Cruickshanks and Richard Harrison, 'Whitley, Roger (c.1618-97), of St. John's Hosp., Chester; Peele Hall, Cheshire; and Pall Mall, Westminster, Mdx', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, eds. Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley, D.W. Hayton (Boydell & Brewer, 2002); online edn, [http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/whitley-roger-1618-97].

himself forcefully. During these four years, Whitley arbitrated any number of disputes as people came to him to complain about anything from retailers keeping their stalls open past the closing of the market, foreigners operating an alehouse, various improprieties by soldiers, 'affronts done them', taxes and 'the irregularity of the assessment', and one man 'came to complaine of a woman that spake ill of him'.¹⁵⁰

While the classical and Christian ideals for local officials had significant cultural purchase, it was Whitley's ambition for power that made his time in local office a gendered performance. Whitley's immersion in the world of local government and politics meant that his active associational life promoted his political power and masculinity. Given the well-researched importance of sociability and the public sphere for masculinity at the turn of the eighteenth century, Whitley's experience creating his clients in Chester implies a causal relationship between his sociability and political influence and participation. Indeed, Whitley's diary is a veritable catalogue of occasions spent socialising and networking with influential freemen, aldermen, and other power brokers in the region. As acting mayor, men continually approached Whitley to be made freeman or to be endorsed for constable, alderman, or any number of minor offices. Although Rémond des Cours warned that "'Tis enough if I give a Minister of State the Respect that is due to his lofty Seat, without becoming so much his Vassal, as to sell him that Liberty of mine', these suppliants were not averse to offering their support to Whitley should they be granted what they asked.¹⁵¹

Whitley's actions to secure power were telling of the disorderly masculinity unbridled from political morals that the reality of public service seemingly encouraged and conduct literature feared. In June 1693, he oversaw a freeman petition to 'choose their Common Council yearly according to the Charter' based on a disputable interpretation of the corporation's charter.¹⁵² Indeed, as a popular figure in Chester, the increased democratisation and the empowerment of the freemen strengthened Whitley's position. Under the new interpretation of the charter, and bolstered by his creation of new freeman beholden to him, Whitley held the mayoralty continuously for four years until he chose to leave due to poor health in October 1696. By establishing himself in the local government

¹⁵⁰ *Whitley's Diary*, fol. 166, fol. 155, fol. 199. For more on the role of public insults in society see: Shoemaker, 'Reforming Male Manners'. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp. 58-65, 148-164. K. Tawny Paul, 'Credit, Reputation, and Masculinity in British Urban Commerce: Edinburgh, c. 1710-70', *The Economic History Review* 66, no. 1 (2013), 226-248. Peter Rushton, 'The Rise and Fall of Seditious Words, 1650 to 1750', *Northern History* 52, no. 1 (2015), 68-84.

¹⁵¹ Rémond des Cours, *True Conduct*, p. 29.

¹⁵² *Whitley's Diary*, fol. 158.

thusly, Whitley fixed himself atop the hierarchy of public men in Chester, subordinating other men to him. Yet recall Whitley's accusations of corruption against Grosvenor during the Parliament race in the previous section. Whitley accused Grosvenor of improprieties on a similar basis of creating new freemen and expanding his voter base through patronage. As Whitley's duplicitousness suggests, experience in government and politics was often replete with hypocrisy and vexed with the standards of masculinity and political ethics. Boyer explained that a '*Place* shews the Man; some for the better, and some for the worse.'¹⁵³

While Whitley achieved a level of dominance as mayor, James Yonge's experience as the mayor of Plymouth was much different. Yonge's term lasted only one year and his position in the community was much weaker. Yonge spent his youth at sea as a naval surgeon before establishing a medical practice in Plymouth in his twenties and successively holding local offices of increasing importance before being chosen as mayor in 1694.¹⁵⁴ In contrast to Whitley, Yonge found his time as mayor to be a troublesome and off-putting experience due to 'the multitude of soldiers which lay here most of the winter and warships for W. India, partly the trouble and expense of entertaining Lord Cutts a fortnight, which cost me dear, the house always full of officers, and a guard of 36 soldiers night and day at my door'. More bothersome were the intrigues of other local politicians, particularly the lawyer and alderman Robert Berry. Yonge and Berry clashed over the remodelling of the corporation. Yonge aimed to restore 'the old charter and found a way to do it effectually.' However, Berry moved to hinder Yonge by filling the town benches with his own supporters. Having noticed this, Yonge did the same, even choosing his apprentice to be an assistant. Yonge's triumph was short lived. The following year Berry was chosen as mayor and although Berry failed to execute his design, soon after 'Sir Francis Drake by a fanatick interest changed the charter, modelled the government, and put in men that had neither right nor skill to be in it.'¹⁵⁵ Having been excluded, Yonge refused to serve again and left public office. As Michael Braddick has shown, local officers were typically sensitive to their public image and often bothered by challenges to their authority.¹⁵⁶ The particulars of this struggle over the charter of Plymouth, as well as Whitley's own self-serving interpretation of Chester's charter, illustrate how high-ranking local officials attempted to use their roles to affect change concurrent to their interests.

¹⁵³ Boyer, *Characters*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁴ Ian Lyle, 'Yonge, James (1647–1721)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, No Date Given [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30225].

¹⁵⁵ Yonge, *Journal*, pp. 205-6.

¹⁵⁶ Braddick, *State Formation*, pp. 77-8.

To achieve these interests men engaged in the political wrangling that fostered a spirit of competition and intrigue.

Beyond official government posts, wealthy citizens and the 'better sort' were expected to serve the public good in other, informal ways that earned them honour and status. Wealthy citizens might use their money to bolster their social status and exert their social influence over their community. Rosemary Sweet notes that town officials were expected to call meetings to raise subscriptions for hospitals and charities and subscribe themselves.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, those in office often lent to local government to clear debts or compensate for shortfalls in tax collection, as John Hervey, 1st Earl of Bristol, did while an MP for Bury St Edmunds to the amount of £500.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, as respected members of the community, officeholders might wield unofficial authority, like the JP for West Riding Sir Godfrey Copley, 2nd Baronet, did when frequently acted as a notary for land and farming deals in Yorkshire and oversaw the construction of a bridge in 1691.¹⁵⁹ Or officeholders and former officeholders might use the authority endowed by their office or former office to influence community projects that engaged their personal interests, as Whitley did when he attempted to control the construction of Chester's new town hall even after his tenure as mayor ended.¹⁶⁰

Local authorities not only enforced and promoted laws but also helped fashion the disposition of society by arbitrating disputes and relaxing some laws and customs while enforcing others more strictly, notably laws concerning profanity and vice.¹⁶¹ Whig political writer John Trenchard observed that 'every Man will act for his own Interest; and all wise Governments are founded upon that Principle: So that this whole Mystery is only to make the Interest of the Governors and Governed the same.'¹⁶² Importantly, when there were accusations of impropriety or resistance local officeholders might lose rather than gain social prestige because 'He that will do his Country good, must know what is good, and what is bad: A fools Love is hurtful'.¹⁶³ As this section illustrates, within a local context, governing masculinity was constructed in relation to other men as they battled

¹⁵⁷ Sweet, *The English Town*, p. 104.

¹⁵⁸ John Hervey, Earl of Hervey, *The Diary of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol*, ed. Sydenham Henry Augustus Hervey (Wells: E. Jackson, 1894), p. 30.

¹⁵⁹ Godfrey Copley, 'Diary of Godfrey Copley, 1691', 1691, Barnsley, UK, Barnsley Archive and Local Studies, SpST 65/2.

¹⁶⁰ *Whitley's Diary*, fols. 215-18.

¹⁶¹ Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert B. Shoemaker, 'Introduction: The Reactive State: English Governance and Society, 1689-1750', in *Stillling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750*, eds. Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert B. Shoemaker (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), xi-liv, p. xxix.

¹⁶² John Trenchard, *A Short History of Standing Armies in England* (London, 1698), np.

¹⁶³ Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 35. Baxter, *How to Do Good to Many*, p. 6.

for social recognition of authority (over local men and women) and organised themselves into hierarchies of power. At the top, as Whitley demonstrated, local heavyweights might negotiate and redefine this scope of authority to maintain control of local affairs. What they might use this authority to accomplish varied. Caleb Trenchfield implored magistrates to 'let not your dead hands smell of bribes; but let it be said, that vice was your utter enemy, which neither for fear or affection you would shew any countenance, but that you made it your business to be *an encourager of those that do well, and a terrour unto evil doers*.'¹⁶⁴ Braddick explains that officeholders connected the political order to everyday life by performing according to the predictable patterns of behaviour that were expected of their public role.¹⁶⁵ Thus, local government was an arena in which a number of men could participate and attain varying degrees of influence and honour under their communities' customary understanding of legitimate authority.

IV. Conclusion. Political Power and Masculinity

Britain never had a truly insulated ruling class, particularly at the lower levels of the elite.¹⁶⁶ In addition to new ruling men and families, the composition of local government underwent gradual change at the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century. As landed gentlemen increasingly absented themselves from rural government, local administration began to depend more on those of lower genteel status and the middling sorts.¹⁶⁷ Leaving routine county business to lesser gentry, paid clerks, and paid magistrates, the end of the seventeenth century saw a withdrawal of the county elite as they sought regional positions like the county lieutenancy or political influence in London.¹⁶⁸ By assuming the responsibilities of local administration, the lesser gentry forged political alliances with the county grandees they replaced and sought to access the honour and reputation that holding office still engendered.¹⁶⁹ Often, justly or not, this new type of local official gained notoriety for ignorance or corruption because they lacked sufficient means to live in a manner befitting their position without profiting from their

¹⁶⁴ Trenchfield, *A Cap of Grey Hairs*, p. 207.

¹⁶⁵ Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 76.

¹⁶⁶ Wasson, *Born to Rule*, p. 64.

¹⁶⁷ Steve Hindle, 'The Political Culture of the Middling Sort in English Rural Communities, c.1550-1700', in *The Politics of the Excluded, C. 1500-1850*, ed. Tim Harris (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 125-152, p. 126.

¹⁶⁸ Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 135.

¹⁶⁹ James M. Rosenheim, 'County Governance and Elite Withdrawal in Norfolk, 1660-1720', in *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, eds. A.L. Beier, David Cannadine, and James M. Rosenheim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 95-125, p. 123.

office.¹⁷⁰ Likewise, in London, J.M. Beattie suggests that post-1689 City aldermen and magistrates began withdrawing from day-to-day business while men of lesser rank and economic status replaced solidly middling men who previously acted as constables.¹⁷¹

The withdrawal of the elite from corporation and town politics can be attributed to the routinisation of Justices' business, growth of political arithmetic and specialised bureaucracy, magistracy professionalisation, and even parliamentary ascendancy and the evolution of the 'Season' in London.¹⁷² With the gradual formation of a national genteel class at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the greater gentry lost interest in the county as their self-identity began to be derived more from national politics, associations, and parties than from local politics.¹⁷³ Yet, if the Glorious Revolution was a watershed moment politically in terms of the balance of power between Parliament and the Crown, and the composition of the ruling class was gradually changing as the historiography suggests, the manner in which men expressed political and governmental masculinity did not change. To win an election, secure a position of state, or hold a local office was to signal adulthood and gain relative authority.

The normative literature conditioning public service reveals that similar standards as those considered in other chapters informed masculinity in this setting: independence, plain dealing, religion, temperance, control. As this chapter shows, with men grappling for position, the elucidated experience of the politicians and officeholders often diverged from these masculine values. Due to relatively limited oversight and wide-ranging individual interpretations of political ethics, anxiety over the integrity of officials was common. The Scottish lawyer Sir George Mackenzie held a dim view of those in public office, writing that 'men in employment have nothing to excuse their madness, but that they are not madd, but for money or preferment.'¹⁷⁴ The normative literature warned of the seductive nature of power and opportunity because 'Men as well as *Women* are Debauch'd by *Opportunity*.'¹⁷⁵ According to Halifax, himself a lifelong statesman with a reputation for moderation: 'Nothing is more in fashion, than for men to desire good Places, and I doubt nothing is less so than to deserve them.'¹⁷⁶ Penn further explained that 'Three

¹⁷⁰ Frank Milton, *The English Magistracy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 13-6.

¹⁷¹ Beattie, *Policing and Punishment*, pp 98-101, pp. 134-5.

¹⁷² Rosenheim, 'County Governance and Elite Withdrawal', p. 122.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 124. For a more detailed discussion see: Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order*.

¹⁷⁴ George Mackenzie, *A Moral Essay, Preferring Solitude to Publick Employment, and All It's Appanages, such as Fame, Command, Riches, Pleasures, Conversation, &c.* (Edinburgh: Robert Brown, 1665), pp. 23-4.

¹⁷⁵ *Laconics*, p. 13.

¹⁷⁶ Halifax, 'Some Cautions', p. 31.

things contribute much to ruin Governments; *Looseness, Oppression and Envy*.’¹⁷⁷ Accusations of bribery, corruption, neglect, absenteeism, patronage, nepotism, and Jacobitism were part and parcel of holding public office. Officials found themselves the subjects of any number of criticisms and ‘scandalous reports’.¹⁷⁸ Even laughter represented a threat to claims of power and deference.¹⁷⁹ Underlying the rhetoric, the fear of political vices—corruption, tyranny, disorderliness—was intrinsically the fear of dependence, infantilisation, and effeminacy.

Anthony Fletcher argues, ‘The indivisibility of government and politics in this period does much to account for the ease with which quarrels over credit and reputation flourished. They received much of their impetus from the urgent public issues which offered a convenient front for the pursuit of private rivalries.’¹⁸⁰ With political morality far from clear-cut, charges of misconduct were often born out of personal animosity and stoked by instances of civic patronage that some might deem innocuous.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, *Laconics* explained, ‘Some pretend to be *Zealous Patriots* only to *Cloak* their *Malice* and *Ambition*; therefore are always railing at Governments if they can have no hand in them.’¹⁸² Translated French author Nicolas Rémond des Cours explained of competition and public office: ‘When a Man pushes at Advancement in the World, a thousand Rubs encounter him in the Road, no Man ever aim'd at a Triumphal Chariot, but those who envied him, would be sure always to clog the Wheels.’¹⁸³ As such, the ability to fend off accusations and safeguard one's reputation played an important role in the construction of masculinity for public servants. Abel Boyer wrote that great offices and honours are great burdens ‘because it concerns the Service of the *Publick*, who of all Masters is the hardest to be pleas'd.’¹⁸⁴ Indeed, with a note of pride Goodwin Wharton remarked of his time spent in Parliament in 1691: ‘I also sometimes spoke in parliament tho not too often, & was not ill esteemed with party and cuntry’.¹⁸⁵ Government officials were enmeshed in a socio-cultural domain that subjected each of them to some degree of exposure to

¹⁷⁷ Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, p. 90.

¹⁷⁸ *Whitley's Diary*, fol. 210.

¹⁷⁹ Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, ‘Introduction. Grids of Power: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Early Modern Society’, in *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland*, eds. Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-42, pp. 29-30.

¹⁸⁰ Fletcher, ‘Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding’, p. 103.

¹⁸¹ Ian A. Archer, ‘Politics and Government 1540-1700’, in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 235-262, p. 245.

¹⁸² *Laconics*, p. 56.

¹⁸³ Rémond des Cours, *True Conduct*, p. 46.

¹⁸⁴ Boyer, *Characters*, p. 63.

¹⁸⁵ BL Add MS 20007, fol. 160.

character assassination, merited or not. Still, Boyer argued that ‘very few Men arrive to *Honours* and *Dignities* without some *Merit* or other.’¹⁸⁶

The lived experience of public service was inherently a masculine performance because masculinity is synonymous with the exercise of power—a constant theme throughout this chapter has been real or imagined power. This power was realised in elections, in Parliament, on the King’s Bench, in the counties, and in towns, among other sites. These sites of government and political power reinforced the social stratification of society relative to the ability to acquire authority, honour, and reputation. Officeholders were instrumental in the formation and preservation of the law, government, and social order. Thus, men expressed and constructed masculinity outside of the home as constables, magistrates, mayors, JPs, and MPs, among other roles. Those who participated in government and politics were not a monolithic group, but they did share common experiences. Beyond the diversity of the offices they held and the political positions they championed, the autobiographical sources for this chapter are indicative of the power struggles, alliances, and accusations that fashioned male hierarchies. In turn, the normative sources that informed this setting display a concern over the potentially corrupting effect of these same power hierarchies. Conduct and courtesy literature authors such as Philip Ayres, the Earl of Warrington, and Josiah Woodward argued that the power of officeholders should be used to further the public good and the righteous renewal of morality. In the setting of government and politics, masculinity was conditioned by such arguments, accusations of wrongdoing, and the processes of intragroup competitive ranking that often subverted the very same normative ideals championed by conduct literature.

¹⁸⁶ Boyer, *Characters*, p. 57.

Chapter Three: The Military

Noting the importance of the military during the long eighteenth century Karen Harvey argues:

Administratively, culturally, and militarily, Britain was forged during this period, yet there is little work on the period's relationship between war and masculinity. It is clear, however, that military and naval campaigns had considerable impact on discussions of masculinity and politeness in particular. During this period, either setbacks in conflict or the cessation of victorious combat could spark debate about what kind of masculinity would most effectively serve the British nation ...¹

Indeed, perhaps the defining characteristic of William III's reign was war. Apart from some anti-Catholic rioting and minor skirmishes, the politicking, rhetoric, and legal wrangling of the Glorious Revolution ushered in the reign of William and Mary reasonably peacefully. Despite this relatively bloodless start in Britain, the Glorious Revolution led directly to the Williamite War in Ireland and the Jacobite risings in Scotland, as part of the larger Nine Years' War. With Ireland and Scotland pacified by 1692 and the immediate threat close to home quelled the fighting shifted primarily to the seas and continental Europe. England and Scotland joined the League of Augsburg to form the Grand Alliance and oppose France's territorial expansion. By the time the Treaty of Ryswick was signed in 1697, the Grand Alliance had achieved a somewhat Pyrrhic victory. The peace acted as nothing more than a ceasefire, the government's finances were ruined, and an unprecedented number of unemployed veterans streamed back into the British Isles from the Continent. Less than four years later the Grand Alliance was again at war with Louis XIV of France. With continental armies increasing tenfold in size in the previous two centuries, and the army officer corps growing fivefold since Charles II, Britain averaged a fighting force of 115,000 men throughout the Nine Years' War, the highest number since the Civil War.² In this setting, men expressed their masculinity through traditional male values such as courage, valour, honour, vigour, and physical prowess.

Although these long-standing norms conditioned military masculinity, the experience of military men was highly particular to time and place. However, when treating the identity of military men historians tend to subsume the reign of William III within two larger historiographical narratives. The first narrative is that of the Restoration-era English military.³ While the Royal Navy was quickly becoming a global

¹ Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity', p. 308.

² Brewer, *Sinews of Power*, p. 8. Roger B. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army 1585-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 403. Pincus, *1688*, p. 351.

³ For example: Alan Guy, 'John Churchill, Professional Soldiering, and the British Army, c1660-1760', in *Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat*, eds. John B. Hattendorf, A. J. Veenendaal, and Rolof van Hövell tot Westerflier (Rotterdam: Karwansaray Publishers, 2012), 103-121. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms*.

power, at the same time, the Restoration army remained relatively small and widely disliked and distrusted. The second narrative is that of the amalgamated British Army in the long eighteenth century that supported growing British imperialism and intervention in European affairs. This narrative, while touching upon the decades on either side of 1700, tends to focus on the Seven Years' War, American Revolution, and Napoleonic Wars.⁴ Little attention has been paid to the individual experience of men in the military during the Nine Years' War. The notable exception is John Childs who, while focusing mostly on the socio-political side of William's army rather than gender identity, has consistently argued that soldiers were no more unruly than any other social group during a relatively rough period.⁵ It is worthwhile to bring the military men from William's reign out from the shadows because, as D.W. Jones puts it, England to that point had been a relatively small military player on the Continent and the 'emergence of England as a great military power in little more than two decades following the Revolution of 1688 remains one of the most remarkable, if still insufficiently appreciated, facts of the early modern period.'⁶

The position of this dissertation's time frame between the two historiographical narratives is important because the turn of the eighteenth century bore witness to changes in structure and composition for the middling and higher ranks of the military. William contributed to the trend away from a martial aristocracy and towards professionalisation by prioritising skill and ability over social rank. Childs writes that 'the army was not dominated by military ignorami as had frequently been the case during the reign of Charles II and to a lesser extent, during that of his successor.'⁷ On stage, dramatists used army officer characters to criticise those they considered effeminate, like the fop, or unpatriotic, like the hector.⁸ Similarly, military ballads were used to increase recruitment and further the worthiness of the national cause.⁹ However, the most

⁴ For example: Colley, *Britons*. John Maurice Brereton, *The British Soldier: A Social History from 1661 to the Present Day* (London: Bodley Head, 1986). Anthony Clayton, *The British Officer: Leading the Army from 1660 to the Present* (Harlow: Longman, 2007). Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army*. McCormack, *Embodying the Militia*.

⁵ John Childs, 'War, Crime Waves and the English Army in the Late Seventeenth Century', *War & Society* 15, no. 2 (October 1997), 1-17, p. 7.

⁶ D.W. Jones, 'Defending the Revolution: The Economics, Logistics, and Finance of England's War Effort, 1688-1712' in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89*, eds. Dale Hoak and Mordechai Feingold (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 59-74, p. 59.

⁷ John Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689-1702* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 61.

⁸ Hannah Smith, 'Politics, Patriotism, and Gender: The Standing Army Debate on the English Stage, circa 1689-1720', *Journal of British Studies* 50, no. 01 (January 2011), 48-75, pp. 60-1.

⁹ Angela McShane, 'Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth Century English Ballads', *Journal of Early Modern History* 15, no. 1-2 (2011), 105-137, p. 108.

common stereotypes of the British officer in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were negative: martial libertinism and aggrandised belligerence. Jennine Hurl-Eamon argues that, technically banned from marriage, and thus denied one of the central access points to full civilian manhood, the alternative masculinity of soldiers promoted youthful irresponsibility through womanising and drinking.¹⁰

Despite increased professionalisation, the army was still rife with misconduct as many senior officers appeared to revel in a 'rattling, immoral lifestyle' and seemingly paid little attention to the welfare of the rank and file.¹¹ Duels and drinking were perceived to be habitual among the officer class. The army remained a suspicious 'social outsider' during the late seventeenth century.¹² A portion of this distrust stemmed from public concerns about a recurrence of the political abuses of Charles I and the Independent religious zeal of the New Model Army. Army recruiting practices and fears of impressment into the army or navy also stoked this dislike of military men. Examining violence in London between 1680 and 1720, Hurl-Eamon suggests that Londoners not only attacked men in the army because of their unruly and dissolute behaviour, but also because men in the army were symbols of state intervention, with their press gangs violating widely held principles of English freedom and liberty.¹³ As an institution, the military was also perceived to be rife with corruption. Political diarist and bachelor Roger Morrice observed, 'Its said that the Commissioners for Regulating the Army turn out very many officers for false Musters, or for not paying the Soldiers their arreares.'¹⁴ The fear of a corrupt standing army coincided with broader classical republican suspicions that men were surrendering their autonomy and independence to an expanding state.

Like the army, the navy became increasingly professional at the end of the seventeenth century. By 1689 the Royal Navy was well on its way to becoming the most powerful fleet in the world as a direct result of the resurgence of the naval administration finances following the restructuring of the Navy Board, the passage of the Navigation Acts in 1660 and 1663, and the keen interest shown in the Royal Navy by both of William's predecessors, Charles II and James II.¹⁵ It became increasingly apparent that England's

¹⁰ Hurl-Eamon, 'Youth in the Devil's Service', pp. 163-6.

¹¹ Guy, 'John Churchill, Professional Soldiering, and the British Army', p. 120. Clayton, *The British Officer*, p. 38.

¹² Childs, 'War, Crime Waves and the English Army', p. 3.

¹³ Jennine Hurl-Eamon. *Gender and Petty Violence in London, 1680-1720* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), p. 92.

¹⁴ Roger Morrice. *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice, 1677-1691*, ed. Mark Knights, Vol. 5. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 131.

¹⁵ N.A.M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), pp. 95-111.

fate and fortune were linked with the seas, which caused the public to harbour much less suspicion towards the Royal Navy than the British Army. Halifax wrote, 'It is no Paradox to say that *England* hath its Root in the Sea, and a deep one too; from whence it sendeth its Branches into both the *Indies*. We may say further in our present Case, That if Allegiance is due to Protection, ours to the Sea is due from that Rule, since by that, and by that alone, we are to be protected'.¹⁶ Parliament considered the Royal Navy to be the embodiment of English political and religious freedom and measured it by ideological standards.¹⁷ Thus, politicians and civilians alike recognised the importance of the Royal Navy to England's ever-increasing trade empire. Believing that the condition of Navy was intertwined with the health of the economy, Josiah Woodward wrote in *The Seaman's Monitor*: 'As the good Success of our Sea Affairs is one of the principal Concerns of this our Island, so nothing will (I conceive) more directly tend thereunto, than the good Behaviour of our Seamen. For this would at once procure the Favour and Protection of Almighty God, and the Esteem and Confidence of all foreign Nations.'¹⁸ Similarly, in *The Religious Marriner* (1700), Cotton Mather wrote, 'Our *Mariners* are a Generation of men, greatly Serviceable to the *Commonwealth*. Ordinarily they are men of stout and brave Spirits: They are under God, indeed the very Defence of our Nation: And we are beholden to them, for a very great part of those Enjoyments, whereby our Lives are sweetened unto us.'¹⁹

Yet the high regard of the Royal Navy was not without discord and dissent. While the larger public was receptive to the idea of a sizable navy, the politics of maintaining a large fleet led to frequent intervention from Parliament and accusations of ignorance, negligence, and corruption.²⁰ The long-time naval administrator and diarist Samuel Pepys explained to John Evelyn that the Navy was 'now governed by inexperienced men since this Revolution' who built large ships with high decks 'for nothing but to gratify gentlemen-commanders, who must have all their effeminate accommodations, and for pomp'.²¹ Evelyn similarly complained in October 1691: 'Our navy come in without having performed anything, yet there has been great loss of ships by negligence, and unskillful men governing the fleet and Navy board.'²² Tied to these charges of corruption and

¹⁶ George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, *A Rough Draught of a New Model at Sea* (London: A. Banks, 1694), p. 5.

¹⁷ Rodger, *Command of the Ocean*, p. 183.

¹⁸ Woodward, *Seaman's Monitor*, np.

¹⁹ Cotton Mather, *The Religious Marriner. A Brief Discourse Tending to Direct the Course of Sea-Men, In Those Points of Religion, Which May Bring Them to the Port, of Eternal Happiness* (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1700), p. 9.

²⁰ Rodger, *Command of the Ocean*, p. 183.

²¹ Evelyn, *Diary*, p. 301.

²² *Ibid.*, 312.

neglect, apprehension over suspected political interference reached a high point, as did the debate over which type of officer should receive preference ('tarpaulins or gentlemen').²³ There was considerable division within the marine community. Compared to the skills of those who had trained extensively by living at sea from an early age, many doubted the seamanship of the gentlemen who used patronage or favour to gain high-ranking commissions. Evelyn noted in his diary that Pepys told him that the 'ignorance, effeminacy, and insolence' of gentlemen-commanders 'would be the ruin of our fleets, if such persons were continued in command, they neither having experience nor being capable of learning, because they would not submit to the fatigue and inconvenience which those who were bred seamen would undergo'.²⁴

Controversy also permeated through the lower ranks because dubious recruiting practices were needed to sail the chronically understaffed ships. Despite the stigma of army press gangs, naval press gangs were almost considered a necessary evil by those who were not at risk of being pressed into service themselves. While press gangs challenged the growing sense of British liberty and freedom, in times of need the king might instruct city officials to round up any experienced and able-bodied men. Hence, in April 1689, Morrice reported that there was 'a Press for Seamen here in England, as has been alwaies upon the like Occasion.'²⁵ The lower orders of the male population were the ones most affected. The men who crewed ships were often drawn from the populace of unskilled labourers and frequently presumed to be criminals or vagrants. As with the army, the lower-ranking navy men still provoked antipathy from the civilian population.

As the work of Elaine McKay demonstrates, more diaries and journals survive for men in the military than any other occupation in the early modern period.²⁶ McKay suggests that people were motivated to keep diaries and journals by dramatic life changes, participation in momentous events, or a desire to have a record of events to look back on years later, all of which a well-travelled military man could expect.²⁷ Indeed, Woodward called for sailors to 'record the *special Mercies* of God in some book' to reread later and share with relatives and friends.²⁸ While McKay notes that diaries survive from all ranks and highlights how many literate men served in the military, she nevertheless calls attention to the still high illiteracy rate amongst the lower, labouring section of the

²³ Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p. 202.

²⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, p. 301

²⁵ Morrice, *Entring Book*, p. 101.

²⁶ McKay, 'English Diarists', p. 200.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 202-3.

²⁸ Woodward, *Seaman's Monitor*, pp. 42-3.

population, which meant that the voice of the average soldier is much less audible.²⁹ For this reason, most of the autobiographical sources considered here come from middling officers in the army and navy, rather than the common soldier or seaman. The degree of rank amongst these officers, however, varies widely as does the tone of their writing. Several, such as John Stevens, John Blackadder, and William Maxwell, left records that are prime examples of the spiritual journals and autobiographies that began to proliferate in the later seventeenth century. Others, like Thomas Bellingham and George Carleton, focus more on association and sociability.

Examining gender during the English Revolution, Ann Hughes observes, 'If manhood was inherently unstable, war thus made contradictions particularly apparent.'³⁰ This chapter argues that some of the contemporary stereotypes of martial libertinism and aggrandised belligerence caricatured by popular culture appear to be well founded. However, the identity of military men as individuals is much more dynamic than the notoriety of the cohort suggests. On an individual level, we often see a breakdown of these stereotypes and a disparity from the collective identity. While prescriptive literature advocated honourable, Christian, and patriotic ideals, the everyday practice of the military fostered stereotypes of glorified aggression and impious consumption that carried their own normative weight. Within the pages of their autobiographical writings we see men negotiating both. As Catriona Kennedy argues of personal war narratives, experiential texts 'can illuminate the broader shared frameworks of interpretation and meaning production that are brought to bear on diverse encounters.'³¹

Military men proved and defined their masculinity on and off the battlefield through their interactions with each other, foreigners, and the civilian population. This chapter first considers what, if any, sense of collective professional identity men in the military possessed. The following sections respectively discuss how military men negotiated three sets of normative masculine ideals in their autobiographical writings: addressing, first, issues of religious commitment, second, sociability and camaraderie, and, third, social recognition and performance, all of which often overlapped and informed one another. These sets of norms were the foundation for their reputation and the honour that accrued in this masculine profession. This chapter next explores the relational nature of masculinity and how 'Otherness' conditioned the larger socio-cultural discourse surrounding the military. This chapter concludes by arguing that the

²⁹ McKay, 'English Diarists', pp. 191, 202.

³⁰ Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, p. 90.

³¹ Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, p. 8.

autobiographical writings show that those who were prone to reflection and self-assessment—therefore, those who were most likely to leave behind an autobiographical account in the first place—did not typically subscribe to the martial libertine culture or revel in the raucous pursuits that the normative literature warned against and the broader cultural discourse expected.

I. Sense of Duty

The military gradually became a viable career option for members of the ‘middling sort’ and less wealthy gentlemen, helped by William’s reluctance to appoint officers who lacked sufficient military experience. The growing number of ‘professional officers’ went a long way towards fostering a collective sense of identity. Professional officers relied more heavily on their commissions for their living than those who supported themselves with a combination of commission and estate. This increased professionalisation meant that men no longer needed to go to the Continent and serve in European militaries to gain an ‘apprenticeship of arms’, a career path more common in previous periods.³² According to military historian Roger Manning, the steady professionalisation of the early modern military prompted more lower peers and gentlemen to gain military experience. Those not in line to inherit a large estate saw the British Army and Royal Navy as a potential avenue for social advancement, which Manning suggests helped lessen the distinctions between social and military hierarchies.³³

Conduct literature aimed at men in the military helped foster this newfound professionalism by emphasising that the military was a home for men of honour and noble character. Consistent with ideas that appeared in other normative works, the anonymously-authored *Character of a True Protestant English Souldier* stated that ‘A Souldier, however Born, is a Gentleman by his Profession; and that which undeniably proves him so, is, that he values his Honour above his Life ... and therefore with his own merit, he either supports the Credit of an Ancient Family, or lays the Foundation of a new one’.³⁴ Likewise, *The Accomplished Commander* (1689), citing examples from the Bible and antiquity, explained that ‘Experience in Arms is the Original of true Nobility.’³⁵ William Morgan further explained this idea by dedicating *Religio Militis, Or, A Soldier’s*

³² Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms*, pp. 442-3.

³³ *Ibid.*, 431.

³⁴ *Character of a True Protestant English Souldier*, p. 1.

³⁵ R. C., *The Accomplished Commander Being Necessary Instructions for the Prudent Conduct of Officers in an Army* (London: J. Taylor, 1689), p. 129.

Religion Writ by a Field Officer of the Army (1695) to 'the whole ARMY, both Officers and Soldiers, from the Generals, down to the Private Centinels.' Morgan wrote:

... 'tis a general (tho false) Imputation upon Our Profession, That We are Men of no Religion, but a Lewd, Debauch'd, and Rakehelly sort of People; and without regard for the Honour and Interest of Our Country, fight only for Bread. I must confess this wou'd be severe, if true, and expose Us to much Contempt; but being otherwise, 'tis of no Weight or Consideration ... for I am sure if there be any true Honour left in the World, 'tis to be found in the Armies now on Foot, and more in Our Own than any where else ...³⁶

However, as Keith Thomas notes, by the late seventeenth century, although still admired, military prowess was no longer considered the highest form of male endeavour.³⁷ Thus, notwithstanding military literature arguing that war was a noble pursuit, a significant disjuncture existed between the cohort's self-image and the perception of society as a whole.

Military conduct literature consistently explained that the honour and nobility of the profession stemmed from the willingness to serve king and country and defend the 'true religion' (explored in the following section). For example, the first heading of *The Christian Soldier's Penny Bible* (1693) stated that 'the Christian Soldier's chief aim should be to do his King and Country Service, in procuring, or preserving the Peace of it.'³⁸ In describing the ideal Christian soldier, *The Character of a True Protestant Soldier* argued that 'next to his KING, he is his Countries Guardian; and She owes her welfare to his Courage and Conduct.'³⁹ One step removed from ideas of king and country was the notion of serving and protecting the public good by actualising the male standard of self-defence as individuals and as a nation. Richard Baxter wrote, 'I doubt not but it is lawful to fight for our King or Country in a good Cause. As Nature giveth all private men a right of private self-defence (and no more), so the same Law of Nature, which is Gods Law, giveth all Nations a Right of publick self-defence, against its publick enemies'.⁴⁰ Josiah Woodward agreed by suggesting that soldiers were armed on the authority of the public to ensure peace and safety.⁴¹

As these works show, it had become something of a cliché for the normative literature of the 1680s and 1690s to claim that it was manly, noble, and glorious to die in defence of king and country. In a pamphlet entitled *Religio Militis*, 'C.B.' asserted, 'But he

³⁶ William Morgan, *Religio Militis, Or, A Soldier's Religion Writ by a Field Officer of the Army in His Winter-Quarters* (London: Daniel Dring, 1695), np.

³⁷ Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p. 64.

³⁸ *Christian Soldier's Penny Bible*, np.

³⁹ *Character of a True Protestant English Souldier*, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Baxter, *How to Do Good to Many*, p. 26.

⁴¹ Josiah Woodward, *The Soldier's Monitor: Being Serious Advice to Soldiers, to Behave Themselves with a Just Regard to Religion and True Manhood* (London: J. Downing, 1722), p. 8.

that fights for just and generous Ends, will have this to comfort him, If it be his fate to die in the Field, that after-Ages will say of him, that he died like a Man, and like a Soldier.'⁴² Thus, a sacrificial death in battle was a noble, manful end. In *The Souldiers Manual* (1694), a 'Member of the Athenian Society' instructed his audience to prepare themselves for death and when 'that's done, consider *What* you are Fighting *for*, -your *Country*, -your *Religion*, the *Liberties* of *Europe*. *Whom* you are Fighting *under*, -King *William*. *Whom* you are Fighting against, -the *French*, whom you *us'd* to *beat*, when the *odds* was on *their* side; and they never you *without* it.'⁴³ Furthermore, Hannah Smith, examining the standing army debate through the lens of the theatre, argues that post-Glorious Revolution pro-army dramatists portrayed the army officer as patriotic, valorous, and committed to the safety of the nation.⁴⁴ The anonymous editor of Carleton's memoirs ascribed this sense of duty to his subject, observing in the preface: 'It is obvious that captain George Carleton was one of those men who choose the path of military life, not from a wish to indulge either indolent or licentious habits, but with a feeling of duty, which should be deeply impressed on all to whom their country commits the charge of her glory, and of lives of their fellow subjects.'⁴⁵ However, there is little in the autobiographical sources that reflect such notions of duty to king and country. The idea of the military committed to serving king and country, rather than feeding a desire for individual glory and honour, seems to have been discursively produced in the normative literature. Notions of earning 'true honour' through bravery and self-sacrifice continued to be part of the language of military identity.⁴⁶

The lack of autobiographical evidence echoing these normative ideals suggests that much of this idealistic sense of masculine duty towards king and country was projected upon those serving in the army and navy. Instead, autobiographical sources indicate that men remained concerned with fighting papists and boosting their reputation by acquiring the honour that accrued from realising the masculine values of military prowess, self-discipline, and social status. That few military men expressed their sense of vocation through the notions of king and country described in military conduct literature highlights a disconnection between the normative ideals and the subjective experience of this setting. In comparison, the large body of autobiographical evidence suggests more

⁴² C.B., *Religio Militis*, p. 31.

⁴³ Member of the Athenian Society, *The Souldiers Manual*, p. 10.

⁴⁴ Smith, 'Politics, Patriotism, and Gender', pp. 50-4.

⁴⁵ Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. xx.

⁴⁶ Armstrong Starkey, *War in the Age of Enlightenment, 1700-1789* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003), pp. 70-1.

men felt a religious, not patriotic, call to join the military. For his part, H.M.B. Reid, compiler of Maxwell's diary, ventured, 'His diary contains few particulars of his adventures, being mostly a record of religious feelings and exercises. We can see, however, that he fought as well as he prayed, and that in a soldier's life he had found his real vocation.'⁴⁷

II. The Christian Soldier

In *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldier from the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War* (2005), Michael Snape questions the historiographical depiction of the British military as an irreligious institution. He submits three explanations for why the religious experience of the British soldier has been mostly neglected: the secular tone of military historiography, the religious history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been written with little reference to military men, and historians have not appreciated that soldiers' self-identification was often in religious terms. Snape suggests that the perceived irreligiousness of the lower and middling orders of officers and common soldiers has thus far been accepted as an axiomatic foil to feminine piety.⁴⁸ Snape's argument carries equal weight for the reign of William III. Similar to other settings examined in this dissertation, a man's religious and moral character were important components of approved military masculinity.

Although the socio-cultural stereotype of the military was of impious martial libertinism and debauched masculinity, moralists instructed military men to be chaste and pious. William III also called for an end to effeminate intemperance and vice amongst 'all Officers, Private Soldiers, Mariners or others, who are Employed in our Service'.⁴⁹ Military conduct literature habitually summoned military men to follow the Christian model of manhood examined in Chapter One in order to stave off the effeminising vices that weakened the nation's men and fighting force. In *Select Essays* (1693) William Freke explained that 'an Army ought rather to be a Body of Martyrs: Debauch'd Men are fitter for an House of Correction, than to be of an orderly and designing Body, tho' in an Army.'⁵⁰

⁴⁷ William Maxwell, *One of King William's Men: Being Leaves from the Diary of Col. William Maxwell of Cardoness: 1685 to 1697*, ed. H. M. B. Reid (Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1898), p. 23.

⁴⁸ Michael Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldier from the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1-4.

⁴⁹ Josiah Woodward, *An Account of the Societies*, np.

⁵⁰ William Freke, *Select Essays Tending to the Universal Reformation of Learning: Concluded with the Art of War, or a Summary of the Martial Precepts Necessary for an Officer* (London: Tho. Minors, 1693), p. 255.

With titles like *Religio Militis, or The Moral Duty of a Soldier* and *The Soldier's Religious Exercise* (1690), literature aimed at the military often carried explicitly religious overtones. Many works listed rules or exercises for soldiers to follow in a format resembling the Ten Commandments. Authors justified this heavy religious emphasis by noting that soldiers were constantly a moment from death and needed to be prepared for divine judgement.

In some way or another nearly all military prescriptive literature addressed the importance of religion. Both military and religious ideals enforced codes of honour and were couched in language that emphasised the importance of following orders and commands, which was crucial to preserving the social order. For example, according to *The Christian Soldier's Penny Bible*, a soldier's duties included: 'The Soldier should observe the Command of the Lord of Hosts, and acknowledge his Authority in Obeying his Superior', 'A Soldier must not do Wickedly, but Justly, as becomes a Man of Honour', and 'The Christian Soldier should be Valiant for the Cause of God.'⁵¹ Furthermore, *The Soldier's Monitor* (1701) advised that 'He that fears not the Displeasure of his *General*, cannot be a good Soldier: nor can there be a good Man without the *Fear of God*.'⁵²

Many saw God as directly responsible for the outcome of battles and the preservation of their life. Moralists trumpeted the military as the protectors of Protestantism, which was taken for granted as the 'true religion'. In *Instructions to a Son*, first published in 1661 and republished twice during the reign of William III, the Scottish nobleman Archibald Campbell, 1st Marquess of Argyll, advised, 'War proceeds from the ambition and malice of men, but the success of it depends on the good will of God.'⁵³ Such a belief reflected the Providential explanation victorious generals and rulers such as William III and Oliver Cromwell continued to promote in the seventeenth century even as war came to be considered a science.⁵⁴ The normative literature expected 'that when Victory is given of God, all the glory is to be given to him, as his Servants have done.'⁵⁵ Following the fierce Battle of Dunkeld, the devout Calvinist Lt. Col. John Blackadder acknowledged as much and wrote to his brother that the Lord assisted his men's courageous victory despite being outnumbered four-to-one. He wrote that once victory was assured 'our men gave a great shout, and threw their caps in the air, all joined in

⁵¹ *Christian Soldier's Penny Bible*, np.

⁵² Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, p. 17.

⁵³ Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyll, *Instructions to a Son by Archibald, Late Marquis of Argyle* (London: J. Latham, 1661), p. 156.

⁵⁴ Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms*, p. 413.

⁵⁵ *Christian Soldier's Penny Bible*, p. 16.

offering up praises to God a considerable time for so miraculous a victory. I must really say, The Lord's presence was most visible, strengthening us, so that none of the glory belongs to us, but to His own great name'.⁵⁶ Blackadder's imputation of God's presence at Dunkeld is suggestive of the British's self-identification as God's 'chosen people' and the Providential sense of security and courage Britons held in the face of frequent wars.⁵⁷ Again and again, the autobiographical sources gave recognition to God in response to victory and thanks for His protection. Colonel William Maxwell, also a deeply religious Scottish Calvinist like Blackadder, recalled God's role in safeguarding him, writing that God 'wonderfully preserved him' despite much bloodshed throughout his service with William's troops in Scotland and Ireland.⁵⁸ Maxwell also glorified God for further successful efforts: 'I desire to acknowledge the goodness of God to the Protestant army in Ireland this summer in their taking Athlone by storm, their fighting valiantly on the 12th of July at the battle of Aghrim and giving the Irish an entire defeat, their taking of Galloway and other forts, and now being before Limerick'.⁵⁹

However, the British did not always believe God's intervention would be in their favour, fearing that their own sinfulness and profligacy would weaken them and lead to defeat. Edward Barlow, who spent the 1691 summer campaign on the 100-gun *Royal Sovereign* as a midshipman, warned that 'one great case and hindrance of our enterprise was the wanting of love and favour of God towards us; all our nation being generally given to such excessive pride, luxury, debauchery, swearing and drunkenness'.⁶⁰ Explaining how 'luxury' and indulgence were thought to impact military prowess, Keith Thomas notes that civic humanists believed that luxury weakened the nation's martial spirit.⁶¹ Moreover, Barlow's comments resemble those of the author using the pseudonym 'Late Chaplain to the Army' who wrote, 'If our Forces become weakned, and the Enemy grows strong and powerful, we must humble our Souls, and pray more earnestly, that God may avert the Judgement of the Sword which is sent to punish the sins of the Nation.'⁶² Echoing

⁵⁶ Blackadder, *Diary*, p. 48.

⁵⁷ Colley, *Britons*, p. 30. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, 'The Trials of the Chosen Peoples: Recent Interpretations of Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland', in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-1850*, eds. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3-32, p. 11.

⁵⁸ Maxwell, *One of King William's Men*, p. 183.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁶⁰ Edward Barlow, *Barlow's Journal of His Life at Sea in King's Ships, East and West Indiamen and Other Merchantmen from 1659 to 1703*, ed. Basil Lubbock (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1934), p. 424.

⁶¹ Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p. 132.

⁶² Late Chaplain to the Army, *The Soldier's Religious Exercise in the Time of War Being Some Proper Texts, Portions of Holy Scripture, and Prayers, Useful for Those Officers and Soldiers, Who Are Engaged Abroad in Their Majesties Service* (London: Ric. Chiswell, 1690), p. 19.

the 'Late Chaplain', Barlow believed that 'when we begin to amend our course of life, then may we hope that God will go forth with our armies and our fleets, which love to us I pray God of His mercy grant.'⁶³

To combat the debilitating vice and immorality that sapped manly vigour and could potentially lead to defeat, the British Army and Royal Navy sought to maintain long established religious standards, although they were not always strictly observed. Regulations were put in place to guarantee displays of piety.⁶⁴ For instance, diarists recorded instances of honouring God by observing the Sabbath or taking communion. While anchored off the coast of Portsmouth in June of 1689 Jeremy Roch noted that he and all of his officers went ashore to take the sacrament 'having a fair opportunity and being thereunto obliged by Act of Parliament'.⁶⁵ Indeed, *The Seaman's Monitor* maintained that it was the duty of the captains of each ship to 'maintain the pious Solemnity of constant *publick Prayer* in their Ships, according as the necessity of their Affairs will admit it.'⁶⁶ For his part, Col. Thomas Bellingham recorded nineteen instances of hearing sermons with friends, occasionally providing a few comments on their subjects or how well he liked them.⁶⁷ Most of the sermons Bellingham heard were in the market town of Preston, but he also recorded the sermons he heard while in military camps in Ireland. Apart from these examples, however, military men in this period rarely mention taking communion or attending service. Simply put, the practice of actual attendance at religious services was irregular at best despite didactic appeals.

Indeed, for most men in the army the religious experience while campaigning differed markedly from normative expectations. Morrice recorded in his diary that an 'Officer of considerable figure in our Army in Ireland' reported:

Our Soldiers are the most Blasphemous, and Debauched Army that ever has been Encamped, living and dyeing like themselves, for dyeing words of many of them have been God Damne them, the Devill take them body and soule, he heard those words from some of them, and the like was reported to him of many others ... So many dye both in our Army and in King James's that he thinkes if the distemper continue as it is likely, the Kingdome will be rid of the considerablest part of both those Wretched Armies, that are rather Devills incarnate then men.⁶⁸

Yet, Maxwell and Blackadder, along with Lt. John Stevens, an English Catholic volunteering for the Jacobites in Ireland, all intensely scrutinised their military careers

⁶³ Barlow, *Journal*, p. 424.

⁶⁴ Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion*, p. 20.

⁶⁵ Jeremy Roch, 'The Fourth Journal of Jeremy Roch' in *Three Sea Journals of Stuart Times*, ed. Bruce Stirling Ingram (London: Constable & Co., 1936), 112-132, p. 114.

⁶⁶ Woodward, *Seaman's Monitor*, p. 26.

⁶⁷ Bellingham, *Diary*.

⁶⁸ Morrice, *Entring Book*, p. 250.

and comrades through a religious frame of reference. Maxwell believed that the Protestant army had been appointed to promote Christ's interest. He wrote in his diary: 'Now is our Protestant army taken the fields in Ireland, to oppose the cruel and bloodthirsty Irish and those of the perfidious French nation that are lately come to their assistance. Yea, now is the time when those that are for Christ and those that are for Antichrist are opposing themselves one to another.' However, Maxwell repeatedly found the moral conduct of his exalted Protestant army to be wanting. He continued:

Alas, how sad it is to think of the mixed multitude, yea the abounding sins that are raging in these armies that are for advancing the Protestant interest. O that it were my earnest work, and of all that desire to be concerned this day for advancing of Christ's bleeding Church, to be wrestling with God for all of them, both officers and soldiers, that he might purge and pardon their vile abominations, and give them zeal, courage and resolution to appear as lovers of the truths of God in the day of battle ...⁶⁹

Although he did not specify the activities he found detestable, Maxwell lamented the conduct of his comrades on multiple occasions. By doing so, he touched upon the frequent tension between martial and spiritual expectations, discourses, and experiences. Despite damning their sinful behaviour, Maxwell nevertheless reconciled himself to the collective group because he believed they were performing the Lord's work in the fight against popery. He asked that 'the Lord would not deal with them and His Church according to their sins, but according to the equity and justice of His own cause for which they appear'.⁷⁰

Concerns over profanity and blasphemy appeared prominently in prescriptive texts, such as *Religio Militis, or the Moral Duty of a Soldier*, which instructed that the 'sin forbidden, is, Taking God's Name in vain. Now this may be done three ways; first, by common Swearing; secondly, by taking a false Oath; or thirdly, by breaking a true one.'⁷¹ The profanity of their comrades and the frequency of swearing caused Stevens and Blackadder particular torment in light of their distaste for irreverent and blasphemous conversation. Although a Catholic, the ideals by which Stevens measured himself differed little from the Protestants examined here and his journal does not speak to any specific doctrinal differences. Stevens was equally wary of vice and concerned with his comrades' sacrilegious and regularly profane behaviour. He often used his journal as a confessional autobiography with long passages of lucid prose repenting months of sin at a time. On his time spent quartered in Dublin for the winter, Stevens recalled that 'Oaths, curses, and blasphemies were the one-half of the common familiar discourse, the other part very

⁶⁹ Maxwell, *One of King William's Men*, pp. 169-70.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ C. B., *Religio Militis*, p. 12.

often containing nothing but the repetition of past enormities or the plotting and contriving of some fresh piece of extraordinary lewdness.’⁷²

If the nature of conversation in the military troubled Stevens then it positively distressed John Blackadder, so much so that his biographer and the compiler of his papers, Andrew Crichton, observed, ‘His greatest horror was to mix in society of his profligate companions in arms, and be compelled to listen to their impure or profane conversation.’⁷³ Trevor Royle argues that Blackadder’s Cameronian Regiment was as much of a religious group as they were a military force since they believed their foremost task was to defend their religion.⁷⁴ Like Maxwell, Blackadder found it taxing to negotiate the at-times conflicting normative standards of religion and everyday practices of the military. Commenting on his disappointment in the Cameronians, Blackadder bemoaned, ‘They speak just such language as devils would do. I find this ill in our trade, that there is now so much knavery in the army, that it is a wonder how a man of a straight, generous, honest soul can live in it.’⁷⁵ Blackadder’s emotional response to the inability of his regiment to live up to these lofty expectations demonstrated the way in which masculinity acted as a mechanism of social negotiation. In this instance, Blackadder must adjudicate between the practice of his regiment, whose collective identity helped to inform his own, and his moralistic proclivities. His worried disapproval of their conduct reinforced his own self-image by way of juxtaposition.

In the introduction to Blackadder’s diary Crichton observed, ‘We know how battles have been lost or won, where valiant men have fought and fallen; but the religious annals of a soldier’s life, the combats he sustains with enemies within himself, and the victories to be won over the corruptions of his own heart, are of comparatively rare occurrence.’⁷⁶ This spiritual struggle was part of a larger discursive negotiation experienced by deeply religious men. Psychological attempts to reconcile war with Christian precepts were frequent and almost necessary. To that end, ‘C.B.’ suggested, ‘Not that I would seem to discourage Men from Enterprizes of Honour and Justice, for our Saviour came not to bring Peace on Earth, but a Sword, and such a Sword as is never like to be sheathed, while the World lasts, while there are Heretics and false Religions to broach, or a true Religion to defend’. He continued, ‘Yet I would have those that are to run the hazard of the War to

⁷² Stevens, *Journal*, p. 93.

⁷³ Blackadder, *Diary*, pp. 79-80.

⁷⁴ Trevor Royle, *The Cameronians: A Concise History* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2009), p. 16.

⁷⁵ Blackadder, *Diary*, p. 89.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

consider, that to die in the Field in defence of the Truth, will not do the business, unless they die in fear of God.'⁷⁷

The traditional masculine bravado of military action was shaped within the context of a religiously conscious society. As such, it was easy to depict the military as an irreligious institution considering that instances in which men conformed to normative expectations were much less noteworthy and likely to be recorded than cases in which men failed to comply with masculine ideals prohibiting self-indulgence or profanity. As Snape argues, the British soldier tended to be miscast as a godless reprobate due to misgivings about the morality of young men untethered from civilian life, sectarian prejudice, and a deeply-rooted suspicion of standing armies.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, the discourse of military masculinity was informed by literature steeped in religious overtones and men who, on some level, engaged with notions of God frequently, if not daily.

III. Sociability

In the long eighteenth century, homosociality and public performance became increasingly important to conceptions of masculinity. Like the urban gentleman of the rising 'middling sort', military men sought to demonstrate their social status through conduct, money, appearance, and manners rather than landed estate and coat of arms.⁷⁹ Woodward wrote:

I must say, that an Obliging and Gentile Behaviour in a Soldier, appears more Graceful than in others: The usual Military *Roughness* is a Shade, which renders this Civility in a Soldier the more Illustrious. So that hereby you conquer the Hearts of all People, and oblige them to serve you, which is the most noble and most effectual Way of Conquest.⁸⁰

To be sure, military sociability was a sphere of conflict between competing masculine codes. The prescriptive literature—advocating civil and often polite precepts that would also comfortably mesh with moralistic and religious discourses—attempted to assist men in learning proper social decorum. Yet military sociability was often portrayed as a foil to the increasingly polite social world. According to the stereotype, the conduct of men in camp, aboard ship, or in town had a festive, appetitive nature with dining, drinking, lewd conversation, and gambling favoured pastimes. However, the autobiographical sources

⁷⁷ C. B., *Religio Militis*, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁸ Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion*, p. 236.

⁷⁹ Shoemaker, 'The Taming of the Duel', p. 526.

⁸⁰ Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, p. 33.

show that there were significant discrepancies between the sociable pursuits of the men examined in this chapter and the appetitive stereotypes.

The at-times raucous and profligate practices of sociability in the military differed markedly from refined, civil, or Christian norms, which condemned profanity, immoderation, and looseness. Analysing the later Stuart era, Anthony Clayton suggests that many men spent less time on military duties than they did playing cards, gaming, riding, and attending banquets and balls.⁸¹ The tensions between the idealised sociability of prescriptive literature and the reality of oft-intemperate military practice was a source of distress for men who were deeply religious, such as John Stevens, John Blackadder, and William Maxwell. On the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession Blackadder wrote that he prayed to God and laid out the 'snares and temptations' of the army and his fear of the 'trials, and vices, and perils of camps and armies' that lay before him.⁸² Maxwell also recognised the temptation bred by military sociability. At the end of the campaign season in 1691, he thanked God for preserving him 'not only from hazard but in the time of greatest danger, not only from many snares and temptations, but when in the company of the wicked from being enticed to consent to their folly'.⁸³

Stevens paints an even more vivid picture. After obtaining a commission in the Fitzjames' Regiment, Stevens spent the winter of 1689-90 encamped in Dublin with his idle regiment. It was in this idleness that men might turn to debauched entertainments. The translated French author Jacques Goussault advised, 'Avoid Idleness, as the most dangerous Evil. When the Mind is not employ'd, it becomes corrupt; but when employ'd, it becomes Spirit.'⁸⁴ Indeed, *The Soldier's Monitor* noted of the 'Christian Soldier' that 'In his Hours of Leisure, he avoids Drinking, Gaming, and all Idleness, and either singles out such Company as is Virtuous and Agreeable, or betakes himself to some innocent Diversion, Study, or Employment.'⁸⁵ With both English and Irish Jacobites quartered amongst regular Dubliners, to Stevens the town 'seemed to be a seminary of vice, an academy of luxury or rather a sink of corruption, and living emblem of Sodom' with alcohol being the root cause.⁸⁶

Far from an innocent observer, Stevens participated in these convivial entertainments, lamenting, 'I employed myself wholly in following the court, in walking

⁸¹ Clayton, *The British Officer*, p. 37.

⁸² Blackadder, *Diary*, p. 79.

⁸³ Maxwell, *One of King William's Men*, pp. 174-5.

⁸⁴ Goussault, *Advice to Young Gentlemen*, p. 3.

⁸⁵ Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, pp. 37-8.

⁸⁶ Stevens, *Journal*, p. 93.

the town, in superfluous visits, in keeping company, and in what is worse in drinking and such-like idle and foolish diversions of youth.' Yet Stevens was contrite for his winter activities in Dublin. He wrote, 'I do not pretend to so much reservedness or zeal as wholly to condemn these pastimes, which used with moderation are in themselves innocent enough; I reprehend myself the excessive use of them, and that I was so wholly devoted to them as that they seemed to be my sole business during my stay in Dublin.'⁸⁷ Although his journal ends before the reader learns whether this after-the-fact confession acted as a check on future behaviour, this quotation from Stevens succinctly demonstrates how men in the military wrestled with the normative weight of practice that contradicted prescription. In this case, Stevens was contrite about his profligate social pursuits and regretted the debauched behaviour typically associated with the army. Thus, representing themselves as pious individuals, expressing their guilt over their own failings, and censuring the licentious conduct of others, Maxwell, Blackadder, and Stevens demonstrated that not all officers conformed to or endorsed the stereotype of martial libertinism. In turn, their autobiographical writings highlight the taxing nature of negotiating masculinity in accordance with the norms of competing discourses.

The consumption of alcohol further illustrates the complexity and ambiguity of discourses of male sociability. Of drinking in the military, *The Accomplished Commander* warned: 'Drunkenness both kindles, and lays open every Vice, it removes out of the way that shame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; for where Wine gets the Mastery all the ill that before lies hidden breaks out: Drunkenness indeed rather discovers Vices, than makes them.'⁸⁸ Yet it is important to note the difference between consuming alcohol and drunkenness. On the one hand, drinking in moderation was a healthy and even necessary activity for a 'public man'. On the other hand, according to the normative literature, excessive drinking was sinful and indicated a loss of self-control. To drink to the point of drunkenness was to demonstrate baseness more in line with a crude, barbaric form of masculinity than the refined comportment increasingly expected of the 'middling sort' of men at the turn of the eighteenth century. While some military men might consider drinking ability and excessive consumption to be manly, few of our characters seem to have embraced this aspect of masculinity, or at least to have been willing to record it when they partook.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 106.

⁸⁸ R. C., *Accomplished Commander*, p. 101.

One exception is Col. Thomas Bellingham, who could be considered a prime example of the reprobate military stereotype.⁸⁹ Bellingham's rank of colonel partially justified his raucous sociable pursuits because, as Roger Manning explains, securing the rank of colonel was highly political and its primary duty was recruitment.⁹⁰ While in the service, Bellingham's diary is a record of his daily entertainments—drinking, gambling, and socialising—in the company of both ordinary citizens and his army comrades, especially while mobilising in Lancashire. *The Soldier's Monitor* and *The Seaman's Monitor* both expressly condemned gambling with *The Soldier's Monitor* noting that gambling 'rather perplexes than recreates the Mind, throws it into Passion, and prophane Swearing and Cursing, tempts to Cheating, and is usually attended with very ill Company, and various Quarrels and Amusements; together with an endless Circle of Projects and Designs of farther Advantages or Reparations.'⁹¹ Yet gambling was a popular leisure activity for military men while in camp or awaiting the start of the campaigning season. It seemed to be a favoured pastime for Bellingham even though prescriptive literature condemned it as bad practice. While in Preston mobilising troops he wrote, 'We were nobly entertained att ye mayors. Went after to one of ye Serjeants; so to Mittons; and from thence to play att ye Coffee house, where we won £30.'⁹² Whether encamped in Lancashire or Ireland, Bellingham regularly played cards to pass the time. In an army camp located in the North Belfast area, he 'din'd with ye Duke [of Schomberg]. A party was out att Dromiskin last night. I rode out with ye Duke, and sate upp late att play with some of Kirke's officers and won some money.'⁹³

It is important to note that not all leisure and idle time centred around raucous and appetitive pursuits. Time spent in the navy could be monotonous with ships often laid up for long periods while convoys were organised to protect merchant shipping or fleets assembled to cruise for enemy vessels. Captain Jeremy Roch described two leisure activities he partook in while awaiting orders in the summer of 1689. For example, while anchored in the waters of South West England, he wrote, 'Now having nothing else to do, we put our fishing craft awork and caught some fish, which was a little diversion as well as a refreshing to us, while we lay here acoveing and sun burning.'⁹⁴ This entry evokes a

⁸⁹ This chapter considers Bellingham's sociable activities in military camps and when on military duty. Chapter One examined his sociable activities when off duty in Lancashire.

⁹⁰ Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms*, pp. 403-4.

⁹¹ Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, p. 25.

⁹² Bellingham, *Diary*, p. 39.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁹⁴ Roch, 'Fourth Journal', p. 115.

passage in Cotton Mather's *Religious Marriner*: 'When You are Sollicited unto the doing of any *Ill Thing*, I wish you would fortify your selves, with the Thoughts of *One Thing*, which often occurs unto the *Mariner*. Don't you often Divert your selves with *Fishing*?'⁹⁵ Furthermore, the social pursuits of military men were not solely of a secular nature. Blackadder found the appetitive pursuits of his colleagues to be severely wanting and instead wrote that he attempted to 'always be mixing something that may edify in my discourse, to make people fall in love with the ways of holiness.'⁹⁶ Thus, the range of the social activities and experiences portrayed in these autobiographical sources indicate the variance between understandings of military masculinity. That men in the military often reacted against the stereotype of military sociability being wholly consumed by unruly diversions—even as they themselves occasionally fell prey to these diversions—articulated one of many instances of incongruity between socio-cultural expectations, behaviour, and self-identity.

IV. Public Affirmation and Honourable Reputation

The performative element of masculinity, be it conduct or display, was freighted with crucial significance in this setting because military men could express their masculinity through traditional values such as martial prowess, competition, strength, and bravery. Recognition and designation on and off the battlefield were important aspects of military masculinity because 'manliness' was both self- and socially-assigned. Indeed, men like Blackadder, Carleton, Stevens, and Maxwell demonstrate the influence of the court of public opinion by at times conforming to the contemporary stereotype of being conspicuously concerned with honour. These men paid attention to how they were perceived because social recognition and public affirmation were important to reputation.

Appearance, organisation, and pageantry were integral components of military identity. Jennine Hurl-Eamon argues, 'Any consideration of masculine identity in the army cannot fail to recognize the power of the uniform ... Although many other issues divided the army from the populace, historians have recognized the prominent role of costume'.⁹⁷ When Stevens arrived in Dublin to secure a commission in James's army, he wrote that 'it was not without some shame and trouble I entered the town afoot and all covered with

⁹⁵ Mather, *Religious Marriner*, p. 17.

⁹⁶ Blackadder, *Diary*, p. 72.

⁹⁷ Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army*, pp. 91-2.

dust, having lived there sometime before in esteem and with splendour, and fearing to meet with many that had formerly known me in a prosperous condition.’⁹⁸ Although he felt shame in his misfortune and appearance, Stevens partially overcame this feeling by drawing upon the discourse of Catholic martyrdom and by noting that there was no ‘greater glory or honour’ than for others to see him as a sufferer for his religion and king, thus highlighting his reconciliation of religious and martial codes of masculinity.⁹⁹ Stevens’s instinctual concern for his appearance denoted its importance to constructing military identity, which was further corroborated by the pride men took in their uniform and regalia. Uniform and costume designated rank and regiment within the army as well as set members of the military apart from the lay population. As a representation of prowess, the colourful uniforms demarcated the soldier and put him on display.

Items of pageantry and status were prominent in shaping public perception and fostering a sense of collective identity. For example, the inherent rivalry within the ranks of the British Army saw officers attempt to trump each other in the decorativeness of their tent.¹⁰⁰ Likewise, regiment colours carried significant meaning and were treated with reverence. Carleton touched upon the importance of regalia during the Nine Years’ War when he told the story of Sir Robert Douglas who, at the expense of his life, charged into an enemy hedgerow by himself to rescue his company’s colours. Alluding to the longstanding importance of battle insignia to military men, Carleton wrote:

Thus the Scotch commander improv’d upon the Roman General; for the brave Posthumus cast his standard in the middle of the enemy for his soldiers to retrieve, but Douglas retriev’d his from the middle of the enemy, without any assistance, and cast it back to his soldiers to retain, after he had so bravely rescued it out of the hands of the enemy.¹⁰¹

In Carleton’s estimation, this performance of bravery protecting the colours—the embodiment of the honour of the company—constituted a glorious feat of arms and worthy sacrifice.

Some men were more concerned with how show and ceremony reflected their honour than others. In the navy, an enormous amount of effort went into ceremonial acknowledgement. Admiral George Rooke, a distinguished flag officer during the Nine Years’ War, meticulously recorded in his journal how many cannons were used to salute prominent figures. The entry for 25 August 1700 was typical of such salutes: ‘At four afternoon Duke Wirtemberg, with several officers, came on board to pay his respects to

⁹⁸ Stevens, *Journal*, p. 51.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Clayton, *The British Officer*, p. 29.

¹⁰¹ Carleton, *Memoirs*, pp. 32-3.

the Admiral, stayed half an hour, and at his return the Admiral gave him nineteen guns, and all the Danish fleet saluted him as he passed, with nine guns each ship.¹⁰² Captain Jeremy Roch also demonstrated the importance of observing naval ceremony and the consequences of a perceived slight. On 27 July 1689, while Roch was onshore, against his orders Roch's lieutenant 'being mad or drunk' anchored in Plymouth Sound and received his salute from the shore before the superior officer in his fleet was saluted, which 'made Captain Deering bear me a grudge all the voyage after, and played some malicious tricks with me, notwithstanding I made it appear 'twas none my fault.'¹⁰³

The pageantry, show, and ceremony of the military spoke to a man's honour and reputation, which he would go to great lengths to defend. The need to safeguard one's reputation meant that men attempted to defend their name and prove their courage and status by gaining satisfaction for insults. To do so, men often resorted to duelling. In a setting that glorified aggression, military men were undeterred by Article 38 of the 1692 Articles of War: 'Nor shall any officer or soldier presume to send a challenge to another officer or soldier to fight a duel; neither shall a soldier or officer upbraid another for refusing a challenge'.¹⁰⁴ Duels were 'monotonously frequent' among officers during the reign of William III despite this unequivocal instruction.¹⁰⁵ The symbolism of duels reflected early modern society as a whole, in which many saw physical confrontation as a straightforward way to defend one's honour and prove one's courage and physical prowess. As Robert Shoemaker argues, often for petty reasons, both gentlemen and military men were emboldened to duel to affirm their social position, especially officers because it was vital that they maintained their authority and the respect of the men.¹⁰⁶

John Blackadder found himself in a duel when another officer took offence at his truthfulness being questioned by Blackadder and his companions.¹⁰⁷ The importance of honour among military men dictated that the offended officer needed to prove his courage to his fellows by gaining satisfaction for the insult. For Blackadder, this turned out to be another strikingly illustrative moment of conflict between the norms of military masculinity and religious masculinity. For the challenged officer (Blackadder),

¹⁰² George Rooke, *The Journal of Sir George Rooke, Admiral of the Fleet, 1700-1702*, ed. Oscar Browning (London: Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1897), p. 111.

¹⁰³ Roch, 'Fourth Journal', p. 117.

¹⁰⁴ Clifford Walton, 'Appendix No. LIII', In *History of the British Standing Army, 1660-1700* (London: Harison and Sons, 1894), p. 813.

¹⁰⁵ Childs, *The British Army*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Shoemaker, 'Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London', *Social History* 26, no. 2 (May 2001), 190-208, p. 196.

¹⁰⁷ Blackadder, *Diary*, p. 86.

participating was virtually obligatory because an officer's courage needed to be unquestionable. An officer who refused was 'sent to Coventry', which meant that his fellow officers shunned him except while on duty.¹⁰⁸ Blackadder won the engagement and killed the man. However, when he revisited the location of the duel years later Blackadder was contrite:

At night I went alone to visit that spit of ground, as near as I could find it, where, twelve years ago, I committed that unhappy action: There I fell down on my knees, and prayed as I had done several times throughout the day, that God would deliver me from blood-guiltiness; that the blood of the Lamb might purify the stain, and wash away the crimson dye of the poor man's blood.¹⁰⁹

Rather than glorify the defence of his honour, Blackadder here demonstrated the tension between his moral precepts, the prescriptive norms against duelling, and the informal expectations of the officer cohort that expected him to duel.

With God's help William Maxwell, however, avoided a duel successfully without losing his honour, or so he believed. He thanked God that 'when exposed through the foolishness of a comrade and lightness of my own spirit to duelling, yet that the Lord (I desire to think) heard my request, by preventing the same with no less honour than if it had been done.'¹¹⁰ Through the duel we see the interplay of competing and conflicting codes within masculine discourse, which demonstrate military masculinity to be far from homogeneous. While many, particularly those in the military, saw duelling as a means to confirm their status, others believed it to be brash and incompatible with gentility or piety.¹¹¹ Assuming he had escaped the near-obligatory demand for an army officer to duel without harming his honour, Maxwell demonstrated that, while many of the stereotypes concerning performance and physical courage were well founded, other masculine values challenged these stereotypes, such as the religious norms of some men and the growing importance of civility on public sociability.

Yet military prowess was still one of the most elementary ways to realise masculinity, even if the honour it engendered was no longer universally admired.¹¹² In *Soldier Heroes* (1994) historian Graham Dawson writes, 'Military virtues such as aggression, strength, courage and endurance have repeatedly been defined as the natural

¹⁰⁸ Shoemaker, 'The Taming of the Duel', p. 540.

¹⁰⁹ Blackadder, *Diary*, p. 86.

¹¹⁰ Maxwell, *One of King William's Men*, p. 173.

¹¹¹ For discussions on the ambivalent attitudes towards duelling see: Shoemaker, 'The Taming of the Duel'. Shoemaker, 'Male Honour'. Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England*. Jennifer A. Low, *Manhood and the Duel*.

¹¹² Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p. 76.

and inherent qualities of manhood, whose apogee is attainable only in battle.’¹¹³ In an imagined dialogue, the nonjuring bishop and writer Jeremy Collier wrote:

For in my Judgment, the Profession of a Soldier has a particular, and paramount Title to Honour. For can there be a more extraordinary Instance of Greatness, than for a Man to be undismayed, amidst so many horrible Instruments and Images of Death? To expose his Person as freely as if he knew himself Immortal; and to fear nothing but Obscurity and Disgrace?¹¹⁴

The Character of a True Protestant English Souldier explained that soldiers were ‘sensible of the difference between Honour and Infamy, so that the horrid apprehensions of a base Life, drives him from the Fire to the Field; where carried on by an undaunted resolution, he many times obtains at once, the Souldiers three grand *Utinams*, Fame, Preferment, and Victory.’ It continued, ‘In the Time of War, he looks on the World as reduc’d to a Lottery, where he that has the greatest Courage, is sure to draw the richest Prize. This it is, that makes him strut in Rags, and rate himself not according to his *Habit*, but his *Heart*; as long as that’s good, his Fortune cannot be otherwise’.¹¹⁵ Evoking the ‘difference between Honour and Infamy’ alluded to by *The Character of a True Protestant English Souldier*, George Carleton noted a moment when he was particularly proud of his martial efforts, describing Prince Vaudemont’s brilliant and courageous tactical retreat from Villeroy. At the close of the early modern period the vast size of armies made strategy increasingly important with one pamphlet noting that in ‘the true Judgment of Men of War, Honourable Retreats are no way inferiour to brave Charges, as having less of Fortune, more of Discipline, and as much of Valour’.¹¹⁶ Carleton revealed that ‘it was not, I confess, the least part of Satisfaction in life, that my self had a share of honour under him to bring off the Rear at that his glorious retreat at Arfeel’.¹¹⁷

On the other hand, Stevens depicted the shame of a dishonourable, cowardly retreat. On the losing side of the Williamite War in Ireland, moments of battlefield glory were infrequent for Stevens. After being routed at the Battle of the Boyne, Stevens recalled with shame that the defeated Jacobite army retreated in disarray until they were near Dublin before reforming in their ranks to avoid the ‘shame of marching in such case through the city we not long before had filled with expectation of our actions and hopes’.¹¹⁸ The disarray was caused when dragoons spooked the entire Lord Grand Prior’s Regiment apart from Stevens himself. He lamented: ‘This I can affirm, having stayed in the

¹¹³ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Jeremy Collier, *Essays upon Several Moral Subjects: In Two Parts* (London: Richards Sare, 1703), p. 70

¹¹⁵ *Character of a True Protestant English Souldier*, pp. 2-3.

¹¹⁶ R.C., *Accomplished Commander*, p. 95

¹¹⁷ Carleton, *Memoirs*, p. 37.

¹¹⁸ Stevens, *Journal*, p. 130

rear till all the horse were past, and looking about I wondered what madness possessed our men to run so violently nobody pursuing them. What few men I could see I called to, no commands being of force, begging them to stand together and repair to their colours'. This cowardice weighed particularly heavy on his conscience: 'The shame of our regiment's dishonour only afflicted me before; but now all the horror of a routed army, just before so vigorous and desirous of battle and broke without scarce a stroke from the enemy, so perplexed my soul that I envied the few dead, and only grieved I lived to be a spectator of so dismal and lamentable a tragedy.'¹¹⁹ Stevens's story of personal fortitude but collective cowardice is suggestive of the importance of performance in battle, which resonated throughout the autobiographical works of these officers. From his viewpoint, despite losing the field, Stevens affirmed his own manhood by standing his ground and mitigating the humiliation of fleeing in fear.

Punishment for cowardice and failing to perform one's duty often went beyond feelings of shame or damage to one's reputation. Cowardice was 'by the Law of Arms unpardonable: wherefore Men must either not Draw a Sword at all, or if they do they must resolve to Fight. How base will that Man appear, who shall run away with a Sword by his Side, if there be a just occasion, and he ought to stand!'¹²⁰ Under such expectations, a man whose courage failed him was dealt with severely. For example, in his *Journal of the Brest-Expedition* (1694), during the amphibious attack at Camaret Bay in June 1694 Vice-Admiral Peregrine Osborne, the future 2nd Duke of Leeds, resorted to firing a musket at his own men to persuade them to return to their posts under heavy bombardment from the French on shore.¹²¹ Once fighting ceased, court martials were used to hold cowardly men accountable. Upon arriving at Carrickfergus in 1689, Thomas Bellingham noted that some of Sir Henry Ingoldsby's regiment 'behav'd ill att ye seige. Lew, Capt of the Grenadeeres, was dismiss'd for Cowardice.'¹²² An 'Officer in the town' during the Siege of Londonderry wrote that in early May 'we made a small Salley with 400 Men, to discover the Enemies Posture; but the Officer who commanded that Sally, after Two or Three Discharges, in great disorder retired Cowardly to the Town; for which base Action, the next Day he was Tryed by a Councell of War, Condemned, and Shot at the Main-Guard.'¹²³

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 122-3.

¹²⁰ C.B., *Religio Militis*, p. 5.

¹²¹ Peregrine Osborne, Duke of Leeds, *A Journal of the Brest-Expedition by the Lord Marquiss of Caermarthen* (London: Randal Taylor, 1694), p. 32.

¹²² Bellingham, *Diary*, p. 81.

¹²³ Officer in the town, *A Journal of the Siege of London-Derry in a Letter from an Officer in the Town* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1689), p. 1.

In a setting that celebrated courage, to behave in a cowardly manner was to demonstrate oneself lacking in manliness. Public punishment compounded the indignity.

The importance of performance, discipline, and show dictated that forms of disobedience were also dealt with severely. In particular, desertion was viewed as a form of cowardice and a display of weakness. In *The Soldier's Monitor* Josiah Woodward advised, 'When you see what Shame and Punishment such Men meet with, who desert their Colours, or keep Correspondence with the Enemy; meditate on the unsupportable Shame and Torment of all Unfaithful Christians at the last Judgment'.¹²⁴ However, in the early modern era desertion remained common because it was easy to enlist under a fake name, collect the conscription fee, and then disappear. Those caught, however, faced death or incarceration. On 10 May 1689, Roger Morrice noted that 'Its said 35 English soldiers have been hanged in Holland for Deserting'.¹²⁵ The diary of Jacobite politician Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of Clarendon, further proves how disastrous desertion could be for honour and reputation. Clarendon's son, Edward Hyde, deserted James II for William III during the Glorious Revolution. Even during William's reign the elder Clarendon believed that his son's honour remained stained as a result of changing his allegiance. In July 1689, upon receiving the news that his son's regimental command was taken from him, the elder Hyde wrote, 'God grant it may make my son reflect, as he ought to do, on the abominable action he committed in deserting the King; which will be a stain in his life, and will stock heavy at my heart as long as I live'.¹²⁶ Nearly a year later the elder Hyde indicated that command of the regiment still had not been returned to his son with the 'King having put such a mark of disgrace upon him, as to take away his regiment, after what he had done upon the first invasion'.¹²⁷

As Faramerz Dabhoiwala explains, individuals understood 'the relationship between the personal and the public, and between the projection and the perception of one's character' through notions of reputation and honour.¹²⁸ The performative moments examined in this section are examples of how the public confirmed one's honour and reputation. Rewards and recognition for valiant service often took the form of

¹²⁴ Woodward, *Soldier's Monitor*, p. 32.

¹²⁵ Morrice, *Entring Book*, p. 113.

¹²⁶ Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and His Brother Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester; with the Diary of Lord Clarendon from 1687 to 1690, Containing Minute Particulars of the Events Attending the Revolution and the Diary of Lord Rochester during His Embassy to Poland in 1676*, ed. Samuel Weller Singer (London: H. Colburn, 1828), p. 283.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 314-5.

¹²⁸ Dabhoiwala, 'The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status', p. 201.

promotions, commissions, or prizes. These served as symbols of one's honourable manhood. Bellingham received a certificate as a token of his good service during the 1689 campaign in Ireland.¹²⁹ Carleton's bravery smoking out several Jacobites barricaded in an old castle led to his commanding officer being so 'pleas'd to make mention of my behaviour, with some particularities, I had soon after a commission order'd me for a company in the regiment under the command of Brigadier Tiffin.'¹³⁰ Similarly, the editor of Maxwell's diary notes that 'his conduct was so gallant that he was promoted on the field' and later presented with a ring that contained some of King William's hair.¹³¹ Receiving praise bolstered one's reputation and recognition for distinguished action was a powerful motivating factor for military men. Stevens confessed, 'The soldier endures the scorching heat of the summer, and piercing cold of winter in the fields, lies on the ground, suffers hunger and thirst, and daily exposes himself to all dangers that his valour may be extolled, his sufferings recorded, and his magnanimity celebrated.'¹³²

V. Social Attitudes and the 'Other'

In *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (1992), Linda Colley argues that British identity in the long eighteenth century emerged not through solidarity at home but in response to an 'Other' beyond the shores of the island nation; the 'Other' was most often the French or Catholic Europe.¹³³ War was frequently at the root of this juxtaposition. Defining an identity against an 'Other' could be a useful exercise given that gender and identity are inherently relational constructs. Military conduct and autobiographical literature created additional 'Others' besides Catholic France. Distinctions between military men and civilians also appear frequently in the contemporary sources, with military men effeminising those who acted dishonourably or did not test themselves through combat. Military men constructed and negotiated their corporate and personal identity by applying discourses of alterity to foreigners and civilians, accentuating the differences of those outside of their group and the similarities within. In turn, the perceptions that civilians held of the military likewise shaped the socio-cultural discourse of this setting.

While the French were Britain's primary military rivals and frequent combatants, hostilities occurred closer to home during the Williamite War in Ireland. Following the

¹²⁹ Bellingham, *Diary*, p. 95.

¹³⁰ Carleton, *Memoirs*, pp. 29-30.

¹³¹ Maxwell, *One of King William's Men*, pp. 22-3.

¹³² Stevens, *Journal*, p. 52.

¹³³ Colley, *Britons*, pp. 5-6.

Glorious Revolution, King James used Ireland as a base of support to regain his crown. That Ireland was primarily Catholic played a significant role in British men defining themselves in opposition to a Jacobite 'Other'. As far as the British were concerned, the Irish and Jacobite forces were cowardly barbarians. On the move with the Williamite forces, Thomas Bellingham commented, 'We came to Newry, from whence ye enemy retreated in great confusion, having ye night before barbarously burnt ye town.'¹³⁴ George Walker, who was elected joint-governor when the forces of James II besieged Londonderry, also portrayed the Jacobite forces as treacherous and dishonourable in their disregard for the customs of war in his *True Account of the Siege of London-derry* (1689). Examples of dishonourable conduct from the besiegers included murdering two captured officers, firing at Walker under a white flag, and capturing a man under a white flag.¹³⁵ Reporting on the lack of provisions inside Londonderry while James's forces besieged it, Roger Morrice noted that it was 'credibly reported' that of the nearly 3000 people who have died less than 200 of them were at the hands of the Jacobites after the initial assault. Morrice explained that the reason for this low number was that James's forces 'either want encouragement or were cowardly, for after they had made their first Assault they were alwaies unwilling to make a Second, and it's said did hardly ever make any but when their Officers came behind them and forced them.'¹³⁶ This disparaging rhetoric of Jacobite cowardice stood in stark contrast to the honourable conduct expected from William's British troops.

For William Maxwell, comparisons to the French were made on the basis of religion. Maxwell believed that Louis XIV was an autocrat and that the French were motivated to go to war by a desire to oppress the 'true religion'. Although Steve Pincus has argued that after the Restoration most no longer believed that wars were won on the basis of godliness or virtue, Maxwell nevertheless measured the Protestant William III against the Catholic Louis XIV.¹³⁷ In 1691 he assessed the conflict in Europe thusly:

Now is much at stake; the tyrant of France, that scourge of the Reformed Churches, is this day powerful in Flanders, Germany, and in Savoy, endeavouring to ruin these parts. And now are the confederate armies in the fields to oppose him: now is our Protestant king in Flanders ready to give him battle, to venture his life and all that is dear to him for the promoting of Christ's interest there and in other parts of the world.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Bellingham, *Diary*, p. 82.

¹³⁵ George Walker, *A True Account of the Siege of London-Derry* (London: Robert Clavel and Ralph Simpson, 1689), p. 26.

¹³⁶ Morrice, *Entring Book*, p. 167.

¹³⁷ Steve Pincus, 'From Holy Cause to Economic Interest: The Study of Population and the Invention of the State', in *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration*, eds. Alan Houston and Steve Pincus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 272-298, p. 294.

¹³⁸ Maxwell, *One of King William's Men*, p. 169.

More so than his fellow military men, Maxwell attempted to explain the thought process of the French and not just critique their actions. Of the French winning the day at the Battle of Steenkerque, Maxwell observed that 'a wicked army may fight valiantly for their king and country'. However, those who are 'lovers of the kingdom of Christ', by which Maxwell meant British Protestants, are 'wonderfully trusted with courage and conduct' by God.¹³⁹ He argued that French pride was the reason for William's defeat but that the British should not feel discouraged because the French's motivation to serve their king would be fleeting and could not permanently withstand a forced inspired by the love of God. Through his negative characterisation of the French as the counterpart to the British, Maxwell demonstrated the role an 'Other' can play in constructing identity through opposition.

In addition to shaping their self-image by juxtaposing themselves and the enemy, military men marked their masculinity in relation to the civilian population. For example, Hannah Smith shows that post-Glorious Revolution drama featured a tacit comparison between the manly virtues of bravery and hardiness embodied by the army officer and the faintheartedness, comfort, and money valued by the 'anti-army cit'.¹⁴⁰ Conduct literature also featured this juxtaposition. William Morgan sarcastically thanked these civilians and argued that they were responsible for war:

Tis those Sons of Peace (as they tho falsly call themselves) that thus continually disturb and destroy the Repose and Quiet of Mankind. I must confess I ought not to be so very angry with, or fierce against them; for they often help us to many a good stroke of Work; Religion, (at least the name and pretence) has frequently employ'd our Swords, which might else have rusted in their Scabbards ...¹⁴¹

Similarly, *The Character of a True Protestant English Souldier* labelled the civilian man who shied away from serving his country as a 'mock man' who when home 'shews his manhood in Swearing at, or perhaps fighting with his Wife, Maid, or Children; and when he wakes next morning, runs the hazzard of a Consumption in contemplating the danger he went, by his last Nights Valour.'¹⁴² By positioning martial masculinity in contrast to these cowards and bullies, this passage depicts the military as protectors of the kingdom in comparison to idle, consumptive, effeminate civilians who were 'at best but the skin of a man stufft with Cowardice.'¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Ibid., 197-8.

¹⁴⁰ Smith, 'Politics, Patriotism, and Gender', p. 58.

¹⁴¹ Morgan, *Religio Militis*, np.

¹⁴² *Character of a True Protestant English Souldier*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 4.

For his part, Blackadder found it particularly trying to conduct military business in London among the same gentlemen and politicians derided by military literature. Blackadder laboured to reconcile expectations of refined sociability with the company he was forced to keep and his displeasure with their seemingly ill nature. In May 1701 he reported:

I dare not converse with, or haunt that company which the world calls good and genteel. I think no graceless, debauched company can be good or genteel, be they of ever so great quality ... I think those men who are reckoned the best here in London, even ministers, are not so tender and circumspect in their walk as I could wish.¹⁴⁴

Blackadder's blatant antipathy towards maintaining his social reputation deviated sharply from the lifestyle expectations prescribed for a man of his social standing in London. Blackadder's self-confessed unsociable nature stemmed from his religious sensibilities and his lack of comfort in a setting outside of his chosen profession. Once he received his orders to report back to his regiment he felt a sense of failure yet relief. For Blackadder, favourably comparing his military masculinity against the irreligious gentleman of the city came easily. In 1728, less than a year before his death, he reviewed the earlier entries of his diary. On his time spent in London and the difference between himself and the corrupted gentlemen and politicians he encountered, Blackadder concluded:

That which fretted and vexed me most was, that I was so little fitted for the business I was employed in; and met with so much ill company that I could not live with. I had not suppleness to manage people's tempers and humours, wherein my antagonists had a great advantage over me, by conforming to the world, and putting themselves in every shape to gain their point; by cajoling, treating, bribing, they carried their cause, though it was, to every impartial spectator, palpably less fair and just.¹⁴⁵

Yet notions of masculinity were variable and malleable. Blackadder conceded that part of the reason he was so damning of others was his own stiff, unsociable nature, which influenced his experiences and judgements.¹⁴⁶

Given that identity is both relational and contextual, both self- and socially-assigned, the social surroundings and attitudes towards men in the military had a critical impact on how they defined themselves as individuals and cohorts. Those both inside and outside of the cohort shaped the socio-cultural discourses that informed the status group. The men in the military were doubtlessly aware of the attitudes and stereotypes others formed of them, including accusations of effeminacy and weakness when the British

¹⁴⁴ Blackadder, *Diary*, pp. 72-3.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 251.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

armed forces suffered defeats.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, evidence from civilians about their views of the military—similar to the bias with which the British officers compared themselves to the French—influenced the perception of military masculinity and informed the collective mentalité. For instance, the antiquary Abraham de la Pryme proudly noted that ‘it is mightily to the honour of old England to hear what valiant sons she now brings forth, when all foreign nations expected her past bearing courageous men.’¹⁴⁸ Conversely, John Evelyn described less upright acts of the British military. In July 1694 Evelyn lamented, ‘Lord Berkeley burnt Dieppe and Havre de Grace with bombs, in revenge for the defeat at Brest. This manner of destructive war was begun by the French, is exceedingly ruinous, especially falling on the poorer people, and does not seem to tend to make a more speedy end of the war; but rather to exasperate and incite to revenge.’¹⁴⁹ He echoed similar thoughts a little over a year later: ‘Bombarding of Cadiz; a cruel and brutish way of making war, first began by the French.’¹⁵⁰ Evelyn justified these measures as excusable because they were a reaction against similar French tactics. As with depictions of the Irish and Jacobite forces, the actions of the French were somewhat hypocritically deemed to be barbarous and dishonourable. Yet Evelyn’s remarks, rationalised though they were, nevertheless reflected poorly on the honour of those involved, while de la Pryme’s had the opposite effect. External depictions such as these contributed to the discourse that formed the socio-cultural characterisation of men in the military. Thus, rhetorical comparisons between the masculinities of military men and citizens, as well as British men and foreigners, were a crucial component of the corporate identity of the military.

VI. Conclusion. A Variable and Fluid Setting of Masculinity

As an institution, the impact of the military reached far beyond the geopolitics of the long eighteenth century. During the reign of William III, following the lead of the military-minded monarch, the British Army and Royal Navy grew in size and stature to resist the expansion of Catholic France, facilitate trade, and protect the flourishing first British Empire. On the home front, as a cohort, the military acted as a melting pot for Wales, Scotland, and England, which as Linda Colley argues, helped foster a sense of ‘Britishness’ that could be superimposed over internal differences and identities in response to contact

¹⁴⁷ Hurl-Eamon, ‘Youth in the Devil’s Service’, p. 166.

¹⁴⁸ De la Pryme, *Diary*, p. 66.

¹⁴⁹ Evelyn, *Diary*, p. 327.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 332.

and conflict with the 'Other'.¹⁵¹ The British Army and Royal Navy became legitimate avenues for social mobility, which coincided with the rise of the 'middling sort' in Britain in the long eighteenth century. As a profession, the military seemed to invade British society.¹⁵² We already know that the army was mistrusted and resented by a significant portion of the population, as the Standing Army Debate of 1697-1699 attested. Yet, we should not simply reduce military masculinity to the predictably rough, sometimes corrupt, and oft-debauched contemporary public perception.

As demonstrated throughout this chapter, as a cohort some of the stereotypes of martial libertinism, dissoluteness, and vainglory appear to be well founded; the identity of the military on the level of individual men, however, is much more dynamic than the notoriety of the cohort suggests. On an individual level we see a breakdown of these stereotypes. Michael Roper concludes in his examination of shell-shock in twentieth-century Britain: 'What emerges from a study of subjectivity in war memoirs is, by contrast, a view of masculinity as a process in which social scripts are negotiated, one on another, within the self.'¹⁵³ War autobiography in the long eighteenth century was no different in this negotiation. According to John Childs, one of the biggest problems with analysing army officers during William's reign is the difficulty of establishing a standard by which to assess them.¹⁵⁴

The autobiographical sources examined here suggest that martial masculinity was very fluid between the negotiation of primarily Christian normative ideals and the tensions within a socio-cultural atmosphere that anticipated bravado, aggression, and delinquency. The normative ideals did not differ much from those expected of the civilian population. King and country were meant to be eminent, religion was pervasive, the growing importance of civility was conspicuous in homosocial interactions among the military and with the lay population, and these expectations were all performed and confirmed in the public setting. Although military identities appear to depict constant tension between subjective experience and these normative ideals, moments during which the normative yoke was thrown off were always more likely to merit recording in diaries, memoirs, and journals. Rather than suggesting a reductionist model of military masculinity during the reign of William III, the negotiation between subjective experience and normative expectations suggests that military identity was very dynamic. With the

¹⁵¹ Colley, *Britons*, pp. 6.

¹⁵² Childs, *The British Army*, p. 77.

¹⁵³ Michael Roper, 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950', *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005), 343-362, p. 360.

¹⁵⁴ Childs, *The British Army*, p. 263.

exception of the increased importance of physical prowess, military masculinity was expressed through adapted standard male values—honesty, temperance, rationality, morality—but compromised by setting-specific vexations: added time spent idle, irregular oversight, fragile performance-related honour, and the increased threat of death in a far-away land.

Chapter Four: Commerce

As J.G.A. Pocock explains, according to early modern traditions of civic humanism, citizenship—the fulfilment of human nature for men—required sufficient moral and material autonomy to ensure a man could act for the public good.¹ While landed wealth seemingly ensured its owner's commitment to the nation, those with financial wealth were deemed unreliable because their wealth was not physically fixed to the nation as landed property, thus they were seemingly limited by self-interest.² A merchant's property was not a dependable source of masculine virtue because it fluctuated and could be moved, which ostensibly promoted dependence, specialisation, alienation, acquisitiveness, and, therefore, potentially corruption.³ A man who made his living buying, selling, or trading could never be fully autonomous because he was dependent on exchange and credit and, anti-commercialist thinkers believed, lacked classical rationality and self-mastery.⁴ To make recognised claims to masculinity, men in business needed to prove that they could act as rational beings. Self-control and self-discipline were considered manly, in contrast to the unmasculine connotations that stigmatised unstable commerce and the fluctuating systems of exchange, credit, and trading.

In his *Discourse on the Publick Revenues* (1698), economist and politician Charles Davenant observed that 'of all Beings that have Existence only in the Minds of Men, nothing is more fantastical and nice than Credit; 'tis never to be forc'd; it hangs upon Opinion; it depends upon our Passions of Hope and Fear; it comes many times unfought for, and often goes away without Reason; and when once lost, is hardly to be quite recover'd.'⁵ In an oft-cited edition of the *Review of the State of the English Nation*, a periodical, four years after the period examined in this dissertation, pioneering economic journalist Daniel Defoe wrote that 'money has a younger sister ... Her name in our Language is call'd CREDIT ... This is a coy Lass, and wonderful chary of her Self ... a World of Good People lose her Favour, before they well know her Name; others are courting her all their days to no purpose ... If once she be disoblig'd, she's the most difficult to be Friends

¹ J.G.A. Pocock, 'Early Modern Capitalism: The Augustan Perception', in *Feudalism, Capitalism and Beyond*, eds. Eugene Kamenka and R.S. Neale (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), 62-83, p. 65.

² Lawrence E. Klein, 'Property and Politeness in the Early Eighteenth-Century Whig Moralists: The Case of the Spectator', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, eds. John Brewer and Susan Staves (London: Routledge, 1996), 221-233, p. 223.

³ Pocock, 'Early Modern Capitalism', p. 74.

⁴ Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, pp. 464-5.

⁵ Davenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues*, Vol. 1, p. 38.

again'.⁶ Anti-commercialists saw the economic man of the long eighteenth century—beholden to goddesses like Fortune, Luxury, and Credit—as feminised or effeminate due to his struggle to master passions, fantasies, and hysterias.⁷ This gendering of commerce squared with contemporary thinking because women and effeminate men, like Credit, were associated with volatility and delicacy in the early modern period. In the face of such effeminisation, men in the commercial setting defined their masculinity not by traditional values of citizenship, but in relation to mastering the fickle and unstable Lady Credit through rational commercial values that converted credit into mutual trust and confidence. Using terms such as 'commercial men', 'commercial sorts', or 'businessmen', this chapter examines men in business and financial enterprise who actively worked to master Lady Credit by accumulating wealth through buying, selling, speculating, and producing.

Research on the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century British economy tends to be London-centred and focused on the economic theory, institutions, and innovations of the so-called 'Financial Revolution'. The ideological differences of the 'monied' and 'landed' interests infiltrated the market, organised trade, and informed politics in long-eighteenth-century Britain.⁸ Political differences cannot be classified easily along the Whig-Tory party axis since members of both political parties came from landed and commercial backgrounds. Rather, as J.G.A. Pocock, Larry Neal, and Lars Magnusson show, the politics of the Financial Revolution concentrated around progressive notions of property, adherence to a policy of mercantilism, and the relationship between bullion and the balance of trade.⁹ The changing conceptualisations of ownership and property rights were inextricably linked to the dynamic socio-political economics of the 1690s. Anne Murphy, Julian Hoppit, Alexandra Shepard, and Craig Muldrew have examined how these changing notions of public credit, and the nascent instruments and institutions associated with public credit, directly influenced the culture of private credit and commercial activity.¹⁰ In comparison to these influential works on

⁶ Daniel Defoe, '10 January 1706', in *Review of the State of the English Nation*, ed. Arthur Wellesley Secord, Vol. III, Book 6, No. 5 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 17-20, p. 17.

⁷ Pocock, 'Mobility of Property', p. 114.

⁸ Bruce G. Carruthers, *City of Capital: Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 194.

⁹ Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, pp. 423-461. Pocock, 'Early Modern Capitalism'. Larry Neal, *The Rise of Financial Capitalism: International Capital Markets in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Lars Magnusson, *Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language* (London: Routledge, 1994).

¹⁰ Anne L. Murphy, *The Origins of English Financial Markets: Investment and Speculation Before the South Sea Bubble* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Julian Hoppit, 'Attitudes to Credit in Britain, 1680-1790', *The Historical Journal* 33, no. 2 (June 1990), 305-322. Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for*

state financial apparatuses and public and private credit mechanisms, the historiography of the individual experience of commerce has suffered relative neglect, with notable exceptions being Margaret Hunt and Peter Earle examining the lives of the developing 'middling sorts' of people who made up the commercial class and Perry Gauci and Richard Grassby investigating the distinct professional roles and identities of the business community, particularly merchants.¹¹

Although commerce was ideologically the preserve of men, in recent decades a substantial amount of work has shown the extent to which women were active in the labour market, assumed control of family businesses when their husband died, controlled household credit, and participated in the credit economy through direct loans, pawns, borrowing alliances, and the formal credit instruments of the later seventeenth century.¹² Alexandra Shepard makes the point that, although it is impossible to accurately assess the varying levels in which married women acted independently or subordinately to their husbands in economic dealings, the daily lives of both men and women involved exchange, trading, and bartering.¹³ Amy Froide argues that because women were rare participants in high-status trades and unequal participants in guilds structures due to normative exclusion, by necessity women took advantage of the new sectors created by the Financial Revolution before it became formalised and dominated by men.¹⁴ As Amy Louise Erickson points out, given that about half the adult female population was unmarried or widowed and English single women did not require a legal guardian, the number of people able to partake in financial investment was 50 per cent higher in England than in the rest of

Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998). Craig Muldrew, 'Class and Credit: Social Identity, Wealth and the Life Course in Early Modern England', in *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800*, eds. Henry French and Jonathan Barry (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 147-177.

¹¹ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*. Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989). Grassby, *The Business Community*. Perry Gauci, *The Politics of Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Perry Gauci, *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London, 1660-1800* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007).

¹² See: Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 178-9. Beverly Lemire, 'Petty Pawns and Informal Lending: Gender and the Transformation of Small-Scale Credit in England, circa 1600-1800', in *From Family Firms to Corporate Capitalism: Essays in Business and Industrial History in Honour of Peter Mathias*, eds. Kristine Bruland and Patrick O'Brien (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 112-138, pp. 121-6. Craig Muldrew, '"A Mutual Assent of her Mind"? Women, Debt, Litigation and Contract in Early Modern England', *Historical Workshop Journal* 55, no. 1 (January 2003), 47-71, pp. 49-53. Judith M. Spicksley, '"Fly with a Duck in Thy Mouth": Single Women as Sources of Credit in Seventeenth-Century England', *Social History* 32, no. 2 (May 2007), 187-207.

¹³ Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy', pp. 92-4.

¹⁴ Amy M. Froide, *Silent Partners: Women as Public Investors During Britain Financial Revolution, 1690-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 2-4.

Europe where women were supposed to have male legal guardians.¹⁵ Similarly, Hunt notes that married women could act as *feme sole* traders, although they were still expected to run the household.¹⁶ Although initially modest at the end of the seventeenth century, Froide calculates that the number of female investors grew to regularly comprise between a fifth and a third of government creditors and a quarter of corporation investors by the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁷ Moreover, Barbara Todd argues that due to their investments in the public credit instruments of the Financial Revolution—annuities, lotteries, and the Bank of England—the women who contributed around 10 per cent of the total funds lent to the government became ‘fiscal citizens’.¹⁸

What remains relatively unexplored is the gendered experience of men in commerce during this time period. Occupation had long been a primary category of social classification as men often found their work to be a source of identity.¹⁹ With agrarian capitalistic practices proliferating in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, people began to identify themselves by new measures that were more likely to involve their working activities.²⁰ In many respects, the whole business community shared the same attitudes and ambitions. As both Earle and Grassby have explained, there may have been a significant social and financial difference between overseas merchants and rural shopkeepers, but they both engaged in distributing or producing to turn over capital for profit, even if the volume and value were markedly different.²¹ Likewise, the nascent public financier also turned over capital, in his case peddling stocks and bonds, for profit.

The tension between norms of masculine autonomy and the credit economy predated the late seventeenth century. Yet these tensions came to the fore in the 1690s thanks to an increase in global trade, London’s emergence as a leading entrepôt, changes in state finance, evolving notions of credit, and the growth of increasingly sophisticated financial markets. From the 1690s, Britain used deficit finance and long-terms loans to finance its empire and military.²² In England, joint-stock companies numbered no more

¹⁵ Amy Louise Erickson, ‘Coverture and Capitalism’, *Historical Workshop Journal* 59, no. 1 (March 2005), 1-16, pp. 8-9.

¹⁶ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, pp. 138-9.

¹⁷ Froide, *Silent Partners*, pp. 8-11.

¹⁸ Barbara J. Todd, ‘Fiscal Citizens: Female Investors in Public Finance before the South Sea Bubble’, in *Challenging Orthodoxies: The Social and Cultural Worlds of Early Modern Women*, eds. Sigrun Haude and Melinda S. Zook (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 53-74, pp. 66-72.

¹⁹ Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p. 106.

²⁰ Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, p. 2.

²¹ Earle, *Making of the English Middle Class*, p. 5. Richard Grassby, ‘The Personal Wealth of the Business Community in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Economic History Review* 23, no. 2 (August 1970), 220-234, p. 223.

²² Frank O’Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688-1832* (London: Arnold, 1997), pp. 380-1.

than fifteen in 1685 and were mostly held by those who lived in or around London, but by 1695 that number had reached 140.²³ This was truly the beginning of a great age of entrepreneurial spirit, projecting, and financial risk, which saw the emergence of an investing public, state-funded lotteries, government annuities, a proliferation of joint-stock ventures, and a burgeoning secondary market in which anyone (with adequate capital) could participate. Defoe observed:

... it seems not at all improper, by way of distinction, to call it, *The Projecting Age*. For tho' in times of War and Publick Confusions, the like Humour of Invention has seem'd to stir ... the past Ages have never come up to the degree of Projecting and Inventing, as it refers to Matters of Negoce, and Methods of Civil Polity, which we see this Age arriv'd to.²⁴

Although not without controversy, the financier and banker—roles previously undertaken by goldsmiths and public officials—emerged with stockbroking as recognisable career paths.

These developments sparked controversy because, as Laurence Fontaine explains, the capitalist market economy displaced the traditional relations of power and values of the aristocratic political economy.²⁵ Some believed these financiers and bankers were patriots who bankrolled national defence, overseas expansion, and labour at home.²⁶ Others believed the 'monied sorts' were social climbers who threatened the established social order by moving capital from agriculture; replacing the landed interest in the privileged political and City positions; endangering the nation with bankruptcy; and seeking to profit by exploiting public credit through underwriting government debt and prolonging wars.²⁷ The landed classes saw this as an extension of government patronage and corruption that, as Chapter Two explained, was the antithesis of classical masculine virtue. Davenant wrote that it was the '*Duty which Private Persons owe to the Public*' to 'look narrowly into the Income and Expence of the Kingdom, and examin which way immense Debts have been contracted, and how that Money has been disposed of' and call men of business to account who 'either through Folly, or upon some wicked Design, pursue destructive Measures.'²⁸ The landed interest typically distrusted those who

²³ Murphy, *Origins of English Financial Markets*, p. 220. Nick Robins, *The Corporation That Changed the World: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational* (London: Pluto Press, 2006), p. 29.

²⁴ Daniel Defoe, *An Essay upon Projects* (London: R.R., 1697), pp. 1-2.

²⁵ Laurence Fontaine, *The Moral Economy: Poverty, Credit, and Trust in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 5.

²⁶ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2015*, 3rd ed. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 80-1.

²⁷ Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, pp. 80-1. Alice Clare Carter, *Getting, Spending and Investing in Early Modern Times: Essays on Dutch, English and Huguenot Economic History* (Assen: Von Gorcum, 1975), p. 131. Hoppit, 'Attitudes to Credit', pp. 310-11.

²⁸ Davenant, *An Essay Upon the Probable Methods*, pp. 264-5.

achieved status through movable property, regarding the business community as *arrivistes* and *nouveau riches* that valued money above land and rank.²⁹ Although Jeremy Collier described commerce as ‘another Expedient which often distinguishes a man from the Vulgar’ because ‘Trading raises an estate, and that procures Honour’, he added the caveat that ‘their being used to value small Gains is apt (without care) to make them contract a Narrowness of Spirit, and to stand too much to the Point of Interest.’³⁰ This need to turn a profit, rather than simply accumulate as a rentier, appeared to be a potential source of corruption.

That many identified the financial community with outsider groups contributed to the equivocal attitudes about wealth creators. Dissenters were perceived to be involved in instruments of public credit and joint stock investments disproportionate to the total population because, although Anglicans always made up the majority of shareholders, most investors hailed from London, which was known for its large number of Dissenters and dissenting congregations.³¹ Alarming stories that sizable interest payments were being made to foreign holders of debt stocks stoked distrust in the largely urban commercial interest.³² In this case, perception and fear were often more compelling than reality. For instance, only English-born or naturalised subjects were eligible to serve as governors or directors of the Bank of England.³³ Moreover, Bruce Carruthers has shown that, although they were among the wealthiest and most active shareholders, foreigners, Jews, naturalised persons, Huguenots, and Quakers totalled only 6 per cent of Bank investors and 10 per cent of the East India Company in 1712.³⁴

Anti-commercialists were quick to attack any commercial scandal, with literary sources recycling negative commercial stereotypes and accusing the commercial class of being unpatriotic.³⁵ In turn, the commercial classes defended their trade and city, as Grassby puts it: ‘in the same spirit that the theologian wrote to defend his Church.’³⁶ Explaining the necessity and variety of the merchant’s occupation, the anonymous author of *The Character and Qualifications of an Honest Loyal Merchant* asked:

... How can it but be *Honourable* too? For what can better Recommend any Calling to Wisemens Regards, than its *Usefulness*? Or be more *Genteel* and Glorious, than to supply the common

²⁹ Grassby, *The Business Community*, pp. 39-41, 45-52, 116-118. Henry Roseveare, *The Financial Revolution* (New York: Longman, 1991), p. 41. Gauci, *The Politics of Trade*, pp. 155-8.

³⁰ Collier, *Essays upon Several Moral Subjects*, pp. 69-70.

³¹ Carruthers, *City of Capital*, pp. 138-9.

³² Carter, *Getting, Spending and Investing*, p. 137.

³³ W. Marston Acres, *The Bank of England from Within, 1694-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 15.

³⁴ Carruthers, *City of Capital*, pp. 155-7.

³⁵ Gauci, *The Politics of Trade*, p. 156.

³⁶ Grassby, *The Business Community*, p. 226.

*Necessities of Mankind? Who is more to be esteemed than the Man whose Industry underprops his Sovereigns Throne with Wealth, and at the same time furnishes his Fellow-Subjects with Employment, and the means of a comfortable Subsistence?*³⁷

Yet, the commercial sorts lacked unity and failed to articulate a uniform set of national principles due to their divergent and often conflicting interests.³⁸ The politically reactive pamphlets, broadsides, and tracts that both attacked and defended commerce are used sparingly throughout this chapter beyond providing historical context. However, there were a number of conduct books available to the commercial sorts upon which this dissertation draws. During this time period traders and brokers looking to supplement their income began producing a range of didactic literature with titles such as *Arithmetick: A Treatise Destined for the Use and Benefit of Trades-Men* (1693), *Englands Golden Treasury, or, The True Vade Mecum*, and *Comes Commercii; Or, The Trader's Companion*, which explained everything from basic math to calculating interest to rules for foreign exchange.³⁹ This type of literature and newly invented stock price lists may not have been of much benefit for those already well-versed in the intricacies of the market economy, but it nevertheless played an influential role in developing the increasingly diverse investing community.⁴⁰ These profession-specific didactic works, along with normative how-to books aimed at the middling sorts, taught the reader methods to improve their income, reputation, and honour.⁴¹

While it is impossible to quantify the impact of normative sources, their influence on the commercial sorts was apparent nonetheless. Peter Mathias argues that normative judgments on the orthodoxies of success influenced autobiographical accounts written at the end of successful careers. These accounts embellished achievements, presented idealised stereotypes, and recycled the motif of the poor boy making something of himself by climbing the ladder through industry and loyalty.⁴² Fewer autobiographical accounts survive from men in commercial professions compared to the military or clergy during the time frame covered by this dissertation. However, when business diaries, journals, and notebooks—sources that may not be as polished as the autobiographical memoirs of

³⁷ *An Honest Loyal Merchant*, p. 7.

³⁸ Grassby, *The Business Community*, p. 233.

³⁹ John Ayres, *Arithmetick: A Treatise Desined for the Use and Benefit of Trades-Men*, 6th ed. (London: Sam. Crouch, 1702). Hatton, *Comes Commercii. Englands Golden Treasury*.

⁴⁰ Murphy, *Origins of English Financial Markets*, p. 112.

⁴¹ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, p. 182.

⁴² Peter Mathias, 'Strategies for Reducing Risk by Entrepreneurs in the Early Modern Period', in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, eds. Clé Lesger and Leo Noordegraaf (Den Haag: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995), 5-24, p. 6.

the military and clergy—are considered men in commerce become more accessible. The autobiographical sources in this chapter come from a range of persons in the commercial class, all of whom were British-born or naturalised citizens.⁴³ The diverse business interests of the commercial class are represented by the autobiographical sources of this chapter's three main protagonists: William Stout, Samuel Heathcote, and Samuel Jeake—a Quaker grocer and ironmonger, an overseas merchant, and a rural trader and part-time financier, respectively.

While women did participate in this setting and were crucial to the economic success and function of the nation, men nevertheless predominated commerce, with male agents attempting to master Lady Credit.⁴⁴ Working towards *some* measure of financial self-reliance and stability was critical to a secure masculine identity.⁴⁵ Analysing manhood in early modern England, Alexandra Shepard argues, 'Reputation, or "credit", was a composite of social and economic appraisal, incorporating a wide spectrum of definitions of honesty ranging from chastity to plain-dealing.'⁴⁶ Although the merchant bourgeois classes were gradually turning 'credit' into a purely economic tool, the word 'credit' signified both a deferred form of payment and an attribute of (and even synonym for) a person's character that implied honesty, which allowed for the equation of wealth with worth.⁴⁷ Credit in both senses was important to men and women in the context of commerce. Transactional credit and, therefore, the ability to conduct business, was a reflection of one's reputation. Concern over the maintenance of reputation pervaded the autobiographical works of the commercial men considered here. The burden of proof fell on the debtor to evince his trustworthiness and creditworthiness, rather than on the creditor to correctly evaluate the debtor's character and ability to repay.⁴⁸ As Toby Ditz argues in her examination of eighteenth-century Philadelphia male merchant letters, securing one's reputation in the eyes of other men was paramount, particularly in the merchant community, which negotiated the elusive meaning of masculinity by associating

⁴³ This chapter does not consider sources from other parties or short- or medium-term immigrants who were engaged in British commerce but were not British citizens, such as the Huguenots or Jews.

⁴⁴ See: Marieke de Goede, 'Mastering "Lady Credit"', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 2, no. 1 (2000), 58-81.

⁴⁵ Tim Hitchcock, 'Tricksters, Lords and Servants: Begging, Friendship and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England', In *Love, Friendship, and Faith in Europe, 1300-1800*, eds. Laura Gowing, Michael Cyril William Hunter, and Miri Rubin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 177-196, p. 185.

⁴⁶ Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy', p. 77.

⁴⁷ Amussen, 'Gender, Family and the Social Order', p. 212. Fontaine, *Moral Economy*, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁸ Julian Hoppit, *Risk and Failure in English Business 1700-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 163.

failure with femininity or unmanliness.⁴⁹ Thus, social recognition of creditworthiness was crucial to commercial masculinity because financial failure compromised not only a commercial man's sense of self but also his fiscal independence and standing in the community.

This chapter explores the gendered experience of men, particularly the middling sort of men, whose precarious livelihoods depended on their ability to bargain for favourable terms, judge risk, mitigate loss, exploit opportunity, project trustworthiness, and, ultimately, remain solvent. Despite anti-commercial comparisons and accusations, masculinity in this setting was not axiomatically defined by or against the traditional masculine virtues of citizenship based on the patriarchal standards of independence and economic autonomy, which were near impossible for the commercial sorts. The value framework of commercial masculinity made distinctions among commercial men by differentiating the approved masculinity characterised by rational industry and responsible economic decision-making from the debased masculinity marked by the commercial vices of laziness, carelessness, and the effeminate passions of luxury, self-interest, and fickleness. The first section examines the skills and attributes that comprised commercial masculinity. The subsequent section investigates the normative obligations of the credit network that constrained the performance of this masculinity, illustrating the precariousness of masculinity in conditions of mutual dependence. The third section highlights the tensions between the gendered discourses and practices of consumption and speculation. This chapter concludes by considering the social status of the commercial sorts and their role in society.

1. Aspects of Commercial Identity

Broadly speaking, anxiety over credit and reputation—mutually reinforcing components of a man's character—drove the everyday actions of the commercial class. This anxiety extended to their own reputation and credit as well as the reputation and credit of those with whom they conducted business. This section will focus on the main components of a tradesman's reputation and success, which were the dutifulness with which he applied himself to his daily work and administration, his agreeableness in correspondence, his diligence in gathering accurate information, his ability to mitigate risk, and the regularity

⁴⁹ Toby L. Ditz, 'Shipwrecked; or, Masculinity Imperiled: Mercantile Representations of Failure and the Gendered Self in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia', *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 1 (1994), pp. 53-4.

of his attendance in business spaces like the local exchange and coffeehouse. As John Smail notes, knowing that their sons were destined for an uncertain life in trade, middling parents raised their sons to avoid the pitfalls of idleness, profligacy, dishonesty, and licentiousness by emphasising virtues such as sobriety, sincerity, and thrift.⁵⁰ These group values characterise commercial masculinity as much less fickle, sumptuous, and unstable, and therefore feminine, than anti-commercial language depicted. Rather, these prescriptions espoused deep-seated masculine values like plain dealing, reason, industry, and steadfastness.

Calculating credits and debts was undoubtedly important for men and women in the home. Indeed, Shepard has argued that domestic asset management and household accounting placed women 'at the heart of the credit relations'.⁵¹ Outside of the home, calculation was of equal importance because it was partially through mundane, quotidian tasks, which required traits including honesty, diligence, and constancy, that businessmen affirmed themselves as rational—and therefore masculine—contrary to the anti-commercial language that suggested those in the commercial setting were guided by effeminate passion. A significant amount of daily administrative work was necessary to stay organised. Prescriptive literature instructed readers to become engrossed with shrewdly gauging the benefits of each decision, advice that reflected the trend towards rational organisation and seventeenth-century businessmen shunning impulsiveness.⁵² *The Character and Qualifications of an Honest Loyal Merchant* explained that these men were 'well-skill'd in that Foundation of Arts, the Science of *Numbers* ... And his Books are kept with so much *Order* as well as *Punctualness* and Integrity'.⁵³ Double-entry bookkeeping was gradually adopted from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. As Beverly Lemire notes, the notion that women should also learn numeracy was expressed in the late seventeenth century, with the merchant Stephan Monteage explaining in 1678 that this 'Masculine Art' was no harder to learn than lace-making. Yet, as Lemire points out, although suggested during the time frame of this dissertation, the chorus of advocates for women learning numeracy did not grow loud until after 1750.⁵⁴ Marieke de Goede

⁵⁰ John Smail, 'Coming of Age in Trade: Masculinity and Commerce in Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Self-Perception of Early Modern Capitalists*, eds. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 229-252, pp. 229-30.

⁵¹ Alexandra Shepard, 'Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy', *History Workshop Journal* 79, no. 1 (April 2015), 1-24, pp. 5-6.

⁵² Joyce Appleby, *The Relentless Revolution: A History of Capitalism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2010), p. 90. See also: Beverly Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England, c.1600-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 189-192.

⁵³ *An Honest Loyal Merchant*, p. 7.

⁵⁴ Lemire, *Business of Everyday Life*, pp. 193-4.

argues that because access to accurate numbers enabled men to gain a better understanding of where they stood financially, such accounting practices became 'a function of a masculine demeanour that included austerity, self-mastery and the disciplining of the inner enemy of desire for luxury and wealth.'⁵⁵ Through systemic organisation, commercial men attempted to tame the inconstant Lady Credit and save themselves from effeminate characterisations of fickleness and irrationality.

Numeracy became one of the most desirable skills in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for both household management and business.⁵⁶ Likewise, numeracy skills and diligently maintaining the books was important for men in business and financial enterprises to maintain solvency. For example, William Stout, a grocer, ironmonger, and lifelong bachelor, systematically examined his accounts each year, which helped him to maintain an understanding of his business and remain solvent and un beholden to anyone. In 1689, after his first year owning his own shop, William Stout wrote, 'It being now a year since I began trade, I inspected my books to know how I might pay what I was owing to clear accounts yearly, as I ought to do. But found that I had been too forward in trusting and too backward in caling, as is too frequent with young tradesmen.'⁵⁷ These discrepancies forced Stout to borrow money, and after that he strove to maintain his accounts to avoid borrowing whenever possible. A year later he recorded that he 'inspected my circumstances in order to settle and ballance accounts with my credditors once a year, as was nessesary, and to get in what money I could without borrowing (intending to goe to London, which I did) as fully as I expected.'⁵⁸ Thanks in part to his administrative diligence, by 1697 he calculated that he averaged profits of over £100 a year even with a total of £220 in outstanding payments.⁵⁹

Illuminating the importance of administrative diligence as well, Samuel Heathcote's working notebook also survives as a valuable resource on the dealings and concerns of the commercial class. Throughout his notebook Heathcote, an overseas trader, ensured his goods remained accounted for by maintaining lists of his credits and debts and recording the steps he took to track his inventory. For instance, at the beginning of his notebook, he kept a running list of all those he owed money from losses on ships to

⁵⁵ De Goede, 'Mastering "Lady Credit"', p. 70.

⁵⁶ Lemire, *Business of Everyday Life*, p. 190.

⁵⁷ William Stout, *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, 1665-1752*, ed. J. D. Marshall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), pp. 95-6.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

Jamaica and Angola.⁶⁰ Heathcote also transcribed into his notebook a letter offering advice to his factor heading abroad, Leonard Gill. Heathcote's letter explained the importance of keeping up with his administrative and religious charges. The letter also included technical advice on the best practices for writing in a ledger, responding to letters, examining goods, and a suggestion to make an appearance at the exchange at noon every day.⁶¹

As Heathcote's notebook suggests, commercial success required tireless enterprise in order to be able to rationally calculate the costs of each decision. Both men and women appealed to a discourse of industriousness and improvement, as Shepard's work on the labouring poor has shown. Shepard notes that even though women typically undertook different tasks than men, both sexes asserted their honesty and creditworthiness by speaking of their industriousness.⁶² For men in commerce, a reputation for industriousness was particularly important because industry was thought to help stave off effeminate vice. William Penn, a real estate entrepreneur himself, emphasised the effect industriousness had on the male body when he wrote, 'Love Labor: For if thou dost not want it for Food, thou mayest for Physick. It is wholsom for thy Body, and good for thy Mind. It prevents the Fruits of Idleness, which many times comes of nothing to do, and leads too many to do what is *worse* than nothing.'⁶³ Similarly, in his letter to Gill, Heathcote advised, 'Therefore it Concerns you to husband well your time, and not disappoint your expectation, And frustrate the end of your goeing thither by Idleness, or needless and vane experiences.'⁶⁴ In early modern Britain, the word 'idleness' was loaded with odious and shameful connotations of effeminacy for men that ranged in meaning from acting in a slothful manner to pursuing immoral vice. Thomas Woodcock warned, 'He that employs not himself conscientiously in the way of his Duty, will be sure to engage himself in the crooked Paths of Sin and Vanity. Idleness is a great Sin, but frequently it leads to much greater, both naturally and judicially: The idle Person stands ready to be press'd into the Service of the next Temptation that offers.'⁶⁵

A reputation for industry could act as insulation against insolvency because creditors were more likely to trust a debtor who anxiously strove to recover his fortune and rehabilitate his good name. The theologian and mathematician Isaac Barrow argued,

⁶⁰ Hants. RO 63M84/235.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Shepard, 'Crediting Women', p. 9.

⁶³ Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, pp. 20-1.

⁶⁴ Hants. RO 63M84/235

⁶⁵ Woodcock, *An Account*, p. 74.

'In consequence hereto Industry doth preserve and perfect our nature; keeping it in good tune and temper; improving and advancing it toward its best state.'⁶⁶ Having begun his trade a year before and not yet employed any apprentices, Stout wrote that he spent the overwhelming majority of his time in his shop and any leisure time was spent walking, reading religious or history books, and studying geography, surveying, and mathematics.⁶⁷ Stout's autobiography contains examples of men who did not embrace industry as he did—dishonest debtors and bankrupts that he accused of idleness and neglect. Barrow explained that 'No industrious man is contemptible: for he is ever looked upon as being in a way of thriving, of working himself out from any straits, of advancing himself into a better condition.'⁶⁸

The importance of hard work, and its centrality to notions of commercial masculinity, was a familiar theme in the literature aimed at commercial men. William De Britaine instructed:

In Business be active and industrious, for many Men of large Abilities, relying wholly upon their Wit, and neglecting the use of ordinary Means, suffer others, less able, but more active and industrious, to go beyond them. Diligence alone is a fair Fortune, and Industry a good Estate. Idleness doth waste a Man as insensibly as Industry doth improve him.⁶⁹

Conduct books thus presented industry as a normative standard for the commercial sorts. Nevertheless, even after the Reformation, England still had seventy-nine non-working days, with men attempting to find a balance between working for preservation and working for accumulation or out of avarice.⁷⁰ Stout was emblematic of this recommended balance. After averaging profits of about £100 per year since 1688, Stout sold his shop to an apprentice in 1697, although he continued to maintain his diverse business interests and occasionally returned to retailing to bail out bankrupts.⁷¹ Following the sale of his shop Stout began to live in a more retired fashion by taking on larger roles in the local community and among the Lancaster Quakers, as well as walking more in his garden.⁷² He retired from business, but he did not retire to idleness. His roles in the community and with the Quakers helped him to avoid the typical accusation that the landed class were fond of levelling at the commercial classes: that of unrelenting self-interest towards profit.

When it came to discourses of manly industry and effeminate idleness, religion and commerce often corroborated one another because Christianity 'does indispensably

⁶⁶ Barrow, *Of Industry*, p. 6.

⁶⁷ Stout, *Autobiography*, pp. 95-6.

⁶⁸ Barrow, *Of Industry*, p. 25.

⁶⁹ De Britaine, *Humane Prudence*, pp. 59-60.

⁷⁰ Grassby, *The Business Community*, pp. 290-2.

⁷¹ Stout, *Autobiography*, p. 119.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 131.

oblige all its *Votaries* and Adherents to a sober and laborious course of Life.’⁷³ Ideologically, female religious industrious and self-sacrifice might be expressed through household drudgery.⁷⁴ Men realised these ideals in places of business. In *The Trades-man’s Calling* (1684), a work of popular piety that explained how the grace of God might be obtained through labour, nonconformist minister Richard Steele asserted:

... the consciencious *Tradesman* is bound (if health permits him) to be stirring early about his lawful occasions, and continue therein with a chearful diligence all the day long, except such time as his Soul or Body must be refreshed ... The Diligent *Tradesman* hath always something to do, either to lay in or to lay out, either to be learning or teaching; his Shop or his Books are always calling him.⁷⁵

To Steele, conscientiousness and diligence in business meant avoiding distraction and endeavouring to spend as much time in one’s place of business as possible for ‘there is *your* place, where you may most confidently expect the Presence and Blessing of God.’⁷⁶ Avoiding idleness and embracing industry affected not just the credit and bottom line of the businessman (or any man) but his very nature as a Christian man. Work could be its own avenue to fulfilment and a way to glorify God.⁷⁷

Yet the norms of commerce and religion also created ideological tension, particularly when social commentators criticised the means by which fortunes were acquired. Morality and religion played a complicated role in discussions of commerce. Through the lens of a society yet to fully embrace capitalism, successful businessmen were sometimes looked upon as immoral due to the nature of their work, their desire to accumulate, and the need to acquire bargaining power over others to secure favourable terms. David Abercromby explained that ‘tis a harder fate than one would think to be bred a *Tradesman*, because ‘tis a great temptation to him who must live by trading, if not a sort of indispensable necessity to pursue his Interest, right or wrong, to the ruine of his Soul and Conscience.’⁷⁸ Self-interest in accumulation and profit were seemingly at odds with Christian notions of charity and benevolence. An imbalance towards the former was characteristic of debased masculinity. Yet, how people perceived acquisitiveness in the early modern period was slowly transformed and reassessed so that gradually it was compared favourably against the passionate, chivalric aristocratic ideals of the

⁷³ *A Discourse of the Necessity of Encouraging Mechanick Industry Wherein Is Plainly Proved That Luxury and the Want of Artisans Labour Became the Ruin of the Four Grand Monarchies of the World in the Former Age, and of Spain and Other Countries in This* (London: R. Chiswell, 1690), p. 17.

⁷⁴ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, p. 92.

⁷⁵ Steele, *The Trades-Man’s Calling*, p. 80.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁷⁷ Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p. 91.

⁷⁸ David Abercromby, *A Moral Discourse of the Power of Interest* (London: Tho. Hodgkin, 1690), p. 9.

Renaissance era.⁷⁹ In his study of the evolution of Occidental capitalism, Max Weber argued that the Protestant ethic came to embody the only way to live acceptably to God and that men might express their religious devotion by diligently following the callings that Providence had assigned them, for which economic gain was a by-product.⁸⁰ Economic success could be a sign that salvation was assured, but overabundance meant falling prey to worldly indulgence and effeminate luxury.⁸¹ A balance between self-interested industry to accumulate and religious devotion was required.

In a time when religion was pervasive and informed normative understandings of masculinity, businessmen could and should be devout Christians. Normatively, the careful minding of business affairs was one method to express devotion. Moralistic writers found ways to incorporate religious devotion into business life. Instructing his commercial audience on how to receive God's grace, Steele explained, '*The Tradesman's Religion is exercised, in Observing a right Rule and End in all his worldly Affairs.*'⁸² Joseph Barret, a prosperous businessman and theological writer, succinctly embodied the type of tradesman Steele envisioned. Known for exceptional piety from a young age, Barret followed Steele's advice that a tradesman could practice his faith through '*frequent use of holy Ejaculations. An Ejaculation is the darting up of the Heart unto God, in a short and lively Prayer.*'⁸³ Yet Barret was often frustrated by being unable to pray, writing that 'Sometimes I have been a little distressed this way, when I have been about the Business of my particular Calling, I have been followed with motions to Pray, and that very unseasonably sometimes, and when I have not closed with such Motions, it hath troubled me afterwards, fearing I had thus quenched the Spirit.'⁸⁴ Steele also encouraged his audience to read the Bible daily to 'let no day pass without tasting of some heavenly *Manna* thence.'⁸⁵ In March 1694 Barret made such a promise to himself. Each day he would read two chapters of the Bible.⁸⁶ Similarly, in his transcribed advice letter to Gill, Heathcote advocated similar measures and recommended that Gill read one or two psalms each morning and one or two psalms each night.⁸⁷ Importantly, religion in

⁷⁹ Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 9-12, 56-63.

⁸⁰ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1985), pp. 53-4, 81.

⁸¹ Margaret C. Jacob and Matthew Kadane, 'Missing, Now Found in the Eighteenth Century: Weber's Protestant Capitalist', *American Historical Review* 108, no. 1 (February 2003), 20-49, p. 35.

⁸² Steele, *The Trades-man's Calling*, p. 203.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 211.

⁸⁴ Barret, *Funeral Sermon*, p. 85.

⁸⁵ Steele, *The Trades-man's Calling*, p. 218.

⁸⁶ Barret, *Funeral Sermon*, p. 162.

⁸⁷ Hants. RO 63M84/235.

commerce served a purpose beyond individual salvation and grace; righteous morality was believed to be a financial guarantee because it was underpinned by masculine virtues of plain dealing and honesty.⁸⁸ A reputation for being a religious man lent itself towards being trusted, and trust bolstered a man's reputation and ability to access credit.

Buoyed by working hard and bowing to God's will, merchants' and traders' letters emphasised their honourable intentions and expectations of fair treatment in return.⁸⁹ Conscientious business communication was vital for establishing relationships during a period in which many transactions were conducted anonymously through agents. Keeping up with daily correspondence was crucial to success. In his advice to Gill, Samuel Heathcote explained, 'Be very dilligent in writeing to every one that employs you, for all men love to heare oft, how his affairs go, the price of his Commodity, Course of Exchange'.⁹⁰ Emphasis was placed on both frequency and form. For instance, in his notebook, Heathcote recorded the instructions he gave his agent in the Caribbean to send him a letter on every English or Dutch ship heading for Europe with an account of what goods were bought on his behalf, who they were shipped with, and how they were packed and marked in case of the agent's death.⁹¹ In a 1963 biography on the merchant and MP Sir John Banks, 1st Baronet, it was noted of his business correspondence: 'To the slack, the careless, the "unbusinesslike" man, especially if he were a debtor, Banks could write in unequivocal terms.'⁹² Indeed, Pat Hudson argues that the manners, politeness, and decorum of business letters helped to fashion a discourse that merged the pursuit of profit with wider social, commercial, and political goals.⁹³ Business correspondence offered men a chance to bolster their credit, honour, and network; maintaining good communication was a demonstration of rational action and often made the difference between large, small, or no profit.

Samuel Jeake, a trader and financier from Rye, East Sussex, showed how vital maintaining good daily communication was when trading on slim margins. Jeake received a letter dated 16 September from one of his clients suggesting he buy hops, which he executed on 23 September, buying £160 worth with the intent to sell them in London. Yet

⁸⁸ Fontaine, *Moral Economy*, p. 276-7.

⁸⁹ John Smail, 'Credit, Risk, and Honor in Eighteenth-Century Commerce', *The Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 3 (July 2005), 439-456, pp. 446-7.

⁹⁰ Hants. RO 63M84/235.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² D.C. Coleman, *Sir John Banks, Baronet and Businessman: A Study of Business, Politics and Society in Later Stuart England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 192.

⁹³ Pat Hudson, 'Correspondence and Commitment', *Cultural and Social History* 11, no. 4 (2014), 527-553, p. 527.

the price of hops had fallen in London on 18 September and did not rise that year. Because the client neglected 'to advise me by Thursday or Saturday's post of their fall & I not hearing of it otherwise' Jeake lost £17.⁹⁴ Furthermore, when Jeake became involved with financing public debt and investing in the stock market in the mid-1690s, he did so from Rye by post with one of his former partners, Thomas Miller, who resided in London. Receiving news and letters from London meant that Jeake was always a few days behind the business cycle. This was costly in his dealings in East India Company stock because he could not send instructions to Miller promptly enough. On 10 September 1694 he bought £400 of East India stock at 80 per cent. By 15 October 1694 East India stock was at £98 at which point he sent word to Miller to sell. However, Miller did not receive the letter in time and, hearing rumours of two more company ships coming in, chose to wait to sell on Jeake's behalf until the stock dropped to £92 on November after the ships never arrived.⁹⁵ Eventually Jeake relocated to London in the late 1690s to exercise his own authority over his financial interests, leaving behind his wife to maintain the other businesses. These episodes and Jeake's avoidable losses highlight two important related points about commercial masculinity: first, profit was directly connected to the normative precept of having accurate information to make rational decisions, and, second, even still, men were at the mercy of forces outside of their control, which meant that the male standard of economic independence was almost always an impossibility.

Jeake and Miller's relationship proves just how valuable information and correspondence were to men in commerce. To be sure, accurate information was crucial to financial speculation and made a considerable difference between profit and loss. Moreover, accurate information allowed men to behave with prudence and confidence rather than at the whim of the non-rational forces of fantasy, passion, and opinion. Although William Penn admonished men to 'Act not the *Shark* upon thy Neighbour; nor take Advantage of the *Ignorance*, *Prodigality* or *Necessity* of any one', the premium on information, and the willingness to pay for it, allowed those with extensive experience and large communication networks to exploit the casual trader or novice.⁹⁶ Information was power, power was profit, and profit was security from failure and emasculation.

In the pejorative description of the early stock exchange in his *Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange* (1849), John Francis detailed how Sir Henry Furnese, a Whig financier and member of the first Bank of England directorate, exploited his superior

⁹⁴ Jeake, *Diary*, p. 206.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁹⁶ Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, p. 68.

communications networks in Holland, Flanders, France, and Germany to amass extensive profits from war intelligence while also, according to Francis, fabricating news and false information in order to inflame and panic the market in his favour.⁹⁷ Furnese illustrates the tension between the neighbourliness advocated by Penn and the shrewd ruthlessness of business. Highlighting the competitive and often predatory nature of commerce, by exploiting his intelligence and manipulating the market Furnese wielded enormous power over others and established himself near the top of the competitive London financial community. Yet in doing so Furnese seemingly capitulated to the self-interest and acquisitiveness that characterised corrupt commercial masculinity. Julian Hoppit explains that the 1690s lobby against stock-jobbing accused projectors and corporate creditors of toeing the line between gambling and speculation and encouraging passions like avarice and dishonesty.⁹⁸ The corrupted masculinity of Furnese brings out the contradictions between normative masculinity and the realities of life. In a sense, Francis represents Furnese as the epitome of the acquisitive self-service that unsettled the landed elite. Yet, at the same time, a level of role strain arose when negotiating the appropriate level of acquisitiveness. Furnese's actions could just as easily be construed as rational and purposeful, allowing him to exert power and influence over others.

As a means of filtering out as best as possible the false information and frenzy that Furnese thrived upon, social interaction and frequenting the places of commercial competition were important methods for gathering information. While developments in print and circulation resulted in the publication of price-currents by the 1680s, Perry Gauci argues that near-daily direct and indirect personal and visual communications—such as a man's appearance at the Exchange—ordinarily gave seasoned traders the information they needed to make decisions.⁹⁹ As both Brian Cowan and Amy Froide point out, the public sphere was an ideological masculine domain and the sites of the Financial Revolution seem like a masculine world, although there was some mixing of the sexes even if women did not have the same access as men.¹⁰⁰ For those in rural locations, the spaces of commercial interaction were the shops of other businessmen, the market, fairs, and ports. In London these could all be found, for the most part, in the eastern part of the city where many merchants and traders lived and conducted business. Indeed, many contemporaries humorously observed that the willingness to work hard was the

⁹⁷ John Francis, *Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange* (London: Willoughby and Co., 1849), pp. 28-9.

⁹⁸ Hoppit, 'Attitudes to Credit', p. 309.

⁹⁹ Gauci, *Emporium of the World*, pp. 50-1.

¹⁰⁰ Cowan, 'What Was Masculine about the Public Sphere?', p. 133. Froide, *Silent Partners*, p. 1.

distinguishing feature separating commerce in the eastern part of London and politics and the Court in the western part and Westminster.¹⁰¹ The desire to live in the eastern part of the City meant that businessmen paid some of the highest rents in the whole of London to live in wards like Candlewick and Walbrook, which were markers of prestige, averaging £55 per annum while the overall average for the City was closer to £19.¹⁰² A short walk or carriage ride away, at the Royal Exchange deals were brokered, news dispensed, reputations built or lost by prudent behaviour, and a commercial man's group identity confirmed. An implicit decorum existed even with no explicit behavioural restrictions, and beadles were appointed to keep the rank and file out of the Exchange to ensure men of sufficient quality and reputation could conduct business.¹⁰³

Also primarily but not exclusively homosocial, informal locations such as Exchange Alley and coffee houses, alehouses, and taverns, also saw heavy traffic for businessmen. These sites, Exchange Alley in particular, were places of notoriety and viewed by many outside of the business world as suspicious and socially corrosive. In *The Trades-man's Calling*, Steele advised against 'needless frequenting of Taverns, Alehouses, and Coffee-Houses, where a great deal of Money is wasted, a great deal of Sobriety is lost, and a great deal of Time is squandred away, which should be employed in your Callings.'¹⁰⁴ Yet, it was impossible to avoid altogether the social obligation of meeting in places like the alehouse, coffeehouse, or tavern to 'treat' others to acquire business. These locations were crucial to the task interactions and relationship interactions through which commercial masculinity was performed. Yet these locations were also feared to promote effeminising vices such as overindulgence and idleness.

By the 1690s these same places, even with their questionable reputations, had become vital to Britain's economy because they offered men and women the chance to gain more information and finalise business details. Coffeehouses gradually transformed into established locations where people with particular commercial interests might meet alongside newsmongers, beaux, artists, and anyone else willing to pay the small one-penny entry fee. The commercial sorts went to coffeehouses such as Lloyd's for marine insurance, the Jamaica Coffee House for overseas trade, and Garraway's or Jonathan's—where Jeake sold his 'annuity of £14 per annum in the Exchequer at Jonathan's Coffee House to Mr. Skelton, an officer of the Exchequer, for £152'—in

¹⁰¹ Gauci, *Emporium of the World*, p. 60.

¹⁰² Ibid., 24.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 45.

¹⁰⁴ Steele, *The Trades-man's Calling*, p. 84.

Exchange Alley for stock market dealings.¹⁰⁵ Visiting the Exchange and coffeehouses or alehouses was part of the daily ritual for most urban merchants and traders and, in turn, fostered bourgeois identity through collective virtues like sociability and good fellowship.¹⁰⁶

By looking the part, wielding bargaining power, and establishing his reputation, the commercial man confirmed his commercial masculinity in these locations and competed for achieved status and his place in the male social hierarchy. Getting a handle on the jargon used in such places was itself a distinguishing feature of competence. The language of the market, with brokers and jobbers using nicknames and shorthand, could further add to the disorientation of an outsider looking to earn a living, supplement his income, improve his social status, or demonstrate his social masculinity among the commercial sorts.¹⁰⁷ Daniel Defoe believed this was deliberate in order to confuse and defraud novice investors.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, Steele wrote, '*Make not your Advantage in your Bargains of others Unskilfulness*. Every Man hath not the like Sagacity, and the weak may easily forget, mistake, and overshoot themselves: Now God hath not given to you greater Parts for the hurt, but for the help of your Neighbour; and for you to imploy them to his Detriment is quite to pervert the use them.'¹⁰⁹ Although a coffeehouse might offer the novice investor the chance to learn—and despite Steele's appeal to a protectorate form of masculinity that did not capitalise on the 'weak'—in these locations the duplicitous dealings of an unregulated market nonetheless allowed the well informed to divert or obstruct information. Many viewed coffeehouses and Exchange Alley with suspicion and believed they were filled with stockjobbers preying on the uninformed and profiting from unscrupulous action.¹¹⁰ Commerce, particularly finance, was competitive and it was in these well-established commercial locations—the Royal Exchange, Garraway's, the Customs House, or the average grocer's shop—that the conduct, comportment, and composure of the man in commerce was tested and upon which his reputation was built.

The last major component of a man's commercial identity was his ability to mitigate risk. The early modern businessman was the subject of much unavoidable uncertainty; tempest, pirates, war, highwaymen, and defaulting clients were but a few of

¹⁰⁵ Jeake, *Diary*, p. 254.

¹⁰⁶ Jonathan Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism? Urban Association and the Middling Sort', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society in England, 1550-1800*, eds. Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 84-112, p. 98.

¹⁰⁷ Murphy, *Origins of English Financial Markets*, p. 125.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Steele, *The Trades-man's Calling*, p. 110.

¹¹⁰ Murphy, *Origins of English Financial Markets*, p. 88.

the risks. Sir George Mackenzie observed, 'Thus Merchants hazard drowning, and like the Sun, reel about the world, that they may gain as much as may afford them the conveniency of a recess.'¹¹¹ For businessmen, solvency hinged on the ability to manage risk and act with prudence. Steele wrote:

As a Mariner, the greater guess he hath of the turning or rising of the Winds, or of the approach of a Storm the wiser he is, and he puts forth a greater or lesser Sail accordingly; so the discreet *Tradesman*, by the right use of his Reason, and of his Experience, and Observation, should carefully consider what Events may fall out, and what Effects they may produce, and thereupon either spread or draw in his Sails in his Trade and Calling.¹¹²

Steele's normative appeal to the use of reason in this passage is telling. Most recognised that risk was unavoidable and that those who suffered bad luck could be forgiven if they managed it with a masculine clear-headedness. Those who subjected themselves to exorbitant and unnecessary risk by way of frenzy or illogicalness, however, demonstrated themselves to be lacking in economic maturity and garnered more hostility than sympathy. It was these men who encouraged the anti-commercial perceptions of effeminate hysteria and fantasy. Although speculation and risk-taking were essential to the growth of the economy, the increasingly ease by which credit could be obtained in the eighteenth-century bull market might have masked some of the perils of venture capitalism.¹¹³ Each man reacted differently to success and failure, good luck and bad luck; part of what made a man successful, and therefore masculine, was his ability to use sound reason to adapt, innovate, and manoeuvre.

Samuel Jeake mitigated risk by adapting to the changing market. In addition to the bad debts mentioned above, Jeake's business interests were severely obstructed by the outbreak of the Nine Years' War. He was forced to give up negotiating bills of exchange despite large turnover and he was also forced to stop loaning money on ships, writing that he 'Received the last Bottomarie profit: & the war coming on I gave over that Trade.'¹¹⁴ While he continued to deal in commodities in the Rye area, the war hindered his cloth trade to France and he abandoned it in May 1689.¹¹⁵ Jeake eventually pivoted his business interests to London to benefit from the financial innovations of the mid-1690s. Jeake continued to provide for his family and remain financially self-sufficient in a time when

¹¹¹ Mackenzie, *A Moral Essay*, p. 4.

¹¹² Steele, *The Trades-man's Calling*, p. 66.

¹¹³ Julian Hoppit, 'The Use and Abuse of Credit in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Business Life and Public Policy: Essays in Honour of D.C. Coleman*, eds. Neil McKendrick and R.B. Outhwaite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64-78, p. 72.

¹¹⁴ Jeake, *Diary*, p. 195.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 197.

many were ruined. He did this by maintaining contact with the London financial world through his agent in the City, Thomas Miller. In April 1694 he wrote:

Several Projects about this time began to run in my mind, to venture & try to advance my Income, the war having spoiled all my trade at Rye ... upon which I could but barely maintain my family. The Projections that I thought upon, were putting into this Million Adventure, Buying of Blank Tickets therein after the drawing, Selling of Tickets before the drawing, Putting in moneys ... in the Bank of England, & on the Lives at 14 per cent one Life 12 per cent 2 lives & 10 per cent 3 lives: And buying Stock in the East India Company ...¹¹⁶

Jeake's pivot from trade to finance was not an altogether surprising reaction to the war. In *An Essay on Projects* (1697) Daniel Defoe explained that the 'Trading Part' of the nation was responsible for the hitherto unprecedented explosion in inventions and economic projects as a response to the war. He wrote, 'These, prompted by Necessity, rack their Wits for New Contrivances, New Inventions, New Trades, Stocks, Projects, and any thing to retrieve the desperate Credit of their Fortunes.'¹¹⁷ During the Nine Years' War, merchants like Jeake turned to financing government debt to avoid the vulnerability of overseas trade.¹¹⁸ That many men were experienced with puts, calls, forward contracts, and derivatives indicates that there were a number of sophisticated investors.¹¹⁹ As a merchant who had previously dealt in mortgages and bonds, Jeake already had some capacity for complicated finance.

While Jeake mitigated business risk by giving up his war-hampered trades and turning to finance, William Stout, on the other hand, reduced risk and loss with consistency and opportunism. As we have seen, much of Stout's success was due to his sober living and the industrious nature that garnered for him a reputation for plain dealing. Stout also had an eye for opportunity and frequently benefitted from the failings of others. As a young tradesman in the 1690s, when Stout bought other shopkeepers' goods after their bankruptcies he typically did so as a shrewd business ploy—although in his later years he was occasionally enticed out of semi-retirement to buy the goods of bankrupts to 'encourage the sale' and ensure they received fair value to reduce as much of their debt as he could.¹²⁰ In 1690 Stout bought out John Lawson, who according to Stout could never make a profit due to misconduct, and most of the goods of the Benjamin Borrow, who became insolvent through extravagant living and carelessness. Thanks to further bankruptcies and retirements Stout and his former master, Henry Coward, were

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 233.

¹¹⁷ Defoe, *Essay upon Projects*, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ Gauci, *Emporium of the World*, p. 148.

¹¹⁹ Ann M. Carlos, Erin Fletcher, and Larry Neal, 'Share Portfolios in the Early Years of Financial Capitalism: London, 1690-1730', *The Economic History Review* 68, no. 2 (2015), 574-99, p. 594.

¹²⁰ Stout, *Autobiography*, pp. 148-9.

the only two ironmongers left in Lancaster by the end of 1690.¹²¹ Taken together, the different methods used by Jeake and Stout to mitigate risk are worth highlighting because their reasoned action and industry rewarded them with success, which would, in turn, bolster their reputation within their network and solidify their creditworthiness.

If, as the normative literature advocated and Jeake, Stout, and Heathcote demonstrated, a man was diligent in his daily work and administration, agreeable in his correspondence, zealous in gathering information, a frequent visitor of the proper locations of commerce, proficient in cultivating his network, and adept at risk management, he might demonstrate his masculinity by mastering Lady Credit. In turn, prosperity led to social recognition as a man with whom to do business. This achieved status carried with it the informal, positive sanction of social approval. For instance, Jeake once chanced upon a man he knew on the street and was offered a loan without even having to ask.¹²² As this episode demonstrated, a reputation as an honest businessman who conducted his affairs by the proper means and for the proper ends facilitated business success. Caleb Trenchfield, cautioning his apprenticed son, wrote: 'Be sure therefore to go out into the world like a sheet of clean paper, where no blurs or scribblements are to be discern'd; but let your reputation be like that Virgin purity, not stain'd with any thing which may render you suspected to the time to come.'¹²³ An unsullied reputation often meant the difference between doing business with a man and avoiding him. Reputation required safeguarding because it was the best attribute businessmen had to inspire trust, ensure credit, and reduce other's uncertainty about them.¹²⁴ Failure to repay a debt challenged this reputation. Likewise, the complexity of the credit network meant that failure to be repaid shifted this mental burden onto the creditor. Therefore, while a businessman could be diligent in his work, sober and moralistic in his conduct, obliging in his correspondence and face-to-face interactions, and strike the correct balance between caution and risk, his manhood was nevertheless precarious because the commercial class all depended on one another in a credit economy. As Jonathan Barry argues, for the middling sort, the individual qualities of each man were crucial to his success or failure, but the values of creditworthiness, industry,

¹²¹ Ibid., 99-100.

¹²² Jeake, *Diary*, p. 246.

¹²³ Trenchfield, *A Cap of Grey Hairs*, p. 35.

¹²⁴ Fontaine, *Moral Economy*, pp. 248, 272.

thrift, and self-discipline did not engender an ideology of individualism because collective practices and associations directed bourgeois life in towns and cities.¹²⁵

II. Dependence on Others and the Credit Network

A paradox of the seemingly independent mentalité of the business community was that even though businessmen were often in direct competition with one another there was a level of interdependence. For most, this meant full economic autonomy was an impossibility even though economic self-sufficiency—therefore, the ability to wield power and avoid emasculation as another's dependent—was normatively an integral part of manhood during this period. For this reason, Mark Hailwood argues that the uncertainty of the credit network hindered the tradesman's effectiveness as a secure economic provider, which undermined his patriarchal manhood status.¹²⁶ To be sure, the fragility of credit, as both a term of economic appraisal and as a facilitator of transactions, removed some level of agency and certainty, creating tension with the traditional expectations of manhood that prized autonomy. Systemically, those carrying debts within a credit network were not only subject to the whims of their creditors but also their creditors' creditors. Julian Hoppit notes that a significant portion of a man's success depended upon the success of all in his credit network because synchronising disbursements and reimbursements was critical to financial stability. Any small incident that upset the synchronisation of the network—a merchant's goods being damaged or losing a ship in a storm, the dishonest collusion of one bankrupt with a select number of his creditors, unscrupulous spending by a family member—could put the entire credit network and the households in it under stress.¹²⁷ To achieve collective security, commercial masculinity was informed by normative obligations of trust and discourses of plain dealing through which men might obtain a commercial form of male honour. In turn, these normative obligations were meant to act as a check on appetitiveness, self-interest, and irrationality. This section considers how commercial masculinity was performed and how men were constrained by enforced relationships of dependence.

¹²⁵ Jonathan Barry, 'Introduction', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, eds. Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 1-27, p. 15.

¹²⁶ Mark Hailwood, "'The Honest Tradesman's Honour': Occupational and Social Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)* 24, (December 2014), 79-103, p. 98.

¹²⁷ Hoppit, 'Use and Abuse of Credit', p. 67.

Motivated by concerns about reputation and credit, members of the business community tended to support one another where possible, or at least those in their credit network. Many men believed that making concessions to the deserving was a commercial form of charity. Jonathan Barry argues that ‘charity cemented the mutual good fellowship of the bourgeoisie and displayed their capacity to overcome the temptations of possessive individualism.’¹²⁸ William Penn advised, ‘If thy Debtor be honest and capable, thou hast thy Money again; if not with Encrease, with Praise; If he prove insolvent, don't ruin him to get that, *which it will not ruin thee to lose*: For thou art but a Steward, and another is thy Master and Judge.’¹²⁹ Acting with discretion and lenience by occasionally pardoning a desperate debtor was a shrewd means of purchasing security and esteem within a community through ties of obligation and goodwill.¹³⁰ With the bankruptcy and debtor laws weighted overwhelmingly in favour of the creditor, bringing a lawsuit was a fraught practice. Creditors first considered whether or not their debtor was honest and deserving of reprieve because a harsh creditor was often looked upon with less esteem than an honest debtor. Moreover, those forced into debtor's prison struggled to recover and bankrupts typically never returned to commercial viability, which limited a creditor's chance ever to receive payment in full.

Tradesmen were very conscious of the fragility of reputation, both their own and those with whom they conducted business. Creditors often allowed borrowers an exceedingly long time to make good on payments for, as William De Britaine warned of reputation: ‘If that be once lost, you are like a Cancelled Writing, of no value; and at best, you do but survive your own Funeral; for Reputation is like a Glass, which being once cracked, will never be otherwise than crazy.’¹³¹ Indeed, as Rebecca Barr notes in her examination of Defoe's *The Complete English Tradesman* (1726), because fiction and gossip could ‘unman’ the commercial sorts, the tradesman's economic security was always fragile.¹³² The anonymously-published *Friendly Monitor* (1692) explained, ‘A Good Name, Credit and Reputation are tender things, and there's no touching them so lightly’.¹³³

¹²⁸ Barry, ‘Bourgeois Collectivism?’, p. 99.

¹²⁹ Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, p. 18.

¹³⁰ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, p. 181.

¹³¹ De Britaine, *Humane Prudence*, p. 21.

¹³² Rebecca Barr, ‘“Complete Hypocrite, Complete Tradesman”: Defoe's *Complete English Tradesman* and Masculine Conduct’, in *Positioning Daniel Defoe's Non-Fiction: Form, Function, and Genre*, eds. Andreas K.E. Mueller and Aino Makikalli (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 149-168, p. 154.

¹³³ *The Friendly Monitor Laying Open the Crying Sins of Cursing, Swearing, Drinking, Gaming, Detraction, and Luxury or Immodesty* (London: Sam. Crouch, 1692), p. 53.

After selling his shop in 1697 Stout recalled of his actions during the preceding eight years:

At my beginning I ... seldom made use of an attorney ... being always tender of oppressing poor people with law charges, but rather to loose all or get what I could quietly, than give it to attornies. And I never sued any to execution for debt, nor spent 20s in prosecuting any debtor, and to loose all was more satisfaction to me than getting all to the great cost of my debtor, and to the preservation of my reputation.¹³⁴

Stout's reputation for industry and honest dealing resulted in his frequently being asked to act as the executor of wills. By acting compassionately towards debtors, which ultimately served his own interests, Stout contradicted the expectations of his anti-commercial contemporaries who saw the commercial sorts as cutthroat, narrow-minded, and controlled by the unmanly vice of self-interest.

Stout's willingness to write-off bad debts and unwillingness to file suit against his debtors demonstrated the connectedness of the business community. With reputations delicately balanced, colleagues often supported each other by acting as sureties for payments, co-signing on petitions, arbitrating disputes, and acting as trustees for one another's estates, which implicitly helped themselves if they had a business relationship with that colleague.¹³⁵ This mutual support helped insulate against both bankruptcy and a crisis of confidence in the quality of an individual's goods or services. Nevertheless, Caleb Trenchfield warned his apprentice son: 'Let not thy affection over-balance thy prudence, and draw thee to things prejudicial to thy credit, or dangerous to thy estate: For he is none of thy friend, that would injure thy reputation; nor art thou thine own, if thou wouldest damage thine own concerns for another.'¹³⁶

Familiarity and bonds of mutual dependence ordinarily meant that communities were bound together with a level of trust enforced by the serial nature of credit.¹³⁷ Yet the reliance on the probity of others was a continual problem for any man who moved capital for a living, especially when others' deviant behaviour ignored the norms of honesty and plain dealing. In 1689 one of Jeake's cousins fled to the Mint, the debtor's sanctuary in Southwark, which caused Jeake to record in his diary that he lost a £74 loan.¹³⁸ He recorded another such instance in September 1692 in which his customer, a man named Jobson, imperilled his business. Jobson refused to accept a bill of exchange Jeake drew upon him despite Jobson's prior consent for Jeake to do so as payment for a shipment of

¹³⁴ Stout, *Autobiography*, p. 120.

¹³⁵ Gauci, *Emporium of the World*, p. 100

¹³⁶ Trenchfield, *Cap of Grey Hairs*, p. 54.

¹³⁷ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, p. 150.

¹³⁸ Jeake, *Diary*, p. 198.

wool. Afterwards Jeake 'had many quarrels & much trouble with him, he neither keeping time in weighing the wooll, nor paying the money.' The wool was supposed to be weighed and paid for by Michaelmas but due to Jobson's dawdling he did not weigh it until October and did not actually pay until December. In the end, Jeake wrote that 'he abated me above 20s which I was forced to comply with to get the money out of his fingers.'¹³⁹ Here Jeake demonstrated a virtue of commerce that each man needed to possess. Pragmatism was required when an impasse was reached between norms and practice. It was better to accept Jobson's cut-rate bargain and finish the deal than pursue it any further. However, different circumstances merited different responses. In November of the same year Jeake was forced to take out a warrant against a privateer captain who sold him wheat from a captured prize. Jeake wrote that Captain Edwards 'refused to let me have the wheat I bought, & got him arrested same day; & then he comply'd that I should have it; & I let fall the Action.'¹⁴⁰ Even in instances that did not feature double-dealing, such as that of Jobson and Captain Edwards, businessmen were often forced to accept less money than originally bargained for and to write off bad debts as a lost cause. This practice underpinned the precarious nature of their masculinity, illustrating how little control men in the credit network were afforded. The consequences of writing off these bad debts varied depending on the health of each man's business. Thus, Jeake's experiences attempting to recover debts highlighted one of the many delicate balancing acts the commercial sorts were forced into—the contradiction between losing reputation for being a harsh creditor and losing the ability to stay solvent, and thus their masculinity, by writing-off too many bad debts or compromising on terms of payment.

Given the fluid circumstances, the deal struck was not always the deal honoured. As a result, the bookseller and autobiographer John Dunton proudly boasted of his reputation for dealing fairly. He wrote:

As to my *Trade*, I ever had an ungovernable itch after Printing; yet, all my Printers will own, I have ever been strictly just: in six hundred Books I have printed, I never swerved from the price agreed on, or made any Printer call twice for money; which practice I learnt from my honoured Master. I have twenty times in Trade restored the over-seen gain of a mistaken reckoning; and, being haunted with a scrupulous mind, have often paid a sum twice over, for fear of doing wrong ...¹⁴¹

Yet, a man needed persistence and a keen intuition for the likelihood of receiving full terms because many did not have the 'scrupulous mind' Dunton claimed he possessed. If Jeake exhibited pragmatism with Jobson, then he displayed a masculine steadfastness in

¹³⁹ Ibid., 217.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 219.

¹⁴¹ Dunton, *Life and Errors*, p. 242.

1689 when one of his debtors died and he was forced to take extraordinary measures to secure his £50 debt that included '13 or 14 journeys to Robertsbridge', a village over a dozen miles from Rye.¹⁴² This debt was eventually settled nearly a year later and in the end Jeake was only able to receive his money on condition that he also purchase five bags of hops at an inflated rate.¹⁴³ Jeake concluded that 'the vexation & pains I took was more worth then the £50 and had it been now to do, I would sooner have lost my debt.'¹⁴⁴ By contrast, in another instance in 1689 Jeake wrote with a celebratory tone after receiving full compensation and protecting his own interests. With relief he recorded, 'This day I got clear of Wm Baker; receiving the full of the money due to me from him: which was a happy Providence, he dying not long after and most of his Creditors being cheated.'¹⁴⁵ Because solvency elicited significant emotional investment, Jeake's glance towards his own purse on the news of a man's death in this instance can be forgiven considering that a man who was dishonest, died, or refused to pay had the potential to ruin his creditors.

Necessitating further collective dependence, business agents exemplified the vulnerability of the business community. Apart from joint-stock companies, partnerships were unusual in the 1690s.¹⁴⁶ Of the few people traders did employ, business factors, particularly those overseas, wielded enormous power and the potential to abuse that power. Operating on their employer's credit, factors could easily incur large debts without their employer's knowledge for which the employer would be liable. Even with much normative literature supporting William Penn's statement that the 'Glory of a Servant is *Fidelity*; which cannot be without Diligence, as well as Truth', the loyalty and conduct of business agents, particularly abroad, was a constant concern.¹⁴⁷ Richard Newdigate, 2nd Baronet, a Warwickshire landowner and mining entrepreneur, often complained of the conduct of his agents and attributed some of his money troubles to their dishonesty. In August 1700, a little over a year before he was forced to sell off a portion of his family's estate to remain solvent, Newdigate complained, 'When I was in France last year my Agents were intolerable Remiss. They paid off nothing. Mr. Beal now not employed. J. Merry, Remiss. But 'Honest' J. King of Itchenton and Nat. Hayward of Harfield, arrant

¹⁴² Jeake, *Diary*, p. 196.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹⁴⁶ Peter Earle, 'Age and Accumulation in the London Business Community, 1665-1720', in *Business Life and Public Policy: Essays in Honour of D.C. Coleman*, eds. Neil McKendrick and R.B. Outhwaite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 38-63, pp. 38-9.

¹⁴⁷ Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, p. 57.

Knives!’¹⁴⁸ If agents were indeed ‘Remiss’ and ‘arrant Knives’ they could cause a businessman much anxiety. To some extent, this level of trust was unavoidable due to communal, professional, and familial obligations. Many men often relied on members of their family to serve as business agents for this reason.

Ralph Thoresby’s business dealings were wonderfully illustrative of the pitfalls of a man’s credit, as well as his commercial masculinity, being contingent on both business partners and family. Thus far, this chapter has highlighted the importance and necessity of honesty and plain dealing to commercial masculinity and solvency due to the fragility of the credit network. Yet, as Thoresby discovered, reputation could be misleading. In 1689, Thoresby was induced into forming an unsuccessful and time-consuming partnership making rapeseed oil with a fellow Leeds merchant, Samuel Ibbetson. He did so on Ibbetson’s good word and Ibbetson’s reputation as a ‘religious and substantial’ man.¹⁴⁹ All the same, Thoresby and Ibbetson’s rapeseed venture ended as a disappointing failure, best illustrated by Thoresby’s lamenting tone when he described his visit to the rapeseed oil mill in March 1692: ‘Afternoon wholly at Sheepscar, where are renewed disappointments daily, sometimes hourly.’¹⁵⁰ Ibbetson continually avoided settling his accounts with Thoresby until his death in 1697. Thoresby sadly noted he had the ‘temptation almost to suspect the probity of the deceased, though covered with the greatest pretensions to religion, and was a sad requital for all the kindness in advancing monies’.¹⁵¹ Ultimately, due in part to his failed rapeseed venture, Thoresby suffered the humiliation and shame of financial failure. He continued to toil with the rapeseed venture as late as 1698 when he was embroiled in a lawsuit and imprisoned.

The business failings of his kin further hampered Thoresby’s solvency. Often against their better judgement, brothers acted as sureties for one another and would be held liable for that family member’s debts. In addition to co-signing for Ibbetson, as the eldest brother Thoresby took on the debts of his brothers and his son-in-law. This aroused a state of constant worry. The stress of not only losing wealth but also losing reputation—and ergo future credit—as a result of the inability to service one’s debts, weighed heavily on the commercial sorts because it was the threat of losing both social and masculine

¹⁴⁸ Richard Newdigate, *Cavalier and Puritan in the Days of the Stuarts: Compiled from the Private Papers and Diary of Sir Richard Newdigate, Second Baronet*, ed. Anne Emily Newdigate (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), p. 344.

¹⁴⁹ Thoresby, *Diary*, p. 193.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 315.

status. Burdened by responsibility and personifying the strong emotional reactions that economic instability provoked, in 1698 he wrote in his diary:

I was now in a most piteous condition, both my brothers forced to abscond, and I left alone to take care of their wives and children ... and I in the poorest condition I ever was, to sustain them, being 600*l.* deep in my poor brother's concern, and above 1000*l.* in Mr. Ibbetson's, of which I never got one farthing ... I was perpetually dunned by some creditors, and once actually arrested, (the first, and I hope it will be the last time, that ever I was in the baliff's hands.)¹⁵²

Although he was able to take out a loan to repay his creditor and get out of jail, the dishonour of being imprisoned for debt was harder to overcome. Bankruptcy was seen as personal failure and in a credit network it carried with it the stigma of breaking one's word.¹⁵³ When taking place in the public eye, debtor-creditor negotiations carried an emotional charge that elicited feelings such as hatred, spite, shame, fear, and contempt.¹⁵⁴ The anxiety, fear, and shame of the mutually destructive downward spiral of debt and deteriorating reputation demonstrate the fragility of commercial masculinity. With things getting desperate and no financial relief from his business ventures in sight Thoresby deteriorated mentally. He explained that 'these afflictions ... had so shattered my constitution, that my spirits were sank within me, and sleep departed from my eyes; so that mostly the nights from twelve to five were spent in fruitless tossings, many faint qualms and clammy sweats, that looked like the languid efforts of struggling nature to overcome an insuperable difficulty.'¹⁵⁵

With both their pride and reputation—and survival for that matter—at stake, the high emotional expenditure of the commercial sorts was a reaction to the tangible prospect of financial failure and implicit challenge to the masculine commercial values outlined in the previous section. Anxiety over debt was a threat-related emotion and Thoresby's worry in this instance, and in many other entries sprinkled throughout his diary, confirmed that loss of reputation was a universal cause of grief and fear across all classes. The ability to meet financial obligations was a significant factor in a man's social and self-worth and regaining creditworthy status was an arduous task. Although he would eventually find himself on more sound financial footing, Thoresby was forced to acknowledge his financial failings publicly by selling part of his estate, a desperate remedy and embarrassing act of potential downward mobility.

¹⁵² Ibid., 323.

¹⁵³ Hoppit, *Risk and Failure*, pp. 26-7.

¹⁵⁴ Elise M. Dermineur, 'Indebtedness', in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 199-202, p. 200.

¹⁵⁵ Thoresby, *Diary*, p. 324.

Thoresby raises a necessary point about commerce and family. Insolvency was problematic for masculinity in both settings because it threatened a man's reputation as a patriarch (if he was a householder) and his reputation outside of the home as a prudent businessman. Thoresby shows that the interdependence of the credit network and the economic stability of the commercial sorts were intertwined at times with family considerations. As Hunt explains, because few lending institutions could adequately cover the needs for capital, personal and familial connections were important to the credit networks in a time when the legal system was vague about the distinctions between business, personal, and familial liability.¹⁵⁶ Thoresby's experience highlighted the immense socio-cultural pressure men were under to sustain their household as part of patriarchal masculinity. To be sure, the husband's responsibility to provide for the family, and the notoriety and debilitating indictment on his manhood for failing to do so, was rhetorically imperative to the traditional meaning of full manhood—even if the literature rarely accounted for the reality that both men and women, and often children, contributed to the maintenance of the household, especially among the labouring poor and those who owned a physical shop where wives and children might work.¹⁵⁷ Men often took an active role in the financial well-being of their extended family by risking their own credit and capital to help family members establish and grow their businesses. This was particularly true for older brothers. In a hierarchical society founded on interpersonal relationships, Laurence Fontaine argues, family members could not be refused money regardless of the likelihood of repayment.¹⁵⁸ But beyond these patriarchal notions, Thoresby's indebtedness and failed business relationship with Ibbetson is equally demonstrative of commercial masculinity as it is of domestic masculinity because insolvency was also laden with implications for Thoresby's identity in the commercial setting. Thoresby's anxiety over his indebtedness demonstrated the emasculating ramifications of business failure for the commercial sorts. Moreover, Thoresby exhibited the manner in which businessmen's independence was constrained by the actions of others. If even one man fell short of the normative ideals of honesty, plain dealing, and mutual dependability then the solvency of all in the credit network was imperilled.

As this section has shown, there was a high level of unavoidable interdependence between men in commerce, which often but not always acted as a safeguard against unscrupulous behaviour. Abel Boyer noted, 'It is with *Gratitude* among *Friends*, as with

¹⁵⁶ Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, pp. 22-3.

¹⁵⁷ Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy', p. 95.

¹⁵⁸ Fontaine, *Moral Economy*, p. 44.

Honesty among Traders, it keeps up Business and Commerce: Most Men don't quit Scores because it is just to pay *Debts*, but to secure their *Credit*, and so be trusted again the easier.' ¹⁵⁹ Commerce was a line of work that facilitated competition within which individual success was unavoidably tied to the credit network in a manner that could be disastrous. Even though credit was built on interpersonal, trusting relationships and reputations, these were open to abuse, particularly because men could not always directly appraise those with whom they did business. This made men vulnerable and they knew it. Therefore, in order to mitigate the unpredictable connectedness of their credit network, men relied on a normative discourse that appealed to masculine standards such as honesty, plain dealing, and trust. If the masculine criterion of autonomy was out of reach due to dependency on the actions of others, then solvency was the fundamental standard by which commercial masculinity was demonstrated.

III. Consuming and Investing

The prosperity of the tradesman and financier depended on discourses of luxury and conspicuous consumption that were encouraged by vanity and social emulation, which differed markedly from the esteemed male virtues of civic humanist autonomy. ¹⁶⁰ Therefore, it was important for the commercial sorts to safeguard the economy and boost its turnover by spending and investing in a responsible manner, which itself indicated masculine virtues because it demonstrated a sense of restraint, responsibility, and reason. Responsibly consuming and investing proved that a man was not overly impassioned, inconstant, or susceptible to luxuries. Indeed, Steele defined justice in the commercial professions as neither buying too cheap nor selling too dear. ¹⁶¹ For the commercial sorts, distinguishing between appropriate consumption and luxury, as well as distinguishing between calculated risk and capricious speculation, was a process of negotiation freighted with implications for socially recognised masculinity.

Those in the business community were expected to participate in the expanding consumer culture they helped create. Hence, private consumption turned into public benefit by boosting, among other things: overseas trade, manufacturing, the circulation of money, and domestic employment. Ideologically, acting as a consumer was a complex process. Avoiding excessive consumption was important, but equally important was

¹⁵⁹ Boyer, *Characters*, p. 17.

¹⁶⁰ Barr, 'Complete Hypocrite, Complete Tradesman', p. 152. Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p. 138.

¹⁶¹ Steele, *The Trades-man's Calling*, pp. 106-7.

avoiding a reputation of cupidity. The masculinity of consumption hinged on the ability to opt out before reaching an extravagant level. Consuming at a level appropriate to one's station featured prominently in post-Restoration normative literature. A trader in hats, Thomas Tryon explained that for the advantage of the nation's economy 'every Tradesman is under a kind of necessity to spend in proportion to his Trade and Gain'.¹⁶² Likewise, Steele summarised, 'This *Discretion* is shown, in *Ordering a man's Expences sutable to his Calling*. That as he should not live sordidly much below his Estate, nor be defective in his Allowance either to God, to the Poor, or to himself; so he may not ... exceed that Proportion which his Trade will maintain.'¹⁶³ Consumption begot friction between ideals and reality. For example, particularly in London, for those in business circles, gifting and exhibiting portraits reinforced social status and self-identification with the social group.¹⁶⁴ However, nonjuring cleric Denis Grenville argued that 'If we do enquire unto the Prodigious Vanity of *Men of Trade*, never heard of in former times ... but that of *London* ... we shall easily discover that it hath not been want of *Traffick*, but unpardonable Pride; that has occasioned so many bankrupts in the City'.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, while the act of spending helped to bolster the economy, from which businessmen would benefit, spending money on non-essential items like portraits and gifts invoked the passions of vanity and pride characterised as effeminate, which also depleted the very capital necessary to achieve success. A man needed to balance his accumulation and consumption. His ability to do so was tied to notions of self-containment and control.

It was not until well after the turn of the eighteenth century that men began to separate their personal and professional finances, so spending at a degree appropriate to one's income was exceedingly important. Those who spent too lavishly or foolishly opened their entire credit network to risk. Steele warned of these men: 'The Indiscretion or plain Folly of many is evident-herein; so that, without the Spirit of Prophecy, one may easily foretell their Ruine. *Some* such *Slaves* to their *Appetites*, that the Belly doth immediately devour what their Head or Hands do get, never providing for a time of Sickness or other extraordinary Casualty.'¹⁶⁶ Appetitiveness was particularly unmanly

¹⁶² Tryon, *England's Grandeur*, p. 17

¹⁶³ Steele, *The Trades-man's Calling*, pp. 60-1.

¹⁶⁴ Gordon Glanville and Philippa Glanville, 'The Art Market and Merchant Patronage in London 1680 to 1720', in *City Merchants and the Arts 1670-1720*, ed. Mirelle Galinou (Wetherby: Oblong Creative Ltd., 2004), 10-24, p. 17.

¹⁶⁵ Denis Grenville, *Counsel and Directions Divine and Moral: In Plain and Familiar Letters of Advice from a Divine of the Church of England, to a Young Gentleman, His Nephew, Soon after His Admission into a College in Oxford* (London: Robert Clavell, 1685), p. 135.

¹⁶⁶ Steele, *The Trades-man's Calling*, 61.

for commercial men because overconsumption threatened their reputation and, thus, credit. William Stout recorded one such example when he highlighted a fellow ironmonger, Robert Carter, who was forced to give up his trade after he overran his credit through neglect and expensive living. Fortunately for Carter, his creditors chose not to imprison him and he was able to pursue other employment after the ruin of his iron business.¹⁶⁷ Yet the extravagant living and financial failure of this ironmonger still held ramifications for his masculinity, with luxury and excessive consumption associated with effeminate unrestraint.

Similarly, Stout's former master, Henry Coward, enjoyed a good reputation before he began associating with gentlemen, dabbling with horses instead of attending to business, trading with 'loose' partners, and allowing his 'indolant' wife to frequent 'some houses of no good character' and draw 'money privately from him'. In 1698 he died in disrepute at the age of 50. Stout wrote that in Coward's final days 'circumstances became so burdensome to him that he daily expected to be made a prisoner. Which, with the shame of forfeiting his former reputation, it drew him into despair and broke his hart, so that he kept to his house some time and dyed of greif or shame.'¹⁶⁸ In Coward's case, his failure was the result of losing control of his credit to his partners and wife as well as forsaking two qualities required of a successful tradesman: diligence and industry. That Stout attributed Coward's death to grief or shame should come as no surprise considering that a man's reputation and credit were integral to notions of commercial honour.

Like excessive consumption, financial speculation was also at times associated the social stigmas. Speculating conjured fears of exorbitant risk-taking, treating money and property as a game, and gambling—all of which engendered fears of feminised passion and hysteria. The creation of government lotteries and tontines and the increasingly sophisticated stock market—coupled with the invariably precarious nature of overseas trade—stimulated an already sizeable appetite for gambling and exposed and desensitised contemporaries to financial risk, which altered the terms of social value judgements.¹⁶⁹ Defoe described market speculators as those 'who can turn all Trade into a Lottery, and make the *Exchange* a Gaming Table: A thing, which like the Imaginary Coins of Foreign Nations, have no reality in themselves; but are plac'd as things which stand to be Calculated, and Reduc'd into Value, a Trade made up of Sharp and Trick, and manag'd

¹⁶⁷ Stout, *Autobiography*, p. 100.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 120-1.

¹⁶⁹ P.G.M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit 1688-1756* (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 45-6. Anne L. Murphy, 'Lotteries in the 1690s: Investment or Gamble?' *Financial History Review* 12, no. 2 (October 2005), 227-246, p. 243.

with Impudence and Banter.’¹⁷⁰ Although financial risk-taking might connote a competitive and aggressive form of masculinity, Amy Froide has shown that, counter to the perception of women as safe and cautious investors, women were also involved in risky investments and lost big on some of their ventures.¹⁷¹ Despite the contemporary rhetoric, the majority of government stock-holders left their investment untouched and only drew dividends before passing their stock to their children in their will.¹⁷² In turn, this practice suggests that approved masculinity was expressed through striking a balance between dependability, growth, and hazard.

The stock market and secondary market for lottery tickets were much more unstable. Many possessed with unrealistic expectations went away disappointed, but not before creating volatility by frequently moving their money around trying to capture a large fortune through short-term investing.¹⁷³ Archibald Campbell, 1st Marquess of Argyll, cautioned, ‘Men expect rich returns in *East-India* Ships, and men that are far travellers, beget great expectation of their wealth; if they come home empty, they bankrupt their Credit, and dye in their Countries debt, and that narrow dark prison of their pride, buries them in utter oblivion, who might have made the wide world their Monument.’¹⁷⁴ Flouting risk with a level of anticipation that Argyll warned against, the sometime-financier Samuel Jeake wrote with a note of frenzy: ‘So as fast as I could borrow money, or gather in debts, I got returns at Rye & remitted it up to London.’¹⁷⁵ Although Jeake was concerned that such speculation might amount to nothing more than drawing lots, he ultimately concluded that ‘this being not a Lusory but a Civil Lot ... I was the better satisfied to be concerned in it ... I concluded this might be lawfull. Though I always was & still am an utter Enemy to the practice of all Lusory Lots: & all those Sale of goods by Lot & money Lotteries, which about this time swarmed at London.’¹⁷⁶ The distinction between a civil lot and a usury lot was important for Jeake as he negotiated the tensions between masculinities that juxtaposed risk-taking and responsibility, audacity and reason, liberality and dependence. Bringing his feelings about lots in congruence with his investment, by branding his £100 investment into the Million Adventure as an act of public service—‘the putting the Act in Execution (when once made) being now become

¹⁷⁰ Defoe, *The Free-Holders Plea*, p. 21.

¹⁷¹ Froide, *Silent Partners*, pp. 151-77.

¹⁷² Carter, *Getting, Spending, and Investing*, p. 135.

¹⁷³ Murphy, *Origins of English Financial Markets*, pp. 37-8.

¹⁷⁴ Argyll, *Instructions to a Son*, p. 71.

¹⁷⁵ Jeake, *Diary*, p. 238.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 232.

necessary for the support of the Government in the War against France’—Jeake demonstrates the confirmation bias tendency of gender.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, it was left to each individual to negotiate the distinction between gambling, risk, predatory opportunism, and good business.

For stockholders, one way to mitigate risk and separate oneself from the discourses of uncertainty and blind chance was to gain a modicum of influence, which appealed to masculine ideals of both control and authority. Gaining a controlling interest was both an exercise of power and also the most efficient means to eliminate reliance on others. Having already spent the month of May collecting as many outstanding debts as possible in order to buy into the initial subscription of the Bank of England at £200, Samuel Jeake wrote on 26 June 1694: ‘And now understanding that none who subscribed less than £500 could have a Vote by the Charter I resolved to subscribe £300 more to make mine up to £500.’¹⁷⁸ Ensuring he had a vote gave Jeake the best opportunity to maximise his ownership and exhibit level sort of influence. On an even larger scale, the efforts of men to be elected as a director or as a board member of a joint-stock company or trading enterprise allowed for direct control and power over commercial ventures. Even though being a director or a board member was time-consuming, it nevertheless allowed a man to promote his own interests in the company and to make potentially lucrative connections with civil servants or ministers.¹⁷⁹ Beyond the potential lucrative connections that could be made, serving as a director or board member was a marker of status in the business world. To be elected into the business’s hierarchy and act in the interest of others was a reputation-enhancing endorsement of stability and reliability.

Taken together, consumption and speculation highlight a series of ideological tensions. Excess consumption and the rhetoric of chance and gambling often associated with investing converged to fuel a materialism—what contemporaries would call ‘luxury’—in opposition to principles of masculine consumption such as self-discipline, reason, and, importantly, responsible consumerism suitable to one’s social rank. In conjunction with ineffective sumptuary laws, normative literature attempted to exert social control through informal, negative sanctions by railing against the pecuniary emulation that the luxuries of the consumer revolution seemingly fostered. The accusations of luxury with which the prosperous commercial sorts were associated—and ostensibly facilitated—insinuated an extravagance that undermined approved

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 241.

¹⁷⁹ Gauci, *Emporium of the World*, pp. 133-4.

masculinity. Accordingly, the image of the businessman continued to fluctuate between depictions of sobriety, simplicity, and austerity on the one hand and caricatures that depicted him as socially ambitious, aping, and pretentious on the other.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, approved masculinity for the commercial sorts required balanced consumption and balanced risk-taking behaviour.

IV. Conclusion. The Social Status of Men in Commerce

To speak of a singular corporate identity for businessmen is difficult. However, although there were a wide variety of men who participated in this setting, the gender ethos was the same. Commercial masculinity was informed by a number of cultural norms that, broadly speaking, advocated honesty, plain dealing, and industry; commercial masculinity was signalled by the ability to succeed. Explaining the importance of success and its effect on manhood, Isaac Barrow observed, 'Nothing is more gratefull to men, than *prosperous success* in their undertakings, whereby they attain their ends, satisfie their desires, save their pains, and come off with credit'.¹⁸¹ Yet in the 1690s, ideologically, the markers of commercial success bordered on covetousness, greed, and luxury, which were stigmatised as effeminate because they signalled a loss of masculine vigour and national decay.¹⁸² William Penn lamented, 'We are true *Turners of the World upside down*: For Mony is first; and Vertue last, and least in our care.'¹⁸³ Warning his reader of the potential narrowness of business, the physician and one-time Leveller Humphrey Brooke wrote that 'to be a slave to business out of love to the profits accrewing from it, to make wealth the chief good of this World, and to sacrifice all that is really and substantially such to the acquisition of riches ... This my Son, is one of the sorest evils under the Sun, and the source of many of the rest'.¹⁸⁴ However, as the inherent self-interest of commerce and the growth of credit and trade continued to prove its benefit to Britain, the spirit of capitalism facilitated a gradual revision of the status of commerce in eighteenth-century literature, political economy, and society.

Most men in commerce never amassed the type of wealth and power nor acted in the purely self-serving manner that unnerved the elite and gentry. Most remained in the

¹⁸⁰ Grassby, *The Business Community*, p. 334.

¹⁸¹ Barrow, *Of Industry*, p. 19.

¹⁸² Harrington, 'Gender, Commerce, and the Transformation of Virtue', pp. 35-6.

¹⁸³ Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, p. 62.

¹⁸⁴ Brooke, *The Durable Legacy*, pp. 75-6.

same financial bracket their whole life.¹⁸⁵ Instead, the interactions and behaviours of businessmen were dictated by hopes of steady accumulation, security, and fulfilment in one's work. Masculinity was expressed through rational action towards these goals and living a balanced life. Yet both the Court and gentry were apprehensive of businessmen due to their fears of social mobility and their own indebtedness.¹⁸⁶ Their apprehension stemmed from associating commercial upstarts with effeminate discourses of destructive luxury—profligacy, pride, vanity, self-interest. These discourses weakened the social and political order. Moreover, as the normative literature has demonstrated, religion played an important role in understandings of commercial masculinity. And yet, seventeenth-century tradesmen were often accused of heresy and irreligion—naturally the vast majority of businessmen were Protestant but of course profit had no dogma—because those in the business community were literate, mobile, self-employed and, as such, considered to be less attached to communal traditions and the established order.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, a 'Person of Honour' asserted that the commercial sorts lacked a 'true Sense of Honour and Honesty' and made 'no great Pretensions to either, having long since abandon'd both.'¹⁸⁸ Defoe attempted partially to dispel such notions in *An Essay on Projects*. Defoe assured his readers:

Projects of the nature I Treat about, are doubtless in general of publick Advantage, as they tend to Improvement of Trade, and Employment of the Poor, and the Circulation and Increase of the publick Stock of the Kingdom; but this is suppos'd of such as are built on the honest Basis of Ingenuity and Improvement; in which, tho' I'll allow the Author to aim primarily at his own Advantage, yet with the circumstances of Publick Benefit added.¹⁸⁹

Indeed, surviving autobiographical sources from businessmen and contemporary and modern biographical accounts suggest that when possible some endeavoured to further national interests as well as their own.

The social status of commercial men was evolving as the commercial sorts' roles in the British trade empire and the empire's importance to national prosperity became more self-evident. The tradesman was one of the 'most useful members in a State, without whom it can never be *Opulent* in Peace, nor consequently *Formidable* in War.'¹⁹⁰ Bonds between country and city became increasingly reciprocal as the pursuit of gain was

¹⁸⁵ Grassby, *The Business Community*, p. 266.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 271.

¹⁸⁸ Person of honour, *Angliae Tutamen, Or, The Safety of England Being an Account of the Banks, Lotteries, Mines, Diving, Draining, Lifting, and Other Engines, and Many Pernicious Projects Now on Foot Tending to the Destruction of Trade and Commerce, and the Impoverishing This Realm* (London, 1695), p. 5.

¹⁸⁹ Defoe, *Essay on Projects*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁹⁰ *An Honest Loyal Merchant*, p. 1.

progressively legitimised, gentry and merchant families intermarried, and brokers helped a broader range of people invest in the City's new financial institutions and funds.¹⁹¹ As Peter Earle argues, sons of gentry who became apprentices and then made their living in commerce raised the status of trade rather than diminished their own status.¹⁹² Moreover, the landed elite already had the necessary capital and business and political connections; self-control and thrift were normatively valued in all men.¹⁹³ Steve Pincus proposes that, seemingly a victory for supporters of commerce and urban culture, the aristocracy and gentry began to act more bourgeois than vice versa after the Glorious Revolution.¹⁹⁴ By the mid-eighteenth century, intellectuals such as David Hume, Francis Hutcheson, and David Fordyce were countering seventeenth-century anti-commercial theories that commerce inevitably resulted in civic decay by arguing that humans possessed an innate moral sense that allowed them to curb self-interest and prove their civil virtues in the market place.¹⁹⁵

That being said, the 1690s was just the beginning of this process. Although some aspired to and achieved gentility, most businessmen measured their status against the more immediate norms that governed their occupations and commercial identity.¹⁹⁶ In the business community, a man's worth was a measurement of his ability to pay his debts.¹⁹⁷ The ability to marshal transactional credit served as a barometer of status and economic clout. Commercial reputation was jealously guarded and preserved because ready access to transactional credit was the best means to limit vulnerability and dependence. Thus, social recognition of creditworthiness was a crucial component of commercial masculinity because it was based on reputation. Yet the same economic mobility that fostered the motif of the boy of limited means climbing the social ladder through industriousness also saw businessmen reduced to humiliating poverty and imprisonment for debt. Financial insecurity was a direct threat to social status and manhood and, while it would be a mistake to assume that all men measured themselves in relation to their economic security, in the commercial setting, to experience failure and be cast at the mercy of one's creditors was to be emasculated in a public and private way.

¹⁹¹ Susan E. Whyman, 'Land and Trade Revisited: The Case of John Verney, London Merchant and Baronet, 1660-1720', *The London Journal: A Review of Metropolitan Society Past and Present* 22, no. 1 (1997), 16-32, p. 28.

¹⁹² Earle, *Making of the English Middle Class*, p. 7.

¹⁹³ Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order*, p. 50.

¹⁹⁴ Pincus, 1688, p. 485.

¹⁹⁵ Harrington, 'Gender, Commerce, and the Transformation of Virtue', pp. 39-40.

¹⁹⁶ Gauci, *Emporium of the World*, p. 103.

¹⁹⁷ Shepard, 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy', p. 87-8.

To be sure, to fail in business was to be unmanned. As a bankrupt himself, Defoe explained that, justly or not, 'no man so much made a Fool of as a *Bunkrupt*.'¹⁹⁸ Conversely, to succeed in commerce was to gain prestige and dominion over social, economic, and human capital.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the ambitious, enterprising spirit of the commercial class thrust itself into the public discourse as never before thanks, in part, to the financial innovations of the 1690s. The commercial men of the 1690s themselves had the *opportunity* to move up or down the social ladder through their own endeavours. The growth of the entrepreneurial ideal portended commercial modernity.¹⁹⁹ As Jonathan Barry explains, bourgeois life was embedded with a series of dialectic tensions that included 'those between self-control and obedience to others, between competition and cooperation, between restraint and liberality.'²⁰⁰ The masculinity of the businessman was paradoxical: through his own work and by his own mastering of Lady Credit he constructed his identity, yet his masculinity was dependent to some degree on social recognition and the success of others. Thus, commercial masculinity was precarious due to the volatile nature of commerce and credit networks that could sink everyone within them.

¹⁹⁸ Defoe, *Essay on Projects*, p 191.

¹⁹⁹ Klein, 'Property and Politeness', pp. 221-2.

²⁰⁰ Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism?', p. 101.

Chapter Five: Outside the British Isles

As Atlantic World historian Jack Greene points out, the early modern migration of peoples from Europe profoundly impacted the social organisation of the world.¹ The political, religious, intellectual, and economic ramifications of the seventeenth-century expansion of the First British Empire transformed England (later Britain) into a global nation. The expansion of overseas territories of influence and the energy of capitalism promoted trade and manufacturing, sparked an increase in the consumption of 'luxury' goods, facilitated the rise of politically powerful trading companies, led to Britain's involvement in overseas diplomatic and military confrontations, and provided a number of 'Others' against which the British might define a national identity. In turn, as a result of transoceanic merchant ties and a provincial dependence on British capital, the Metropole shaped the cultural, political, and social development of the overseas territories, creating a sense of sameness and solidarity through shared norms and values.² Thus, British masculinities outside the British Isles were conditioned by Old World discourses, yet expressed in unique ways.

Examining the geographic periphery as a unit, this chapter considers how British men living and travelling outside the British Isles constructed masculinity in relation to the different climates, hardships, and indigenous peoples they encountered. This chapter examines a range of autobiographical texts written by travellers, traders, and colonists of British heritage—from Puritan minister Cotton Mather to merchant-sailor Edward Barlow, Scottish Presbyterian minister Francis Borland to Levant Company chaplain Henry Maundrell.³ Detailing the subjectivity of masculinity, John Tosh argues that insecure identities are partly constructed in opposition to a demonised 'Other'. Discourses of empire and alterity appealed to both the men who experienced face-to-face contact with non-European peoples and those who never left Britain or Europe because this component of masculine identity spawned 'compelling fantasies of mastery' for those in British society.⁴ What Tosh describes for the nineteenth century also applies to this

¹ Jack P. Greene, 'Reformulating Englishness: Cultural Adaptation and Provinciality in the Construction of Corporate Identity in Colonial British America', in *Creating the British Atlantic: Essays on Transplantation, Adaptation, and Continuity* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 19-32, p. 19.

² Søren Mentz, *The English Gentleman at Work: Madras and the City of London, 1660-1740* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2005), p. 11.

³ The aim of this chapter is to look beyond the Three Kingdoms at how the British interacted with foreign places and peoples. This chapter does not examine Ireland because its conquest was mostly complete by the outset of this dissertation and confirmed with the Treaty of Limerick in 1691.

⁴ Tosh, 'What Should Historians Do with Masculinity?', pp. 196-7.

dissertation's time frame. The men in this chapter wrote about their experiences abroad in relation to their own metropolitan understandings of norms and social roles, using their British value frameworks to measure the unfamiliar societies with whom they came in contact.⁵ How British men understood these experiences was deeply gendered.

Conspicuously absent—in comparison to the source bases of the preceding chapters—was a unique, extensive corpus of conduct literature for travelling or living beyond the British Isles. Instead, most seventeenth-century conduct literature was imported from Britain or reprinted from local printing presses. However, a steady supply of reading material from friends, associates, and loved ones allowed those who moved abroad to maintain access to the print culture of the Metropole.⁶ As such, Britons abroad were informed by familiar literary discourses and norms that conditioned their understandings and performances of masculinity. British ideals of masculine independence—the paragon of the husband-breadwinner—were exported with men overseas despite the often-dissimilar conditions of life in the developing societies. In the Americas, like their British brethren, one manner by which Anglo-Americans measured manhood was on the patriarchal basis of sustaining a household; full manhood status was theoretically achieved once a man obtained a 'competence' and could provide what was needed to support a wife and children.⁷ However, much like Britons back home, the standards and ideals portrayed in conduct books—or, more locally, the sermons printed in Boston—could not be easily emulated due to local pressures, environments, and demographic variations.⁸ The ratio between men and women in the colonies disproportionately favoured men to the point that aspirations to domestic manhood were often unrealistic because of indentured servitude and a lack of available women who were the correct age to start a family. In the Chesapeake colonies for instance, James Horn estimates that men outnumbered women nearly three-to-one from the 1650s to the end

⁵ See: Anna Suranyi, 'Virile Turks and Maiden Ireland: Gender and National Identity in Early Modern English Travel Literature', *Gender & History* 21, no. 2 (August 2009), 241-262. Jennifer L. Morgan, 'Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770', in *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, eds. Tony Ballantyne and Antonette Burton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 54-66. Charlotte Sussman, *Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), pp. 205-61. Michael J. Braddick, 'Civility and Authority', in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 93-112, p. 103.

⁶ David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 232

⁷ Lombard, *Making Manhood*, p. 98. See also: Lisa Wilson, *Ye Heart of a Man: The Domestic Life of Men in Colonial New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁸ Braddick, 'Civility and Authority', p. 107.

of the seventeenth century and that 20-30 per cent of men died unmarried.⁹ Despite these demographic challenges and the disruption of the family unit, the gendered order of the 'little commonwealth' was integral to recreating traditional British power structures, which were considered critical to colonial success.¹⁰ Similarly, in the trading territories east of Britain, men also far outnumbered women because only a small number of men brought their wives and families when travelling and trading abroad in the seventeenth century.

Many of the spaces, institutions, and structures that affected men's travels and lives would have seemed familiar to those raised in the British Isles. Yet, as the historiography suggests, British overseas territories in the late seventeenth century were, to borrow a phrase from Malcolm Gaskill, 'a mirror full of distorted images that obscured the original.'¹¹ Gaskill's idea of a mirror full of distorted images aptly applies to the gendered ordering of society and gendered understandings of foreign cultures because, as the likes of Jack Greene, Søren Mentz, Ian Steele, Michael Braddick, and Kathleen Brown, among others, argue, men and women were typically measured by metropolitan standards. The processes of identity construction abroad were complex, and the vagaries of the periphery often conflicted with both local and metropolitan normative ideals. Nevertheless, despite the different social and demographic realities, those on the geographic periphery anxiously sought to assert their British identity through Old World cultural forms and gender identities, values, and behaviours.¹² As the population increased and the colonies reached the 'second stage of social elaboration', creolised versions of the socio-economic, political, and cultural values found in Britain flourished and allowed social arrangements to settle.¹³ Moreover, although provincial identities

⁹ James Horn, 'Tobacco Colonies: The Shaping of English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake', in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Canny, The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 170-192, p. 182.

¹⁰ Sarah M.S. Pearsall, 'Gender', in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 113-132, pp. 113-14. Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1996). Wilson, *Ye Heart of a Man*. Lombard, *Making Manhood*.

¹¹ Malcolm Gaskill, *Between Two Worlds: How the English Became Americans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 375.

¹² Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America: Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 66-7. Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 269-70. Braddick, 'Civility and Authority'. Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p. 6. R. Todd Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), p. 31.

¹³ Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 167-8.

might differ from one another in locally specific ways, they saw themselves as extensions of Britain and were informed by inherited values and institutions, albeit fledgling institutions.¹⁴ Men negotiated the pressures of newer, local models of gendered behaviour, but also attempted to demonstrate that they had not deviated too far from metropolitan norms.¹⁵

The territorial evolution of the British Empire was haphazard because strategic and commercial interests varied significantly from Atlantic to Pacific. The varied experiences in the British colonies and overseas trading posts created different opportunities to establish masculine identities. Life along the west coast of Africa, in East India factories, and along Mediterranean trade routes was dictated more by trade concerns and less by the desire to establish a new, permanent life. Although some settled long-term in the Levant area and India, most of those who left for trade outposts and encampments did so as merchant factors hoping to return within a few years, having acquired an adequate fortune through the silk, rum, indigo, tea, textile, spice, or saltpetre trades. Unlike the trade posts in the east, the settlements in British America were designed as permanent societies. The motivations for colonisation varied from private trade interests to an escape from religious persecution. By 1700, the British Atlantic was home to around 250,000 colonists across a diverse range of climates and settlements.¹⁶ Inviting men to become their own masters, promotional writers discursively glorified the Americas as lands of opportunity and improvement for men who went unrewarded by the entrenched, God-ordained hierarchies of the Old World.¹⁷ In the Caribbean, the sugar- and tobacco-producing plantations that depended on slave labour—and to a decreasing extent indentured servitude—directed life. Like their North American counterparts, the British West Indian planters varied significantly by social background, wealth, political influence, acreage, and commitment to the islands.¹⁸ However, to some extent, the

¹⁴ Jack P. Greene, 'Alterity and the Production of Identity in the Early Modern British American Empire and the Early United States', in *Creating the British Atlantic: Essays on Transplantation, Adaptation, and Continuity* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 323-339, p. 336. Nora E. Jaffary, 'Introduction: Contextualizing Race, Gender and Religion in the New World', in *Gender, Race and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas*, ed. Nora E. Jaffary, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 1-11, p. 4.

¹⁵ Pearsall, 'Gender', p. 125.

¹⁶ Joyce E. Chaplin, 'The British Atlantic', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, c.1450-c.1850*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Philip Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 219-234, p. 228.

¹⁷ Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America*, pp. 77-8. R. Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians*, pp. 77-8. Greene, 'Alterity and the Production of Identity', p. 326. Michael Zuckerman, 'Identity in British America: Unease in Eden', in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 115-157.

¹⁸ Michael Craton, 'Property and Propriety: Land Tenure and Slave Property in the Creation of a British West Indian Plantocracy, 1612-1740', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, eds. John Brewer and Susan Staves (London: Routledge, 1996), 497-529, p. 517.

livelihood of all British men and women in the Caribbean—and not just the wealthy planters—depended on and was connected to the success of the island plantocracies and their exploitation of chattel slave labour.¹⁹ Thus, the realities that conditioned life varied widely by geographic location.

Although less autobiographical evidence survives to demonstrate how masculinity was constructed in this setting compared to other chapters, nevertheless there is enough to ask wider questions, particularly about how masculinity was constructed in relation to in-groups and out-groups. This chapter employs Kathleen Brown's concept of 'gender frontiers'—the sites where ethnic identities formed as a result of contact between culturally specific and seemingly alien manhoods and womanhoods—to investigate the role of gender in global networks, conflicts, and power relations.²⁰ The evaluative framework for the masculinity of British men abroad distinguished the purportedly good and orderly masculinity of the British from indigenous peoples whose behaviour they categorised as non-masculine, disorderly, or effeminate. Crucial to this ethnocentric language of alterity, a number of discourses informed understandings of gender: bravery and martial prowess, self-improvement, moral reform, industry, adventure, and 'civilisation'. The first section considers the American colonies, where the extremities of life on the periphery suggest that mortality and military concerns featured prominently in notions of colonial masculinity. The second section examines the overseas traders and travellers who came in contact with foreign cultures and peoples. Through encounters with the 'Other', British men solidified their understandings of their own identity by attempting to assert their mastery. Yet, at times they also assumed a subordinate status to the locals in ways that contradicted or denied their understandings and practices of masculinity. This chapter concludes by examining perceptions of cultural estrangement. Thus, as both a mirror and a measuring scale of British standards, the world beyond the British Isles was another alternative setting in which men—travellers, traders, colonists, soldiers—might construct masculine identity.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Kathleen M. Brown, 'Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (April 1993), 311-328, p. 328. Kathleen M. Brown, 'The Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier', in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (London: Routledge, 1995), 26-48, p. 26. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, p. 45.

I. American Colonies

Seventeenth-century society in British North America developed at an uneven pace. The reign of William III came at a period of conflict and transition in masculinity ideology and norms. Concepts of colonial masculinity were in flux as the North American colonies reeled from Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (1676), which pitted elite planters against backcountry, small farmers, and King Philip's War in the northeast (1675-1678), which destroyed the economy, diminished the population, impelled the militarisation of New England, and established in Puritan minds the self-identity of a people at spiritual and corporeal war.²¹ As they reached the third and fourth generations in the late seventeenth century, coupled with the mid-century Great Migration, many of the newly established settlements in the Americas matured into functional societies that supported a burgeoning trade with Britain proper. Even though North American elite culture had yet to fully converge with London sensibilities, an elite group of men began to emerge in older provinces like New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas due to population growth and prosperity.²² At the same time as this group sought to reinforce their families' social positions, the wealth of transatlantic trade and travel solidified status distinctions in society.²³ Although elites increasingly revealed their identity and consciousness of social status through genteel accoutrements in the 1690s, as the work of Kathleen Brown has shown, it was not until after 1700 that colonial elite men such as William Byrd II and Robert 'King' Carter fully came of age and began keeping the well-researched diaries that revealed their polite and genteel aspirations.²⁴

British America reproduced creolised versions of the non-domestic settings of masculinity discussed in earlier chapters. Much like Britain proper, men on the frontier could demonstrate their masculinity in accordance with discourses of religion, public service, commercial success, and military concerns. As Jane Kamensky explains of early New England, every social interaction in the Americas—from ritualised 'college orations, church services, court days, and militia musters', to informal 'gatherings by firesides, in fields, or along fences'—represented an opportunity to perform in accordance with the

²¹ Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 82. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, pp. 137-74.

²² Alan Tully, 'The Political Development of the Colonies After the Glorious Revolution', in *A Companion to the American Revolution*, eds. Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2000), 29-38, p. 32.

²³ Tully, 'The Political Development of the Colonies', p. 32. Braddick, 'Civility and Authority', p. 93.

²⁴ Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, pp. 247-82.

hierarchies of gender and rank.²⁵ Although the majority of the autobiographical sources that survive for this time frame come from military or church figures, themes similar to those found in the previous four chapters emerged. For instance, according to Jack Greene, a 'behavioural revolution' increasingly encouraged commercial competition and individual economic achievement, which, although not universally accepted, differed markedly from the communal ideological and social restraints of the founding generation nearly a century before.²⁶

Akin to the men examined in Chapter Two, public service and government remained a mark of honour and distinction. As in Britain, men required a minimum freehold of 40 shillings to vote.²⁷ Also like Britain proper, men in frontier societies were motivated to serve the public on a voluntary basis because gaining public office endorsed a man's social standing within the community for, as Massachusetts preacher Joseph Belcher explained, 'Every Pious Man is not fit and qualified to be a Ruler. Such must be *able men*, as well as *men fearing God*.' Belcher continued, 'As long as a man lives in a private capacity he stands as it were in the croud, but when once he comes to sustain a Publick, he is erected upon the Stage, and the eyes of all the People are upon him, as they were upon *Saul*, who was higher than any of the People, from his Shoulders & upward.'²⁸ Thus, when the county court for Charlestown, Massachusetts 'allowed of ye Towne's choise of me for Clerk of ye writs', the reputation of merchant-soldier-politician Lawrence Hammond as a man of status was confirmed.²⁹ Achieved rank in the community and within one's social group was an important aspect of the honour that informed one's masculinity. Puritan minister Increase Mather proudly noted that during his twenty years as president of Harvard College he was often elected by a unanimous vote.³⁰ Thus, as Hammond and Mather suggest, civic responsibility and its accompanying social recognition continued to be a valuable method to enhance one's status, reputation, and power.

²⁵ Jane Kamensky, 'Talk Like a Man: Speech, Power, and Masculinity in Early New England', *Gender & History* 8, no. 1 (April 1996), 22-47, p. 25.

²⁶ Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness*, pp. 76-7.

²⁷ Hammond, *Diary*, pp. 20-1.

²⁸ Joseph Belcher, *The Singular Happiness of Such Heads or Rulers, as Are Able to Choose out Their Peoples Way, and Will Also Endeavor Their Peoples Comfort. As It Was Discoursed in a Brief Sermon Preached to the Great & General Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Convened at Boston in N. England, on May 28th. 1701* (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1701), pp. 22-4.

²⁹ Hammond, *Diary*, p. 12.

³⁰ Increase Mather, 'The Autobiography of Increase Mather', ed. M.G. Hall, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 71, Part 2 (October 1961), 271-360, p. 351.

As with men in Britain, Christianity and religious devotion were also prevalent, formative discourses for men on the periphery. Colonial clergymen, particularly in New England, continued to be prominent figures in the Americas, although the leaders in the late seventeenth century were not as highly admired as those of the earlier generations that struck out to the New World for religious freedom.³¹ Even with the continued promotion of religious pluralism, religious life witnessed a resurgence of Anglicanism in the late seventeenth century, while the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were established in the Americas in 1698 and 1701, respectively.³² Amidst the indigenous peoples who populated the edge of the known world, God remained the arbiter of fate as Christian beliefs provided an anchor to the Old World. Thus, through their self-identification as Christians and their personal endeavours to fulfil Christian norms of manhood, when Congregational minister Jonathan Pierpont begged God to help 'shake off spiritual sloath' and Cotton Mather laid 'prostrate in the Dust, on my Study-floor and melted into *Tears of Joy*' or kept 'Dayes of secret *Humiliation* before the Lord', they depicted themselves according to the model of religious masculinity discussed in Chapter One.³³

Masculinity in the colonies also possessed elements distinct from those in the British Isles, on which this section concentrates. In his promotional account of the New World, the founder of the Province of Pennsylvania, William Penn, declared that 'A *Plantation* seems a fit place for those Ingenious Spirits, that being Low in the World, are much clog'd and oppressed about a Lively-hood; for the means of Subsisting being easy there, they may have time, and opportunity to Gratify their Inclinations'.³⁴ Similarly, author and one-time Barbados merchant Thomas Tryon wrote:

Our business therefore here in this *New Land* is not so much to build *Houses*, and establish *Factories*, and promote *Trades* and *Manufactories*, that may enrich our selves, (though all these things in their due place are not to be neglected) as to erect *Temples of Holiness* and *Righteousness*, which God may delight in; to lay such lasting *Frames* and *Foundations* of *Temperance* and *Virtue* as may support the *Superstructures* of our future *Happiness*, both in this and the other World.³⁵

³¹ Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness*, pp. 58-9.

³² Boyd Stanley Schlenker, 'Religious Faith and Commercial Empire', in *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall, Vol. 2, The Oxford History of the British Empire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 128-150, pp. 130-1. Evan Haefeli, 'Toleration and Empire: The Origins of American Religious Pluralism', in *British North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Stephen Foster (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 103-135, pp. 128-9.

³³ Jonathan Pierpont, 'Diary of Jonathan Pierpont', 10 June 1689, Cambridge, Mass., USA, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School, bMS 728/1. Mather, *Diary*, pp. 162, 192.

³⁴ William Penn, *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, Lately Granted by the King, under the Great Seal of England to William Penn and His Heirs and Assigns* (London: Benjamin Clark, 1681), p. 7.

³⁵ Tryon, *The Planter's Speech*, p. 8.

As Greene explains, much like Penn and Tryon, promotional writers eulogising the Edenic nature of the New World customarily glossed over the dangers of the ocean voyage, the extreme climate, the strange and dangerous creatures, the unhealthy environments of Tidewater Virginia and Lowcountry South Carolina, and the military threat of rival European colonies, American Indians, and 'Pirates' who would 'come to an anchor before the town' along the coast.³⁶ North America seemed to proffer an uncultivated land in which to build a new society free from Old World restrictions.³⁷ And yet, social realities dictated that life on the periphery was far more precarious than promotional literature suggested. Men and women faced obstacles unique to their environment conspicuously absent from promotional literature and unaccounted for in many conduct books. Although colonial men were far from a homogenous group, again and again, the autobiographical evidence elucidates how life from New England to the Caribbean was comparatively perilous to that of the Metropole. The chronic uncertainty and the dangers posed by man and nature pressured masculinity in the colonies because it compromised values of security, stability, and mastery.

The most pressing danger came from armed conflict. As John Smolenski argues, violence played a key role in the development of local colonial cultures.³⁸ Economist Charles Davenant explained that 'Treaties of Commerce, well projected and settled, will go a great way towards securing our nearer Trafficks; But, That, peradventure, in the more distant Parts, it may be the safest Course to rely upon such a competent Strength, well dispos'd, as will be a certain Guard to our Foreign Plantations and Colonies.'³⁹ On a local level, violence was freighted with implications for manhood. For instance, Anne Little argues that guns were symbolically important to colonial manhood because from the start gun ownership was reserved for male householders and discouraged or illegal for women, American Indians, African Americans, and Catholics.⁴⁰ Long before they were transported to the New World, guns were potent symbols of male power, strength, and dominion.⁴¹ All householders and men fit to bear arms were expected to be armed or have

³⁶ Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America*, p. 76. Cuthbert Potter, 'Mr. Potter's Journall from Virginia to N. England', in *Travels in the American Colonies*, ed. Newton D. Mereness (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 3-11, p. 7.

³⁷ Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America*, pp. 51-2.

³⁸ John Smolenski, 'Violence in the Atlantic World', in *The Atlantic World*, eds. D'Maris Coffman, Adrian Leonard, and William O'Reilly (London: Routledge, 2015), 245-263, p. 245.

³⁹ Charles Davenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England*, Vol. 2. (London: James Knapton, 1698), p. 189.

⁴⁰ Anne M. Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 27.

⁴¹ Lois G. Schwoerer, *Gun Culture in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016), p. 126.

weapons nearby in case of emergency.⁴² Various laws throughout the different colonies similarly stated that 'every listed Souldier and other Housholder (except Troopers) shall be alwayes provided with a well fixt Firelock *Musket* ... or other good Fire Arms to the Satisfaction of the Commission Officers of the Company'.⁴³ Colonial administrator William Blathwayt noted that 'there is no Custom more generally to be observed among the Young Virginians than that they all Learn to keep and use a gun with Marvelous dexterity as soon as ever they have the strength enough to lift it to their heads.'⁴⁴ Symbolised by gun ownership, amid potentially combative slaves and indigenous peoples, personal security and military prowess were substantial aspects of masculinity in frontier society.

During the Nine Years' War, known as King William's War in North America, territorial defence was mostly left to the Anglo-Americans so as not to divert resources from the fight against France on the continent.⁴⁵ The lack of a professional army and England's unwillingness to support North America at the expense of its European theatre meant that warfare in the 1690s consisted of predominantly small-scale raids on enemy settlements and forts. In a manner that puzzled colonial magistrates, settlers were often caught unprepared for American Indians raids and overrun despite being advised by one Massachusetts Bay Company writer that it was the 'duty and wisdom of any people to put themselves in such a posture as they may be fit to defend themselves'.⁴⁶ Autobiographical accounts, particularly those from New England, are replete with instances in which American Indian raiding parties attacked settlements and killed men, women, and children. In March 1690, Lawrence Hammond wrote that 'The Enemy at Nuchawannick have burned about 30 Houses, & 'killed & carryd away about 80 persons; whereof about 30 men. they were set upon by a parcel of English yt came to ye Town's reliefe'. On 2 September 1691, he wrote, 'At Dunstable, one man, his wife & son & patrick Mark's Daughter killed by Indians.' Three weeks later: 'One Gutteridge & his wife & 3 more, Living in ye bounds of Rowly were Murthered by Indians, two more of ye family missing. this was on ye Sabbath Evening.' Reflecting the legitimate fear of being taken

⁴² Joyce Lee Malcolm, *To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an Anglo-American Right* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 139.

⁴³ *Acts and Laws, Passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of Their Majesties Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England. Convened and Held at Boston, the Eight Day of November. 1693* (Boston: Bartholomew Green, 1693).

⁴⁴ Blathwayt, cited in Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975), p. 240.

⁴⁵ Bruce P. Lenman, 'Colonial Wars and Imperial Instability, 1688-1793', in *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall, *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 151-168, p. 153.

⁴⁶ Guy Chet, *Conquering The American Wilderness: The Triumph of European Warfare in the Colonial Northeast* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), p. 95. Nowell, *Abraham in Arms*, p. 10.

captive, he recorded in April 1693: '18 Indians are supposed this day to have murdered a man & 2 children & to have Carried away a Woman & a boy at Lampereele river, ye dead being found & ye others missing, but none of ye House left to give any account.'⁴⁷ Similarly, in September 1697 Samuel Sewall was informed that the inhabitants of the town of Lancaster—only a few days' march from Boston—were massacred and the minister, Mr. Whiting, was 'dead and buried: Indians shot and scalped him about noon.'⁴⁸ Likewise, the journal of John Pike is mostly a record of deaths, many of which were from American Indian raids.⁴⁹ Beyond simply chronicling misfortunes and tragedies, as Kathleen Donegan explains, when colonists described the disasters of the New World they demarcated their identity as colonists from their old European identity for which these events would have been incomprehensible. Donegan argues that 'catastrophe marked a threshold between an old European identity and a new colonial identity'.⁵⁰

Arguing that their own sinfulness provoked the raids, in *Humiliations Follow'd With Deliverances* (1697) Cotton Mather lamented, 'We have been *Humbled* by the *Angels of Death* shooting the *Arrows of Death*, with direful Repetitions of Mortality, in the midst of us! We have been Humbled by a Barbarous Adversary once and again let loose to Wolve it upon us, and an unequal Contest with such as are *not a People, but a Foolish Nation*.'⁵¹ The diary entries above signified colonial failure to adhere to the traditional male responsibility of protection, impugning their masculinity according to patriarchal standards that expected men to be able to safeguard their women and children. But beyond this patriarchal standard, each attack represented a chance to prove one's military prowess, strength, and cultural superiority. Therefore, falling victim to American Indians' raids marked the military prowess of the Anglo-settlers as inadequate and the men as analogously weak and 'less than' by their own standards that presumed mastery over those they consider to be uncivilised. Colonial clergyman and later president of Harvard College Benjamin Wadsworth explained, 'Self-preservation, is a principle implanted in all men, as well as other Animals, and that by God himself.' Calling men to action, Wadsworth argued that it was their duty to prosecute a war when the cause was just. He wrote that

⁴⁷ Hammond, *Diary*, 24.

⁴⁸ Sewall, *Diary*, Vol. 1, p. 459.

⁴⁹ John Pike, *Journal of the Rev. John Pike, of Dover, N. H.*, ed. Alonzo Hall Quint (Cambridge, Mass.: J. Wilson and Son, 1876).

⁵⁰ Kathleen Donegan, *Seasons of Misery: Catastrophe and Colonial Settlement in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), pp. 2-3.

⁵¹ Cotton Mather, *Humiliations Follow'd with Deliverances. A Brief Discourse on the Matter and Method, of That Humiliation Which Would Be an Hopeful Symptom of Our Deliverance from Calamity* (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1697), p. 33.

'if our Heathen Neighbours should suddenly burn any of our *Frontier Towns*, & destroy the Inhabitants thereof, it would then be our duty, were it in our power, to revenge that Injury in the death of all the *Actors* in, and *Abettors* of, such Murder'.⁵²

Entries detailing American Indian raids imputed a discourse of savagery to the indigenous peoples against which European understandings of civil society, morality, and honourable conduct were juxtaposed. Informed by English contact with the Gaelic Irish in the sixteenth century, colonials' sense of cultural superiority shaped the language and categorisation of 'civilised-savage' used by colonists to make sense of the supposedly disorderly American Indian peoples and their lack of private property.⁵³ The language of early encounters with the American Indians was informed by gendered discourses. As Kathleen Brown notes, colonials compared the seasonal migrations and the body alterations caused by seasonal diets to wild animals, disparaging indigenous men for what they saw as a failure to master the environment and provide for their women and children. Moreover, Brown notes that colonials were equally disturbed by native women taking responsibility for agricultural duties while men devoted themselves exclusively to war and the seemingly idle pursuits, such as hunting and fishing, that were associated with aristocratic leisure.⁵⁴ Colonial men discursively distanced themselves from the indigenous peoples by using language that effeminised or de-humanised native men.⁵⁵ The American Indians were caricatured as violent, idle, overtly sexual, and lacking inhibition. Thus, colonial men defined what it meant to 'be a man' against not only effeminacy, but also non-masculinity and base or corrupted masculinity. For instance, although colonists often failed to observe their own metropolitan standards, they castigated the American Indians for their 'savagery' and '*Brutish Sloth and Stupidity*' as providers and fathers.⁵⁶ Suggestions that 'Indians after their naturall barbarity' would 'cutt the enemies dead to pieces, roast them and eat them' were common.⁵⁷

Upon being captured with his family by American Indians in south-eastern Florida after a shipwreck, Quaker merchant Jonathan Dickinson wrote, 'And being all stripped as

⁵² Benjamin Wadsworth, *Good Souldiers a Great Blessing; Being so Represented in a Sermon Preached on the Day for Election of Officers, in the Honourable Artillery Company in Boston, June 3d. 1700* (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1700), pp. 6-7.

⁵³ Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, p. 57. Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 406.

⁵⁴ Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, pp. 55-62.

⁵⁵ Little, *Abraham in Arms*, p. 53.

⁵⁶ *Encouraging Mechanick Industry*, p. 6. Horn, 'Tobacco Colonies', p. 175. Zuckerman, 'Identity in British America', p. 152.

⁵⁷ Peter Schuyler, 'Major Peter Schuyler's Report to Governor Fletcher', in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1854), 16-19, p. 19. The forename 'Peter' was sometimes spelt 'Pieter'.

naked as we were born, and endeavoring to hide our nakedness; these cannibals took the books, and tearing out the leaves would give each of us a leaf to cover us; which we took from them: at which time they would deride and smite us'.⁵⁸ According to Thomas Benjamin, the word 'naked' carried significant ideological freight because it became synonymous with 'savage', which, in reference to American Indians, connoted wildness, barbarousness, and cruelty.⁵⁹ At the root of Dickinson's shame was not just his state of undress, but his vulnerability and subjugation to people that had been portrayed as inferior and insufficiently masculine. Naked in public and witness to his captives tearing pages from a Bible, Dickinson was reduced to a level of non-masculinity pejoratively associated with the reputedly bestial indigenous peoples. Thus, Dickinson experienced directly why the British saw American Indian warfare and captivity as a challenge to Christianity and an attack on their Anglo-Christian perception of the divine social order.⁶⁰

Political power across cultures in the New World often hinged on military prowess; beyond victory, both indigenous and European men had something to gain politically and culturally from battle.⁶¹ As Anne Little argues, while defeat might cause uncertainty and destroy their property and families, most British men still believed they were masters of the New World because 'Englishness' was proof of their appropriate masculinity when compared to the alleged effeminacy or non-masculinity of the indigenous peoples.⁶² Describing a raid against American Indians on Damariscove Island, John Marshall, a mason from Massachusetts, explained that 'our english fought manfully and killed divers of the Indians and finally drove them of the island, after this our army come home and there was no harm done'.⁶³ In qualifying the English as fighting 'manfully', Marshall laid claim to a discourse of culturally-correct masculinity on behalf of the colonial English, which justified war as a male duty and endorsed claims to power in the New World.

Given that conflict loomed large for men in the Americas, violence and military success played a significant role in defining masculinity and social status. In the absence of a long-standing ruling coterie military officers in the militia and regular army often

⁵⁸ Jonathan Dickinson, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal Or, God's Protecting Providence*, ed. Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 44.

⁵⁹ Thomas Benjamin, *The Atlantic World: Europeans, Africans, Indians and Their Shared History, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 275-6.

⁶⁰ Little, *Abraham in Arms*, p. 97.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 14-5.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶³ John Marshall, *Extracts from John Marshall's Diary*, ed. Samuel Green (Cambridge, Mass.: J. Wilson and Son, 1900), p. 19.

assumed a position near the top of the political order because 'Valiant, Able Warriours among Gods People, are justly accounted a great Blessing'.⁶⁴ Mather echoed such sentiment: 'Hence, *Men expert in Military Discipline are to be had in high Account by us, as the great Blessings of the Great God.*'⁶⁵ In the case of the British troops garrisoned in St. John's, Newfoundland, the army was used in place of traditional power and disciplinary structures to maintain order among the local, at times unruly, population of British settlers. The bachelor Lieutenant Michael Richards—the engineer tasked with building Fort William to protect the British settlement from French attack—frequently noted the debauchery and loose morals of the townsfolk and soldiers in his correspondence and journal, as well as the efforts initiated to curb this behaviour. Some of the actions taken to get St. John's under control were to ban settlers from selling liquor and entertaining soldiers and officers, and 'on Sundays such as are not at Church or are found by the Churchwardens from Home without sufficient Reason be taken up as vagabonds, and that it be a Rule to the Sunday Guard to mount as soon after service, as to secure such Transgressors.'⁶⁶ Richards' entries demonstrated that military men, as substitutes for more settled, long-established institutions, were often responsible for not only protection but also keeping order.

From the earliest days, a citizen militia—freighted with both religious and civic connotations—was crucial to the success of colonial settlements. In a sermon printed in Boston, Samuel Nowell, an army chaplain during King Philip's War, wrote that a militia 'is a part of the general Calling, whereto God calls every man that is capable ... from twenty years and upward, all that were ready to go forth to war. It is not a thing by the by, but that which men should make their business. It is a duty and praise-worthy piece of skill'.⁶⁷ Although the militia may not have been truly intended for combat given that it would have withdrawn from the community all able-bodied men between ages fifteen and sixty, by way of monthly or bi-monthly 'Training & Trooping at ye Village' militias not only protected against potentially hostile natives but also established a male hierarchy within their ranks.⁶⁸ According to the tenets of classical republicanism, masculine virtue accrued

⁶⁴ Wadsworth, *Good Souldiers a Great Blessing*, p. 4.

⁶⁵ Cotton Mather, *Military Duties, Recommended to an Artillery Company; at Their Election of Officers, in Charls-Town* (Boston: Richard Pierce, 1687), p. 34.

⁶⁶ Michael Richards, 'Letter-Book of Capt. Michael Richards, While Engaged in Completing Fort William', 1700, London, Manuscript Collections, British Library, Stowe MS 464.

⁶⁷ Nowell, *Abraham in Arms*, p. 5.

⁶⁸ Steven C. Eames, *Rustic Warriors: Warfare and the Provincial Soldier on the New England Frontier, 1689-1748* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), p. 26. John Green, 'Diary of Rev. Joseph Green, of Salem Village', in *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, Vol. 8, ed. S.P. Fowler (Salem: Essex Institute Press, 1686), 215-224, p. 219.

by serving in a trained citizen militia.⁶⁹ As Brown argues in her study of colonial Virginia, military musters represented idealised elite notions of an unambiguous and straightforward social order in which every man's place was clearly apparent based on rank and title: wealthy planters typically acted as commanders, men of substantial wealth as officers, other propertied men in troops of horse, lesser white men in foot companies, and free black men as buglers or drummers.⁷⁰ Nowell explained that training days were 'a way and means to give encouragement to dilligent and expert Men, by giving them titles answerable to their activity and skill ... It is a way that affordeth opportunity to put honour and respect upon Men of activity, as their Dilligence, Valour and activity calls for it.'⁷¹ With boys training in the use of weaponry from an early age, learning discipline and one's role in a godly militia was essential to masculine identity.⁷² Unlike in England where the trained bands carried the same connotations of masculine virtue but were seldom mustered or used after the Civil War, the citizen militia of the colonies remained critical to their community's sense of protection and organisation well into the eighteenth century.

Accounts of militia concerns are frequent in Samuel Sewall's diary. Sewall held the rank of captain at various times and lived relatively near the hostile territory in New England and New France. As a Boston businessman and judge, Sewall held positions of command in the South Company and later in the Honourable Artillery Company, for which he would 'Exercise them in a few Distances, Facings, Doublings.'⁷³ Through the militia Sewall was able to exercise a limited form of sponsorship: giving the South Company a piece of eight to drink; fitting out William Scovel with a musket, rapier, and ammunition to serve the South Company; treating the Artillery Company with bread, beer, and wine at his house; and purchasing the Artillery Company a half-pike for 40 shillings to use as a leading staff.⁷⁴ In return he received acknowledgements of respect such as being entertained by the governor, having another captain command the 'Flagg to be hoisted all the while we were there, in token of Respect', or being given a musket 'Volley, in token of their Respect' from his company.⁷⁵ These signs of esteem reflected Mather's assertion that 'Our Sight of a Trained Company, but *especially* of an *Artillery Company*, should not be

⁶⁹ Little, *Abraham in Arms*, p. 25.

⁷⁰ Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*, p. 279.

⁷¹ Nowell, *Abraham in Arms*, p. 18.

⁷² Romero, *Making War and Minting Christians*, p. 151.

⁷³ Sewall, *Diary*, Vol. 1, p. 316.

⁷⁴ Sewall, *Diary*, Vol. 1, pp. 360, 471. Sewall, *Diary*, Vol. 2, pp. 36, 42.

⁷⁵ Sewall, *Diary*, Vol. 1, p. 317. Sewall, *Diary*, Vol. 2, p. 42.

perhaps without some special Expressions of our Value thereof; Since we may say, *There march the Scholars of the Almighty GOD*.⁷⁶ Freighted with implications for manhood, the militia allowed Sewall to measure himself favourably against other men through his rank as captain and his performance of the honourable citizen-soldier role at the homosocial gatherings on training days and election days. Indeed, militia officers carried a weighty position within the community. These officers sat on militia committees and made decisions about conscription, supply impressment and distribution, and garrison administration, which affected the life and welfare of others on the frontier community.⁷⁷ Thus, Sewall's participation in the upper ranks of the militia was an endorsement of both his standing in the community and his masculine virtue.

Similarly, responsibility for protecting the community extended to keeping watch. As Little explains, in volatile areas of New England eligible men patrolled the watch along the borders of the plantations.⁷⁸ Shirking one's responsibility to take a turn at the watch resulted in a fine. However, for those who could afford it, a replacement could be sent. On 11 January 1691 Samuel Sewall recorded that 'Twas my turn to Watch. I sent Eliakim'.⁷⁹ Sharing the watch was part of serving the common cause and ensuring community survival. Upon his arrival to New York in July 1690, Virginia messenger Col. Cuthbert Potter recorded in his journal:

I was inform'd the Indians had cut of a small village, near Fort Albany which caused the Inhabitants to keep a very strict watch and guard, the alarm of the French Pyrates being then upon the Coast, caused them to prepare a force for their defence, and all the masters of ships then in harbour and all the Gentlemen of the Town were by the Governor sent for to consult the present safety, who most willingly assented for the common good to use their utmost endeavours to oppose and resist the common enemy ...⁸⁰

As Potter showed, in moments of crisis, which were frequent on the frontier, men were expected to band together for the common good. Ideologically, through the militia and the watch, all able-bodied men were united in being 'made Masters in *military Practice*'.⁸¹ Thus, providing protection, or the illusion of defence, was imperative to masculinity in the Americas.

Similar to life in North America, the militia played an important role in providing security and structuring society in the Caribbean because life was perilous and fraught with hazard when compared to Britain proper. With Spanish and French neighbours and

⁷⁶ Mather, *Military Duties*, p. 35.

⁷⁷ Eames, *Rustic Warriors*, p. 31.

⁷⁸ Little, *Abraham in Arms*, p. 25.

⁷⁹ Sewall, *Diary*, Vol. 1, p. 340.

⁸⁰ Potter, 'Journall', p. 6.

⁸¹ Mather, *Military Duties*, p. 31.

a slave population that outnumbered whites—as high as three-to-one in Jamaica and over two-to-one in Barbados by 1690—the British West Indies were in a delicate position in the empire.⁸² Therefore, it is no surprise that John Evelyn wrote in his diary in February 1693 that he heard rumours ‘there was a conspiracy among the negroes in Barbadoes to murder all their masters, discovered by overhearing a discourse of two of the slaves, and so preventing the execution of the design.’⁸³ Given the large slave population and the political and economic importance of the Caribbean to Europe, the men of high status in the British West Indies were also in charge of leading the citizen militia. Eighteenth-century Jamaica was home to 1000 regular troops and a militia that numbered 5000.⁸⁴ When it was necessary ‘to raise, arm, and accoutre a Thousand Men for an Expedition against the *French*’ in August 1692, the two regiments raised in Barbados were led by Col. Richard Salter and Col. John Boteler, who were ‘both Planters in the Island’.⁸⁵ However, because of mounting debt, labour economics dictated that the indentured workforce, who served as the militia regulars, began to be replaced by chattel slavery as part of the triangular trade. In his ‘true account’, Barbados planter and sugar lobbyist Edward Littleton wrote, ‘We cannot be at the Charge to procure and keep White Servants, or to entertain Freemen as we used to do. Nor will they now go upon any terms to a Land of Misery and Beggery. So that our *Militia* must fall: and we shall be in no Capacity to defend our selves, either against a Forrain Enemy, or against our own *Negroes*.’⁸⁶ As Littleton’s account suggests, the growing slave population sparked fears of revolt, which highlighted the necessity of men acquainting themselves with the skills needed to repel a slave uprising. Of the Indies, Charles Davenant concluded, ‘When we have lost our Strength we shall probably lose our Interest, since Power is the only Thing that is look’d upon and valued in those barbarous Countries; and they who want it, must be sure to pay largely when they ask for Justice.’⁸⁷ As such, masculinity throughout the Americas prized military prowess in some form so as to combat the dangers posed by other, non-British men—the

⁸² Abigail L. Swingen, *Competing Visions of Empire: Labor, Slavery, and the Origins of the British Atlantic Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 161.

⁸³ Evelyn, *Diary*, p. 319.

⁸⁴ Mary K. Geiter and W.A. Speck, *Colonial America: From Jamestown to Yorktown* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 117.

⁸⁵ William Duke, *Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Island of Barbados: And Other the Carribbee Islands* (London: E. Owen, 1743), p. 1.

⁸⁶ Edward Littleton, ‘The Groans of the Plantation’, in *The Early English Caribbean, 1570-1700: Fitting into the Empire*, eds. Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger, Vol. 2 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 193-217, p. 202.

⁸⁷ Davenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues*, Vol. 2, p. 397.

danger of American Indians in North America and the threat of a slave revolt in the Caribbean.

While this section suggests that notions of vulnerability and a militarised public life dominated colonial masculinity, not all men felt the need to bear arms even amid the dangerous circumstances of the periphery. Many lived safely in towns far from the hostile borderlands. For instance, the late seventeenth century witnessed an influx of Quaker immigration to the north-eastern region of North America. Quaker men sought to exempt themselves from violence and war. Instead, Quaker masculinity hinged on business success, self-control, and rationality.⁸⁸ Quaker Thomas Story wrote during his lecture tour of North America that he ‘did not hear of any of our Friends that carried Arms when abroad, or in their Business, but two and these the Indians had killed; but most went into Garrisons to lodge in the Nights, and some not, but trusted in the Lord; and we kept clear of all Garrisons, always lodging without their Bounds, and Protection of their Guns or Arms.’⁸⁹ Story and the Quakers suggest that masculinity abroad was subject to alternative interpretations—much like the men considered elsewhere in this dissertation—even if authority and protection through force were common concerns for men beyond the British Isles. Rather, in the face of uncertainty, peril, and those they deemed effeminate or non-masculine, the need to protect and defend one's community, property, and family against immediate threats was a distinctive reality particularly common for many men on the periphery and less so for men in Britain proper. As Nowell was to put it, in the colonies a ‘tender, softly, effeminate People is a curse and misery, when God is pleased to frame a people to be such. And by the way, I might encourage Rulers, Governours and Parents to train & bring up their Children in such manner that they may endure *Hardness*.’⁹⁰

II. Trade and Travel

In *Characters of the Virtues and Vices of the Age*, Abel Boyer compared travelling to attending the Court: ‘As it is good for a Gentleman to *Travel*, so it is to see the *Court*. When he first comes to it, he discovers there, as it were, a new World, where *Vice* and *Politeness* have an equal sway, and where a Man advantageously improves both good and bad

⁸⁸ Erin Bell, ‘The Early Quakers, the Peace Testimony and Masculinity in England, 1660–1720’, *Gender & History* 23, no. 2 (August 2011), 283–300, pp. 293–4.

⁸⁹ Thomas Story, *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Isaac Thompson, 1747), p. 197.

⁹⁰ Nowell, *Abraham in Arms*, p. 17.

Qualities.’⁹¹ This insight was perhaps best represented by the Grand Tour where young gentlemen of wealth received an experiential liberal education as they sampled refined (and at times unrefined) European society.⁹² However, few autobiographical sources survive for the Grand Tour during this dissertation's time frame, perhaps because the Grand Tour was much less firmly established or because travel writing as a genre blossomed later in the eighteenth century. Rather, sources survive from men who spent time travelling around the trade factories and routes of the Middle East and the Far East. In these locations joint-stock trading companies shaped British experience. By the 1690s, the East India Company had established several factories in India and China while the Levant Company had long maintained trading posts in traditional commercial centres like Constantinople, Alexandria, Smyrna, and Aleppo, their headquarters. Life in these medium-term settlements brought its own unique problems. Here British men found themselves confronting alien peoples, places, and cultures. The writings of these men reflect how they typically understood their encounters according to British standards, defining themselves against those they disparaged and did not understand.

By the eighteenth century, readers of travel writing were becoming less tolerant of fabrications as truth, or the perception of truth, became essential to the genre.⁹³ Charlotte Sussman argues that, attempting to find the balance between novelty and fantasy, travel writers ‘had to decide whether to emphasise the differences between Britain and the rest of the world, or the similarities.’⁹⁴ During the tumultuous times of the seventeenth century the descriptions of foreign societies in travel literature—one of the most popular literary genres—reinforced national societal norms and marked out Britain’s position and standing in the world.⁹⁵ The world beyond the British Isles represented both an outlet and inlet of not just commodities, but also cultural diffusion. To that end, *The Character and Qualifications of an Honest Loyal Merchant* suggested that ‘by establishing an intercourse with *Infidels* for Civil Traffick, a door is not seldom open'd to advance the *Divine Interest*; so that he may propagate our most *Holy Faith*, as well as

⁹¹ Boyer, *Characters*, p. 34.

⁹² For the link between the Grand Tour and masculinity see: Michèle Cohen, ‘The Grand Tour: Constructing the English Gentleman in Eighteenth-Century France’, *History of Education* 29, no. 3 (1992), 241-257. Michèle Cohen, ‘The Grand Tour. Language, National Identity and Masculinity’, *Changing English* 8, no. 2 (2001), 129-141. French and Rothery, *Man’s Estate*, pp. 137-53.

⁹³ James Kelly, ‘Bordering on Face in Early Eighteenth-Century Sea Journals’, in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, eds. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 158-184, p. 164.

⁹⁴ Sussman, *Eighteenth-Century English Literature*, p. 208.

⁹⁵ Suranyi, ‘Virile Turks and Maiden Ireland’, p. 241.

vend our Temporal Commodities'.⁹⁶ This section considers how the autobiographical accounts written by British men portrayed this 'intercourse' and how these men negotiated their own masculine identity in relation to an exotic 'Other'.

As Maxine Berg shows, particularly from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, natural historians, Enlightenment writers, and travellers sought to gain 'useful knowledge' and learn the production processes of the highly sophisticated consumer cultures of North Africa, the Middle East, China, India, and South-East Asia.⁹⁷ Yet, if they looked on with admiration at the 'exotic' goods and manufactures, those who moved permanently to a new location and those who travelled and traded abroad for a shorter period of time typically judged the peoples and societies they encountered by their own assumptions about masculinity. Accordingly, autobiographical accounts of life abroad were awash with depictions of indigenous behaviour that ascribed to these strangers a discourse of effeminacy. During a trading voyage to China veteran sailor Edward Barlow wrote:

The Chinese are a people given much to pleasure, in gaming and debauchery amongst their women, and are great eaters and drinkers: as for their religion, they are great idolators, worshipping images of their pagodas and temples. And the populous people are but mere hens of men, the Tartars having them all in great subjection, for they are given so much to their pleasure and idle lives that there are few men of any courage amongst them.⁹⁸

The behaviours depicted in this passage recall Woodward's instructions for British men abroad to 'Watch against Intemperance; this is a Vice of the Enmity to Manhood, Vertue, and all that's either Honourable, Pleasant, or Decent, that every Man of Just Sense must abhor it, as much as he would the Nature of an *Ape*, or a *Swine*.'⁹⁹ By noting the idolatry, profligacy, and subversion of appropriate values by these 'mere hens of men', Barlow contrasted the effeminate overindulgence and idleness of the 'Other' with his own understandings of masculine usefulness. For, as English theologian Isaac Barrow wrote, the 'very qualities which industry doth exercise, and the effects which it doth produce, do beget honour; as being ornaments of our person and state.'¹⁰⁰ Industry, as opposed to

⁹⁶ *An Honest Loyal Merchant*, p. 3.

⁹⁷ Maxine Berg, 'Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and the Roots of Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 173-181, p. 183. Maxine Berg, 'Useful Knowledge, "Industrial Enlightenment", and the Place of India', *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 1 (March 2013), 117-141, p. 125.

⁹⁸ Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 517-8.

⁹⁹ Woodward, *Seaman's Monitor*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁰ Barrow, *Of Industry*, pp. 23-4.

idleness, was not unique to British men, but it was a self-assigned characteristic that became an increasingly important aspect of eighteenth-century national identity.¹⁰¹

Male travellers like Barlow found alien societies to be rife with idleness and luxury. Thus, metropolitan understandings of gender influenced how men deciphered foreign cultures. In Cairo, East India Company messenger William Daniel observed: 'the Natives being generally Moross, Slothful, and Lazy: The Men daily lye basking in the Sun, and wholly depending, upon the *Niles* fertility for their Subsistence, and the Women so Sauntering, Sluttish, and Negligent, not caring for Employment'.¹⁰² Similarly, Francis Borland described the 'indians' that lived in the vicinity of the Darien Company's Caledonia settlement in Central America to be 'naturally a very slothfull People & labour but little'.¹⁰³ Adopting the rhetoric of out-group denigration, these writers found indigenous cultures to be weak and unmanly according to their ideals of industriousness and normative calls for temperance. The anonymous author of *A Discourse of the Necessity of Encouraging Mechanick Industry* (1690) explained the effects of idleness:

If we consult History, whether ancient or modern, we shall undoubtedly there find, that *Idleness* has, in all Ages, been the Nurse and Parent of *Voluptuousness* and *Effeminacy*, which gradually encreasing in proportion to a constant diminution of Labour and Industry, finally brought in irreversible destruction upon such Countries, where they gain'd the ascendant, and did predominate.¹⁰⁴

Thus, as Anna Suranyi argues, discussions of weakness and overindulgence in travel literature flagged effeminacy and signalled alien states that seemingly invited British dominion.¹⁰⁵ This practice of writers ascribing a culture of intemperance and indolence to indigenous men (and women) kept with the longstanding tradition of measuring oneself against an 'Other'. Importantly, given the hierarchical nature of masculinity, the supposed effeminacy of the strangers they encountered allowed Barlow, Daniel, and Borland the opportunity to judge themselves favourably.

In addition to written descriptions, British men defined their identities abroad through direct interactions. Through conflict British men tested themselves against the 'Other' on the basis of traditional masculine values like aggression, bravery, and military prowess. When the men of Darien, surrounded by indigenous and Spanish enemies, replied that 'they were Gentlemen of Honour and would to their outmost defend

¹⁰¹ Sarah Jordan, *The Anxieties of Idleness: Idleness in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2003), p. 17.

¹⁰² Daniel, *Journal*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰³ Francis Borland, *Memoirs of Darien. Giving a Short Description of That Country, with an Account of the Attempts of the Company of Scotland* (Glasgow: Hugh Brown, 1715), p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ *Encouraging Mechanick Industry*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰⁵ Suranyi, 'Virile Turks and Maiden Ireland', p. 243.

themselves and the place', as Borland recorded in his memoirs, they vowed to actualise three values of masculinity: courage, violence, and guardianship.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, instances of projecting force appeared in the short diary of William Tillard, who was briefly president of the New East India Company in Machilipatnam. Although able to use force when necessary, the East India Company used diplomacy where possible; their attempts to build military and naval strength were designed to convey force rather than invite conflict.¹⁰⁷ When the local Nawab detained one of the Company's men it was considered 'such a disgrace to ye English nation, yt my Lord Ambassr & ye President was verry angry at it, & ordered ye gentlemen & all ye servts to gitt themselves ready to go up to ye Navab ... Upon wch order all ye armes were gott ready'. Ultimately, to avoid conflict after he heard 'what preparations ye English were making', the Nawab released the Company man and issued an apology for the affront.¹⁰⁸ Tillard's experience recalls East India Company governor Josiah Child's explanation of the importance of allowing European trade companies the power to make war upon any nation in Southeast Asia. Trading companies needed the ability to wage war to safeguard their trade for 'this power the English Company have sometimes, but not often exercised: but if it were not known in *India*, that they have such a power, they should be continually affronted and abused by the Natives.'¹⁰⁹ Men understood that to allow others to dictate their actions was to make themselves vulnerable and reduce their own status in comparison. Thus, these confrontations represented clashes between British and local masculinities.

Although the Britons may have characterised themselves as masculine and feminised cultures unlike their own, the autobiographical sources from this period demonstrate that masculinity on the periphery was precarious by their own British standards. In 1689 the Mughals, commanded by Sidi Yaqut Khan, blockaded and besieged the East India Company in Bombay. The blockade came after a series of provocations by the Company, culminating in John Child, president in Bombay, seizing Mughal corn ships. Referring to Child as 'General' in a travel narrative published years later, Captain Alexander Hamilton, pressed into service by the Company, wrote:

Before this seizure he asked the opinion of some sea-officers, and one Captain Hilder, being the eldest, advised him not to meddle with the corn fleet, because it would straiten the army ... and

¹⁰⁶ Borland, *Memoirs*, p. 64.

¹⁰⁷ Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 134.

¹⁰⁸ William Tillard, 'The Manuscripts of P. Edward Tillard, Esq., of the Holme, Godmanchester', in *Historical Manuscripts Commission: The Manuscripts of Shrewsbury and Coventry Corporations; The Earl of Radnor, Sir Walter Corbet, Bart., and Others, Fifteenth Report* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1899), 78-91, p. 83.

¹⁰⁹ Josiah Child, *A Treatise* (London: Robert Boulter, 1681), p. 38.

perhaps might affect Bombay ... The General took him up with scurrilous language, calling him coward and fool, and bragged that if Sidi Yakut ... should dare to come with his forces on Bombay, he would blow him off again with the wind of his bum.

Judging the brashness of Child, Hamilton concluded, 'Cowards are generally stout when dangers arise at a distance and so was our General, who had never seen a sword drawn in anger ... And when it came to his door, none was ever so confounded and dejected as he was, as appeared by his conduct in that war that he so foolishly brought on himself and his Country'.¹¹⁰ In this way, Hamilton characterised Child as yielding to the very same corruptions used to portray the 'Other': cowardice, weakness, indiscipline, and disorderliness. Child would not live to see the consequences of his foolhardiness, passing away before Bombay capitulated and sued for peace.

The Company had a number of factors working against it during the siege: construction on the fort was not yet finished, the Company was unaware of the unavailability of sufficient ships due to war in Europe, heavy rains impaired their firepower and spread disease, and there was a high rate of desertion by both British and native employees, sometimes even to the enemy.¹¹¹ In his diary of the siege, East India officer James Hilton recorded several instances of desertion, the most notable of which was Isaac Scott. While the Company searched the woods for their wounded men, Hamilton wrote:

... found one Isaac Scott (lying wounded) who formerly ran to the Sidi from the Bunder Guard, and being brought before a Court Martial confessed that he had entered himself in the Sidi's service and that he had fired several great guns against us. There is several witnesses against him that see him ... and he having little to say for himself, the whole body of the Court declared that he ought to die and be hanged immediately out of hand, he being taken in actual service and arms against his King and Country.

Scott was executed and his body hung from a gibbet 'for spectacle and warning to such inhuman criminals.'¹¹² This episode and the other desertions tainted the British reputation in the Far East because to desert to the 'Other' was to be corrupted into relinquishing one's attachment to Britain and acquiesce to a purportedly more effeminate culture. Through the foolishness and ineffectiveness of Child, the desertions of scores of

¹¹⁰ Alexander Hamilton, 'A More Critical View', in *The English East India Company at the Height of Mughal Expansion: A Soldier's Diary of the 1689 Siege of Bombay with Related Documents*, eds. Margaret R. Hunt and Philip J. Stern (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2016), 142-146, p. 143. The travel account from which Hunt and Stern draw this excerpt from is: Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies, Being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alexander Hamilton, Who Spent His Time There From the Year 1688 to 1723* (Edinburgh: John Mosman, 1727).

¹¹¹ Stern, *The Company-State*, p. 123.

¹¹² James Hilton, 'Diary of the Siege of Bombay, February 15, 1689, to June 22, 1690', in *The English East India Company at the Height of Mughal Expansion: A Soldier's Diary of the 1689 Siege of Bombay with Related Documents*, eds. Margaret R. Hunt and Philip J. Stern (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2016), 27-105, p. 43.

men, and the failure to lift the siege, the Siege of Bombay tarnished the reputation of the East India Company and subordinated British men to the local powers. Ultimately, the Company's emissaries to the Mughal Emperor ended the siege by suing for peace, which damaged the reputation of the English abroad.

In lieu of conflict, British men often found themselves forced to adapt to strange circumstances and customs to facilitate positive interactions. The experiences of British men vexed their normative understandings of masculinity when the vagaries of the periphery dictated abandoning conventional British decorum to ensure safety. Exchange and deference became especially important. In light of the effeminising discourses the British ascribed to non-Europeans, it was emasculating when the native populations cowed or enervated the British. Levant Company chaplain Henry Maundrell's trip from Aleppo to Jerusalem in the Ottoman-controlled Middle East in 1697 underscored this point. Because Islam could not be overlooked or subjugated the spectre of Muslims and their Arab-Islamic 'Otherness' became part of the religious, commercial, and military self-definition of Britain in drama, theology, and state records.¹¹³ Hostility and fear of capture and enslavement dictated attitudes towards the Islamic world dating back to the Barbary corsairs as early as the sixteenth century.¹¹⁴ As Nabil Matar argues, in the Mediterranean and North Africa, Muslims did not fear Britons, let alone recognise their social status.¹¹⁵ Although his clerical status would have garnered him some level of prestige and respect in Britain, Maundrell found himself infantilised and subject to the wishes of the locals throughout his trip. Upon visiting the Jordan River Maundrell was made to pay a toll by a Muslim 'who carried us back into the middle of the Plain and there sitting under his Tent, made us pass before him, Man by Man, to the end he might take the more exact account of us, and lose nothing of his Caphar.' Likewise, a visit to the Dead Sea 'could not be attempted, without the Licence of our Commander in chief. We therefore sent to request his permission for our going, and a guard to attend us'.¹¹⁶ Similarly during Ramadan in Bethlehem Maundrell and his companions thought it prudent to confine themselves in their lodgings to avoid the 'Insolencies' of the rabble.¹¹⁷

Often couched in language of 'us and them', these instances of encounter with and subjection to the alien hierarchies of power suggest a discourse of enforced submission for men abroad, which was made worse by perceptions of Islam as a culture of dangerous

¹¹³ Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 184.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4-7.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

¹¹⁶ Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 83.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 108-9.

luxury, decadence, and lavishness. British men were surrounded by a population they feared, yet also, at the same time, depicted as soft and indulgent. Nevertheless, this subordination to alien socio-cultural forces was necessary to ensure safety. Upon entering Baalbek in Lebanon, Maundrell wrote:

... we thought fit, before we enter'd, to get a License of the Governour, and to proceed with all caution. Being taught this necessary care by example of some worthy English Gentlemen of our Factory; who visiting this place in the year 1689, in their return from *Jerusalem*, and suspecting no mischief, were basely intrigu'd by the People here, and forc'd to redeem their Lives at a great Sum of Money.¹¹⁸

Maundrell's entry indicates his participation in discourses of both masculine adventure and feminine vulnerability. Through the safe negotiation of the unfamiliar hierarchies of power in exotic places, men successfully managed and mitigated the risk involved in travel.

The travellers and traders in the British territories of influence expressed their masculinity by measuring their experiences against the normative standards of their parent nation. Indeed, as Henry French and Mark Rothery explain of young elite male travellers, time spent in the empire was a formative influence, but men retained a sense of the masculine core values by which they 'judged themselves in unfamiliar surroundings.'¹¹⁹ By filtering their experience through the cultural ideologies they inherited from the Metropole it became easier to make sense of the different peoples in foreign communities. Yet, as the autobiographical sources show, traders and travellers found themselves participating in a shared subculture of competing influences that reconfigured—if only while abroad—their normative understandings of masculinity in relation to the contextual forces of power and subordination on the gender frontier. Due to assumptions of British superiority, the submission of British men to the supposedly idle and extravagant alien populations fuelled concerns of cultural contamination when and if those individuals returned to Britain. Therefore, as the Empire expanded in the eighteenth century it became necessary to develop a framework that evoked a discourse of mastery, even if the recorded experiences of some of the individuals examined in this section demonstrate that the extremities of the periphery necessitated alternative and at-times conflicting standards of masculinity that differed from those of the men who lived more settled and commonplace lives in Britain.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 134.

¹¹⁹ French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, p. 181.

III. Conclusion. Cultural Estrangement

Concerns over the effects of empire on national prestige, strength, and identity were implicitly concerns about masculinity. Although travelling was thought to be an edifying experience, particularly the Grand Tour, significant time spent overseas as a colonist, trader, or sailor was believed to be potentially corrupting. As England became a 'global' nation, the Metropole worried about cultural contamination either from new wealth generated by overseas trade or from exposure to the reported idleness and illicit sexuality of non-white indigenous peoples. Unlike the settler colonies of the New World, in the East, the trading company territories lacked a large population of British settler-volunteers. Instead, in Asia, the majority of the Company's colonists were South, Central, and East Asian, along with a significant number of Indo-Portuguese *mestizos*.¹²⁰ As such, the Company governed a multicultural population, which, in turn, created unique cultural dynamics, attitudes, and anxieties. These social interactions fostered concerns about 'going native'. Although many habits were preserved according to metropolitan standards, Mentz explains that, without them realising the transformation, through their proximity to the indigenous peoples the attitudes of some Company servants were gradually 'corrupted' by the seemingly luxurious Indian style.¹²¹

Although the cultural values were broadly the same, the British at home also believed that the American colonists were similarly culturally estranged due to their proximity to the natives and the lack of long-standing institutions of authority. Moreover, the Metropole regarded the Americas as a convenient dumping ground for political and religious dissenters, as well as surplus population bereft of opportunities. Davenant wrote that Providence has 'offer'd in the new World, a Place of Refuge for these, peradventure mistaken and misled People, where (as shall be shown by and by) their Labour and Industry, is more useful to their Mother Kingdom, than if they had continued among us.'¹²² Greene argues that, sceptical that no one would leave England voluntarily, metropolitan imperial thought used a language of alterity not just to depict the encounters with exotic 'Others' but also to create a new category to classify colonials and figuratively separate them from the prosperous, civilised populations of Britain proper.¹²³ For instance, in two famous satires, Grub Street hack Ned Ward wrote that '*Virtue is so Despisd, and all sorts*

¹²⁰ Stern, *The Company-State*, p. 37.

¹²¹ Mentz, *The English Gentleman at Work*, pp. 258-9.

¹²² Davenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues*, Vol. 2, p. 200.

¹²³ Greene, 'Alterity and the Production of Identity', p. 324.

of *Vice Encourag'd* in the New World, depicting the men and women as flouting gender and sexual mores through irreligiousness, profit-seeking, and overindulgence.¹²⁴ Ward's denunciations were perhaps best typified by complaints about Caribbean family life and its accompanying accusations of dissoluteness, which lend credence to William Duke's report that within a year one Barbados governor 'by Excess in living too freely, contracted a Fever and died'.¹²⁵ As Sarah Yen argues, male planters in the West Indies were ill-famed for sexual relations with slaves and each others' wives; both sexes were thought to overindulge in drinking, duelling, gambling, cards, dancing, and other licentious activities. However, as this dissertation has shown in the previous chapters, these vices were typical in Britain as well, but, with some embellishment, profligacy and indulgence developed into defining features of life in the Caribbean in the eyes of London society.¹²⁶

As a short-lived trading post that aspired to be a long-term settlement, Caledonia and the men of Darien further illustrated the point that, given the early stage of development, those within and without considered life abroad to be crude and uncultured by metropolitan standards. Beset by disunity, poor planning, and financial over-exuberance and overextension, the failure of the Darien scheme and the subsequent near ruin of the Scottish economy represented a dramatic failure of Scottish imperial masculinity. In a letter sent to Scotland from the ministers in Darien transcribed in his memoirs, Francis Borland explained that dispatching and entrusting 'Men of such perverse and pernicious Principles and scandalous Practices, that have no Regard to the commonest Measures of Religion or Reason, Honesty or Honour ... hath been the Cause of the Unsettlement ... And threatens the final and fatal Ruin thereof, to the irreparable Loss, and indelible Shame and Reproach of the Nation.' He continued, 'But it was grievous to us, that so few give their Conntenance and Presence at that work, and so very many, both Officers, Sea men and planters absented themselves, as they do every Sabbath, some from a principle of careless sloth and indifferency, others of *Malignancy* or wicked *Perverseness*'.¹²⁷ Ultimately, one of the reasons Borland gave for the failure of Caledonia

¹²⁴ Ned Ward, *A Trip to Jamaica: With a True Character of the People and Island* (London, 1698), p. 16. Ned Ward, *A Trip to New-England. With a Character of the Country and People, Both English and Indians* (London, 1699).

¹²⁵ Duke, *Memoirs*, p. 33.

¹²⁶ Sarah Yen, 'Colonial Identity and Revolutionary Loyalty: The Case of the West Indies', in *British North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Stephen Foster (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 195-226, p. 203.

¹²⁷ Borland, *Memoirs*, pp. 50-4.

was that 'their Constitution, Tempers, Experience and Education, did ill suit with this Undertaking.'¹²⁸

Echoing the sentiments of Borland, Cotton Mather found his fellow Bostonians 'unworthy, ungodly, and ungrateful'.¹²⁹ Borland and Mather's negative assessments of the character of their fellow expatriates highlight one of the most common criticisms of life outside of the British Isles: the baseness of the peoples, both indigenous and British, who populated them. That is not to suggest a baseness for all those who did not strictly adhere to British sensibilities in reality. Rather, perceptions of provincial inferiority came to be supposedly epitomising characteristics. The disposition towards those abroad expected the divergences between cultural ideals, public behaviour, and self-identity to be weightier than the divergences in the Metropole, as norms of masculinity were supposedly more easily distorted or denied. The worry over cultural diffusion marked the men of Britain proper to be orderly, the masculinity of provincials (the British 'Other') to be less legitimate and restrained, and the men of other 'exotic' cultures to be lesser still.

Despite such perceived cultural and social inferiority, the men who spent time abroad still identified themselves as British. Søren Mentz's study of English gentlemen in Madras suggests that the metropolis guided the development of Company society in India. Although some Company servants adopted Indian habits and culture, life in Madras for Company men resembled life in a British town; most merchants thought of themselves as loyal Britons who had left only temporarily.¹³⁰ In British America, leading and elite families were especially conscious of their normative shortcomings and continually stressed their claims to Britishness. While in England lobbying on behalf of Caribbean trade interests, Edward Littleton wrote in 1689: 'In former times we accounted our selves a part of *England* ... But upon the King's Restauration we were in effect made Forainers and Aliens: a Custom being laid upon our Sugars'.¹³¹ He further appealed: 'Nothing but *England* can we relish or fancy: our Hearts are here, where ever our Bodies be.'¹³² To imitate the English gentry, the Caribbean planter elite, many of whom were absentees, constructed mansions, port towns, and churches that gave the islands an English appearance.¹³³ Consequently, by the mid-seventeenth century, islands like Barbados

¹²⁸ Ibid., 100.

¹²⁹ Mather, *Diary*, p. 175.

¹³⁰ Mentz, *The English Gentleman at Work*, p. 215.

¹³¹ Littleton, 'Groans of the Plantations', p. 193.

¹³² Ibid., 202.

¹³³ Hilary McD. Beckles, 'The "Hub of Empire": The Caribbean and Britain in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas

were increasingly close to realising the English model of society, including a greater balance between the sexes.¹³⁴ Because Britishness was associated with appropriate masculinity, the self-categorisation of men abroad played a significant role in constructing their gendered identity. Indeed, Anthony Pagden and Nicholas Canny argue that, although colonial identity was uneven and fragile, the 'history of the formation of identities that are specific to colonial societies is, therefore, the history not of the creation but of the transformation of values.'¹³⁵

Informed by embedded British values, Britons abroad were driven by circumstances they believed were conducive to personal improvement. Notions of improvement extended to both individuals and the wider society that they characterised as rustic, disorderly, and unsettled.¹³⁶ Articulating what he hoped would be the ethos of the periphery, Thomas Tryon wrote that 'we might here, as on a *Virgin Elysian Shore*, commence or improve such an Innocent course of Life, as might unload us of those other outward Cares, Vexations and Turmoils, which before we were always subject unto from the hands of Self-designing and Unreasonable Men.'¹³⁷ Many men did indeed improve their lives and construct a secure masculine identity in this setting. Colonial society placed a high value on independence and thanks to the abundance of available land many achieved a competency characteristic of domestic patriarchy.¹³⁸ Likewise, if they had not already gained some level of financial independence in Britain, many men travelling and trading overseas went abroad to do so and would obtain such a status through the continued success of their overseas ventures. The demographic and geographic imbalances that disrupted the family unit in both the colonies and the eastern trading posts slowly corrected themselves as the seventeenth century drew to a close and more men began to recreate abroad the ideal vision of domestic manhood. That being said, the British colonies and overseas trading posts remained alternative settings of masculinity for many during this period because of the unique socio-cultural environments that conditioned their lives. The masculinity of the male travellers, traders, and colonists

Canny, *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 218-240, pp. 226-7.

¹³⁴ Jack P. Greene, 'Changing Identity in the British Caribbean: Barbados as a Case Study', in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 213-266, pp. 229-34.

¹³⁵ Anthony Pagden and Nicholas Canny, 'Afterword: From Identity to Independence', in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 267-278, p. 269.

¹³⁶ Greene, 'Changing Identity in the British Caribbean', pp. 228-9.

¹³⁷ Tryon, *The Planter's Speech*, p. 5.

¹³⁸ Keith Wrightson, 'Class', in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 133-153, p. 151.

rested on the performance of distinctly manly pursuits—competition, warfare, adventure—and the negotiation of masculine standards—prudence, military prowess, Christian morality, security—in relation to both metropolitan ideals and the ‘Other’.

Conclusion

Gender is a historically protean construct. Thus, investigating both the intricacies and the commonalities of a range of masculinities in a particular place at a particular time is an instructive historical enterprise. This dissertation has detailed a number of ways that men viewed the masculinity of other men and constructed a masculine identity for themselves. Patriarchy—in both the domestic and feminist senses—remained a powerful ideal for men, yet there were alternative and additional means of constructing masculinity. This dissertation has aimed to be illustrative rather than comprehensive or conclusive, which suggests some of the limitations of this study. In addition to the choice to focus on how men related to other men and masculine ideologies, the source material itself limited consideration of the role of women in the construction of these masculinities. In reality, women interacted with men in the non-domestic settings examined by this dissertation in any number of environments—churchyards, taverns, shops, halls, trade outposts. These women acted in any number of roles—proprietors, customers, military camp women, prostitutes, family members, confidantes, hosts. However, that men mostly failed to mention women in these settings in any revealing detail highlights the limitations of subjective autobiographical sources. This dissertation was also limited by a lack of focused normative literature and substantial autobiographical sources for other non-domestic settings of masculinity, which would have allowed for the consideration of additional settings beyond the five examined. Conversely, the benefit of fixing on a select number of prevalent masculinities during such a brief time frame is that this dissertation thoroughly explored how various groups of individuals—from King's Bench judges to Jacobite soldiers, Quaker shopkeepers to Anglican churchmen—drew upon a diverse range of collective discourses and life experiences.

Masculine identity, for both individuals and cohorts, was negotiated in relation to a variety of scripts, forces, demands, and self- and socially-assigned group identities, all of which were mediated by daily practices and performances. As Keith Thomas explains, regardless of rank, all men—from kings to porters—felt a right to some form of honour if they appropriately executed their particular social role.¹ While experience varied in and across settings, it also converged. By commenting on their own actions or condemning the actions of others, these men give us a sense of what each of them, as well as the various segments of society they came from, valued. Studying masculinity beyond patriarchy on

¹ Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p. 171.

an individual and collective or corporate level at the turn of the eighteenth century has revealed three recurrent themes worth highlighting. Each non-domestic setting notably had a religious element, a social and performative element, and each touched upon some sense of public spiritedness. Certainly, these features were also significant components of the patriarchal masculinity of the gentry. Religion was used to explain and reinforce the 'naturalness' of male superiority over women; masculinity was tied to public approval of husbandly and wifely conduct, among other considerations; and, ideologically, the gentry claimed for themselves civic personality on the basis of classical republicanism that supposedly permitted them the autonomy to act in the interests of others because they owned secure, 'real' property. Yet each of these common elements uniquely manifested itself in the settings this dissertation considered.

Religion was one distinct setting in which men might formulate an identity. However, religion was also an important factor in the other settings of masculinity because being a Christian was the foundation of many (if not most) men's concept of self. This should come as no surprise given the pervasiveness of religion in the lives of people at the turn of the eighteenth century. As this dissertation has shown, men prayed to God for guidance while also frequently interpreting their actions as part of a divinely sanctioned plan. Despite a mostly poor population and heavier taxation than many in Continental Europe, a vast number of Britons believed God bestowed upon them unique freedoms and wealth.² Those in government and public service roles sought God's help so that they might fittingly serve the nation. Many also partook in the battle of high versus low Church. Likewise, many in the military viewed their service as a defence of the 'true religion' and found themselves forced to reconcile deeply religious and moralistic military literature with the everyday normative practices that stereotyped soldiers as reprobates. The commercial sorts expressed their devotion to God through their aversion to sinful idleness and by their commitment to performing the calling He gave them, all the while negotiating the fine line between commercial success and immoral covetousness. On the geographic periphery, men interpreted foreign cultures and peoples through the lens of Christianity and many thought they were bringing the word of God to supposedly primitive people as part of God's plan for civilising the New World. These settings demonstrate that, as Paul Delany argues, the pervasiveness of devotional literature and fixed religious imagery made autobiography containing spiritual self-analysis respectable

² Colley, *Britons*, pp. 34-5.

and accessible.³ Outside of church politics, if the masculine aspects of religion in 1689-1702 changed at the local level it was a case of increased focus on benevolence, moral behaviour, and association.

In addition to being a subjective identity, masculinity is also hierarchical, relational, and dependent on social affirmation and recognition. This dissertation has traced the various ways in which social interaction played a role in the masculinity of these settings. This could be through conducting business in places like the exchange, coffeehouses, and alehouses, or participating in the often convivial sociability of army camps and port cities. Sociable philanthropic Christian societies such as the Society for the Reformation of Manners and informal prayer meetings flourished as contemporary devotion embraced elements of popular participation and public association. Likewise, male honour was confirmed and conferred on individuals in a public setting by government appointment and through both contested and uncontested elections at the poll. Similarly, the local militias in the Americas organised men in a hierarchy with the most prominent members of the community at the top. Through interactions with foreign peoples on the 'gender frontier', British men measured their experiences against the 'exotic' and defined themselves as 'British men' abroad according to familiar Old World norms. The social elements of these settings indicate that masculinity was dictated not just by self-image, but also by one's social group(s) and mutual public affirmation even though, as Isaac Barrow observed, 'Nothing is more variable or fickle than the opinions of men (wherein honour consisteth)'.⁴

Lastly, numerous men across settings took stock of how they and their actions might serve the public good. Charles Davenant asserted that the country could not increase in wealth and power 'but by private Men doing their Duty to the Publick'.⁵ Political pamphleteer Robert Crosfeild further explained that it is 'the Bounden Duty of every Subject by the Laws of God, Nature, and the Nation, to contribute all that in him lies towards the Glory of God, and the Service and Preservation of his Native Country, and the greater his Quality or Station is, whether Spiritual or Temporal, so much the more is this Duty Incumbent on him.'⁶ Serving the public good through formal office was a mark of honour and for some, particularly the elite, it was an expectation. Religiously, men

³ Delany, *British Autobiography*, p. 107.

⁴ Barrow, *Of Industry*, p. 67.

⁵ Davenant, *An Essay*, p. 11.

⁶ Robert Crosfeild, *An Account of Robert Crosfeild's Proceedings in the House of Lords, the Last Session, and This Session of Parliament Wherein Will Appear the Present Miserable State and Condition of the Nation, by the Open Violating and Invading of the Law and Liberty of the Subject* (London, 1692), p. 1.

understood that they were part of a Protestant nation and many, possessing a sense of Providence, believed that the personal piety of the nation was intertwined with God's favour and the common good of their communities. Military normative literature urged soldiers not just to defend Protestantism but also to fight for the glory of their king and country. Similarly, the commercial sorts harped on the benefits that trade, commerce, and the incipient financial instruments of the Financial Revolution produced for the public good and the war fund. Likewise, British overseas travellers, traders, and colonists believed they were performing a valuable service for the British empire by providing outlets for trade, combating poverty through the relocation of excess population, and employing and training sailors that could join the ranks of the Navy in the event of war. Warrington best summarised the duty that men owed to the public good:

And now let me recommend to you the Duty and Affection which you owe to your *Country*: For next to God's Glory, there is nothing that ought to be so dear to you as the *common good*; it is to be preferred to your Life, Estate or Family. To this you are strongly perswaded as Man is a sociable Creature, for it is by the mutual assistance of each other that Mankind subsists.⁷

Thus, in serving the public good and nation through various means, men in each setting demonstrated that concern for the nation was becoming a salient element of masculinity. This prefigured 'patriotism', which J.C.D. Clark identifies as an ideology constructed by the Whigs in the 1720s to define their concern for the public good.⁸

I highlight these three themes because they are particularly relevant when considering discussions of continuity and change. These themes were certainly not unique to the men studied in this dissertation, nor were they immutable continuations from previous generations. Instead, Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard suggest that understandings of continuity and change for masculinity and manhood often depend on whether the research is socially or culturally focused, as well as the 'the unit of analysis itself—whether individuals, communities or groups, or the state.'⁹ Given that this dissertation is a socio-cultural project that examines individual experience within groups and cohorts, the non-domestic settings of masculinity at the turn of the eighteenth century considered here suggest both change and continuity. Noting that what was deemed 'appropriate masculinity' changed while the processes and anxieties of masculinity remained consistent, Harvey and Shepard suggest a pattern of 'tidal change and deep continuity, rather than linear transformation.'¹⁰ This dissertation supports such a model.

⁷ Warrington, *Works*, p. 4.

⁸ J.C.D. Clark, 'Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832', *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 1 (March 2000), 249-276, p. 251.

⁹ Harvey and Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity?', p. 280

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 279-80.

Historical masculinities rarely have a precise beginning or end point because masculinities are evolving constructions. On the basis of time-honoured masculine virtues—independence, plain dealing, self-control, security, morality—the reign of William III does not signify a sharp break from the preceding or succeeding generations of men. At all social levels, maintaining one's 'performance' of masculinity and fictive self-identity—the internalisation and externalisation of what it meant to 'be a man'—required continual concession, realignment, and abnegation with these deep-seated masculine values that underpinned the norms of each setting. Rather, as this dissertation demonstrated, if the normative expectations for men in each setting changed from the decades previous it is best characterised as gradual, piecemeal reconfiguration rather than sudden or wholesale transformation. Where the greatest change occurred was in individual and collective experience thanks to the war, expansion of overseas territories of influence, nascent financial practices, and increasingly participatory religion and politics that accompanied William III's reign.

Although the normative ideals of how to 'be a man' were marked by a degree of durability, the experience of realising these norms was bound to time and place. The masculinities of individuals and cohorts—and indeed all men past and present—are intrinsically context-specific. Thus, historians attempting to understand masculinity as historical formations, practices, and experiences must think about what would seem normal or seem out of order to *them*. Yet, it is important not to rush to the conclusion that the experiences of men in a given time and place are without precedent. Experience and narrative are subjective, but that does not mean they are altogether unique.¹¹ Individuality in early modern autobiography was often about assimilating to socio-cultural discourse, rather than standing out.¹² Common experiences were shared across social groups and cohorts.

By examining the normative expectations and subjective experience of settings that distinguished men from other men and approved masculinity from corrupt masculinity or non-masculinity, this dissertation sought to investigate the numerous ways that men might construct masculine identities outside of the home and male-female relations. It has also endeavoured to explore how men negotiated the prescriptions of normative masculinities through autobiographical writings. Masculinity was more

¹¹ Paul Kleber Monod, 'Are You Getting Enough Culture? Moving from Social to Cultural History in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *History Compass* 6, no. 1 (January 2008), 91-108, p. 100.

¹² Philippa Kelly, Lloyd Davis, and Ronald Bedford, 'Introduction', in *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices*, eds. Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis, and Philippa Kelly (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 1-16, p. 14.

heterogeneous, nuanced, and precarious than contemporary cultural codes imply. Much of the criteria by which men were measured was problematic and set standards that were difficult to achieve, particularly notions of autonomy and independence. As narratives of experience, autobiographical sources confirm, contest, and convolute our understandings of masculinity at the turn of the eighteenth century. The result is that, although this dissertation did not set out to be blatantly contrarian, nevertheless, this dissertation muddles our generalisations and complicates our understandings of masculinity. At the same time, the original contribution of this dissertation lies in this muddling and the detailed examination of a variety of settings of masculinity during a remarkable time in British history—the reign of William III.

Manuscript Primary Sources

Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Cambridge, Mass.

Diary of Jonathan Pierpont, bMS 728/1.

Barnsley Archives and Local Studies

Diaries and Notebooks of Godfrey Copley, SpSt/65.

British Library, London

Autobiography of the Hon. Goodwin Wharton, Vol. II, Add MS 20007.

Diary of Jacob Richards, 1693-1695, Stowe MS 458.

Diary of John Richards; 30 Jan. 1696/7 - 29 May, 1699, Stowe MS 459.

Diary of John Knatchbull, Add MS 52924.

Diary of William Crammond, Add MSS 29878.

Extracts from the Rev. Dr. Henry Sampson's Day-Books, Add MS 4460.

Journal of Capt. Michael Richards from London to Torbay on His Starting with Col. Gibson's

Expedition to Newfoundland; Sept. 1696-20 Apr. 1697, Stowe MS 463.

Letter-book of Capt. Michael Richards, while engaged in completing Fort William, Stowe MS 464.

Cambridge University Library

John Harwood: Autobiography, MS Add. 6846.

Simon Patrick: A Brief Account of My Life with a Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercies to Me,
MS Add.36.

Dorset History Centre

Diary of John Richards of Warmwell, D/884/1.

Dr. Williams's Library, London

Elias Pledger Diary, MS.28.4

Hampshire Archives and Local Studies

Correspondence and Personal Papers of Thomas Jervoise III, 44M69/F6.

Heathcote, Samuel (1656-1708) London Merchant, Notebook, Diary and Correspondence,
63M84/235-257.

Kent History and Library Centre

Typescript of Diary of Sir John Knatchbull (2nd Baronet), covering the period Dec 1687- Mar
1690, U951/F46.

Liverpool Record Office

Diary of Sir Willoughby Aston, 920 MD 174.

Society of Antiquaries of London

Diary and accounts of the Rev. John More, Rector of Earl's Croome, Worcs., MSS 685-6.

Wellcome Library, London

Norris Purslow, Astrological Diary of a Wapping Clothier, MS.4021

Printed Primary Sources

- A Diary of the Siege of Athlone*. London: Randall Taylor, 1691.
Folger Shakespeare Library, via Early English Books Online.
- A Discourse of the Necessity of Encouraging Mechanick Industry Wherein Is Plainly Proved That Luxury and the Want of Artisans Labour Became the Ruin of the Four Grand Monarchies of the World in the Former Age, and of Spain and Other Countries in This*. London: R. Chiswell, 1690.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- A Journal of What Has Past in the North of Ireland since the Landing of the Duke of Schomberg to the Surrender of Carrick-Fergus Together with the Rates Set upon All Provisions That Are Brought to the Market-Town or to the Camp*. London: E. Gold, 1689.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- A Letter from a Lawyer of the Inner Temple, to His Friend in the Country, Concerning the East-India Stock, and the Project of Uniting the New and Old Companies*. London, 1698.
University of Indiana, Urbana, via Early English Books Online.
- A Letter to a Friend, Concerning a Late Pamphlet, Entituled, Angliae Tutamen, Or, The Safety of England Being an Account of the Banks, Lotteries, Mines, Divings, Drawings, Liftings, and Other Engines, and Many Pernicious Projects Now on Foot, Tending to the Destruction of Trade and Commerce, and the Impoverishing This Realm: With Reflections Thereupon, of Great Import to All Sorts of People*. London, 1696.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- A Letter to a Friend Concerning Credit, and How It May Be Restor'd to the Bank of England*. London: Andr. Bell, 1697.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on Behalf of the Army in General; the Non-Commissioned Officer, Soldier, and House-Keeper in Particular*. London, 1701.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- Abercromby, David. *A Discourse of Wit*. London: John Weld, 1686.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *A Moral Discourse of the Power of Interest*. London: Tho. Hodgkin, 1690.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Acts and Laws, Passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of Their Majesties Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England. Convened and Held at Boston, the Eight Day of November. 1693*. Boston: Bartholomew Green, 1693.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- 'Advice to a Soldier, in Two Letters, Written to an Officer in the English Army, Proper to Be Exposed at the Present Time, While the Peace of Christendom (If Not the Liberty of It,) Seems to Be Very Short-Lived', in *The Harleian Miscellany: Or, a Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, as Well in Manuscript as in Print, Found in the Late Earl of Oxford's Library*, 2nd ed., Vol. 1. London: T. Osborne, 1753.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- Ailesbury, Thomas Bruce, Earl of. *Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury: Written By Himself*. Vol. 1. Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1890.

- Allan, James. *Mr James Allan: The Journey of a Lifetime*, ed. John R. Barrett. Kinloss: Librario, 2004.
- Allestree, Richard. *The Art of Contentment*. Oxford: At the Theater in Oxford, 1675.
- . *The Art of Patience and Balm of Gilead under All Afflictions: An Appendix to The Art of Contentment*. London: R. Smith, 1694.
- . *The Gentleman's Calling*. London: T. Garthwait, 1660.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *The Whole Duty of Man... With Private Devotions for Several Occasions, Ordinary and Extraordinary*. Dublin: Ed. and J. Exshaw, 1748.
- An Exact Journal of the Engagement between the English Fleet and the French from May the 18th to the 25th, 1692*. London: Richard Baldwin, 1692.
Harvard University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- An Exact Journal of the Victorious Expedition of the Confederate Fleet the Last Year, under the Command of the Right Honourable Admiral Russel Giving an Account of His Relieving Barcellona, and the Taking of a Great Number of Prizes from the French*. London: J. Whitlock, 1695.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- An Impartial Account of Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington Together with Some Modest Remarks on His Tryal and Acquittment*. London: Robert Fowler, 1691.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Anstruther, William. *Essays, Moral and Divine*. Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1701.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- Archer, Isaac, and William Coe. *Two East Anglian Diaries, 1641-1729: Isaac Archer and William Coe*, ed. Matthew Storey. Vol. 36. Suffolk Records Society. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994.
- Argyll, Archibald Campbell, Marquis of. *Instructions to a Son by Archibald, Late Marquis of Argyle*. London: J. Latham, 1661.
Harvard University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Ashby, John. *The Account given by Sir John Ashby, Vice-Admiral, and Reere-Admiral Rooke to the Lords Commissioners of the Engagement at Sea between the English, Dutch, and French Fleets, June the 30th, 1690 with a Journal of the Fleet since Their Departure from St. Hellens to Their Return to the Buoy-in-the-Nore, and Other Material Passages Relating to the Said Engagement*. London: Randal Taylor, 1691.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Atterbury, Francis. *The Power of Charity to Cover Sin a Sermon Preach'd before the President and Governors of Bridewell and Bethlehem, in Bridewell-Chapel, August Xvi, 1694, Being the Election-Day*. London: Tho. Warren, 1694.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Ayres, John. *Arithmetick: A Treatise Desined for the Use and Benefit of Trades-Men*. 6th ed. London: Sam. Crouch, 1702.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.

Ayres, Philip. *Vox Clamantis, Or, An Essay for the Honour, Happiness and Prosperity of the English Gentry, and the Whole Nation*. London: John Playford, 1684.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.

Bacon, Francis. *The Essays, or Councils, Civil and Moral, of Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban*. London, 1696.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.

Bangs, Benjamin. *Memoirs of the Life and Convincement of That Worthy Friend Benjamin Bangs, Late of Stockport in Chesire, Deseased. Mostly Taken From His Own Mouth*. London: James Phillips & Son, 1798.

Banks, John. *A Journal of the Life, Labours, Travels, and Sufferings, In, and For, the Gospel, of That Ancient Servant, and Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, John Banks*. 2nd ed. London: James Phillips & Son, 1798.

Barbon, Nicholas. *A Discourse of Trade*. London: Tho. Milbourn, 1690.
Harvard University Library, via Early English Books Online.

Barlow, Edward. *Barlow's Journal of His Life at Sea in King's Ships, East and West Indiamen and Other Merchantmen from 1659 to 1703*, ed. Basil Lubbock. London: Hurst & Blackett, 1934.

Barrow, Isaac. *Of Industry, in Five Discourses*. London: J.H., 1693.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.

Barret, Joseph. *A Funeral Sermon upon the Death of Mr. Joseph Barrett Son of the Reverend Mr. John Barret, Minister of the Gospel in Nottingham; to Which Is Added an Account of His Holy Life, His Evidences, Experiences, Holy Resolves, Divine Meditations, and His Constant Course of Self-Examination, Being Part of an Exact Diary Written by His Own Hand*, ed. John Whitlock. London: Tho. Parkhurst, 1699.
Harvard University Library, via Early English Books Online.

———. *The Remains of Mr. Joseph Barrett, Son of the Reverend Mr. John Barrett, Minister of the Gospel at Nottingham Being the Second Part / Taken out of an Exact Diary Written by His Own Hand*, ed. John Whitlock. London: Tho. Parkhurst, 1700.
Harvard University Library, via Early English Books Online.

Baxter, Richard. *Compassionate Counsel to All Young Men Especially I. London Apprentices, II. Students of Divinity, Physick, and Law, III. the Sons of Magistrates and Rich Men*. London: T.S., 1681.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.

———. *How to Do Good to Many, Or, The Publick Good Is the Christians Life*. London: Rob. Gibs, 1682.
Union Theological Seminary (New York, N. Y.) Library, via Early English Books Online.

Bee, Nicholas. 'Diary of Nicholas Bee', in *Six North Country Diaries*, ed. John Crawford Hodgson. Durham: Andrews & Co., 1910, 43-63.

Belcher, Joseph. *The Singular Happiness of Such Heads or Rulers, as Are Able to Choose out Their Peoples Way, and Will Also Endeavor Their Peoples Comfort. As It Was Discoursed in a Brief Sermon Preached to the Great & General Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Convened at Boston in N. England, on May 28th. 1701*. Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1701.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.

- Bellingham, Thomas. *Diary of Thomas Bellingham, an Officer under William III*, ed. Anthony Hewitson. Preston: G. Toulmin & Sons, 1908.
- Berkeley, George Berkley, Earl of. *Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations upon Several Subjects Written by a Person of Honour*. London: J. Flesher, 1667.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Blackadder, John. *The Life and Diary of Lieut. Col. J. Blackader*, ed. Andrew Crichton. Edinburgh: H.S. Baynes, 1824.
- Blome, Richard. *The Gentlemans Recreation*. London: S. Roycroft, 1686.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Blount, Charles. *Reasons Humbly Offered for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing: To Which Is Subjoin'd the Just and True Character of Edmund Bohun, the Licenser of the Press*. London, 1693.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Blount, Thomas Pope. *Essays on Several Subjects*. London: Richard Bently, 1692.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Blundell, William. *Crosby Records : A Cavalier's Note Book, Being Notes, Anecdotes, & Observations of William Blundell of Crosby, Lancashire, Esquire*, ed. Thomas Ellison Gibson. London: Longmans, Green, 1880.
- Bohun, Edmund. *The Diary and Autobiography of Edmund Bohun, Esq*, ed. Samuel Wilton Rix. Beccles: R. Crisp, 1853.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Borland, Francis. *Memoirs of Darien. Giving a Short Description of That Countrey, with an Account of the Attempts of the Company of Scotland*. Glasgow: Hugh Brown, 1715.
- Boyer, Abel. *Characters of the Virtues & Vices of the Age, Or, Moral Reflections, Maxims, and Thoughts upon Men and Manners*. London: Abel Roper, E. Wilkinson, and Roger Clavell, 1695.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *The English Theophrastus: Or, The Manners of the Age. Being Modern Characters of the Court, the Town, and the City*. London: W. Turner; R. Basset; and J. Cahntry, 1702.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- Briscoe, John. *A Discourse on the Late Funds of the Million-Act, and Bank of England Shewing That They Are Injurious to the Nobility and Gentry, and Ruinous to the Trade of the Nation*. London, 1694.
- . *An Explanatory Dialogue of a Late Treatise, Intituled, A Discourse on the Late Funds of the Million-Act, Lottery-Act, and Bank of England with Proposals for Supplying Their Majesties with Money on Easy Terms*. London, 1694.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *Historical and Political Essays or Discourses on Several Subjects Viz. Money, Government, Peace, War, Trade, Arts, Navigation, Exchange, Usury, Banks : With Other Projects for the Improvement and Raising the Credit of Money and Trade in All Parts of the World, but More Particularly, Relating to England*. London: W. Chandeler and T. Scott, 1698.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.

- Bristol, John Hervey, Earl of. *The Diary of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol*, ed. Sydenham Henry Augustus Hervey. Wells: E. Jackson, 1894.
- Brooke, Humphrey. *The Durable Legacy*. London: M. White, 1681.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Burnet, Gilbert. *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time: From the Restoration of Charles II to the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht, In the Reign of Queen Anne*. London: William Smith, n.d.
- . *Charitable Reproof: A Sermon Preached at the Church of St. Mary-Le-Bow to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, the 25th of March, 1700*. London: Ri. Chiswell, 1700.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Burrell, Timothy. *Extracts from the Journal and Account-Book of Timothy Burrell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, of Ockenden House, Cuckfield, 1683-1714*. London: Arliss and Tucker, 1850.
National Library of the Netherlands, via Google Books.
- Calamy, Edmund. *An Historical Account of My Own Life, with Some Reflections on the Time I Have Lived In*. Vol. 1. London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1829.
- Calverley, Walter. 'Memorandum Book of Sir Walter Calverley, Bart', in *Yorkshire Diaries & Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Durham: Andrews & Co., 1886, 42-148.
- Cary, John. *A Discourse Concerning the East-India Trade Shewing It to Be Unprofitable to the Kingdom of England: Being Taken out of a Essay on Trade*. London: 1696.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *An Account of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Bristol in Execution of the Act of Parliament for the Better Employing and Maintaining the Poor of That City*. London: F. Collins, 1700.
Newberry Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *An Essay on the State of England in Relation to Its Trade, Its Poor, and Its Taxes, for Carrying on the Present War against France*. Bristol: W. Bonny, 1695.
Yale University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Capel of Hadham, Arthur Capel, Baron. *Excellent Contemplations, Divine and Moral Written by the Magnanimous and Truly Loyal Arthur Lord Capel, Baron of Hadham*. London: Nath. Crouch, 1683.
- Carleton, George. *The Memoirs of Captain George Carleton, and The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies*. Oxford: D.A. Talboys, 1840.
- C. B. *Religio Militis, Or, The Moral Duty of a Soldier Shewing How He Ought to Behave Himself towards God, His King and Country*. London: H.C., 1690.
Cambridge University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Child, Josiah. *A Discourse about Trade Wherein the Reduction of Interest in Money to 4 L. per Centum, Is Recommended : Methods for the Employment and Maintenance of the Poor Are Proposed*. London: A. Sowle, 1690.
- . *A Discourse of the Nature, Use and Advantages of Trade Proposing Some Considerations for the Promotion and Advancement Thereof, by a Registry of Lands*. London: Randal Taylor, 1694.

- . *A Supplement, 1689 to a Former Treatise Concerning the East-India Trade, Printed 1681, 1689.*
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *A Treatise.* London: Robert Boulter, 1681.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *The Great Honor and Advantage of the East-India Trade to the Kingdom, Asserted.* London: Thomas Speed, 1697.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Clarendon, Henry Hyde, Earl of, and Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester. *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and His Brother Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester; with the Diary of Lord Clarendon from 1687 to 1690, Containing Minute Particulars of the Events Attending the Revolution and the Diary of Lord Rochester during His Embassy to Poland in 1676,* ed. Samuel Weller Singer. London: H. Colburn, 1828.
- Clarke, George. 'Autobiography of Dr. George Clarke', in *HMC Report on the Manuscripts of F.W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq. of Littlecote, Co. Wilts*, ed. S.C. Lomas. Norwich: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1899, 257-289.
- Clegg, James. *Extracts from the Diary and Autobiography of the Rev. James Clegg, Nonconformist Minister and Doctor of Medicine, A.D. 1679 to 1755.* Buxton: C.F. Wardley, 1899.
- Clement, Simon. *A Discourse of The General Notions of Money, Trade & Exchanges, As They Stand in Relation to Each Other by Way of Aphorism.* London, 1695.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Clerk, John. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Baronet, Baron of the Exchequer, Extracted by Himself from His Own Journals, 1676-1755,* ed. John Miller Gray. Edinburgh: University Press, 1892.
- Coad, John. *A Memorandum of the Wonderful Providences of God to a Poor Unworthy Creature, During the Time of the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion to the Revolution in 1688.* London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849.
- Cocks, Richard. *The Parliamentary Diary of Sir Richard Cocks, 1698-1702,* ed. David Hayton. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Collier, Jeremy. *Essays upon Several Moral Subjects: In Two Parts.* London: Richards Sare, 1703.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- Comber, Thomas. *A Discourse of Duels: Shewing the Sinful Nature and Mischievous Effects of Them, and Answering the Usual Excuses Made for Them by Challengers, Accepters, and Seconds.* London: Samuel Roycroft, 1687.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Crisp, Stephen. *A Memorable Account of the Christian Experiences, Gospel Labours, Travels and Sufferings of That Ancient Servant of Christ, Stephen Crisp, in His Books and Writings Herein Collected,* ed. John Field. London: T. Sowle, 1694.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Croker, John. 'Brief Memoir of the Life of John Croker, Who Was Born at Plymouth, in 1673. Written by Himself', in *A Select Series, Biographical, Narrative, Epistolary, and Miscellaneous: Chiefly the Productions of Early Members of the Society of Friends*, ed. John Barclay, Vol. 6. London: Darton and Harvey, 1839, 281-330.

- Crosfeild, Robert. *An Account of Robert Crosfeild's Proceedings in the House of Lords, the Last Session, and This Session of Parliament Wherein Will Appear the Present Miserable State and Condition of the Nation, by the Open Violating and Invading of the Law and Liberty of the Subject*. London, 1692.
- Dallington, Robert. *Dallington Epitomisd: Or Aphorisms Civil & Military New Model'd for the Use of the Present Age*. London, 1700.
University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus), via Early English Books Online.
- Dare, Josiah. *Counsellor Manners His Last Legacy to His Son*. London: E. Gough, 1673.
- Dampier, William. *A New Voyage Around the World*. London: Knapton, 1697.
- Daniel, William. *A Journal of William Daniel, His Late Expedition or Undertaking to Go from London to Surrat*. London, 1702.
- D'Auvergne, Edward. *A Relation of the Most Remarkable Transaction of the Last Campaigne in the Confederate Army, under the Command of His Majesty of Great Britain and after of the Elector of Bavaria in the Spanish Netherlands, Anno Dom. 1692*. London: Dorman Newman, 1693.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Davenant, Charles. *An Essay on the East-India Trade by the Author of The Essay Upon Wayes and Means*. London: 1696.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *An Essay Upon the Probable Methods of Making a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade*. London: James Knapton, 1699.
- . *An Essay Upon the Ways and Means of Supplying the War*. London: Jacob Tonson, 1695.
- . *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England*. Vol. 1. London: James Knapton, 1698.
- . *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England*. Vol. 2. London: James Knapton, 1698.
- . *Some Reflections on a Pamphlet Intituled, England and East-India Inconsistent in Their Manufactures*. London, 1696.
- . *The True Picture of a Modern Whig, Set Forth in a Dialogue between Mr. Whiglove & Mr. Double, Two under-Spur-Leathers to the Late Ministry*. London, 1701.
- . *Tom Double Return'd out of the Country: Or, the True Picture of a Modern Whig, &c. Whiglove and Double*. London, 1702.
- Davies, Rowland. *Journal of the Very Rev. Rowland Davies, LL.D. Dean of Ross*, ed. Richard Caulfield. London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1838.
- De Britaine, William. *Humane Prudence, Or, The Art by Which a Man May Raise Himself and Fortune to Grandeur*. London: John Lawrence, 1682.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Defoe, Daniel. '10 January 1706', in *Review of the State of the English Nation*, ed. Arthur Wellesley Secord, Vol. III, Book 6, No. 5. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, 17-20.

- . '12 January 1706', in *Review of the State of the English Nation*, ed. Arthur Wellesley Secord, Vol. III, Book 6, No. 6. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, 21-24.
- . *A Brief Reply to the History of Standing Armies in England with Some Account of the Authors*. London, 1698.
- . 'An Econium Upon a Parliament', in *Poems on Affairs of State*, ed. Frank Ellis, Vol. 6. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970, 49-57.
- . *An Essay upon Projects*. London: R.R., 1697.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *The Free-Holders Plea Against Stock-Jobbing Elections of Parliament Men*. London, 1701.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- . *The Poor Man's Plea to All the Proclamations, Declarations, Acts of Parliament, &c. Which Have Been or Shall Be Made or Publish'd for a Reformation of Manners and Suppressing Immorality in the Nation*. London: A. Baldwin, 1698.
Yale University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *The Villainy of Stock-Jobbers Detected, And the Causes of the Late Run Upon the Bank and Bankers Discovered and Considered*. London, 1701.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- De la Pryme, Abraham. *The Diary of Abraham De La Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary*, ed. Charles Jackson. Durham: Andrews & co., 1870.
- Dickinson, Jonathan. *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal Or, God's Protecting Providence*, eds. Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.
- Duke, William. *Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Island of Barbados: And Other the Carribbee Islands*. London: E. Owen, 1743.
- Dunton, John. *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London*. Westminster: J. Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1818.
- Ellis, Clement. *The Gentile Sinner, Or, Englands Brave Gentleman Characterized in a Letter to a Friend Both as He Is and as He Should Be*. Oxford: Henry Hall, 1660.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Englands Golden Treasury, Or, The True Vade Mecum Being the Most Necessary and Useful Pocket-Companion Ever Published*. London: T. Lacy, 1694.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Englands Vanity or The Voice of God against the Monstrous Sin of Pride, in Dress and Apparel*. London: John Dunton, 1683.
University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus), via Early English Books Online.
- English officer who was there during the last campaign. *A Journal of the Late Motions and Actions of the Confederate Forces against the French in the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands with Curious Remarks on the Situation, Strength, and Rarities of the Most Considerable Cities, Towns and Fortifications in Those Countreys*. London: Richard Baldwin, 1690.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.

- Evans, Francis. *Diary of Francis Evans, Secretary to Bishop Lloyd, 1699-1706*, ed. David K. Robertson. Oxford: J. Parker, 1903.
- Evelyn, John. *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray. Vol. 2. London: M. Walter Donne, 1901.
- Fairfax, Thomas Fairfax, Baron. *Advice to a Young Lord Written by His Father*. London: R. Baldwin, 1691.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Francis, John. *Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange*. London: Willoughby and Co., 1849.
- Freke, William. *Select Essays Tending to the Universal Reformation of Learning: Concluded with the Art of War, or a Summary of the Martial Precepts Necessary for an Officer*. London: Tho. Minors, 1693.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Fuller, William. *The Whole Life of Mr. William Fuller, Being an Impartial Account of His Birth, Education, Relations, and Introduction Into the Service of the Late King James and His Queen*. London, 1703.
- . *The Merchant's Magazine: Or, Trades-Man's Treasury*. London: J.M., 1701.
- Gentleman attending His Majesty during the whole campagne. *An Exact Account of the Siege of Namur with a Perfect Diary of the Campagne in Flanders, from the King's Departure from Kensington, May the 12th, to His Return to London, Octob. 11th, 1695*. London: Tim. Goodwin, 1695.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Gentleman in London. *The Country Gentleman's Vade Mecum: or His Companion for the Town, in Eighteen Letters from a Gentleman in London to His Friend in the Country*. London: John Harris, 1699.
- Gouge, William. *Of Domesticall Duties*. London, 1622.
- Goussault, Jacques. *Advice to Young Gentlemen, in Their Several Conditions of Life*. London: Tho. Leigh, 1698.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Gracián y Morales, Baltasar. *The Courtiers Manual Oracle, Or, The Art of Prudence*. London: M. Flesher, 1685.
Yale University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Green, Joseph. 'Diary of Rev. Joseph Green, of Salem Village', in *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, ed. S.P. Fowler, Vol. 8. Salem: Essex Institute Press, 1686, 215-224.
- Grenville, Denis. *Counsel and Directions Divine and Moral: In Plain and Familiar Letters of Advice from a Divine of the Church of England, to a Young Gentleman, His Nephew, Soon after His Admission into a College in Oxford*. London: Robert Clavell, 1685.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *The Remains of Denis Granville, D.D: Comprising His Farewell Sermons, Letters to the Earl of Bath, &c. and Miscellaneous Correspondence*. Durham: Andrews & Co., 1861.
- Hale, Matthew. *Contemplations Moral and Divine by a Person of Great Learning and Judgment*. London: William Godbid, 1676.

Halifax, George Savile, Marquis of. *A Rough Draught of a New Model at Sea*. London: A. Banks, 1694.

———. ‘Some Cautions Offered to the Considerations of Those Who Are to Chuse Members to Serve in the Ensuing Parliament’, in *Miscellanies by the Right Noble Lord, the Late Lord Marquess of Halifax*. London: Matt. Gillyflower, 1700.

Hamilton, Alexander. ‘A More Critical View’, in *The English East India Company at the Height of Mughal Expansion: A Soldier’s Diary of the 1689 Siege of Bombay with Related Documents*, eds. Margaret R. Hunt and Philip J. Stern. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2016, 142-146.

Hammond, Lawrence. *Diary Kept by Capt. Lawrence Hammond*, ed. Samuel Green. Cambridge, Mass.: J. Wilson and Son, 1892.

Harford, Robert. *English Military Discipline, Or, The Way and Method of Exercising Horse & Foot According to the Practice of This Present Time*. London: Robert Harford, 1680.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.

Hatton, Edward. *Comes Commercii; Or, The Trader’s Companion*. London: J.H., 1699.

Henry, Matthew. *Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings of the Rev. Matthew Henry*, ed. John Bickerton Williams. Boston: Pierce & Williams, 1830.

Henry, Philip. *Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, M.A. of Broad Oak, Flintshire, A.D. 1631-1696*, eds. Matthew Henry Lee and Andrew Dickson White. London: K. Paul, Trench & Co., 1882.

Heywood, Oliver. *Advice to an Only Child, Or, Excellent Council to All Young Persons: Containing, the Summ and Substance of Experimental and Practical Divinity*. London: Tho. Parkhurst, 1693.

———. *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630-1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, ed. Joseph Horsfall Turner. Vol. IV. Brighouse: Bayes, 1881.

Hildesley, Mark. *Religio Jurisprudensis, Or, The Lawyer’s Advice to His Son: In Counsels, Essays, and Other Miscellanies*. London: J. Harrison and R. Taylor, 1685.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.

Hilton, George. *The Rake’s Diary: The Journal of George Hilton*, ed. Anne Hillman. Berwick-upon-Tweed: Curwen Archives Trust, 1994.

Hilton, James. ‘Diary of the Siege of Bombay, February 15, 1689, to June 22, 1690’, in *The English East India Company at the Height of Mughal Expansion: A Soldier’s Diary of the 1689 Siege of Bombay with Related Documents*, eds. Margaret R. Hunt and Philip J. Stern. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2016, 27-105.

Howard, Luke. *Love and Truth in Plainness Manifested*. T. Sowle, 1704.

Hume, David, Lord Crossrig. *Domestic Details*. Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1843.

I. D. *Laws and Ordinances, Touching Military Discipline. Translated into English by I.D.* Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1689.

Jeake, Samuel. *An Astrological Diary of the Seventeenth Century: Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1652-1699*, eds. Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

- John, Wilson. 'A Journal of Most Memorable Transactions', in *Military Miscellany II: Manuscripts from Marlborough's Wars, the American War of Independence and the Boer War*, ed. David G. Chandler, Vol. 2. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2005, 13-97.
- Jolly, Thomas. *The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly, A.D. 1671-1693. Extracts from the Church Books of Altham and Wymondhouses, 1649-1725. And an Account of the Jolly Family of Standish, Gorton, and Altham*, ed. Henry Fishwick. Manchester: Chetham Society, 1894.
- J. S. *The Souldiers Companion, Or, Military Glory Display'd in a True and Impartial Description of All the Memorable Battels and Fights by Land and Sea, &c.* London: Nath. Ponder, 1688.
- Keith, George. *A Sermon Preach'd at Turners-Hall, the 5th of May, 1700 by George Keith; in Which He Gave an Account of His Joyning in Communion with the Church of England.* London: W. Bowyer, 1700.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Kelsey, Henry. 'A Journal of a Voyage & Journey Undertaken by Henry Kelsey Through Gods Assistance to Discover & Bring Commerce the Naywatame Poets in Anno 1691', in *The Kelsey Papers*. Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994, 3-11.
- . 'A Journal of Wintering by Gods Assistance at Hayes River', in *The Kelsey Papers*. Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994, 29-74.
- Kidder, Richard. *The Life of Richard Kidder, D. D., Bishop of Bath and Wells*, ed. Amy Edith Robinson. London: Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1924.
- La Bruyère, Jean de. *The Characters, Or, The Manners of the Age*. London: John Bullord, 1699.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online
- Laconics: Or, New Maxims of State and Conversation. Relating to the Affairs and Manners of the Present Times.* London: Thomas Hodgson, 1701.
- Late Chaplain to the Army. *The Soldier's Religious Exercise in the Time of War Being Some Proper Texts, Portions of Holy Scripture, and Prayers, Useful for Those Officers and Soldiers, Who Are Engaged Abroad in Their Majesties Service.* London: Ric. Chiswell, 1690.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Leeds, Peregrine Osborne, Duke of. *A Journal of the Brest-Expedition by the Lord Marquiss of Caermarthen.* London: Randal Taylor, 1694.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Le Noble, Eustache. *The Art of Prudent Behaviour: In a Father's Advice to His Son, Arriv'd to the Years of Manhood.* London: Tim Childe, 1701.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- Lister, Joseph. *The Autobiography of Joseph Lister, of Bradford in Yorkshire*, ed. Thomas Wright. London: John Russell Smith, 1842.
- Littleton, Edward. 'The Groans of the Plantation', in *The Early English Caribbean, 1570-1700: Fitting into the Empire*, eds. Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger, Vol. 2. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014, 193-217.
- Luttrell, Narcissus. *The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell, 1691-1693*, ed. Henry Horwitz. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

- Mackenzie, George. *A Moral Essay, Preferring Solitude to Publick Employment, and All It's Appanages, such as Fame, Command, Riches, Pleasures, Conversation, &c.* Edinburgh: Robert Brown, 1665.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *Moral Gallantry a Discourse, Wherein the Author Endeavours to Prove, That Point of Honour (Abstracting from All Other Tyes) Obliges Men to Be Vertuous and That There Is Nothing so Mean (or Unworthy of a Gentleman) as Vice.* Edinburgh: Robert Broun, 1667.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *The Moral History of Frugality with Its Opposite Vices, Covetousness, Niggardliness, Prodigality and Luxury.* London: J. Hindmarsh, 1691.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Macky, John. *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq., during the Reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and King George I.* London: Roxburghe Club, 1895.
- Marshall, John. *Extracts from John Marshall's Diary*, ed. Samuel Green. Cambridge, Mass.: J. Wilson and Son, 1900.
- Mather, Cotton. *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1724.* Boston: Plimpton Press, 1911.
- . *Humiliations Follow'd with Deliverances. A Brief Discourse on the Matter and Method, of That Humiliation Which Would Be an Hopeful Symptom of Our Deliverance from Calamity.* Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1697.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *Military Duties, Recommended to an Artillery Company; at Their Election of Officers, in Charls-Town.* Boston: Richard Pierce, 1687.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *The Religious Marriner. A Brief Discourse Tending to Direct the Course of Sea-Men, In Those Points of Religion, Which May Bring Them to the Port, of Eternal Happiness.* Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1700.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Mather, Increase. 'The Autobiography of Increase Mather', ed. M.G. Hall, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 71, no. 2 (October 1961), 271-360.
- Maundrell, Henry. *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697.* 5th ed. Oxford: Theater, 1732.
- Maxwell, William. *One of King William's Men: Being Leaves from the Diary of Col. William Maxwell of Cardoness: 1685 to 1697*, ed. H. M. B. Reid. Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1898.
- Member of the Athenian Society. *The Souldiers Manual, Or, Directions, Prayers, and Ejaculations for such as Lead a Military Life.* London: I. Dawks, 1694.
Lambeth Palace Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Meriton, George. *A Guide for Constables, Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor, Surveyors of the Highways, Treasurers of the County Stock, Masters of the House of Correction, Bayliffs of Mannours, Toll-Takers in Fairs &c. a Treatise Briefly Shewing the Extent and Latitude of the Several Offices, with the Power of the Officers Herein, Both by Common Law and Statute, according to the Several Additions and Alterations of the Law, till the 20 Year of His Majesties Reign.* London: A. Crook, 1669.
Harvard Law School Library, via Early English Books Online.

- Millner, John. *Compendious Journal of All the Marches, Famous Battles & Sieges (of Marlborough)*. Uckfield: Naval & Military Press, 2004.
- Morgan, William. *Religio Militis, Or, A Soldier's Religion Writ by a Field Officer of the Army in His Winter-Quarters*. London: Daniel Dring, 1695.
Cambridge University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Morrice, Roger. *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice, 1677-1691*, ed. Mark Knights. Vol. 5. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007.
- Mullenau, Samuel. *A Journal of the Three Months Royal Campaign of His Majesty in Ireland Together, with a True and Perfect Diary of the Siege of Lymerick*. London: P. Lee, 1690.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Naish, Thomas. *The Diary of Thomas Naish*, ed. Doreen Slatter. Wiltshire: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1965.
- Newdigate, Richard. *Cavalier and Puritan in the Days of the Stuarts: Compiled from the Private Papers and Diary of Sir Richard Newdigate, Second Baronet*, ed. Anne Emily Newdigate. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901.
- Newton, Samuel. *The Diary of Samuel Newton, Alderman of Cambridge (1662-1717)*, ed. J. E. Foster. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1890.
- Nihell, James. *A Journal of the Most Remarkable Occurrences That Happened between His Majesties Army and the Forces under the Command of Mareschal de Schomberg in Ireland from the Twelfth of August to the 23th of October, 1689 Faithfully Collected by James Nihell, Esq.* Dublin: James Malone, 1689.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Norris, John. *Practical Discourses upon Several Divine Subjects*. London: Samuel Manship, 1691.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Nowell, Samuel. *Abraham in Arms; or The First Religious General with His Army Engaging in a War for Which He Had Wisely Prepared, and by Which, Not Only an Eminent Victory Was Obtained, but a Blessing Gained Also*. Boston: John Foster, 1678.
Harvard University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Nye, Stephen. *The Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, Late Citizen of London Written by One of His Most Intimate Acquaintance*. London: A. Baldwin, 1698.
- Observations upon Mr Walkers Account of the Siege of London-Derry with Some Remarks on the Great and Memorable Actions There Done*. London: R. Simpson, 1689.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Officer in the town. *A Journal of the Siege of London-Derry in a Letter from an Officer in the Town*. London: Richard Chiswell, 1689.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Osborne, Francis. *Advice to a Son; or Directions for Your Better Conduct through the Various and Most Important Encounters of This Life*. Oxford: Hen. Hall, 1655.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Papillon, Thomas. *Memoirs of Thomas Papillon, of London, Merchant*, ed. A.F.W. Papillon. Reading: Joseph J. Beecroft, 1887.

- Penn, William. *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, Lately Granted by the King, under the Great Seal of England to William Penn and His Heirs and Assigns*. London: Benjamin Clark, 1681.
Harvard University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *Some Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims Relating to the Conduct of Human Life*. London: Thomas Northcott, 1693.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Penton, Stephen. *The Guardian's Instruction, Or, The Gentleman's Romance. Written for the Diversion and Service of the Gentry; Particularly Those Educated in Cambridge and Oxford*. London, 1697.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Person of honour. *Angliae Tutamen, Or, The Safety of England Being an Account of the Banks, Lotteries, Mines, Diving, Draining, Lifting, and Other Engines, and Many Pernicious Projects Now on Foot Tending to the Destruction of Trade and Commerce, and the Impoverishing This Realm*. London, 1695.
University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus), via Early English Books Online.
- Person of quality. *A True and Perfect Journal of the Affairs in Ireland since His Majesties Arrival in That Kingdom*. London: Randal Taylor, 1690.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *The Royal Progress; Or, A Diary of the King's Journey from His Majesty's Setting out from Kensington, till His Return*. London: J. Whitlock, 1695.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Pike, John. *Journal of the Rev. John Pike, of Dover, N. H.*, ed. Alonzo Hall Quint. Cambridge, Mass.: J. Wilson and Son.
- Plain Dealing: In a Dialogue between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Wary His Friend, a Stock-Jobber, and a Petitioner against the E-- I-- Company, about Stock-Jobbing, and the Said Company*. London: S. Eddowes, 1691.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Plunket, Thomas. *The Character of a Good Commander Together with a Short Commendation of the Famous Artillery (More Properly Military) Company of London*. London: William Marshall, 1689.
Harvard University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Potter, Cuthbert. 'Mr. Potter's Journall from Virginia to N. England', in *Travels in the American Colonies*, ed. Newton D. Mereness, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916, 3-11.
- Proposals for a National Reformation of Manners Humbly Offered to the Consideration of Our Magistrates & Clergy*. London: John Dunton, 1694.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- R., Alexander. 'Journal of a Soldier in Earl of Eglington's Troop of Horse, Anno 1689', in *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, ed. Gabriel Neil, Vol. 1. Glasgow: Glasgow Archaeological Society, 1868, 38-50.
- Rawlet, John. *The Christian Monitor Containing an Earnest Exhortation to an Holy Life, with Some Directions in Order Thereto*. London: Samuel Tidmarsh, 1686.
Union Theological Seminary (New York, N. Y.) Library, via Early English Books Online.

- R. C. *The Accomplished Commander Being Necessary Instructions for the Prudent Conduct of Officers in an Army*. London: J. Taylor, 1689.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Rémond des Cours, Nicolas. *The True Conduct of Persons of Quality*. London: W. Kettilby, 1694.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Roch, Jeremy. 'The Fourth Journal of Jeremy Roch', in *Three Sea Journals of Stuart Times*, ed. Bruce Stirling Ingram. London: Constable & Co., 1936, 112-132.
- Rokeby, Thomas. *A Brief Memoir of Mr. Justice Rokeby: Comprising His Religious Journal and Correspondence*. Durham: George Andrews, 1861.
- Rooke, George. *The Journal of Sir George Rooke, Admiral of the Fleet, 1700-1702*, ed. Oscar Browning. London: Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1897.
- Rose, Hugh. 'Mr. Hugh Rose's Journal, 1698', in *The Darien Papers: Being a Selection of Original Letters and Official Documents Relating to the Establishment of a Colony at Darien by the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, 1695-1700*, ed. John Hill Burton. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1849, 60-78.
- Schuyler, Peter. 'Major Peter Schuyler's Report to Governor Fletcher', in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan, Vol. 4. Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1854, 16-19.
- Sewall, Samuel. *Diary of Samuel Sewall. 1674-1729*. Vols. 1-2. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1878.
- Shannon, Francis Boyle, Viscount. *Moral Essays and Discourses, upon Several Subjects, Chiefly Relating to the Present Times*. London: H. Clark, 1690.
- Smalbroke, Richard. *Reformation Necessary to Prevent Our Ruine: A Sermon Preached to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, at St. Mary-le-Bow, on Wednesday, January 10th, 1727*. London: Joseph Downing, 1728.
- Smith, Matthew. *Memoirs of Secret Service*. A Baldwin, 1699.
- Somers, John. *A Discourse Concerning Generosity*. London: H. Clark, 1693.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Steele, Richard. *A Discourse Concerning Old-Age: Tending to the Instruction, Caution and Comfort of Aged Persons*. London: J. Astwood, 1688.
- . *The Trades-Man's Calling Being a Discourse Concerning the Nature, Necessity, Choice, &c. of a Calling in General*. London: J.D., 1684.
Folger Shakespeare Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Steele, Richard (Sir). *The Christian Hero: An Argument Proving That No Principles but Those of Religion Are Sufficient to Make a Great Man*. Philadelphia: Smith and Maxwell, 1807.
- Stevens, John. *The Journal of John Stevens, Containing a Brief Account of the War in Ireland, 1689-1691*, ed. Robert H. Murray. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912.
- Story, Thomas. *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Isaac Thompson, 1747.

- Stout, William. *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, 1665-1752*, ed. J. D. Marshall. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967.
- Strutton, Richard. *A True Relation of the Cruelties and Barbarities of the French upon the English Prisoners of War Being a Journal of Their Travels from Dinan in Britany, to Thoulon in Provence, and Back Again*. London: Richard Baldwin, 1690.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Tate, Nahum. *Characters of Vertue and Vice: Describ'd in the Persons of the Wise-Man, the Valiant Man, the Truly Noble, the Patient Man, the True Friend, the Hypocrite, the Superstitious, the Profane, the Busy-Body, the Envious*. London: Francis Saunders, 1691.
Duke University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- The Character and Qualifications of an Honest Loyal Merchant*. London: Robert Roberts, 1686.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- The Character of a Disbanded Courtier*. London: R.J., 1682.
National Library of Scotland, via Early English Books Online.
- The Character of a Good Man, Neither Whig nor Tory*. London: Jonathen Robinson, 1681.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- The Character of an Ill-Court-Favourite: Representing the Mischiefs That Flow from Ministers of State When They Are More Great than Good; the Arts They Use to Seduce Their Masters, and the Unhappiness of Princes That Are Curs'd with Such Destructive Servants*. London: T. Davis, 1681.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- The Character of a True Protestant English Souldier; With That of a Doublet-Pinking Bully-hec. or, a Cowardly-Spirited Animal, Who dares not Venture his Life in the Service of his Country*. London: E.W., 1689.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- The Christian Soldier's Penny Bible. Shewing From the Holy Scriptures, the Soldier's Duty and Encouragement*. London: R. Smith, 1693.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- The Compleat Gentleman Soldier: Or, a Treatise of Military Discipline, Fortifications and Gunnery*. London, 1702.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- The Friendly Monitor Laying Open the Crying Sins of Cursing, Swearing, Drinking, Gaming, Detraction, and Luxury or Immodesty*. London: Sam. Crouch, 1692.
- The Secret History of the Trust; with Some Reflections upon the Letter from a Soldier. In a Familiar Discourse between J. Truncheon Esq; and Mr. Inquisitive*. London, 1702.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- The True Picture of an Ancient Tory, in a Dialogue between Vassal a Tory, and Freeman a Whig*. London, 1702.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- Thoresby, Ralph. *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*. London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830.

- Tillard, William. 'The Manuscripts of P. Edward Tillard, Esq., of the Holme, Godmanchester', in *Historical Manuscripts Commission: The Manuscripts of Shrewsbury and Coventry Corporations; The Earl of Radnor, Sir Walter Corbet, Bart., and Others, Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part X*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1899, 78-91.
- Toland, John. *The State Anatomy of Great Britain*. London: John Philips, 1717.
- Trenchard, John. *A Short History of Standing Armies in England*. London, 1698.
Harvard University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *Free Thoughts Concerning Officers in the House of Commons*. London, 1698.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Trenchfield, Caleb. *A Cap of Grey Hairs for a Green Head, Or, The Fathers Counsel to His Son, an Apprentice in London*. London: J.C., 1671.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Trosse, George. *The Life of the Reverend Mr. Geo. Trosse, Late Minister of the Gospel in the City of Exon Who Died January 11th, 1712/13*, ed. Joseph Hallet. Exon: Jos. Bliss, 1714.
- Tryon, Thomas. *England's Grandeur, and Way to Get Wealth: Or, Promotion of Trade Made Easy and Lands Advanced*. London: J. Harris and G. Conyers, 1699.
- . *Some Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Tho. Tryon,; Late of London, Merchant*. London: T. Sowle, 1705.
- . *The Planter's Speech to His Neighbours & Country-Men of Pennsylvania, East & West Jersey and to All such as Have Transported Themselves into New-Colonies for the Sake of a Quiet Retired Life*. London: Andrew Sowle, 1684.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *Tryon's Letters upon Several Occasions*. London: Geo. Conyers and Eliz. Harris, 1700.
Bodleian Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Wadsworth, Benjamin. *Good Souldiers a Great Blessing; Being so Represented in a Sermon Preached on the Day for Election of Officers, in the Honourable Artillery Company in Boston, June 3d. 1700*. Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1700.
Harvard University Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Walker, George. *A True Account of the Siege of London-Derry*. London: Robert Clavel and Ralph Simpson, 1689.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- Walton, Clifford. 'Appendix No. LIII', in *History of the British Standing Army, 1660-1700*. London: Harison and Sons, 1894.
- . 'Appendiz LXIII', in *History of the British Standing Army, 1660-1700*. London: Harison and Sons, 1894.
- Ward, Ned. *A Trip to Jamaica: With a True Character of the People and Island*. London, 1698.
- . *A Trip to New-England. With a Character of the Country and People, Both English and Indians*. London, 1699.

- Warrington, Henry Booth, Earl of. *The Works of the Right Honourable Henry, Late L. Delamer and Earl of Warrington Containing His Lordships Advice to His Children, Several Speeches in Parliament, &c.* London: John Lawrence, 1694.
British Library, via Early English Books Online.
- [Whitley, Roger]. *Roger Whitley's Diary 1684-1697 Bodleian Library, Ms Eng Hist C 711*, ed. Michael Stevens and Honor Lewington. [s.l.], 2004. *British History Online*.
<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/roger-whitley-diary/1684-97>.
- Wood, Anthony à. *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford 1623-1695*, ed. Andrew Clark. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891.
- Woodcock, Thomas. *An Account of Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of a Private Gentleman: With Reflections Thereon*. 2nd ed. London: J. Downing, 1711.
- Woodward, Josiah. *A Short Vindication of Those Pious and Useful Persons Who Give Informations of the Breaches of the Laws, Made against Prophaneness and Immorality*. London: J. Downing, 1701.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- . *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London &c. and of the Endeavours for Reformation of Manners Which Have Been Made Therein*. London: J.D., 1698.
Huntington Library, via Early English Books Online.
- . *An Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners in London and Westminster and Other Parts of the Kingdom with a Persuasive to Persons of All Ranks, to be Zealous and Diligent in Promoting the Execution of the Laws Against Prophaneness and Debauchery, for the Effecting a National Reformation*. London: B. Aylmer, 1699.
University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus), via Early English Books Online.
- . *The Seaman's Monitor: Wherein Particular Advice Is given to Sea-Faring-Men, with Reference to Their Behaviour*. London: W. Haws, 1701.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- . *The Soldier's Monitor: Being Serious Advice to Soldiers, to Behave Themselves with a Just Regard to Religion and True Manhood*. London: J. Downing, 1722.
Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. Cambridge University Library.
- Yonge, James. *The Journal of James Yonge, 1647-1721: Plymouth Surgeon*, ed. Frederick Noël Lawrence Poynter. London: Longmans, 1963.

Secondary Sources

- Acres, W. Marston. *The Bank of England from Within, 1694-1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931.
- Allan, David. 'Protestantism, Presbyterianism and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scottish History', in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850*, eds. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 182-205.
- Amussen, Susan. 'Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725', in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, eds. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 196-217.
- Appleby, Joyce. *The Relentless Revolution: A History of Capitalism*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2010.
- Archer, Ian W. 'Government in Early Modern London: The Challenge of the Suburbs', in *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840*, eds. Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2001, 133-147.
- . 'Politics and Government 1540-1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. Peter Clark. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 235-262.
- Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Armstrong, Catherine. *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- Ascott, Diana E., Fiona Lewis, and Michael Power. *Liverpool 1660-1750: People, Prosperity and Power*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006.
- Bahlman, Dudley W.R. *The Moral Revolution of 1688*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.
- Bannet, Eve Tavor. 'Printed Epistolary Manuals and the Transatlantic Rescripting of Manuscript Culture', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 1, no. 1 (2007), 13-32.
- Barclay, Andrew. 'William's Court as King', in *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context*, eds. Esther Mijers and David Onnekink. Burlington: Ashgate, 2007, 231-262.
- Barker, Hannah. 'Soul, Purse and Family: Middling and Lower-Class Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Manchester', *Social History* 33, no. 1 (February 2008), 12-35.
- Barker, Hannah, and Elaine Chalus. 'Introduction', in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, eds. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus. New York: Routledge, 2014, 1-28.
- Barr, Rebecca. "'Complete Hypocrite, Complete Tradesman": Defoe's Complete English Tradesman and Masculine Conduct', in *Positioning Daniel Defoe's Non-Fiction: Form, Function, and Genre*, eds. Andreas K.E. Mueller and Aino Makikalli. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011, 149-168.
- Barry, Jonathan. 'Bourgeois Collectivism? Urban Association and the Middling Sort', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society in England, 1550-1800*, eds. Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994, 84-112.
- . 'Introduction', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, eds. Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994, 1-27.
- Barrie-Curien, Viviane. 'The Clergy in the Diocese of London in the Eighteenth Century', in *The Church of England C. 1689-C. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 86-109.

- Barty-King, Hugh. *The Worst Poverty: A History of Debt and Debtors*. Bath, Avon: Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, 1991.
- Baxter, Stephen B. *William III*. London: Longmans, 1966.
- . 'William III as Hercules: The Political Implications of Court Culture', in *The Revolution of 1688-1689: Changing Perspectives*, ed. Lois G. Schworer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 95-106.
- Beattie, J.M. *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Beckett, J.V. 'Land Tax Administration at the Local Level, 1692-1798', in *Land and Property: The English Land Tax 1692-1832*, eds. Michael Turner and Dennis Mills. Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, 1986, 161-179.
- Beckett, J.V., and Michael Turner. 'Taxation and Economic Growth in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review* 43, no. 3 (August 1990), 377-403.
- Beckles, Hilary McD. "'The 'Hub of Empire': The Caribbean and Britain in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Canny. The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 218-240.
- Bell, Erin. 'The Early Quakers, the Peace Testimony and Masculinity in England, 1660-1720', *Gender & History* 23, no. 2 (August 2011), 283-300.
- Bell, Robert H. *The Rise of Autobiography in the Eighteenth Century: Ten Experiments in Literary Genre - Augustine, Bunyan, Rousseau, Locke, Hume, Franklin, Gibbon, Sterne, Fielding, Boswell*. Edwin Mellen Press: Lewiston, New York, 2012.
- Bellany, Alastair. 'The Embarrassment of Libels: Perceptions and Representations of Verse Libelling in Early Stuart England', in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, eds. Peter Lake and Steven C. A. Pincus. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007, 144-167.
- Benjamin, Thomas. *The Atlantic World: Europeans, Africans, Indians and Their Shared History, 1400-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Berg, Maxine. 'Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and the Roots of Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 173-191.
- . 'Useful Knowledge, "Industrial Enlightenment", and the Place of India', *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 1 (March 2013), 117-141.
- Berry, Helen M. *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural World of the Athenian Mercury*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Berry, Helen, and Elizabeth A. Foyster. 'Childless Men in Early Modern England', in *The Family in Early Modern England*, eds. Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 158-183.
- Berry, Helen and Elizabeth A. Foyster, (eds.). *The Family in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Bertlesen, Lance. 'Popular Entertainment and Instruction, Literary and Dramatic: Chapbooks, Advice Books, Almanacs, Ballads, Farces, Pantomimes, Prints and Shows', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660-1780*, ed. John Richetti. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 61-86.
- Blanchard, Rae. 'Steele's Christian Hero and the Errata in The Tatler', *The Review of English Studies* 6, no. 22 (1930), 183-185.
- Block, Kristen. *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition, and the Politics of Profit*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2012.

- Böker, Uwe. 'Material Sites of Discourse and the Discursive Hybridity of Identities', in *Mediating Identities in Eighteenth-Century England: Public Negotiations, Literary Discourses, Topography*, eds. Isabel Karremann and Anja Müller. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011, 101-110.
- Boyd, Stephen B., W. Merle Longwood, and Mark W. Muesse. 'Men, Masculinity, and the Study of Religion', in *Redeeming Men: Religion and Masculinities*, eds. Stephen B. Boyd, W. Merle Longwood, and Mark W. Muesse. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Know Press, 1996, xiii-xxii.
- Braddick, Michael J. 'Civility and Authority', in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 93-112.
- . 'State Formation and the Historiography of Early Modern England', *History Compass* 2, no. 1 (2004), 1-17.
- . *State Formation in Early Modern England, C. 1550-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- . 'The Early Modern English State and the Question of Differentiation from 1550-1700', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 1 (January 1996), 92-111.
- . *The Nerves of State: Taxation and the Financing of the English State, 1558-1714*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Braddick, Michael J., and John Walter. 'Introduction. Grids of Power: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Early Modern Society', in *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland*, eds. Michael J. Braddick and John Walter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 1-42.
- Bray, Alan. *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Breitenberg, Mark. *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Brereton, John Maurice. *The British Soldier: A Social History from 1661 to the Present Day*. London: Bodley Head, 1986.
- Brewer, John. 'The Eighteenth Century-British State: Contexts and Issues', in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689-1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone. London: Routledge, 1994, 52-71.
- . *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the British State 1688-1783*. New York: Knopf, 1989.
- Brittan, Owen. 'Subjective Experience and Military Masculinity at the Beginning of the Long Eighteenth Century, 1688-1714', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 2 (June 2017), 273-290.
- . 'The Print Depiction of William III's Masculinity', *The Seventeenth Century*, forthcoming.
- Brod, Harry. 'The Case for Men's Studies', in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, ed. Harry Brod. London: Allen & Unwin, 1987, 39-62.
- Brooks, Colin. 'The Country Persuasion and Political Responsibility in England in the 1690s', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation* 4, no. 2 (December 1984), 135-146.
- Brown, Kathleen M. 'Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (April 1993), 311-328.
- . *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- . 'The Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier', in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker. London: Routledge, 1995, 26-28.
- Bryson, Anna. *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

- Bucholz, Robert. 'Venality at Court: Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Sale of Household Office 1660-1800', *Historical Research*, Forthcoming.
- Bucholz, R. O., and Joseph Ward. *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Burt, Shelley. 'The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: Between John Locke and the Devil in Augustan England', in *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660-1750*, ed. Roger D. Lund. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 149-169.
- Bushman, Richard L. *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Cain, P.J., and A.G. Hopkins. *British Imperialism, 1688-2015*. 3rd ed. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016.
- Cambers, Andrew. 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 4 (October 2007), 796-825.
- Capp, Bernard. "'Jesus Wept" But Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past & Present* 224, no. 1 (August 2014), 75-108.
- Carlos, Ann M., Erin Fletcher, and Larry Neal. 'Share Portfolios in the Early Years of Financial Capitalism: London, 1690-1730', *The Economic History Review* 68, no. 2 (2015), 574-599.
- Carré, Jacques. 'Introduction', in *The Crisis of Courtesy: Studies in the Conduct-Book in Britain, 1600-1900*, ed. Jacques Carré. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994, 1-8.
- Carruthers, Bruce G. *City of Capital: Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Carter, Alice Clare. *Getting, Spending and Investing in Early Modern Times: Essays on Dutch, English and Huguenot Economic History*. Assen: Von Gorcum, 1975.
- Carter, Philip. 'Men About Town: Representations of Foppery and Masculinity in Early Eighteenth-Century Urban Society', in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, eds. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus. New York: Routledge, 2014, 31-57.
- . *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain 1660-1800*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.
- Chalus, Elaine. *Elite Women in English Political Life, c.1754-1790*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005.
- . "'That Epidemical Madness": Women and Electoral Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century', in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, eds. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, New York: Routledge, 2014, 151-178.
- Chaplin, Joyce E. 'The British Atlantic', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, c.1450-c.1850*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Philip Morgan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 219-234.
- Chet, Guy. *Conquering The American Wilderness: The Triumph of European Warfare in the Colonial Northeast*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003.
- Childs, John. *The British Army of William III, 1689-1702*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- . 'The Restoration Army 1660-1702', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Army*, eds. David G. Chandler and I. F. W. Beckett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 48-68.
- . 'War, Crime Waves and the English Army in the Late Seventeenth Century', *War & Society* 15, no. 2 (October 1997), 1-17.

- Clapham, John. *The Bank of England: A History*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944.
- Clark, J. C. D. *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- . 'Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832', *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 1 (March 2000), 249-276.
- Clay, Christopher. *Public Finance and Private Wealth: The Career of Sir Stephen Fox, 1627-1716*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Claydon, Tony. 'The Sermon, the "Public Sphere" and the Political Culture of Late Seventeenth-Century England', in *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600-1750*, eds. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000, 208-234.
- . *William III*. London: Longman, 2002.
- . 'William III and II (1650-1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29450>.
- . *William III and the Godly Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Claydon, Tony, and Ian McBride. 'The Trials of the Chosen Peoples: Recent Interpretations of Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland', in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-1850*, eds. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 3-32.
- Clayton, Anthony. *The British Officer: Leading the Army from 1660 to the Present*. Harlow: Longman, 2007.
- Coffman, D'Maris, Adrian Leonard, and Larry Neal, (eds.). *Questioning Credible Commitment: Perspectives on the Rise of Financial Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Cohen, Michèle. 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth Century England', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen. London: Longman, 1999, 44-61.
- . '"Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830', *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005), 312-329.
- . 'The Grand Tour: Constructing the English Gentleman in Eighteenth-Century France', *History of Education* 29, no. 3 (1992), 241-257.
- . 'The Grand Tour. Language, National Identity and Masculinity', *Changing English* 8, no. 2 (2001), 129-141.
- Coleman, D.C. 'London Scriveners and the Estate Market in the Later Seventeenth Century', *Economic History Review* 4, no. 2 (1951), 221-230.
- . *Sir John Banks, Baronet and Businessman: A Study of Business, Politics and Society in Later Stuart England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging The Nation 1707-1837*. London: Vintage, 1996.
- Condren, Conal. 'Specifying the Subject in Early Modern Autobiography', in *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices*, eds. Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis, and Philippa Kelly. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006, 35-48.
- Connell, Raewyn. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987.
- . *Masculinities*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005.
- Connell, R. W., and James W. Messerschmidt. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (December 2005), 829-859.

- Cook, Chris, and John Stevenson. *A History of British Elections Since 1689*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Cooper, Tim. 'Conversion, Autobiography and Richard Baxter's Reliquiae Baxterianae (1696)', *The Seventeenth Century* 29, no. 2 (2014), 113-129.
- Cowan, Brian. 'What Was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 51 (April 2001), 127-157.
- Cox, Gary W. 'War, Moral Hazard, and Ministerial Responsibility: England After the Glorious Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History* 71, no. 1 (March 2011), 133-161.
- Craton, Michael. 'Property and Propriety: Land Tenure and Slave Property in the Creation of a British West Indian Plantocracy, 1612-1740', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, eds. John Brewer and Susan Staves. London: Routledge, 1996, 497-529.
- Crawford, Patricia. *Women and Religion in England 1500-1720*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Cressy, David. *Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Cruickshanks, Eveline, and Richard Harrison. 'Whitley, Roger (c.1618-97), of St. John's Hosp., Chester; Peele Hall, Cheshire; and Pall Mall, Westminster, Mdx', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, eds. Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley, D.W. Hayton. Boydell & Brewer, 2002; online edn.
<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/whitley-roger-1618-97>.
- Curtis, T.C., and W.A. Speck. 'The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: A Case Study in the Theory and Practice of Moral Reform', *Literature and History*, no. 3 (1976), 45-64.
- Dabhoiwala, Faramerz. 'The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 6 (1996), 201-213.
- . *The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution*. London: Penguin, 2013.
- Daniels, Christine. '"Without Any Limitacon of Time": Debt Servitude in Colonial America', *Labor History* 36, no. 2 (1995), 232-250.
- David, Saul. *All the King's Men: The British Soldier from the Restoration to Waterloo*. London: Viking, 2012.
- Davison, Lee, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert B. Shoemaker. 'Introduction: The Reactive State: English Governance and Society, 1689-1750', in *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750*, eds. Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert B. Shoemaker. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, xi-liv.
- Dawson, Graham. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- De Goede, Marieke. 'Mastering "Lady Credit"', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 2, no. 1 (2000), 58-81.
- Delany, Paul. *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Dickson, P.G.M. *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit 1688-1756*. London: Macmillan, 1967.
- Ditz, Toby L. 'Afterword: Contending Masculinities in Early America', in *New Men: Manliness in Early America*, ed. Thomas A. Foster. New York: New York University Press, 2011, 256-267.
- . 'Shipwrecked; or, Masculinity Imperiled: Mercantile Representations of Failure and the Gendered Self in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia', *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 1 (1994), 51-80.

- . 'The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History', *Gender & History* 16, no. 1 (April 2003), 1-35.
- Dodsworth, Francis. 'Masculinity as Governance: Police, Public Service and the Embodiment of Authority, c. 1700-1850', in *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain*, ed. Matthew McCormack. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 33-53.
- Dolan, Frances E. *True Relations: Reading, Literature, and Evidence in Seventeenth-Century England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Doll, Dan. "'Like Trying to Fit a Sponge into a Matchbox': Twentieth-Century Editing of Eighteenth-Century Journals', in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, eds. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006, 211-228.
- Doll, Dan, and Jessica Munns. 'Introduction', in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, ed. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006, 9-21.
- Donegan, Kathleen. *Seasons of Misery: Catastrophe and Colonial Settlement in Early America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.
- Dudink, Stefan. 'The Trouble with Men: Problems in the History of "Masculinity"', *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 1 (1998), 419-431.
- Duval, Gilles. 'Standardization vs. Genre: Conduct-Books and English Chap-Literature', in *The Crisis of Courtesy: Studies in the Conduct-Book in Britain, 1600-1900*, ed. Jacques Carré. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994, 41-49.
- Eames, Steven C. *Rustic Warriors: Warfare and the Provincial Soldier on the New England Frontier, 1689-1748*. New York: New York University Press, 2011.
- Earle, Peter. 'Age and Accumulation in the London Business Community, 1665-1720', in *Business Life and Public Policy: Essays in Honour of D.C. Coleman*, eds. Neil McKendrick and R.B. Outhwaite. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 38-63.
- . *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989.
- Elias, Norbert. *The Court Society*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.
- Elliot, John H. 'Introduction: Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World', in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987, 1-13.
- Ellis, Heather, and Jessica Meyer. 'Introduction', in *Masculinity and the Other: Historical Perspectives*, eds. Heather Ellis and Jessica Meyer. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009, 1-19.
- Erickson, Amy Louise. 'Coverture and Capitalism', *Historical Workshop Journal* 59, no. 1 (March 2005), 1-16.
- Field, Jacob F. 'Domestic Service, Gender, and Wages in Rural England, c.1700-1860', *The Economic History Review* 66, no. 1 (April 2012), 108-130.
- Filene, Peter. 'The Secrets of Men's History', in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, ed. Harry Brod. London: Allen & Unwin, 1987, 103-119.
- Findlay, Elspeth. 'Ralph Thoresby the Diarist: The Late Seventeenth-Century Pious Diary and Its Demise', *The Seventeenth Century* 17, no. 1 (March 2002), 108-130.
- Finn, Margot. *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Fletcher, Anthony. *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800*. London: Yale University Press, 1995.

- . 'Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding in Elizabethan and Stuart England', in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, eds. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 92-115.
- Fletcher, Christopher. 'The Whig Interpretation of Masculinity? Honour and Sexuality in Late Medieval Manhood', in *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, eds. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 57-75.
- Fontaine, Laurence. *The Moral Economy: Poverty, Credit, and Trust in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Foster, Thomas A. 'Deficient Husbands: Manhood, Sexual Incapacity, and Male Marital Sexuality in Seventeenth-Century New England', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (October 1999), 723-744.
- . 'Reconsidering Libertines and Early Modern Heterosexuality: Sex and American Founder Gouverneur Morris', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 22, no. 1 (2013), 65-84.
- Foyster, Elizabeth. 'Boys Will Be Boys? Manhood and Aggression, 1660-1800', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen. London: Longman, 1999, 151-166.
- . 'Gender Relations', in *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. Barry Coward. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2003, 11-128.
- . *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage*. London: Longman, 1999.
- . *Marital Violence: An English Family History, 1660-1857*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Francis, John. *Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange*. London: Willoughby and Co., 1849.
- French, H. R. *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- French, Henry, and Mark Rothery. 'Hegemonic Masculinities? Assessing Change and Processes of Change in Elite Masculinity, 1700-1900', in *What Is Masculinity?: Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, eds. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 139-166.
- . *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c.1660-c.1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Froide, Amy M. *Silent Partners: Women as Public Investors During Britain Financial Revolution, 1690-1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Gaskill, Malcolm. *Between Two Worlds: How the English Became Americans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Gauci, Perry. *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London, 1660-1800*. London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007.
- . *The Politics of Trade*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Geiter, Mary K. and W.A. Speck. *Colonial America: From Jamestown to Yorktown*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Giovanni, Tarantino. 'Alternative Hierarchies: Manhood and Unbelief in Early Modern Europe, 1660-1750', in *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others*, eds. Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011, 209-222.
- Glaesyer, Natasha. '"A Due Circulation in the Veins of the Publick": Imagining Credit in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *The Eighteenth Century* 46, no. 3 (Fall 2005), 277-297.

- . 'Calculating Credibility: Print Culture, Trust and Economic Figures in Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review* 60, no. 4 (2007), 685-711.
- Glaisyer, Natasha, and Sara Pennell. 'Introduction', in *Didactic Literature in England 1500-1800: Expertise Constructed*, eds. Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, 1-18.
- Glanville, Gordon, and Philippa Glanville. 'The Art Market and Merchant Patronage in London 1680 to 1720', in *City Merchants and the Arts 1670-1720*, ed. Mirelle Galinou. Wetherby: Oblong Creative Ltd., 2004, 10-24.
- Glasse, Lionel K.J. 'Local Government', in *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680-1750: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes*, ed. Clyve Jones. London: Hambledon, 1987, 151-172.
- Goldie, Mark. 'The Unacknowledged Republic: Officeholding in Early Modern England', in *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850*, ed. Tim Harris. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001, 153-194.
- Grassby, Richard. 'English Merchant Capitalism in the Late Seventeenth Century. The Composition of Business Fortunes', *Past & Present* 46, no. 1 (1970), 87-107.
- . *The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . 'The Personal Wealth of the Business Community in Seventeenth-Century England', *Economic History Review* 23, no. 2 (August 1970), 220-234.
- Graves, Thornton Shirley. 'Some Pre-Mohock Clansmen', *Studies in Philology* 20, no. 4 (October 1923), 395-421.
- Greene, Jack P. 'Alterity and the Production of Identity in the Early Modern British American Empire and the Early United States', in *Creating the British Atlantic: Essays on Transplantation, Adaptation, and Continuity*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013, 323-339.
- . 'Changing Identity in the British Caribbean: Barbados as a Case Study', in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987, 213-266.
- . 'Liberty, Slavery and the Transformation of British Identity in the Eighteenth-Century West Indies', *Slavery and Abolition* 21, no. 1 (2000), 1-31.
- . *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.
- . 'Reformulating Englishness: Cultural Adaptation and Provinciality in the Construction of Corporate Identity in Colonial British America', in *Creating the British Atlantic: Essays on Transplantation, Adaptation, and Continuity*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013, 19-23.
- . 'Social and Cultural Capital in Colonial British America: A Case Study', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no. 3 (Winter 1999), 491-509.
- . *The Intellectual Construction of America: Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.
- . 'Transatlantic Colonization and the Redefinition of Empire in the Early Modern Era: The British Experience', in *Creating the British Atlantic: Essays on Transplantation, Adaptation, and Continuity*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013, 83-100.
- Gregg, Stephen H. '"A Truly Christian Hero": Religion, Effeminacy, and Nation in the Writings of the Societies for Reformation of Manners', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 25, no. 1 (2001), 17-28.
- Gregory, Jeremy. 'Anglicanism and the Arts: Religion, Culture and Politics in the Eighteenth Century', in *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, eds. Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991, 82-109.

- . “‘For All Sorts and Conditions of Men’: The Social Life of the Book of Common Prayer during the Long Eighteenth Century: Or, Bringing the History of Religion and Social History Together”, *Social History* 34, no. 1 (February 2009), 29-54.
- . ‘Gender and the Clerical Profession in England, 1660-1850’, in *Gender and Christian Religion: Papers Read at the 1996 Summer Meeting and the 1997 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson. Vol. 34. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998, 235-271.
- . “‘Homo Religiosus’: Masculinity and Religion in the Long Eighteenth Century’, in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen. London: Longman, 1999, 85-110.
- . ‘Introduction: Transforming “the Age of Reason” into “an Age of Faiths”: Or, Putting Religions and Beliefs (Back) into the Eighteenth Century’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 3 (September 1, 2009), 287-305.
- . *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660–1828*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . ‘Standards for Admission To the Ministry of the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century’, *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History* 83, no. 1 (2003), 283-295.
- . ‘The Eighteenth-Century Reformation: The Pastoral Task of the Anglican Clergy after 1689’, in *The Church of England C. 1689-C. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 67-85.
- . ‘The Long Eighteenth Century’, in *The Cambridge Companion to John Wesley*, eds. Randy L. Maddox and Jason E. Vickers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 13-40.
- Grew, Edwin Sharpe, and Marion Sharpe Grew. *The Court of William III*. London: Mills and Boon, Limited, 1910.
- Guy, Alan. ‘John Churchill, Professional Soldiering, and the British Army, c1660-1760’, in *Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat*, eds. John B. Hattendorf, A. J. Veenendaal, and Rolof van Hövell tot Westerflier. Rotterdam: Karwansaray Publishers, 2012, 103-121.
- Haefeli, Evan. ‘Toleration and Empire: The Origins of American Religious Pluralism’, in *British North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Stephen Foster. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 103-135.
- Hailwood, Mark. “‘The Honest Tradesman’s Honour’: Occupational and Social Identity in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)* 24 (December 2014), 79-103.
- Hall, Catherine. *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.
- Halliday, Paul D. *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England’s Towns, 1650–1730*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . ‘Williams, Sir William, first baronet (1633/4–1700)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, No Date Given.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29555>.
- Handley, Stuart. ‘Grosvenor, Sir Thomas, third baronet (1655–1700)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11674>.
- . ‘Hedges, Sir Charles (bap. 1650, d. 1714)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12859>.

- . 'Knatchbull, Sir John, 2nd Bt. (c.1636-96), of Mersham Hatch, Kent', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, eds. Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley, D.W. Hayton. Boydell & Brewer, 2002; online edn.
<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/knatchbull-sir-john-1636-96>.
- Harrington, Dana. 'Gender, Commerce, and the Transformation of Virtue in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2001), 33-52.
- Harris, Tim. *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660-1715*. London: Longman, 1993.
- Harvey, Karen. 'Gender II: Masculinity Acquires a History', in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, eds. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot. London: SAGE, 2013, 282-293.
- . 'The Century of Sex? Gender, Bodies and Sexuality in the Long Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (2002), 899-916.
- . 'The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800', *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005), 296-311.
- . *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Harvey, Karen, and Alexandra Shepard. 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950', *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005), 274-280.
- Hayton, David. 'The "Country" Interest and the Party System, 1689-c.1720', in *Party Management in Parliament, 1660-1784*, ed. Clyve Jones. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984, 37-85.
- Henning, Basil Duke, 'Dering, Edward (1650-89), of Surrenden Dering, Kent', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. Basil Duke Henning. Boydell and Brewer, 1983; online edn.
<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/dering-edward-1650-89>.
- Herrup, Cynthia B. 'Law and Morality in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present* 106, no. 1 (February 1985), 102-123.
- . 'The King's Two Genders', *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 3 (July 2006), 493-510.
- Hertzler, James R. 'The Abuse and Outlawing of Sanctuary for Debt in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal* 14, no. 3 (September 1971), 467-477.
- Hindle, Steve. 'The Political Culture of the Middling Sort in English Rural Communities, c.1550-1700', in *The Politics of the Excluded, C. 1500-1850*, ed. Tim Harris. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001, 125-152.
- Hinds, Hilary. '"And the Lord's Power Was Over All": Calvinist Anxiety, Sacred Confidence, and George Fox's Journal', *English Literary History* 75, no. 4 (2008), 841-870.
- Hinton, James. *Nine Wartime Lives: Mass-Observation and the Making of the Modern Self*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Hirschman, Albert O. *The Passions and the Interests*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Hitchcock, Tim. *English Sexualities, 1700-1800*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997.
- . 'Tricksters, Lords and Servants: Begging, Friendship and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Love, Friendship, and Faith in Europe, 1300-1800*, eds. Laura Gowing, Michael Cyril William Hunter, and Miri Rubin. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 177-196.
- Hitchcock, Tim, and Michèle Cohen. 'Introduction', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, London: Longman, 1999, 1-22.

- Holmes, Geoffrey S. *Religion and Party in Late Stuart England*. London: Historical Association, 1975.
- Hoppit, Julian. *A Land of Liberty?: England, 1689-1727*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.
- . 'Attitudes to Credit in Britain, 1680-1790', *The Historical Journal* 33, no. 2 (June 1990), 305-322.
- . 'Checking the Leviathan, 1688-1832', in *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688-1914*, eds. Donald Winch and Patrick K. O'Brien. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2002, 267-294.
- . 'Introduction', in *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850*, ed. Julian Hoppit. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003, 1-14.
- . *Risk and Failure in English Business 1700-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . 'The Use and Abuse of Credit in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Business Life and Public Policy: Essays in Honour of D.C. Coleman*, eds. Neil McKendrick and R.B. Outhwaite. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 64-78.
- Horn, James. 'Tobacco Colonies: The Shaping of English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake', in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Canny. The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 170-192.
- Houston, Alan, and Steve Pincus. 'Introduction. Modernity and Later-Seventeenth-Century England', in *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration*, eds. Alan Houston and Steve Pincus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 1-19.
- Hudson, Pat. 'Correspondence and Commitment', *Cultural and Social History* 11, no. 4 (2014), 527-553.
- Hughes, Ann. *Gender and the English Revolution*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- . 'Men, the "Public" and the "Private" in the English Revolution', in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, eds. Peter Lake and Steven C. A. Pincus. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007, 191-212.
- Hume, L.J. 'Charles Davenant on Financial Administration', *History of Political Economy* 6, no. 4 (1974), 463-477.
- Humphrey, Shawn, and Bradley A. Hansen. 'Constraining the State's Ability to Employ Force: The Standing Army Debates, 1697-99', *Journal of Institutional Economics* 6, no. 2 (June 2010), 243-259.
- Hunt, Alan. *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Hunt, Margaret. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780*. London: University of California Press, 1996.
- Hunt, Margaret R., and Philip J. Stern. 'Introduction', in *The English East India Company at the Height of Mughal Expansion: A Soldier's Diary of the 1689 Siege of Bombay with Related Documents*, eds. Margaret R. Hunt and Philip J. Stern. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2016, 1-25.
- Hurl-Eamon, Jennine. *Gender and Petty Violence in London, 1680-1720*. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2005.
- . *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century: 'The Girl I Left Behind Me'*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- . 'Youth in the Devil's Service, Manhood in the King's: Reaching Adulthood in the Eighteenth-Century British Army', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 8, no. 2 (Spring 2015), 163-190.

- Ingram, Randall. 'Seventeenth-Century Didactic Readers, Their Literature, and Ours', in *Didactic Literature in England 1500-1800: Expertise Constructed*, eds. Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, 63-78.
- Innes, Joanna. 'The Domestic Face of the Military-Fiscal State: Government and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *An Imperial State at War: Britain 1689-1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone. London: Routledge, 1994, 96-127.
- Jackson, Christine. 'Memory and the Construction and Experience of Elite Masculinity in the Seventeenth-Century Autobiography of Lord Herbert Cherbury', *Gender & History* 25, no. 1 (April 2013), 107-131.
- Jacob, Margaret C., and Matthew Kadane. 'Missing, Now Found in the Eighteenth Century: Weber's Protestant Capitalist', *American Historical Review* 108, no. 1 (February 2003), 20-49.
- Jacob, W. M. *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- . *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680-1840*. Oxford University Press, 2007.
- . 'The Eye of His Master: Children and Charity Schools', in *The Church and Childhood*, ed. Diana Wood. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994, 363-377.
- Jaffary, Nora E. 'Introduction: Contextualizing Race, Gender and Religion in the New World', in *Gender, Race and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas*, ed. Nora E. Jaffary. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, 1-11.
- Johnson, Richard R. 'Growth and Mastery: British North America, 1690-1748', in *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall. The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 276-299.
- Jones, D.W. 'Defending the Revolution: The Economics, Logistics, and Finance of England's War Effort, 1688-1712', in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89*, eds. Dale Hoak and Mordechai Feingold. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996, 59-74.
- . 'London Merchants and the Crisis of the 1690s', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700*, eds. Peter Clark and Paul Slack. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972, 311-355.
- Jordan, Sarah. *The Anxieties of Idleness: Idleness in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2003.
- Kamensky, Jane. 'Talk Like a Man: Speech, Power, and Masculinity in Early New England', *Gender & History* 8, no. 1 (April 1996), 22-47.
- Keirn, Tim. 'Monopoly, Economic Thought, and the Royal African Company', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, eds. John Brewer and Susan Staves. London: Routledge, 1996, 427-466.
- . 'Parliament, Legislation and the Regulation of English Textile Industries, 1689-1714', in *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750*, eds. Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert B. Shoemaker. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, 1-24.
- Kelly, James. 'Bordering on Face in Early Eighteenth-Century Sea Journals', in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, eds. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006, 158-184.
- Kelly, Jason M. *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment*. London: Yale University Press, 2009.

- Kelly, Philippa, Lloyd Davis, and Ronald Bedford. 'Introduction', in *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices*, eds. Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis, and Philippa Kelly. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006, 1-16.
- Kennedy, Catriona. *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experiences in Britain and Ireland*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Kent, Joan. 'The Rural "Middling Sort" in Early Modern England, circa 1640-1740: Some Economic, Political and Socio-Cultural Characteristics', *Rural History* 10, no. 1 (April 1999), 19-54.
- Kimmel, Michael. 'The Contemporary "Crisis" of Masculinity in Historical Perspective', in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, ed. Harry Brod. London: Allen & Unwin, 1987, 121-153.
- . 'The "Crisis" of Masculinity in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Constructions of Masculinity in British Literature from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Stefan Horlacher. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 89-108.
- King, Thomas Alan. *The Gendering of Men, 1600-1750*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.
- Kleer, Richard. "'Fictitious Cash": English Public Finance and Paper Money, 1689-97', in *Money, Power, and Print: Interdisciplinary Studies on the Financial Revolution*, eds. Charles Ivar McGrath and Chris Fauske. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008, 70-103.
- Klein, Lawrence E. 'Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (January 1996), 31-51.
- . 'Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 1 (1995), 97-109.
- . 'Gender, Conversation and the Public Sphere in Early Eighteenth-Century England', in *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices*, eds. Judith Still and Michael Worton. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993, 100-115.
- . 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (December 2002), 869-898.
- . 'Property and Politeness in the Early Eighteenth-Century Whig Moralists: The Case of the Spectator', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, eds. John Brewer and Susan Staves. London: Routledge, 1996, 221-233.
- . *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Knights, Mark. 'Politics After the Glorious Revolution', in *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. Barry Coward. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2003, 455-473.
- . 'Regulation and Rival Interests in the 1690s', in *Regulating the British Economy, 1660-1850*, ed. Perry Gauci. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011, 63-81.
- Kuchta, David. *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002.
- Langford, Paul. *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- . 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 12 (2002), 311-331.
- Latham, Mark. 'From Oligarchy to a "Rate Payer's Democracy": The Evolution of the Corporation of London, 1680s-1750s', *Urban History* 39, no. 2 (2012), 225-245.

- Lemire, Beverly. 'Petty Pawns and Informal Lending: Gender and the Transformation of Small-Scale Credit in England, circa 1600-1800', in *From Family Firms to Corporate Capitalism: Essays in Business and Industrial History in Honour of Peter Mathias*, eds. Kristine Bruland and Patrick O'Brien. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 112-138.
- . *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England, c.1600-1900*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Lenman, Bruce P. 'Colonial Wars and Imperial Instability, 1688-1793', in *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall. The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 151-168.
- Lindert, Peter H., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 'Revising England's Social Tables 1688-1812', *Explorations in Economic History* 19 (1982), 385-408.
- Little, Ann M. *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Loft, Philip. 'Political Arithmetic and the English Land Tax in the Reign of William III', *The Historical Journal* 56, no. 2 (2013), 321-343.
- Lombard, Anne S. *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Low, Jennifer A. *Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Lyle, Ian. 'Yonge, James (1647-1721)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: University Press, 2004; online edn, No Date Given.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30225>.
- Maccubbin, Robert Purks, (ed.). *'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Macfarlane, Alan. *The Origins of Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978.
- Mackie, Erin. 'Boys Will Be Boys: Masculinity, Criminality, and the Restoration Rake', *The Eighteenth Century* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2005), 129-149.
- . *Rakes, Highwaymen, and Pirates: The Making of the Modern Gentleman in the Eighteenth Century*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Macleod, Christine. 'The 1690s Patents Boom: Invention or Stock-Jobbing?', *The Economic History Review* 39, no. 4 (November 1986), 549-571.
- Magnusson, Lars. *Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Malcolm, Joyce Lee. *To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an Anglo-American Right*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Mann, Alastair J. 'House Rules: Parliamentary Procedure', in *Parliament in Context, 1235-1707*, eds. Keith M. Brown and Alan R. MacDonald. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010, 122-156.
- Manning, Roger B. *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army 1585-1702*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Marshall, Alan. *The Age of Faction: Court Politics, 1660-1702*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Mascuch, Michael. *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791*. Cambridge: Polity, 1997.
- . 'Social Mobility and Middling Self-Identity: The Ethos of British Autobiographers, 1600-1750', *Social History* 20, no. 1 (January 1995), 45-61.
- Matar, Nabil. *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

- . *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Mathias, Peter. 'Risk, Credit and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise', in *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, eds. John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 15-35.
- . 'Strategies for Reducing Risk by Entrepreneurs in the Early Modern Period', in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, eds. Clé Lesger and Leo Noordegraaf. Den Haag: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995, 5-24.
- McCormack, Matthew. *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- . *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- McCormack, Matthew, (ed.). *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- McInnes, Angus. *The English Town, 1660-1760*. London: The Historical Association, 1980.
- McJimsey, Robert. 'Crisis Management: Parliament and Political Stability, 1692-1719', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 31, no. 4 (1999), 559-588.
- McKay, Elaine. 'English Diarists: Gender, Geography and Occupation, 1500-1700', *History* 90, no. 298 (April 2005), 191-212.
- McKeon, Michael. 'Biography, Fiction, and the Emergence of 'Identity' in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, 339-355.
- . 'Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660-1760', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28, no. 3 (Spring 1995), 295-322.
- McShane, Angela. 'Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads', *Journal of Early Modern History* 15, no. 1-2 (2011), 105-137.
- Meldrum, Tim. *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household*. Harlow, Essex: Longman, 2000.
- Mendelson, Sara, and Patricia Crawford. *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Mentz, Søren. *The English Gentleman at Work: Madras and the City of London, 1660-1740*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2005.
- Milton, Frank. *The English Magistracy*. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Mitchell, Matthew David. "'The Extravagant Humour of Stock-Jobbing" and the Members of the English Body Politic, 1690-1720', *The Journal of the Economic & Business Historical Society* 30 (2012), 49-62.
- Monod, Paul Kleber. 'Are You Getting Enough Culture? Moving from Social to Cultural History in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *History Compass* 6, no. 1 (January 2008), 91-108.
- Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975.
- Morgan, Jennifer L. 'Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770', in *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, eds. Tony Ballantyne and Antionette Burton. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005, 54-66.
- Morgan, Kenneth. 'Mercantilism and the British Empire, 1688-1815', in *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688-1914*, eds. Donald Winch and Patrick K. O'Brien. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2002, 165-191.

- Muldrew, Craig. "A Mutual Assent of her Mind"? Women, Debt, Litigation and Contract in Early Modern England', *Historical Workshop Journal* 55, no. 1 (January 2003), 47-71.
- . 'Class and Credit: Social Identity, Wealth and the Life Course in Early Modern England', in *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800*, eds. Henry French and Jonathan Barry. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 147-177.
- . 'Credit and the Courts: Debt Litigation in a Seventeenth-Century Urban Community', *The Economic History Review* 46, no. 1 (February 1993), 23-38.
- . 'From a "Light Cloak" to an "Iron Cage": Historical Changes in the Relation Between Community and Individualism', in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, eds. Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000, 156-177.
- . 'From Commonwealth to Public Opulence: The Redefinition of Wealth and Government in Early Modern Britain', in *Remaking English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England*, eds. Steve Hindle, Alexandra Shepard, and John Walter. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013, 317-319.
- . 'Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England', *Social History* 18, no. 2 (May 1993), 163-183.
- . 'Rural Credit, Market Areas and Legal Institutions in the Countryside in England, 1550-1700', in *Communities and Courts in Britain, 1150-1900*, eds. Christopher Brooks and Michael Lobban. London: The Hambledon Press, 1997, 155-177.
- . *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998.
- Murphy, Anne L. 'Dealing with Uncertainty: Managing Personal Investment in the Early English National Debt', *History* 91, no. 302 (April 2006), 200-217.
- . 'Demanding "Credible Commitment": Public Reactions to the Failures of the Early Financial Revolution', *The Economic History Review* 66, no. 1 (February 2013), 178-197.
- . 'Financial Markets: The Limits of Economic Regulation in Early Modern England', in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, eds. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind, Oxford University Press, 2013, 263-279.
- . 'Learning the Business of Banking: The Management of the Bank of England's First Tellers', *Business History* 52, no. 1 (2010), 150-168.
- . 'Lotteries in the 1690s: Investment or Gamble?', *Financial History Review* 12, no. 2 (October 2005), 227-246.
- . *The Origins of English Financial Markets: Investment and Speculation Before the South Sea Bubble*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- . 'Trading Options Before Black-Scholes: A Study of the Market in Late Seventeenth-Century London', *The Economic History Review* 62, Issue Supplement s1 (August 2009), 8-30.
- Neal, Larry. *The Rise of Financial Capitalism: International Capital Markets in the Age of Reason*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Neuberg, Victor. *Gone for a Soldier: A History of Life in the British Ranks from 1642*. London: Cassell, 1989.
- North, Douglass C., and Barry R. Weingast. 'Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 4 (December 1989), 803-832.
- Norton, Mary Beth. *Founding Mothers & Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1996.
- Noyes, Gertrude E. *Bibliography of Courtesy and Conduct Books in Seventeenth-Century England*. New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1937.

- Nussbaum, Felicity. *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England*. London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Nye, Robert A. 'Western Masculinities in War and Peace', *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 2 (April 2007), 417-438.
- O'Gorman, Frank. *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688-1832*. London: Arnold, 1997.
- Orr, Bridget. *Empire on the English Stage, 1660-1714*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Ozment, Steven E. *Ancestors: The Loving Family in Old Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Pagden, Anthony, and Nicholas Canny. 'Afterword: From Identity to Independence', in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987, 267-278.
- Pearsall, Sarah M.S. 'Gender', in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 113-132.
- Pelling, Margaret. 'Politics, Medicine, and Masculinity: Physicians and Office-Bearing in Early Modern England', in *The Practice of Reform in Health, Medicine, and Science, 1500-2000: Essays for Charles Webster*, eds. Charles Webster, Margaret Pelling, and Scott Mandelbrote. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, 81-106.
- Peltonen, Markku. 'Politeness and Whiggism, 1688-1732', *Historical Journal* 48, no. 2 (2005), 391-414.
- . *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Pettigrew, William. 'Regulatory Inertia and National Economic Growth: An African Trade Case Study, 1660-1714', in *Regulating the British Economy, 1660-1850*, eds. Perry Gauci. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011, 25-40.
- Pettigrew, William A., and George W. Van Cleve. 'Parting Companies: The Glorious Revolution, Company Power, and Imperial Mercantilism', *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 3 (2014), 617-638.
- Pincus, Steve. *1688: The First Modern Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- . 'From Holy Cause to Economic Interest: The Study of Population and the Invention of the State', in *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration*, eds. Alan Houston and Steve Pincus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 272-298.
- Pincus, Steve, and Alice Wolfram. 'A Proactive State? The Land Bank, Investment and Party Politics in the 1690s', in *Regulating the British Economy, 1660-1850*, eds. Perry Gauci. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011, 41-62.
- Plane, Anne Marie. 'Indian and English Dreams: Colonial Hierarchy and Manly Restraint in Seventeenth-Century New England', in *New Men: Manliness in Early America*, eds. Thomas A. Foster. New York: New York University Press, 2011, 31-47.
- Pocock, J.G.A. 'Authority and Property: The Question of Liberal Origins', in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 51-71.
- . 'Early Modern Capitalism: The Augustan Perception', in *Feudalism, Capitalism and Beyond*, eds. Eugene Kamenka and R.S. Neale. London: Edward Arnold, 1975, 62-83.
- . *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- . 'The Mobility of Property and the Rise of Eighteenth-Century Sociology', in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 103-123.

- . 'The Varieties of Whiggism from Exclusion to Reform: A History of Ideology and Discourse', in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 215-310.
- . 'Virtues, Rights, and Manners: A Model for Historian of Political Thought', in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 37-50.
- Power, Michael. 'Councillors and Commerce in Liverpool, 1650-1750', *Urban History* 24, no. 3 (December 1997), 301-323.
- Price, F.G. Hilton. *A Handbook of London Bankers, With Some Account of Their Predecessors the Early Goldsmiths*. London: The Leadenhall Press, 1890.
- Quilter, Michael. 'Daniel Defoe: Bankrupt and Bankruptcy Reformer', *The Journal of Legal History* 25, no. 1 (2004), 53-73.
- Quinn, Stephen. 'The Glorious Revolution's Effect on English Private Finance: A Microhistory, 1680-1705', *The Journal of Economic History* 61, no. 3 (September 2001), 593-615.
- Ramsey, Neil. *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780-1835*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.
- Raven, James. *Judging New Wealth: Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England, 1750-1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- . 'Publishing and Bookselling 1660-1780', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660-1780*, ed. John Richetti. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 13-36.
- Razovsky, Helaine. 'Remaking the Bible: English Reformation Spiritual Conduct Books', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 34, no. 4 (October 1, 1998), 5-25.
- Reddy, William M. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Rediker, Marcus. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Reinke-Williams, Tim. 'Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England', *History Compass* 12, no. 9 (September 2014), 685-693.
- . 'Misogyny, Jest-Books and Male Youth Culture in Seventeenth-Century England', *Gender & History* 21, no. 2 (August 2009), 324-339.
- Richards, Richard David. *The Early History of Banking in England*. London: P.S. King & Son, Ltd., 1929.
- Ridley, Glynis. 'Sacred and Secular Places: An Atlantic Divide', in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, eds. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006, 22-42.
- Rippl, Gabriele. '"Merit, Justice, Duty, Fidelity": Images of Masculinity in Autobiographies of Early Modern English Gentlewomen and Aristocrats', in *Constructions of Masculinity in British Literature from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Stefan Horlacher. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 69-87.
- Rivers, Isabel. *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Robins, Nick. *The Corporation That Changed the World: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational*. London: Pluto Press, 2006.
- Rodger, N.A. M. 'Commissioned Officers' Careers in the Royal Navy, 1690-1815', *Journal for Maritime Research* 3, no. 1 (2001), 85-129.
- . *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain 1649-1815*. London: Allen Lane, 2004.

- . 'War as an Economic Activity in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', *International Journal of Maritime History* 22, no. 2 (December 1, 2010), 1-18.
- Roeber, A.G. *Faithful Magistrates and Republican Lawyers: Creators of Virginia Legal Culture, 1680-1810*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981.
- Romero, R. Todd. *Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.
- Roper, Lyndal. *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Roper, Michael. 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950', *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005), 343-362.
- . 'Slipping Out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History', *History Workshop Journal* 59, no. 1 (Spring 2005), 57-72.
- Roper, Michael, and John Tosh. 'Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity', in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh. London: Routledge, 1991, 1-25.
- Rose, Craig. *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.
- . 'Politics, Religion and Charity in Augustan London c.1680-c.1720', PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1989.
- . 'The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK 1699-1716', in *The Church of England C. 1689-C. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 172-190.
- Rosenheim, James M. 'County Governance and Elite Withdrawal in Norfolk, 1660-1720', in *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, eds. A.L. Beier, David Cannadine, and James M. Rosenheim. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 95-125.
- . *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society, 1650-1750*. London: Longman, 1998.
- Roseveare, Henry. *The Financial Revolution*. New York: Longman, 1991.
- Royle, Trevor. *The Cameronians: A Concise History*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2009.
- Rubini, Dennis. 'Sexuality and Augustan England: Sodomy, Politics, Elite Circles and Society', in *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, eds. Kent Gerard and Gert Hekma. London: Harrington Park Press, 1989, 349-381.
- Rushton, Peter. 'The Rise and Fall of Seditious Words, 1650 to 1750', *Northern History* 52, no. 1 (2015), 68-84.
- Safley, Thomas Max. 'Introduction: A History of Bankruptcy and Bankruptcy in History', in *The History of Bankruptcy: Economic, Social and Cultural Implication in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Max Safley. London: Routledge, 2013, 1-16.
- Schlechter, Boyd Stanley. 'Religious Faith and Commercial Empire', in *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall. The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 128-150.
- Schochet, Gordon J. 'From Persecution to "Toleration"', in *Liberty Secured? Britain Before and After 1688*, ed. J.R. Jones. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992, 122-157.
- . *Patriarchalism in Political Thought: The Authoritarian Family and Political Speculation and Attitudes Especially in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1975.
- Schürer, Kevin. "'The Whole Duty of Man': A Seventeenth-Century Conduct Book", *Local Population Studies* 58 (1997), 48-57.

- Schwoerer, Lois G. *Gun Culture in Early Modern England*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016.
- Scott, William Robert. *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912.
- Seigel, Jerrold E. *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Shapiro Susan C., "'Yon Plumed Dandebat': Male 'Effeminacy' in English Satire and Criticism", *The Review of English Studies* 39, no. 155 (August 1988), 400–412.
- Sharpe, Kevin. *Rebranding Rule: Images of Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714*. London: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Shepard, Alexandra. *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- . 'Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy', *History Workshop Journal* 79, no. 1 (April 2015), 1–24.
- . 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500–1700', *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005), 281–295.
- . 'Honesty, Worth and Gender in Early Modern England, 1560-1640', in *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800*, eds. Henry French and Jonathan Barry. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 87–105.
- . 'Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England C. 1580–1640', *Past & Present* 167, no. 1 (May 2000), 75–106.
- . *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Shephard, Robert. 'Court Factions in Early Modern England', *The Journal of Modern History* 64, no. 4 (1992), 721–745.
- Sherman, Stuart. 'Diary and Autobiography', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660-1780*, ed. John Richetti. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 649–672.
- Shoemaker, Robert Brink. *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?*. London: Longman, 1998.
- . 'Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London', *Social History* 26, no. 2 (May 2001), 190–208.
- . 'Reforming Male Manners: Public Insult and the Decline of Violence in London, 1660-1740', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen. London: Longman, 1999, 133–150.
- . 'Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690-1738', in *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750*, eds. Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert B. Shoemaker. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, 99–120.
- . 'Separate Spheres? Ideology and Practice in London Gender Relations, 1660-1740', in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society, and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*, eds. Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph Ward, and Michael MacDonald. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999, 266–287.
- . *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century England*. London: Hambledon and London, 2004.
- . 'The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honour, and Ritual Violence in London, 1660-1800', *Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (2002), 525–545.
- Shovlin, John. 'War and Peace: Trade, International Competition, and Political Economy', in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, eds. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 305–320.

- Sirota, Brent S. *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Smail, John. 'Coming of Age in Trade: Masculinity and Commerce in Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Self-Perception of Early Modern Capitalists*, eds. Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 229-252.
- . 'Credit, Risk, and Honor in Eighteenth-Century Commerce', *The Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 3 (July 2005), 439-456.
- Smith, Hannah. 'Politics, Patriotism, and Gender: The Standing Army Debate on the English Stage, circa 1689-1720', *Journal of British Studies* 50, no. 1 (January 2011), 48-75.
- Smolenski, John. 'Violence in the Atlantic World', in *The Atlantic World*, eds. D'Maris Coffman, Adrian Leonard, and William O'Reilly. London: Routledge, 2015, 245-263.
- Smout, T.C. *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660-1707*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1963.
- Snape, Michael. *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldier from the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Spaeth, Donald A. *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660-1740*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Speck, William A. 'Religion, Politics, and Society in England', in *The Age of William III & Mary II: Power, Politics, and Patronage, 1688-1702*, eds. Robert P. Maccubbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips. Williamsburg, Virginia: The College of William and Mary, 1989, 49-59.
- Spicksley, Judith M., "'Fly with a Duck in Thy Mouth": Single Women as Sources of Credit in Seventeenth-Century England', *Social History* 32, no. 2 (May 2007), 187-207.
- Spurr, John. "'Latitudinarianism" and the Restoration Church', *The Historical Journal* 31, no. 1 (March 1988), 61-82.
- . 'Religion in Restoration England', in *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. Barry Coward. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2003, 416-435.
- . 'The Church, the Societies and the Moral Revolution of 1688', in *The Church of England C. 1689-C. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 127-142.
- . 'The Lay Church of England', in *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714*, ed. Grant Tapsell. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012, 101-124.
- . *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2006.
- Stasavage, David. 'Partisan Politics and Public Debt: The Importance of the "Whig Supremacy" for Britain's Financial Revolution', *European Review of Economic History* 11, no. 1 (January 2007), 123-153.
- Starkey, Armstrong. *War in the Age of Enlightenment, 1700-1789*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003.
- Steele, Ian K. *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Stern, Philip J. "'A Politie of Civill & Military Power": Political Thought and the Late Seventeenth-Century Foundations of the East India Company-State', *Journal of British Studies* 47, no. 2 (April 2008), 253-283.
- . 'Companies: Monopoly, Sovereignty, and the East Idies', in *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire*, eds. Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind. Oxford University Press, 2013, 177-191.
- . 'Soldier and Citizen in the Seventeenth-Century English East India Company', *Journal of Early Modern History* 15, no. 1-2 (2011), 83-104.

- . *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Stone, Lawrence. 'Libertine Sexuality in Post-Restoration England: Group Sex and Flagellation among the Middling Sort in Norwich in 1706-07', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 4 (April 1992), 511-526.
- . *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.
- Stout, Harry S. *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Straka, Gerald. *Anglican Reaction to the Revolution of 1688*. Madison: Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1962.
- Sugarman, David, and Ronnie Warrington. 'Land Law, Citizenship, and the Invention of "Englishness": The Strange World of the Equity of Redemption', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. John Brewer and Susan Staves. London: Routledge, 1996, 111-143.
- Suranyi, Anna. 'Virile Turks and Maiden Ireland: Gender and National Identity in Early Modern English Travel Literature', *Gender & History* 21, no. 2 (August 2009), 241-262.
- Sussman, Charlotte. *Eighteenth-Century English Literature*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012.
- Sweet, Rosemary. *The English Town, 1680-1840: Government, Society and Culture*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1999.
- . 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 12 (2002), 355-374.
- Swingen, Abigail L. *Competing Visions of Empire: Labor, Slavery, and the Origins of the British Atlantic Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Tapsell, Grant. 'Pastors, Preachers and Politicians: The Clergy of the Later Stuart Church', in *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714*, ed. Grant Tapsell. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012, 71-100.
- Thomas, Keith. *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Todd, Barbara J. 'Fiscal Citizens: Female Investors in Public Finance before the South Sea Bubble', in *Challenging Orthodoxies: The Social and Cultural Worlds of Early Modern Women*, eds. Sigrun Haude and Melinda S. Zook. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014, 53-74.
- Tosh, John. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. London: Yale University Press, 1999.
- . 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender', in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh. New York: Manchester University Press, 2004, 41-58.
- . *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- . 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?', in *What Is Masculinity?: Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, eds. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 17-34.
- . 'The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English Masculinities, 1750-1850', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen. London: Longman, 1999, 217-238.
- . 'What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History Workshop*, no. 38 (January 1994), 179-202.
- Trumbach, Randolph. 'Erotic Fantasy and Male Libertinism in Enlightenment England', in *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. Lynn Hunt. New York: MIT Press, 1993, 253-282.

- . 'London's Sodomites: Homosexual Behavior and Western Culture in the 18th Century', *Journal of Social History* 11, no. 1 (September 21, 1977), 1-33.
- . *Sex and the Gender Revolution: Volume 1, Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment London*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998.
- . 'Sex, Gender, and Sexual Identity in Modern Culture: Male Sodomy and Female Prostitution in Enlightenment London', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 2 (1991), 186-203.
- . 'Sodomy Transformed: Aristocratic Libertinage, Public Reputation and the Gender Revolution of the 18th Century', *Journal of Homosexuality* 19, no. 2 (1990), 105-124.
- Tully, Alan. 'The Political Development of the Colonies After the Glorious Revolution.', in *A Companion to the American Revolution*, eds. Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2000, 29-38.
- Turner, James Grantham. *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630-1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- . 'The Properties of Libertinism', in *'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment*, ed. Robert P. Maccubbin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 75-87.
- Valenze, Deborah. *The Social Life of Money in the English Past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Van der Kiste, John. *William and Mary*. Stroud: The History Press, 2008.
- Van der Zee, Henri A., and Barbara Van der Zee. *William and Mary*. London: Penguin, 1988.
- Van Reyk, William. 'Christian Ideals of Manliness in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 4 (December 2009), 1053-1073.
- Vickers, Daniel. 'Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (January 1990), 3-29.
- Wahrman, Dror. 'Change and the Corporeal in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Gender History: Or, Can Cultural History Be Rigorous?', *Gender & History* 20, no. 3 (November 2008), 584-602.
- . *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Walby, Sylvia. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- Walsh, John, and Stephen Taylor. 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', in *The Church of England C. 1689-C. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 1-64.
- Ward, Joseph. *Culture, Faith, and Philanthropy: Londoners and Provincial Reform in Early Modern England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Wasson, Ellis. *Born to Rule: British Political Elites*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons. London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1985.
- Weil, Rachel Judith. *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Wennerlind, Carl. *Casualties of Credit: The English Financial Revolution, 1620-1720*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Whyman, Susan E. 'Land and Trade Revisited: The Case of John Verney, London Merchant and Baronet, 1660-1720', *The London Journal: A Review of Metropolitan Society Past and Present* 22, no. 1 (1997), 16-32.

- . *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Whyte, Ian D. *Migration and Society in Britain, 1550-1830*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.
- Williams, Abigail. *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture, 1681-1714*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Wilson, Lisa. *Ye Heart of a Man: The Domestic Life of Men in Colonial New England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Wrightson, Keith. 'Class', in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 133-153.
- . *English Society 1580-1680*. London: Hutchinson, 1982.
- Yen, Sarah. 'Colonial Identity and Revolutionary Loyalty: The Case of the West Indies', in *British North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Stephen Foster. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 195-226.
- Zahedieh, Nuala. 'Credit, Risk and Reputation in Late Seventeenth-Century Colonial Trade', in *Merchant Organization and Maritime Trade in the North Atlantic, 1660-1815*, ed. Olaf Uwe Janzen. St. John's, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1998, 53-74.
- Zuckerman, Michael. 'Identity in British America: Unease in Eden', in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987, 115-157.