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Edited by Madelaine Watson and Jasmine Kelly

University of Southampton

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Foreword by the Editors

Dear readers,

We would love to introduce you to Issue 9 of the Southampton Journal of History. This journal brings a collection of work, exploring British history. As with every time we publish an edition, we feel proud to celebrate student endeavours and further the contribution to historical research from University of Southampton alumni.

Through these chapters, we would love to take you on a ride through British history in reverse chronological order. Beginning in Southampton, we begin visiting the SeaCity Museum's role in shaping the remembrance of the Titanic and creating a shared identity with the city's residents. An article on early Victorian Britain looks into the Sanitary Report and its implications for governance over a fast-growing population in less than favourable living conditions. We look at the British state's response to the East India Company's territorial acquisition of Bengal and, separately, at the transformations that came from conquering Jamaica. We explore the 'Gin Craze' of the 1700s and how attitudes to this social problem shaped policy change. Elizabeth I's reign is discussed in comparison with Roman goddesses Venus, Judo, and Minerva, filling a gap in historical research around how the queen was viewed by her supporters. We delve into the legacy of Sir Walter Raleigh beyond his life as an explorer, touching on his relationship with James VI and his relationship with religion. We discover how to topple a Tudor government, using social support, military superiority and a ruling figurehead. One article looks at the motivations for the Hundred Years' War, primarily discussing financial gain and a change in soldiers' mentality. The journal finishes by returning to Hampshire, looking at its appearance in the Domesday Book in relation to William the Conqueror.

We are pleased to highlight the collaborative effort behind this publication, with university students as peer reviewers as well as contributors, the journal is a creation of Southampton alumni who care about sharing history.

The cover and title pages for each article in this issue have been created by our assistant editor Erin Crombie.

We are thankful to the Department of History at the University of Southampton for their prolonged support of the history journal committee, and we feel privileged to be able to celebrate the hard work of students and help them cement their work in academia. We are looking forward to our future within the new University of Southampton Press.

We thank those who continue to engage with the journal. We hope this edition inspires you.

Madelaine Watson, Jasmine Kelly

Co-Editors, 2026

Contributors

Reviewers

- Emily Haines-Furse
- Daisy-May Jewell
- Jack Calliss
- Amelie Lacassin

Each essay in this edition inspired its own mini illustration. I aimed to capture the heart of the student's work while leaving room for interpretation. Every mini piece began with a watercolour splash, shaped by blowing paint through a straw, and was then layered with fine-liner sketches to echo the essays' ideas in abstract form. Engaging with such thoughtful student work through art has been a real joy, and I hope that these illustrations reflect the insight and creativity of the writing they accompany.

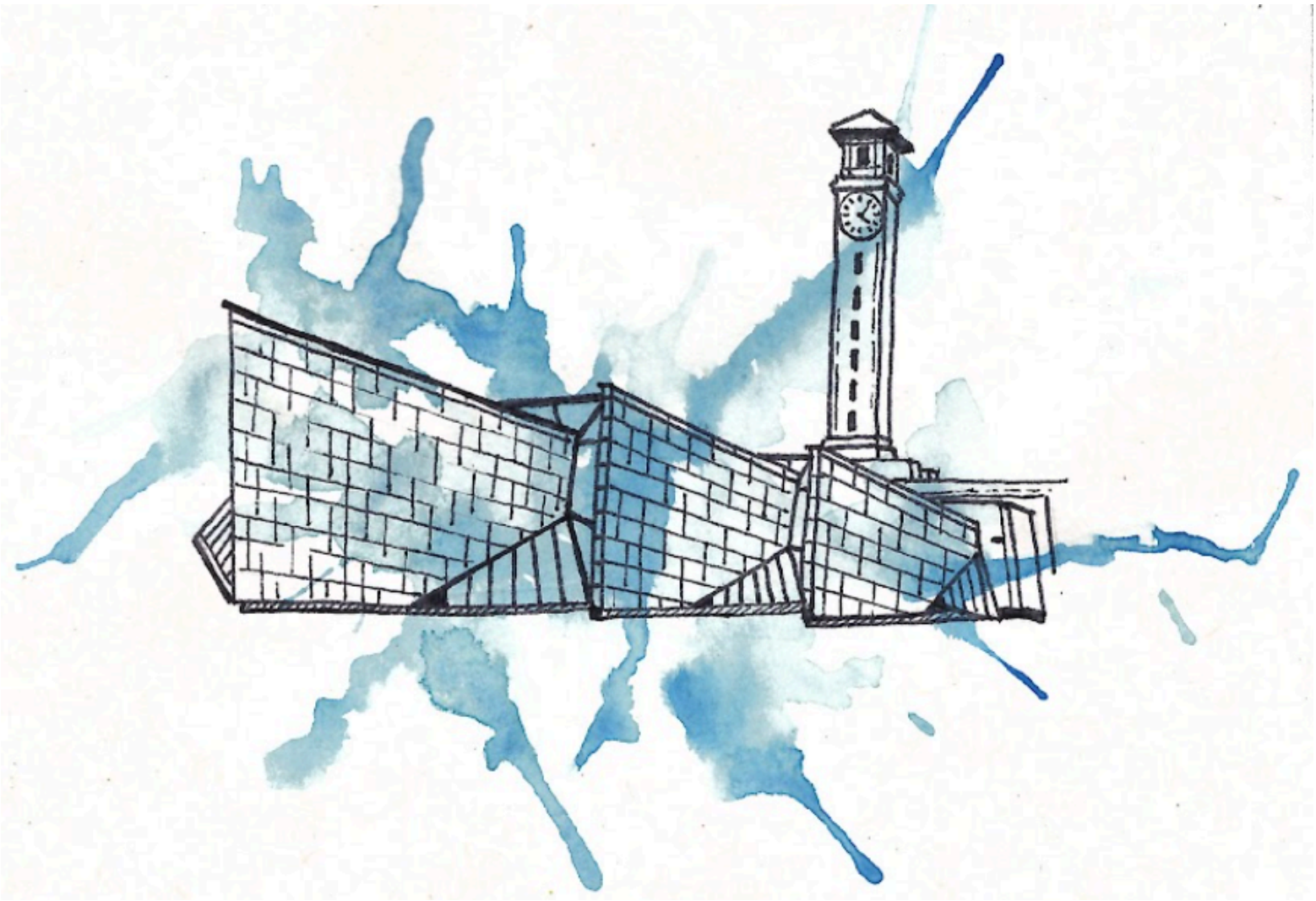
The front cover design of this edition continues the dialogue between history and art. At its centre, a reimagined Trajan's column (a symbol of memory) is decorated with key historic structures and events: The Great Wall of China (Fortifications), the Roman Colosseum (Entertainment), the moon landing (Space Exploration), a Spanish Armada ship (Transport), and fossils (Archaeology). The composition reflects the journey of history itself, from tools and notes at the base to the student's work rising above.

Designing for this edition has been a meditative way for me to engage with academic work differently, focusing on tone and energy over literal interpretation. It's reminded me, as a history student, how rewarding it can be to see the past from a fresh perspective.

BA Ancient History & History Student

Erin Crombie

Assistant Editor and Illustrator



SeaCity Museum's Separation of Tragedy and Its Role in Titanic's Immersion Within the Identity of Southampton

Stephanie Barter

SeaCity Museum's Separation of Tragedy and Its Role in Titanic's Immersion Within the Identity of Southampton

Stephanie Barter

Abstract: *SeaCity's Titanic exhibition,* Southampton's Titanic Story*, is undoubtedly the most-visited of the three parts of the museum, drawing the attention of locals and cruise ship passengers alike. The building itself is reminiscent of the great liner – with the shape of the pavilion being described by Oliver Green in Museums Journal as like 'prows of ocean liners cutting through art deco waves', and the Civic Centre clock tower standing approximately at the height of a funnel on the Titanic (Figure 1).*[1] *With such a carefully and introspectively designed space, how does the exhibition dedicated to the memory of the Titanic compare? The exhibition takes visitors from life in Southampton in 1912, to life on board the Titanic, to the disaster and the passage of news in the city, ending with the court hearings and changes made in the wake of the disaster, hoping to bring home the people who lived, worked and perished with the* Titanic*. To bring the humanity of the tragedy to light, SeaCity attempts to create a distinct separation between the 'Disaster Room' and the rest of the exhibition through the creative use of lighting and auditory zones, to reasonable success. From this, it is vital to evaluate the perspectives of both audiences of the museum – those passing through the city on their way to a cruise ship and those who call Southampton home. The forging of a sense of shared identity with the victims of the tragedy is also twofold. Cruise ship passengers may see the humanity of the tragedy and reflect on the changes made to maritime safety in its wake, while residents of Southampton may share a connection through their familiarity with the city where two-thirds of the crew lived.*

Three-quarters of the way through SeaCity Museum's bright *Southampton's Titanic Story* exhibition stands a single artefact in a display case, on the back wall of an uncharacteristically dimly-lit room. The room is painted in a deep navy blue, with softly-spoken survivor testimonies inviting visitors in to sit and listen, yet turn their backs to the only artefact the museum holds, which was recovered from a disaster victim. Sombre as the presence of Sidney Sedunary's stopped pocket watch is, its impact is not so much supported by the swirling voices of survivor testimonies surrounding it but punctuated by the jarring clatter of children shovelling coal in the room before.[2] The *Disaster Room* in SeaCity's *Southampton's Titanic Story* provides visitors with a choice to enter and engage as a break from the natural pedestrian

[1] Oliver Green, *SeaCity Museum, Southampton* (2012) <https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/reviews/2012/06/01072012-seacity-museum-southampton/> [Accessed 28/2/2025]

[2] Dario D'Orazio, 'Acoustic Comfort in Highly Attended Museums: A Dynamical Model' in *Building and Environment (Volume 183)* (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.buildenv.2020.107176> [Accessed 23/10/2024] p. 2.

flow of the rest of the exhibition, with the entrance and exit positions directly in front of each other. Of those who choose to enter the room and bear witness to the testimonies of survivors, only a handful also investigate the room further to discover the pocket watch and connect to the deeper, more tangible tragedy of the *Titanic*.

SeaCity Museum itself proudly inhabits a Grade II* listed building, enviously positioned within the city centre – embedded within Southampton's lived past and present, both for residents and visiting cruise ship passengers.[3] In doing so, can it create a human connection to the victims by creating a distinct, lived experience for its' visitors beyond the disaster's blunt facts?[4] The creation of a lived experience for visitors fundamentally rests on human connection, both amongst visitors and between visitors and those whose memories are honoured in the exhibition. It is important to evaluate the museum's atmospheric creation - and the emotional separation of the disaster room from the rest of the exhibition - in discovering whether museum techniques employed can facilitate this shifting of mood, thereby creating a deeply personal experience for the visitor. This mood-shifting is crucial for deeper engagement between visitors and the museum, and, perhaps, opening up a passage in which visitors can reflect upon themselves through observing their changing emotions as the exhibition and the Titanic story unfold.[5]

[3] Grete Swensen, 'Resilience Thinking in Museums: Industrial Heritage, Urban Regeneration and Civic Engagement' in *Museum and Society (Volume 21, No. 3)* (2023). <DOI: 10.29311/mas.v21i3.4408> [Accessed 3/11/2024] p. 36.
[4] Grete Swensen et. al. 'Museums as Narrators: Heritage Trails in a Digital Era' in *Journal of Heritage Tourism (Volume 14)* (2019). <DOI: 10.1080/1743873X.2019.1574803> (2019) [Accessed 3/11/2024] p. 524.
[5] Youmna Ahmady, et. al. 'Enhancing Visitors' Experience in Historical Museums through Applying Parametric Roof Designs' in *HBRC Journal (Volume 19)*. (London: Taylor and Francis, 2023) p. 322.



Figure 1 – The exterior of SeaCity Museum, showing the Art Deco pavilion design and the clock tower. Source: Taken by Author, 28/03/2025

Audio, Soundscapes, and the Separation of Auditory Zones

The *Disaster Room* markedly includes spoken testimony of survivors describing the disaster, with dynamic text transcriptions varied across three screens (Figure 2) – notably without photos or video footage. This 'disembodied' voice allows visitors to connect more personally, and, as Nikos Bubaris convincingly notes regarding audio guides in his work on cultural technology and communication, the testimony becomes omnipresent and embodies itself instead within the visitor.[6] The oral history focus helps visitors interpret the disaster in the context of their own experiences, therefore forging a more personal and emotive experience in which the visitor becomes their own curator.[7] The absence of photos in the graphics, rather the presentation of abstract colours and movement, enhance the conveying of the message without trivialising the disaster to what can be seen in photographs and facts. Why should the total number of those lost matter, when the scene ends with Eva recounting her mother telling her that she has lost her father, the loss which meant the very most to her?

The usage of subtle sound effects, such as crunching sounds to punctuate text and testimony, is tasteful and limited. The audio begins with ticking at 220bpm, ending when the spoken testimony first

[6] Nikos Bubaris, 'Sound in Museums – Museums in Sound' in *Museum Management and Curatorship (Volume 29)* (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2014.934049> [Accessed 21/10/2024] p. 394.
[7] April Whincop, 'Using Oral History in Museum Displays' in *Oral History (Volume 14, No. 2)* (1986). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40178909> [Accessed 3/11/2024] p. 48.; Jon Sleigh, *What are museums for?* (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2024) p. 32.

mentions lifeboats, perhaps symbolising the running out of time before getting to safety – although it could potentially be more impactful if the ticking stopped at the moment of impact with the iceberg. The recordings' authenticity re-contextualises and continues the tragedy through human connection of speaking and listening, as noted by historian Anne Karpf, bringing the experience into the living present.[8] The testimonies' narrative structure is continuous – one survivor speaks at a time as if in conversation, and all visitors simultaneously hear them, the survivors experienced the sinking together. As a result, there is no allowance for visitors to choose what resonates with them most. The experience is somewhat prescriptive - the use of layered sound, in which visitors could move around the room to better hear testimonies of their choosing in a non-linear approach, could aid this.[9] This may also reduce the impact of external activity noise on the exhibit's solemnness, thus reducing immersion and connection. However, the implementation capacity of this is challenging within a listed building.



Figure 2.1 - Screen placement, showing core transcript, mood and graphics. Source: Taken by Author, 25/10/2024

[8] Anne Karpf, 'The Human Voice and the Texture of Experience' in *Oral History (Volume 42, No. 2)* (2014). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24343433> [Accessed 21/10/2024] p. 52.
[9] Gareth Beale, et. al. 'Digital Creativity and the Regional Museum: Experimental Collaboration at the Convergence of Immersive Media and Exhibition Design' in *ACM Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage (Volume 15)* (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1145/3527620> [Accessed 20/10/2024] p. 78.

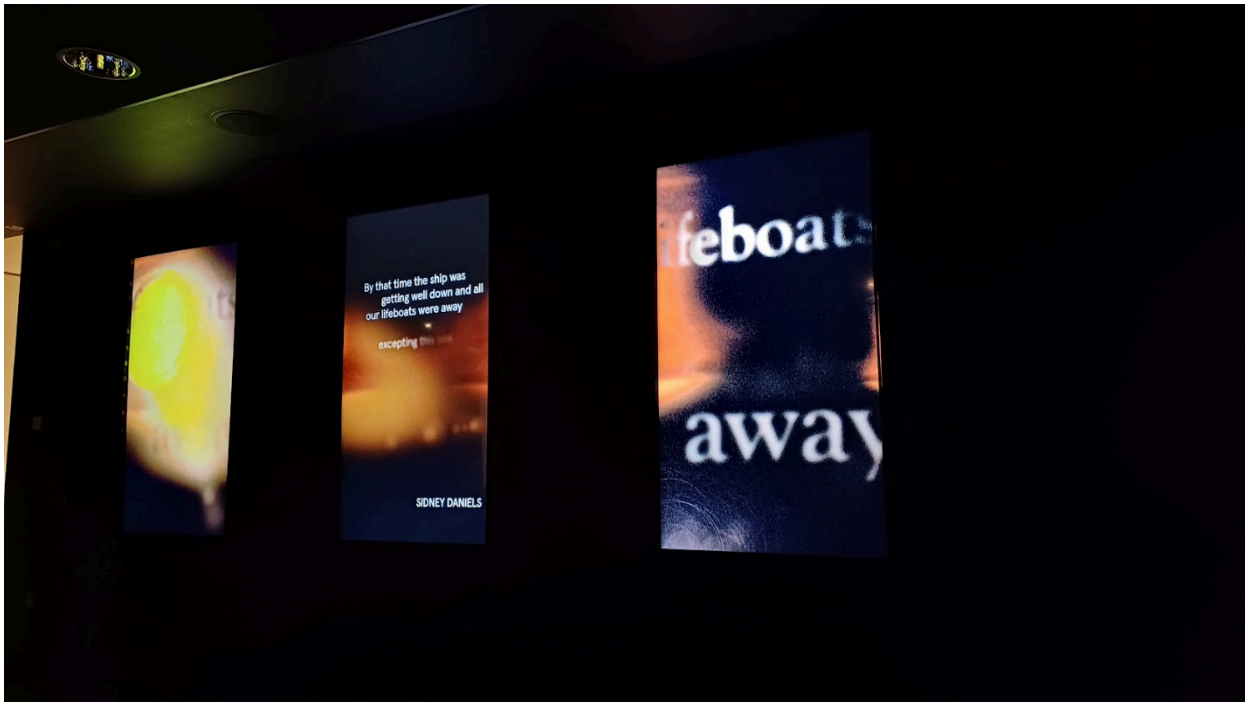


Figure 2.2 - Screen placement, showing core transcript and highlighted words. Source: Taken by author, 25/10/2024

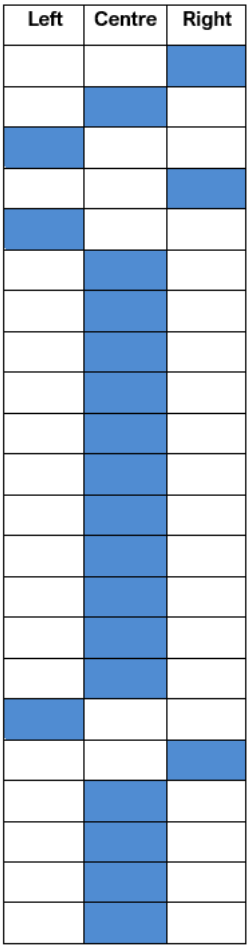


Figure 2.3 - Diagram showing the distribution placement of the core transcript. This range may hold engagement longer for neurodiverse visitors. Source: Created by the author.

Audio use is varied throughout the exhibition. *Life in Southampton* features a soundscape of a town street, made thematically relevant by mentioning townspeople's jobs on the liner. This begins audience immersion by walking through the 'street', clearly marking the exhibition's start after the crew wall. This soundscape includes overlapping vocals, with the volume set to provide ambience without becoming overwhelming. This backdrop fosters a 'multimodal environment', prompting conversation among visitors and, by extension, encouraging multiple interpretations of the space which Bubaris praises.[10] *Southampton Hears the News* features three testimony-choice telephones – this private listening allows for personal connection and creates a markedly individual experience. This separation – akin to many families receiving telegrams notifying them of their loss – makes a narrative distinction between individual grieving and the togetherness of survivors' testimonies. The *Inquiry Room* (strikingly in an

[10] Nikos Bubaris, *Sound in Museums* p. 393.

original courtroom, a clear benefit mitigating the challenges of working within a listed building) features voice actors performing court transcripts, accompanied by room-length screens. Care has been taken to differentiate between actors with distinct accents, accurately and respectfully representing the individual. Alongside this, audio marks visual beginnings and ends. The case file shuffling and recorded ambient talking between the three video cycles give visitors time to settle and engage, with key turning points emphasised by gasps and shouts, immersing them into the present debate, allowing them to react openly and authentically. This social learning is vital for meaningful experiences which both residents and visitors will carry with them upon leaving.[11] The variety of audio experiences creates a dynamic experience for visitors, and while it makes the mixture of spoken testimonies in the *Disaster Room* less striking and softens its distinction from other rooms, the changing audio landscape helps to separate the exhibition into clear zones.

Layout, Lighting and Accessibility

The exhibition layout allows interaction with the *Disaster Room* to be optional – with the room's entrance and exit aligned, it becomes a choice to enter, sit and engage. Notably, it provides the first available exhibition seating, with some likely using it as a rest opportunity. The room's mood is enhanced by dark walls, dimmer lighting and cooler temperatures, reflecting the ambient conditions around the sinking Titanic.

The less complex room layout assists neurodiverse visitors' focus as noted by educational researchers Maxwell and Killeen, and the sinking timeline as a wall graphic instead of testimony allows people to alternatively engage with the factual evidence, markedly separate from the emotional recordings (Figure 3).[12] Many choose to experience the testimony and then explore the room (Figure 4). The limited seating is also notable – sofas encircle two pillars, pointing visitors in all directions. This results in a sparse, uneven seating distribution, prompting some to stand along the back wall when viewing the material, thereby reducing their engagement length (Figure 5). The seating also poses a barrier to discussion by creating larger distances between speakers, with the spacing conveying an expectation of silent contemplation.[13] Lighting is used to guide the visitor through the dimmer room – the LED testimony screens being the brightest and drawing the most visual attention, followed by the sinking

[11] Scott Sayre et. al. 'The Social Life of Technology for Museum Visitors' in *Visual Arts Research (Volume 34, No. 2)* (2008). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20715478> [Accessed 3/11/2024] p. 85.
[12] Lorraine E. Maxwell et. al, 'Museum Visits: Experiences of Special Education and Typically Developing Children' in *The Journal of Museum Education (Volume 27, No. 1)* (2002). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40479228> [Accessed 1/11/2024] p. 19.
[13] Dario D'Orazio, *Acoustic Comfort in Highly Attended Museums* p. 2.

graphic lit by two spotlights (Figure 3, Figure 6). The changing of screens upon which the transcript appears boosts engagement (alongside the gentle movement of the graphic, with highlighted words on the non-transcript-bearing screens) – although it is important to note that the run-time is not included on-screen or in an introduction panel, potentially making the presentation more challenging for neurodiverse visitors. The screens do have a clear beginning and end, and finish by fading to white and closing to black before restarting.

The only display case in this room – holding Sidney's pocket watch – is the only displayed artefact recovered from the wreck site itself. For an object of such monumental significance, it is perplexingly relegated to the back wall, lit by a single overhead light. It is considerably more impactful alone within its case but remains overshadowed by the spoken testimony (Figure 7). The watch is suspended 134cm from floor level, allowing it to be viewed most comfortably by the 50th percentile of adult men and women (at 138.7cm and 128.0cm shoulder-height, respectively), although above average head height for children under eight (126.4cm), limiting its accessibility and relatability to younger children.[14] As a result, younger visitors are excluded from the relationship fostered between object and visitor.[15]

However, the lighting of the museum is generally consistent throughout the exhibition, allowing the dimmer *Disaster Room* to truly stand out. The *Inquiry Room*'s position in an original courtroom setting brings home the sense of injustice, heightened with the gasping sound effects when it is ruled that all passengers had an equal chance of survival. There is also dimmer lighting in this room to draw focus towards the screens and graphics above, although the brightly-lit *Southampton Hears the News* between the *Disaster Room* and the *Inquiry Room* helps to maintain the visual distinctiveness and sense of separation. The *Inquiry Room* features a clock above where the judge would sit, set to the time of the sinking – but it is unlit, and goes widely unnoticed. While this severely reduces its impact, it does allow for a sense of discovery for the visitors who do notice it. While the visual focus is on the media, the most brightly-lit area of the room is the crew wall at the exit, which guides people to complete their experience and helps with pedestrian flow.

[14] Alvin Tilley, *Measure of Man and Woman* (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1993) p. 5., p. 11., p. 13.
[15] Lorna Cruickshanks, ''Talking Objects' at the British Museum: Breaking down barriers between collections and communities' *in Journal of Museum Ethnography, No. 28, Collections, Collaboration and Communities: Papers from the Annual Conference of the Museum Ethnographers Group Held at the University of Aberdeen 7–8 April 2014* (2015). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43915893> [Accessed 23/10/2024] p. 123.



Figure 3 - Layout of the LED screens and proximity to the 'Disaster' graphic. No facts are included on the screens. Source: Taken by author, 25/10/2024

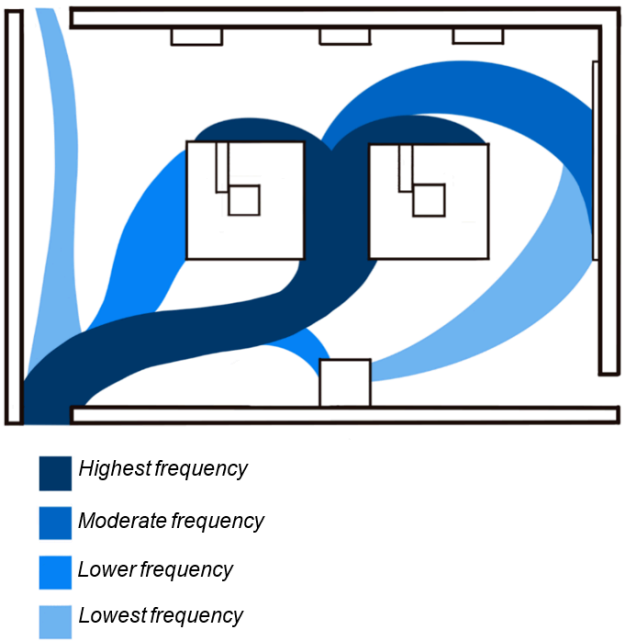


Figure 4 - Diagram showing most frequented pedestrian routes upon entering the 'Disaster Room' from observations over three days (11/10/2024, 25/10/2024, 3/11/2024). For labelled diagram of the Disaster Room, see Appendix 1. Source: Created by author. Not to scale

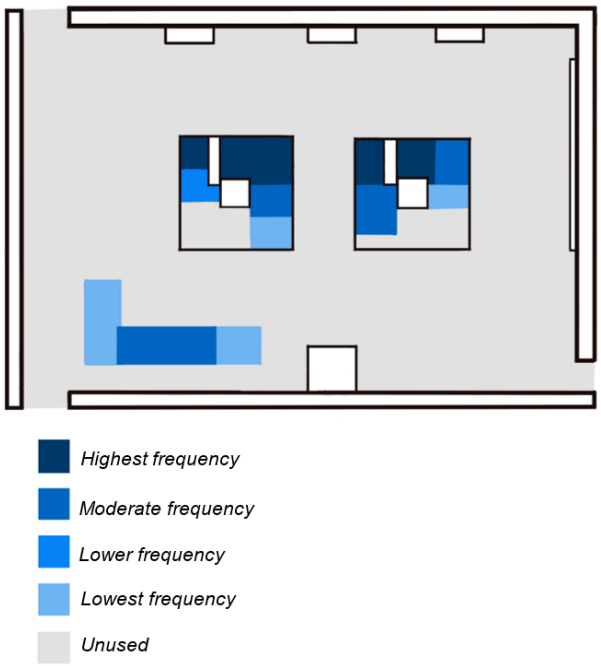


Figure 5 - Diagram showing most popular seating or standing positions when viewing the testimonies in the 'Disaster Room' from observations over three days (11/10/2024, 25/10/2024, 3/11/2024). Source: Created by author. Not to scale.



Figure 6 – Lighting of the disaster graphic, pocket watch and chairs. Note that the chairs are also lit to the same brightness and hue as the artefact, lessening the visual impact of both the graphic and watch. Source: Taken by author, 25/10/2024



Figure 7 - Sidney Sedunary's pocket watch. Note the reflection of the testimonies on the glass, and its positioning alone in the case. Source: Taken by author, 11/10/2024

Labelling and Narrative

There have been clear accessibility considerations within *Southampton in 1912*, with 'child-focused' artefacts (including a theatre program, homewares and corporation weights) placed in lightboxes at 104cm above floor level and arranged in thematic groups for different sections of daily life (Figure 8) – helping to integrate the items into a central narrative and purpose.[16] In one case, a patterned teapot looks similar to those used in children's play sets, relating the crew's domestic lives to themes of hospitality and care, all at child height. However, the potential for personal connection to the crochet hooks and compact is disappointingly lost through a lack of labelling and positioning – the three hooks are seemingly used as

[16] Lisa King, 'Rhetorics in a Museum Space: Connecting Exhibit Spaces, Contexts, and Audiences' in *Journal of Advanced Composition (Volume 33, No. 4)* (2013). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43854572> [Accessed 1/11/2024] p. 675.

space-fillers, and the compact's proximity to the label seems desperate to gain attention, yet cut adrift without explanation of who is in the image (Figure 9). The label explains the theme of 'keeping house' in a child-accessible structure but fails to identify any object to which a child could relate or provide catchy facts which could prompt parent-child dialogue. The attempt to humanise and bring contemporary relations to the crew's lives relies upon existing knowledge and recognition of these objects, rather than facilitating new interactions and perspectives.[17]



Figure 8 - 'Life in Southampton' exhibit, showing the inclusion of lightboxes into the backdrop photograph, and into the context of a bustling port town. Also note the significant protrusion of the image into the walkways. Source: Taken by author, 3/11/2024

[17] Maureen A Callanan, et. al. 'Exploration, Explanation, and Parent-Child Interaction in Museums' in *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development (Volume 85)*. <https://doi-org.soton.idm.oclc.org/10.1111/mono.12412> (2020) [Accessed 23/10/2024] p. 17.



Figure 9 - 'Teaching young girls to keep house' lightbox, including a teapot and crochet hooks. Source: Taken by author, 3/11/2024

The dockers' hooks and unlabelled bottles are 142cm above floor level, again excluding young people from easily viewing at close quarters. The bottles are incorporated into a bar photograph, brought to life by protruding certain elements (Figure 8, Figure 10). This creation of depth within photographs lends them contemporary relevance and creates a dynamic space for interaction, although the unorthodox shape could pose accessibility challenges for visitors with visual or physical disabilities.[18]

[18] Youmna Ahmady, et. al. *Enhancing visitors' experience* p. 320.



Figure 10 - Placement of alcohol bottles above head height of children, and incorporation into the bar photograph. Source: Taken by author, 3/11/2024

Sidney's pocket watch label (Figure 11) is noticeably impersonal and detached, especially for the sole artefact in the *Disaster Room*. It allows for easy understanding by most, but surrounded by lived testimony, it feels somewhat hollow (Figure 11). There is no reference to the rarity of an artefact being retrieved from a casualty, nor a photo of Sidney provided to personalise the object, losing poignancy in being able to showcase a real life lost amid the disembodied voices of the survivors.

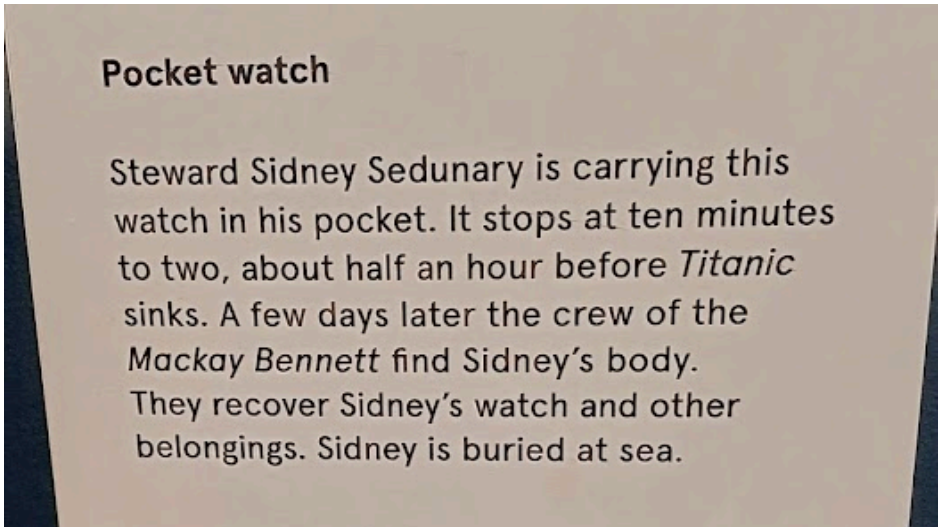


Figure 11 - Label mounted alongside Sidney's pocket watch. Source: Taken by author, 25/11/2024

Interaction, Connection and Memorability

Although SeaCity's interactive coal exhibit is intrusively loud, it offers a respectful hands-on experience. Whilst it cannot truly encapsulate the experience of the coal workers, nor can it replicate the strength and toil of physical labour, it is a commendable effort to get visitors involved in movement, which may also aid the creation of new memories and experiences.

Other *Titanic*-based museums, such as *Titanic* in Branson, Missouri (Appendix 2), offer visitors a chance to beat a timer by keeping their hand in a barrel of water kept at sea temperature at the time of sinking. While this physically intense experience breaks through the expected mental passage through the museum, certainly fostering a greater recognition of the reality of the sinking and swiftly dispelling the notion that people generally could have survived in the icy water until rescue, it risks gamifying the experience, with some visitors possibly aiming to 'beat' those they came in with in an endurance test, rather than reflecting on the human tragedy. This is also notable with the issuing of passenger information cards to visitors, with the aim for them to find out at the exhibition's exit whether 'their' passenger survived. While undoubtedly memorable, it is vital to carefully consider the risk of losing the profoundly human connection to the tragedy and not relegating the experience to a 'win-lose' situation.

A commendable effort has been made to create an exhibit space for individual reflection on the *Titanic* story, however the creation of the *Disaster Room*'s distinct atmosphere could be pushed further. The city's loss is conveyed somewhat through specific elements, most powerfully in *Southampton Hears the News* (Figure 12). The map on the floor with the red spots to mark houses of a loss is incredibly powerful, especially for residents of the city: while observing visitors interacting with the room, many children ran to find their street on the floor, fostering a deeper connection to the felt loss of lives quite literally so close to home.[19] However, the explanation for the red spots is at knee height along the entrance wall – people likely understand what it is through context, rather than by reading. *Southampton Hears the News* also features an excellent use of podiums showing artefacts and memorial pieces which are visually integrated in the lives of the people and the fabric of the city.

Alongside this, the visual cards of six individuals are continued throughout (Figure 13), although engagement with them seems limited – perhaps due to a lack of personal relatability, perhaps also hindered by the use of third-person voice throughout the exhibition. The colour coding of individuals is helpful, especially for young children, but the final card simply summarises the headings of the cards,

[19] Jon Sleigh, *What are museums for?* p. 32.

giving a lacklustre ending which could be improved by a more emotive written piece at the end to cement relatability.



Figure 12 - 'Southampton Hears the News', showing the red dots on the floor which highlight the address of a Titanic victim. The sign explaining this is at knee-height to an adult male on the left-side of the entrance wall, diminishing its visibility. Source: Taken by author, 3/11/2024



Figure 13.1 - First introduction to the six individuals to be followed. The colour coding remains consistent throughout the exhibit. Source: Taken by author, 3/11/2024



Figure 13.2 - An example of continuation of the stories of the individuals. These panels are kept at a consistent height of 112cm (top) throughout the exhibition. Also note the height of the child and the accessibility of the panels and lightboxes. Source: Taken by author, 3/11/2024

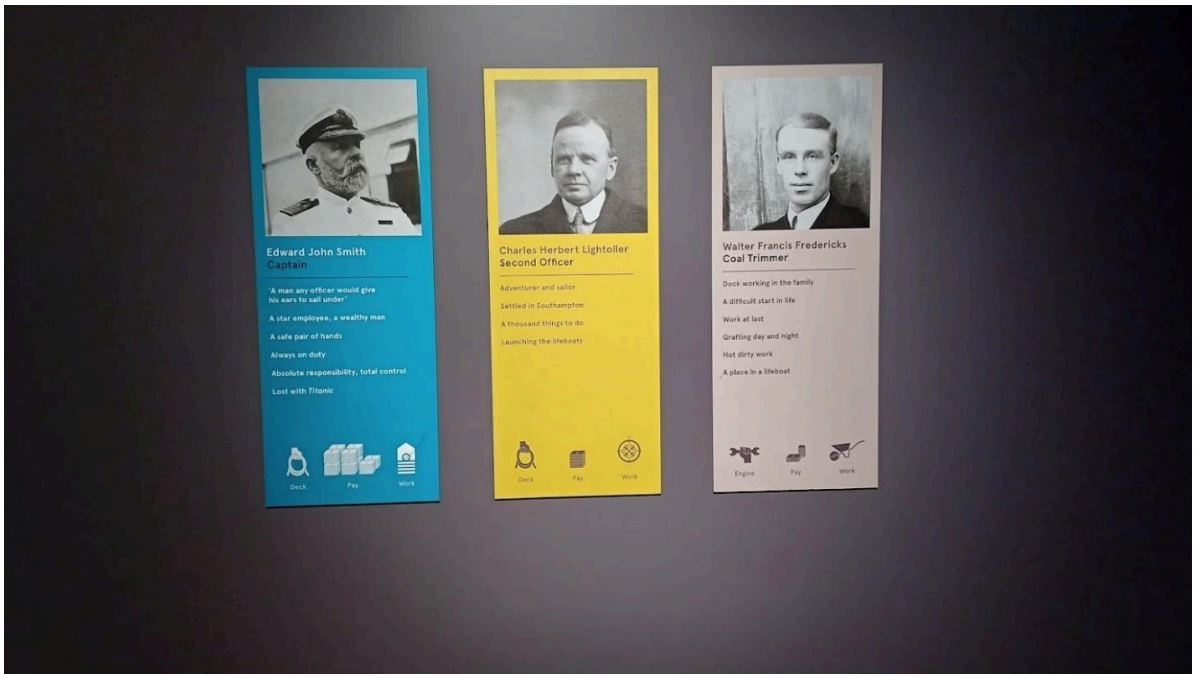


Figure 13.3 - The final crew plaques, opposite the final crew wall and exit. Visitors would have to turn around (against the directional flow) to notice them, and they simply collate the headings of previous tiles, without an emotive or satisfying end. Source: Taken by author, 3/11/2024

The Place and Future of SeaCity

The exhibition clearly highlights Southampton's place within the wider *Titanic* story, but also the enduring shadow of the *Titanic* on the city itself. There is a strong message of remembrance and recognition of the human impact of the disaster, brought home by the creation of a distinct atmosphere in the *Disaster Room*. The emotive power of the room is felt by passing visitors and residents alike – it connects beyond a sense of place, aided by the omnipresent voices of survivors which takes a presence within the visitors witnessing them.[20] The positioning of the museum building also leans into its place in Southampton's story. While perhaps less impactful to passing visitors, its location within the Civic Centre cements it as part of the city's identity rather than some of the original proposals, which were to situate the building by the docks. This integration into the city's heart keeps the remembrance of the *city's* tragedy alive, rather than focusing wholeheartedly on the maritime disaster.

If SeaCity museum is at Southampton's heart, it is also vital to note the veins of remembrance that spread throughout the city. While cruise ship passengers who visit SeaCity Museum are perhaps less likely to seek out further *Titanic* memorials due to limited time, there is a possibility that residents visiting the museum may recognise their streets on *Southampton Hears the News*'s floor and reflect more personally on the loss which was felt so close to the home they are returning to.[21] Unlike other *Titanic* museums such as Branson (which likely benefit from being larger and in a more adaptable space), SeaCity's presence in Southampton is uniquely supported by many memorials set up in the wake of the disaster, further reinforcing the tragedy's human impact on people who then embedded their remembrance into the very fabric of the city. A map showing these memorials is available on SeaCity's website (Appendix 3), but its impact is limited through a possible lack of awareness and use – this could be improved by having printed maps available to take away at the end of the exhibition, prompting those who wish to continue their experience to more easily do so and further cement the memory of the *Titanic* into their interaction with Southampton.[22] SeaCity must expand beyond its walls to fulfil its desire to contextualise the city's place in the tragedy – while many passing cruise ship passengers may well visit the museum or potentially engage in a walking tour which could point out a couple of the more prominent memorials (Figure 14), the depth and poignancy of remembrance is most available to the residents who can more powerfully relate to those from 1912.[23] In order to foster this connection, SeaCity could highlight the smaller, more intimate memorials which many residents may pass in their daily lives without realising (Figure 15). To notice and choose to visit these varied and non-commercial memorials is perhaps

[20] Nikos Bubaris, *Sound in Museums* p. 394.
[21] Youmna Ahmady, et. al. *Enhancing visitors' experience* p. 322.
[22] Jon Sleigh, *What are museums for?* p. 32.
[23] Grete Swensen et. al. *Museums as narrators: heritage trails* p. 524.

the deepest form of connection to those lost – that even now, over a century later, the love of those lost has left a permanent mark on the very walls and paths of Southampton.



Figure 14 - The Titanic Engineers Memorial, a common stop for walking tours of Southampton and a prominent memorial on the city's high street. Source: Taken by Author, 28/03/2025

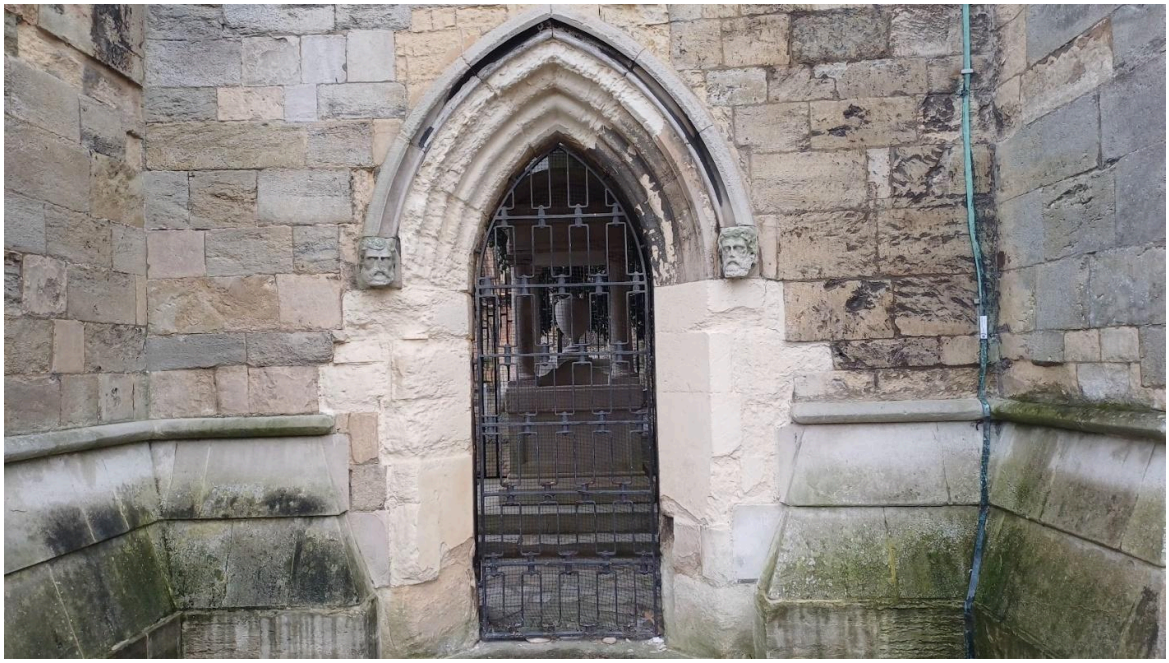


Figure 15.1 - Titanic Memorial within Holyrood Church, a smaller memorial which is set back from the pavement. Source: Taken by Author, 28/03/2025



Figure 15.2 - Titanic Musicians Memorial, on a low wall alongside the A3024 which many pass while commuting. Source: Taken by Author, 28/03/2025

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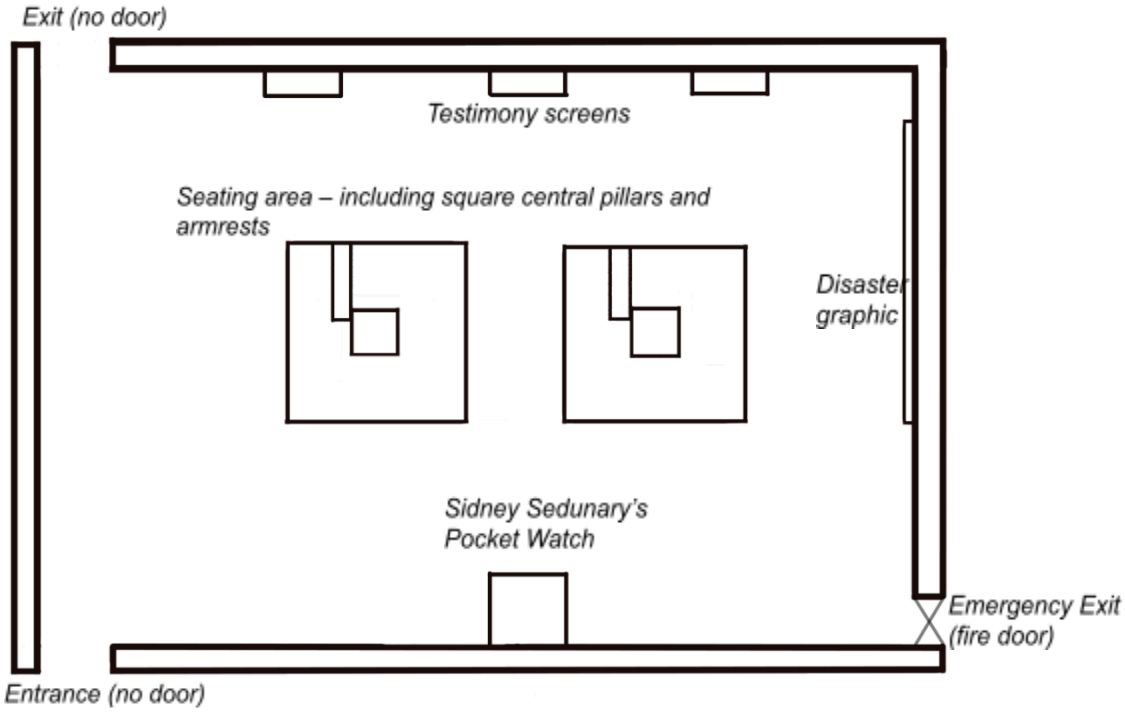
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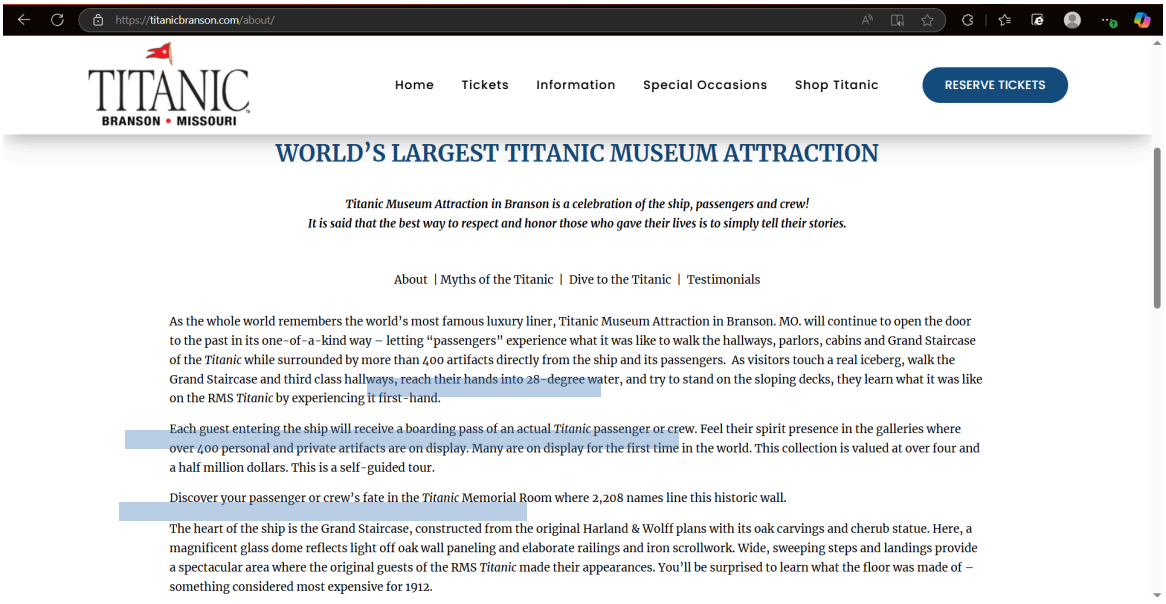
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Appendix 1 – Labelling of 'Disaster Room' diagram



Appendix 2 – Titanic Museum, Branson Missouri

<https://titanicbranson.com/about/> [Accessed 30/10/2024, 16:34]

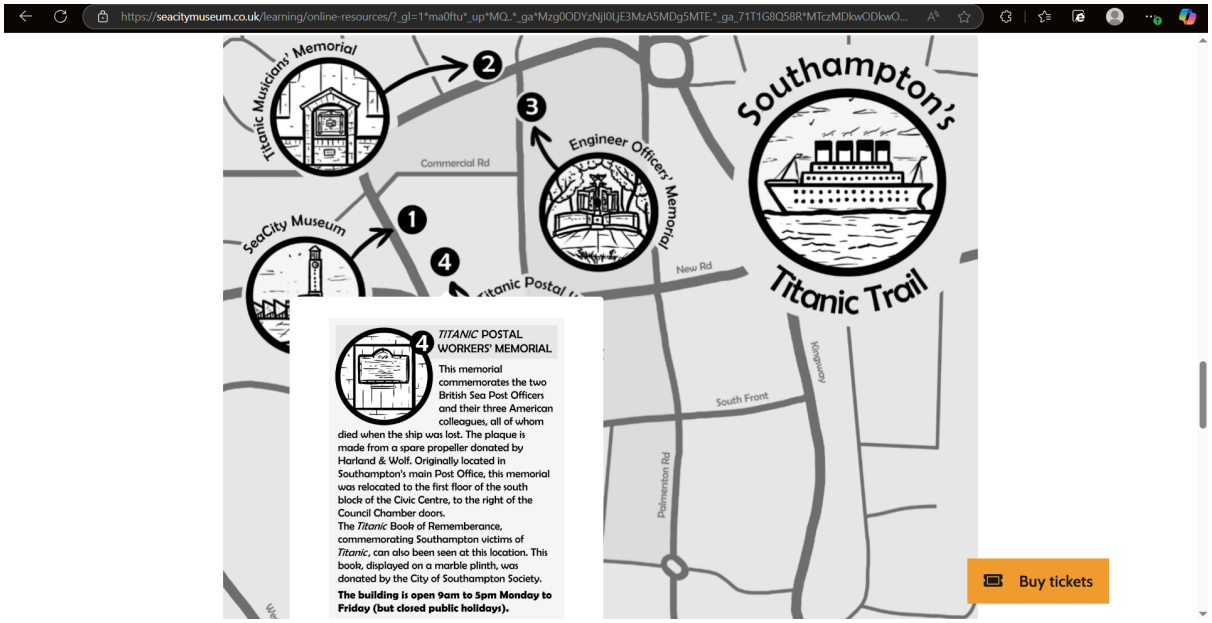


On public responses, see @moviestocry 25/6/2023 < https://vm.tiktok.com/ZGdLw1T74/> [Accessed 30/10/2024, 9:39] and @theshayspence 16/11/2022 <https://vm.tiktok.com/ZGdLTVqdo/> [Accessed 30/10/2024, 10:18]

See also Tripadvisor reviews - <https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction_Review-g44160-d598555-Reviews-Titanic_Museum-Branson_Missouri.html> [Accessed 30/10/2024, 20:19]

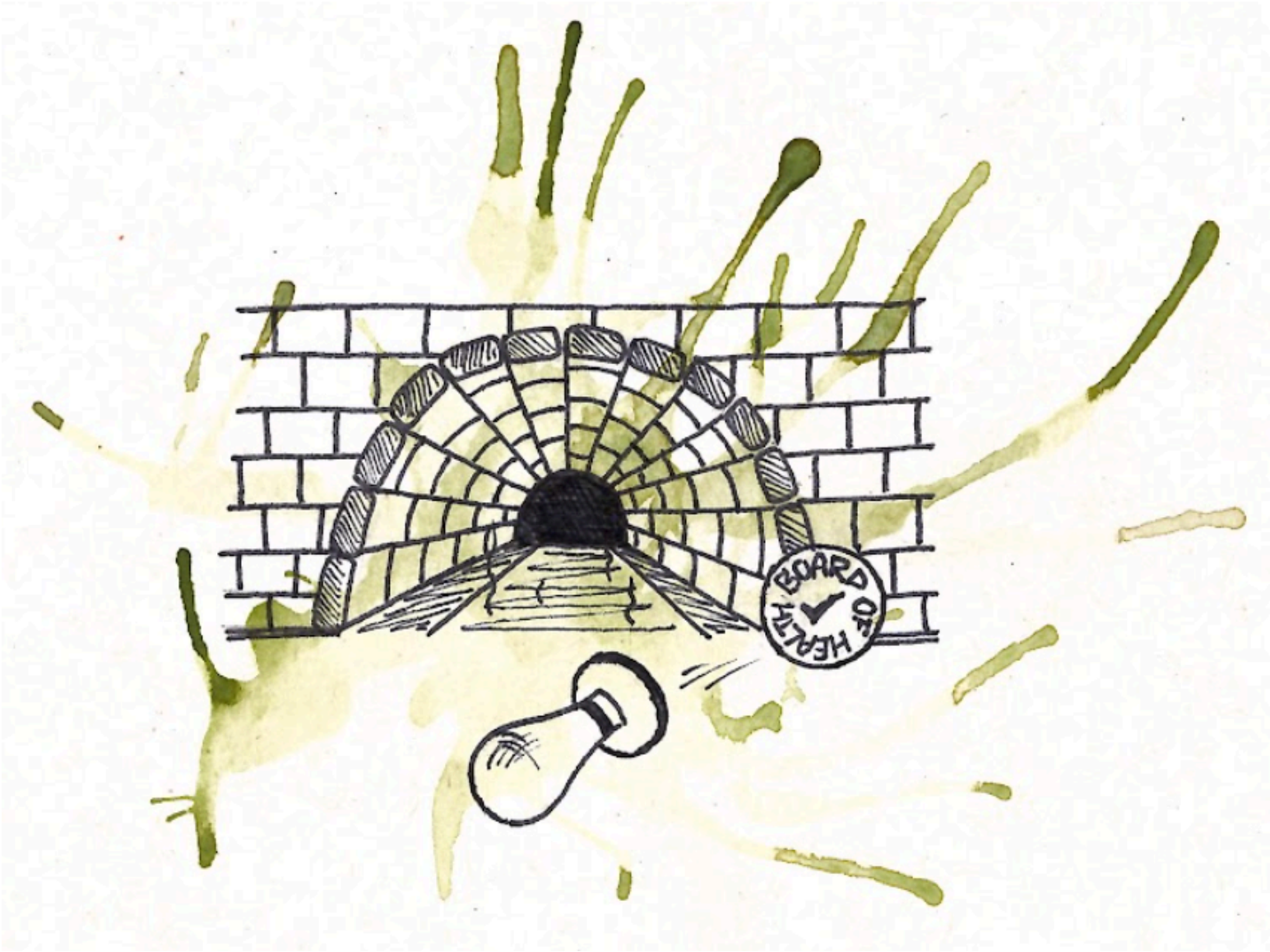
Appendix 3 – SeaCity wider memorials map

Note that this is not mentioned in either the exhibit or the wider museum, likely diminishing its uptake.



<https://seacitymuseum.co.uk/learning/online-resources/?_gl=1*ma0ftu*_up*MQ..*_ga*Mzg0ODYzNjI0LjE3MzA5MDg5MTE.*_ga_71T1G8Q58R*MTczMDkwODkwOC4xLjAuMTczMDkwODkwOC4wLjAuMA..> [Accessed 1/11/2024, 12:42]

<https://seacitymuseum.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Titantic-Trail-MAP.pdf?_gl=1*1nj8e88*_up*MQ..*_ga*MTgwNjY3OTIxMy4xNzMwOTA5MDM2*_ga_71T1G8Q58R*MTczMDkwOTAzNC4xLjAuMTczMDkwOTAzNC4wLjAuMA..> [Accessed 1/11/2024, 12:58]



The Sanitary Report: Understanding Social Responsibility and Governance in Early Victorian Britain

James Nailor

The Sanitary Report: Understanding Social Responsibility and Governance in Early Victorian Britain

James Nailor

Abstract: *By the time of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, the population of London had swollen to over 1.5 million and by 1841 it had risen to over two million people. This population explosion was closely linked with the rapid expansion of factories, workshops, dockyards, railways and shipyards associated with the Industrial Revolution, which was requiring ever great numbers of people to drive growth. However, this expansion of industry had come at an appalling human and environmental cost; rapidly growing populations were forcing people to eke out a meagre existence in squalid living conditions, cheek by jowl, and without decent sanitary facilities. To this was added the pollution being produced by innumerable factories. This was not just the case for London but was replicated throughout the towns and cities of the British Isles – several repeated epidemics and growing social unrest indicated it was time to try and improve the living conditions of the working classes. The Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain was the government's first steps towards attempting to deal with the growing problem, and through it can be seen many of the influences which would dominate the nature of Victorian government and continue to influence British social policy for decades to come.*

Edwin Chadwick's *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, published in 1842, was the first major national survey of public health and sanitary conditions in the United Kingdom.[24] It was commissioned in part due to the growing public health crisis, which was developing during the nineteenth century, as Britain underwent the Industrial Revolution. The Report formed the basis of modern public health thinking and encouraged the government to act, improving the conditions of the working-class populations of the industrial towns with the *Public Health Act* (1848) and the establishment of *The Metropolitan Sewer Commission* in London, constructing much of the modern sewerage system on which London still relies.[25] The nineteenth century saw numerous competing theories on social class, governance and the responsibility it entailed, and as a part of this intellectual landscape, the *Sanitary Report* interacts with several of these competing ideas. However, it can be most closely identified with the patrician attitudes towards social responsibility and governance which were gaining

[24] Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, ed. by M.W. Flinn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), p.5
[25] Martin Gorsky, 'Public Health in the West since 1800: the responses', in *Public Health in History*, ed. by Virginia Berridge and Martin Gorsky and Alex Mold (Open University Press, 2011), p.43

increasing traction during the mid-nineteenth century, helping to identify the beliefs which were motivating government action.

The publishing of the *People's Charter* in 1838 by the London Working Men's Association posed a significant threat to the Victorian establishment, as its aimed objective of widening the franchise to all men over twenty-one seemed to significantly threaten the power of government.[26] The Chartist activism resulted in serious social and political tension from 1838 - 1850, with dire living conditions of the urban poor and worsening trade depressions leaving little hope for an improvement.[27] The article 'Chartist Riots in Birmingham' in the conservative traditionalist periodical *John Bull*, July 1839, highlights the degree to which there was fear within the government over what the Chartist demonstrations may evolve into. The article praises how the army was called in to put down the riots which had erupted after Parliament's rejection the first Chartist petition with over 1.25 million signatures demanding the expansion of the franchise to all men.[28] The article reports how the Army "speedily put the assailants to rout", but the need for troops against protesters shows the institutional fear of a potential revolution.[29] The economic historian Francis Thompson states that the government's fear of a Chartist revolution led them to deploy every weapon of social control in their arsenal to combat the spectre of revolution.[30] Indeed, the *Morning Chronicle* represented the Whig and Tory view of the movement as "revolution, not reform."[31] Walton identifies the second Peel administration as the turning point where the government began a more sympathetic approach to Chartist concerns compared to the crackdowns seen previously, with legislation aiming to ease working class living conditions.[32] The Sanitary Report is part of this more sympathetic approach, with Christoper Hamlin, professor at the University of Notre Dame, identifying it as a political document seeking to maintain the state.[33] This shows the ascendancy of Patricianism in governance which dominated for much of the Victorian period.

The patrician attitude posed an idealised class system in which a benevolent government of the enlightened elites ruled to aid the economically successful middle class, while supporting the interests of

[26] Chris Vanden Bossche*, Reform Acts: Chartism, Social Agency, and the Victorian Novel, 1832-1867*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), p.1
[27] John K. Walton, *Chartism*, (London: Routledge, 1999), p.1
[28] 'Chartist Riots in Birmingham', *John Bull*, 8 July 1839
[29] 'Chartist Riots in Birmingham', *John Bull*, 8 July 1839
[30] F. M. L. Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain', *The Economic History Review*, Vol.34, No.2 (May 1981), p.206
[31] 'Chartism', *Morning Chronicle*, 23 April 1841, p.2
[32] John K. Walton, *Chartism*, (London: Routledge, 1999), p.71
[33] Christopher Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800-1854*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.156-160

a working class which knew its place.[34] According to Professor David Brown, Palmerston – a contemporary of Chadwick – ardently believed in this theory, describing him as a "patrician politician", and through his power as a Whig grandee, he played a major role in making it mainstream.[35] The historian David Englander further emphasises the widespread presence of patricianism in Victorian government, stating that Chadwick aligned with many of these ideas, believing in a government run by experts and professionals who conducted action based on empirical evidence.[36] Patricianism showed the dichotomy in Victorian thought. Society required careful supervision, maintaining the social order through government intervention, which improved the lives of many of its citizens; however, this social conscience was informed by mid-Victorian prejudices in which the classes below were seen as inferior. Religion significantly contributed to Victorian prejudices. However, a speech made by Palmerston at Romsey in 1854 stated that children were not born bad rather their upbringing that made them so, which directly contradicts Original Sin; and emphasises how ideas of social improvement were not always religiously motivated, and ideas of progress could be as important.[37]

Palmerston believed that human characteristics were chiefly dictated by environment, and therefore he sought government intervention to improve these environments, helping to increase the productivity of industrial workers; economic interference had to be limited as not to impede economic growth.[38] In a memorandum on Parkhurst Prison, Palmerston expresses concern over the conditions within the prison, seeking to have them improved, as this would aid in the reform of some prisoners and maximise the work which they would be able to undertake while incarcerated.[39] Here can be seen the patrician attitudes, seeking to improve conditions to maximise output. However, it also shows a dichotomy, as in addition to his concern over conditions, Palmerston suggests the transportation of the more hardened criminals to Australia, seeing them as unreformable.[40]

This focus on social improvement went beyond government as can be seen in Samuel Smiles' book *Self-Help*, published in 1857, which the historian Lord Briggs describes as indicative of Victorian social values of self-sufficiency, often verging on self-satisfaction.[41] While Smiles was broadly supportive

[34] David Brown, *Palmerston: A Biography*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p.351
[35] David Brown, *Palmerston: A Biography*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p.347
[36] David Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in Britain: From Chadwick to Booth, 1834-1914*, (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), p.9
[37] 'Speech by Palmerston at Romsey', 1854, in Evelyn Ashley, *The Life of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, 1846-1865*, vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1874), pp.15-16
[38] David Brown, *Palmerston: A Biography*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp.349-350
[39] Southampton, *Southampton Palmerston Papers*, HA/N/10, 'Note on Conditions of Parkhurst Prison', 10 Oct. 1854
[40] Southampton, *Southampton Palmerston Papers*, HA/N/10, 'Note on Conditions of Parkhurst Prison', 10 Oct. 1854
[41] Asa Briggs, 'Samuel Smiles: The Gospel for Self-Help', in *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth Century Society*, ed. by Gordon Marsden (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), p.103

of laissez-faire economics, he was not so inclined socially. He advocated for significant state intervention to fix critical social issues, describing the 'terrible Nobody' as the figure who was blamed for problems which only the government had the capacity to remedy.[42] The values extolled in *Self-Help* aligned with those held by Palmerston, favouring government intervention to improve the living conditions of the urban poor and elevating them out of the moral depravity into which it was believed they had sunk. In contrast, Charles Dickens' *Great Expectations* underlines some contemporary criticisms of the patrician system, querying some of its basic assumptions about the class system. It questions whether the aristocracy should be considered a model of rectitude, often presenting the working classes as inherently more noble than their social betters.[43] *Great Expectations* emphasises that while patrician ideas may have been in the ascendancy in the mid-nineteenth century, the ideas were by no means universally accepted, and other social theories were also prominent.

Patrician ideas can be seen throughout the *Sanitary Report* and Chadwick's wider work. Dr Stephen Halliday's work shows how the Report focused heavily on the social consequences of disease – namely intemperance and immorality –expressing how these served to impact economic development.[44] Through this we can see the patrician nature of the Victorian elites, and their moralising crusades which typified many of their interactions with the classes beneath them. Part of the Report focuses on the lodgings of the working poor and shows Chadwick's interest in improving the moral standards of the working-class populations through the improvement of their living conditions. Chadwick highlighted "the tendency of the degraded accommodation to degrade the classes of the population" who live within them, acting as an obstruction to the moral progress upon which economic growth chiefly depended.[45] Chadwick identified the degraded accommodation as causing a variety of ailments afflicting the urban poor – not just physically but also morally – preventing a stable homelife and reducing economic output.

Through his focus on moral enlightenment leading to economic growth, Chadwick identified "a deteriorated physical condition does in fact greatly increase the difficulty of moral and intellectual cultivation."[46] He believed that unhealthy children made poor students, who learned a habit of laziness and showed a lack of ingenuity, which was carried through into working life and "checking the growth of

[42] Asa Briggs, 'Samuel Smiles: The Gospel for Self-Help', in *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth Century Society*, ed. by Gordon Marsden (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), p.110
[43] Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867)
[44] Stephen Halliday, *The Great Filth: The War Against Disease in Victorian England*, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2007), p.131
[45] Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, ed. by M.W. Flinn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), p.419
[46] Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, ed. by M.W. Flinn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), p.268

productive skill."[47] Hamlin views this as Chadwick's chief concern throughout the report, as Chadwick repeatedly stresses that desperate living conditions were encouraging the urban poor into depravity, leading to poor economic production and serving as a breeding ground for revolution.[48] Therefore, we can see a significant connection between the Sanitary Report and patrician ideas.

Philanthropy gained significant traction in Victorian Britain. Charitable organisations were numerous, with a vast proliferation of charities operating in Britain.[49] Fyfe highlights that philanthropy was a good business practice, with industrialists improving conditions to encourage workers to increase production.[50] The local Derbyshire paper, the *Derby Mercury* presented philanthropy as a distinctly "British characteristic" suggesting a positive connection between charity and growing patriotism.[51] Indeed, Victoria and Albert concerned themselves with the improvement of the lives of the working classes; with Hugh Cunningham – professor of social history at the University of Kent – suggesting that this was in part to help offset the risk of revolution, but also out of genuine concern for the living conditions of their subjects.[52] In 1851 alone, Victoria contributed to more than 210 charities, including 37 hospitals, and the response to Royal philanthropy was practically universally positive.[53] In an article entitled 'National Philanthropy', the *Essex Standard* described philanthropy as prevailing "in England as nowhere else on Earth" and highlighting the Christian nature of these charities; however, it emphasises that, despite Royal efforts, philanthropy was predominately the arena of newly enriched industrialists and the middle classes.[54] This serves to question the paternalism of the aristocracy more widely.

Philanthropy was not seen as uniformly good. In 1878, *The Times* criticised philanthropy as encouraging poor behaviours, stating 'the best intended machinery for the relief of poverty becomes a principal agent in fostering and promoting the evil it was intended to remedy'.[55] This viewpoint can be seen as indicative of the Victorian belief in a working-class incapable of controlling itself without proper

[47] Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, ed. by M.W. Flinn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), p.268
[48] Christopher Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800-1854*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.156-158
[49] Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange, Bertrand Taithe, *The Charity Market and Humanitarianism in Britain, 1870-1912*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p.3
[50] Aileen Fyfe, 'Commerce and Philanthropy: The Religious Tract Society and the Business of Publishing', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 9 (2004), p.164
[51] 'Philanthropy', *Derby Mercury*, 27 June 1855
[52] Hugh Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy Since 1750: Britain and Beyond*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p.134
[53] Hugh Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy Since 1750: Britain and Beyond*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p.134
[54] 'National Philanthropy', *Essex Standard*, 14 September 1877, p.5
[55] Hugh Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy Since 1750: Britain and Beyond*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p.137

guidance by their social betters. Cunningham also identifies that some feared philanthropy could eventually lead to the development of socialism within Britain, and ultimately the overthrow of the government.[56]

Philanthropic ideals, especially the business element, can be seen in Chadwick's report. Chadwick highlighted that "preventative measures" against disease both within factories and the home "are by no means onerous, either in their cost or in their interference" with production, encouraging industrialists to invest in the welfare of their workforce.[57] This identifies the importance of the improvement of workplaces as a significant benefit to the employer, as well as to the wider populace, suggesting healthier workers resulted in a more stable workforce and higher productivity.

Reverend Thomas Malthus published his *Essay on the Principle of Population, As It Affects the Future Improvement of Society* in 1798. He outlined a rampantly increasing population as detrimental not beneficial, with the resources of the nation being unable to support a larger population, and an idle poor which would drag the industrious poor down; in contrast to previous scholars on population growth who had seen the increase in population as leading to an increase in national wealth.[58] Englander states that Malthus' Law of Population was quickly subsumed into the central truths of the early Victorian political economy, however by the mid-1800s this had begun to be widely challenged both within the political sphere but also in popular culture.[59] Scrooge, in Dickens' novella *A Christmas Carol*, serves as a direct critique of Malthusianism. When gentlemen come collecting for the poor, Scrooge derides them saying "If they would rather die... they had better do it, and decrease the surplus population."[60] Scrooge is a personification of Malthusian thought, a clear critique of Malthusianism considering Scrooge's redemption upon completion of the novella. The historian Philip Collins highlights that Dickens' work was indicative of Victorian moral codes, and due to the mass popularity of his work, from Queen Victoria down, we can assume that criticism of Malthus was becoming mainstream by the 1850s.[61] Chadwick interacts directly with Malthusianism in the *Sanitary Report*, challenging many of its core assumptions. He opposes one of Malthus' central beliefs, that disease was vital to checking the pressure of population

[56] Hugh Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy Since 1750: Britain and Beyond*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp.137-138
[57] Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, ed. by M.W. Flinn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), pp.318-319
[58] David Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in Britain: From Chadwick to Booth, 1834-1914*, (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), p.7
[59] David Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in Britain: From Chadwick to Booth, 1834-1914*, (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), p.7
[60] Charles Dickens, *A Christmas Carol*, (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1858), p.8
[61] Philip Collins, 'Dickens and his Readers', in *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth Century Society*, ed. by Gordon Marsden, (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), pp.53-54

growth, describing it as a "dreadful fallacy."[62] Therefore, we can see Chadwick as being in step with, if not ahead of, changing Victorian attitudes towards Malthus' ideas of population control and growth.

The Sanitary Report displays many of the social prejudices of the Victorian period, and plays into patrician ideas of government, with a focus on the perceived moral and physical depravity of the working classes. Government action was presented as being necessary to help raise the poor out of desperate poverty, less from compassion and rather to forestall a potential revolution – following shortly after the *People's Charter*. However, it directly condemns Malthusian thought as not only uncompassionate but also ultimately false. While the Report did focus mostly on the economic benefits of increasing productivity resulting from improving the living conditions of the urban poor, it was remarkably modern and progressive in pushing for more preventative action by both government and employers. It resulted in the revolutionary *Public Health Act* (1848) and the establishment of *The Metropolitan Sewer Commission* in London, constructing the sewers on which London still relies, and is indicative of mid-Victorian patrician ideas which were beginning to dominate government thought.

[62] Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, ed. by M.W. Flinn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), p.270

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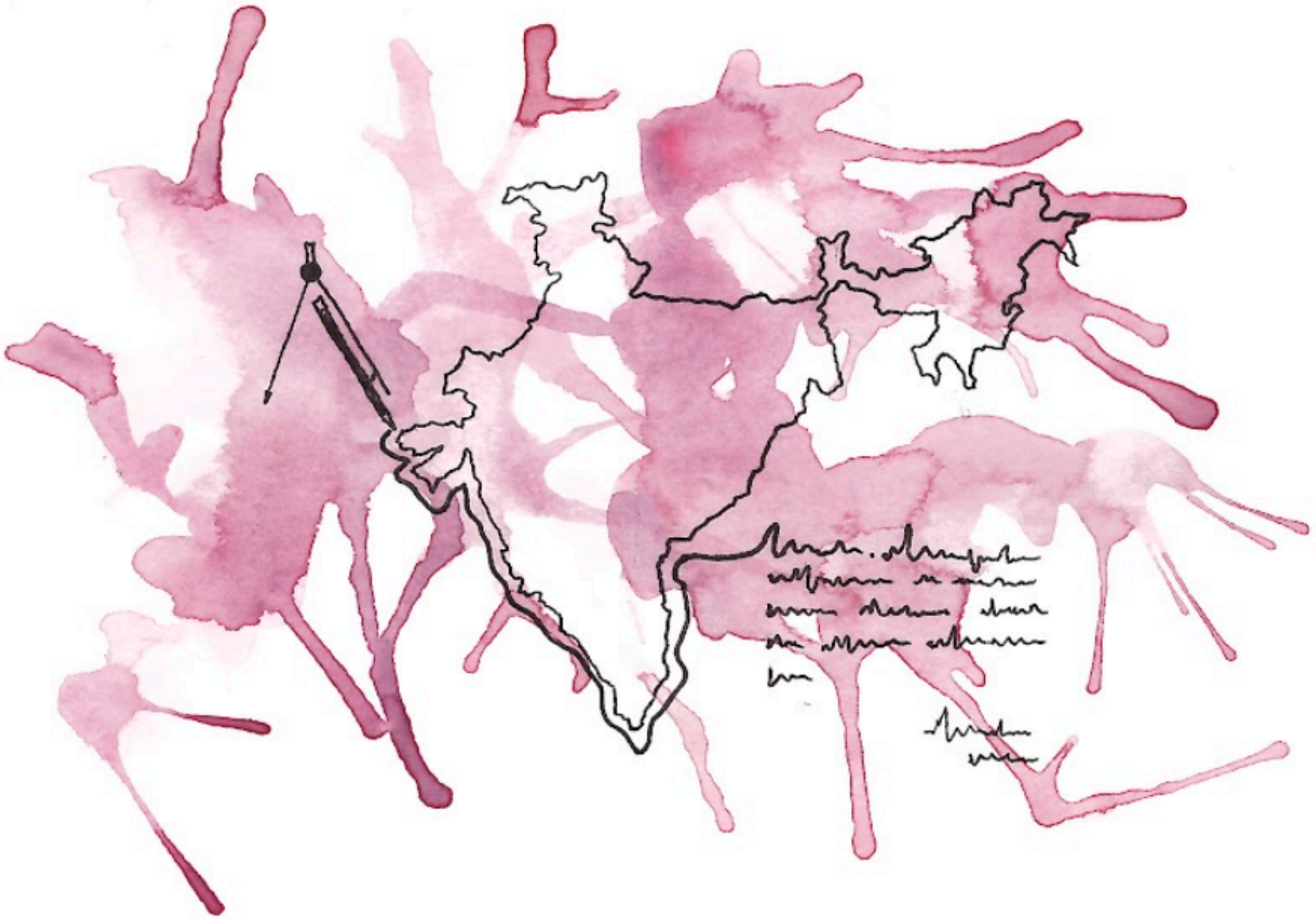
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Conquest, Politics, and Legislation: How the British State Responded to the Territorial Acquisitions of the East India Company in the Late-Eighteenth Century

Ben Laughland

Conquest, Politics, and Legislation: How the British State Responded to the Territorial Acquisitions of the East India Company in the Late-Eighteenth Century

Ben Laughland

Abstract: *During the late eighteenth century, in response to the East India Company's territorial acquisition of Bengal in 1765, the British state began to exert significant influence over the Company's hierarchical structure, the behaviour of its servants, and the administration of its territories in India. However, the way in which the state would actually effectuate this influence was a subject of serious debate within the contemporary political landscape of Britain. This essay aims to examine how the British state responded to the Company's territorial acquisitions in India by analysing a key set of bills and acts proposed and passed by Parliament in the late eighteenth century.*

These bills and acts illustrate the nature of state involvement in the Company's hierarchical and administrative structures and in turn, the state's overall response to the Company's territorial acquisitions. They demonstrate that the British government attempted to centralise the Company's territories under one state-sanctioned authority, establish an independent British judiciary within India, and prevent Company servants from attaining private fortunes. Through this legislation, the state took a predominant role in shaping the nature of the Company's position in Asia during the late eighteenth century and, therefore, the initial emergence of the British state's sustained presence in India.

After the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and the grant of the Diwani in 1765, which gave the Company the right to collect tax revenue in Bengal, the East India Company emerged from the mid eighteenth century as a territorial power in northeast India. The nature of the Company's sovereignty over its newly acquired territories, however, became a serious issue of contention in the British political landscape of the late eighteenth century. In particular, contemporary political discourses centred around the role of the state in the administration and judicature of the Company's territories in India. Although the state did not officially assume absolute responsibility over these territories, the parliamentary reaction to these discourses demonstrates that the government was keenly aware of the issues surrounding the Company's position as a sovereign and, as such, the need to implement reforms. The exact makeup of these reforms can be identified in the parliamentary legislation of the late eighteenth century that, though not always passed, detail the numerous legal and administrative regulations and directives implemented by the state regarding the governance of India. With this in mind, this essay looks to analyse the state's responses to the Company's territorial acquisition in India as presented in contemporary parliamentary legislation.

By examining a key set of parliamentary bills and acts, this essay explores how the state endeavoured to superintend, and in some cases, supersede, the Company's administrative and legal responsibilities in India. It is important to note that not every piece of legislation relating to India and as such, not every response to the Company's territorial acquisition, has been included within this essay. As stated, this essay focuses on a key set of prominent legislation. It is also important to note that this essay is solely concerned with the state's response to the Company's territorial acquisition, not the effects of said response. Therefore, although the implications of a piece of legislation may be mentioned, it will not be explored in detail.

This essay follows three sections that each establish a significant reason for why the state showed concern for the Company's territorial acquisition and the legislative response to each issue. The first section will focus on the state's interest in stabilising the governance of the Company's territories by centralising authority under its control. The second section will focus on how the Company's abusive practices prompted the implementation of British jurisdiction in India. The third section will focus on the influence of nabobs, Company servants who amassed vast fortunes in India, within Britain and the state's resolve to curtail their influence in Parliament.

When analysing the legislative response to the Company's territorial acquisition, the predominant theme that can be identified is the state's intention to establish a centralised authority in India under its control. Although historian James M. Vaughn argues that the consolidation of the Company's territorial acquisition was fundamentally shaped by wider debates on British imperialism, the most immediate concern of the state was economic.[63] Due to the vast rise in national debt during the Seven Years' War, the government had imposed a heavy tax burden on the population which in turn, fueled fierce public and parliamentary discontent.[64] Therefore, the Company's acceptance of the Diwani, and thus, its ability to collect taxation revenue from Bengal, instantly interested the government as a means to alleviate the national debt and reduce the tax burden on the populace.[65] After a parliamentary inquiry into the Company's affairs in 1767, this wealth was made available to the government through the agreement that, while Bengal would remain under the Company's control, it would make an annual £400,000 payment to

[63] James M. Vaughn, *The Politics of Empire at the Accession of George III: The East India and the Crisis and Transformation of Britain's Imperial State* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), p. 165.
[64] Vaughn, *Politics of Empire,* p. 169 and 172.
[65] Vaughn, *Politics of Empire,* p. 203.

the state.[66] As such, in order to secure this payment, as historian P.J. Marshall argues, it was universally accepted that the interests of Britain were intimately connected to the management of India.[67]

However, due to rampant corruption amongst the Company's servants and the reliance on ill-disciplined paramilitary troops to impose its authority, the Company's administration of its territories proved to be extremely ineffective.[68] This caused the revenues collected from Bengal to continually decrease from 1766.[69] Combined with consistent financial mismanagement from the Company's directors, this decrease in revenue meant that in 1772 the company had to ask the state for financial aid.[70] In turn, the state became fully aware of the Company's financial issues which, as historian Huw Bowen argues, brought home just how precarious their position in Bengal was.[71] As such, Lord North, the then prime minister, summoned parliament on 26 November 1772 in order to review not just the immediate financial crisis, but also the Company's administrative ineptitude as a whole.[72]

Consequently, in the Regulating Act of 1773, the state authorised the appointment of a Governor-General and four counsellors, vested with civil and military authority in Bengal, Behar and Orissa as well as the power to superintend the Company's presidencies in Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen.[73] Although the Company's directors were able to appoint personnel to these roles, they would need to have the consent of the Crown.[74] These measures, as P.J. Marshall argues, were intended to establish an effective system of government in India in proper subordination to the authorities at home.[75] However, as Lord North himself conceded, the act was only intended as an initial temporary measure, and with Britain preoccupied by the American War of Independence, it was not until the 1780s that the state's position in the governance of India was further developed.[76]

In Foreign Secretary Charles James Fox's first India bill of 1783, it was proposed that a new set of directors, appointed by the Crown, were to take charge of managing the Company's territorial

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[66] H. V. Bowen, *Revenue and Reform: The Indian Problem in British Politics 1757-1773* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 63-64.
[67] P. J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India, 1757-1813* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968), p. 21.
[68] Bowen, *Revenue and Reform,* p. 86; James Lees, 'A 'Tranquil Spectator': The District Official and the Practice of Local Government in Late Eighteenth-Century Bengal', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 38:1 (2010), pp. 1-19 (pp. 2-3).
[69] Bowen, *Revenue and Reform*, pp. 103-104.
[70] Bowen, *Revenue and Reform,* p. 128.
[71] Bowen, *Revenue and Reform,* p. 131.
[72] Bowen, *Revenue and Reform,* p. 130.
[73] 'East India Company Act, 1773', in *Archives of Empire: Volume 1. From The East India Company to the Suez Canal,* ed. by Barbara Harlow and Mia Carter (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 31-39 (pp. 31-32).
[74] 'East India Company Act, 1773', in *Archives of Empire,* p. 33.
[75] Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* p. 33.
[76] Bowen, *Revenue and Reform,* p. 183.

possessions and revenue.[77] Although the bill was not passed, it illustrates the increased parliamentary appetite for more state influence in the Company's administration of India. In Prime Minister William Pitt's India Act of 1784, this appetite culminated in the creation of a Board of Commissioners who would direct all matters relating to the governance and revenue collection of the Company's Indian territories.[78] These commissioners were to be appointed directly by the Crown and were authorised to communicate with the Governor-General and independent Indian rulers via a secret committee.[79]

Clearly then, the state intended to centralise the Company's territories in India under the Governor-General and Council. Although formally subject to the Company's directors, their orders would be heavily influenced by the Board of Commissioners. The state's overarching influence in who would serve as Governor-General and as a Commissioner meant that this centralised command structure would always be guided by the state's will and as such, a regulated and coherent doctrine. In turn, the Company's servants were expected to adhere to a common objective thereby, making the administration of India more efficient and stable. Overall, although historian Seema Alavi argues that the Company's governance of India was complicated, it is clear that by 1784, the state had assumed a presiding role in the administration of the Company's territories through the establishment of a bureaucratic hierarchy in India whose officials would ultimately be determined by the state and thus, subject to its behest.[80]

However, although the primary motive for the state to involve itself in the governance of the Company's territories was its financial interests, a significant concern for addressing the abusive practices employed by the Company is also apparent. Throughout the late 1760s and 1770s, reports of rapacity and cruelty regarding the Company's governance of India circulated widely in Britain.[81] Accounts of the Company's servants' crimes were detailed by authors such as William Bolts and Alexander Dow and the public consciousness began to regard the Company with hostility.[82] This sentiment was echoed in Parliament where the radical Whig opposition supported politician John Burgoyne's motion to condemn the abuses perpetrated by Robert Clive, governor of Bengal from 1757 to 1760 and 1765 to 1767.[83] These reports also had a marked effect in the American colonies. As James M. Vaughn argues, the coercive and autocratic nature of the Company's presence in India was a widespread theme in colonial newspapers and was used by revolutionary leaders such as Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin to justify resistance

[77] 'Fox's First India Bill, 1783', in Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* pp. 127-128.
[78] 'Pitt's India Act, 1784', in Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* p. 132.
[79] 'Pitt's India Act, 1784', in Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* p. 132 and 134.
[80] Seema Alavi, 'Introduction', in *The Eighteenth Century in India: Debates in Indian History and Society,* ed. by Seema Alavi (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 1-56 (p. 34).
[81] Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* p. 32.
[82] Bowen, *Revenue and Reform,* p. 95.
[83] Vaughn, *Politics of Empire,* p. 214.

to metropolitan authority.[84] Therefore, it was in the state's interest to address the Company's abuses in India, as not only would it placate public and parliamentary anger, but would also negate a significant piece of rhetoric used by colonial revolutionaries to undermine imperial sovereignty. Consequently, when the Company's financial issues engendered the state's involvement in the administration of India, confronting the issue of rampant abuses was also a significant objective.

Most explicitly, this manifested itself in the state's effort to establish British jurisdiction in the Company's territories. In the Regulating Act of 1773, the Crown was authorised to establish a Supreme Court in Bengal that would be made up of barristers from England or Ireland, and have full power to exercise all civil, criminal, admiralty and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[85] Although the Governor-General and Council could propose new ordinances within Bengal, they could only come into effect with the consent of the Court.[86] Therefore, the state intended to implement a characteristically British judiciary in India that would adjudicate over legal matters and have the ultimate say when enacting new laws, thereby creating a robust and recognisable justice system which would theoretically deter any wrongdoing.

In the 1780s, although there were no amendments to the powers of the Supreme Court, the state's interest in regulating the behaviour of the Company's servants did not waver. For instance, in 1782, the House of Commons censured the conduct of the Governor-General Warren Hasting in India as 'repugnant' to the honour of the British nation.[87] However, what became more apparent in the 1780s was an increasing concern for the Indian population in the Company's territories. Member of Parliament Henry Dundas introduced a bill in 1783 which stated that where the Governor-General or Supreme Court were to enact new ordinances, they must not be 'repugnant to the religions, laws and customs of India.'[88] Likewise, in Pitt's India act, it is stated that the complaints of Indian rulers and landholders within the Company's territories are to be fully investigated by the Company's directors and if necessary, remedied.[89] As historian Philip J. Stern argues, these concerns reflected wider conversations about what constituted a British subject.[90] Although the Indian population's subjecthood was not explicitly declared, as historian Denis Judd argues, through the passing of Pitt's India act the state had assumed at least a partial responsibility for the welfare of the indigenous population.[91]

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[84] Vaughn, *Politics of Empire,* p. 229.
[85] 'East India Company Act, 1773', *Archives of Empire,* p. 34.
[86] 'East India Act, 1773', *Archives of Empire,* pp. 35-36.
[87] C. C. Davies, 'Warren Hastings and the Younger Pitt', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), pp. 609-622 (p. 610).
[88] 'Dundas's Bill of 1783', in Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* p. 157.
[89] 'Pitt's India Act, 1784', in Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* pp. 168-169.
[90] Philip J. Stern, 'Company, state and empire: governance and regulatory frameworks in Asia', in *Britain's Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, c. 1550-1850,* ed. by H. V. Bowen, Elizabeth Mancke and John G. Reid (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 130-150 (p. 149).
[91] Denis Judd, *The Lion and the Tiger: The Rise and Fall of the British Raj, 1600-1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 35.

Through the establishment of a distinctly British justice system in India and assumption of a moral duty towards the welfare of the Indian population, the state ultimately intended to promulgate to the Company's servants that if they were to carry on mistreating the indigenous peoples, they would be condemned in a court under the authority of the Crown and thus, by the state itself. In theory, this would reduce the frequency and severity of reported abuses in India, thereby pacifying public and parliamentary discontent in Britain as well as colonial opposition in America.

The state's response to the Company's territorial acquisition was not exclusively centred on India however, as a large part of the legislation addressed the marked influence of wealthy Company servants in British society and politics. As the Company's power-base grew in India, so did the opportunities for its servants to amass vast fortunes through war spoils, loans, and the acceptance of bribes from those seeking favour from the Company.[92] During the 1760s, the Company servants that returned with extensive wealth to Britain became known as nabobs.[93] In the minds of the public, the wealth of these nabobs was concomitant with the reported abuses of the Company, as seen in George Colman's play *The East Indian*, where its humour relies on the assumption that the nabobs' wealth was connected to bribery and deceit.[94] However, this distasteful public perception towards the nabobs was not purely about the way in which they had obtained their wealth, but also the way they spent it. Between 1760 and 1783, the price of consumer goods in Britain rose significantly and as historian Tillman W. Nechtman argues, 'nabobish wealth made a suitable scapegoat', as their extravagant consumption was seen to dry up supply, increase demand, and raise prices.[95] Furthermore, the nabobs who sought political positions were perceived to target known corrupt boroughs in order to bribe their way into Parliament.[96] To the political elite, however, the salient issue with the nabobs' involvement in politics was the fear that they would subvert the familiar political order by applying their despotic methods of governing India within Britain.[97] Yet, as historians Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips argue, these fears were averted as the dangers of the nabobs were perceived and negated.[98]

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[92] Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips, '"Our Execrable Banditti": Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* 16.3 (1984), pp. 225-241 (p. 227).
[93] Tillman W. Nechtman, 'A Jewel in the Crown? Indian Wealth in Domestic Britain in the Late-Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth Century Studies,* 41.1 (2007), pp. 71-86 (p. 71).
[94] Lawson and Phillips, 'Perceptions of Nabobs', p. 234.
[95] Nechtman, 'Indian Wealth in Domestic Britain', p. 72; Lawson and Phillips, 'Perceptions of Nabobs', pp. 234-235.
[96] Lawson and Phillips, 'Perceptions of Nabobs', pp. 233-234.
[97] Richard Goebelt, 'The memory of Lord Clive in Britain and beyond: imperial hero and villain', in *Sites of imperial memory: Commemorating colonial rule in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,* ed. by Dominik Geppert and Frank Lorenz Muller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 136-152 (p. 138).
[98] Lawson and Phillips, 'Perceptions of Nabobs', p. 240.

Consequently, the state's intention to nullify the influence of the nabobs is discernible. Most explicitly, this can be seen through an overt effort to prevent the Company's servants from attaining vast private fortunes. In the Regulating Act of 1773, it is stated that no person exercising military or civil office under the Crown or Company shall receive any present, gift, donation, gratuity or reward.[99] Likewise in Pitt's India Act, it is stated that if a servant under the Crown or Company accepts a gift, it will be deemed as extortion and punished as such.[100] Pitt's India Act also states that all promotions within the Company are to be according to 'seniority in a regular progressive succession.'[101] This referenced and reinforced the proposal in Henry Dundas' bill of 1783 that Company servants were to be paid a fixed salary in order to promote integrity and in turn, an adherence to the regulations forbidding the acceptance of gifts.[102] By prohibiting the acceptance of gifts and rewards, the state attempted to deprive the Company's servants from one of the main sources of accumulating wealth in India and therefore, reduce the number of nabobs and their potential to adversely influence politics. Proposals were even made to directly exclude Company servants from politics entirely. For instance, in Fox's second India bill, it is proposed that no Company servant is to sit in the House of Commons for a certain amount of time after their return to Britain.[103] Although this was not passed, it emphasises the states disquietude about the potential effect the nabobs could have on the political order and reinforces the notion that the effort to prohibit the amassing of wealth amongst the Company's servants was shaped by a desire to forestall the creation of more nabobs. Clearly then, the state's concern for regulating the behaviour of the Company's servants was not exclusively about quelling the abusive practices of the Company. Widespread public disdain and political trepidations towards the nabobs domestically in Britain directly influenced a significant part of the state's refinement of what was lawful within the Company's territories.

In conclusion, the state's response to the Company's territorial acquisition in India, as presented in late eighteenth century parliamentary legislation, consisted of three predominant themes. The most explicit of these, was the state's attempt to establish a centralised authority in India under its control. Due to the Company's acquisition of the Diwani and the government's need for money, the management of India became a prominent concern of the state in the late 1760s. However, the Company proved to be unable to administer its territories effectively, prompting state intervention. This intervention came in the form of the appointment of a Governor-General and Council who would govern the Company's territories, as well as the creation of a Board of Commissioners who would have the power to direct all acts relating

[99] 'East India Company Act, 1773', *Archives of Empire,* pp. 34-35.
[100] 'Pitt's India Act, 1784', in Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* p. 169.
[101] 'Pitt's India Act, 1784', in Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* p. 169.
[102] 'Dundas's Bill of 1783', in Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* p. 158.
[103] 'Fox's Second India Bill, 1783', in Marshall, *Problems of Empire,* p. 166.

to the governance and revenue of India. These commissioners were to be appointed by the Crown, and while the Governor-General would be appointed by the Company's directors, they would need the Crown's consent. Consequently, the administration of the Company's territories was centralised under a coherent command structure in which the state's will had preeminence.

However, a significant concern for confronting the abusive practices of the Company is also discernible. In the late 1760s and 1770s, widely circulated reports of Company servants' crimes generated public hostility and parliamentary opposition to the Company's governance of India. These accounts also resonated in America, where revolutionary opinion-makers used them to justify colonial resistance. As such, the state endeavoured to address the abusive practices employed by the Company's servants. This manifested itself through the creation of a British judiciary in India and the state's assumption of responsibility for the welfare of the indigenous Indian population. By these means, the state attempted to create a systematic and robust judiciary in India and deter any wrongdoing. This concern for regulating the behaviour of the Company's servants can also be seen through the state's response to the influence of the nabobs within Britain. The Company's newfound influence in India created opportunities for its servants to amass great fortunes and those that did, became known as nabobs. In the minds of the public however, these nabobs were closely associated with the abusive practices employed by the Company. Furthermore, the political elite feared that the nabobs would introduce their despotic practices to Britain but this was avoided through immediate parliamentary involvement. The state attempted to deprive the Company's servants from amassing the fortunes that the nabobs had, through forbidding the acceptance of gifts in India. A proposal was even made to exclude Company servants from politics entirely and although this was not passed, it emphasises the state's misgivings for the nabobs wealth and their intention to prevent the creation of future nabobs.

These pieces of legislation therefore illustrate that the state asserted its preeminence over the Company through its overarching influence in India's administrative hierarchy, its superseding of the Company's legal authority, and its explicit assertion of power to police the Company's servants. This conclusion is significant as it showcases that the state took not just an active, but the predominant role in shaping the nature of the Company's position in Asia after its territorial conquest. James M. Vaughn argues that the Company's acceptance of the Diwani signalled the shift towards the second British empire and it is through these responses that the initial emergence of the sustained presence of the British state in India can be identified.[104]

[104] Vaughn, *Politics of Empire,* p. 229.

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[105] Revised after marking: included in bibliography.
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Transatlantic Transformations: The English Conquest of Jamaica and the Birth of Empire

Alex Kensit

Transatlantic Transformations: The English Conquest of Jamaica and the Birth of Empire

Alex Kensit

Abstract: *The British Atlantic world was transformed after 1655. Many of these transformations can be attributed to the conquest of Jamaica that year. This essay evaluates the transformations that followed this conquest - ranging from ethnogenesis in Jamaica to the beverage consumption of the London middle classes. Whilst the conquest of this relatively small island in the Caribbean often went unnoticed by scholars who have traditionally focused on the value of India to the empire and imperial developments in the nineteenth century. This article will make the case that the power and wealth of the British Empire which reached its zenith in the early twentieth century would not have been possible without the conquest of Jamaica.*

In 1655, Jamaica was little more than a Spanish colonial outpost; possessing less than a thousand settlers, who had scarcely exploited the land. [107] By 1745, this once inconsequential colony now possessed a trade value of some £1.5 million, making it the wealthiest territory in the British Empire. [108] But the transformations of Jamaica itself were merely a microcosm of the wider transformation of the British Atlantic World that this conquest caused.

There are three key transformations which occurred as a result of the conquest of Jamaica. Firstly, Jamaica usurped Barbados as the most profitable colony the English, or British from 1707, owned, becoming the joint largest sugar producer in the world. It caused an exponential increase in the slave trade, which led to unprecedented levels of interaction between Africans and British settlers. Finally, the plantations on the island created immense levels of wealth, resulting in new forms of political authority being established - a transatlantic political and economic class, which had influence in the metropole and Jamaica. Twenty years after the start of the conquest, there were already seventy sugar plantations in operation, with a further forty on the way. [109] Between 1740 and 1776, the number of sugar plantations on the island increased by 45%. [110] Jamaica became the New Barbados, replacing that colony as the largest sugar producer in the empire, and one of the largest in the world. Whilst over 3,000 voyages from Africa to Jamaica occurred between 1655 and 1808, 75% of the nearly one million Africans on these voyages

[107] Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640-1700* (University of North Carolina Press, 2007), p. 35.
[108] Kenneth Morgan, *A Concise History of Jamaica* (Cambridge University Press, 2023), pp. 113-114.
[109] Morgan, *A Concise History of Jamaica*, p. 113.
[110] Ibid

remained in Jamaica. [111] The profits that this fabulously wealthy slave society created went into the pockets of Jamaican planters; a truly transatlantic political and economic class intrinsically tied to the plantations, who one British Prime Minister referred to as his "only masters". [112] Whilst some of these transformations, like the emergence of a "planter class", were not exclusive to Jamaica, the Jamaican varieties of these phenomena were on an unprecedentedly large scale. For this question, the "British Atlantic World" will include the British/former English territories in the Caribbean and the British Isles themselves.

The Jamaican conquest was avant-garde. It was the first time the state had directly taken a role in acquiring a territory, with such endeavours previously falling into the hands of private companies and individuals. It was also the first time the English had conquered another European colony. [113] Inebriated on the success of subduing unrest in Ireland, Cromwell mobilised the navy into a daring scheme known as the Western Design, to conquer Spain's American colonies. The prize was Hispaniola, but when the English were confronted with reality, they sought to ameliorate a humiliating defeat by swiftly conquering the poorly defended Jamaica. [114] Early settlers spoke enthusiastically of the opportunities the island offered England. [115] But this optimism was quickly replaced by something far greater than apathy. By November of 1655, 3,700 troops out of 8,200 were left on the island, the majority having succumbed to tropical diseases.[116] Jamaica thus became synonymous with death.

With this in mind, Jamaica's transformation into a sugar colony, the "jewel in the crown" of the British Empire, was nothing short of remarkable. Historian Kenneth Morgan noted, "It was not at all clear that Jamaica would be preserved as a useful acquisition for England".[117] Aside from the high rates of death and disease on the island, Jamaica attaining the status as a slave, sugar plantation society was not inevitable. Here we confront the paradox of the Jamaican conquest; the early settlers did not wish for their colony to become a second Barbados, yet that is exactly what happened. Historian Trevor Burnard's view that the early Jamaican settlers expressly wished to avoid a monoculture developing on the island is

[111] Morgan, *A Concise History of Jamaica,* p. 107.
[112] Andrew O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 15; and Perry Gauci, *William Beckford: First Prime Minister of the London Empire* (Yale University Press, 2013) cited in Trevor Burnard, *Planters, Merchants, and Slaves: Plantation Societies in British America, 1650-1820* (University of Chicago Press, 2015), p.158.
[113] Carla Pestana, *The English Conquest of Jamaica: Oliver Cromwell's Bid for Empire and The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661*, (Harvard University Press, 2017), p. 4.
[114] Sir Alan Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* (George Allen & Unwin, 1954), p. 251.
[115] John Daniell, [n.pub] (1661) cited in Pestana, p.141.
[116] Stanley Arthur Goodwin Taylor, *The Western Design: An Account of Cromwell's Expedition to the Caribbean* (Institute of Jamaica, 1965), cited in Richard S Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1972), p.153.
[117] Morgan, *A Concise History of Jamaica*, p. 80.

echoed by historian Carla Pestana.[118] Burnard does observe that other crops were being cultivated, such as coffee and cocoa, but by 1660 sugar had already become the main export. [119] By the 1750s Jamaica was making more sugar than all the English islands in the West Indies combined in 1700.[120] Jamaica's transformational ability was that its size enabled very large plots of land to be cultivated for sugar. The average size of a plantation in Jamaica was around 360 acres. In Barbados, this was the size of the largest plantations.[121] The number of these plantations in Jamaica rose exponentially, from 57 in 1671, to 246 in 1684, allowing far greater sugar production than the next biggest plantation colony. [122]

Such large numbers of plantations in Jamaica helped to accelerate sugar consumption in England. Between 1660 and 1700, consumption increased from 4,000 tons a year to 14,000 tons a year. [123] In this period, the amount of sugar being exported to England rose from 8,000 tons to 23,500 tons. [124] English population increase cannot be a factor in this - the population was stable, if not shrinking. Meaning that per capita, sugar consumption almost tripled.[125] A major factor responsible for this increase was Jamaica, specifically, her plantations, which were exporting some 100,000 tons of sugar a year by 1805, more than any other place in the world.[126] There is no better illustration of this consumption shift than the coffeehouse; eighteenth-century contemporaries estimated there were between 3,000 and 8,000 in London, though a 1734 estimate places the number at 550.[127] Sugar enabled bitter beverages like tea and coffee to be sweetened. Tea became so popular that thanks to the addition of sugar it displaced beer as the most popular beverage in England.[128] It must also be mentioned that while Jamaica was synonymous with sugar, it was also the largest coffee producer in the Americas by 1810, a demonstration of the economic transformation the island witnessed after the conquest.[129] As Richard Dunn put it, Jamaica had

[118] Pestana, p. 149.
[119] Amussen, p. 40.
[120] Dunn, p. 204
[121] Dunn, p. 167.
[122] John Ogilby, *America: Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World* (Printed for the author, 1671) cited in Dunn, p. 169.
[123] Asmussen, p. 40.
[124] Dunn, pp. 202-204 cited in Amussen, p. 40.
[125] Amussen, p. 40.
[126] Noel Deerr, *The History of Sugar* (Chapman and Hall, 1949), p. 198 cited in Burnard, *Planters, Merchants*, p. 208.
[127] Matthew Green, 'The Lost World of the London Coffeehouse', *Public Domain Review*, 7 August 2013 <https://publicdomainreview.org/essay/the-lost-world-of-the-london-coffeehouse/> [accessed 4 November 2024].
[128] Douglas R. Egerton, *The Atlantic World: A History, 1400-1888* (Harlan Davidson, 2007), p. 229.
[129] Mario Samper and Radin Fernando, 'Historical Statistics of Coffee Production and Trade from 1700 to 1960', in *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, 1500–1989*, ed. by William Gervase Clarence-Smith and Steven Topik (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 385-486 (p. 412) cited in Burnard, *Planters, Merchants*, p. 208.

finally "fulfilled its original promise", not only matching but vastly surpassing the success of Barbados, triggering profound economic and sociocultural transformations across both sides of the British Atlantic.

Jamaica would not have been able to achieve this without slaves, who constituted 90% of the island's population by the mid-18th century.[130] Initially, labour was performed by white indentured servants.[131] In Jamaica, the number of these servants rapidly declined, whilst simultaneously, the number of slaves arriving from West Africa exponentially rose. The population of indentured servants effectively disappeared in Jamaica. Of the 1,438 servants who left Liverpool for America between 1697 and 1707, approximately zero were destined for Jamaica.[132] Meanwhile, the number of African slaves destined for Jamaica rose from 8,000 per annum in the years between 1651 and 1675, to some 77,100 per annum between 1676 and 1700.[133] The conquest of Jamaica therefore marked a shift away from indentured European labour, towards West African slaves.

The traditionally Eurocentric nature of Caribbean history means that the narratives around slavery are mostly concerned with abolitionism and emancipation. Until recently, most historians have neglected to examine how slavery changed African society and culture. John Thornton makes two important assertions: the first of which, is that he accepts that some elements of African culture survived in the Caribbean, and the second of which, is that the Africans who arrived were not homogeneous; they hailed from several regions made up of a large number of nations, something which even Europeans at the time could recognise.[134] They took advantage of this, as a divide-and-rule strategy, which was seen in other colonies.[135] In Jamaica, however, slaves outnumbered their white masters by 8 to 1 in 1713, compared to 3 to 1 in Barbados, meaning maintaining the "randomization" of Africans on plantations was even more essential.[136] Of the 21 largest slave owners in Jamaica, 17 of them bought their slaves from at least three different regions of Africa.[137] Most Africans hailed from the Bight of Biafra prior to 1676, but this region

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[130] Henry Bright, letter to Richard Meyler II, 25 July 1750, cited in Morgan, *The Bright-Meyler Papers: A Bristol - West India Connection, 1732-1837* (Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 226 cited in Burnard, *Planters, Merchants,* p. 170.
[131] Morgan, *A Concise History of Jamaica*, p. 98.
[132] Dunn, p. 165.
[133] Phillip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census,* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 52-64, pp. 88-89, p. 119 cited in Dunn, p. 230.
[134] John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the making of the Atlantic world, 1400-1800,* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 186-187.
[135] Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, (printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1657), p. 75.
[136] Dunn, p. 165.
[137] David Richardson and others, *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, (Liverpool University Press, 2007), pp. 139-164 cited in Burnard, *Planters, Merchants,* p. 171.

again became dominant for importing slaves in the 18th century.[138] Yet between 1701 and 1725, the majority of slaves were from Angola and Benin.[139]Whilst Thornton recognised that African languages seldom survived in the New World, he acknowledged the findings of Hans Sloane. Sloane observed slaves in Jamaica singing in Angolan, Papaw, and Koromanti languages, suggesting an enduring African influence over the island's culture. [140] In Jamaica, slaves "lacked the ethnic and cultural specificity" required to recreate their own cultures, and thus had to create new ones.[141] Thornton argues that Caribbean culture is a "fusion", primarily Euro-American, with a distinct African "flavour".[142] Jamaica was an immensely diverse society, unlike any other in the empire. Richard Burton argues it was one of the "most cosmopolitan and polyglot" places in British North America, with settlers on the island experiencing a society which was "far more culturally complex than anything he would have experienced in England".[143] This is indicative of Jamaica's unique characteristics, which were attributable to the English conquest.

Unlike in the other Caribbean colonies, Jamaica witnessed the growth of a large and influential "mulatto" class; individuals who were the product of white settlers and African slaves. Historian Winthrop Jordan articulates the view that racial structures in Barbados, meanwhile, were far more rigid, with little to no acceptance towards miscegenation.[144] The status of Jamaica as a "frontier zone", as in the words of Caribbean scholar Christer Petley, meant that whites occupied a precarious position. [145] Demographics did not lie in their favour, thus, the planter class accepted the ascendance of mixed-race individuals to positions in the colonial militias, and some other positions, believing it would ensure their loyalty to the colony.[146] This population rose from 1,010 in 1730, to 7,605 in 1788, when they accounted for 3% of the population.[147]

The existence of mulattos is a contradiction of the separatist ideology British settlers possessed. Dunn makes the case that with the status of Jamaica as a slave-majority island, the plantocracy had to

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[138] David Eltis, 'The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 58:1 (2001), pp. 17-46, doi:10.2307/2674417 cited in Burnard, *Planters, Merchants,* pp. 170-171.
[139] Eltis, cited in Burnard, *Planters, Merchants,* p. 171.
[140] Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands: Madera, Barbados, Neives, S. Christopher and Jamaica,* 2 vols. (B.M for the author, 1707), pp. 47-57 cited in Thornton, p. 200.
[141] Thornton, p. 184.
[142] Thornton, p. 184.
[143] Richard D. E Burton, *Afro-Creole Power: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean* (Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 14-15 cited in Burnard, *Planters, Merchants,* p. 173.
[144] Jordan Winthrop, *White Over Black* (University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 174-175.
[145] Christer Petley, '"Legitimacy" and Social Boundaries: Free People of Colour and the Social Order in Jamaican Slave Society', *Social History,* 30:4 (2005), p. 484, doi:10.1080/03071020500304627
[146] Arnold A. Sio, 'Race, Colour and Miscegenation: The Free Coloured of Jamaica and Barbados', *Caribbean Studies,* 16:1 (1976), p. 18 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25612729> [accessed 6 November 2024]
[147] Burnard, *Planters, Merchants,* p. 173.

"segregate themselves socially and culturally from the blacks".[148] Yet in Jamaica, an ethnogenesis occurred, where a new, third ethnic group was created, sitting in between whites and "negroes". One of the wealthiest Jamaican planters, Thomas Thistlewood, had a relationship with a slave, Phibbah, for some 30 years. Their son, John, was given freedom, aged two in 1762. He was educated, and able to serve in the militia, opportunities which simply did not exist for blacks, even if they were officially "free".[149] In Jamaica, skin colour became the primary determiner of status. Within the population of "free people of colour", proximity to whiteness, both literal and cultural, was the point of reference for social status and privilege.[150] Mulatto children were often baptised - several children in the parish of St Andrews every year from 1675, according to Dunn.[151] Burnard's analysis has added additional layers of understanding to Dunn's 1972 work. Burnard cites statistics showing that the number of funerals for free people of colour increased four to fivefold between 1740 and 1780. By 1788, 43% of Kingston's population were free people of colour.[152] This enables us to ascertain just how large this population was, and how rapidly it grew, underscoring the colonial transformation of Jamaica.

In assessing the transformational value of free people of colour, it is worth noting that both Petley and fellow scholar Arnold Sio agree that the majority of free people of colour were bordering destitution.[153] Yet they were, according to Petley, able to acquire certain privileges which were not available to blacks.[154] The truly transformational dimension of Africans and their descendants in Jamaica, is that their interactions with Europeans, and indeed Africans, were not replicated anywhere else in the British Empire. Interracial relations existed before Jamaica, in other colonies, but not on the same scale, with these colonies not witnessing mulatto communities acquiring any kind of stake, economic or otherwise. [155] Petley's work, which found that some free women of colour possessed wealth and agency, serves as a counter-balance to traditional narratives, which portray slaves and their descendants in Jamaica as being entirely subordinate to their white masters.[156] Such sophisticated degrees of interactions between Africans and Europeans simply would not have existed on this scale had Jamaica not been conquered.

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[148] Dunn, p. 237.
[149] Petley, 'Legitimacy and Social Boundaries', p. 489.
[150] Sio, p. 14.
[151] Dunn, p. 254.
[152] Burnard, *Planters, Merchants,* p. 173.
[153] Sio, pp. 19-20, and Burnard, '"Prodigious Riches': The Wealth of Jamaica before the American Revolution," *Economic History Review* 54 (2001), p. 518 cited in Petley, p. 494.
[154] Petley, 'Legitimacy and Social Boundaries', p. 497.
[155] Sio, p. 9.
[156] Petley, 'Legitimacy and Social Boundaries', p. 490

The wealthiest planters, and some of the wealthiest men in the British Empire, were all part of the Jamaican plantocracy. It included Simon Taylor, who had approximately 2,228 slaves to the value of some £124,578. The value of his entire estate was estimated to be £739,207. By the early 19th century, his annual income was between 5 and 8 times that of the average British peer.[157] The upper classes in Britain acquired their wealth through land ownership, often inherited. Historian Douglas Egerton argues that men in the Atlantic world who could not attain social status in the metropole, usually because they did not possess the wealth of the aristocracy, could acquire it in the likes of Jamaica by effectively buying their social position.[158] Another prominent Jamaican planter was William Beckford (1760-1844). By 1809, Beckford was one of the wealthiest men in the British Empire, believed to have earned £155,000 a year by 1797.[159] Their wealth was showcased through the construction of Palladian-style mansions, and extravagant estates.[160] Michael Craton famously called these planters "reluctant creoles", who had no intention of living in Jamaica once they had made their fortunes.[161] Joseph Ragataz correctly identifies this absenteeism as the "outstanding characteristic" of agriculture in the British Caribbean.[162] From around 1750, 300 children were leaving Jamaica every year for education in Britain.[163] Twenty years later, 75% of young Jamaicans were being enrolled in schools overseas.[164] Many plantations in the 1790s were owned by people who had not even set foot in the colony.[165] These plantations were solely a form of income; their owners had no intention to embed . into Jamaica's civic society. As noted by Orlando Patterson, the total devotion to sugar plantations in Jamaica meant the colony was defined by the "neglect and distortion of almost every one of basic prerequisites of normal human living".[166] There was no development of any public school system, churches were unattended, and governing the colony proved difficult owing to relying on the lower and middling classes to fill the positions once held by the planters in the Assembly.[167] Jamaica fulfilled a purely economic and strategic function for the empire - but nothing

[157] Richard B. Sheridan, "Simon Taylor, Sugar Tycoon of Jamaica, 1740-1813", *Agricultural History*, 45:4 (1971) , pp. 285-296 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3742057> [accessed 6 November 2024] cited in Burnard, *Planters and Merchants,* p. 159.
[158] Egerton, p. 238.
[159] Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America* (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 45.
[160] Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire*, p. 45.
[161] Michael Craton, 'Reluctant Creoles: The Planters' World in the British West Indies' in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire,* ed. by in Bernard Bailyn and Phillip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill, 1991).
[162] Joseph Lowell Ragatz, 'Absentee Landlordism in the British Caribbean, 1750-1833', *Agricultural History*, 5:1 (1931), p. 7 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3739564> [accessed 7 November 2024]
[163] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica,* 3 vols (printed for the author, 1774) pp. 510-511 cited in Ragatz, p. 9.
[164] Ragatz, pp. 9-10.
[165] Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies,* 2 vols, (printed for the author, 1793) p. 75 cited in Ragatz, pp. 11-12.
[166] Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An analysis of the origins, development and structure of Negro slave society in Jamaica* (Sangster's Book Stores, 1973), p. 9.
[167] Ragatz, p. 13.

more. There was no desire to seriously invest in the colony beyond it's plantation system. Ragatz holds the high rate of absenteeism as responsible for the decline in the island's white population.[168] However, he neglects other factors in this, such as a low number of white women available for the planters to procreate with, and the massive numbers of African slaves being imported every year.

Nevertheless, absenteeism was a defining characteristic of colonial Jamaica. Absentee-owned plantations rose from 40% in 1775, to 80% in 1835.[169] "I do not know one fortune in the Islands" Henry Senior wrote in 1815, noting that all the planters were living in England.[170] It was in the metropole, where the genuinely trans-Atlantic nature of this new social class was revealed. Lord North, the British Prime Minister between 1770 and 1782, remarked that the Jamaican planters were his only masters, giving some indication as to the influence the plantocracy had in Britain.[171] Kenneth Morgan notes that only 1 of the 39 members of the West India lobby in Parliament held important positions in government, but it did not need to occupy positions in government to wield influence.[172] The successful passing of the Molasses Act in 1733, which taxed imports arriving in New England from non-British colonies in the West Indies, was one such example of planter influence in Parliament.[173]

The most notable lobbyist was Stephen Fuller, who between 1764 and 1794, lobbied assiduously for the Jamaican planters. After the American Revolutionary War, he produced literature in defence of the plantocracy.[174] It is highly significant that in the war, the British prioritised the defence of Jamaica over the defence of Yorktown in 1781.[175] Before the war, the colony's wealth was in the region of some £18 million.[176] The Jamaican planters held Westminster to ransom. Metropolitan interference into colonial affairs usually resulted in fierce resistance, as early as 1678.[177] Rhetoric around "English liberty" was the same as those used by the colonists on the mainland up to 1776.[178] After the American Revolution, the planters knew that Westminster had to appease them if they did not wish for Jamaica to secede. Thus in

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[168] Ragatz, p. 18.
[169] Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire*, pp. 46-47.
[170] Clare Taylor, 'Aspects of Planter Society in the British West Indies before Emancipation', *National Library of Wales Journal, 20* (1978), p. 370 cited in Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire*, p. 49.
[171] Burnard, *Planters, Merchants*, p. 158.
[172] Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire*, p. 50.
[173] Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire,* p. 51.
[174] Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire*, p. 50.
[175] Burnard, *Planters, Merchants*, p. 159.
[176] Sheridan, 'The Wealth of Jamaica in the Eighteenth Century', *The Economic History Review,* 18:2 (1965), pp. 302-311, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2592096> [accessed 7 November 2024]
[177] Dunn, pp. 158-159.
[178] Jack P. Greene, 'Liberty, slavery, and the transformation of British identity in the eighteenth-century West Indies', *Slavery and Abolition,* 21 (2000), pp. 1-31, doi:10.1080/01440390008575293 cited in Petley, 'New Perspectives on Slavery and Emancipation in the British Caribbean', *The Historical Journal,* 54:3 (2011), p. 868, doi:10.1017/S0018246X11000264

1778, Parliament withdrew the right to levy taxes on the West Indian colonies, amidst periodic threats of secession from planters, even if in reality, this was unlikely.[179] The wealth of Jamaica was so great that Britain could not afford to lose it. Even for ordinary white Jamaicans, their average wealth was around £134, over three times that of the average person in England or the mainland colonies.[180] The emergence of the Jamaican planter class caused ripples across the Atlantic; it saw gargantuan levels of wealth accumulated by men who had little to no chance of acquiring it in Britain, and furthermore, this wealth meant the Jamaican planters now had considerable influence over government, especially in regards to colonial matters.

Conquering Jamaica, the Cromwellian state had established the foundations for something truly transformational. Jamaica would produce vast amounts of sugar, replacing Barbados as the empire's biggest producer, and most prized colony. The scale of production in Jamaica required an elaborate system of slave labour, generating a hitherto unprecedented expansion of the slave trade. The interactions between Africans and whites on Jamaica were unlike those anywhere else in the British Atlantic. Many of those whites would ascend to the plantocracy, continually existing as a thorn in Parliament's side - which wielded considerable power over government affairs. In concluding this question, one must avoid falling into the trap which so many historians of the Atlantic are guilty of falling into. That trap, identified by Pestana, is dismissing the relevance and transformational nature of Jamaica's conquest *prior* to the island becoming the plantation powerhouse it was. [181] Jamaica's transformational ability was realised from the moment it was conquered, by the settlers, and through the very nature of its conquest. Jamaica didn't just transform the British Atlantic world - it *created* it. Without Jamaica, the Caribbean would have remained a sea hostile to English and British interests, other than at its most easterly peripheries. Jamaica's conquest set a precedent for state-orchestrated colonial expansion. [182] The Western Design may have fallen short of its original aims, but it had irreversibly changed the course of history in the Atlantic; giving England, and later Britain, it's then-largest colony, creating the foundations for a Caribbean empire. Without the conquest, England would have been considerably poorer; and considerably less relevant, particularly in the West Indies. The eventual creation of the British Empire may never have occurred. Jamaica's transformations were as much symbolic as they were literal.

[179] O'Shaughnessy, p. 247 cited in Paula E. Dumas, *Proslavery Britain: Fighting for Slavery in an Era of Abolition* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) p. 21.
[180] Burnard, "'Prodigious Riches"', pp. 506-524 cited in Burnard, *Planters, Merchants*, p. 159.
[181] Pestana, pp. 252-254.
[182] Pestana, pp. 248-249.

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‘Mother Gin and Moral Panic’: Contemporary Perceptions of Gin as an 18th-Century Social Problem

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‘Mother Gin and Moral Panic’: Contemporary Perceptions of Gin as an 18th-Century Social Problem

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Abstract*: The ‘Gin Craze’ period (1720-1751) marked a unique phase of panic from the propertied classes about the lower class obsession with gin drinking. Through an analysis of contemporary commentary, legislative efforts, and satirical depictions - most notably Hogarth’s Gin Lane - this work explores how gin consumption was framed as a severe urban social problem, deeply entangled with perceptions of gender, poverty, crime, and social decay. By assessing key figures such as Mandeville, Defoe, and Wilson, this essay highlights how attitudes towards gin evolved while shaping the trajectory of anti-gin legislation across the period, which culminated in the Gin Act in 1751. Exploring the relationship between classist rhetoric, reformist media, and legislative responses reveals that morally condemning gin consumption was insufficient to drive successful policy change; rather, the success of anti-gin measures was contingent upon broader socio-economic transformations.*

The dates of 1720 and 1751 are often used to define the era of the ‘Gin Craze’, where gin consumption dramatically surged in England. More nuanced insights emerge when examining the views of propertied contemporary commentators like philosopher Bernard Mandeville, who regarded this new spirit - consumed by the so-called “modern Rabble”, a derogatory term for the lower classes - as endemic in urban communities and a source of moral decay and social instability. As prominent social historian Peter Clark divides contemporary reactions into four waves of public agitation - in 1726, 1728–29, 1735–38, and 1748–51 - many scholars have established a relationship between the economic conditions during each wave and the degree of successful reform regarding the 'gin issue'.[183] This essay will predominantly assess the documented ways that gin selling and consumption were an urban social problem within the early 18th century, often referring to Hogarth's *Gin Lane* to help introduce the ‘accumulated rhetoric’ of anti-gin campaigning up to 1751.[184] It will also maintain an ongoing awareness of the classism displayed by contemporary commentators, and how reactions to gin were part of a ‘moral panic’ amongst the higher classes.

[183] Peter Clark, ‘The “Mother Gin” Controversy in the Early Eighteenth Century’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 38 (1988), 63–84 (p.63).
[184] James Nicholls, 'A new kind of drunkenness: the gin craze', *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England* (Manchester, 2009; online edn, Manchester Scholarship Online, 2012) pp. 50-51.



Figure 1: British Museum, *Gin Lane* by William Hogarth, 1751, Museum Number P S-2-121
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_S-2-121

The famous image of *Gin Lane* is popular within scholarship on the 'Gin Craze' as a tool to either introduce or conclude work on the period, as historians Fisher and Nicholls do respectively.[185] This essay aims to do both, in the hope that after gradually referencing this satirical drawing to help introduce the breadth of problems caused by gin, it can be better placed within the environment of the 1750's at the end of the work. This grim depiction of gin-induced social destruction situated problems regarding the maternal role of women, crime, violence, physical/mental decay and unproductive labour. While Hogarth's piece cannot serve as a strict documentary of urban life, due to its satirical nature and possible use as propaganda in support of the 1751 Gin Act - which implemented restrictions on sales from distillers to licensed, property-owning merchants and imposed higher fees on retail licenses - the value is better found in its reflection of some higher-class commentators and how their opinions up to 1751 had framed gin as a severely ruinous "cordial" drank by lower society.

[185] George Fisher, 'The Gin Crisis', *Beware Euphoria: The Moral Roots and Racial Myths of America's War on Drugs* (Oxford Academic, 2023) p.51: Nicholls pp. 50-51.

The seasonal access to work and the dire poverty in the slums, particularly in London, meant that cheap and accessible gin was providing the luxury of drunkenness to a populous urban class, who had never had such easy access to alcohol. In the *Fable of the Bees* (1714), Mandeville's paradoxical notion that gin, as an "evil" which provided "solid blessings" related to the country's economic growth, would become an unpopular idea amongst the 'soul-searching reformers' of the 1720s.[186] In 1723, the poem was reissued and, in turn, was "furiously proscribed" by the Grand Jury of Middlesex, a legal body which oversaw a large part of London.[187] Previously in their May 1721 sessions papers, they condemned gin as the cause of "all vice & debauchery committed among the **inferior** people, as well as of the felonies & other disorders committed in & about this town".[188] Blaming gin as the cause of **all** problems amongst the 'inferior' people, has resounding similarities to the image of *Gin Lane* produced exactly 30 years afterwards. The scene's overwhelming display of urban debauchery, including the violent background brawling and inferred cannibalism, as a man gnaws on a large bone with a dog, is displayed as a direct consequence of gin consumption. Descriptions like "inferior" also resonate with other commentators throughout the period, like Mandeville's description of the urban class as "Rabble" and Fielding's as "wretched".[189] The anti-gin debate was inherently classist; gin was only seen as an urban social problem.

During the 1720's, the social issues regarded to be caused by gin noticeably came into battle with its economic value to the country. Similarly to Mandeville in *A Fable of the Bees* (1714), writer and political commentator Daniel Defoe - best known for his novel *Robinson Crusoe*, and whose history of political pamphleteering had even seen him imprisoned in 1703 - published *A Brief Case of the Distillers*, a pamphlet defending the economic importance of Britain's distilling industry. This work was published in 1726 and showed the steady increase of anti-gin reformative thought to the point where Defoe thought it proper to defend distillers against it. He asserted that there were commercial benefits of the industry on every level of society, as the crown ultimately benefited from the grainers who employed labour from the poor, used the soil of the landed class and sold gin in domestic and foreign markets.[190] While his work was "no Apology" for the social problems caused by gin consumption, he viewed that if "people

[186] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, ed. by Philip Harth (London: Penguin Classics, 1989) p.82.
[187] Patrick Dillon, *The Much-Lamented Death of Madam Geneva: The Eighteenth-Century Gin Craze* (London: Review, 2002) pp.55-58.
[188] Ibid
[189] Bernard Mandeville, *An Enquiry into the Cause of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn, p.21:* H. Fielding, 'Sect. II, Of Drunkenness, a consequence of luxury amongst the vulgar', in *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers and Related Writings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) pp. 20-34.
[190] Daniel Defoe, *A Brief Case of the Distillers and of the Distilling Trade in England* (London: T. Warner, 1726) pp.2-3.

destroyed themselves by their own excess", it was not the distillers' job to prevent this.[191] This argument eventually formed the opposition to the second and more 'draconian' Gin Act in 1736, which built on the lesser-known 1729 Act by increasing the retail tax to 20 shillings. Landed conservatives, traders and grainers fought against this legislation in the industry from Whig moral reformers in the government.[192]

Defoe would go on to contradict himself, as later in 1729 he would support legislative action when viewing that "common people's infatuation" with gin was detrimental to the labour market.[193] A drunk labour force was essentially undermining the economic value of the gin industry in other areas, a prominent argument amongst reformers throughout the period. In 1730, a reformist newspaper, *The Occasional Monitor,* suggested that there was reluctance to hire labourers, as gin consumption took its toll on their health. It had "halved their strength" while often causing drunk-related accidents and deaths.[194] In a 1730 satire drawing, gin drinkers were depicted as ritualistic, vomiting, animals, while the skeletal, malnourished figures and scattered coffins in ***Figure 1***, *Gin Lane,* indicate that this carried on throughout the period.[195] While exaggerated, satirists throughout the period also did not see this gin-addicted labouring class as fit to work as part of a functioning society.

As Nicholls suggests, the visible social effects of the gin industry alarmed men like Defoe, who had previously been one of its biggest supporters in 1726.[196] By 1730, when nationwide consumption surged to nearly five million gallons, the call for reform was growing louder, yet remained largely ineffective. The government was both reluctant and unable to enforce restrictions consistently across England. Historians Warner and White, writing in the early 2000s, argue that whilst gin contributed significant revenue to the state, attempts to morally condemn its consumption or limit unlicensed sales lacked the structural and ideological support to bring about lasting change before the 1750s.[197] However, after the War of the Austrian Succession ended in 1748, easing fiscal pressures, the state's dependence on gin revenue declined. Simultaneously, more advanced capitalist ideas about the productive value of the labouring urban class, articulated by figures like clergyman Isaac Maddox, created a political and economic environment more receptive to reform. Like Maddox, the works of Hogarth and Fielding in

[191] Defoe, p.11.
[192] Clark, p. 64.
[193] Nicholls, p. 38.
[194] Dillon, p.50.
[195] British Museum, *Rabble-Rout in Gin Shop,* William Henry Toms, 18th century, Museum Number 1866,0407.51 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1866-0407-51
[196] Nicholls, p.38
[197] Jessica Warner, *Gin Craze: Popular Culture and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002): Jonathan White, 'The "Slow but Sure Poyson": The Representation of Gin and Its Drinkers, 1736–1751', *Journal of British Studies*, 42 (2003), 35–64.

1751 had similar thoughts to publications from the previous three decades, yet can be directly attributed to inciting **successful** reform, which is in turn attributed to the 1751 Gin Act. The moral reformers beforehand were in some ways ahead of their time, as it was more the post-war environment and the rising cost of grain in the 1750's which saw gin production and therefore consumption decline massively by 1757.

At the time, urban crime was predominantly fought by anxious reactionary policies like the Black Act of 1723, which listed an increased number of criminal acts as punishable by execution. This meant that more criminals were sent to prisons that already had major issues of overcrowding and lawlessness. Mandeville's 1725 pamphlet *'An enquiry into the causes of the frequent executions at Tyburn',* brought up intricate issues related to gin consumption in prisons and during the criminal execution process.[198] Mandeville protested that the urban class within overcrowded and poorly restricted prisons could not last without "their darling cordial" gin, which only served to preserve their inherent "Sloth" like nature.[199] He constantly ridiculed the lack of self-control and reinforced their inhumanity, similarly to many satirical drawings from the period, suggesting that gin was making it worse. Also, Mandeville specifically comments on the procession of criminals in London from Newgate prison to Tyburn for execution, and he describes that uncontrollable mobs and previous offenders would gather along their journey, turning the day of executions into some sort of jubilee. With traders constantly distributing gin amongst the mobs, which would be passed on to the travelling prisoners, it allowed them to get drunk on their journey if they were not already. He execrated the effects that gin would have on the prisoners who were to be executed, as it was an "antidote for Care and frugal Reflection", leaving no remorse or recognition for the consequences of their crimes when drunk.[200] The prisoners who turned their executions into a 'performance' were spurred on by the drunkenness of the crowd and their own drunkenness, which made them fearless in the face of death. Punishment, supposed to deter onlookers from committing more crime, was being undermined by drunkenness, and Fielding commented 25 years later, that gin "removes all Sense of Fear and Shame".[201] The accessibility of gin amongst criminals meant drunkenness was ubiquitous, and with prisons being filled up with more urban criminals after reform like the Black Act, the system seemed inherently broken without major change. Gin was a drink that provided solace for desperately hard lives amongst the lower class, yet commentators like Mandeville ridiculed their insobriety, being unsympathetic when addressing the underlying class divide that drove people to find comfort in gin.

[198] Mandeville, *An Enquiry into the Cause of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn,* pp.20-25.
[199] Mandeville, p.21.
[200] Ibid
[201] Fielding, p.28.

It is clear from his harsh language when assessing gin consumption amongst prisoners that his ideas about the benefits of the distilled alcohol industry, as an economic contributor, may have been more conflicted against its poisonous effects to the lower class, eleven years after writing *A fable of the bees.* His specific ridicule of gin traders further reinforces this attack on the industry in urban areas. To Mandeville, "Weather-beaten" sellers, "the worst of both sexes", were opportunistic and on every street corner, grotesquely dominating public spaces.[202] It is hard to place Mandeville into a subcategory of people who were morally 'panicking' about the effects of gin on lower society, as his complicated views over the value of vice and greed bring into question his own 'moral' values, in stark comparison to early evangelical prohibitionists, for example. However, similarly to Defoe, the visibly worsening conditions of the urban class gin drinkers in London during the 1720's had forced him to comment in his own way, specifically in relation to execution processions.

In 1751, *Gin Lane* specifically depicted women illegally selling drams of gin, while also forcing small amounts of it down the throats of their children. Magistrate Robert Campbell, in 1730, had established a relationship between the urban chandler's petty distilling of gin as a 'side hustle' and the detrimental way this introduced the "first rudiments of gin drinking" to shop maid servants and lower-class women.[203] Gin selling allowed women to make money in a world that previously restricted them, and consumption let them experience the luxury of drunkenness away from gender exclusive alehouses. While contemporary women defended their right to drink gin as it cleared their "spirits" of a hard life, said a market woman giving evidence during the Old Bailey Quarter sessions in 1725, worried contemporaries reinforced how gin-drinking women were inherently destructive to society.[204] The striking centrepiece of *Gin Lane* is a gin-drunk, ragged and half-nude mother lying on some steps, as her baby falls to its likely death because she is incapable of taking care of it.[205] As Fisher states, "gin drinking roused the greatest moral concern when the drinkers were women", and Hogarth's centrepiece reflects how this issue had been a main cause of anxiety in the previous three decades.[206] Unlicensed gin selling had provided a way for women to make unrestricted disposable income at a time when an expanding market in domestic service was doing the same. Women spending their money on gin drinking worried moral reformers like Thomas Wilson.

[202] Mandeville, p.21.
[203] Dillon p.21.
[204] Dillon, p.20.
[205] Hogarth, *Gin Lane* 1751.
[206] Fisher, p.60.

Thomas Wilson embodied the 'moral panic' of the propertied class moving into the 1730's. Mandeville and Defoe had continued the rhetoric that gin was an urban class issue, yet Wilson was someone who held particular focus on a smaller subsection of society - urban women. The sexist propertied classes were outraged that the "delicate part of the population" consumed alcohol, yet Wilson helped focus minds on reform when dialling in on its effects on urban children.[207] In a pamphlet named *Distilled Spirituous Liquors the Bane of the Nation 1736,* Wilson assessed that "Hot Spirituous Liquors" like gin were improperly nourishing and providing disease to children, who should have been growing strong from the meat and milk consumed by their mother.[208] He even theorised that the love of a mother's milk is inherently replaced by the love for gin when a child is born.[209] While referencing the words of a physician, who said that anyone who respects their health should "tremble" at the thought of consuming gin, Wilson tries to legitimise his work, which serves as propaganda to support the coming 1736 Gin Act.[210] Playing upon the idea that gin is "weakening the Breed of the Nation" exhibits a longer-term panic, similar to contemporaries like Defoe who recognised the weakening labour class.[211] Gin-soaked children were being neglected by their mothers and disease fed into the future sailors and grenadiers as Fielding would reinforce in 1751. While this rhetoric, of a future nation diseased economically and militarily by gin, fueled reform within Clark's third wave - 1735-8 -, it could not stop its ineffectiveness.

Later, in 1743, Earl Bathurst complained in the House of Lords that sellers frequently obstructed people on the streets while selling "pernicious liquors to the greedy populace".[212] The 1736 Gin Act had failed to stop the widespread unlicensed selling of gin, and it was repealed in the same year as Bathurst's comments. Newspaper reports in 1736 reported initial optimism regarding the act, and Rictor Norton groups them under the title 'The Death of Mother Gin'. The *Daily Gazetteer* reported in October 1736, that gin had been 'lamented' in Bath, and that the "Justices of the Peace" in London were no longer troubled by gin-drunk people in "great credit" of the 1736 Act.[213] This was to be short-lived, shown by the violence of protestors in the parish of St. George in London, reported by the *British Gazetteer* in January 1737.[214] A chairman who had informed against a gin seller without a license was carried in a procession of effigy and then tied up and burnt, as many urban men and women watched on. Gin was inherently ingrained in the culture of the urban class and was a major barrier for successful reform; the steep £50

[207] Nicholls, p.40.
[208] Thomas Wilson, *Distilled Spirituous Liquors the Bane of the Nation* (London: J. Roberts, 1736), p.38.
[209] Wilson, p. 39.
[210] Wilson, p.46.
[211] Wilson, p.39.
[212] Dillon, p.21
[213] Rictor Norton, *Early Eighteenth-Century Newspaper Reports: A Sourcebook*, "The Death of Mother Gin" (2003) <https://rictornorton.co.uk/grubstreet/gin.htm>
[214] Ibid

licensing fee alongside a 20-shilling total excise tax per gallon only sought to increase the amount of unlicensed sellers and fuel an underground economy.

At the 'Death of Mother Gin', drinkers were "bewail'd", even pawning their clothes to afford more gin and pay their respects to "her", while sellers were sorrowful at the loss of such lucrative profit from the gin-diseased drinkers.[215] Nicholls is eager to point out how the popular nicknames for gin, 'Madam Geneva' and 'Mother Gin', reflected a novel gender balance between its drinkers in the media. Satirical drawings represented this, particularly in a 1736 work that depicts a gravestone of 'Madam Geneva' and her "servants", being an old toothless woman, two ragged dram sellers and a pregnant fishwife ignoring her child, weeping at the tomb.[216] White recognised that satire artists, and political pamphleteers like Wilson, commented on an urban culture that they themselves were not part of, often for the purposes of creating propaganda supporting reform.[217] While they did not truly understand the dependence on gin that made poor lives seem less cruel, their carnivalesque ideas and depictions of gin drinking helped reveal their estrangement from the urban class.[218] The depictions had weight behind them, however, shown by the violence in St George's parish mentioned previously and with the infanticide case of Judith Dufour in 1734, which showed the extreme consequences of gin drinking for urban women. In the Old Bailey trial account, witnesses insinuate that she was often drinking gin and that she confessed to them while gin drunk.[219] It was conclusive, after a surgeon's validation, that the violence of wrapping a cloth around her child's neck to keep it quiet had killed it, after which she left it naked in a field and sold its clothes for "Sixteen-pence".[220] She then split the money with a vagabond who she joined for a rewarding "Quartern of Gin".[221] Wilson's ideas in 1736 of women neglecting their children for gin represented a consequential infanticide, while it is possible that Hogarth's image of a woman feeding her child gin, in *Gin Lane,* was a further motif for even the most extreme gin-induced infanticide like Dufour's.

Gin-related crime was assessed by magistrate Henry Fielding in his 1751 political pamphlet *An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers*, where he says that intoxicating draughts like gin

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[215] Ibid
[216] British Museum, *Tomb of Madam Geneva*, Heroman van der Mijn, 18th century, Museum Number 1868,0808.3580, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0808-3580.
[217] White, p.52.
[218] White, p.52.
[219] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*: Trial of Judith Dufour, 27 February 1734, Reference Number t17340227-32 https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/record/t17340227-32?text=Judith%20Dufour
[220] Ibid
[221] Ibid

disqualified people from using any means to acquire it.[222] Essentially, it was a cause of theft because it removed fear from urban wretches who were addicted to the luxury of drunkenness. Fielding even goes as far as showing remorse for committing thieves/robbers to prison, because once sober, he observed that gin was the **only** cause of their transgression.[223] In 1735, the *Caledonian Mercy* newspaper recounted the Grand Jury's main issues found with gin, one of which was that "Servants are corrupted and bribed to rob their Masters".[224] Gin compelling servants to rob masters was a common narrative in reformist media and revealed the moral panic of the time, where urban crime towards the propertied class enhanced fears of an uprising. Gin as a root cause of crime was therefore present in commentary made from the propertied class, to directly support the case of reform, as shown by the Middlesex magistrates earlier in 1721, who had blamed gin for all urban crime and were pushing for prohibitionist legislation. Additionally, Fielding, 30 years later, saw gin drunkenness as the sole reason behind many robberies/violence and advocated for anti-gin legislation within the political movements towards the 1751 Gin Act.

The addictive and destructive nature of gin to the urban class was reinforced constantly by all propertied commentators, who highlighted elements of a 'moral panic' that incited reformist thought and legislation. This essay has focused on men like Wilson and Defoe to investigate how contemporaries saw gin as specifically destructive to urban women, future generations and the labour class, while referencing other examples from within the 'Gin Craze' era, developing how these problems were consistently in discourse up to Hogarth's depictions in Gin Lane 1751. Agreement that gin addiction incited mental decay and interdependence allowed other contemporaries like Mandeville and Fielding to explore how it became a cause of crime and undermined punishment within the prison system. While contemporaries recognised that gin was controlling urban people, it was culturally and economically ingrained within their lives in such excess that reform like the 1736 Gin Act was locally ineffective, especially whilst the government still relied on revenue from the gin industry until the 1750's. Dramatic reformist media, such as satire drawings and Wilson's pamphlet, hold similarities with Hogarth and Fielding's work in 1751, allowing for a sub-conclusion that the socio-economic climate determined the effectiveness of legislation, not the strength of reformist media.

[222] Fielding, p.28
[223] Ibid
[224] Norton, *Early Eighteenth-Century Newspaper Reports: A Sourcebook.*

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Appendix

Figure 1: British Museum, *Gin Lane* by William Hogarth, 1751, Museum Number P S-2-121 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_S-2-121 [accessed 15 November 2024].



How the Reign of Elizabeth I was Legitimised Through an Identification with the Ancient Goddesses, Venus, Juno, and Minerva

Sophia Westcott

How the Reign of Elizabeth I was Legitimised Through an Identification with the Ancient Goddesses, Venus, Juno, and Minerva

Sophia Westcott

Abstract: *Elizabeth I faced criticism from opposition during her reign as Queen (1558-1603) on the simple basis that she was a woman. Whilst this topic has been widely researched, there has been a gap in historiography: many supporters of Elizabeth I, as well as Elizabeth I herself, often compared the Queen to ancient goddesses to demonstrate her superiority and divine right as ruler. Specifically, the three Roman goddesses Venus, Juno, and Minerva were referenced widely by Elizabeth's supporters in attempts to personify Elizabeth as a goddess in her own right. This article shows how different supporters did just so, arguing that Elizabeth was the divine ruler of England for a multitude of reasons that resonated with the three goddesses, such as beauty, religion, divinity, and victory.*

Elizabeth I was often associated with the three ancient goddesses, Minerva, Venus, and Juno, the Roman goddesses of war, beauty, and marriage, respectively. Reasons for these associations were to combat criticisms about (and that stemmed from) her gender.[225] Helen Hackett's research, the only historian to write about Elizabeth in relation to the three goddesses within the past ten years, shows that 'the general topic "classical deities defer [to Elizabeth]" has no fewer than twenty-one index entries', resulting in a lack of research surrounding the area.[226] Historian John King's 1990 article is the first to analyse the three goddesses in depth, focusing only on their comparison with Elizabeth regarding the issue of marriage.[227] King also fails to acknowledge that despite a focus shift in primary sources from the three Roman goddesses to the goddesses of Diana and Cynthia, the three goddesses was still a prevalent theme regardless. Hackett's article combats this issue by analysing the entirety of Elizabeth's reign, focusing on the identification of the three goddesses with Elizabeth in relation to her mother, Anne Boleyn; marriage; and Protestantism. However, Hackett's article is limited by focusing heavily on art and neglecting literature. Both historians also fail to acknowledge where many of these issues, like marriage and matronage, stem from: gender. This essay will target this gap in historiography, analysing different types of primary sources to demonstrate how Elizabeth's supporters identified her with the three goddesses to

[225] The three roman goddesses Juno, Minerva, and Venus will also be referred to by their Greek names, Hera, Pallas Athena, and Aphrodite, respectively, or simply 'the three goddesses'.
[226] Helen Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I: The Three Goddesses Theme in Art and Literature' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77.3 (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014) 230.
[227] John King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen' *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Renaissance Society of America, 1990) 30-74.

legitimise her reign. The essay will have a specific focus on the issue of female rule, and with that, topics that stem from it: marriage and male personification.

Elizabeth I was criticised from the outset regarding her gender and right to rule, most famously in John Knox's 1558, *Blast of the First Trumpet.*[228] Knox, a Scottish reformer who argued against the concept of female rule, describes Elizabeth as a 'Wicked Woman, yea, of a traitress and a bastard' and that due to her gender, her rule would result in 'the destruction of every commonwealth where it is received'.[229] Leading Elizabethan historian, Susan Doran, argues that 'to counteract perceived gender anxieties, promoters of female rule were keen to point to positive examples of women exerting power'.[230] One such example includes *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, 1569, painted by Hans Eworth.[231] Being one of the few sources that compares Elizabeth to all three goddesses collectively, the painting retells the Judgement of Paris, a key story in Greek Mythology. Elizabeth is awarded the apple originally won by Venus, only the apple is replaced by the sovereign's orb, demonstrating Eworth's intention to legitimise Elizabeth as monarch by symbolising her authority and faith with Christianity. Elizabeth's superiority is also portrayed by her being three steps higher than the three goddesses, as well as the inscription that accompanies the painting:

> 'Pallas was keen of brain, Juno was queen of might, / The rosy face of Venus was in beauty shining bright, / Elizabeth then came, And, overwhelmed, Queen Juno took flight: / Pallas was silenced: Venus blushed for shame'.[232]

Historian David Grant Moss states that Elizabeth's supporters portrayed her '[surpassing the three goddesses] in their own right', and Hackett claims that Elizabeth was depicted to '[unite] the qualities of all three goddesses, [… avoiding] the conflict created by Paris and instead [bringing] peace' to her kingdom.[233] Doran also highlights 'A broken arrow and discarded bow and quiver' which she suggests that:

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[228] John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Edinburgh, 1558).
[229] Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet,* v-vi.
[230] Susan Doran, 'Did Elizabeth's Gender Really Matter?' in Anne Riehl Bertolet (ed) *Queens Matter in Early Modern Studies* (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG, 2017) 39.
[231] Hans Eworth, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, 1569. London, Royal Collection, RCIN 403446. © Royal Collection Trust / Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.
[232] Eworth, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses.*
[233] David Grant Moss, 'Mutually Exclusive Goddesses: Ambivalence in the Iconography of Elizabeth I' *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies*, 1.1 (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 1999) 27; Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', 225.

> Unlike [Paris] and despite her sex, Elizabeth is not swayed by a lack of judgement in her rule. The allegory, therefore, relates to royal power, possibly even the need for a female monarch to guard her power.[234]

As Moss neatly summarises, the painting is clearly 'an argument for Elizabeth's fitness to rule', whereby 'domination by a woman is unacceptable, but domination by a goddess or demigoddess might be acceptable if no alternatives are available'.[235]



Hans Eworth, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, 1569. London, Royal Collection, RCIN 403446. © Royal Collection Trust / Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Other sources also compare Elizabeth to the three goddesses, such as John Lyly's poem 'Lovis Elizabeth'.[236] Hackett's research highlights that Lyly's work depicts the three goddesses competing for

[234] Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power', 176.
[235] Moss, 'Mutually Exclusive Goddesses', 33-34.
[236] John Lyly, "Iovis Elizabeth," in *"Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit" and "Euphues and His England,"* ed. Leah Scragg (Manchester, 2003), 343, 357, Scragg's translation in Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', 239.

Elizabeth rather than the golden apple.[237] George Peele's play, the *Arayngment of Paris,* also identifies Elizabeth's right to rule.[238] Played in front of Elizabeth, Peele attempted to win her favour by identifying her rule as one that echoes similar themes seen in *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses.* For example, also retelling the Judgement of Paris, Peele writes that the kingdom of Elizium is ' 'an ancient seat of kinges, a seconde Troie', where Eliza 'giveth lawes of justice and of peace'', as highlighted by Hackett.[239] Acadedmic, Louis Adrian Montrose suggests that in Peele's play, Elizabeth 'does not merely recapitulate but transcends the glories of Troy and Rome', and that 'Peele is skilfully articulating the sexual politics of Elizabethan court culture'.[240]

Thomas Blenerhasset's panegyric, *A Reuelation of the True Minerua,* also legitimises Elizbaeth's female rule, comparing her to at least one of the three goddesses.[241] For instance, Blenerhasset writes:

> Pallas with secrete suddaine ioy reuiude, forgetting quite her griefes forerunner shee saide, attende and heare the song I haue contriude […] take lute in hand, tune to the waters fall, Minerua liues, whom Pallas honor shall, farewell you kinges of all the continent, both farre and neare, against both gods, and goodnes you be bent, with sworde and speare, therefore with you the furies fierce of hell, we with the vertuous English Queene will dwell, she can not slide, for we will side, her steppes, and make her excel.[242]

Blenerhassat writes that Elizabeth is to be trusted as monarch, for she is gifted guidance and wisdom from Minerva herself. Furthermore, as a message to 'kinges of all the continent', Elizabeth is compared to goddesses rather than male counterparts of 'Hercules, Apollo, or Mars', typical with other sources from the time, as Doran highlights.[243] This further signifies the gender-based aspect in legitimising her rule overseas. Likewise, author Maurice Kyffin equivocates Elizabeth to 'a Goddesse, not an earthly creature' and that 'to compare the great [goddesses and ancient figures] with simple small [Elizabeth], is thereby not to praise the Best at all'.[244] Kyffin reiterates the naivety of assuming Elizabeth as weak through

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[237] Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', 239.
[238] George Peele, *The Araygnement of Paris*, ed. R. Mark Benbow, vol. 3 in *The Dramatic Works of George Peele* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1970) 61-114.
[239] Peele, *The Araygnement of Paris*, 111 in Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', 243.
[240] Louis Adrian Montrose, 'Gifts and Reasons: The Contexts of Peele's Araygnement of Paris' *ELH*, 47.3 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980) 436, 444.
[241] Thomas Blenerhasset, *A Reuelation of the True Minerua the Effect of this Booke. Who on Earth be Gods: And by what Meanes Mortall Men may Bee made Immortall* (London: 1582).
[242] Blenerhasset, *A Reuelation of the True Minerua*.
[243] Blenerhasset, *A Reuelation of the True Minerua*; Susan Droan, 'The Queen' in Susan Doran and Norman Jones (eds) *The Elizabethan World* (London: Routledge, 2011) 47.
[244] Maurice Kyffin, *The Blessednes of Brytaine, Or A Celebration of the Queenes Holyday Wherein is Briefly Discoursed the most Happy Regiment of Her Highnes. Newly Set Foorth Vvith a Nevv Addition Containing the Late*

indirectly signifying Elizabeth's superiority over the three goddesses, attempting to prove that the queen has a legitimate right to rule.

Hackett suggests that Elizabeth's 'monarchical power and intellectual ability – both essential to a ruler but problematically masculine – could be made more acceptable by means of identification with Juno and Pallas and could be balanced against the safely feminine beauty of Venus'.[245] For instance, Doran also highlights Elizabeth being 'addressed as an 'unspoused Pallas' and 'a Virgine pure, which is and ever was', a goddess in her own right and worthy of single sovereignty.[246]

This was not always the case, as Doran's research shows: 'in the plays and entertainments performed before the queen from 1561 to 1578, the virginity of Elizabeth was not idealized but instead marriage was celebrated as a preferable state to chastity'.[247] For instance, King notes that

> at a second wedding celebration at Lincoln's inn on 1 July 1566, Elizabeth herself attended a masque in which Diana was implicated in criticism of the queen for her failure to marry. Thomas Pound, the author and presenter, delivered to Elizabeth the censure that he received from Juno […] for his own failure to wed. He quotes Juno thus 'for wedlocke I lyke best it is the honorablest state.[248]

Doran analyses this same masque further, noting a play performed before the above speech, showing how the three goddesses awarded the bride 'with gifts as rewards for fulfilling her destiny of marriage'.[249] Collectively, the two historians piece together a small glimpse into attempts of using the three goddesses to urge Elizabeth into marriage.

Elizabeth's supporters often used the exact same theme of the three goddesses to counter such criticisms of the queen's decision to not marry. For instance, looking back at the inscription in *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses,* the issue of marriage is evaded through 'Juno took flight'.[250] In other words, as evident in the painting, Elizabeth scares away the gendered issue of marriage and needing a man to rule

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Accidents and Occurrents of this Yeere 88. being the Thirtieth of Hir Maiesties Raigne. by M. Kyffin. Published with Authoritie (London: 1588).

[245] Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', 242.

[246] Susan Doran, 'Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments' *The Historical Journal,* 38.2 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1995) 271-272.

[247] Doran, 'Juno versus Diana', 257.

[248] King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen', 44.

[249] John Nichols, The progresses and public processionis of Queen Elizabeth, I (I 823), 2 I 2. 25 Bod[leian] L[library] Rawlinson MS Io8, fos. I9v-35. The manuscript is prinited in Michayel Pincombe, 'Two Elizabethan masque-orations by Thomas Pound', Bodleian Libraly Record, XII (I987), 349-80 in Doran, 'Juno versus Diana', 265-266.

[250] Eworth, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses.*

alongside her. Doran also claims that 'the Queen presented herself as a marriageable virgin and not a Virgin Queen'.[251] This is also evident in *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, by which Eworth upholds Elizabeth's beauty and love through her superiority over Venus, showing that the queen is capable of love but chooses her realm instead, also symbolised by her possession of the sovereign's orb.[252] This mirrors Elizabeth's own thoughts on marriage and succession, with her addressing both Houses of Parliament:

> the weight and greatnes of this matter might cause in me being a woman […] seme litle in myne eyes […] and as I assure you all that thought after my death yow may have many stepdames, yet shall yow never have any a more mother, then I meane to be unto you all.[253]

It attempts to silence the issue of female rule and marriage, Elizabeth was also identified with stereotypically male attributes, and in the case of the three goddesses, Minerva was a key focus. In *Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses*, Eworth portrays the goddess of war and victory as surrendering to Elizabeth, signifying the Queen's war success and victory despite military affairs being male-dominated.[254] Regarding the bow and arrow that Doran highlights, Moss suggests that 'Cupid has tried to shoot Elizabeth, but has found that his darts are unable to influence her'.[255] Despite this hinting that Elizabeth will not succumb to lust and desire, an argument against marriage, the notion that weapons will not penetrate Elizabeth is still telling, and suggests that she will not be defeated in a battle of any kind, military or not. Moss summarises a possible intention of Eworth's: '[Elizabeth] is rejecting [the three goddesses] natural and therefore "female" attributes in favour of the more artful and political "male" ones'.[256] In *A Reuelation of the True Minerva,* the title itself also suggests Elizabeth's capabilities surrounding military and war strategies, with the 'True Minerva' being the Elizabeth herself.[257] Blenerhasset writes:

> And at last on Brittayne braue [the three goddesses fell],
> where queen Eliza made these Ladies dwell.

[251] Doran, 'Did Elizabeth's Gender Really Matter?', 52.
[252] Eworth, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses.*
[253] 'Answer of the Queen to the addresses of both Houses of Parliament delivered to Mr Speaker Thomas Williams', 28 January 1563 (TNA SP 12/27 f.143r-144v).
[254] Eworth, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses.*
[255] Moss, 'Mutually Exclusive Goddesses', 26.
[256] Moss, 'Mutually Exclusive Goddesses', 27; for more on his argument, see Moss, 'Mutually Exclusive Goddesses', 26-28.
[257] Blenerhasset, *A Reuelation of the True Minerua.*

This signifies Elizabeth's victory in taking Britain from the three goddesses.[258] Interestingly, the book was written seven years before the defeat of the Spanish Armada, signifying how Elizabeth's supporters were legitimising her reign through regarding male personification.

Comparisons of the goddess of war to Elizabeth were especially prominent after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, despite older historiography suggesting otherwise.[259] For instance, Doran's research shows that Elizabeth was reportedly 'armed as Pallas' when addressing her troops at Tilbury, and likewise in Susan Fyre's research, where a first-hand account describes Elizabeth 'armed Pallas'.[260] Eleven years after the Spanish Armada defeat, Kyffin writes in *The Blessednes of Brytaine*:

> What should I Nymphs or Goddesses Recount?
> Or Aegypt Queenes, or Romane Ladies name?
> Sith as Supreme, our Sov'raigne dooth surmount.[261]

Kyffin's work demonstrates how Elizabeth's supporters elevated her above ancient goddesses (thus Minerva, Juno, and Venus) and other ancient female figures, perhaps also more than her male counterparts as 'Sith as Supreme'. Published thirty years into her reign, George Peele's *Anglorum* describes Elizabeth as a 'faire Queen of Brutes New Troie', directly associating her with a male mythological figure.[262] Although not directly linked to the three goddesses, the theme of Troy is prevalent and interwoven with the former throughout the Elizabethan era.

Alice Hunt, talking about classical themes during Henry VIII's reign, though applicable here, concludes that 'this sense of restoration, of a return to a former world' is 'suggestive of a revival of something long awaited and pre-ordained. It is about the repetition and the restoration of the past, rather

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[258] Blenerhasset, *A Reuelation of the True Minerua.*
[259] Such works include King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen'; Doran, 'Juno versus Diana'; Clifford Weber, 'Intimations of Dido and Cleopatra in some Contemporary Portrayals of Elizabeth I' *Studies in Philology*, 96.2 (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999) 127-143.
[260] 'The Angelica Historia of Polydore Vergil A. D 1485-1537', ed. and trans. Denys Hay, *Camden Series*, 74 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950) in Doran, 'Did Elizabeth's Gender Really Matter?'; Susan Frye 'The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury' *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 23.1(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 101.
[261] Kyffin, *The Blessednes of Brytaine;* Elizabeth I was also compared to other ancient goddesses such as Diana and Cynthia, as well as ancient female figures such as Cleopatra VII. For more information on this see, Clifford Weber, 'Intimations of Dido and Cleopatra in some Contemporary Portrayals of Elizabeth I' *Studies in Philology*, 96.2 (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999) pp. 127-143 and Susan Doran, 'Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments' *The Historical Journal,* 38.2 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1995) pp. 257-274.
[262] George Peele, Cv-C1r in Katherine Butler, '"By Instruments her Powers Appeare": Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I' *Renaissance Quarterly,* 65.2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Renaissance Society of America, 2012) 376-377.

than the advent of the new'.[263] The three goddesses were used throughout Elizabethan art and literature in attempts to solidify Elizabeth's rule in a predominantly patriarchal society. As Hackett notes, the use of the classical past 'was extremely useful to writers and artists seeking to assert Elizabeth's sacredness as anointed monarch.' [264] Hackett goes further, suggesting that 'the three goddesses' theme is remarkable for its enduring popularity throughout Elizabeth's period as queen [because…] of its flexibility'.[265] Not only were the three goddesses used to legitimise Elizabeth's rule as a female monarch, but the argument also encompassed combating issues such as marriage and lacking male attributes. The adaptability of the three goddesses, collectively and individually, allowed Elizabeth's supporters to draw on multiple issues throughout her entire reign, depending on which was more apparent at the time.

[263] Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2010) 72.
[264] Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', 256.
[265] Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I', 255-256.

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More than an Explorer: The Legacy of Sir Walter Raleigh

Leila El Mahjouby

More than an Explorer: The Legacy of Sir Walter Raleigh

Leila El Mahjouby

Abstract: *The figure of Sir Walter Raleigh is conventionally acknowledged for his prominent role as one of Queen Elizabeth's most beloved explorers, but arguably not much regarded beyond that. However, this article intends to examine the wider reach on a global perspective of Sir Walter Raleigh's literary, medicinal and, expectedly, voyaging pursuits. Whilst Raleigh is often depicted as having faced misfortune in his later years by the Queen's successor, King James VI, he nevertheless persisted in his discoveries. Continuing to engage in research relevant to universal findings, particularly from the MENA region, despite being physically confined in the infamous Tower of London. Despite Raleigh's comprehensive collection of campaigns, it is this mixed legacy that the Dutch engraver Jacobus Houbraken illustrated in a single painting that will form the essence of this article. Thus, in analysing the transcontinental impact Raleigh achieved beyond his voyages through Houbraken's intricate portrait – a conclusive study of how Raleigh was indeed more than an explorer will be gathered.*



Jacob Houbraken, Birch's Heads, 1739, The British Museum <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_P-1-110>, © The Trustees of the British Museum

This essay intends to forefront the legacy of Sir Walter Raleigh, from fighting alongside the Huguenots in 1569 to his death in 1618, and how his intercontinental discoveries allowed England to widen culturally.[266] His travels, though concentrated mainly on the Americas, had nevertheless brought rich

[266] Ralegh [Raleigh], Sir Walter (1554–1618), 'Courtier, Explorer, and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/23039.
Jessica Brain, 'Timeline of the British Empire', *Historic UK*, 2019 <https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Timeline-Of-The-British-Empire/> [accessed 8 January 2025].

knowledge back to England in the forms of fabric, plants and food.[267] Raleigh showed versatility in his craft by not only being a skilled sailor but also excelling in scholarly projects and the study of alchemy.[268] Raleigh's literature extended to fashionable subjects within the Tudor period, such as his written work on Islam in his book 'The Life and Death of Mahomet […]'. [269] His influential character is commended by Historian Edmund Gosse, who attributes Raleigh as having "set a pinnacle on the finished edifice of his culture" – thus regarding his international triumphs, and wrongdoings alike, of paramount significance to the Elizabethan cultural scene.[270] These leading elements to Raleigh's life are skillfully illustrated in the painting provided, of which this article was heavily inspired by.[271] The painting forms part of a larger series entitled "Birch's Heads" after Thomas Birch, who compiled works of the engravers Jacobus Houbraken and George Vertue under the book "The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain'.[272] The Dutch painter, Jacobus Houbraken, engraved this portrait in 1739 illuminating a varied mélange of Raleigh's successes and failures.[273] Illustrated in the painting is a 'putto', an infant male baby, writing inside an unspecified book. The 'putto' is supported by a fallen globe with on either side, an anchor, a spyglass, an axe, and in the corner, Raleigh's decapitated head.[274] Specifying a 'putto' rather than the more religiously associated 'cherub' is typical of the painting's epoch, the 18th century, where the divine aspect of the putto was less common.[275] However, this may also speak to a wider theme of religion

'Sir Walter Raleigh', *Historic Royal Palaces*, 2019 <https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/history-and-stories/sir-walter-raleigh/#gs.j208f3> [accessed 10 December 2024].

[267] Misha Ewen, 'The Islamic World and Tudor England: Ambassadors, Rhubarb and Sugar', *Historic Royal Palaces*, 2021 <https://www.hrp.org.uk/blog/the-islamic-world-and-tudor-england-ambassadors-rhubarb-and-sugar/#gs.j1gh2b> [accessed 20 December 2024].

[268] 'Sir Walter Raleigh', *Historic Royal Palaces*, 2019 <https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/history-and-stories/sir-walter-raleigh/#gs.j208f3> [accessed 10 December 2024].

[269] Walter Raleigh, *The Life and Death of Mahomet the Conquest of Spaine Together with the Rysing and Ruine of the Sarazen Empire. Written by Sr. Walter Raleigh Kt.*, 1637 <https://name.umdl.umich.edu/A10368.0001.001>.

[270] Edmund Gosse, 'Sir Walter Raleigh', *The Geographical Journal*, 21.6 (1903), pp. 602–5 (p. 605), doi:10.2307/1775649.

[271] Jacob Houbraken, *Birch's Heads*, 1739, The British Museum <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_P-1-110>.

[272] Thomas Birch, *The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain, engraven by Mr. Houbraken, and Mr. Vertue. With their lives and characters. By Thomas Birch, ... 1743*, 1743 <http://archive.org/details/bim_eighteenth-century_the-heads-of-illustrious_birch-thomas_1743>.

[273] 'Jacobus Houbraken - National Portrait Gallery', *Npg.Org.Uk* <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp10605/jacobus-houbraken> [accessed 11 December 2024].
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Anne Wallentine, 'Beyond Cute: A Brief History of Cupids, Cherubs and Putti in Art | Art UK', *Art UK*, 2024 <https://artuk.org/discover/stories/beyond-cute-a-brief-history-of-cupids-cherubs-and-putti-in-art#:~:text=Cherubim

connected to the sitter himself. This religious ambiguity perhaps hints at a central motive that propelled Raleigh into becoming a pioneer of English global navigation: his objective to protect the Protestant faith. However, it could be argued that Raleigh's personal affairs in religious conflicts were indeed emblematic of wider cultural changes taking place in 16th-century England.

The Tudor period during which Raleigh was living was an incredibly transformative environment and a time of revolutionary discoveries. Islam was a particular subject that galvanised public engrossment. It became increasingly prevalent, not only within political discussions but also in mercantile activity, with the rise of luxurious Turkish silks or the imported delicacy of sugar.[276] These new trading prospects concurred with the industrial advancement of ships with which Raleigh had taken notable initiative in.[277] Despite it being a French measure implemented almost half a century before the British had, it was Raleigh who ensured that ships were equipped with hammocks for bedding purposes.[278] Furthermore, his role as leader of several expeditions in the Americas earned Raleigh high regard from Gosse's referral to his captaincy as "patron of geographical romance".[279] Highlighting briefly his leadership skills in sailing, in Houbraken painting, he similarly signifies Raleigh's maritime endeavors by the inclusion of the anchor and spyglass, further hinting at Raleigh's naval campaigns in the Americas.

Since the 1400s, circumnavigation has aroused a fervent interest in Western society. This fundamental theme of exploration is clearly characterised by the globe in Houbraken's portrait – attesting to Raleigh's pivotal contribution in voyaging. It is in this 'Age of Discovery' that a mythical notion of civilised societies had been established and cemented the Western way of living as superior – a fallacy occasionally still held in contemporary attitudes.[280] The fabled figure of Sir Walter Raleigh was a prime example of the ambitious desires of the ruling class within the Elizabethan Era. He is often attributed to having laid the foundations of English colonialism in North America due to his integral role in colonial pursuits, thus making him a chief proponent of a system ongoing in England until 1997 with the British

%20are%20Biblical%20angels%2C%20now,baby%20archer%20in%20popular%20culture.> [accessed 8 January 2025].

[276] Misha Ewen, 'The Islamic World and Tudor England: Ambassadors, Rhubarb and Sugar', *Historic Royal Palaces*, 2021 <https://www.hrp.org.uk/blog/the-islamic-world-and-tudor-england-ambassadors-rhubarb-and-sugar/#gs.j1gh2b> [accessed 20 December 2024].

[277] Neil Westphalen, 'Tudor Ships, Warfare and Medicine' <https://jmvh.org/article/tudor-ships-warfare-and-medicine/> [accessed 8 January 2025].

[278] ibid.

[279] Edmund Gosse, 'Sir Walter Raleigh', *The Geographical Journal*, 21.6 (1903), pp. 602–5 (p. 605), doi:10.2307/1775649.

[280] Peter C. Mancall, 'The Age of Discovery', *Reviews in American History*, 26.1 (1998), pp. 26–53 (p. 26) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30030873> [accessed 9 January 2025].

Empire's relinquishment of Hong Kong to China.[281] Despite his ephemeral charms in Queen Elizabeth's court, he certainly was a controversial and boisterous character. In fact, it is this same ambitious reputation of Raleigh that found himself with a charge of treason by James I on the grounds of allegedly provoking hostilities between English and Spanish relations and subsequently led to his untimely demise in 1618.[282]

Having grown up in the infamous reign of Mary I, he spent his formative years under constant persecution for his Protestant beliefs.[283] This engraved a resounding bitterness for Catholicism for the rest of his life – a hatred that, in due course, would propel his downfall. This isolation from Catholicism was equally mirrored by Elizabeth I's establishment of Protestantism as the country's faith, and subsequently, her excommunication with the Pope in 1570.[284] This, in turn, allowed for a new religious presence in England to prosper: Islam. Exploration was a key component of how this new rapport was able to expand, soon turning into flourishing alliances with countries such as Morocco, Türkiye, and Persia. [285] Historian Charles Beem's book,'The Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I', reveals how the grandeur of English travel is undermined through the perspective of the Moroccan potentate, Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur, who viewed the Queen as close-minded due to her never having left English territory.[286] Historian Nabil Matar similarly declares how "the imperial virgin was not imperial at all" - contradicting the contemporary Eurocentric narrative in which England is recognised as the trailblazer for voyaging in the 16th century.[287] Therefore, it is worthwhile noting the difference between this westernised belief of this presumed era of great exploration to an underwhelmed Maghrebian perspective, disillusioned by the surprisingly

[281] 'Ralegh [Raleigh], Sir Walter (1554–1618), Courtier, Explorer, and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/23039.
Jessica Brain, 'Timeline of the British Empire', *Historic UK*, 2019 <https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Timeline-Of-The-British-Empire/> [accessed 8 January 2025].
[282] 'Ralegh [Raleigh], Sir Walter (1554–1618), Courtier, Explorer, and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/23039.
[283] 'Sir Walter Raleigh', *Historic Royal Palaces*, 2019 <https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/history-and-stories/sir-walter-raleigh/#gs.j208f3> [accessed 10 December 2024].
[284] Gonzalo Velasco Berenguer, 'Reigning in the Highest Places: The Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth I in Its Roman and Spanish Contexts', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 51.3 (2021), pp. 737–64 (p. 737).
[285] Misha Ewen, 'The Islamic World and Tudor England: Ambassadors, Rhubarb and Sugar', *Historic Royal Palaces*, 2021 <https://www.hrp.org.uk/blog/the-islamic-world-and-tudor-england-ambassadors-rhubarb-and-sugar/#gs.j1gh2b> [accessed 20 December 2024].
[286] *The Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Charles Beem, Queenship and Power, 1st ed (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
Nabil Matar, 'Queen Elizabeth I Through Moroccan Eyes', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 12.1 (2008), pp. 55–76 (pp. 56–57), doi:10.1163/138537808X297153.
[287] Nabil Matar, 'Queen Elizabeth I Through Moroccan Eyes', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 12.1 (2008), pp. 55–76 (p. 56), doi:10.1163/138537808X297153.

provincial Queen Elizabeth.[288] Nevertheless, these Anglo-Moroccan exchanges are indisputably mould-breaking as Matar underlines it was the "first deep friendship between a Muslim and a Christian monarch in the early modern period." [289] This focus on Islamic and Christian prosperity is particularly interesting when viewed from a counterfactual historical approach on whether Raleigh's failed Roanoke colony in 1585 would have, instead, proliferated. As a result of issues like the arising Anglo-Spanish conflict and shortage of supplies, the attempt in establishing a colony proved to be fruitless, however, had it succeeded not only would the Roanoke colony have England's first colony on American soil, but, as the author and journalist Andrew Lawler identifies, there was great potential for an extraordinary ethnic history that could have been made.[290] Lawler highlights the potential revolutionary amalgamation of cultures as a "remarkably mixed community of Christian, Jewish and Muslim Europeans and Africans", affirming the profound impact Raleigh's voyaging fostered.[291]

As established earlier, Raleigh grew up devoutly Protestant – in fact, he had taken part in the French Wars of Religion alongside the Huguenots.[292] This religious tension played a bigger role in the societal transformation within Tudor life. Queen Elizabeth I herself pioneered a path-breaking trajectory for England's foreign affairs, as under Elizabeth's reign, the Royal Court saw increasing numbers of Islamic leaders.[293] A prime figure involved particularly with the religious tensions between Catholic Spain and Protestant England that Raleigh was undoubtedly eager to address was Moroccan Ambassador: Abd

[288] Maghrebian: Referring to the people who come from the region of Northern Africa, also known as the Maghreb, such as Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria etc.
[289] Nabil Matar, 'Queen Elizabeth I Through Moroccan Eyes', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 12.1 (2008), pp. 55–76 (p. 57), doi:10.1163/138537808X297153.
[290] Smithsonian Magazine and Andrew Lawler, 'Muslims Were Banned From the Americas as Early as the 16th Century', *Smithsonian Magazine*, 2017 <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/muslims-were-banned-americas-early-16th-century-180962059/> [accessed 8 January 2025].
Karenne Wood, 'The Roanoke Colony', *South Atlantic Review*, 77.1/2 (2012), pp. 178–79 (p. 178) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43738980> [accessed 8 January 2025].
[291] Smithsonian Magazine and Andrew Lawler, 'Muslims Were Banned From the Americas as Early as the 16th Century', *Smithsonian Magazine*, 2017 <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/muslims-were-banned-americas-early-16th-century-180962059/> [accessed 8 January 2025].
[292] 'Sir Walter Raleigh', *Historic Royal Palaces*, 2019 <https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/history-and-stories/sir-walter-raleigh/#gs.j208f3> [accessed 10 December 2024].
[293] Matthew Dimmock, 'The Tudor Experience of Islam', in *A Companion to Tudor Literature*, ed. by Kent Cartwright, 1st edn (Wiley, 2010), pp. 49–62, doi:10.1002/9781444317213.ch3.
Misha Ewen, 'The Islamic World and Tudor England: Ambassadors, Rhubarb and Sugar', *Historic Royal Palaces*, 2021 <https://www.hrp.org.uk/blog/the-islamic-world-and-tudor-england-ambassadors-rhubarb-and-sugar/#gs.j1gh2b> [accessed 20 December 2024].

al-Wahid bin Masoud bin Muhammad al-Annuri.[294] Not only had the Queen established the first meeting between England and a North African country with al-Annuri in 1600, but England was also on a path to align Anglo-Moroccan interests in confronting the threat of Spain.[295] With the physical proximity of Spain and Morocco, Al- Annuri sought an invasion of Spain with Moroccan aid to English convoys with equipment and assistance.[296] Raleigh, amongst Elizabeth's other privateers, were tasked to execute marine defence operations and, in some instances, to seize Spanish cities as achieved successfully by Raleigh's command in the Capture of Cadiz in 1596.[297]

Professor of Early Modern Studies Matthew Dimmock, notes that labels such as 'Muslim' or 'Islam' did not exist in Tudor England, using the contemporary terminology of 'Mahometist' - relating to the name of the Prophet Muhammed ('Mahomet').[298] In fact, historian Nabil Matar illustrates in his publication how contemporary playwright Thomas Heywood wrote 'The Fair Maid of the West' and in it, presented English trading prospects as more promising in North Africa rather than North America.[299] Heywood's proposition for English trade to focus on Maghrebian trade over the Americas could potentially be alluding to Raleigh's failed establishment in America of the Roanoke colony in 1585.[300] Thus, for Heywood, providing factual evidence as to why England should expand into wider commerce avenues. Thomas Heywood was only one of the many English dignitaries who engaged with England's growing relationship with North Africa through literature, including that of Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh, himself, authored a book entitled 'Life and Death of Mahomet', published in 1637, after his death.[301] Perhaps, Raleigh's literary past is paralleled by the 'putto' writing in the indistinct journal in Houbraken's portrait.[302] Though the imagery of 'putti' tended to vary in each century, Houbraken's epoch of the 1700s,

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[294] Misha Ewen, 'The Islamic World and Tudor England: Ambassadors, Rhubarb and Sugar', *Historic Royal Palaces*, 2021 <https://www.hrp.org.uk/blog/the-islamic-world-and-tudor-england-ambassadors-rhubarb-and-sugar/#gs.j1gh2b> [accessed 20 December 2024].

[295] ibid.

[296] ibid.

[297] Ralegh [Raleigh], Sir Walter (1554–1618), Courtier, Explorer, and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/23039.

[298] Matthew Dimmock, 'The Tudor Experience of Islam', in *A Companion to Tudor Literature*, ed. by Kent Cartwright, 1st edn (Wiley, 2010), pp. 49–62 (p. 52), doi:10.1002/9781444317213.ch3.

[299] Nabil Matar, 'Queen Elizabeth I Through Moroccan Eyes', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 12.1 (2008), pp. 55–76 (p. 71), doi:10.1163/138537808X297153.
Thomas Heywood, *The First and Second Parts of the Fair Maid of the West: Or, A Girl Worth Gold,* ed. by J. Payne Collier (Shakespeare society, 1850), v.

[300] Karenne Wood, 'The Roanoke Colony', *South Atlantic Review*, 77.1/2 (2012), pp. 178–79 (p. 178) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43738980> [accessed 8 January 2025].

[301] Walter Raleigh, *The Life and Death of Mahomet the Conquest of Spaine Together with the Rysing and Ruine of the Sarazen Empire. Written by Sr. Walter Raleigh Kt.*, 1637 <https://name.umdl.umich.edu/A10368.0001.001>.

[302] Jacob Houbraken, *Birch's Heads*, 1739, The British Museum <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_P-1-110>.

the symbolism of the 'putto' became increasingly convoluted with another classical emblem: the cherub.[303] However, despite the ambiguity of the two iconographies, by the Baroque period, it was commonly accepted that if the motif were to represent either a religious or secular undertone, the former would be a cherub, and the latter - a putto.[304] The choice of the British Museum to thus define the figure as a 'putto' may speak to Raleigh's accusations in his lifetime, certainly still widely accepted in Houbraken's time, of being an atheist, however, more contemporary writers like historian Willard M. Wallace and author Susanne S. Webb have hence opposed this secularisation of Raleigh.[305] Nevertheless, it can be concluded that Raleigh took appreciable interest in the research of differing cultures and religions through his personal literary affairs, as aforementioned through his book. Raleigh's publication gives insight into Elizabethan perceptions of Arabs, linking the name 'Mahomet' to the meaning of 'Indignation' or 'Furie'.[306] This Anglophone perception then, clearly depicts that although there may have been considerable intrigue – it is widely regarded that Muslims, as Dimmock illustrates, 'remain demonised and inassimilable in their very absence'.[307] Thus, taking Raleigh as an example of two truths – being both a proponent of Islamic relations for assisting England economically and religiously, but equally maintaining an impression of superiority to North Africans and Arabs alike.

Gosse fittingly renders Sir Walter Raleigh as the "paladin of geographical romance".[308] It is not only his successes abroad, such as popularising the potato and tobacco, that history remembers, but his failures too, for they equally depict a meaningful message of exploration, and the harmful consequences of colonisation.[309] Houbraken extensively alludes to Raleigh's naval expeditions by the placement of the globe, anchor and spyglass nested under the 'putto'. Perhaps the most notorious of Raleigh's expeditions

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[303] Adam R. Heinrich, 'Cherubs or Putti? Gravemarkers Demonstrating Conspicuous Consumption and the Rococo Fashion in the Eighteenth Century', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 18.1 (2014), pp. 37–64 (p. 44) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24572705>.

[304] Adam R. Heinrich, 'Cherubs or Putti? Gravemarkers Demonstrating Conspicuous Consumption and the Rococo Fashion in the Eighteenth Century', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 18.1 (2014), pp. 37–64 (p. 45) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24572705>.

[305] Willard M. Wallace, 'Poet, Patron, and "Atheist."', in *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 68–83 (p. 77) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt183pfqn>.
Susanne S. Webb, 'Raleigh, Hariot, and Atheism in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 1.1 (1969), pp. 10–18 (p. 10), doi:10.2307/4048171.

[306] Walter Raleigh, *The Life and Death of Mahomet the Conquest of Spaine Together with the Rysing and Ruine of the Sarazen Empire. Written by Sr. Walter Raleigh Kt.*, 1637, p. 10 <https://name.umdl.umich.edu/A10368.0001.001>.

[307] Matthew Dimmock, 'The Tudor Experience of Islam', in *A Companion to Tudor Literature*, ed. by Kent Cartwright, 1st edn (Wiley, 2010), pp. 49–62 (p. 61), doi:10.1002/9781444317213.ch3.
Anglophone: Referring to people who come from English-speaking countries.

[308] Edmund Gosse, 'Sir Walter Raleigh', *The Geographical Journal*, 21.6 (1903), pp. 602–5 (p. 602), doi:10.2307/1775649.

[309] 'Ralegh [Raleigh], Sir Walter (1554–1618), Courtier, Explorer, and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/23039.

was the several voyages to Roanoke Island from 1584-1587. In 1584, Elizabeth transferred Raleigh to the six-year-long patent of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who got lost at sea after similarly aspiring to explore and colonise areas of North America.[310] This patent gave permission to "discover, search, finde out [...] territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian People".[311] With state funding not being provided, Raleigh's own funding and that of private investors were unsurprisingly insufficient, with provisions rapidly running short.[312] Additionally, in an ironic turn of events, brutal weather proved to be problematic, a factor which famously defeated the Spanish Armada only four years after Raleigh's voyage to the Americas.[313] The irony of Raleigh's 'Lost Colony' only continued as the abrupt pause of provisions to the land arose because of the aforementioned Spanish naval attack. Seemingly, it appears that Raleigh was unable to escape Spanish adversity. After defeating the Spanish Armada in 1588, Raleigh launched a final expedition in 1590, which unexpectedly revealed the mysterious disappearance of all prior inhabitants on Roanoke Island, ultimately extinguishing the chance to initiate England's first colony in the Americas.[314]

In 1603, Raleigh's travels took a sharp pause and would remain so for the next 13 years after his charge of treason against the new King James VI.[315] Despite Raleigh's imprisonment, his influence continued to prosper through his new interest in gardening and alchemy.[316] His decades of travelling the globe materialised in the exotic plants he would use for creating remedies, most auspiciously the 'Great Cordial', using substances such as ambergris.[317] This particular property within Raleigh's 'Great Cordial' was particularly linked to his exploration of the Middle East, given that the most plausible origin of

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[310] Brendan Wolfe, 'Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1552–1618)', *Encyclopedia Virginia* <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/raleigh-sir-walter-ca-1552-1618/> [accessed 7 March 2025].

[311] 'Avalon Project - Charter to Sir Walter Raleigh : 1584' <https://avalon.law.yale.edu/16th_century/raleigh.asp> [accessed 8 January 2025].
House of Commons, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Patent to Settle Virginia (1584)', *Encyclopedia Virginia* <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/sir-walter-raleighs-patent-to-settle-virginia-1584/> [accessed 7 March 2025].

[312] 'Queen Elizabeth I: Colonising America | Royal Museums Greenwich' <https://www.rmg.co.uk/stories/topics/queen-elizabeth-i-colonising-america> [accessed 8 January 2025].

[313] ibid.

[314] Karenne Wood, 'The Roanoke Colony', *South Atlantic Review*, 77.1/2 (2012), pp. 178–79 (p. 178) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43738980> [accessed 8 January 2025].
'Queen Elizabeth I: Colonising America | Royal Museums Greenwich' <https://www.rmg.co.uk/stories/topics/queen-elizabeth-i-colonising-america> [accessed 8 January 2025].

[315] Lyons Matthew, 'Walter Raleigh's Bloody Quest for El Dorado', *Livescience.Com*, 2020 <https://www.livescience.com/walter-raleighs-quest-for-el-dorado.html> [accessed 8 January 2025].

[316] *Sir Walter Raleigh's Medicinal Garden at the Tower*, Historic Royal Palaces (YouTube, 2022) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jdIf2kUdAKk>.

[317] Alice Bertonlini, 'Sir Walter Raleigh and the "Great Cordial"', *Royal College of Physicians*, 2022 <https://history.rcp.ac.uk/blog/sir-walter-raleigh-and-great-cordial#:~:text=However%2C%20out%20of%20all%20of,the%20ultimate%20'incomparable%20remedy'.> [accessed 19 December 2024].

ambergris, or 'anbar' in Arabic, derives from the Arab world.[318] The scent was so highly regarded in the Tudor period that the Ottoman Sultana Safiye praised Queen Elizabeth's ambergris-soaked letters of a floral perfume 'more fragrant than pure camphor and amber-gris'.[319] Raleigh's influence did not solely profit his own amusement; whilst locked up in the Tower of London, he famously aided Queen Anne, James VI's wife, and attended to any medical needs for the Royal Family if necessary.[320]

Finally, the portrait clearly highlights Raleigh's decapitated head and an axe, foreshadowing the consequence of Raleigh's conclusive chance of exploration in Guiana.[321] Having failed in 1595 in his search for the legendary gold, it would be twenty-one years later, in 1616, that Raleigh set sail to El Dorado, unknowingly embarking on his final voyage.[322] During a period of desire for Anglo-Spanish peace, English aggression against a Spanish encampment on the voyage swiftly tarnished Raleigh's reputation amongst many of his contemporaries, whereby even his celebrated charms in court could not redeem him.[323] Thus, only four months after returning to England, Sir Walter Raleigh saw his untimely demise on October 29th 1618.[324] Despite this unfavourable end, Raleigh's role in exploration, his wit, and aptitude in literature has been held in high regard throughout modern-day retelling of his legends.

In closing, Raleigh's eccentric character, being a part of what the author Susanne Webb calls 'an important figure in a coterie of maverick intellectual" highlighted his boundless imagination.[325] His devotion to religious escape from Catholic persecution expressed itself in the blooming cultural

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[318] Karl H. Dannenfeldt, 'Ambergris: The Search for Its Origin', *Isis*, 73.3 (1982), pp. 382–97 (p. 382) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/231442> [accessed 8 January 2025].
[319] Rayne Allinson, 'Letters Full of Marvels: Sultan Murād III of the Ottoman Empire, 1579–1595', in *A Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Rayne Allinson (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012), pp. 131–50 (p. 131), doi:10.1057/9781137008367_8.
[320] Alice Bertonlini, 'Sir Walter Raleigh and the "Great Cordial"', *Royal College of Physicians*, 2022 <https://history.rcp.ac.uk/blog/sir-walter-raleigh-and-great-cordial#:~:text=However%2C%20out%20of%20all%20of,the%20ultimate%20'incomparable%20remedy'.> [accessed 19 December 2024].
[321] Jacob Houbraken, *Birch's Heads*, 1739, The British Museum <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_P-1-110>.
[322] Lyons Matthew, 'Walter Raleigh's Bloody Quest for El Dorado', *Livescience.Com*, 2020 <https://www.livescience.com/walter-raleighs-quest-for-el-dorado.html> [accessed 8 January 2025].
[323] 'Ralegh [Raleigh], Sir Walter (1554–1618), Courtier, Explorer, and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/23039.
John W. Shirley, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Guiana Finances', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 13.1 (1949), pp. 55–69, doi:10.2307/3816388.
Lyons Matthew, 'Walter Raleigh's Bloody Quest for El Dorado', *Livescience.Com*, 2020 <https://www.livescience.com/walter-raleighs-quest-for-el-dorado.html> [accessed 8 January 2025].
[324] 'Sir Walter Raleigh', *Historic Royal Palaces*, 2019 <https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/history-and-stories/sir-walter-raleigh/#gs.j208f3> [accessed 10 December 2024].
[325] Susanne S. Webb, 'Raleigh, Hariot, and Atheism in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 1.1 (1969), pp. 10–18 (p. 10), doi:10.2307/4048171.

exchanges England participated in, particularly from Islamic correspondence. These new relationships set a precedent for England's future political affairs evermore, disregarding religious differences to combat a mutual aim. Raleigh's extensive travels allowed him to promulgate worldly discoveries that quickly impressed English subjects and became fashionable regardless of class. Even from within the confined spaces of his own prison, Raleigh still found a way to aid the disgruntled yet obliging members of King James VI's Royal Family.[326] Ultimately, Raleigh's legacy, though controversial, undoubtedly encompasses key themes in global history, including empire-building, exploration, and cultural exchange, and significantly influenced England's cultural identity, leaving a complex imprint that includes both progress and exploitation.

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[326] Alice Bertonlini, 'Sir Walter Raleigh and the "Great Cordial"', *Royal College of Physicians*, 2022 <https://history.rcp.ac.uk/blog/sir-walter-raleigh-and-great-cordial#:~:text=However%2C%20out%20of%20all%20of,the%20ultimate%20'incomparable%20remedy'.> [accessed 19 December 2024].

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How to Topple the Tudor Government: From the Perspectives of Those Who Failed

Lemai Smith

How to Topple the Tudor government: From the Perspectives of Those Who Failed

By Lemai Smith

Abstract: *The reign of the Tudors was a time of great change and upheaval in England. Therefore, it is not too surprising that it saw a remarkable propensity for rebellion against the crown. Such a frequency of insurrection would suggest an inherent weakness in the Tudor government and yet, almost all of them were crushed. Whilst the Tudor regime's implicit moral authority played a part in its survival, rebellions mainly failed due to their own limitations. To topple the Tudor government, a prospective rebel needed broad social support, military superiority and crucially a figurehead who could challenge the legitimacy of the ruling government. Without all these and pure luck, any rebellion against the crown was doomed to end in defeat. One of the few successful Tudor rebellions was led by Lady Mary Tudor, who struck at a time of perfect alignment for all the above factors to be met. It is in contrast to her rebellion that we shall explore why so many others failed.*

On 3 August 1553, Mary I entered London to the jubilation of its citizens.[327] Just weeks earlier, her fate seemed sealed, apparently doomed to be imprisoned by her enemies as her throne was usurped. Yet in defiance of those who wrote her off (her sympathisers amongst them), Mary had successfully rebelled against the government.[328] In an age where rebellions were almost always defeated, this event is an anomaly in the long list of rebellions the Tudors faced. This begs a question: how did Mary succeed, and why was this such a rare event? Firstly, Mary had the support of all social orders of the English population; she had the legitimacy to pursue her claim to the throne; she had an army that outnumbered the government's and the administration and its leader, John Dudley, were deeply unpopular.[329] [330] These factors ensured Mary had all the advantages to succeed in her rebellion. Through this look at one of the few successful Tudor rebellions, we can begin to see why most failed. In this article, several failed rebellions, namely: The Pilgrimage of Grace of 1569-70; Kett's rebellion of 1549 and Wyatt's rebellion of 1553-54, shall be examined to look at key reasons for their failure.[331] Each of the rebellions shared some feature that was instrumental to Mary's success; yet in isolation, these were not enough to succeed. The

[327] John Edwards, 'A year of two coups 1553', in *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen (*Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 87-123.
[328] Helen Castor, '6 July 1553: Long Live the Queen', in *She-Wolves: The Women Who Ruled England Before Elizabeth* (HarperCollins Publishers, 2011), pp. 405–19.
[329] Castor, '6 July 1553: Long Live the Queen', pp. 405–19.
[330] David Michael, Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England, 1553-58* (London: Longman, 1995) p. 55.
[331] Diarmaid MacCulloch, and Anthony Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions* (Routledge, 2020) p.xii-xiii

point of this is to explain that Tudor rebellions failed not because of the strength of the crown, but due to their own limitations.

Chronologically, we shall begin with the pilgrimage of Grace. The reasons for its breakout remain a matter of debate. However, by looking at 'the oath of the honourable men' – sworn by every member of the rebellion – we can observe some of the tensions that led to the outbreak of the rising. It was composed by the rebellion's leader, Robert Aske, in October 1536.[332] At its core, the document is about 'the restitution of the church', namely the restoration of the monasteries.[333] However, it reveals dissatisfaction against the king's 'low born' councillors, the most prominent of whom was Thomas Cromwell, who was also responsible for the dissolution of the monasteries.[334] Yet, whether the rebellion was primarily triggered by religious or secular factors is immaterial; as religious historian Malcolm Thorp asserted, sixteenth century individuals did not clearly distinguish between religious and secular affairs: the two were intertwined.[335]

Nevertheless, the movement's concern for political affairs was clear, with several grievances being expressed in the demands of the five articles.[336] The rebellion's aims united a broad section of northern society: the common people, the gentry and even the nobility in the person of Lord Dacre.[337] With these advantages and their superior numbers, the rebels were able to force the government to receive their demands and negotiate in December 1536 at Doncaster.[338] [339] Until this point, the rebels were very likely to have defeated the government; yet it was the truce negotiated at Doncaster that sealed the rebellion's fate. Michael Bush posited that the rebellion was won in December but lost in January, because of fresh risings in the new year: Henry VIII was able to move against the North as the pilgrimage had disbanded.[340] Others, like economic historian Richard Hoyle, also echo this sentiment, as disbanding allowed Henry to move against the rebels without resistance.[341] The pilgrimage failed because of their loyalty to the King and their trust that he would place the interests of the commonwealth above his own. It is easy to overlook the absolute sense of loyalty felt towards the Crown at this time. However, it is key to

[332] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Tudor Rebellions', pp. 145-146.
[333] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Tudor Rebellions', pp. 145-146.
[334] M. L. Bush, 'The Tudor Polity and the Pilgrimage of Grace', *Historical Research*, 80 (2007), pp. 47-72.
[335] Malcolm R., Thorp, 'Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion of 1554', *Church History*, 47 (1978), pp. 363-80.
[336] M. L. Bush, 'The Tudor Polity', pp. 47-72.
[337] M. L. Bush, 'The Tudor Polity', pp. 47-72.
[338] Rosemary, O'Day, *The Routledge Companion to the Tudor Age* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010). P.37.
[339] Articles to the King by the Pilgrimage of Grace Rebels, 1536. England under the Tudors', *Luminarium: Anthology of English Literature*, n.d. <https://www.luminarium.org/encyclopedia/24articles.htm> [accessed 28 February 2025].
[340] M. L. Bush, 'Review Article', pp.566-578.
[341] M. L. Bush, 'Review Article', pp. 566-578.

understanding why rebellions against it failed. The pilgrimage's loyalties were not hidden but highlighted: In the pilgrimage's oath, it declared their intent to preserve 'the body of the king.'[342] This self-declared loyalty to Henry would have made it difficult for the rebels to directly attack the Royal Army. Yet, whilst they remained mobilised, the threat of their numbers was sufficient to pressure the government to make concessions. It also remains true that for the rebels' demands to be met entirely, battle would have been necessary. Henry's legitimacy was the defining reason for the rebellion's failure. The pilgrimage had almost every advantage, but the rebels' unwillingness to engage the Royal Army in battle was its downfall. This did not stem from fear of the Royal Army, but from a reluctance to directly challenge the King. As a result, the rebellion that had been the greatest threat to Henry's regime was crushed not by the King, but by the rebels' reservations about fighting him.

This loyalty to the crown in rebellion can also be seen in Kett's Rising of 1549.[343] The rising was limited to Norfolk, fielding support from the common people; although it was led by a gentleman, the eponymous Robert Kett.[344] The rebellion was initially successful, and for a time, the governance of Norwich was undertaken by Kett himself.[345] When an army was sent to counter them, it was defeated.[346] Another army commanded by John Dudley was then dispatched: Dudley sent a herald to speak with the rebels.[347] In this episode, we see another example of the surprising sense of loyalty felt towards the Crown. Despite rebelling against and fighting the King's armies and going so far as to usurp his authority, the rebels were reported to have cried 'god save King Edward.'[348] The habit of devotion to the King superseded everything else and was a difficult obstacle for any rebellion to overcome. This may demonstrate why the rebellion failed: just like the pilgrimage, the rebels may have been reticent to fight the king's armies. Whilst the rebels did eventually engage the Royal Army in battle, this does not prove that they were less loyal to the Crown. Similarly to the Pilgrimage, the rebels' anger was not directed at the King; Edward was still in his minority, and therefore the true rule of England rested with his uncle Somerset.

Kett himself operated under the delusion that he had the sympathy of the government.[349] The sense of loyalty to the Crown can be said to have clouded his judgment. He may have thought that his

[342] MacCulloch, Diarmaid, and Anthony Fletcher, 'Documents', in *Tudor Rebellions* (Routledge, 2010), pp. 139-164.
[343] Andy Wood, 'Kett's Rebellion', in *Medieval Norwich,* ed. by Carole Rawcliffe Richard Wilson (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2004), pp. 277–300.
[344] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Tudor Rebellions', pp. 71-93.
[345] Andy Wood, 'Kett's Rebellion', pp. 277-300.
[346] Andy Wood, 'Kett's Rebellion', pp. 277-300.
[347] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Tudor Rebellions', pp. 71-93.
[348] Andy Wood, 'Kett's Rebellion', pp. 277-300.
[349] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Tudor Rebellions', pp. 71-93.

actions would be met with pardon and the government acceding to the rebellion's demands. This was an extremely naïve assumption: the rebels had completely overturned the government's authority and rejected offers of pardon. In Tudor England, there was only one penalty for such an insurrection. The rebellion died at Dussindale, where the Royal Army crushed Kett's forces.[350] The rebels were numerous yet could not withstand the Crown's more professional army. Even when a Tudor rebellion led to battle, without widespread support, it was simply not enough. Kett's rebellion relied largely on the common people; it was geographically limited to Norfolk and lacked the overwhelming force needed to defeat a prepared army. This rebellion was doomed from its inception. In contrast, Mary had every advantage that Kett did not.

Following Mary's accession to the throne, she too would have to deal with a rebellion that threatened her rule. Sir Thomas Wyatt was a significant landholder in Kent and, together with other magnates, hatched a plot to depose Mary in favour of her sister.[351] The deliverance of this was supposed to have been through an armed rebellion in several different regions of England; yet all save Wyatt's failed to materialise.[352] The conspirators' plan seemed sensible, appearing to have learned from the failures of other rebellions. They would have a geographically diverse rising to overwhelm Mary and planned to use her sister to legitimise their rebellion. As we have observed previously, other rebellions failed due to the legitimacy of the crown. Wyatt circumvented this by bringing Mary's legitimacy into question and preparing an alternative ruler in the person of Elizabeth Tudor. However, the rebels fatally misjudged the mood of the commons, whose support was needed to topple Mary's regime. The people met the conspirator's attempts to raise rebellion with apathy and, in the Duke of Suffolk's case, open hostility.[353] Like Kett and Aske before him, Wyatt was left with the support of one region against all of England. We should also not overlook Mary's role in shoring up her support in London itself. On 1 February, she went to the Guildhall and made a speech to the people assembled there: this episode was recorded in the diary of John Machyn.[354] It demonstrates Mary's charisma and may just have saved her regime. Wyatt's subsequent march on London was defeated due to the Londoners' failure to turn against Mary: Wyatt surrendered on 7 February 1554 and was later executed.[355]

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[350] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Tudor Rebellions', pp. 71-93.
[351] Malcolm R, Wyatt Rebellion pp. 363-80.
[352] Malcolm R, Wyatt Rebellion pp. 363-80.
[353] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Tudor Rebellions' pp. 94-104.
[354] Henry Machyn, 'The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London 1554 (Jan - June)', *British History Online*, n.d. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp50-66> [accessed 28 February 2025].
[355] Rosemary O'Day, 'The Routledge Companion to the Tudor Age', p. 38.

The failure of this rebellion reveals how crucial the support of the commons truly was for one to succeed. Whilst noblemen were supposed to command the loyalty of their tenants, the common people were not without agency. They could refuse to follow the orders of their social superiors. Whilst Kett's rebellion failed because of its limited social diversity, so did Wyatt's. Kett's rebellion lacked the support of the nobility, whilst Wyatt's lacked the support of the common people. Even when possessing the support of all the social orders – like Aske did – this was not enough to succeed. A wide array of factors was ultimately necessary to prevail. Public support was crucial, but it was not sufficient on its own. Although Wyatt attempted to circumvent Mary's legitimacy by using Elizabeth against her, he did not have the active support of the princess. Had Elizabeth supported the rebellion from its inception, the outcome may have been different – mimicking Mary's rise to power somewhat. Yet the aristocratic presumption of Wyatt and his conspirators was their downfall.

From these instances, we can see why Tudor rebellions failed: they were too limited. These limitations fall under three main factors: a lack of support from social groups,; the moral authority of the Tudor crown, and a lack of military might. The success of a Tudor rebellion hinged on an almost impossible set of circumstances that could only be exploited by a select few. It is interesting to note that the most successful Tudor rebellion, was led by a Tudor herself. Perhaps then, only a Tudor could depose the Tudor government. Or perhaps the divine right associated with royalty was the ultimate factor needed to succeed. Despite the propensity for rebellions to break out in this period, they were often isolated and limited in scope. Most were led by the gentry, who had no real grasp of military campaigns, and even when nobles took charge, they were outmatched by the resources at the Crown's disposal. At face value, the Tudor monarchy may seem unstable and fragile; yet in reality, it was far more robust than perhaps it had a right to be. The Tudors maintained their position by relying on several poles of power, so even when one crumbled, the others would ensure survival.

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Greed and Prosperity: What Drove the English Soldiers Fighting in the Hundred Years War

Mia Simpson

Greed and Prosperity: What Drove the English Soldiers Fighting in the Hundred Years' War

Mia Simpson

Abstract: *The motivations behind the English monarchy's decision to commence the Hundred Years' War, a period of warfare between France and England mainly considered to have started in 1337 and ended in 1453, are the subject of ongoing debate. Nevertheless, they are typically considered to centre around land disputes and the legality of succession. In contrast, the motivations of the English army to engage in conflict in France involved quite different factors, including conscription and the prospect of pardons. However, this article posits that the pursuit of financial gain primarily motivated English soldiers, particularly as it would have enticed individuals from every social group. It argues that the Hundred Years' War transformed the structure of the English army, creating opportunities for individuals to achieve considerable monetary rewards. Furthermore, it fostered the mindset that being a soldier could evolve into a person's career, especially as there were chances for advancement in both military and social standings. The crucial question is when this change in mentality took place and why.*

The soldiers who fought in the Hundred Years' War did so due to many different factors, with some participating in return for pardons for their crimes, while others were conscripted for the war effort through arrays. Additionally, the principal reason soldiers would fight would have changed based on the political, economic, and social culture at different times during the war. This essay focuses on the idea that English soldiers in the Hundred Years' War fought principally for financial gain. Wealth would have been earned through a soldier's wages, the acquisition of land, the ransom culture, or the plundering of French lands during chevauchees. It could be argued that men were drawn to become soldiers due to the higher wages compared to the average career in England. This became particularly evident during the 1370s with the prominence of 'careerist' soldiers.[356] Andrew Ayton, a retired senior lecturer of history at the University of Hull, described them as dedicated soldiers who enlisted as their skills and background made soldiering 'the most attractive means of making a living'.[357] However, it could be suggested that the chance to improve their social standing drew some men to fight in the Hundred Years' War, seeing it as a unique opportunity to establish long-term advancement and financial stability. Adrian Bell, Chair in the History of Finance for Henley Business School at the University of Reading, argues this about men-at-arms, stating it was 'a type of military service in which professional soldiers from relatively

[356] Andrew Ayton, 'The Military Careerist in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 43, no. 1 (2017), pp. 4-23.
[357] Ayton, 'The Military Careerist in Fourteenth-Century England', pp. 4-23.

humble social backgrounds came into their own'.[358] These two views portray how the motivations of a soldier fighting in the Hundred Years' War changed throughout the war, perhaps reflecting the increasing social tensions during this period, which concerned the growing power of the gentry class and the lack of political stability due to the war effort.

Whilst the primary reason for most soldiers fighting in the Hundred Years' War might have been financial gain, other soldiers fought due to alternative motives, including commissions of array, a form of conscription, or pardons allowing their release from prison. For instance, Edward III gained some of the soldiers for his campaign in France during 1345-8 through the use of pardons. This is shown through the records of the Patent Rolls in which many men who had committed 'homicides, felonies, robberies, trespasses and oppressions in England' were granted pardons by King Edward III due to their 'good service in the war of France'.[359] Historian H.J. Hewett, claims that around 'two to twelve per cent of most of the armies of the period consisted of outlaws', emphasising the usefulness of these types of soldiers to Edward III.[360] This is because many men who had been punished by losing their status as free citizens wished to regain it, but only the king 'could grant charters of pardon'.[361] Whilst these men would have been fighting principally for the return of their citizenship, they were a small percentage of a large army whose motivations would not include pardons. Additionally, it could be argued that this group was also financially motivated due to the most common type of pardon, which did not include any conditions that prevented them from benefiting from the same pillaging and booty as the rest of the army.

Soldiers who fought due to commissions of array did so due to laws that required free citizens to defend their lands. These commissions of array consisted of the king authorising individuals to recruit a required number of able-bodied men for military service, ordinarily to defend their land from foreign troops or internal rebellion. Attempts to refuse the conscription after the appointed men had arrived to array 'the men of the county' meant that 'any found disobedient in the premiaes' could be arrested.[362] The primary reason for a conscripted soldier to fight would be either to defend his land or to avoid imprisonment for refusing his feudal lord. Arguably, the financial benefits of fighting in the Hundred

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[358] Adrian Bell and others, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 135.
[359] 'Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public record office/prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, 1345-1348, Edward III, v.7', Public Record Office (London: H.M.S.O, 1891-1916), p. 481.
[360] H.J. Hewett, *The Organisation of War under Edward III* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, 2005), p. 30.
[361] Hewett, *The Organisation of War under Edward III*, p. 29.
[362] 'Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public record office/prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, 1330-1334, Edward III, v.2', Public Record Office (London: H.M.S.O, 1891-1916), p. 415.

Years' War could not be considered in this situation, as the lack of previous voluntary employment suggests that a man's established job was already beneficial.

Despite commissions of array and pardons being the reason for some soldiers' enlistment in the English army during the Hundred Years' War, the large number of soldiers who were contracted to fight through indentures suggests that the financial benefit of war led many to join the army. Indentures were a form of voluntary contract made between the monarch and their lords, in which payment for supplying a specified number of men for the king was agreed upon.[363] Furthermore, while these two forms of army recruitment were heavily employed during the early years of the Hundred Years' War, as indicated by records from the 1330s to 1350s, the use of commissions of arrays decreased after 1360. This could be because armies formed by feudal lords would only be guaranteed for forty days, and exact numbers in the army were not assured, as fines could be paid to remove a person from military service – thereby impacting the stability of the campaigns in France. For instance, on March 12th in 1333, all men 'of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland between sixteen and sixty years of age' were to be arrayed to fight against the Scots.[364] However, the number of men called to array had drastically decreased by February 8th, 1371, with only '20 men-at-arms and 40 archers in the county of Stafford' called to array.[365] The change in recruitment could also suggest that it was becoming more common for men to become soldiers voluntarily, perhaps due to the financial benefits or the stability offered by a contract. Additionally, hybrid armies, using both archers and foot soldiers, became more prevalent with 'the responsibility for finding archers together with men-at-arms passed to captains' rather than commissioners due to their knowledge regarding who could fight.[366] While pardons and commissions of array would have been prominent reasons for some soldiers fighting in the war, they would not have impacted a large enough proportion of soldiers to be considered the principal influence to fight. This could be because, as English historian Christopher Allmand has claimed, 'war had become a business' to many men, and they treated its occurrence and their involvement in it as a financial transaction rather than a defence of their lands.[367]

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[363] J. W. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369-1380', in *The English Historical Review*, volume 79, no. 313 (1964), pp. 718–46.
[364] 'Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public record office/prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, 1330-4, Edward III', p. 415.
[365] 'Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public record office/prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, 1370-1374, Edward III, v.15', Public Record Office (London: H.M.S.O, 1891-1916), p. 102.
[366] Peter Coss, 'Andrew Ayton, the Military Community and the Evolution of the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. by Gary P. Baker, Craig L. Lambert, and David Simpkin (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), pp. 41.
[367] C. T. Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War* (Rochester, New York: Boydell Press, 1998), p. 77.

The most convincing factor to support the idea that soldiers in the Hundred Years' War were financially motivated was the ransom culture surrounding the separate armies, and the English highly encouraging their army to pillage French lands. Securing prisoners during the Hundred Years' War was seen as a quick and popular way to earn money, as any soldier could capture a high-born or rich enemy during a battle and therefore demand a ransom from their war prize. Furthermore, it was seen as 'one of the chief aims of war', with Allmand arguing that the English army's unwillingness to 'kill their prisoners when ordered to do so by Henry V during the battle of Agincourt' indicates the importance of this financial gain for soldiers.[368] The continuous capture and subsequent ransoming of specific individuals could perhaps imply that the soldiers focused more on their own financial gain than winning the Hundred Years' War. It could also be suggested that it was this potential financial gain that led many men to join the war effort.

This is also reflected through indenture contracts, as many include terms regarding the division of booty. For instance, the indenture between Nicholas de Atherton and John of Gaunt in 1397 states that Nicholas's war profits would be treated as those of the other esquires of the same rank and condition.[369] Indenture contracts show the significance of the soldiers' profit and the booty earned from the war, as clauses included required that a soldier give one-third of their profit to their captain, one-third to their king, and one-third for themselves. Allmand argues that the reference to pillaging in indentures is a 'measurement of encouragement', placing it as an essential occurrence during medieval warfare. This is further established by the descriptions of 'furs and finery' concerning taking plunder from France to England.[370] Additionally, a fourteenth-century contemporary writer, Thomas Walsingham, described the plunder of Poitiers, a town in France, and claimed that there was 'no woman in England, who did not have some booty from Caen, Calais and other overseas towns'.[371] The plundering of jewellery suggests both a want for financial gain and a sentimental present.

While this was a way to make a profit during the beginning of the Hundred Years' War, it developed into the main factor that supported the idea of soldiers who fought principally for financial gain during the 1370s. It could also be suggested that this was partially due to the chevauchées that were led by the Black Prince in 1355, as those campaigns further encouraged the idea that to be a soldier was to gain

[368] Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War*, p. 83.
[369] Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War*, p. 58.
[370] Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War*, p. 32.
[371] Anthony Tuck, 'Why Men Fought in the Hundred Years' War' in *History Today*, vol. 33, issue 4 (April 1983), p. 38.

riches through raids. The interest in being this type of soldier is reflected in the emergence of 'careerist' soldiers and the increased size of retinues following a single captain, despite the decreased population caused by the Black Death, which should have led to a smaller army. Furthermore, Hewett suggests that the 'eminence achieved by non-nobles' such as John Copeland, who was paid handsomely for capturing the Scots' king, allowed ordinary soldiers to believe that they could gain such profit too.[372]

Through the pillaging of the French countryside, many soldiers gained a small fortune due to their constant access to French towns that held those who could be ransomed or valuable items. This is described by Jean Froissart, a historian and chronicler born around 1337, during the Crecy Campaign, illustrating the sacking of Caen in 1347, with Sir Thomas Holland claiming a few prisoners for ransom while the town was pillaged for valuables.[373] The raiding on French land provided two additional forms of potential financial income for English soldiers due to the use of appatis, which was 'a form of protection money'.[374] It was a levy given to a garrison by a French town in return for military protection, often from raids. However, it could also be 'a sum paid under duress by the population of a town' in order for the raiders to stay away.[375] It could be argued that ongoing English raids on French towns after the 1370s led to more English soldiers volunteering to be a part of the army and fighting principally for financial gain due to the amount of profit England had collected through ransoms and during the early years of the war. This is because many men would have seen the valuables that had been collected and wished to gain their own.

Another reason to suggest that soldiers fought in the Hundred Years' War for financial gain was the wages they earned fighting compared to the average salary earned during peacetime in England. Whilst different types of soldiers were paid varying amounts, most were earning more fighting in the war than they would have working at home. For example, in the 1370s, a skilled craftsman could earn 4d a day, whereas a mounted archer in the 1370s would have been receiving 6d.[376] This would have been considered an attractive career choice because the higher wage and the fact that weekly archery practice was required by law meant it was not as challenging to achieve as other high-earning careers.[377] However, Jonathon Sumption, a medieval historian and former senior judge, argues that serving in the army lost its

[372] Hewett, *The Organisation of War under Edward III*, p. 32.
[373] Jean Froissart, *Froissart Chronicles*, transl. by G. Brereton (London: Macmillan, 1978), pp. 68-96 (p. 82).
[374] Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War*, p. 85.
[375] Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War*, p. 85.
[376] Bell and others, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 153.
[377] Orders to sheriffs to issue public proclamations that able-bodied men are to resume regular archery practice, 1 June 1363. (Original on Close Roll.) Translated from T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera*, III, ii. 79 in C.T. Allmand, ed., *Society at war: the experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War* (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 98-9.

appeal during the later period of the war as the army pay remained static.[378] Additionally, it would have looked unfavourable after the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, which led to increased pay for unskilled workers. This uprising was a reaction to the war taxes continually imposed on the English people, as well as Parliament's Statute of Labourers, which sought to prevent wage increases that arose from the reduced labour supply resulting from the death tolls of the Black Death between 1346 and 1353.[379] On the other hand, it could be argued that the pay did not increase because it was already considered a high wage amount.

The importance of wages and, therefore, financial gain for the fighting soldiers is further suggested through their placement in indenture contracts. In an indenture from 1347 concerning Sir Ralph, Baron Stafford, and Sir Hugh Fitz, the first two topics concern the size of Fitz's retinue and how they would be paid.[380] This shows a priority towards exchanging money and services, with Fitz receiving a quarter of his wages in advance. Ayton describes this advance as a 'suitable incentive' for careerists, which only became more commonplace after the 1360s.[381] The implication that soldiers needed the monetary advance to want to fight also furthers the notion that financial gain was a principal reason for their involvement in the war. Additionally, the indenture's requirement that either Sir Ralph pay the 'customary wages, or else, direct support at court', emphasises the importance that the soldiers get paid fairly.[382] Similarly to this, an indenture between Robert Knolles and Edward III in 1370 outlines the fact that the men-at-arms would receive 'double wages' with the archers receiving them also but only for a quarter of the year.[383] This wage increase could have been a way to increase recruitment, as 'the government's policy of wage restraint', which began in 1351 due to the aftermath of the Black Death, meant that workers were receiving the same pay despite a higher demand for them.[384] Anthony Tuck, an emeritus professor of medieval history at the University of Bristol, disagrees, arguing that a soldier's pay was 'not generous' and that soldiers would have been enticed by other profits to be gained through the army, such as looting French lands.[385] It could also be claimed that a potential soldier might have ignored the opportunity to fight due to a soldier's pay rates not increasing 'to keep pace with the rise in agricultural labourers' wages', viewing it as more financially beneficial to continue working in

[378] Bell and others, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 106.
[379] R. B. Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (London: Macmillan, 1983).
[380] Indenture between Ralph, Baron Stafford, and Sir Hugh fitz Simon (16 March, 1347). George Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais from the Original Records in the Public Record Office* (London, 1898), p. 192.
[381] Ayton, 'The Military Careerist in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 16.
[382] Indenture between Ralph, Baron Stafford, and Sir Hugh fitz Simon (16 March, 1347), p. 192.
[383] Indenture between Edward III and Robert Knowles, 1370. *Documenting Warfare: Records of the Hundred Years' War, Edited and Translated in Honour of Anne Curry*, ed., R. Ambuhl and A. King (Woodbridge, 2024), pp. 97-101.
[384] B.M.S. Campbell, 'The land', *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, ed. R. Horrox and W.M. Ormrod (Cambridge, 2006), p. 218.
[385] Tuck, 'Why Men Fought in the Hundred Years' War', p. 37.

England.[386] Moreover, becoming a soldier was a financial gamble as pay was often not given during travel to the battles. Gary Baker, a senior research fellow at the University of Southampton, contends that 'few men went to war because of the expectation that wages would significantly enrich them', implying that financial gain would come from other aspects of the war.[387] In the early years of the Hundred Years' War, a soldier's wages could have been an enticing prospect. However, this draw would have significantly declined after the Peasants' Revolt in 1381 due to the increased agricultural wages.

Acquiring land through fighting became a possibility during the later period of the Hundred Years' War, thereby becoming a prominent reason for some soldiers to become involved in the war, as it could have provided long-term financial stability. It was only under Henry V that land in Europe was officially claimed by the English and enabled to be gifted, as it was after Henry V's successful conquest of Normandy. This is shown through a land grant, in which the 'viscounty of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, the lordship of Auvers and the barony of Néhou' was given to 'John Chandos, an English knight' before passing through English hands until it was reconquered in 1450 after the end of the Hundred Years' War.[388] This acquisition of titles alongside land through acts of war represents the potential for soldiers to rise above their current social standing and leave a permanent legacy behind. Furthermore, Tuck argues that the English settlers gained a source of substantial profit from the lands of Normandy, an example being John Fastolf, a medieval knight who fought in the Hundred Years' War from 1415 to 1439, who received a barony, lands, and properties.[389] Despite this, it could be debated whether lands gifted from Normandy were a grand prize to aspire to. A soldier would benefit from the consistent profit that the land would grant. Still, Kenneth McFarlane, a late medieval England historian, also established how the gifting of a title caused instability for John Fastolf's social standing as his low birth meant he had to defend 'his very questionable title in the courts for ten years'.[390] While the acquisition of land would have been part of some soldiers' financial gain, it would have been those who had fought for a long time during the Hundred Years' War, and therefore would most probably not have been part of a new soldier's reason for fighting. Additionally, during Henry VI's reign, it's arguable that the gifting of land would not have been desired as much of the land that England had conquered was surrendered back to the French during this period, losing any possible gift.

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[386] Tuck, 'Why Men Fought in the Hundred Years' War', p. 37.
[387] Gary Baker, 'Sir Robert Knolles' Expedition to France in 1370: New Perspectives', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. by Gary P. Baker, Craig Lambert, David Simpkin (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), p. 152.
[388] Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War*, p. 86.
[389] Tuck, 'Why Men Fought in the Hundred Years' War', p. 39.
[390] K. B. McFarlane, 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War.' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 113.

Despite the prospect of gifted land in Europe mostly occurring under Henry V, the financial profit that could be made as a soldier during the earlier stage of the Hundred Years' War would have permitted some men the ability to buy English land and further their social standing. This would have created a more secure financial life for a soldier. However, it was unlikely that every soldier who fought during the Hundred Years' War would achieve the expected monetary gain. It could be suggested that the gifting of land was more in line with those who fought principally to gain a title, thereby probably referring to the second sons of nobility, as they would have the high-birth standing that one would expect for a title.

Overall, placing financial gain as the reason soldiers principally fought during the Hundred Years' War appears to be accurate. This is because money is an overarching issue that impacts and influences every part of the war effort, with Tuck arguing that 'the profit motive was of even greater importance than propaganda and patriotism in persuading men to serve'.[391] Arguably, it was the financial profit that could be gained during the Hundred Years' War that created 'careerist' soldiers who fought principally for their own monetary benefit. This is because, as Allmand states, 'he who took a risk in war' would then stand 'to gain part of the benefits which an army was expected to derive from war'.[392] However, this attitude established itself during the later period of the Hundred Years' War when the English army was primarily comprised of indentures rather than commissions of array as in the earlier years of the army. It could also be debated that the primary focus on financial gain after 1370 was due to the lack of strong defence from the French, which made it less dangerous for English soldiers to raid. This may have encouraged more Englishmen to fight for financial gain, as they might have perceived France as a moderately risky, high-reward situation concerning profit. In conclusion, during the 1330s-1350s, soldiers fought due to the nature of conscription. However, after 1370 and the influx of voluntary soldiers, it became more evident that the soldiers were fighting principally for financial gain.

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[391] Tuck, 'Why Men Fought in the Hundred Years' War', p. 37.
[392] Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War*, p. 79.

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Hampshire in the Domesday Spotlight: William the Conqueror's Unique Legacy

Jonathon Bond

Hampshire in the Domesday Spotlight: William the Conqueror's Unique Legacy

Jonathon Bond

Abstract: *The Domesday Book provides the most complete picture of England's landholders and their possessions of any survey, census or document until the early 19th Century. The presence of recognisable towns and cities within the Domesday Book is remarkable in its own right, however Hampshire's appearance provokes particular interest. This article explores the unique features of Hampshire in the Domesday Book, particularly in relation to its landholding patterns following the Norman Conquest of 1066. It argues that William the Conqueror's actions were the primary cause of Hampshire's distinctiveness. It highlights the King's heavy involvement in Winchester and the New Forest and contrasts this with the ecclesiastical influence in Hampshire, which, although significant prior to the Conquest, expanded under Norman rule due to increased taxation and the establishment of abbeys. Comparisons with Leicestershire, a county far more typical of those recorded in the Domesday book, further demonstrate Hampshire's exceptional status in the Domesday record, and ultimately, it concludes that William's influence reshaped Hampshire's landholding structure, marking it as distinct in the Domesday record.*

William the Conqueror's Domesday Book of 1086 records the enormous tenurial change following the Battle of Hastings and the Norman Conquest. Each county of England is recorded in exceptional detail, but the county of Hampshire appears unique in many ways. This article will demonstrate how Hampshire is unique and will argue that the actions of William 1st were the most significant cause of Hampshire's individuality, whilst acknowledging the role of the Church in making it so. In demonstrating how Hampshire differs from other counties, this article will draw a comparison with Leicestershire throughout, especially in relation to secular, non-regal landholders. These comparisons are significant as they can convey the influence of the king in each county, allowing the writer to draw conclusions about the uniqueness of Hampshire in relation to William the Conqueror.

The King's presence was heavy in Hampshire, at least in part, because of his inheritance from Edward the Confessor, who had owned 12% of Hampshire at the time of his death in 1066.[393] William also collected the Hampshire lands of Harold Godwinson and his brother Tostig.[394] William's widespread land capture was so thorough that by the time the Domesday Book was written, 28% of Hampshire's

[393] Katherine Blayney, 'The Tenurial Structure of Hampshire Before and After the Norman Conquest' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2019), p.34 <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:fc4a3a6c-f9bb-4c3a-8b41-4fe8a42718df/files/djs956f854> [accessed 10 May 2024]

[394] Blayney, 'Tenurial Structure', p.78

estates were owned by him, which suggests that William was actively seeking the land of Hampshire for himself, perhaps through dubious claims of inheritance.[395] Though this overwhelming consolidation of land was not unique to Hampshire, the retention of it under the direct control of King William. William owned over 100 estates valued at £1212.58 in Hampshire, and his sub-tenanted estates were worth just £83; in comparison, the value of his estates in Leicestershire was £175.16[396]. For William, Hampshire was a valuable source of wealth, and as medieval historian Robin Fleming writes, William "through grant, purchase and rapine," acquired much of Hampshire within twenty years of the conquest.[397]

Hampshire's attraction for the King may be deeper than just its potential for profit. Hampshire contained three boroughs, and the most prominent was Winchester, the former capital and major hub of population. A former stronghold of Edward the Confessor and Harold Godwinson,[398] it is possible that deliberate control of these areas was designed to discourage any form of rebellion, of which David Bates, a biographer of William the 1st, suggests there was "probable undercurrents of turbulence and discontent."[399] Winchester too contributes to the unusual nature of Hampshire in the Domesday Book, being the location of the compiling and standardising of it,[400] as well as being held in the Treasury of Winchester.[401] It was also the site of William's sporadic crown-wearings, which Bates believes demonstrate that the city was "central to his rule,"[402] as well as a royal residence[403]. Though this does not appear in the book, the effect of King William's preference for Winchester may explain why powerful Lords, not necessarily associated with Hampshire, are recorded as owning land nearby to Winchester, like Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury[404] and William, Earl of Surrey.[405] Historian Katherine Blayney writes in her essay, 'The Tenurial Structure of Hampshire Before and After the Norman Conquest, ' of Winchester's prominence. [406] Again, this demonstrates how the King caused Hampshire to appear unique in the Domesday Book by provoking wealthy Lords to seek out land near one of William's royal residences.

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[395] Robin Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1991), p.109
[396] 'William I', <*Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* https://www.pase.ac.uk>, (PASE), accessed 10 May 2024
[397] Fleming, *Kings and Lords,* p.107
[398] Fleming, *Kings and Lords,* p.225
[399] David Bates, 'William the Conqueror and Wessex', *The Land of the English Kin,* ed. Alexander James Langland and Ryan Lavelle (Boston: Brill, 2020) p.250
Reference corrected on the advice of marker Nicholas Karn.
[400] V.H Galbraith, 'The Making of the Domesday Book', *The English Historical Journal,* Vol.57, (1942), pp 161-177, (p.165)
[401] David Roffe, *Decoding Domesday,* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007) p.2
[402] Bates, *English Kin,* p.522
[403] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* p.42
[404] 'Roger 4', PASE, accessed 11 May 2024
[405] 'William 5', PASE, accessed 11 May 2024
[406] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* p.84

Another of the three boroughs recorded in the Domesday to be impacted by Royal involvement is Southampton, among the largest in the Domesday with 55 *burgenses,* or inhabitants of towns.[407] The Book points out that "sixty-five Frenchmen and thirty-one Englishmen have been lodged/settled" in Southampton since the conquest of 1066.[408] These Frenchmen do not solely refer to the Lords that would accompany King William, but include merchants settling in England. The reasons for this provoke differing explanations from historians. Blayney suggests that this was part of a "controlled colonisation" of Southampton, claiming that there may have been "systematic clearances" of the areas to be settled by the French.[409] Bates argues that French settlement in Southampton was because it was the port which William would sail to and from in his travels between Normandy and England. He writes that it was "the axis on which the cross-Channel empire turned,"[410] and that the houses owned by the French were used as places to "stay when they had crossed the Channel."[411] This does not suggest a deliberate or forced settlement of Southampton, but one organically borne out of necessity. Either explanation for the surprising number of French settlers in Southampton furthers the case for the King being responsible for Hampshire's uniqueness in the Domesday Book, as systematic colonisation is unlikely to have been carried out without his approval.

The Hampshire Domesday Book records a comparatively large number of estates as waste or with no households. The reason for this is probably William's creation of the New Forest in South-West Hampshire which involved large scale clearances of land with an estimated 200 square-miles being seized by the Conqueror with 2,000 people being displaced.[412] [413] A forest in Norman England was not merely an area covered in trees, but a territory of woods and pastures where the beasts of the chase were afforded safe protection.[414] Effectively, these were areas preserved for the King for hunting, and these areas were under Forest Law, which, among other things, prohibited hunting and the felling of trees by those not sanctioned by the King. The chronicler Orderic Vitalis recorded 60 villages being destroyed for the New Forest,[415] but the Domesday Book records 50 estates that were fully taken into the forest and therefore

[407] H.C Darby, *Domesday England,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) p.365
[408] John Morris, *Domesday Book Hampshire,* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983-92) .p52b
[409] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* pp.177-178
[410] David Bates, *William the Conqueror,* (London: G. Phillip, 1989) p.500
[411] Bates, *English Kin,* p.530
[412] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* p.97
[413] F.H. Baring, 'The Making of the New Forest', *The English Historical Review,* Vol.16, (1901), pp.427-438, (p.437)
[414] New Forest National Park Authority, *The History of the New Forest: Medieval* (New Forest National Park Authority, March 2018), https://www.newforestnpa.gov.uk/app/uploads/2018/03/history1_medieval.pdf [accessed 27 February 2025].
Including definitions of forests was suggested by the marker Nicholas Karn
[415] Orderic Vitalis, as quoted in '*The Tenurial Structure of Hampshire before and after the Norman Conquest,'* Katherine Blayney, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2019) p.96

counted as waste, meaning they did not pay tax, usually because they had no value, and nearly 60 were partially taken into the forest.[416] This figure only applies to those made in the forest and yet is far greater than the total waste of most counties. Leicestershire, for example, saw only eight villages made waste and seventeen partially.[417] The formation of a Royal Forest is unique to Hampshire, and that is also shown by the Domesday Book, as it is provided with its own section. Bates suggests that William, on his cross-channel voyages, would stop for "hunting in the New Forest en route,"[418] a possibility that would go some way to explaining why the New Forest was selected for such special attention. The combination of convenience and historical importance caused King William to be exceptionally active in Hampshire, contributing enormously to the many anomalies and eccentricities that occur in the Domesday Book.

An extraordinary level of ecclesiastical land holding is manifested in Hampshire's portion of Domesday, which is highlighted when compared to Leicestershire. Ecclesiastically owned land in Leicestershire was valued at just £48[419] out of a total value of Leicestershire of £842.[420] The contrast with Hampshire is staggering, with an ecclesiastical value of £1,379 of a total county-wide value of £3,909.[421] Domesday does not record a single piece of land owned by one that is located inside Leicestershire, with large areas owned by the archbishopric of York and the bishopric of Lincoln[422]. In contrast, Domesday records twelve ecclesiastical landowners worth more than £5 located within Hampshire's borders.

As is the case with the Royal land, the Church held a large proportion of the land in Hampshire prior to the conquest. The Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Winchester, Stigand, had been the third wealthiest landholder in England, and his replacement, Walkelin, after inheriting the bishopric automatically became the sixth wealthiest individual in England.[423] The existing wealth of ecclesiastical Hampshire may initially appear to detract from any notion of being impacted by the Normans, but the retention and increase of this wealth was reasonably rare. Ann Williams writes that the Church on the whole was "spared the tenurial upheaval which affected the laity,"[424] pointing to the fact that little land was lost from the religious houses of Hampshire; indeed, it appears that it was not only spared but benefited, as in every one of them increased in value. This has been attributed not to extra grants of land from the King, but to increased

[416] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* p.98
[417] H.C Darby and L.B Terrett, *The Domesday Geography of Midland England,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) p.346
[418] Bates, *English Kin,* p.530
[419] Sister Elspeth, 'Ecclesiastical History of Leicestershire, in *The Victoria History of the county of Leicester, Vol.1,* Ed. By William Page and W.G Hastings, (London: Archibald Constable & Company Ltd., 1907) p. 357
[420] Darby, *Domesday England,* p.359
[421] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* p.274
[422] John Morris, *Domesday book Leicestershire,* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983)
[423] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* p.286
[424] Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest,* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995) p.127

taxation.[425] This is supported by Bates, who stated that the King was "supportive without being generous,"[426] to emphasise the fact that it was not solely because of the King that the Church saw an increase in wealth between 1066 and 1086, rather it was the special rights afforded to the church.

A further cause of the increase in Church land is the proliferation of Norman abbeys owning land in Hampshire. There were at least four Norman houses with estates in Hampshire[427], in comparison, Leicestershire recorded zero transference of land to Norman churches[428], and these were predominantly replacing secular landowners, therefore only adding to the land belonging to ecclesiastical owners. Therefore, the combined cross-channel church caused this unique state of an increase in church land recorded in the Domesday Book. The wealth of the Church prior to the conquest undoubtedly provided the basis for its extensive presence in the Domesday Book, yet the most notable fact emerging from it was that the wealth, both in land mass and value, increased in Hampshire following the conquest. The combination of heavier taxation and the introduction of Norman landowners was responsible in part for the unique status of the church in the Hampshire Domesday.

However, the Church cannot claim full responsibility for its own success in the period between conquest and Domesday because of the king's involvement in Winchester. Bishop Walkelin, of Winchester, had been one of the king's personal chaplains and was known to have had a close relationship with him.[429] This may have contributed to a rare case in which William granted compensation to the "New Minster because the extension of the royal palace in Winchester encroached on the site of New Minster cemetery."[430] Personnel changes also impact the way the King interacted with the Church in Hampshire, as the Domesday Book records that almost the entirety of the senior clergy was replaced by Normans, known to the King. The actions of the Church that caused the Domesday Book to appear different are therefore diluted by the king's presence and involvement in Hampshire, explaining why Leicestershire saw far less change.

Throughout the article, there have been regular comparisons between Hampshire and Leicestershire to show in what ways Hampshire was notable or different. In 1066, Leicestershire was the

[425] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* p.267
[426] Bates, *English Kin,* p.533
[427] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* p.271
[428] Elspeth, *Victoria History of Leicester,* p.357
[429] Franklin, M. J. "Walkelin (d. 1098), bishop of Winchester." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28465> [accessed 15 May 2024]
[430] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* p.278

24th most valuable county to Edward the Confessor of the 35 that were assessed. Robert de Beaumont, Count of Meulan, the 1st Earl of Leicester and Hugh de Port, Sheriff of Hampshire, were both closely associated with King William. Robert, a Norman from Meulan, was listed as one of the few companions of William at the Battle of Hastings and was praised in William of Poitiers' account of the Battle of Hastings with actions that "deserves to be immortalised."[431] Hugh de Port, another Norman from Port-en-Bessin, became, according to Blayney, "one of William the Conqueror's most trusted administrators,"[432] and was made the Sheriff of Hampshire. Robert's estates were primarily in Warwickshire, but he owned 25 estates in Leicestershire and held 20% of those estates with no subtenants[433]. Hugh owned 65 estates as Tenant-in-Chief, 36% of which were held with no subtenant[434]. The Earl of Leicester's estates that he held for himself were worth 29% of the value of all his estates in Leicester. On the other hand, Hugh's 36% of estates that he held for himself provided £170.50, 67% of the total worth of his Tenancies. These numbers demonstrate that Hampshire could provide a much greater value to Tenants-in-Chief in comparison to those in Leicestershire. William's decision to hand one of his closest companions, Robert de Beaumont, far less valuable lands in the Midlands is indicative of a strategy to limit the power of Norman aristocracy in comparison to his own. Hugh was the second wealthiest secular landholder in Hampshire[435], yet the spread of his estates was exceptionally limited, with only three located outside of the county[436]. This would support the idea that William wished to limit the power of the nobles, doing so here by appointing an administrator as a local landholder.

William the Conqueror was heavily present in Hampshire, both physically and in landholding, and throughout this article, it is apparent that his actions within Hampshire impacted all forms of landownership. The power of the Church is one example of this in that, though it could act alone to alter the appearance of Hampshire in Domesday, its impact largely derives from the King. His presence in Winchester, the encouragement of French traders, and his own regular travels from Southampton are also examples of the King's impact on the county. This article has also suggested that the appearance and lack of appearance of powerful secular landowners is due to William's decisions. Therefore, it can only be concluded that the individual most responsible for the unique manner in which Hampshire appears within the Domesday folios was William the First, Duke of Normandy, Conqueror and King of England.

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[431] Gulielmes Pictaviensis, *Gesta Giullelmi- The deeds of William,* Ed. R.H.C Davis & M. Chibnell, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) p.132
[432] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* p.192
[433] Robert 11, PASE, accessed 15 May 2024
[434] Hugh 10, PASE, accessed 15 May 2024
[435] Blayney, *Tenurial Structure,* preface p.vii
[436] Hugh 10, PASE, accessed 15 May 2024

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