Representations of the Dead: Cultures of Memorialisation in Early Modern England, 1660–1770

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PhD

Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between the voices and representations of the dead, urbanity and civility in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. It brings together two previously separated studies of death: church monuments and ghost stories. These materials used representations of the dead to communicate social values and ideals to the living. They were presented as policing morals and promoting concepts of civility, community and sociability as virtuous characteristics and beliefs. This study combines quantitative and qualitative research to assess a 'chronology of commemoration'. The evidence collected in this study challenges previous ideas about the dead retreating from early modern society. First, there was an increased proliferation of both monuments and ghost stories from 1660 to 1770. Second, this thesis traces the changes made to the language of memorialisation and the language of ghost stories to reveal how the living reshaped the dead to mirror changing cultural opinions on virtue and vice. These changes reflected shifts to the cultural ideals connected with civility and the rise of polite society in early modern England. Far from being removed from society, the dead were ever present. They continued to do cultural work as tools for the living to negotiate and establish their identities, beliefs and overall sense of belonging.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to take this chance to thank the University of York for providing me with the resources necessary to make this thesis a reality.

I am indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Mark Jenner, for his invaluable support, patience and guidance throughout the years. I can never thank Mark enough for all his help in sparking the ideas that later formed this thesis and for the number of hours spent reading and advising me. This thesis would not have been possible without his words of wisdom. I am also extremely grateful to my Thesis Advisory Panel, Dr. John Cooper and Dr. Sophie Weeks, for their advice and support in helping me to complete this project.

I would also like to thank all the faculty and staff in the Department of History and Archaeology, who were immensely helpful with any inquiries that I had along the way. I am so grateful to the numerous libraries and archives, as well as the volunteer churchwardens and church staff, who assisted me during my research. A special thanks to Anna Riggs from Bath Archives who gave me access to the abbey's unpublished database on its church monuments. I would also like to thank the generosity of the James Jarvis Memorial Bursary and the McCormack Student Research Travel Fund who helped finance my research.

The gratitude I feel toward my parents, Margaret and Thomas Jensen, is unmeasurable for all their constant support and encouragement throughout my education. This PhD would not have been possible without them. I cannot thank them enough for raising me in a household that valued education and instilled in me the belief, courage and conviction to pursue my dreams. My love of, and fascination with, history started when I was very young and that is all thanks to them. I would also like to extend my appreciation to all my friends and family who supported and helped me with the insanity of pursuing a PhD by providing endless coffee breaks and empathetic ears at all hours of the day.

Finally, I want to dedicate this thesis to my grandmother, Celeste Jensen (1931–2016) and my mother, Margaret Jensen (1949–2020) in recognition of their constant encouragement, love and support. They never failed to let me know of their joy and pride in seeing me be the first in the family to pursue a doctorate. Like the church monuments explored in this thesis, this thesis is a testament to their memory.

Author's Declaration

I, Sarah Jensen, declare that this thesis is a presentation of my original work and I am the sole author. I received assistance from Oxbridge Proofreading with the editing of this work; it was all in accordance with the University of York's Guidance on Proofreading and Editing. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university. All sources are acknowledged as references in the footnotes and the bibliography.

Note: Due to some issues with sight and readability, to make the editing process of this thesis easier there are two fonts used in this thesis: one for the body and a separate one for the referencing [footnotes and bibliography]

Introduction

In 1752, a monument was erected in the parish church of St. Mary, Castlegate, York in memory of Reverend Richard Coulton. At the end of the epitaph inscription were the following lines: 'Remember man as thou stands / As thou art now, so once was I / Therefore prepare to follow me'.[1] The lines inscribed on this monument are an example of *memento mori*, a mortuary tradition popular in early modern England that reminded the living that death comes to all. The tradition came from the Christian belief that one should structure daily life based on the knowledge that one's earthly actions would affect the fate of one's immortal soul. With this concept in mind, representations of the dead in early modern England were part of an elaborate cultural system where the living used the dead as tools to establish and support codes of social behaviour. Representations of the dead were constructed by the hands of the living to provide culturally constructed instructions intended to shape and manipulate ideas about social customs, values and decorum.

To memorialise is to preserve the memory of a person or event. This thesis approaches representations of the dead through the lens of memory; in particular, examining materials constructed by 'memory makers'. Memory makers, as termed by Wulf Kansteiner, were those who 'selectively adopt[ed] and manipulate[d]' traditions and beliefs, and it is up to the historian to interpret the maker's intention regarding how 'memory consumers' potentially used, ignored or altered such thoughts according to his/her perceptions and beliefs.[2] Church monuments and printed ghost stories were created by 'memory makers' with the intention to use representations of the dead to influence the mindset of 'memory consumers' (i.e.

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[1] The monument to Coulton is an elevated wall-mounted monument located on the eastern wall of St Mary, Castlegate, York.

[2] Wulf Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', *History and Theory* vol. 41, no. 41 (May 2002): 180.

the public audience). Executors of church monuments presented the dead as exemplars for the living to admire and emulate. These epitaph inscriptions were purposefully designed to influence the living's perception of the deceased as well as instigate self-reflection on their own state of being. Church monuments show readers what character traits 'memory makers' valued and how these traits were promoted as exemplars the living were meant to mimic. In other words, these representations of the dead reveal ways in which the living were meant to act and behave in order to belong and thrive in early modern English society.

Ghost stories used representations of the dead in a similar manner, but through negative reinforcement. The dead returned to identify what was wrong with society in the hope of influencing the public consciousness and enacting change. The ghost stories examined in this thesis took inspiration from current affairs and popular identities (e.g. politicians, authors and socialites) to structure the fictional narrative. Like the dead represented in church monuments, these fictional ghosts were familiar to readers and designed to influence the audience opinions and beliefs about the current state of England and its people. Church monuments and fictional ghost stories were purposefully created to shape the memory of the living. The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate how these representations of the dead were used to influence society's collective memory.

This thesis stands apart by combining two fields of study that have historically been kept separate from one another: church monuments and ghost stories. These areas of research warrant their own individual fields of study, and yet they share remarkable similarities and developments that cannot be ignored and are culturally connected. Epitaphs and printed ghost stories both used the written word to represent the speaking dead, metaphorically or literally, as vehicles for cultural change. Therefore, this thesis pluralises culture to *cultures* of

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memorialisation to bring these two fields of study together in a symbiotic state while acknowledging their own unique historical developments. This symbiotic relationship was illustrated in the words of two eighteenth-century authors:

Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) states in his *Essay on Epitaphs,*

> . . . the tomb of a good man may supply the want of his presence, and veneration for his memory produce the same effect as the observation of his life. Those *epitaphs* are, therefore, the most perfect, which set virtue in the strongest light, and are best adapted to exalt the reader's ideas and rouse his emulation[3]

The same sentiment on how the dead should rouse the reader's emulation is expressed by J.M. in the printed ghost story *Scelus's Ghost: or The Lawyer's Warning Piece* (1748):

> . . . the End of this Essay was not merely to rake into the Ashes of the Dead, or to revive the Memory of their Crimes, which had been better buried in eternal Oblivion, but as Surgeons are permitted to anatomize the Dead for the Benefit of the Living, so I presume 'tis lawful for me to characterise 'em with the same View.[4]

Both men believed the representations of the dead, whether in stone or on paper, had a social purpose in early modern English society to provide a type of benefit to the living. These cultural constructions used the dead as exemplars or messengers of virtue who symbolised and identified what characteristics and behaviours the living should emulate and what characteristics and behaviours they should abandon.

The dead represented in epitaph inscriptions and printed ghost stories had a shared development that was arguably influenced by the same overarching changes to England's landscape: urbanisation and the rise of pleasantry. The

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[3] Samuel Johnson, 'An Essay on Epitaphs', *The Yale Digital Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven: Yale University, 2014), 498, http://www.yalejohnson.com/frontend/sda_viewer?n=112192.
[4] J.M., *Scelus's Ghost: or, The Lawyer's Warning Piece* (London: printed for W. Owen, at Temple-Bar 1748), 3.

period from 1660 to the mid-/late eighteenth century has been identified as the age of urbanisation and pleasantry by numerous historians, including Peter Borsay's *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in The Provincial Town 1660–1770*, Peter Earle's *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660–1730*, and Ralph Houlbrooke defines the era of 1660–1760 as the 'Age of Decency'.[5] The 1660s were a monumental time of political and social change in England. It was the time of the Restoration, the loose start of the resurgence of Anglicanism in the Church of England, and the start of the Royal Society. It was the start of what Borsay describes as 'substantial' urban expansion that 'began to disturb the very basis of the urban hierarchy'.[6] This 'disturbance' grew in the eighteenth-century to create a society where behaviour and demeanour were intrinsically linked to reputation. Genteelness, as Peter Earle argues, developed into 'a quality of fundamental importance. . . but one which was not directly linked to wealth or income'.[7] This thesis ends in 1770 to align with Peter Borsay's timeline. In addition, 1770 was chosen to bookend two monumental ghost stories that preoccupied the English public—*The Drummer of Tedworth* (1661) and The Cock Lane Ghost (1760-1763). This thesis, therefore, focuses on church monuments and ghost stories created between 1660 and 1770 to examine their development against the catalysts of urbanisation and pleasantry.

Regarding church monuments, two authorities on the subject, Nigel Llewellyn and Peter Sherlock, both use the 1660s as the end date for their analyses

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[5] Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in The Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989); and Ralph Houlbrooke, 'The Age of Decency, 1660-1760', in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, ed. P. C. Jupp and C. Gittings (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).
[6] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, 11.
[7] Peter Earle, 'The Middling Sort in London', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society, and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, ed Johnathon Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: The MacMillian Press, 1994), 146.

on Restoration monuments.[8] Nigel Llewellyn considered how church monuments continued to have a significant role during the Post-Reformation period as a material that maintained social continuity despite the disruption of death. According to Llewellyn, monuments were used by the living to construct a social identity that re-established and, in a way, created a substitute site in which power and status could continue to be negotiated and established despite the corporeal separation brought upon by death.[9] Peter Sherlock continued Llewellyn's research, but includes a chapter on the changes made to epitaph inscriptions in the seventeenth century. He addresses the importance of epitaphs as sites of memory where the written word conveyed individual and communal values and beliefs. He argues that epitaphs were a useful but overlooked material that clearly and directly reveal 'how the people of the past wanted us to think about their world'.[10] Matthew Craske adopted a similar methodology to Llewellyn in his research on eighteenth-century church monuments. He states that monuments were used as 'rituals of tribute making' in which identity was renegotiated within the changing aesthetics of civility and pleasantry. Part of this shift, he argues, was from the rise of sentimentality in the mid-eighteenth century, which increasingly incorporated emotional expressions of grief and affection into the construction of funeral monuments.[11] Llewellyn and Craske predominantly adopted an art-historical approach to church monuments and thus neglected to examine shifts in the language of memorialisation.

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[8] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
[9] Llewellyn, Funeral Monuments, 37-38.
[10] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory,* 231.
[11] Matthew Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body: A History of Monumental Sculpture and Commemoration in England, 1720-1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), xi.

In addition to the historical approaches to church monuments, this thesis also adopts methodologies practised in the anthropological studies of Sarah Tarlow and Jonathan Finch.[12] The regional approach utilised by Tarlow and Finch allowed for a chronology of commemoration to be established. Sarah Tarlow studied church monuments from the Orkney Islands, and Jonathon Finch examined church monuments from Norwich, with both using a similar time span, from the medieval era to the mid-nineteenth century. Whereas Tarlow's region was far removed from the urban landscape, Finch's study included an urban analysis on Norfolk church monuments. This thesis, therefore, builds upon the works of Llewellyn and Sherlock while simultaneously complementing the research of Craske, Tarlow and Finch.

Regarding the history of ghosts, 1660 marks the foundation of The Royal Society in London. The founding of the Royal Society sparked numerous enlightenment writers to explore how the world of spirits and the world of science interconnected. This relationship has been the basis for numerous studies on how Enlightenment ideologies and practices affected early modern beliefs in the paranormal and supernatural. These scholarships on ghost beliefs express similar arguments as those explored in church monument studies on how the dead were receding from early modern society. This apparent decline was suspected to be due to heightened scepticism regarding ghost beliefs as conflicting with the paradigm of natural philosophy. This line of argument structured the works of Jerome Friedman, William Burn, Katherine Parks and Lorraine Daston, who examined the development of the paranormal and supernatural in popular print.[13] It also

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[12] Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999); and Jonathan Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000).
[13] Jerome Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution: The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies* (Lancashire: UCL Press, 1993); William Burns, *The Age of Wonders: Prodigies, Politics, and Providence in England, 1657-1727* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and he Wonder of Nature: 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2000).

structured studies on natural philosophy and ghost beliefs, as seen in the works of

Jane Shaw, Michael Hunter, Thomas F. Gleryn, Jo Bath and John Newton.[14] These

studies predominantly argue that the involvement of the educated elites in cases of

the paranormal and supernatural pushed ghost beliefs into the realm of scientific

thought, a realm where they could not be tangibly proven and, thus, progressively

dismissed as superstition and folklore. On the other side of the spectrum, the works

of Peter Elmer, Thomas Jobe, Paul Monod and Brian Easlea question the influence

of the 'scientific revolution' on ghost beliefs and argue that contested ghost beliefs

were more between opposing theologies than a conflict of reason versus religion.[15]

Keith Thomas, alternatively, argues for both sides, noting that ghosts were

disappearing from public discourses because they were 'losing their social

relevance, not just because they were regarded as intellectually impossible'.[16]

However, one major flaw in many of these studies is the combining of ghost beliefs

with the belief in witches. Although at times related, ghosts had their own system

of beliefs that were separate from beliefs in witchcraft.

    Ghost beliefs, as their own genre of modern historical study, have mainly

been explored either in essays or single chapters within larger studies.[17] Ronald

Finucane was one of the first to write a book dedicated to early modern ghost

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[14] Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2006); Michael Hunter, 'The Royal Society and The Decline of Magic', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* vol. 65, no. 2 (20 June 2011): 103-119; Thomas F. Gleryn, 'Distancing Science from Religion in Seventeenth-Century England', *Isis* vol. 79, no. 4 (December 1988): 582-593; and Jo Bath and John Newton, ''Sensible Proof of Spirits': Ghost Belief during the Late Seventeenth Century', *Folklore* vol. 117, no. 1 (April 2006): 1-14.

[15] Peter Elmer, 'Science and Witchcraft', in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed. Brian P. Levack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[16] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*: *Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Penguin, 2003), 724.

[17] Peter Marshall, *Beliefs in the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); *Early Modern Ghost*: *Proceedings of the 'Early Modern Ghosts' conference held at St. John's College, Durham on 24th March 2001*, ed. John Newton (Durham: Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies, 2002).

beliefs. In it, he reveals how ghost beliefs continued rather than declined in the early modern era.[18] However, the most ground-breaking study on early modern ghost beliefs was completed by Sasha Handley in 2015. In *Vision of the Unseen World*, Handley discusses ghost beliefs in the long eighteenth century, from the foundation of the Royal Society in 1660 to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Handley structures her argument as a 'history of ghost beliefs' and not a 'history of the theology of ghosts' according to how ghost beliefs and ghost stories were part of the 'imaginative and material histories of the long eighteenth century. . . [and how they] played a significant role in forging the distinctive character of English society in those years'.[19] This thesis adopts her approach to ghost stories to frame them according to the 'particular questions that lay at the heart of polite society' and thereby how these stories were used as tools for social criticism.[20] This thesis expands upon Handley's work to expose how ghosts were adopted as a universal symbol of oppression and social injustice that went beyond the borders of class. Furthermore, this thesis considers how ghost stories were used by the middling and upper sort of 'polite society' as a mechanism to control and reform the social behaviour of those who identified as belonging to the same or similar social groups as the ghosts presented in the narratives.

Moral codes of civility changed over time, and this progression is reflected in shifts in epitaphs and printed ghost stories. Norbert Elias' *The Civilising Process*

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[18] R.C. Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead: A Cultural History of Ghosts* (London: Junction Books, 1982).

[19] Sasha Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World: Ghost Beliefs and Ghost Stories in Eighteenth Century England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 1.

[20] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 66-67; For more on how women used ghost narratives to challenge their social betters see Laura Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay', in *Gender & History* vol. 14, no. 2 (December 2002): 183–201. For a general survey on academic research on ghost beliefs see Hereward Carrington and Nandor Fodor, *The Story of the Poltergeist Down the Centuries* (London: Rider and Company, 1953); and *Hauntings and Poltergeists: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. James Houran and Rense Lange (Jefferson: MacFarland & Company, Inc., 2001).

was ground-breaking in tracing the development of civility in early modern culture

as a movement toward refinement and moderation that prioritised non-violence, a

strict code of manners, and a set system of language and bodily movements that

dictated how one conversed and socialised with members from the same social

class, as well as those above and below them.[21] Since then, scholarship on civility

has been substantial.[22] This thesis focuses on the language of civility. It compares

the stereotyped language of civility as it appears in conduct books, sermons and

personal correspondences with the ways in which it manifested in representations

of the dead depicted in church monuments and printed ghost stories. This

comparative analysis explores how the dead were used as tools for establishing

and negotiating identities that complemented the idealised mannerisms and

behaviours of civility and gentility.

The focus on tracing changes to language and rhetoric is intended to

recognise the importance of reading culture in early modern England. Eamon Duffy,

Ian Green, Peter Lake and Alexandra Walsham focus on the presumed influence of

the written word's power over reader response and perception to examine how

theologians and churchmen used cheap prints as a means to shape the beliefs of

the laity.[23] This study broadens this analysis to argue the same tactic was used in

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[21] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994).

[22] Some examples include Peter Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Marvin Beck, *The Emergence of Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century: A Privileged Moment in the History of England, Scotland, and France* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Clarendon Press, 1998); *Civility and Civic Culture in Early Modern England: The Meanings of Urban Freedom*, ed. Peter Burke, Brian Harrison and Paul Slack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilization in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

[23] Eamon Duffy, 'The Godly and the Multitude in Stuart England', *Seventeenth Century* vol. 1, no. 1 (1986): 31-55; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Peter Lake, 'Popular Form, Puritan Content? Two Puritan Appropriations of the Murder Pamphlet from Mid-Seventeenth-Century England', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed A. Fletcher and P. Roberts (Cambridge:

the eighteenth century but had moved beyond the genre of religious polemics to include social and political engagement. Fred Parker and Moyra Haslett demonstrate how early modern England was a self-aware reading culture that was conscious of the power the printed word had on shaping societal structures and ideologies.[24] During the seventeenth century, literacy rates were exponentially increasing. David Cressy estimates that around 70% of the adult urban population were literate by 1700.[25] This percentage continued to grow, so that by the late eighteenth-century, bookseller James Lackington stated: 'In short, all ranks and degrees now READ'.[26] The majority of scholarship on literacy explores printed material, yet the same argument can be extended to church monuments. Church monuments were readily and constantly accessible as permanent fixtures on church walls, and, thus, the argument can be made that an increasing number of laity would have been able to engage with the epitaph inscriptions as literacy rates increased. The works of Bernard Capp, Margaret Spufford and Tessa Watt revealed how communal readership was a prominent past time and activity in early modern society.[27] Printed sermons on the recently departed (which often mirrored epitaph inscriptions) and ghost stories lent themselves to this tradition, and public

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Cambridge University Press, 1994): 313-34; and Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[24] For more on English society as 'reading culture' see Fred Parker, *Scepticism and Literature: An Essay on Pope, Hume, Sterne and Johnson* (Oxford Scholarship Online: 2010). For an insightful article on the progression of literature as a type of social conversation see Moyra Haslett, *Pope to Burney, 1714-1779: Scriblerians to Bluestockings* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2003).

[25] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press: 1980).

[26] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) James Lackington, *Memoirs of the First Forty-Five Years of Life of James Lackington: the Present Bookseller in Chiswell Street, Moorfield, London, written by himself in a series of letters to a friend* (London: James Lackington, 1791), 234.

[27] Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1979), 287; Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 5-6; and Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 14-20.

institutions such as taverns, alehouses, coffee houses, markets, etc. provided the locations. Playwright and novelist Thomas Holcroft (1745–1809), for instance, commented on how the ghost ballad of *William and Margaret* was pasted on 'the walls of cottages and little alehouses' across all of London.[28]

In addition, with increased literacy came the rise of the eighteenth-century novel. These novels, such as Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759) and *Sentimental Journey* (1768), were increasingly written in the heightened style of sentimentalism. Arguably spearheaded by Shaftesbury's *Character of Men, Manners, Opinion, and Times* (1711), the 'man of feeling' increasingly became part of the framework for constructing the English genteel identity. Emotions, and how one expressed them, were part of the system of behaviour that demonstrated one's adoption of the set codes of civility and politeness.[29] This thesis traces repeated words and themes in texts to show how such repetition can be interpreted as coming from a shared community—in this case, the urban middling sort and lower gentry.

This thesis, therefore, provides a counterargument to the prevalent historical thought on how the dead and dying were withdrawing from early modern society between 1660 and 1770. Many historians focus on this period as a time when the living were withdrawing from previous centuries' focus on the dead—in particular, the in-depth studies of Philippe Ariès' *The Hour of Our Death* and Thomas Laqueur's *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains*.[30] These

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[28] David Atkinson, 'William and Margaret: An Eighteenth-Century Ballad', *Folk Music Journal* vol 10, no. 4 (2014), 497.

[29] For more on the language of civility see Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Carey McIntosh, *The Evolution of English Prose, 1700-1800: Style, Politeness, and Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1998); and Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[30] Philippe Ariès*, The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: Penguin Books, 1987); and Thomas Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

studies, along with others, including those of Lawrence Stone, Ralph Houlbrooke, Clare Gittings and Sarah Tarlow, argue there was a growing separation between the living and the dead as mortuary rituals and traditions withdrew from a communal practice to the private space of the nuclear family.[31] This movement away from the community reportedly represented growing individualism in early modern England. More recent scholarship, however, such as the works of Peter Marshall, as well as an anthology edited by Peter Marshall and Bruce Gordon, *The Place of the Dead: Death And Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, challenge this theory, demonstrating how the living continued to use representations of the dead as tools to articulate and negotiate 'religious, social and cultural developments and conflicts'.[32] It is the aim of this thesis to demonstrate the various ways in which the dead were far from receding from English society in the early modern era. The dead remained ever present, although reimagined and repurposed, to coexist with the changing cultural landscape of an enlightened and urban England.

The Sources

The church monuments examined in this thesis were erected in the urban centres of Bath, Bristol, Hull, Leeds, Newcastle and York between 1660 and 1770. These six urban centres were chosen because they had shared urban developments, including an increase in population, a high influx of visitors and a

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[31] Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1984); Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1989); and Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and commemoration: an archaeology of mortality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999); for memorialisation practice in colonial America see James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1977).

[32] *The Place of the Dead: Death And Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3; and Peter Marshall, *Beliefs in the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

discernible degree of power and influence over surrounding rural parishes. These developments fall under the category of 'provincial capitals' as defined by Peter Borsay in his book *The English Urban Renaissance*.[33] These urban centres grew in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to become epicentres of trade, industry and luxury. In addition, these urban centres had similar economic profiles to Norwich included in Jonathan Finch's *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration*. These urban centres provide templates of upper-northern [Newcastle and Hull], lower-northern [Leeds and York] and southwest cities [Bristol and Bath] that can be used to test and build upon Finch's conclusions drawn from his analysis on the eastern city of Norwich. Location and access were also considered when choosing urban centres. Lack of transport limited accessibility to rural communities, and thus, it was decided to focus only on urban centres and, being centred in York during the writing of this thesis, there was a heavier focus on northern cities. London was eliminated because Matthew Craske's research focuses intently on London church monuments, as well as London already being a metropolis during this era and, thus, a separate type of urban community than the smaller provincial capitals. It is the intent of this thesis to examine how urbanisation affected the distribution and construction of church monuments and to determine whether there was a shared urban development seen across the six urban centres.

This thesis differs from most scholarship on church monuments in that it considers all types of monuments, including standing, wall-mounted, elevated wall monuments, floor slabs and brasses. This range includes 1,234 church monuments erected between 1660 and 1770 across all six urban centres. A further breakdown of this number is provided in Chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 3 focuses on epitaphs that

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[33] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance,* 4-9.

include more than a simple biography of the dead and details certain characteristics that made the deceased exemplary. It is of note here to mention that although Latin inscriptions are included in the overall number of church monuments discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, they are not included in the analysis in Chapter 3. The use of Latin inscriptions significantly declined throughout the eighteenth century and account for only 11% (137) of the 1,234 church monuments. There were attempts to translate these epitaphs, but with little success.[34] Most of these monuments are in commemoration of members of the church, notably bishops, as well as members of the aristocracy. If I could discern a title, it is included in the analysis, if not, the monument is placed in the category of 'n/a' [see graphs in Chapter 1]. The same applied if I could translate any part of the inscription as including one of the specific words discussed in Chapter 3: charity, friendship, useful, affection or tender. However, the vast majority, from what could be discerned, are either a simple biography, as seen on most church monuments, or outline a chronology of awards/titles and a detailed genealogy, which was common in church monuments commemorating members of the upper classes.

The same approach in selecting urban church monuments was applied to the collection of printed ghost stories. The ghost stories examined in this thesis are either set in an urban environment and/or feature characters from an urban environment. Keyword searches for 'spirit', 'ghost' and 'apparition' were conducted in the online databases *English Short Title Catalogue, Early British Book Online, Eighteenth Century Collections Online* and the York University Library catalogue. Using this approach, and after eliminating prints not about the paranormal, nearly 300 prints were collected. This number was subsequently narrowed down to focus

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[34] James Morwood, *A Dictionary of Latin Words and Phrases* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) was consulted as well as Google Translate. I was able to translate some individual words, but, overall, was unsuccessful to get complete and reliable translations.

on a select few that appeared in multiple reprints and/or other materials: first, *The Drummer of Tedworth*, a famous haunting that appeared in newspaper articles, pamphlets, plays and several treatises from its origin in 1661 up until the 1760s; second, the story of Bateman's ghost, which appeared in numerous reprints both as a ballad and as a short-prose form throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; third, *A True Relation*, a suspected work of Daniel Defoe that was continuously reprinted in the eighteenth century as an appendix to Drelincourt's popular treaties on death, *The Christian's Defense*; fourth, a select group of ballads that curiously share the same subtitle as 'an imitation of *William and Margaret*' a popular ghost ballad from the mid-eighteenth century; and lastly, the Cock Lane Ghost, a haunting phenomenon that received similar nationwide fame and attention as *The Drummer of Tedworth*.[35] This selection presents a sort of micro-history of ghost stories as it focuses on the fictionalisation of ghosts. Therefore, this thesis does not approach these stories as evidence for the rise or decline of ghost beliefs, at least in the sense of religious polemics, but instead approaches ghost stories as tools for social and political engagement, and that neither the reader nor author needed to *believe* in ghosts to understand the social roles they continued to play.

Chapter Breakdown

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[35] Throughout this thesis the spelling of 'Tedworth' as that was the spelling favoured by Glanvill and was the spelling used in his as well as other subsequent prints on the matter. In addition, this thesis uses the title *The Drummer of Tedworth* in reference to this particular case. Glanvill referred to the case as the 'Demon of Tedworth' in both *A Blow Against Modern Sadducism* and in *Saducismus Triumphatus*, however he also referred to its as 'the villany of the Drummer' in his subtitle. Arguably, as the origin of the actual poltergeist activity was undetermined the word 'drummer' became the more familiar title used in the eighteenth-century writings such as Joseph Addison's play *The Drummer of Tedworth* (1716) and John Wesley's article 'An Account of the Drummer of Tedworth' (printed in April 1785). In addition, many modern historians also refer the case as 'The Drummer': for examples see Michael Hunter, 'New light on the 'Drummer of Tedworth': conflicting narratives of witchcraft in Restoration England', *Historical Research* vol. 78, no. 201 (August 2005): 311-352; and Alfred Aldridge, 'Franklin and the Ghostly Drummer of Tedworth', *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 7, no. 4 (October 1950): 559-567. Thus, throughout this thesis the case is referred to as 'The Drummer of Tedworth'.

This thesis is broken down into two main sections: church monuments and ghost stories. Chapters 1 to 3 discuss the development of interior church monuments from Bath, Bristol, Hull, Leeds, Newcastle and York. Chapter 1 acts as an introduction to the historiography of church monument studies and how this thesis adds to the existing scholarship. The chapter breaks down the overall patterns of distribution regarding what types of monuments were erected, the various types of people commemorated in church monuments [gender and occupational/social titles], the number of individuals, as well as the overall distribution of church monuments between 1660 and 1770. These trends are furthered examined in Chapter 2, with a comparative analysis between the six urban centres to determine a shared 'urban' culture of memorialisation. Chapter 3 considers shifts in the language of memorialisation to evaluate whether there was a shared urban language and whether that language corresponded with other rhetorics of civility used in complementary texts of the time. Overall, this section demonstrates how epitaphs were part of the urban cultural pursuit of status used by contemporaries to construct public reputations and to regulate their fellow citizens' social behaviour.

The second section examines the development of ghost stories in early modern England. Chapter 4 introduces the scholarship of ghost stories. Chapter 5 discusses the cultural importance of *The Drummer of Tedworth* as a foundational totem in the progression of ghost beliefs into the realm of fictional literature. Chapter 6 is broken into three sections that explore how fictionalised ghosts continued to do cultural work as a platform for social and political engagement. The first section examines the changes made to the popular ghost ballad *A Godly Warning to All Maidens* into a short-prose form that reveal how ghosts were actively used to participate in the ongoing political discourses on the legality of

spousal and clandestine marriages. The second section re-examines the famous

ghost story *A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal* (1706) as a fictional

representation of a true event. The story is approached as a reflection of ongoing

social contentions on gender and violence and how the dead were used to bring

typically hidden discourses into the public's consciousness. The third section

expands upon the novel-like framework exhibited in *A True Relation* to examine a

series of imitation ballads from the 1740s that used real people as inspiration for

fictionalised ghost characters. In these prints, the ghosts are voices of social justice

condemning not only generalised vice, but also specific people or groups of people

who the author believed threatened the social order. Chapter 7 discusses the

infamous Cock Lane Ghost haunting and its role in the progression of ghost stories

into the realm of fiction.

This thesis builds upon the themes of urbanisation, the rise of polite society

and cultures of memorialisation to examine what values were instilled, or intended

to be instilled, in those who interacted with these various representations of the

dead and to what end. Both epitaph inscriptions and printed ghost stories are

examples of how the living used representations of the dead to articulate and

negotiate social and political conflicts. Memory-makers used representations of the

dead, whether in stone or on paper, to shape the community's collective memory

and instil or challenge persisting beliefs regarding what it meant to belong in early

modern English society.

Chapter 1: The Exemplary Dead: A Study of Urban Church Monuments, 1660–1770

Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Earl of Shaftesbury, believed 'it is natural for us to wish our merit should be known. . . [and to] wish that others should partake with us by being convinced of the sincerity of our example'.[1] One way early modern individuals were able to make their merit known in their society was to erect a church monument celebrating the biographies of their dead. A church monument, in the words of seventeenth-century antiquarian John Weever, was 'a thing erected, made, or written' with the direct intention that its message would be 'transferred to future posterities'; its purpose was 'above all remembrances, by which men have endeavoured, even in spite of death, to give unto their fames eternity'.[2] Monument historian Nigel Llewellyn calls this wanton desire to escape the 'anonymity of death'.[3] The fear that in death the living would lose their identity within the community, that is, to be forgotten, motivated people to construct monumental bodies for their socio-political body to continue post-mortem.

In their most basic function, church monuments were a product of one's religious duty to provide a marker for the burial place of the dead. Yet, some individuals and families went beyond this basic requirement of constructing a plain wooden or stone marker to provide a detailed epitaph onto which the deceased's genealogy, life accomplishments and overall character were celebrated. By memorialising the dead's life in stone, the living constructed an outwardly permanent material object of remembrance that would grant them and their loved

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[1] Anthony Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Lawrence E. Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 20.
[2] John Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments, of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the islands adjacent* (London: Printed by W. Tooke, 1767), i.
[3] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 37.

ones 'fames eternity'. Church monuments are important material sites of memory that not only detail biographies of the dead, but also provide insights into societal values and beliefs. They are a material timeline. This chapter, therefore, applies a chronological methodology to trace patterns of distribution in the erection of early modern church monuments between 1660 and 1770. The data collected are then used to compare developments in the six urban centres of Bath, Bristol, Hull, Leeds, Newcastle and York to determine, and thereby demonstrate, a shared urban movement in memorialisation practices.

1. The Historiography of Church Monument Studies

As previously mentioned, early church monuments were primarily used as material markers that recorded a place of burial. Prior to the English Reformation, if an epitaph accompanied a monument it was customary for the inscription to focus on the universality of death and to ask the living to pray for the departed soul of the deceased. After the Reformation, instead of asking the living to pray for the souls of the deceased, epitaphs celebrated the dead as exemplary models of social and religious behaviour. The new dominance of the Protestant faith transformed church monuments into interactive sites of memory where the living was invited not only to remember the dead, but also to reflect upon why the dead were celebrated and how to emulate such virtue in their own lives. The focus on exemplary characteristics changed how the dead were represented. The dead became cultural constructions of idealness. The changes to the language of memorialisation reflect changes to what early modern society assessed to be valuable behaviours and characteristics essential for contemporary communities to function and thrive.

Modern approaches to church monuments are founded on the pursuits of early modern antiquarians. The interest in antiquarian studies took root in England in the seventeenth century and continued to grow, so that by 1758 Francis Wise

stated, 'young Gentlemen have been taught, to reckon this study amongst their chiefest personal accomplishments'.[4] David Hume believed this interest in the past was a pillar of English identity, and that the eighteenth century was 'the historical Age and this the historical Nation'.[5] Contemporaries viewed church monuments as important sources of information. Such monuments were seen as historical media templates that reflected the cultural discourses and values of their forefathers. It was this realisation that structured and influenced how early modern contemporaries constructed their own monuments—they were consciously aware that just as they studied the monuments of the past, so too would future generations study the monuments of their creation.

Spearheading the antiquarian movement and inspiring public interest in church monuments was John Stow (1598) and John Weever (1631), both widely considered the forefathers of English antiquarian studies.[6] John Stow included church monuments in his in-depth survey of the architectural features of London and was one of the first to provide a comprehensive list of those commemorated on the walls and floors of the city's parish churches. John Weever viewed monuments as important material representations of the past that showed how English society and identities had changed over time. Some other prominent eighteenth-century antiquarians whose works contribute to this thesis include Francis Drake, Brown

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[4] Francis Wise, *A Letter to Dr Mead concerning some Antiquities in Berkshire* (Oxford: 1758), 5.
[5] Davis Hume, 'Letter XLIL (1770)', *Letters of David Hume to William Stranham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888).
[6] Weever, *Antient funeral monuments;* John Stow, *A Survey of the cities of London and Westminster*, Anthony Mundy edition (London: 1633); and Samuel Johnson, 'Essay Upon Epitaphs', *The Yale Digital Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven: Yale University, 2014); for more on the role of antiquarians and local historians in early modern England see Rosemary Sweet, 'Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* vol. 34, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 181-206; Peter Clark, "Visions of the Urban Community: Antiquarians and the English City before 1800", *The Pursuit of Urban History*, ed. Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (London: Edward Arnold, 1983); and Stuart Piggott, *Ruins in a Landscape. Essays in Antiquarianism* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1976).

Willis, John Briton and Thomas Gent.[7] These authors focused their attention mainly on epitaph inscriptions, though heraldry and other iconography were also included. In the late eighteenth century, prolific antiquarian Richard Gough (1735–1809) instigated a shift in church monument studies. His interests in architectural and sculptural designs veered the focus away from epitaphs. It was this focus that created the art-historical framework that has since structured much of modern scholarship on church monuments, including the works of Nikolaus Pevsner, Katherine Esdaile and Brian Kemp.[8]

In more recent decades, the works of Nigel Llewellyn and Matthew Craske expanded upon the art-historical approach but with a more direct focus on analysing the social meaning behind why monuments were erected and the benefits they may have provided early modern society. Llewellyn examined the ways monuments eased the separation anxiety caused by the 'anonymity of death' by replacing the living's corporal bodies with sculpted bodies. The monumental bodies, as argued by Llewellyn, continued to do cultural work in early modern English society.[9] Craske primarily studied eighteenth-century London memorials to determine how far the cultural movement of civility and sentimentality affected the development of church monuments.[10] He approached church monuments as vehicles of art in which English values were expressed and familial legacies were

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[7] For more on how these men contributed to this study, including a list of their relevant books, see 'List 1' on page 33.

[8] See Nikolaus Pevsner's numerous Architectural Guides including *Yorkshire West Riding: Leeds, Bradford and the North* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), *Yorkshire: York and East Riding* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), and *North Somerset and Bristol* (London: Yale University Press, 2002); see also the works of Katharine Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510-1840*, 1510-1840 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946); Brian Kemp, *English Church Monuments* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1980).

[9] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 33-34.

[10] Matthew Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body: A History of Monumental Sculpture and Commemoration in England, 1720-1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), xi, 8-9, 32-33, 85, and 211.

further established.[11] Another influential church monument historian is Peter

Sherlock. He revised previous approaches to church monuments to include an

analysis of the importance of epitaph inscriptions. He argues that contemporaries

were consciously aware of the social impact epitaphs had on the living and that it

was the words on them that had 'the primary interpretative authority' because they

'reveal how the people of the past wanted us to think about their world'.[12]

These modern scholarships primarily applied qualitative methodologies,

whereas this thesis adopts a quantitative methodology, which is more common in

archaeological approaches to the history of church monuments—in particular, the

works of Sarah Tarlow and Jonathan Finch.[13] In the early 1990s, Sarah Tarlow

worked on recording monument inscriptions in the Orkney Islands for the Orkney

Graveyard Project. She argues that Orkney monument inscriptions reveal an

eighteenth-century 'movement away from the representation of social status

toward an emotional concern with how the bereaved and the mortal individual

respond to death'.[14] This conclusion is problematic. First, although Tarlow's

regional approach to memorialisation was ground-breaking, the regional restriction

produced a very small sample population. Tarlow catalogued 57 interior church

monuments dating from 1500 to 1945, only 30 of which were from 1660 to 1770.

Second, as this thesis reveals, social status continued to be a prominent feature on

all types of church monuments throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries. Finally, the argument for a 'more emotional' language of memorialisation

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[11] Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, 35.

[12] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 231.

[13] Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999); and Jonathan Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000). For a similar study of research in colonial America see James Deetz*, In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1977).

[14] Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*, 25 and 102.

is not only challenged by the works of Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Sherlock, who demonstrated that the same emotional vocabulary was used in medieval and seventeenth-century monuments, but also that the emotional vocabulary used in memorialisation cannot always be interpreted as an authentic expression of grief or love as based on modern definitions.[15]

Jonathon Finch's *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration* is a foundational part of this thesis. His research is also a regional study of church monuments; however, compared to Tarlow's research, it includes a larger area and produced a significantly larger sample size. Finch examined approximately 3,230 interior church monuments, with around 800 of them being urban church monuments dating from 1660 to 1770.[16] Finch examined interior church monuments from the rural regions Burnham, Depwade and Erpingham as well as the urban centre of Norwich. Finch applied both regional and chronological methodologies to his research and discovered patterns of memorialisation that had previously been overlooked. His sample population showed trends of commemoration that challenge Tarlow's theories of increased emotionalism. Finch found that eighteenth-century monuments, especially those erected in the urban centre of Norwich, prioritised capitalistic ideologies that demonstrated a society in which sociability and commercial values were idealised above familial affection and religious affiliations.[17] This thesis expands upon Finch's study of church monuments in Norwich to explore further the similarities and differences in the commemorative practices of urban centres across early

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[15] Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007), 64-65 and 76-77; see chapter 'Words and Image' in Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, 197-230.

[16] Finch never directly stated the number of monuments used in his study. The estimations were interpreted from bar graphs printed in on pages 116 and 155 of *Church Monuments*.

[17] Finch, *Church Monuments*, 184.

modern England. It also adopts his quantitative method of research to include all types of monuments, including floor slabs and brasses, which have been a commonly overlooked source in many other church monument studies. It is with these approaches that this thesis determines whether there was a shared urban development in the language of memorialisation.

List 1: List of Antiquarian Sources by City

Cities	Antiquarian Sources
Newcastle	Henry Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne: or, The ancient and present state of that town* (1736); and Richard Welford: *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Monuments & Tombstones in the Church of St. Nicholas Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (1880)
Bristol	Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and Bristol* (1727); George Heath, *The New Bristol Guide* (1799); and John Briton, *An Historical and Architectural Essay Relating to Redcliffe* (1813)
Leeds	Anon: *A History of Leeds, Compiled from Various Authors. To Which is Added, an History of Kirkstall Abbey* (1797)
Hull	Thomas Gent, *Annales Regioduni Hullini* (1735); and John Symons, *Hullinia* (1872)
York	Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and Bristol* (1727); Thomas Gent, *The Antient and Modern History of the Famous City of York* (1730); Francis Drake, *Eboracum* (1736); William Hargrove, *History and Description of the Ancient City of York* (1818); *and* John Britton, *History and Antiquities of the Metropolitical Church of York* (1819)
Bath	Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Man, Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and Bristol* (1727); Richard Rawlinson, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, and the Abbey Church of Bath* (1723)

2. The Sources

The study of church monuments can be a rewarding field of research, but it is not without its challenges. The issue of survival must always be considered as a factor in skewed statistics. There were 49 churches spread out across the six urban centres studied in this thesis, but before the writing of this thesis: 10 of those churches were demolished, two were closed to public access, and an additional eight, though open to the public, were transformed into other community institutions, which would have decidedly affected the number of monuments remaining within those parish churches. Furthermore, all parish churches studied in this thesis underwent some, if not multiple, restoration and reconstructive works throughout the centuries to address issues of ageing architecture and growing laity populations. Many of these restoration and reconstruction works took place during the Victorian era. One prominent architect of this period was Sir Gilbert Scott, who worked on a national project to restore numerous churches across England, including several churches in this study [St Mary's and Holy Trinity in Hull, All Souls and Leeds Minster in Leeds, Newcastle Cathedral, Bristol Cathedral and Bath Abbey]. The exact impact these multiple restoration works had on church monument survival is incalculable.

The 29 churches that remained standing and open to the public were visited in person to take photographs and to transcribe the inscriptions of all the monuments that commemorate a person who died between 1660 and 1770. This approach accounted for 813 church monuments. An additional 421 church monuments were taken from antiquarian sources and secondary sources. To view these sources, each of the following archives were visited to access materials that have yet to be digitalised into online databases: York Minster Library, The Borthwick, Hull History Centre, Leeds Archives, Bristol Archives, Bath Abbey

Archives and Newcastle Archives. The fact that around one-third of the urban monuments used in this thesis survive in antiquarian and archival sources is testament to the issue of survival. The population sample collected for this thesis was then organised and entered into a computerised database to establish a chronology of commemoration.

2.1: The Urban Centres

The urban centres researched in this thesis were chosen based on Peter Borsay's categorisation of 'regional centres' and 'provincial capitals' defined in his book *The English Urban Renaissance*. According to Borsay, regional centres and provincial capitals served as administrative centres for surrounding rural parishes. They had a cathedral or a minster, a high status and an influx of visitors and residences. Provincial capitals could be identified as either an industrial centre or as a fashionable leisure centre (the distinction between the regional centre and provincial capital was based on population size and the degree of discernible political and economic influence over surrounding rural communities).[18] The cities of Bristol, Newcastle and York started in this period as provincial capitals, whereas Bath, Hull and Leeds were regional centres that grew into provincial capitals by the mid-eighteenth century. To account for the transitional regional centres, instead of using 'provincial capitals' to identify Bath, Bristol, Hull, Leeds, Newcastle and York, the remainder of this thesis uses the words 'cities' and 'urban centres' interchangeably.

These six urban centres were chosen for this thesis for several specific reasons. First, this thesis wanted to determine whether there was a universal urban language of commemoration by serving as a comparative analysis to Jonathan

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[18] Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in The Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 4-9.

Finch's research on Norwich monuments. The urban communities of Bristol and Newcastle had similar economic profiles to early modern Norwich and were used as starting-off points to search for similar urban communities in England. This approach was adopted to examine how universal memorialisation practices were within a distinct regional area as well as across the country. Other cities, such as Durham, Beverley and Salisbury were initially considered for this thesis due to their political and religious prominence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; however, they were later eliminated due to their population numbers being too small to classify as early modern regional centres and/or provincial capitals. The focus on upper-northern [Newcastle and Hull], lower-northern [Leeds and York] and southwest [Bristol and Bath] regions of England provide a comparative study to Jonathan Finch's southeast study, as well as studies that focus on London church monuments, such as Matthew Craske's *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body*.

In addition, upon further research, these six cities organically separated into three categories that I categorised as 'the industrial provincial capitals', 'the leisure provincial capitals' and 'the growing regional centres'. Each category represents various developments and experiences of urbanisation. The industrial provincial capitals of Bristol and Newcastle represent the powerhouse industrial cities that were at the forefront of urban expansion and fathered the rise of the merchant princes. The leisure provincial capitals of York and Bath were fashionable districts where social climbers and established aristocracy could socialise and act as exemplars of what it meant to be a gentleman or gentlewoman in a civilised England. Finally, the growing regional centres of Hull and Leeds were examples of the two spectrums of industry and leisure colliding. They exemplified how urban expansion was growing and changing the cultural and economic landscape of early modern English society.

An overall survey of the number of monuments erected in each of the six urban centres between 1660 and 1770 reveals a relatively shared chronology of distribution. In Finch's study, the height of monument distribution in early modern Norwich occurred in the 1720s, followed by a steady decline, with brief reprises in the 1780s and 1790s, whereas across the six urban centres examined in this thesis, the heights of distribution occurred during the 1710s and 1760s.[19] However, when taking a step back and looking at the numbers from a broader perspective, the statistics in this thesis do match Finch's in that there was an overall peak across all six urban centres before the 1740s. Finch argues that this early peak in the eighteenth-century demonstrates an earlier manifestation of the 'urban renaissance' theorised by Peter Borsay as taking place in the middle of the eighteenth century. Finch argues that this earlier manifestation was because memorialisation was already an 'established discourse of status display'.[20] However, across the six cities, during the mid-eighteenth century, the time Borsay pinpoints as the height of societal displays of status, the sample population demonstrated some of the most inconsistent patterns coupled with some significant dips in distribution. It is difficult to explain why, during the height of other forms of material displays, monuments appeared to be in decline. Perhaps monuments fell out of fashion during these decades, only to return in the 1760s with some of the highest numbers of distributions; or, more plausible, perhaps a large number of these monuments were lost to time; though why those monuments compared with others of a similar era remains a mystery. Questions such as this are further explored in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

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[19] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 145.

[20] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 157.

2.2: Why Urban Church Monuments?

There are several reasons this thesis focuses on urban church monuments and does not include rural samples. First and foremost, this thesis explores the effects of urbanisation on the development of memorialisation in early modern England. The reason why this thesis focused on urbanisation was largely due to the issue of accessibility. Cities were chosen because all travel had to be conducted via public transport, which would have made a rural study impractical [though nonetheless important]. It is for this same reason the northern cities of Hull, Leeds, Newcastle and York were included in the source analysis.[21] The cities of Bristol and Bath were included to provide a larger regional analysis to determine whether there were national as well as regional patterns to urban commemoration. The inclusion of these cities tests whether the patterns Finch uncovered in the southeast city of Norwich are evident in the southwest cities of Bath and Bristol and the northern cities of Hull, Leeds, York and Newcastle. Lastly, six urban centres were chosen because of their similar economic development in trade and manufacturing during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

2.3 Why Interior Church Monuments?

Interior church monuments were chosen to parallel Finch's study on the interior church monuments of Norwich. In addition, stone monuments were not commonly erected in churchyards until the late eighteenth century when outdoor cemeteries became a more common alternative to interior burials. Before then, it was common to use wooden monuments, which would rot away after some years. Interior monuments were also chosen due to the social significance of the church as a space for sociability as much as religious devotion in early modern English

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[21] As mentioned earlier, I was centred in the city of York during the writing of this thesis.

society. A church's interior was an arena for social display. Pews, for example, were

hierarchical and could be bought or rented as a way to negotiate and establish

status within a community. Monuments were another form of visual display and

were commonly erected next to the pew on which the deceased sat while alive.

Thus, interior church monuments were frequently and consistently engaged with by

the living congregation. It was through these frequent and continual engagements

that church monuments became active sites of memory. The inscribed messages

were intentionally constructed by memory-makers to communicate a specific set of

beliefs and values to the living memory-consumers. It is these messages and their

implied intent that demonstrate how the dead were used to shape the memory of

the living. Epitaphs and the language used in them provide a window into the ways

people of the past established or reconfigured prevalent cultural thoughts and

values on what it meant to belong and participate in an early modern urban society.

2.4 Dating Church Monuments

The task of dating church monuments is a complicated procedure. It is

difficult to provide a single date for a large proportion of the church monuments

because they remained active sites of memory where several people were

commemorated on a singular monument over an extended period. Historically,

church monument studies have approached dating monuments based on the

earliest death date inscribed on a memorial. This approach was taken because the

first listed date stereotypically signified when the monument was erected. Probate

and burial records indicate that monuments were typically erected within a couple

years or less of the deceased's death date.[22] *The Church History of England, From*

the Year 1500, to the Year 1688 (1742), for example, details how Abraham

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[22] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory,* 206.

Woodhead was buried in 1678 near London and then an 'altar-monument, built of brick' was erected 'two or three years after his death'.[23] This thesis differs from other church monument studies by working to establish not only a chronology of commemoration of the monuments themselves (i.e. based on the first recorded date [the suspected erection date]), but also a chronology of commemoration of individuals by recording the dates of all the people commemorated on both singular and familial monuments. This approach was imperative to construct a concise quantitative analysis on the development of the language of memorialisation in early modern England as some familial monuments contain epitaphs written decades apart.

As previously stated, monuments were active sites of memory. They were reused and altered over time, with new identities added to existing epitaph inscriptions. It is logical to assume that any additions would reflect the society that erected them as opposed to reflecting the society that originally erected the church monument. Finch argues that epitaphs were 'quickly appropriated as a medium through which the commercial elite could define and validate a new system of values based on the criteria of the bourgeoisie'; this, in turn, formed a 'capitalistic paradigm' in which the urban middling sort and elite used church monument inscriptions as an additional medium to 'legitimate their new and influential position within society'.[24] It is with this in mind, that social identifiers used to commemorate each individual on a church monument can reveal changes to what statuses were prized during a specific moment of time.

Take, for example, the Milner family monument located in Leeds Minster. This floor slab commemorates seven members of the Milner family, with death

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[23] Charles Dodd, *The Church History of England: From the Year 1500, to the Year 1688* vol. 3, no. 8, (London: 1742), 266.
[24] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 176-177.

dates ranging from 1659 to 1761 (see Figure 1). The first individual commemorated was 'Mr. Richard Miller, Chief Alderman', whereas his son is identified as 'Mr. William Milner Merchant', and his grandson as 'Esq Merchant and Alderman'. This inscription displays a progression of economic standing, but what is also interesting about this piece is the changing font. The inscriptions on the slab are separated into two segments by an embossed heraldry: on top are the inscriptions commemorating Richard (d. 1659), William (d. 1681) and Ruth Milner (d. 1701), and on the bottom are the inscriptions commemorating William (d. 1740), his wife Mary (d. 1745) and his daughter Mary (d. 1761). Based on appearance, the inscriptions are of similar but different fonts, which suggests that the slab was not only added to over the years, but the spacing also suggests that it was erected with the express purpose for it to be added to. This purpose is also evident in a monument located in St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol (see Figure 2). However, it appears the family possibly fell in economic standing, or some other unforeseen circumstance, as the slab is left mournfully blank.

Another example is the elevated wall monument erected in Bath Abbey to commemorate the Ford Family.[25] Richard Ford, the patriarch of the family, is listed first. He died in 1733 and the inscription continued to state that it was his widow, Pricilla, who commissioned for the monument to made in his memory. The second inscription, in the same font, is to Eleanor, his eldest daughter, who died a year prior to Richard (d. 1732), followed by an inscription to his wife Pricilla, who died in 1743 (see Figure 3). Pricilla initially erected the monument, so it remains a question as to who administered the inscriptions commemorating her daughter Eleanor and herself. Further adding to the mystery, another plaque was added to

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[25] The Ford memorial is a rectangular, elevated wall-mounted monument located on the south wall, south transept in Bath Abbey, Bath.

the monument to commemorate two more daughters of Richard Ford, Francis and Mary, who died in 1745 and 1749, respectively (see Figure 3.1). In addition, it is only Mary and her father who were commemorated with additional descriptors: he was 'a Vigilant Magistrate and an Orthodox member of ye Church of ENGLAND, an Affectionate Husband, & a tender Father, a daily frequenter of Public Worship, and a Generous Promoter of every good work', whereas she was celebrated as a 'Chearful Companion, Sincere Friend, pious Christian & Constant Benefactor to ye poor of Distrest'. It is clear from the difference in font that Mary's inscription was added after Francis's, but unlike her father's epitaph which was erected by Pricilla, the executor of Mary's epitaph remains a mystery.[26] Nonetheless, the variances between her and her father's epitaph, which were written at least 16 years apart, is what motivated the decision to create a separate chronological analysis on the individuals commemorated in a single monument; it is the intent that such separation and consideration can address the issue of generational changes to commemoration, but these can be overlooked if approaching family monuments as a single sample.

Chronologically mapping changes to the epitaph inscriptions regarding how each individual is commemorated provides a more distinct representation of how the dead were used to represent various cultural movements. Therefore, a separate graph was made to trace how many individuals were commemorated in each decade (including those commemorated on a single monument and those commemorated within a familial monument) to parallel a graph that maps the

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[26] There is no mention of spouse or children on Francis's or Mary's epitaph which would indicate likely executors. Considering Francis was 44 and Mary, 52 when they died, it is logical to assume they were "spinsters". I was unable to find documentation on who paid for the Francis and Mary epitaph, but one likely possibility is that Mary commissioned the epitaph. It was common for the deceased to write their own epitaph inscriptions, or perhaps she left instructions for a friend or relative upon her death.

proliferation of monuments erected in each decade between 1660 and 1770. The data reveal that 1,768 individuals are commemorated on the 1,234 monuments examined in this thesis. It is of note that both graphs display similar patterns of proliferation, yet on a micro-level, the variances between individual memorialisation provide crucial insights into how people's perceptions of ideal social behaviour and identity changed over time.

Figure 1. Personal photograph of the Milner Family floor slab (Leeds Minster. Leeds)

Figure 2. Personal photograph of the elevated wall-mounted monument commemorating William Whitehead (d. 1711) (St Mary Radcliff, Bristol).

Figure 3. Personal photograph of the elevated wall-mounted dedicated to the Ford Family (d. 1733-1743) located in Bath Abbey, Bath.
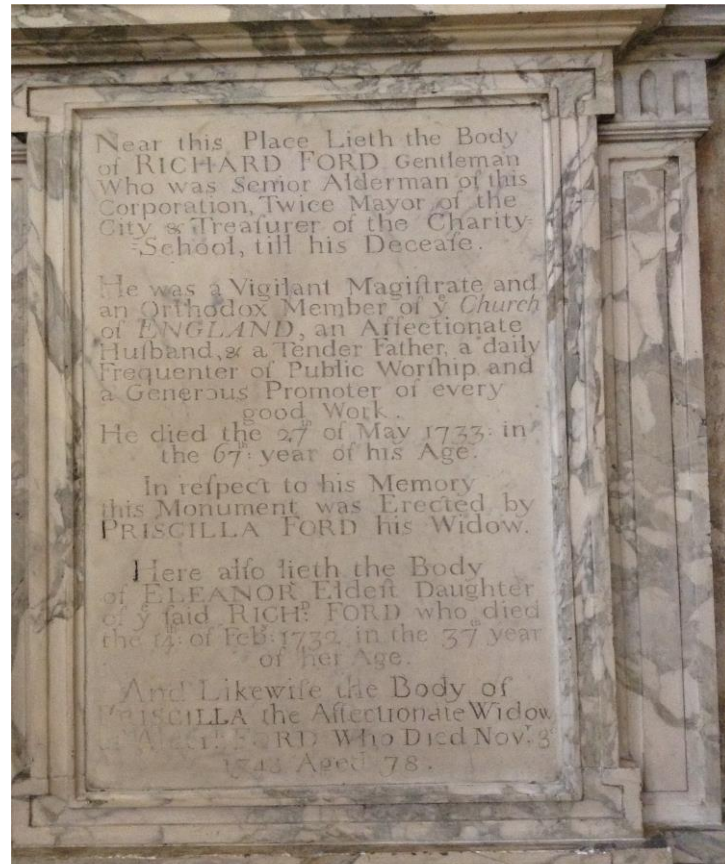
Figure 3.1 Located directly underneath the Ford memorial is the additional monument dedicated to the memory of Richard Ford's daughters Mrs. Francis (d. 1745) and Mrs. Mary Ford (d. 1749). Reproduced by permission of Bath Abbey Archives.
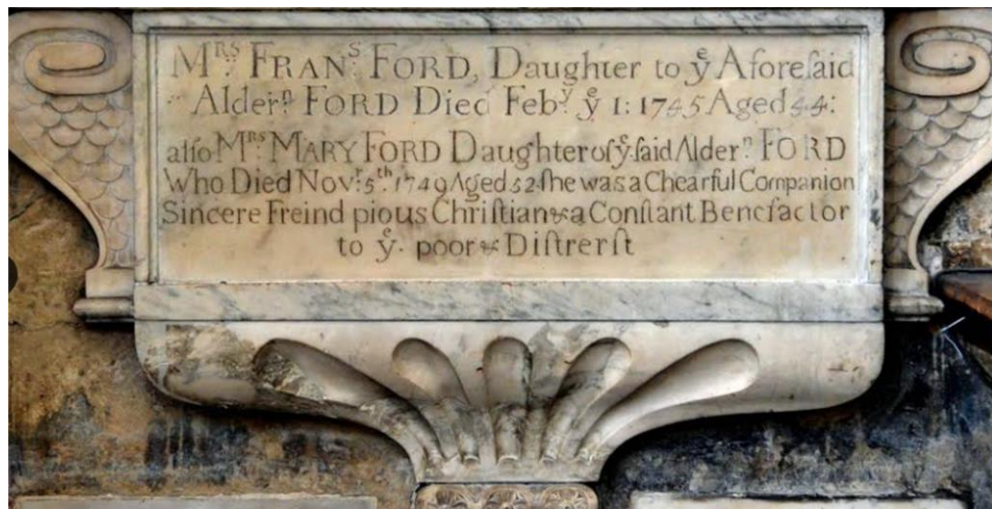
3. Types of Church Monuments, How to Identify Them and How Much They Cost

As previously stated, this thesis does not examine gravestones in churchyards. Outside monuments are excluded because outdoor burial markers tended to be made of wood and, thus, had a limited survival life, and the use of stone monuments in graveyards and cemeteries did not become a popular fashion in England until the late eighteenth century. The movement to outdoor cemeteries was largely due to the lack of remaining space on floors and walls in church interiors. The opening of the Pere Lachaise Cemetery in 1804, for example, was foundational to this change and greatly influenced the design and creation of outdoor public cemeteries in Europe.

Interior church monuments came in four primary formats: free-standing, standing wall-mounted, elevated wall-mounted, and floor slab. It is of note that the antiquarian and secondary sources provided 421 of the 1,234 church monuments examined in this thesis, but it was rare for the authors of these sources to identify what type of memorial the monument was, and they instead tended to focus on only transcribing the epitaph and/or listing the church it was in. Out of the 421, only 27 mention the type of monument. Therefore, the following statistics on type of church monument comprise 840 church monuments.

3.1 Free-Standing and Standing Wall-Mounted Monuments

The grandeur, size and sculptural details of standing and wall-mounted monuments made them a visually dominant focal point within the church interior. It is likely because of this grandeur that there has been a historical preoccupation with standing and wall-mounted monuments from the antiquarian era to modern day. This preoccupation has created an extremely skewed representation of early modern church monuments. In my research, standing and wall-mounted

monuments account for around 1.5% (19) of all monuments erected in the six urban centres between 1660 and 1770.

As the name suggests, free-standing monuments were erected away from a wall so that observers could walk around most, if not all, of the structure. These monuments were typically rectangular in shape and had an effigy sculpture of the deceased mounted on top. They typically commemorated the nobility and royalty and were more popular between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, these types of monuments significantly decreased in frequency over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Standing wall-mounted monuments were similar to free-standing monuments except they were mounted against a wall as well as on the floor. They also tended to be ornate monuments adorned with monumental bodies and commemorated the higher tiers of English society, such as archbishops, bishops, lords and ladies, barons and knights. In this thesis, due to the similarities in monument design, types of people commemorated and overall low occurrence within the provided sample population, these two types of monuments, free-standing and standing wall-mounted, are combined into the single category 'standing'.

3.2 Elevated Wall-Mounted Monuments

Elevated wall-mounted monuments were secured to the wall in an elevated position. These monuments typically came in either a rectangular or cartouche shape and could vary from a simple slab to extremely ornate. According to Jonathan Finch, following floor slabs, elevated wall-mounted monuments were the second most common memorial erected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the data collected for this thesis, elevated wall-mounted monuments account for 24.8% (306) of all interior church monuments. Elevated wall-mounted monuments were a unique form of commemoration. For one, they did not emerge as a common

form of memorialisation until after the English Reformation. It is unclear why this style of monument came into existence at this time, but one possible explanation is because of the newly whitewashed walls of church interiors, which provided a literal blank canvas to act as a backdrop for these types of monuments. During the Reformation period, the brightly coloured medieval murals that depicted sacred images were painted over, creating a new, unadorned space. Another or secondary possibility is how wall space provided an ideal solution to the issue of over-crowded floor space.[27] Yet, despite their unclear origins, what is clear is the important changes elevated wall-mounted monuments brought to the development of early modern memorialisation, for it was mural church monuments that first signalled, and even separated, the monument itself from the burial place of the deceased.

This type of memorialisation, therefore, introduced new aspects to commemorative practices. Wall-mounted monuments tend to have an epitaph inscription that focuses on the life of the dead as opposed to only recording the location of the dead body. The biographies of the dead were given new social significance. The characteristics and behaviours recorded in epitaphs provide a window into what qualities were valued and idealised by the individuals who erected them and the community that was intended to read and learn from them.

3.3 Floor Slabs

Floor slabs, referred to as 'ledgers' by Jonathan Finch, were the most common form of intramural memorialisation in early modern England. Within the sample population, floor slabs represent approximately two-thirds (822) of the total number of recorded church monuments. This type of church monument

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[27] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 82.

commemorated persons from a wide variety of social classes, including tradesmen, the merchant elite and the aristocracy. Yet, despite the popularity and range of persons commemorated in floor slabs, they have been systematically overlooked in many early modern church monument studies. These monuments, like the elevated wall-mounted monuments, began to develop in the Post-Reformation period into displaying lengthy and more detailed epitaph inscriptions. As the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries progressed, this development appeared to overshadow the once popular brasses that Finch describes as 'the most familiar form of medieval monuments'.[28]

Although brasses continued to be used in early modern commemoration, it was in far fewer numbers. From the sample population, the use of brasses was sporadic and typically in very low numbers in all urban centres except Leeds. Leeds Minster had a significantly higher representation of brass memorials (30) than any other visited church, the second being St. John, Leeds with nine brasses, which are mounted to the wooden pews and cloisters. This finding was an interesting anomaly and a potential avenue for future research regarding why Leeds appears particularly connected with this type of memorialisation while the rest of the urban centres seem to have forgone brasses for floor slabs and elevated wall-mounted monuments. Since brasses are a rare form in the surviving representation of early modern church monuments, but are similar to floor slabs in that they tend to focus on an inscription and have minimal iconography, brasses are included under the category of floor slabs. Therefore, floor slabs refer to both stone tablets set into the floor and brass plates fixed to the floor, windowsills and wooden panels of the parish church. The sheer number of floor slabs and their continued popularity

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[28] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 37.

throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries proves that they deserve closer inspection and analysis.

3.4 Prices of Early Modern Church Monuments

John Weever believed that church monuments were 'made according to the quality and degree of the person deceased, that be to the tomb every one might discern of what rank he was, living'. This view led him to assign social classes to corresponding monuments: floor slabs were for the 'meaner sort of gentry', wall-mounted were for gentlemen, and standing monuments were for men of title as well as the occasional memorial to 'persons of eminent place of government'.[29] The various sizes, extent of detail, location [both within a church and the location of the churches themselves (northern cities compared with London)] all factored into pricing a monument—which meant that prices varied greatly.

Lawrence Stone suggests that prices of monuments increased six-fold in the Post-Reformation period, but this conclusion came primarily from an examination of changing prices in the more expensive standing monuments, and from a small representative sample.[30] What is known is that prices drastically varied based on type of monument and location. The record books of Nicholas Stone, in addition to various probate accounts, shed some light onto this subject. According to these materials, a small inscription on a floor slab or brass could cost as little as a few shillings, whereas larger inscriptions and small effigies could cost one to two pounds; larger monuments ranged between 10 and 36 pounds; and grand, ornate monuments (typically those associated with the nobility and high clergy) could cost upwards of several thousand pounds.[31] In Bristol, for example, a receipt was issued

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[29] Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments,* xi.
[30] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 581.
[31] Esdaile, *English Church Monuments*, 84-86; and Finch, *Church Monuments,* 38 and 95-96.

to Mr. Townsend by Sir John Smyth Baronet for the building of 'two marble monuments' to commemorate his 'Honoured Father by mother and the other for my Late most dear and never to be forgotten Wife' for the price of 'one hundred pounds' to seemingly be paid over a one year period from 21 March 1717–1718. Another receipt was given on the 4 April 1718 to Mr. Townsend for the 'Seventy Pounds being the remainder of the money for the two marble monuments'.[32]

However, as Peter Sherlock argues, wealth was not the only factor in deciding whether a church monument was erected or not. As he states, another crucial factor was 'gaining access to privileged floor and wall space', which was reliant on one's acquisition of various economic and social authoritative roles; one needed money, but also 'power over the relevant authorities, or to hold an office such as churchwarden' to secure coveted spaces within the church walls.[33] As Jonathan Barry discusses, members of the community, even the elite, required cathedral or parish permission to be buried within a church.[34] Thus, more than wealth was part of the complex social system when acquiring a space for a church monument. With prices as low as a few shillings to several thousand pounds, monuments were erected by an array of individuals.

4. Social Titles and Establishing Status in Early Modern Commemoration

This thesis acknowledges that the term 'middling sort' is complicated and complex. In the early modern era, middling sort identities consisted of a wide range of social groups, including yeomen, artisans, tradesmen, merchants and various degrees of clergymen. These groups could and did consistently change and overlap

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[32] Records of the Smyth family of Ashton Court, Family Papers, Funeral accounts, AC/F/9/3: SS7, Bristol Archives, Bristol.
[33] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory,* 11-12.
[34] Jonathan Barry, 'The organization of burial places in post-medieval English cities: Bristol and Exeter c. 1540-1850', *Urban History* vol. 46, no 4 (December 2018): 599.

with one another.[35] While ever being mindful that these titles did not accurately

reflect an individual's financial circumstances, this thesis uses the term 'middling

sort' to refer to those who socially identified as Mr/Mrs, by a profession or specific

trade title, as a merchant, and those who held civic positions such as sheriff,

alderman and mayor. The term 'urban elite' is used to refer to individuals who

socially identified as esquire and/or gentleman. It must be noted that merchants,

alderman and mayors had a high degree of power and influence in the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries. They could obtain huge quantities of wealth, and indeed

purchase land titles—several examples can be seen in familial monuments that

show a progression from tradesmen, to merchants, to esquire over the course of

several generations. Although titles were expected to reflect an individual's social

and economic standing, this was not always the case. As is discussed in greater

depth in later chapters, the title of 'gentlemen' was more of a social title than

anything else. A gentleman was usually identifiable by their outward behaviour and

dress, but could in fact be of lower wealth and/or standing than those who

identified as farmers, tradesmen and merchants. Yet this title, as well as others,

continued to appear on church monuments. Their appearance, or lack thereof, can

provide indications regarding which titles were valued or devalued over time.

Sarah Tarlow states the monuments in Orkney indicate that, 'during the late

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the display of individual status in terms of

ancestry and class diminished in importance'.[36] She argues that the language used

in early modern epitaphs reveal 'a movement away from the representation of

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[35] For more on the term and making of the 'middling-sort' see: Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989); *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society, and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, ed. Johnathon Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: The Macmillan Press, 1994); and H.R. French, 'The Search for the 'Middle Sort of People' in England, 1600-1800', *The Historical Journal* vol. 43, no. 1 (March 2000): 277-293.
[36] Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*, 106.

social status and towards an emotional concern with how the bereaved and the mortal individual responds to death'.[37] Alternatively, Jonathan Finch's study of Norwich reveals an increased use of social titles from the early eighteenth century onward. According to his sample population, between 1550 and 1699, 4% (19) of Norwich monuments include titles affiliated with trade and manufacturing; this number nearly tripled between 1700 and 1849 to over 11% (126) of urban church monuments. A similar trajectory is evident in the use of the elevated titles of 'esquire', 'gent' and 'Sir', growing from 5% (7) between 1550 and 1699 to 17% (86) between 1700 and 1840.[38]

Unlike Tarlow and Finch, who assessed trends in social titles per monument, my research counted the appearance of titles per deceased individual. This approach produces results that challenge Tarlow's findings and offers different peaks and troughs to those found by Finch. Approximately two-thirds (1,195) of individuals commemorated in urban church monuments are identified with some sort of social or occupational title. The use of these titles continued to increase between 1660 and 1730, with a dip between 1730 and 1760. However, this dip is arguably a consequence of the overall dip in commemoration as opposed to signifying a specific dip in the use of social titles [see Graph 1].

In this thesis, social and occupational titles are separated into nine categories: Mr./Mrs., a profession or trade [e.g. lawyer, physician, goldsmith, butcher, brewer], merchant, civic titles [sheriff, alderman and mayor], esquire/gentleman, 'combo' [an amalgam of two or more of the social titles listed above],[39] military, clergy and no title listed. Most social titles used in the sample

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[37] Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*, 96 and 102.
[38] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 119 and 167.
[39] An example of an amalgam, or 'combo', memorial inscription can be seen in the floor slab commemorating Mary Barnard (d. 1760) located in east end, Memorial Chapel of Hull Minster. As with most of the early modern female commemoration, male relatives were used to

population point to members of the middling sort and urban elite. Combined, these social titles account for 51% (902) of the total number of individuals commemorated: the social titles of Mr/Mrs, professional, merchant or civic title account for 40.3% (363); esquire and gent titles account for 25.5% (230); a combination of these titles accounts for 34.3% (309); military titles account for only 1.5% (26); clergy members account for 3.4% (60); and elevated titles of 'Sir', 'Lord/Lady', 'Dame', 'Baron/Baroness' account for 3.6% (64) of all individuals commemorated.

Overall, these numbers reveal a pattern of urban commemoration that was dominated by the non-aristocracy. Similar patterns were discovered by Finch in Norwich, who claimed such patterns showed how merchants, traders and professionals 'were establishing themselves as a new and dynamic sector of the city's economy [who] sought to express their new status and wealth through traditional media including monumental commemoration'.[40] In his words:

> the commemoration of members of these trade. . . cannot be explained simply in terms of the profusion of new trades and professions. . . the increasing diversity of trades and occupation was part of the broader development of an urban identity and increasing consumerism which, in turn, resulted in greater prestige and social acceptability being attached to their practitioners. . .The change stemmed, in part, from the increasing wealth that they accrued, but this in itself was a result of changing patterns of consumption, which were linked to the urban renaissance and the emergence of 'polite society.[41]

establish the deceased female's identity and status. Mary Barnard, for example, was identified by her husband and her father: her husband was an esquire of Hull and her father was identified as 'And. Perrott, Esqr of the City of York Merch^t and Alderman'. As the inscription includes Esquire, Merchant and Alderman as social identifiers it was categorized as 'combo'.

[40] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 159.
[41] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 159.

This thesis further explores this argument by considering how changes to the language of memorialisation reflect a growing cultural obsession with presenting a civilised society and its members as ideal participants in polite society.

5. Gender and the Number of People Commemorated

According to Sarah Tarlow, multiple commemorations on a single church monument were not a popular trend until after 1820.[42] The monuments collected in this survey, however, contradict this conclusion. Around two-thirds of the total sample population commemorate a single individual, 68% (542) commemorate a single male and 20.7% (255) commemorate a single female. The remaining 35.4% (437) of monuments commemorate two or more individuals. This pattern of commemoration is evident in four of the six cities studied—the exceptions being Leeds and Newcastle. These two cities have an overall higher representation of monuments that commemorate two or more persons [see Table 3]. These results suggest that multiple commemorations on a single church monument was a common, and indeed popular, trend in urban centres far earlier than 1820.

Memorials that commemorate a single male are the most represented type of urban church monument (40–53%) in all urban centres except Leeds [where monuments that commemorate a single male were around 29% of all surviving monuments]. Early modern England was a patriarchal society; thus, it stands to reason that men would be disproportionally represented in commemorative practices. Men were the faces of English commerce. It is no surprise that this cultural identity would transfer to the construction of church monuments. In addition to children, houses and material objects, monuments were symbols of male 'fames eternity'.[43] This patriarchal system is also apparent in the ways men

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[42] Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*, 60-61.
[43] John Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments,* i.

and women are identified via their social relationship in epitaph inscriptions. The language of memorialisation stereotypically presented females, even on monuments that commemorate a single female, as distinguishable by the names of their fathers ['daughter of—'] and/or husbands ['wife to—']. A female's identity was bound to that of her male provider, whether it be her father, husband or both. All males clearly had fathers, yet men were rarely identified by their patriarchal lineage except in the small number of cases of the high gentry and aristocracy. If a male was married, memorial inscriptions depict his marital role differently to that of his female counterpart: the inscription would say 'married to—' as opposed to the female equivalent which would be 'husband to—', suggesting female identity was more closely linked to their social position as married or not married, wife to or daughter to, then their male counterparts.

Single females are the least represented demographic across all urban centres. In Bath, Bristol, Hull and York, single females account for 20–26% of church monuments, 10% of Leeds church monuments and only 6% of Newcastle church monuments. However, as mentioned previously, the low number of monuments that commemorate a single female in Leeds and Newcastle is supplemented by the high proportion of monuments that commemorate couples and families.

Conclusion

This chapter identified the types of church monuments erected and who erected them. It contributed to Finch's chronology of commemoration by revealing trends of proliferation that both support and somewhat challenge the patterns seen in Norwich. The six urban centres examined revealed shared patterns with Norwich, including the popularity of floor slabs and the high number of monuments commemorating members of the middling sort. The six urban centres also shared a

high distribution of church monuments from the late seventeenth into the early eighteenth century. This finding supports Finch's conclusion that church monuments demonstrate an earlier manifestation of what Peter Borsay calls the 'pursuit of status' prominent in the mid-eighteenth century.[44]

Early modern society, especially in the eighteenth century, was acutely aware that the church monuments it erected would be templates that future generations would use to construct images and perceptions regarding how life was in the past. Church monuments provided an opportunity for individuals and families to construct, both thoughtfully and purposely, an identity that they saw fit to be an ideal representation of their, and arguably their community's, social values. There is a popular notion that a person is never truly gone if one living person remembers them. Church monuments spite death by becoming objects of remembrance designed to call upon present and future generations to reflect and, even if for a short while, remember the deceased memorialised before them. Tracing changes in the language of memorialisation, the changes in how people wanted to be remembered are apparent, enables the partial reconstruction of the lives of past people and the societies they lived in. The exemplary dead show us what it meant to belong in early modern England. The following chapter continues this thread of investigation by examining each city's individual history with their church monument statistics to discover the extent of a shared urban development.

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[44] Peter Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance: The Development of Provincial Urban Culture c. 1680-c. 1760', *Social History* vol. 2, no.5 (May 1977): 593-597.

Table 1: Number of parish churches 1660–1770 and number of parish churches in service today, displayed alongside the estimated population size of each urban centre in c. 1660 and 1770.[1]

	Bath	Bristol	Hull	Leeds	Newcastle	York
Approx. Population c. 1660	1,000	20,000	6,000	5,000	13,000	8,000
Approx. Population c. 1770	20,000	55,000	13,500	17,000	33,000	16,500
Number of Parish Churches Erected Prior to 1770	2	18	2	3	4	20
Number of Parish Churches Still in Use as a Place of Worship	2	7	2	3	3	11

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[1] Sources for population numbers are as follows: numbers for Bath are from Peter Borsay, *The Images of Georgian Bath, 1700-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 356; and Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (Harlow: Longman Group UK Ltd, 1993), 404. population numbers for Bristol are from 'The Inhabitants of Bristol in 1696', in *Bristol Record Society,* ed. Elizabeth Ralph and Mary E. Williams vol. XXV (Bristol: Bristol Record Society's Publication, 1968), xxi; Jonathan Barry, 'Provincial Town Culture, 1649-1780: urbane or civic?', in *Interpretation and Cultural History*, ed. J. Pittock and A. Wear (New York, 1990), 200; and Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (Harlow: Longman Group UK Ltd, 1993), 404. Population numbers for Hull are from 'Hull, 1700-1835', in *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 1, the City of Kingston Upon Hull*, ed. K J Allison (London, 1969), 174-214; John K. Walton, 'The North'*,* in *Cambridge Urban Histories,* ed Peter Clark vol 2, (online publication, 2008), 125-128, https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/the-cambridge-urban-history-of-britain/70F88C1DF740BD5159A7AECDB1270435. Population numbers for Leeds are from J.D. Purdy, *Yorkshire Hearth Tax Returns* (Hull: University of Hull Centre for Regional and Local History, 1991); and R.G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: the merchant community in Leeds 1700-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 197. Population numbers for Newcastle are from Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (Harlow: Longman Group UK Ltd, 1993), 406; Walton, 'The North', 125-128. Population numbers for York are from 'The seventeenth century: Topography and population', in *A History of the County of York: the City of York*, ed. P.M. Tillott (London, 1961), 160-165.

Table 2: The total number of church monuments in each urban centre, including the total numbers of standing, wall-mounted, floor slab memorials and those found only in antiquarian sources

Cities	Total No. of Monuments	No. of Standing	No. of Wall-Mounted Monuments	No. of Floor Slab and Brasses	No. Given no Specified Type from Antiquarian Sources
York	368	13	48	34	273
Hull	109	0	21	72	16
Leeds	110	1	60	49	0
Newcastle	170	0	12	45	113
Bristol	141	2	56	64	19
Bath	336	3	113	220	0
Total	**1,234**	**19**	**310**	**484**	**421**

Table 3: Total number of person or persons commemorated in urban church monuments from 1660 to 1770

	Total No. of Monuments	No. of Males (Individual)	No. of Females (Individual)	No. of Two or More (Couple/Family)
York	368	180 (48.9%)	96 (26%)	92 (25%)
Newcastle	170	90 (53%)	10 (6%)	70 (41.1)
Bristol	141	60 (42.6%)	34 (24.1%)	47 (33.3%)
Bath	337	135 (40.1%)	82 (24.4%)	120 (35.6%)
Hull	109	45 (41.3%)	23 (21.1%)	41 (37.6%)
Leeds	110	32 (29%)	11 (10%)	67 (61%)
Total	1,235	542 (43.9%)	256 (20.7%)	437 (35.4%)

Table 4 [in conjunction with Graph 4]: The combined statistics from all six urban centres: socio-economic/status social identifiers on urban church monuments from 1660 to 1770

Social Identifiers	No. of Monuments
Mr/Mrs	120
Pro/Tradesman	119
Merchant	47
Alderman/Mayor/Sheriff	77
Esquire/Gent	230
Combo [mix of the social identifiers listed above]	309
Knight/Lord	64
Clergy	60
Military	26
Latin	143
None Used	573

Graph 1: The distribution of church monuments erected in each urban centre between 1660 and 1770
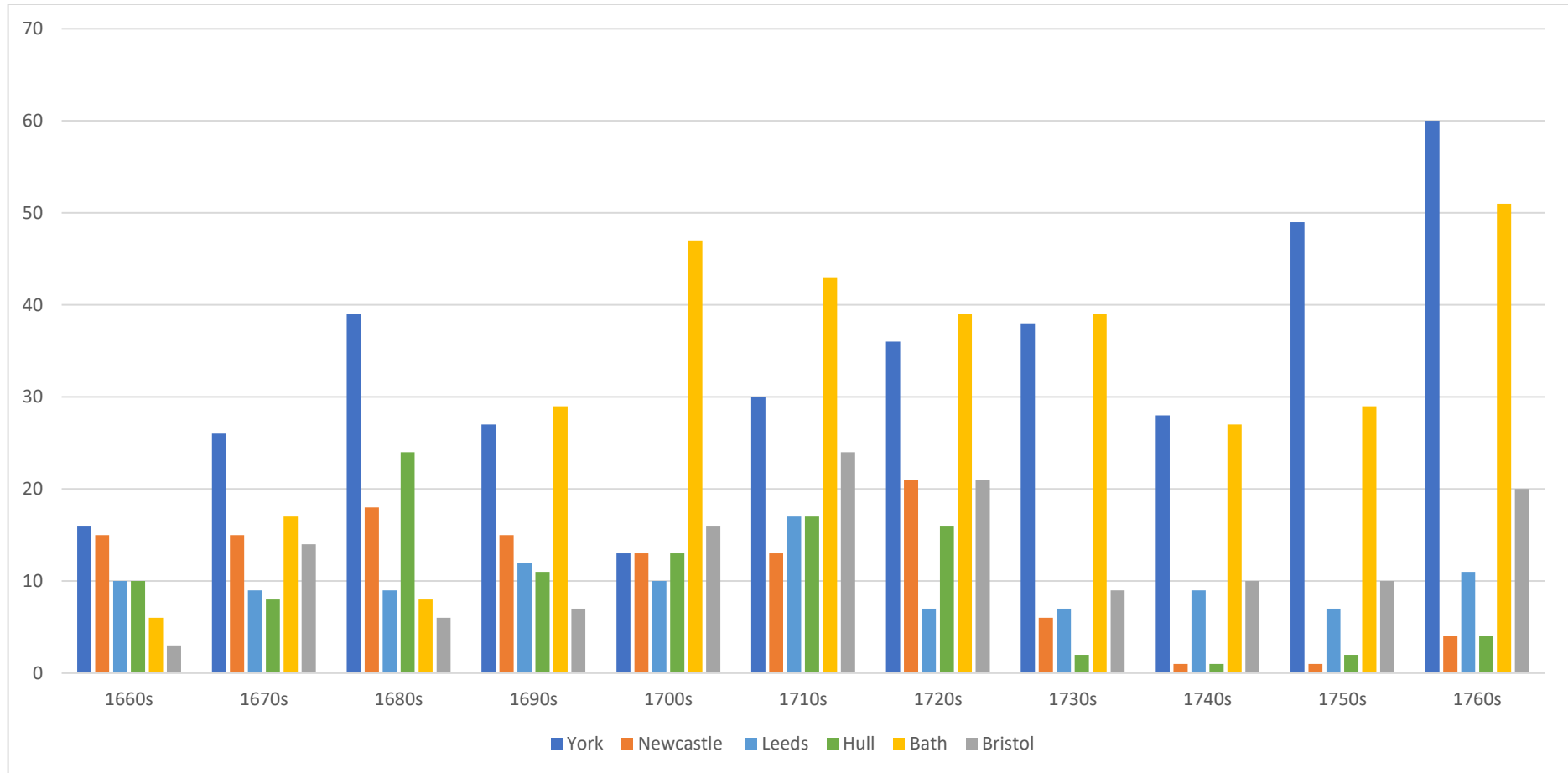
Graph 2: Total number of urban church monuments in all six urban centres, 1660–1770
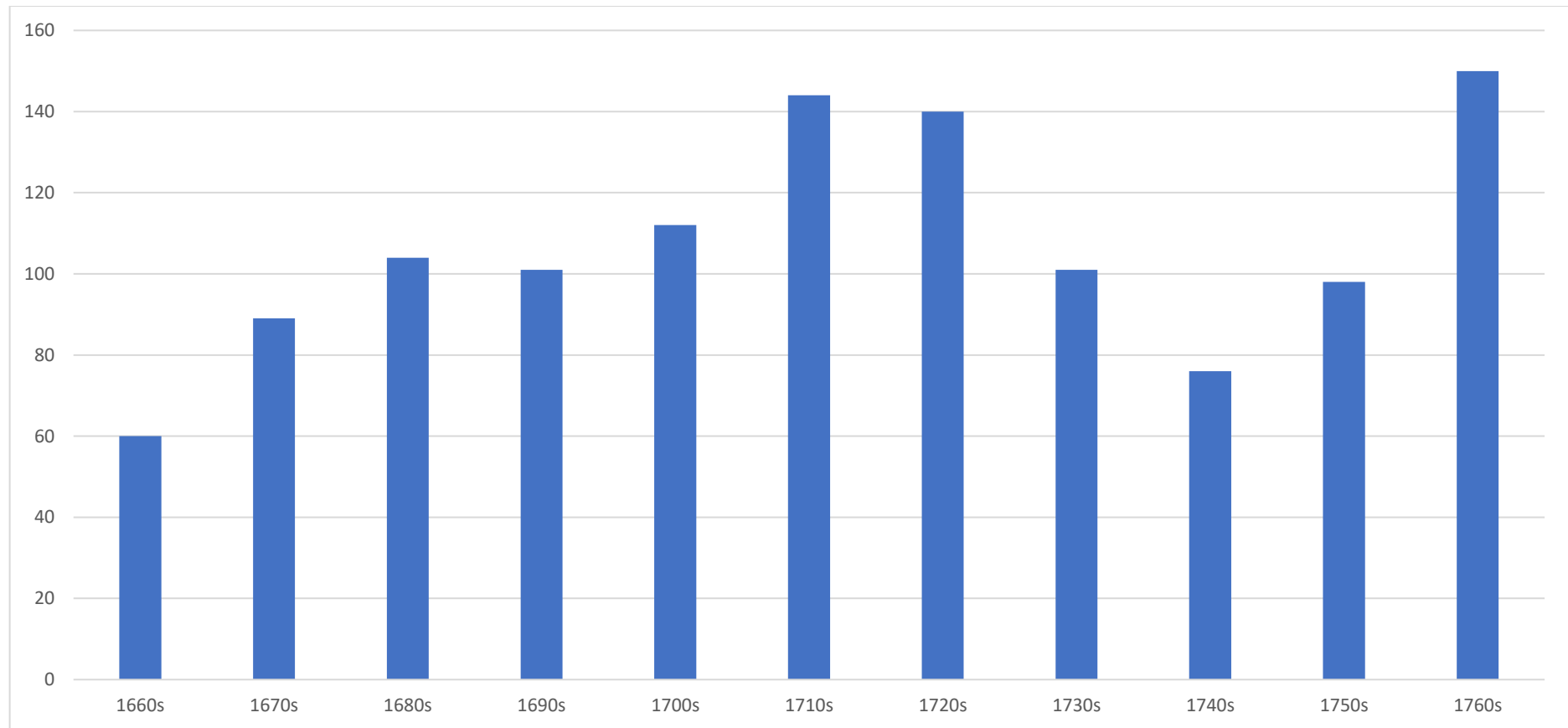
Graph 3: Total number of individuals commemorated in urban church monuments, 1660–1770
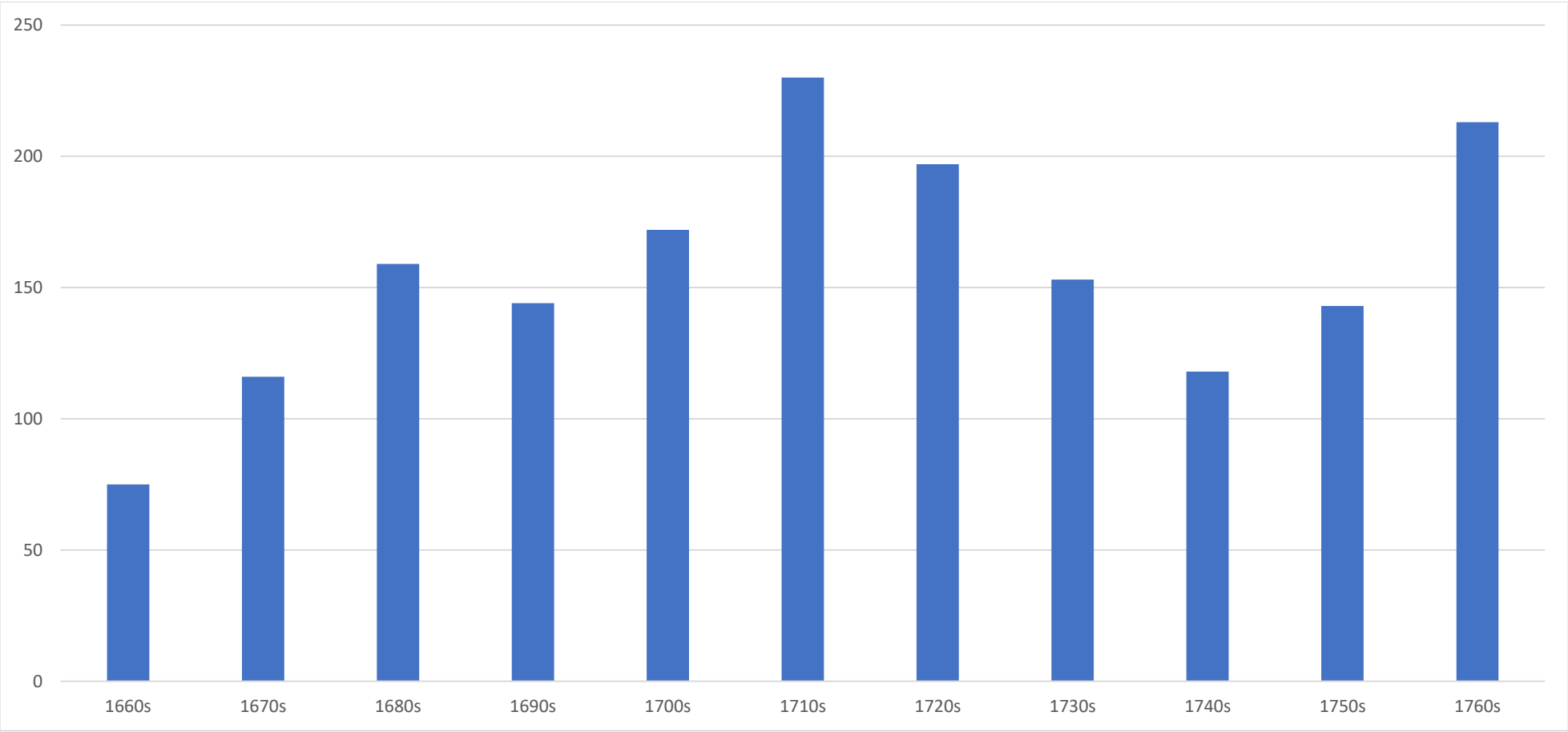
Graph 4: Social and occupation titles in urban church monuments from 1660 to 1770

Mr/Mrs ∎ Prof/Trade ∎ Merchant ∎ Civic ∎ Esq/Gent ∎ Knight/Lord ∎ Clergy ∎ Military ∎ N/A ∎ Latin ∎ Combo
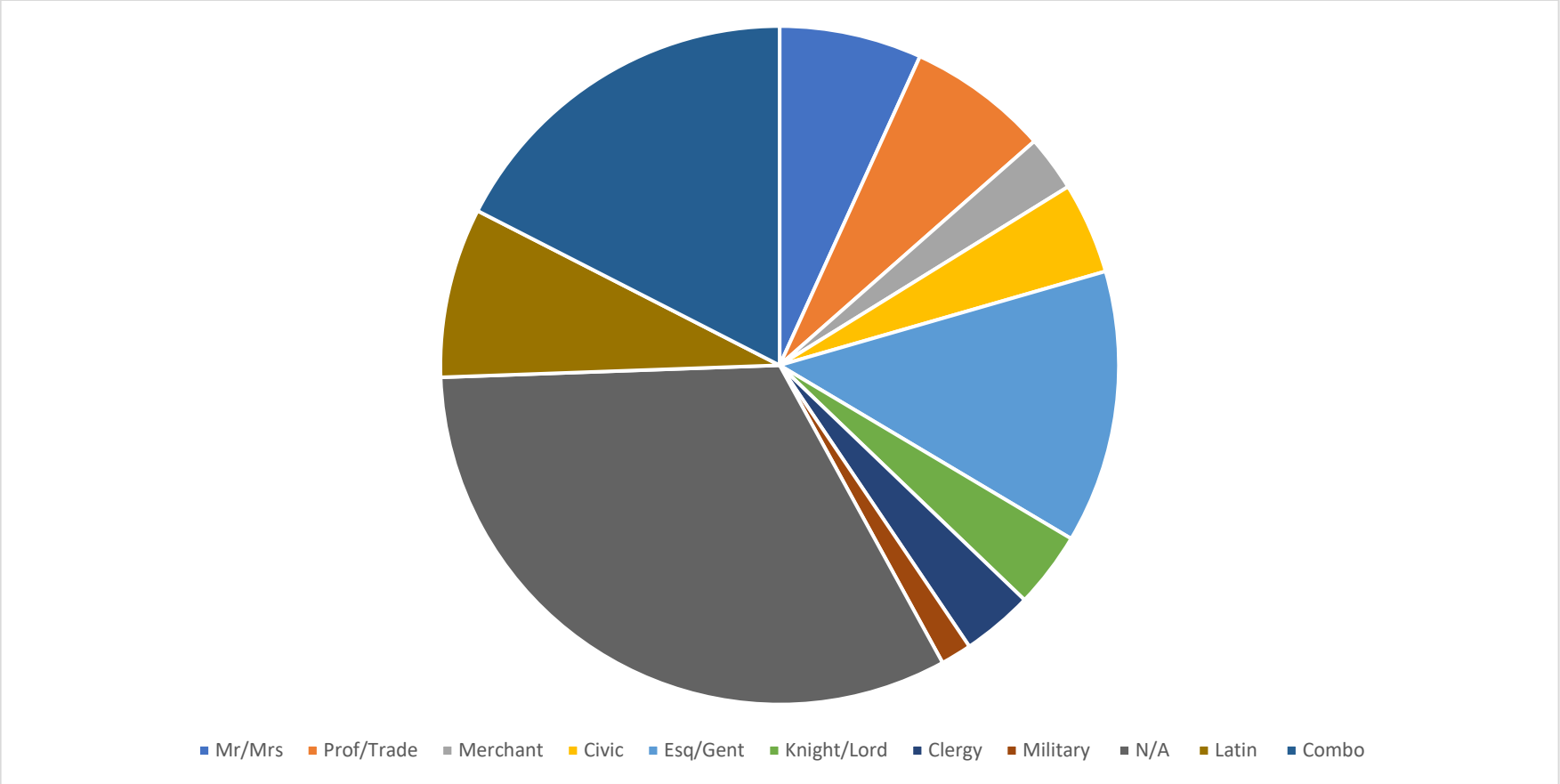
Chapter 2: City Histories and Church Monument Statistics

The sample population collected for this thesis showed an overall shared pattern of proliferation of church monuments between the six urban centres; however, the individual patterns of each city should not be overlooked. This chapter provides brief histories of each individual urban centre followed by corresponding tables and graphs detailing the number of churches in each city, the number of monuments located within each church and the number and type of social titles listed on church's monuments. Each city is examined individually to assess potential local trends that either correspond to or counter the suspected national trends of commemoration theorised in previous church monument studies. The trends from each city are then compared with one another to explore the existence of a shared urban culture of memorialisation.

Bath

There were two surviving parish churches used during the period in focus: Bath Abbey and St. Michael Without. There were three other parish churches: St. Mary Stalls, St. Mary Within and St. James, however, all three were closed, deconsecrated and demolished in the early modern period. St Mary Stalls was transformed into a commercial property in 1539 and demolished in 1659. St Mary Within was closed in 1583 and became part of the St. Edward's Free School; it was demolished in 1771. The medieval church of St. James was rebuilt around 1768 and, according to Rev. Richard Warner (1811), was built on top of 'its old dilapidated place of worship. . . [and] no monuments are permitted to be placed in this church; a regulation that preserves its elegant simplicity entire'.[1] Thus, although this parish church was active in the early modern period, it was either in ruins or demolished in

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[1] Richard Warner, *A New Guide through Bath and Its Environs* (Bath: R. Cruttwell, 1811).

1768 to make room for a new church; in addition, we can assess that the monuments once residing within this church were removed and/or destroyed based on the regulation that 'no moments are permitted' within the church in order to maintain 'its elegant simplicity entire'. The remainder of this section provides brief histories of the two churches that were active from 1660 to 1770 and still survive today.

Table 5: Number of church monuments per Bath parish church, 1660-1770

	No. of Mon. in the Church	No. of Mon. in Antiquarian Sources
Bath Abbey	337	0
St Michael Without	0	0

Bath Abbey

There has been a church on the site of Bath Abbey since the eighth century. A cathedral was built on the spot in the eleventh century; however, it was in ruins by the end of the fifteenth century. The dissolution of the monasteries in the mid-sixteenth century left the Abbey in disrepair for many years until 1616 when it was repaired. In the nineteenth century, mainly due to the efforts of George Manners and Sir George Gilbert Scott, further restoration projects took place on the property.[2]

Table 5.1: The year and type of reconstruction works for Bath Abbey

Years	Types of Reconstruction
1616	Most of what we see today of the abbey's structure was built
1830s	Under the supervision of George Manners, new pinnacles and flying buttresses were added to the exterior of the church, a new organ and screen were installed, additional galleries over the choir were built and additional pews were installed
1844	New cemetery was consecrated, first burial on the 12th of February

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[2] 'History', Bath Abbey, accessed 5 June 2019, https://www.bathabbey.org/visiting/history/.

1864–1874	Under the supervision of Sir George Gilbert Scott, the interior of the abbey was reconstructed in the image of Victorian Gothic architectural design
1899	The exterior of the West Front was restored
1929	East end of the abbey redesigned by Sir Harold Brakspear
1942	Bombing destroys the abbey windows
1940–1960s	Post-war restoration takes place
1991	Launch of general restoration works and cleaning
2010	Launch of the Footprint, which will renovate and provide new installations to the floor—all floor slabs are being recorded

St. Michael Without

St. Michael Without was originally built in the fourteenth century. In the 1730s, the church was rebuilt to fix general damages and enlarge the worshipping space to accommodate the growing population. However, the church was demolished in the mid-eighteenth century and a new church was built during the 1830s by G.P. Manners. It has since remained relatively untouched.[3] It is likely due to these reconstruction works that there are no surviving monuments from the period in question residing inside the church. It also may explain, as a nineteenth-century church, why there are no antiquarian sources recording the earlier church monuments that may have resided in the old church—therefore, no table is presented for this church.

Monument Statistics

While under the influential leadership of Beau Nash, Bath flourished into a popular leisure city in the eighteenth century. It experienced an extensive redesign in Georgian architecture and had an influx of businesses that catered directly to consumers, as well as an increased number of medical professionals whose livelihood came from Bath's reputation as a spa town. This intent was illustrated by some students travelling from Cambridge in the 1720s, who commented on the

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[3] 'Our Heritage', St Michael Without, accessed 5 June 2019, https://www.stmichaelsbath .org.uk/our-heritage/.

'handsome shops which are well accustomed by the great resort of nobility & Gentry to this place'.[4] Bath's population increased from 1,100 in 1660, to around 8,000 by 1750, to approximately 20,000 by the late eighteenth century.[5] Nash's intent for Bath was to build a society in which social rank was 'laid aside, and all degrees of people, from the private gentleman upwards, were soon united in society with one another'.[6] Consequently, Bath grew into an epicentre of genteel sociability. Therefore, it is to be suspected that Bath's reputation and resulting influx of professionals and elite society are reflected in its church monuments.

With a total of 336 church monuments, Bath Abbey has, by far, the largest number of surviving church monuments compared with any other parish church explored in this thesis. Patterns in Bath's chronology of commemoration appear to reflect the changes in the city's economic development. For example, there was a significant increase in the erection of church monuments from 1700 to 1720, which corresponds with Bath's rising population and growing national reputation as a leisure centre. The number of church monuments erected between 1660-1770 fluctuated, with peaks and troughs between 1720 and 1759, followed by a spike in the 1760s. Church monuments that commemorate a single male account for 40.1% of Bath's surviving monuments, and monuments that commemorate two or more people account for 35.6%.[7] What is curious about Bath, when compared with the other urban centres, is the high representation of single female memorials from the 1750s onwards. Monuments that commemorate a single female were in decline

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[4] *Diary of a Tour by Three Students from Cambridge* (1725), Bath Central Library, Ms B914, 114-118.

[5] Population numbers taken from Peter Borsay, *The Images of Georgian Bath, 1700-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 356; and Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (Harlow: Longman Group UK Ltd, 1993), 404.

[6] John Wood, *A Description of Bath, wherein the Antiquity of the City, as well as the Eminence of its Founder* (London: J Murray, 1769), 411.

[7] The average percentage of male monuments across the six cities was 46.5%, and two or more personas was 35.5%.

between 1720 and 1749, accounting for roughly 11% of surviving monuments, but this nearly tripling in the 1750s to around 30%.[8] It is problematic to assume the high number of female memorials means that women had a more prominent role in mid-eighteenth-century Bath. After all, most of the memorials continue to identify females via their fathers and/or their husbands. However, Bath did have prominent female social circles, such as the Blue Stocking Society, and was known as an epicentre for female sociability, which may explain the increased occurrence of single female monuments.[9] However, Bristol and York also exhibit a shift in representation with single female monuments outnumbering single male monuments from around 1740 onwards. Perhaps another explanation lies in foreign military affairs. It was during these decades that England was fighting in the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War. The decline in single male monuments may be a result of men leaving the cities to fight and likely perish abroad. Yet, if this was the case, then why did the other cities not also show the same trajectory? One answer is perhaps familial monuments were more popular than monuments that commemorate individuals, and thereby, were less outwardly affected by the same external influence as Bath, Bristol and York.

In Bath, middling-sort titles outnumbered urban elite titles between 1660 and 1700. The appearance of middling-sort titles significantly dropped in overall frequency between 1730 and 1770 [see Table 5.2]. The apparent shift in title representation may have been directly linked to Bath's development into a popular leisure centre. Leading up to the eighteenth century, the higher number of the middling-sort memorials suggests and coincides with the growing influx of traders

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[8] The average percentage of female monuments across the six cities was 20.7%.
[9] For more on female friendship in British spa society see Amanda Herbert's chapter 'Hot Springs Sociability: Women's Alliances at British Spas', in *Female Alliance: Gender, Identity and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), 117-141.

and professionals in Bath. A likely reason for this influx was to take advantage of its growing economic influence as a spa town. The focus on leisure, sociability and architectural expansion led Peter Borsay to state that it 'was a city dependent upon image-making'.[10] There were few better ways to display that constructed image publicly than through an interior church monument. This reason may explain why there was a higher proportion of middling-sort titles than elite titles prior to 1730 and why the statistics shifted in the mid-eighteenth century to a higher proportion of elite titles.

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[10] Peter Borsay, *The Images of Georgian Bath, 1700-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 19.

Graph 5: The number of church monuments erected in Bath, 1660–1770

Total Number of Monuments
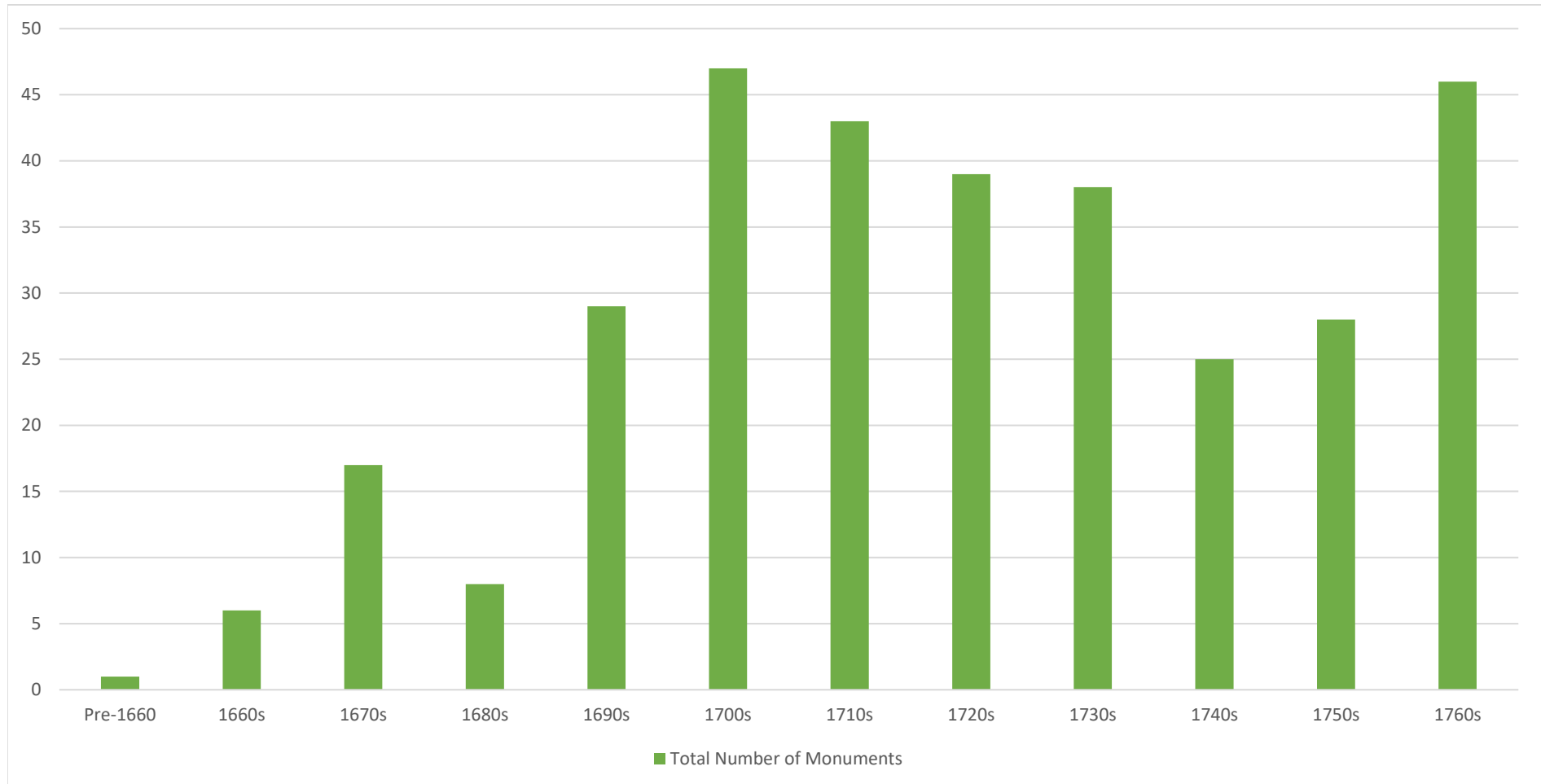
Graph 5.1: The number of individuals commemorated in Bath church monuments, 1660–1770
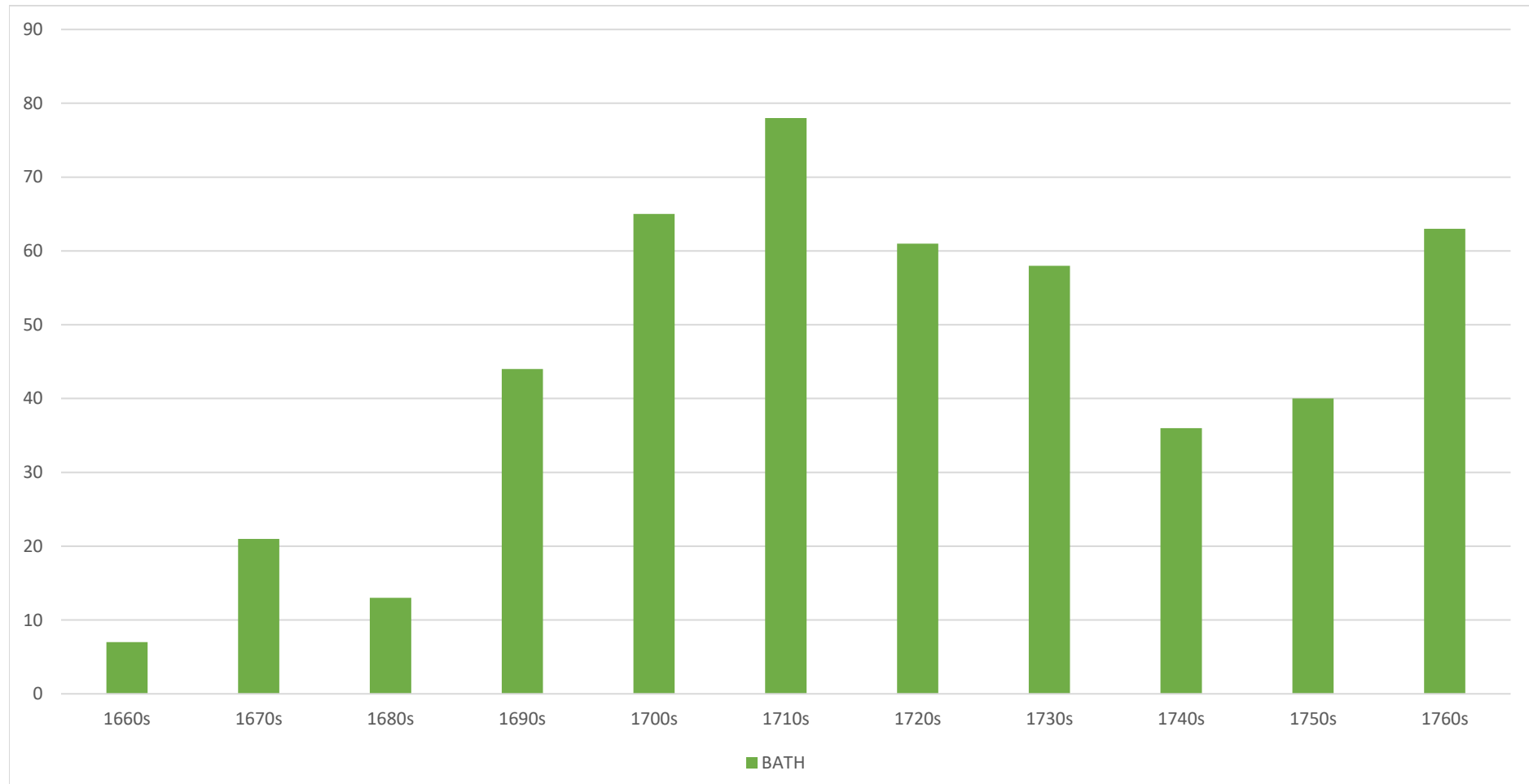
■ BATH

Table 5.2: Socio-economic/status titles on Bath church monuments from 1660 to 1770

	Mr/Mrs	Prof/Trade	Merchant	Civic	Esq/Gent	Knight/Lord	Combo
1660s	1	3	0	0	0	0	2
1670s	3	5	0	1	5	1	5
1680s	2	1	0	1	2	0	1
1690s	5	2	0	5	7	0	6
1700s	3	3	0	5	11	3	7
1710s	4	5	1	6	20	1	11
1720s	1	7	1	7	5	4	9
1730s	2	2	0	2	10	3	9
1740s	2	3	0	0	6	2	11
1750s	3	3	0	1	10	1	9
1760s	7	2	0	0	20	3	10

Bristol

Bristol became a Cathedral city in 1542. Unlike other Cathedral cities, where the cathedral or minster retained a monopoly over burial rights within the city walls, the parish churches of Bristol had control over burying their own parishioners.[1] In addition, Bristol was a county in its own right with its own main government and assizes. Other than the cathedral, there were 17 parish churches active between the years 1660 and 1770: St. Mary Redcliff, All Saints (closed in 2015), St. Thomas, St. James, St. John on the Wall , St. Mark (a.k.a. Lord Mayor's Chapel), St. Michael (deconsecrated in 1999, currently closed), St. Nicholas, St. Philip and St. Jacob, St. Stephens, St Ewin (demolished in 1820), Temple Church/Holy Cross (ruined in 1940 by bombing, currently an English Heritage Site), St Augustine-the-Less (demolished in 1962), Christ Church (demolished in 1786), St. Leonard (demolished in 1771), St. Mary-le-Port (demolished in 1940), St Peter (ruined by bombings, what monuments remained were removed to the St. Nicholas crypt—no public access), and St Werburgh's (demolished in 1877). Out of the 18 parish churches, only seven were accessible during the writing of this thesis for visitation.

Bristol Cathedral

The foundations of the church date to the twelfth century as an Augustinian abbey. In the mid-sixteenth century, the medieval nave was rebuilt, and the abbey was dissolved and rededicated as 'the Holy and Undivided Trinity'. Most reconstruction works were in the late nineteenth century (see Table 6.1).[2]

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[1] Jonathan Barry, 'The organization of burial places in post-medieval English cities: Bristol and Exeter c. 1540-1850', *Urban History* vol. 46, no 4 (December 2018): 600.
[2] 'History and Heritage', *Bristol Cathedral*, accessed 5 June 2019, https://bristol-cathedral.co.uk/the-cathedral/.

Table 6: Number of church monuments per Bristol parish church

	Number of Monuments in Church Dated Between 1660 and 1770	Number of Monuments in Antiquarian Sources Dated Between 1660 and 1770
Bristol Cathedral	33	9
St. Mary Redcliff	31	10
St. James	23	0
St. John on the Wall	1	0
St. Mark	0	0
St. Philip and St Jacob	11	0
St. Thomas	2	0
St. Augustine-the-less	0	16

There are 10 inaccessible or destroyed churches, and whose church monuments are not recorded in antiquarian studies. The remaining churches are St. Stephen, St. Michael, St. Ewin, Temple Church/Holy Cross, St. Nicholas, St. Leonard, St. Peter, St. Warburgh, Christ Church, St. Mary-le-Port

List 2: List of Bristol churches that have been demolished, closed or deconsecrated

St. Nicholas (rebuilt extensively in 1760s by James Bridges; 1940, fire damage by an air raid, currently closed to public access)

St. Thomas (demolished and rebuilt in 1890–93)

Christ Church (demolished and rebuilt in 1786–90 by William Paty)

All Saints (closed since 2015)

St. Michael (demolished, rebuilt in 1775–77, in 1999 deconsecrated, and currently closed)

St. Ewin (rebuilt in 1780s, demolished in 1820)

Temple Church/Holy Cross (ruined in 1940 by bombing, English Heritage Site)

St. Augustine-the-Less (demolished in 1962, damaged in WW2 bombing)

St. Leonard (demolished in 1771)

St. Mary-le-Port (demolished in 1940)

St. Peter (ruined by bombings, what monuments remained were removed to St. Nicholas crypt—no access)

St. Werburgh's (demolished in 1877)

Table 6.1: The year and type of reconstruction works for Bristol Cathedral

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1685	An organ was installed
1868	A nave, the twin bell towers, the stone choir screen, and the pulpit were all built
1940s–1960s	New window instalments

St. Mary Redcliffe

The foundation of the church dates to the thirteenth century, with extensive expansion occurring in the mid-fifteenth century. Like with many other churches, additional reconstruction works took place in the late nineteenth century.[3]

Table 6.2: The year and type of reconstruction works for St. Mary Redcliffe

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1846–72	Restoration works under the supervision of G. Godwin
1870s	New spire reconstructed
1941	Undercroft restored by G. Oatley

St. James

The church claims to be the oldest building in Bristol that is still currently in use. It was founded by Robert Fitzroy, the illegitimate grandson of William the Conqueror, in the twelfth century. Much of the building was destroyed during the dissolution of the churches under the reign of Henry VIII.[4] The west end of the church survived, and this space continues to be used as a space of worship. As with most churches in England, the majority of the recorded reconstruction and

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[3] 'Church of St. Mary Redcliffe', in *Historic England*, accessed 4 June 2019, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1218848.
[4] 'History', *St James Priory*, accessed 4 June 2019, http://www.stjamespriory.org.uk/history/.

restoration works occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century, with additional works carried out at the start of the twenty-first century.[5]

Table 6.3: The year and type of reconstruction works for St. James

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1850–1900	The interior was enlarged, especially the north aisle
1818	Gas powered lights installed
2009–2011	'major development and conservation work'

St. John on the Wall

The foundations of the church date from the twelfth century, but it was massively rebuilt in the late fourteenth century when it was incorporated into a section of the city's wall—renaming the church to St. John on the Wall. In 1985, the church was vested into the Churches Conservation Trust. The recorded reconstruction and restoration works are limited, with an estimated late seventeenth-century installation of a large wooden gallery, and in the nineteenth century the chancel was elevated and arches installed in the west nave. Consequently, a chart is not provided for this church.[6]

St. Philip and St. Jacob

The church was built outside the city's medieval walls during the twelfth century, yet most of the church's structure dates from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. According to the church's history, there were many Victorian alterations, including the installation of new columns to support the roof, but no specific dates

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[5] 'Churches: St James', *About Bristol*, accessed 5 June 2019, https://www.about-bristol.co.uk/chu-08.asp.

[6] 'Churches: St John the Baptist', *About Bristol*, accessed 5 June 2019, https://www.about-bristol.co.uk/chu-07.asp; and 'Churches of St John the Baptist and St John's Gate', *Historic England*, accessed 5 June 2019, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1202022.

are provided. In 1867, the churchyard was levelled and some of the monuments were reportedly moved indoors and used as flooring or hung on the walls. Although legible inscriptions are recorded, there is no record of which monuments originated inside the church and which originated in the graveyard. All monuments currently located inside the church are included in the survey as, stereotypically, graveyards were not popularly used for stone monuments until the late eighteenth century. In 1960, there were 'spiralling maintenance costs' that nearly led to the end of the church, but new additions in the 1970s and 1980s revived the church as a community space for childcare, schooling and worship.[7]

Table 6.4: The year and type of reconstruction works for St. Philip and St. Jacob

Years	Type of Reconstruction
19th cent	New columns built
1867	Churchyard levelled and some monuments brought inside the church
1907	More gravestones moved inside and used as pavement, new pews installed, choir stalls and an organ installed [which have since been removed]
1970s–80s	Modern additions built next to the church to house offices and childcare facilities

St. Thomas

The tower of the church is from the fourteenth century, but much of the present nave was rebuilt in the 1790s by James Allen due to the interior being reportedly unfit for use. In the 1970s, the community decided that there was 'no

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[7] 'Churches: St. Philip and Jacob', *About Bristol*, accessed 5 June 2019, *https://www.about-bristol.co.uk/chu-11.asp*; and 'The Story', *St. Philip and St Jacob, accessed 4 June 2019,* https://stphilipandstjacob.com/history.

viable future for St. Thomas as a church' and it was made redundant in 1982 and then vested into the Churches Conservation Trust in 1988.[8]

Table 6.5: The year and type of reconstruction works for St. Thomas

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1716–32	The east end and west gallery were reconstructed
1793	The nave was considerably rebuilt under the supervision of James Allen
1878–97	Under the supervision of William Venn Gough, new pews were installed, the mahogany font piece was removed, a new barrel value ceiling was built, new windows were installed and the walls were plastered and painted
1982	The church was made redundant and it is currently administered under the Redundant Churches Fund

St. Stephen's

St. Stephen's was originally founded in the eleventh century but extensively rebuilt in the fourteenth century. Although St. Stephen's still exists today as a place of worship and retains several church monuments, none date from the period in focus. Any conclusion as to why this may be, would be speculative; but one possible explanation is that the church monuments shared the same fate of others previously discussed in this thesis and were either removed, damaged or destroyed during some of restoration or reconstruction works.[9]

Table 6.6: The year and type of reconstruction works for St. Stephens

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1703	Storm damaged the clerestory, which was then restored
1865	South wall rebuilt
1870s	The aisle and eat window were restored
1886	New pews put in

[8] 'Church of St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol', *Churches Conservation Trust*, accessed 5 June 2019, https://www.visitchurches.org.uk/visit/church-listing/st-thomas-bristol.html.
[9] 'Churches: St. Stephen', *About Bristol*, accessed 5 June 2019, https://www.about-bristol.co.uk/chu-09.asp.

St. Augustine-the-Less

The foundations of St. Augustine-the-Less dated from the mid-thirteenth century, but most of the church was rebuilt in the late fifteenth century. In 1708, the east end of the church was demolished for it to be extended by 13 feet. The church was greatly damaged during the Second World War, which led to the community's decision to have the church demolished in 1962. In the 1980s, the Royal Hotel was built on top of its foundations.[10]

Monument Statistics

In the early eighteenth century, Bristol was a successful port city and rivalled Norwich as the second largest urban centre.[11] In 1700, it had a population size of approximately 20,000, which grew to around 40,000 by 1750.[12] According to Jonathan Barry, early modern Bristol had 'more autonomy and greater civic traditions' than any other similarly expanding urban centre. These factors were likely due to the growing success of its maritime trade and affiliated commercial enterprises.[13] Between 1730 and 1760, Bristol experienced an economic decline due to trade being disrupted by the War of Austrian Succession and The Seven Years War. As Henry Bright, a merchant of Leeds, bluntly stated in 1742, 'the decline of

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[10] 'Churches Destroyed and Completely Removed', *About Bristol*, accessed 5 June 2019, https://www.about-bristol.co.uk/chu-16.asp.

[11] Sources state by 1700 Bristol was either second or third largest town and was the second largest port in England. See *The Trade of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. W.E. Minchinton, *Bristol Record Society's Publication*, vol. XX (1957); Kenneth Morgan, 'Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century', *The English Historical Review* vol. 107, no. 424 (July 1992): 626-650; and Jonathan Barry, 'Provincial Town Culture, 1649-1780: Urbane or Civic?', in *Interpretation and Cultural History*, ed. Joan H. Pittock and Andrew Wear (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991): 200-201 and 'The South West', in *Cambridge Urban History of* Britain, ed. Peter Clark, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 70-71.

[12] 'The Inhabitants of Bristol in 1696', ed. Elizabeth Ralph and Mary E. Williams, *Bristol Record Society,* vol. XXV (Bristol: Bristol Record Society's Publication, 1968): xxi; Barry, 'Provincial Town Culture', 200; and Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (Harlow: Longman Group UK Ltd, 1993), 404.

[13] Barry, 'Provincial Town Culture', 201.

trade [is] so great in Bristol'.[14] Bristol's economy continued to wain in the second

half of the eighteenth century due to growing competition from Liverpool and

Glasgow in the slave and tobacco trade industries. By 1800, Bristol had dropped to

the fifth-largest city and ninth most prosperous port-city in England.[15]

Bristol's economic progression was arguably mirrored in the number of

church monuments erected. The growing success of Bristol's ports between 1700

and 1730 was paralleled in the growing numbers of church monuments during the

same period. The shared patterns between chronology of commemoration and

Bristol's economy continue to be seen with a decline in monuments from the 1730s

onwards. The increased proliferation of monuments in the 1760s, however, appears

to be counter-intuitive to the declining economic profile of 1760s Bristol. However,

across the six urban centres, the 1760s was a decade of increased proliferation in

church monuments, so perhaps it stands to reason that the cultural movement to

advertise one's social status, even in death, overshadowed any potential lack of

income.

Upon further examination, the data reveals that a high percentage of the

1760s memorial inscriptions were in commemoration of single females or an

addition to pre-existing family monument. This apparent increase in the number of

monuments commemorating a single female may be explained by the occupation of

their husbands. At least half were wives to members of the clergy. Perhaps, this

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[14] UMA, Henry Bright to Allen Bright, 15 April 1742, Henry Bright Letterbook (1739-48), Bright Family Papers, 1980.0075.02794, The University of Melbourne Digitised Collections, Melbourne, Australia, http://hdl.handle.net/11343/111999.

[15] Kenneth Morgan, 'Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century', *The English Historical Review* vol. 107, no. 424 (July 1992): 626. For further sources on Bristol see Bryan Little, *The City and County of Bristol: A Study of Atlantic Civilisation* (London: S.R. Publishers Ltd., 1967); M.J. Crossley Evans, *A Grand City—'Life, Movement and Work': Bristol in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Bristol: The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 2010); Madge Dresser, *Middling Women and Work in the Eighteenth-Century Bristol*, University of the West of England Research Repository, accessed 20 May 2018, https://uwe-repository.worktribe.com/output/937808/middling-women-and-work-in-eighteenth-century-bristol.

figure indicates that household income and livelihood were not directly, or at least not solely, linked to the declining maritime trade. Another explanation for the high number of individuals added to family monuments during this decade could have been due to the fact that it required a lower financial cost to add an epitaph inscription to a pre-existing monument as opposed to the larger up-front costs it took to erect a monument in the first place; or, as mentioned previously, perhaps the decrease in the male population due to the strains of the wars affected the number of single male monuments.

Graph 6: The number of church monuments erected in Bristol, 1660–1770
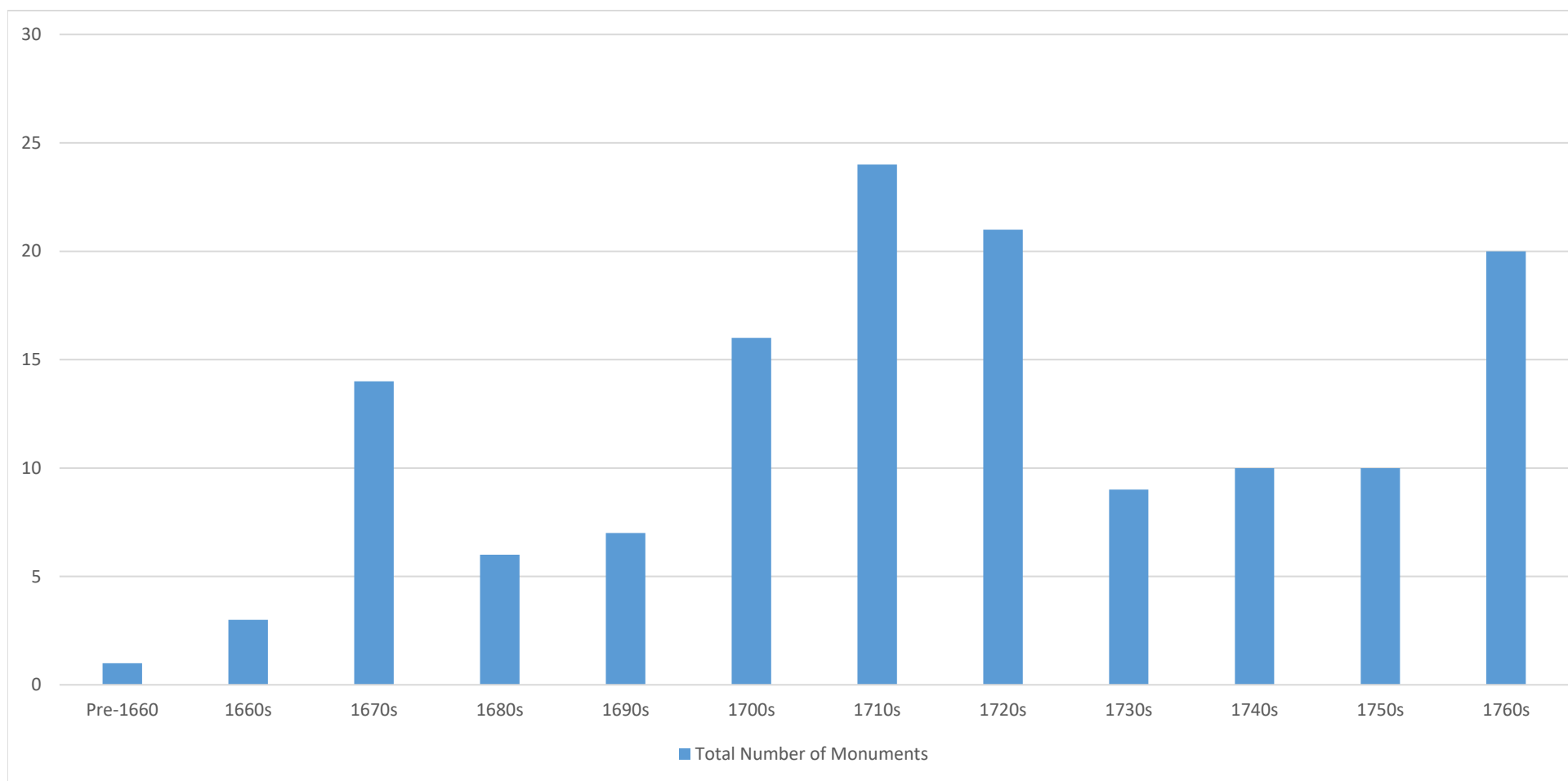
Graph 6.1: The number of individuals commemorated in Bristol church monuments, 1660–1770

Legend: ■ BRISTOL
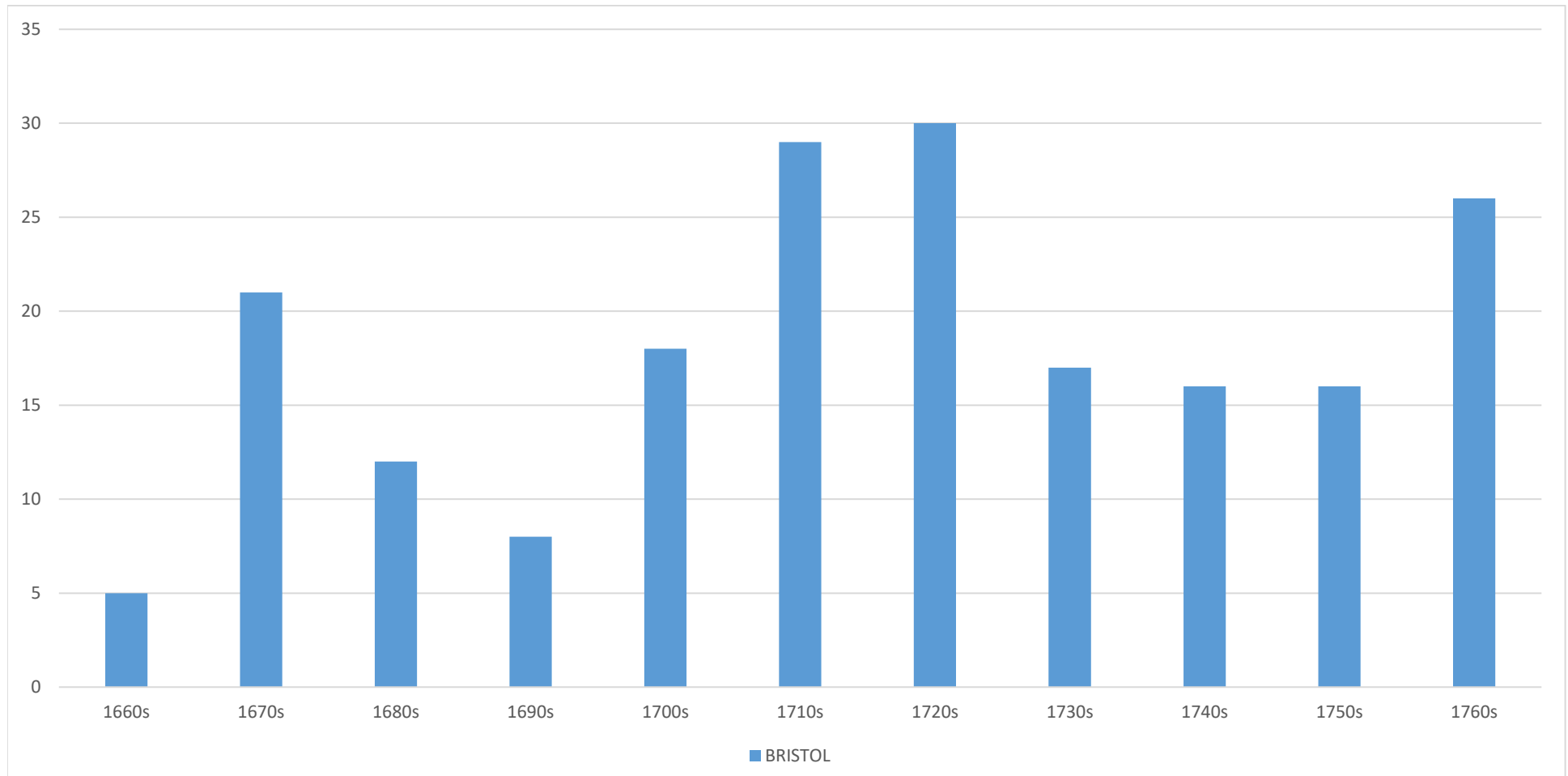
Table 6.7: Socio-economic/status titles on Bristol church monuments from 1660 to 1770

	Mr/Mrs	Prof/Trade	Merchant	Civic	Esq/Gent	Knight/Lord	Combo
1660s	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1670s	2	3	1	1	3	0	4
1680s	2	1	0	1	1	0	0
1690s	1	0	0	0	1	1	2
1700s	1	1	1	0	2	1	1
1710s	2	1	2	0	2	2	4
1720s	1	1	0	1	7	1	2
1730s	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
1740s	1	3	0	1	2	0	1
1750s	0	1	0	2	2	0	0
1760s	1	3	1	1	1	1	4

Hull

For most of its history, Hull was divided between two parishes: Hessle (Holy Trinity) and North Ferriby (St. Mary). Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the town erected two additional churches to serve the increasing population. Although Holy Trinity underwent extensive interior remodelling in the Interregnum period, it remained in a state of disrepair. As elsewhere, Holy Trinity and St. Mary underwent restoration work during the Victorian era. Air raids in World War I damaged the windows of Holy Trinity, but the rest of the church escaped unscathed. Today, both churches are in use as religious houses.[1]

Table 7: Number of church monuments per Hull parish church

	Number of Monuments in Church Dated Between 1660 and 1770	Number of Monuments ONLY in Antiquarian Sources Dated Between 1660 and 1770
Holy Trinity/Minster	51	42
St Mary	0	16

Hull Minster [Holy Trinity]

The foundation of the church dates from the early fourteenth century. In 1661, an act was passed recognising Holy Trinity as an independent parish church, and the patronage passed from the Crown into the control of the Hull Corporation. The corporation retained control until 1835. In 2014, the church released plans to reorder the church space as a venue for performances, exhibitions and banquets. The church currently houses a childcare space, a gift shop and a café. In 2017, the

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[1] Edward Gillett and Kenneth A. MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 208-209; *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 1, the City of Kingston Upon Hull*, ed. K J Allison (London, 1969), 174-214.

church was raised to 'Minster' status and, in March 2019, it was granted

£3.9 million from *Highways England* to create and expand its visitor centre, café

and exhibition space.

Table 7.1: The year and type of reconstruction works for Hull Minster [Holy Trinity]

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1711	Organ installed
1734	Pulpit moved to over the middle aisle
1834	Organ moved to east loft
1841–1845	Under H.F. Lockwood, the nave was cleared of galleries and pews, and new pews were put in
1859–1872	Under Sir Gilbert Scott, the exterior was extensively renovated
1882	Altar moved from east wall to its present central position
1906	Extensive interior work done to reinforce the pillars and rafters
1950s–1960s	Under H. Andrews, the roofs were renewed
2010s	Café, childcare space and gift shop installed
2017	Granted Minster status

St. Mary

Unlike Holy Trinity, which was granted independence in the mid-

seventeenth century (1651), the minister of St. Mary went against the parishioners'

request to be independent and the church remained linked to its mother-church of

North Ferriby. This relationship continued until 1868. The foundation of the church

dates from the fifteenth century. It underwent extensive construction and

restoration works in 1697, as well as in the late nineteenth century as part of the

nationwide efforts of Sir Gilbert Scott.

Table 7.2: The year and type of reconstruction works for St. Mary

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1684	Rearrangement of pews
1697	New tower built (with funds from the corporation)
1718, 1745, 1749	Galleries built
1751	Organ installed
1778	Pulpit moved from east wall to the middle aisle
1862	Exterior renovated
1860s	Sir Gilbert Scott supervised exterior restorations
1908–1912	Chapel built in the north aisle, chancel enlarged, arcades received screens
1930s	New priest's vestry installed

Monument Statistics

Hull's proximity to the River Humber positioned it for national and international commercial success. In 1700, the Aire and Calder Navigation Act improved the waterways and secured Hull's position as an influential manufacturing and trading centre in Northern England. Hull, according to Gordon Jackson, was not a site of merchant princes, such as Bristol and Newcastle, but nonetheless 'had an abundance of moderately wealthy men who were generally indistinguishable from county society, which readily accepted them'.[2] The boundaries of Hull remained unchanged from the medieval topography until its extension in 1837. The reluctance to expand beyond the city walls, despite its increasing population, was commented on by Daniel Defoe in 1726, who said it was

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[2] Gordon Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Economic and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 262.

'extraordinarily populous, even to an inconvenience, leaving really no room to extend itself by buildings'.[3]

The erection of monuments appears to have declined post-1730s despite Hull's continued economic success. However, at the same time, there appears to be an increase in, and continued popularity of, family monuments. In the 1730s and 1740s, family monuments accounted for the vast majority of monuments in Hull. One possible explanation for why there was an increase in the number of family monuments may concern who controlled Hull's trade and shipping businesses. According to the K.J. Allison, by 1702 Hull's trade had fallen under the dominion of 'a small group of local men', approximately two dozen merchant houses, which included Acklam, Crowle, Foxley, Maisters, Metcalfe, Milner, Mould, Ramsden, Savile, Skinner and others (many of whose names can be found inscribed on the surviving church monuments).[4] Monuments that commemorate a single male account for 42.3% of all surviving monuments in Hull. Single male monuments were the most common form of commemoration, with a peak occurrence in the 1680s at 72.7%. This ratio changed in the eighteenth century with the increased proliferation of monuments that commemorate two or more persons. Overall, family monuments account for 37.6% of all surviving monuments, but these monuments increased between 1700 and 1709 and outnumbered all other types of memorials until the 1750s.

As this thesis argues, monuments were material displays of status, and this heightened occurrence could suggest that men and their families were using

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[3] 'Hull, 1700-1835', in *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 1, the City of Kingston Upon Hull*, ed. K J Allison (London, 1969), 174-214, accessed 3 February 2017, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol1/pp174-214.
[4] 'Hull, 1700-1835', in *A History*. For more on the economic history and families of Hull see Gordon Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Economic and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); and Edward Gillet and Kenneth A. MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

monuments to negotiate their identity and establish themselves in the expanding commercial society of Hull. This strategy would, as time passed, provide an explanation as to why there was an increase in the number of family memorials between 1700 and 1749. The use of a single tomb to commemorate a family indicates a community that valued legacy, but also a display of the perceived idealism of urbanisation in which a family from the lower trader groups could, in time, become examples of industry and its monetary and social rewards.

It is of note that Hull had a very low percentage of church monuments, around 15%, that did not use any social identifiers in the epitaph inscription. This figure indicates a society that placed a good deal of value in economic and political titles. Between 1660 and 1720, the titles of 'alderman' and 'mayor', on their own, appeared on 14–22% of Hull's church monuments. This percentage outnumbers all the other six centres studied, which averaged under 4% of surviving church monuments. In addition, the cases in which these civic titles appear congruent with other social and economic titles [such as merchant, professions, Mr.] account for over 80% of the surviving church monuments in Hull.

These numbers correlate with Jonathan Finch's findings on Norwich's church monuments, which reveal a sharp overall increase in the use of trade and professional labels in the early eighteenth century. According to Finch, 'increasing diversity of trades and occupations was part of the broad development of an urban identity and increasing consumerism which, in turn, resulted in greater prestige and social acceptability being attached to their practitioners'; Finch continues to say that the reason these labels appeared more frequently on church monuments up to the 1750s is due to 'the significance of this early phase of economic activity', for it was 'the craftsman and tradesmen who were establishing themselves as new and dynamic sector of the city's economy . . . [who] sought to express their new status

and wealth through traditional media, including monumental commemoration'.[5] For

example, one of the by-products of a high social standing was to be elected to civic

office. Inscribing both their professional and civic titles, these early modern citizens

of Hull were establishing themselves as a powerful element of Hull's population.

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[5] Jonathan Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000)*,* 157 and 159.

Graph 7: The number of church monuments erected in Hull, 1660–1770

Total Number of Monuments
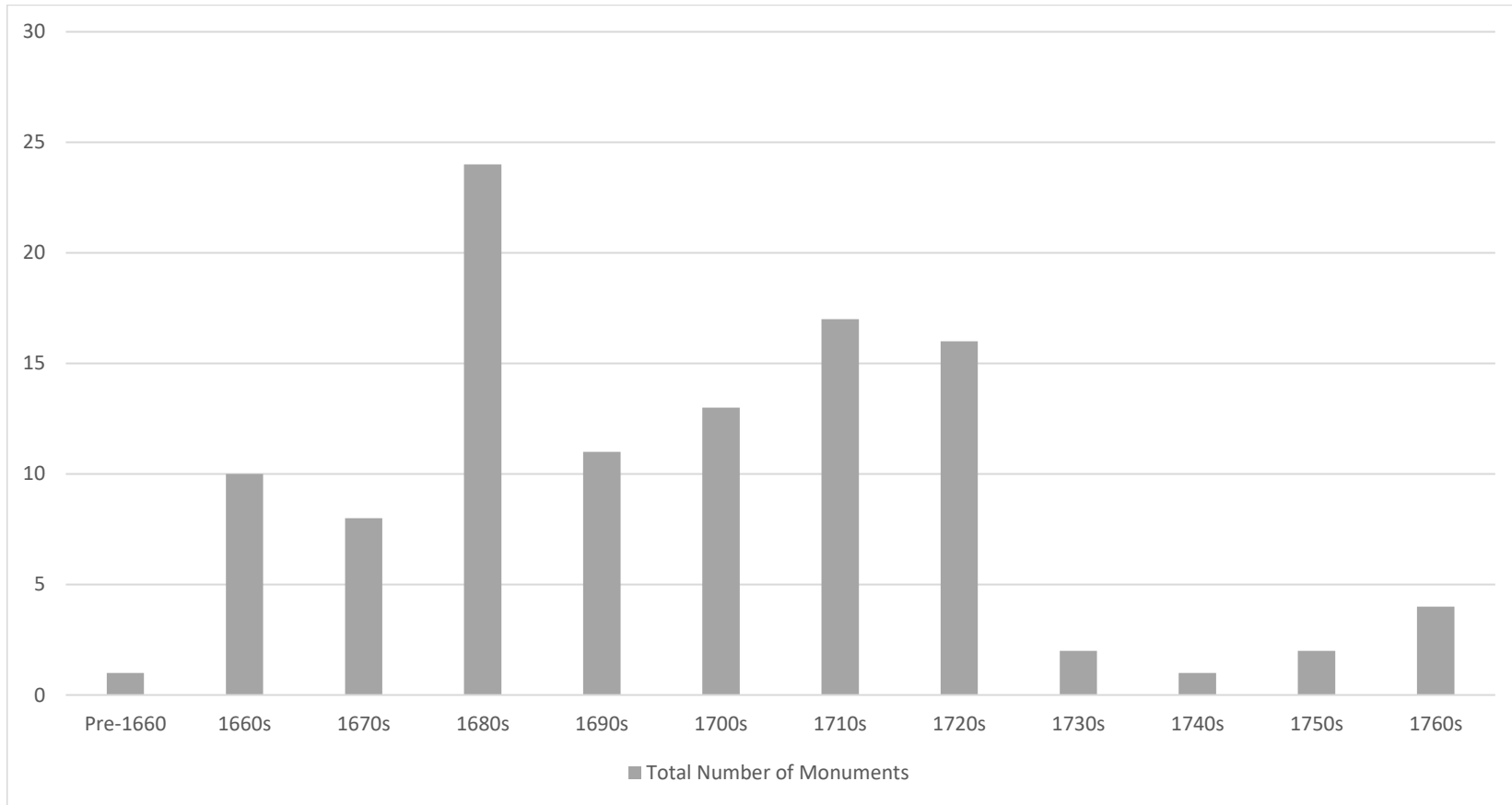
Graph 7.1: The number of individuals commemorated in Hull church monuments, 1660–1770
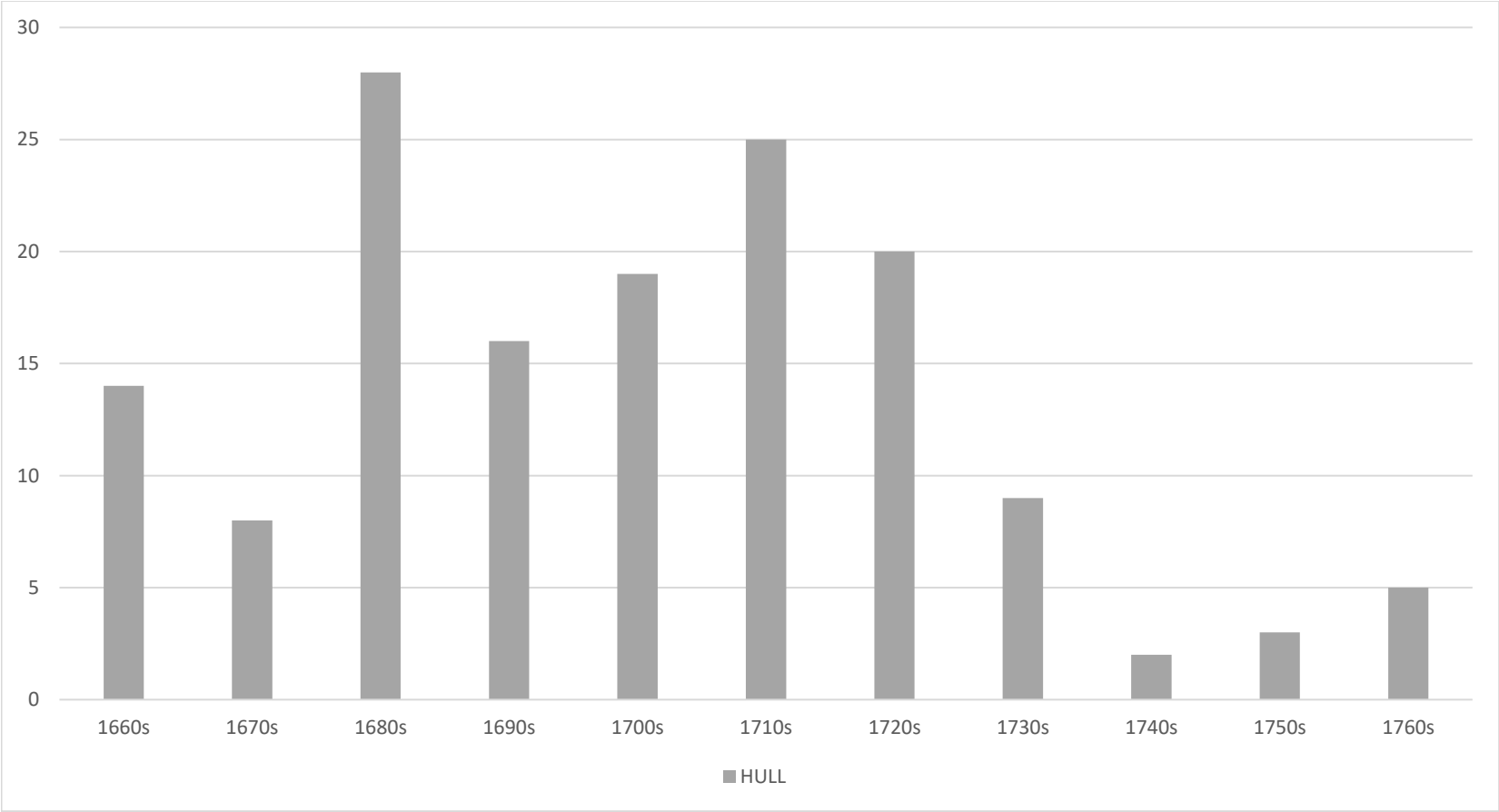
■ HULL

Table 7.3: Socio-economic/status titles on Hull church monuments from 1660 to 1770

HULL	Mr/Mrs	Prof/Trade	Merchant	Civic	Esq/Gent	Knight/Lord	Combo
1660s	0	0	0	2	0	0	10
1670s	0	0	0	0	1	0	6
1680s	0	1	0	6	0	0	17
1690s	4	1	0	4	0	0	5
1700s	2	0	1	1	1	0	10
1710s	2	3	1	1	5	0	7
1720s	2	0	0	2	2	0	10
1730s	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
1740s	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1750s	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
1760s	0	0	0	0	2	0	3

Leeds

St. Peter was the first recorded parish church in Leeds. It was built in the fourteenth century. This solitary church served the entirety of Leeds until the 1630s. It later became the location of Leeds Minster, which was built in the nineteenth century. The parish church of St. John is currently the oldest church in Leeds. It was built in the 1630s under the sponsorship of John Harrison. A third church, Holy Trinity, was built in the 1720s, spearheaded by the efforts of Lady Elizabeth Hastings. The other Leeds' parish churches were built from the nineteenth century onwards.

Table 8: Number of church monuments per Leeds parish church

	Number of Monuments in Church Dated Between 1660 and 1770	Number of Monuments ONLY in Antiquarian Sources Dated Between 1660 and 1770
Leeds Minster	31 (outside 17)	45
St John	16	0
Holy Trinity	1	0

Leeds Minster, St. Peter

St. Peter, now known as Leeds Minster, was the mother-church of multiple parish chapels. By the nineteenth century, 'the church was large but dirty, cluttered and somewhat unsafe', and in 1838, when the new vicar, Dr. Hook, arrived, he employed architect Robert Chantrell to reconstruct the church.[1] The church was granted the status of Minster in 2012. Likely due to the massive rebuild in the mid-nineteenth century, there appears to be no further substantial reconstruction or restoration works recorded for this church; thus, no table chart is provided.

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[1] 'History', *Leeds Minster,* accessed 5 June 2019*,* http://www.leedsminster.org/About-Us/History/.

St. John

John Harrison funded the construction of St. John during the 1630s. The church was threatened with demolition in the nineteenth century but was saved by Richard Norman Shaw and Sir Gilbert Scott, both of whom worked on its restoration.[2] The church was declared redundant in 1975 and then vested into the Church Conservation Trust in 1977. There appears to be little recorded repairs or reconstruction except for works conducted in the late nineteenth century after the church was saved from demolition.[3]

Table 8.1: The year and type of reconstruction works for St. John

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1830s	Tower remodelled by John Clark
1860s	Restoration works conducted by Norman Shaw on the south porch and a new vestry
1888	Temple More reinstalled original wood carvings

Holy Trinity

Holy Trinity was built in the 1720s via the charity of subscribers backed predominantly by Lady Elizabeth Hastings and various other wealthy Leeds merchants. Holy Trinity was refurbished in 2013, with the removal of all pews and an expanded café. This work greatly altered the floor space of the church and may provide an explanation as to why very few monuments from the period reside within the church. Unfortunately, as seen in many of the other churches, no recent work has been done to record the church monuments, so this conclusion is speculative.

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[2] 'St. John', *The Churches Conservation Trust*, accessed 4 June 2019, https://www.visitchurches .org.uk/visit/church-listing/st-john-leeds.html.
[3] 'Church of St John', *Historic England,* accessed 4 June 2019, https://historicengland.org.uk/ listing/the-list/list-entry/1375157.

Table 8.2 The year and type of reconstruction works for Holy Trinity

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1839	Upper tower added[4]
2019	Fund allocated by Historic Trust to clean the exterior, improve access and make general repairs and restoration[5]

Monument Statistics

Leeds in the late seventeenth century was a regional centre that economically thrived in the wool trade. In the late eighteenth century, local historians stated that Leeds 'has latterly been considered as the principle place of the West-Riding, and it bears a high rank amoung our manufacturing towns'.[6] Leeds' economic success was reflected in its population, which nearly tripled in size between 1700 and 1770, from approximately 5,000 to 17,000 inhabitants.[7] The growing success of trade also led to many of the physical changes made to the architectural landscape of Leeds, including the White Cloth Hall (1720), the Mixed Cloth Hall (1758) and many of its grand eighteenth-century houses that belonged to prominent wool merchant families. John Cossins' *A New and Exact Plan of the Town of Leedes* is surrounded by an illustrative border that depicts 16 of these grand houses, 12 of which belonged to prominent merchant families.[8] Unlike in

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[4] 'Holy Trinity Church', *Historic England*, accessed 4 June 2019, https://historicengland.org.uk /listing/the-list/list-entry/1255870.

[5] 'Works begin at Holy Trinity Church to breathe new life into the heart of Leeds', reported on 04 July 2019, *All Churches*, http://www.allchurches.co.uk/news/funding-grant-holy-trinity-leeds/.

[6] *A history of Leeds, Compiled from various Authors. To which is added, an history of Kirkstall Abbey* (Leeds: printed, and sold by all booksellers, 1797), 42.

[7] Population c1700 was calculated from Hearth Tax in J.D. Purdy, *Yorkshire Hearth Tax Returns* (Hull: University of Hull Centre for Regional and Local History, 1991); and R.G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: the merchant community in Leeds 1700-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 197.

[8] John Cossins, *A New and Exact Plan of the Town of Leedes* (1725), image provided in S. Burt and K. Grady, *The Merchants' Golden Age: Leeds 1700-1790* (Leeds: S. Burns, 1987), cover page. Nine of the houses are directly identified on the map as belonging to merchants, and

Bristol and Newcastle, Leeds' control over the wool trade continued to thrive post-1750 largely due to its position at the forefront of establishing trade networks with the American markets.[9]

The increased number of funeral monuments erected in Leeds during the first half of the eighteenth century may have been connected to the increased construction of other new buildings that were a product of Leeds' economic success. Trade in Leeds momentarily declined in the mid-eighteenth century due to increased competition and outbreaks of war interrupting foreign trade lines, but, as mentioned above, it recovered significantly post-1750. The ebb and flow of Leeds' economic profile parallels with fluctuations in the erection of church monuments. Larger peaks in the 1710s and 1760s, and the smaller peaks in the 1730s and 1750s, mirror the economic fluxes in Leeds' trade success. In addition, most church monuments erected in Leeds post-1690 commemorate families. Approximately 61% of all early modern church monuments in Leeds commemorate two or more persons. The apparent value of family in Leeds' memorialisation practices may reflect a society in which social mobility and family legacy was idealised and valued. Arguably, the culture of memorialisation in Leeds mirrored the wider social importance placed on family businesses and reputation. Just as family homes acted as social displays of power and status, so did church monuments.

three (Sleigh, Ibbetson and Sawyer), although not identified as merchants on the map itself, are identified in other public records (as well as their church monument inscriptions) to have also belonged to well-known and respected merchant families.

[9] For further reading on the history of Leeds see: Ralph Thoresby, *Ducartus Leodiensis* (London, 1715); John Mayhall, *Annals & History of Leeds, and Other Places in the County of York, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Leeds: Joseph Johnson, Rotation, 1860); Burt and Grady, *The Merchants' Golden Age*; Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants*; and R.G. Wilson, 'Merchants and Land: The Ibbetsons of Leeds and Denton, 1650-1850', *Northern History* vol. 24, no. 1 (1988): 75-100.

The title of Mr./Mrs. and occupational/trade titles were the most represented titles between 1660 and 1770, whereas merchant and civic titles appeared sporadically and in low numbers. The use of upper elite titles, including 'knight', 'lord' and 'baron', did not appear until the 1750s, but when they did appear, they accounted for 26.6% of monuments. It is unclear why these social titles emerged in this decade, but one explanation suggests that higher status individuals were moving into Leeds in the mid- and late eighteenth century due to the city's growth as an economic and social epicentre.

Graph 8: The number of church monuments erected in Leeds, 1660–1770

Legend: Total Number of Monuments

X-axis categories: Pre-1660, 1660s, 1670s, 1680s, 1690s, 1700s, 1710s, 1720s, 1730s, 1740s, 1750s, 1760s
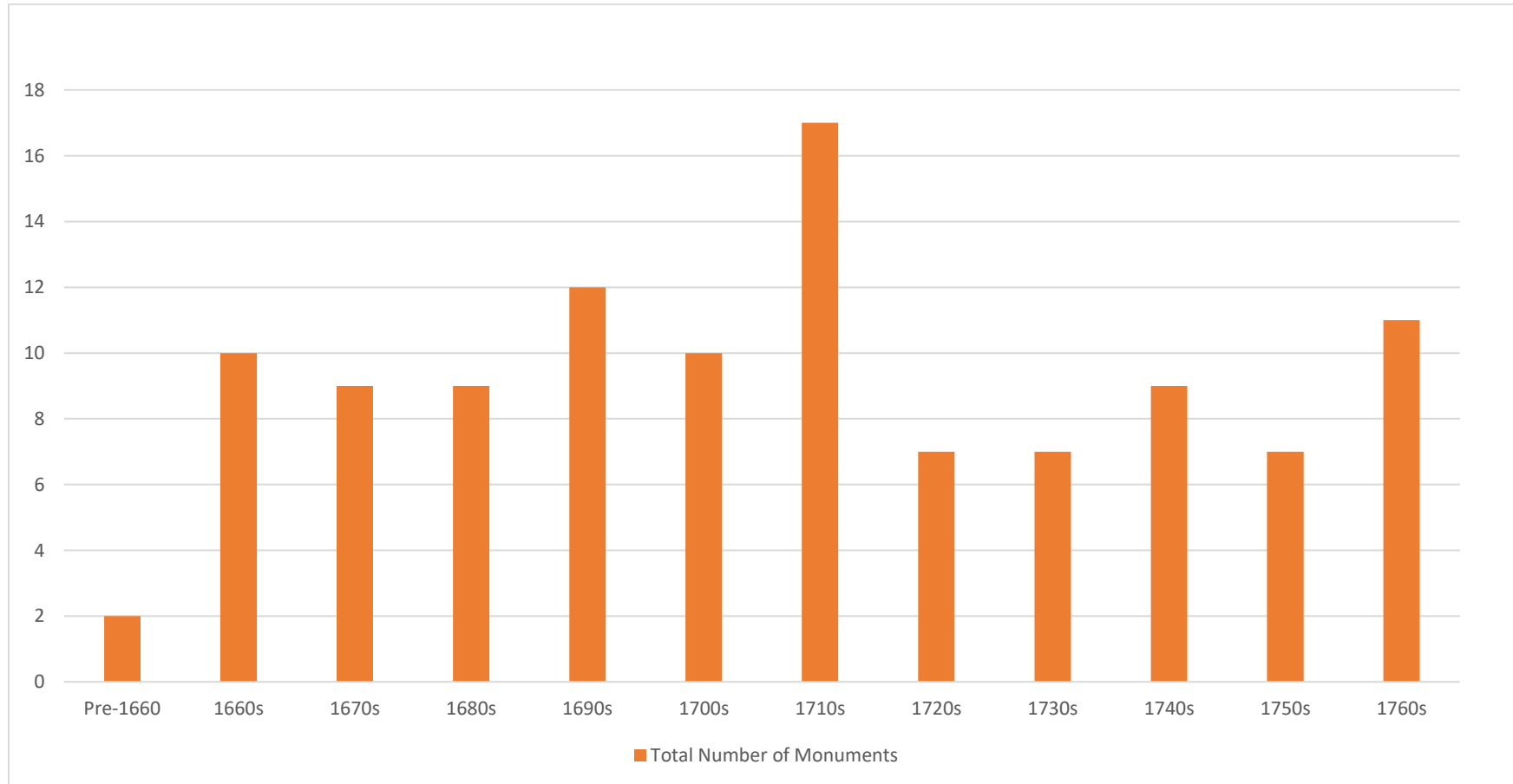
Graph 8.1: The number of individuals commemorated in Leeds church monuments, 1660–1770
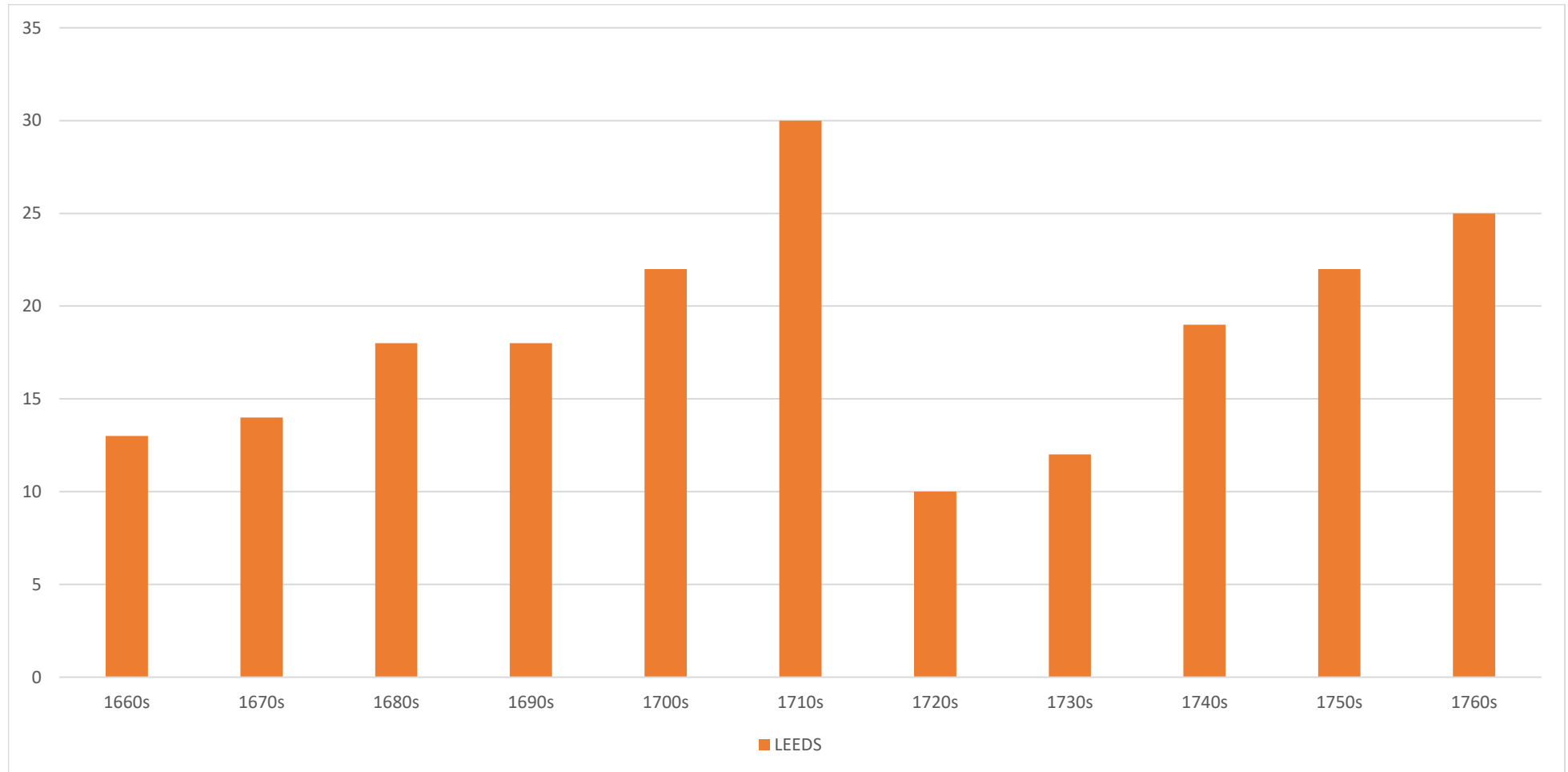
Table 8.3: Socio-economic/status titles on Leeds church monuments from 1660 to 1770

	Mr/Mrs	Prof/Trade	Merchant	Civic	Esq/Gent	Knight/Lord	Combo
1660s	2	0	0	2	1	0	4
1670s	0	0	0	2	1	0	2
1680s	4	2	0	0	2	0	2
1690s	4	0	0	1	0	0	5
1700s	3	4	1	0	2	0	2
1710s	2	2	1	2	1	0	8
1720s	2	1	0	0	2	0	2
1730s	3	0	0	0	2	0	3
1740s	3	0	1	0	3	0	5
1750s	5	1	0	0	0	4	3
1760s	4	0	0	0	1	2	2

Newcastle

Between 1660 and 1770, Newcastle was split between four parishes—St. Nicholas, St. John, St. Andrews and All Saints. All Saints was demolished in the late eighteenth century, but the rest remain open and accessible to visitors. However, many of the Newcastle church monuments survive only in archival and antiquarian sources. The issue of survival is particularly relevant for this city, and, as a result, the suggested peaks and dips in the distribution of monuments may be misleading.

Table 9: Number of church monuments per Newcastle parish church

	Number of Monuments in Church Dated Between 1660 and 1770	Number of Monuments ONLY in Antiquarian Sources Dated Between 1660 and 1770
St. Nicholas	27	36
St. John	0	40
All Saints	0	23
St. Andrew	1	44

All Saints

The supporting pillars at All Saints collapsed in 1785 and, after further decay, the city demolished the church in the late eighteenth century. A new church was built on the same spot, but any remaining monuments are no longer in the interior and reside only in the churchyard.[1]

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[1] Eneas Mackenzie, 'St Nicholas' church: History and architecture', in *Historical Account of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1827), *British History Online*, accessed 2 November 2017, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/noseries/newcastle-historical-account.

St Nicholas, Newcastle Cathedral

The foundations of St. Nicholas Cathedral date from the twelfth century, but it underwent extensive rebuilding in the thirteenth century. From the late eighteenth century into the early nineteenth century, the church underwent reconstruction efforts to transform the church into a cathedral.[2] It was elevated to cathedral status in 1882. This change was partly a consequence of the boom in Newcastle's population in the mid-nineteenth century, which also resulted in the construction of 20 new parish churches. Despite the massive reconstruction, there remains a substantial number of monuments from the period, most of them being floor slabs.

Table 9.1: The year and type of reconstruction works for Newcastle Cathedral

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1676	New organ installed
1777	Extensive church repairs and cleaning: communion table removed, chancel renovated, wooden choir screen installed, new organ-gallery erected, alterations to St George's Porch, pulpit moved to middle aisle, new pews installed
1882	Raised to cathedral status
1880s	Under the supervision of architect Robert J. Johnson, the interior, and especially the chancel area, were 'much altered'
1926 & 1984	A hall, library, vestry and subsidiary rooms were added on the north-east side of the cathedral in 1926. These renovations were extended in 1984 by R.G. Sims

St. John

The twelfth-century medieval church was greatly altered in the 1450s under the sponsorship of Robert Rodes, who paid for the 'raising of the nave walls with

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[2] 'A brief history of Newcastle Cathedral', *Newcastle Cathedral,* accessed 5 June 2019, https://newcastlecathedral.org.uk/learn/history-and-heritage/; and Mackenzie, 'St. Nicholas church', 235-255.

clerestory windows, the building of the south transept, rebuilding of the south aisle and the vaulted ceiling under the tower where his coat of arms can be seen'.[3] The church underwent repairs throughout the eighteenth century, with its last recorded restoration works occurring in 1818. The church contains no surviving monuments from the period of study; however, city histories published in the eighteenth century provide some insight into the church monuments that once resided there.

Table 9.2: The year and type of reconstruction works for St. John

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1710s	Porch rebuilt, and the north gallery built to accommodate 33 persons
1712	Communion table gifted by Mr Robert Crow was installed
1734	Organ installed
1765	'the church was beautified' [Eneas Mackenzie]
1785	Organ-gallery removed and a new, enlarged one installed; aisles levelled, new pews installed in the north aisle
1800	General repairs, cleaning and restoration works
1811	General repairs to the church structure and its pews
1818	North gallery built

St. Andrew

St. Andrew is a twelfth-century church. The church received considerable damage during the Civil War and underwent repairs in the late 1600 and 1700s. It was also repaired and ornamented in 1799, and it underwent extensive restoration work in 1818. According to Eneas Mackenzie, the interior of this venerable building has been greatly altered; and a consequence of the gradually increasing demand for seats means it is now crowded and disfigured with galleries.[4] Regarding church

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[3] 'A Brief History of the Church', *St John the Baptist,* accessed 5 June 2019, https://www.stjohn thebaptistnewcastle.co.uk/visitors/history/.
[4] Mackenzie, 'St Nicholas' church', 235-255.

monuments, there are a few within the church, although many survive in the churchyard.

Table 9.3: The year and type of reconstruction works for St. Andrews

Years	Type of Reconstruction
1707	Floor of church covered with flagstones
1711	New gallery erected at the west end
1726	Porch torn down and a new one built in its place
1763	General repairs conducted
1782	Old vestry torn down and a new one built in its place, with sixteen new pews beneath it
1785	A pillar in the north aisle taken down and the pulpit altered
1792	A gallery built in the south part of the church for the use of the charity-school children
1790s	General repairs, cleaning and restoration works
1810s	General repairs, cleaning and restoration works

Monument Statistics

Newcastle was a successful port city, estimated to be the fourth largest city in England in 1660. In 1700, its population was approximately 20,000, and it increased to approximately 33,000 by the late eighteenth century.[5] The city's main source of trade was coal. The Grand Alliance in 1726 solidified the city's control over the coal trade, with Newcastle effectively having a monopoly over it until the 1750s. Newcastle's prominence in the trade and manufacturing business culminated, in the words of Peter Clark, into the profile of an urban society ruled by 'the forces of the market-place'.[6] In other words, Newcastle exhibited signs of a

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[5] Population figures taken from Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (Harlow: Longman Group UK Ltd, 1993), 406; and John K. Walton, 'The North', in *Cambridge Urban Histories*, ed. Peter Clark, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 125-128.

[6] Peter Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community: Antiquarians and the English City before 1800', in *The Pursuit of Urban History*, ed. Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), 172-180. For further research see John Bailie, *An Impartial History of the Town and County of Newcastle Upon Tyne* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Vint & Anderson, 1801), *Hathi Trust Digital Library*, accessed 4 March 2018, https://babel.hathitrus.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hxjnj8

society in which those in control of trade became the 'merchant princes' of the urban community. They controlled the city's economic and political agendas and formed an oligarchy of businessmen.

The early economic success of Newcastle's trade networks and growing monopoly over coal was seemingly reflected in the higher number of church monuments erected between 1660 and 1730, with peaks in the 1680s and 1720s. As see in the other port city of Bristol, distribution of church monuments dropped post-1730. This was likely linked to increase trade competition from the growing port cities of Liverpool and Glasgow. Also, during these decades, Newcastle experienced some minor dips in the economy due to harsh winters, fluctuating political unrest (mostly brought on by contested corn prices) and the effects of foreign and local wars, especially the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. Occupational titles on Newcastle church monuments were the highest represented social group throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As stated in other city's histories, this was likely linked to Newcastle's industrial economy and the prominence of the merchant class. These monument statistics, like those found in the other five cities, point to a connection between the distribution of church monuments and wider economic and political fluxes.

&view=1up&seq=9*; C.M. Fraser and K. Emsley, *Tyneside* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973); and Andrew James Burn, 'Work and Society in Newcastle upon Tyne, c. 1600-1710' (PhD thesis, Durham University, 2014).

Graph 9: The number of church monuments erected in Newcastle, 1660–1770
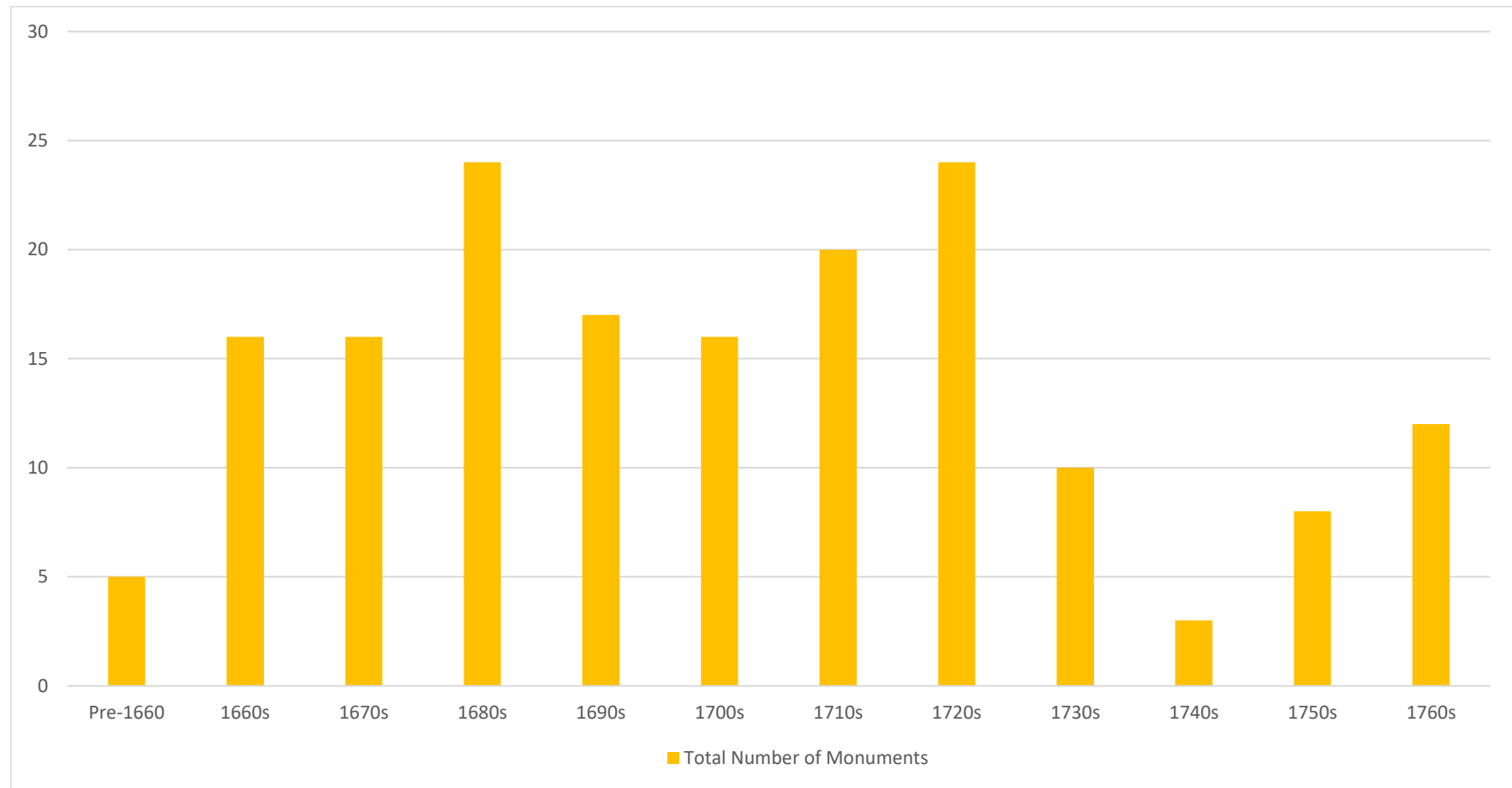
Graph 9.1: The number of individuals commemorated in Newcastle church monuments, 1660–1770
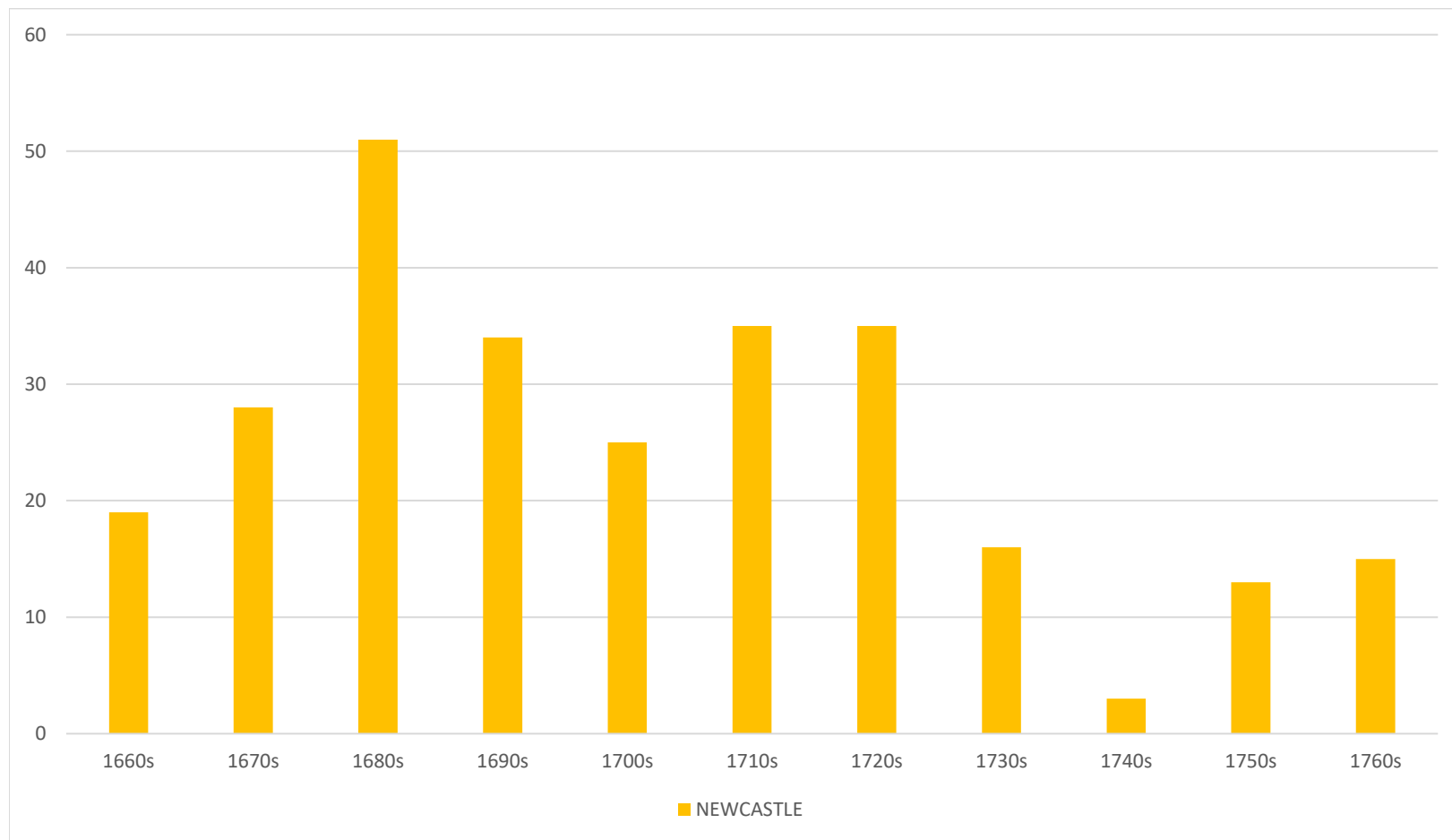
Table 9.4: Socio-economic/status titles on Newcastle church monuments from 1660 to 1770

	Mr/Mrs	Prof/Trade	Merchant	Civic	Esq/Gent	Knight/Lord	Combo
1660s	1	4	4	0	0	1	6
1670s	0	3	3	1	4	0	10
1680s	0	5	3	1	6	0	6
1690s	1	3	2	0	2	0	5
1700s	0	1	0	0	2	0	6
1710s	0	9	0	2	1	0	8
1720s	1	4	2	0	2	0	6
1730s	0	3	1	0	0	1	3
1740s	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1750s	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
1760s	1	3	1	0	0	0	1

York

Out of the six urban centres, York had the highest number of churches erected before 1770. There was York Minster and an additional 19 parish churches: Holy Trinity Goodramgate, St. Helen, St. Margaret, St. Martin Coney Street, St. Olave, St. Maurice, St. Denys, St. Sampson, St. Saviour, St. Cuthbert, St. Lawrence, St. Crux, St. Martin-cum-Gregory, St. Michael's Spurriergate, St. John's, St. Mary Bishophill, St. Mary Castlegate, St Michael-le-Belfry, and All Saints; during the seventeenth century, York was significantly damaged in the Civil War, including the churches of St. Olave, St. Maurice, St. Denys, St. Sampson, St. Cuthbert and St. Lawrence. Reconstruction of these churches commenced in the 1660s. Today, almost all the churches remain intact, except for St. Maurice, which was demolished in 1876. Several of York's parish churches have been deconsecrated and are currently in use for other purposes: St. Sampson is now a drop-in centre, St. John is a nightclub, St. Michael is a café, St. Martin-rum-Gregory is a stained-glass centre, St. Margaret is the Centre for Music, and both St. Saviour and St. Mary are part of the JORVIK exhibition sites.

Unlike the tables provided in the preceding city sections, primarily due to the large number of churches and restoration works, the construction works for each church have been condensed into a chart, with a list of corresponding dates (see Table 10.1). Dates with an asterisk indicate years of extensive reworkings, such as new pews, new floors or work to the interior walls. The restoration works conducted in the 1840s were by J.B. and W. Atkinson as part of their famous national endeavour to restore the churches of England to their former glory.

Table 10: Number of church monuments per York parish church

	Number of Monuments in Church Dated Between 1660 and 1770	Number of Monuments in Antiquarian Sources Dated Between 1660 and 1770
York Minster	16	21
St. Michael-le-Belfry	17	27
St. Mary, Bishophill Jr.	4	12
St. Michael	4	21
Holy Trinity, Mickelgate	5	9
St. Crux	3	21
All Saints, Pavement	4	15
St. Cuthbert	1	13
St. Deny	1	14
St. Margaret	1	4
St. Martin	1	19
St. Mary, Castlegate	3	9
St. Olave	2	8
St. Saviour	2	8
St. Martin-rum-Gregory	8	18
St. John	3	14
Christ Church	0	10
St. Sampson	0	10
All Saints, North Street	1	4
St. Helen	3	5
St. Mary, Bishophill Senior	0	12
St. Stephen	0	0
Holy Trinity, Goodramgate	5	10

Table 10.1: The year and type of reconstruction works for York parish churches

York Churches	Years of Reconstruction
York Minster	1730s, 1790s, 1860s, 1890s, 1960s, 2006
Holy Trinity, Goodramgate	1670s, 1700s,1790s, 1820s*, 1840s, 1970
St. Helen	1800s, 1850s*
St. Margaret	1670-1680s*, 1830s, 1850s*, 1890s, 1970s made redundant
St. Martin, Coney Street	1730s, 1770s, 1840-1850s*, 1940s, 1960s*
St. Olave	1660s, 1720s*, 1840s, 1880s*
St. Maurice	1660s, demolished 1876
St. Denys	1660s, 1700s, 1840s*, 1920s
All Saints, Pavement	1780s*, 1834*, 1850s, 1912
St. Saviour	1820s, 1840s*, 1860s*,1950s
St. Cuthbert	1660s, 1840s, 1860s*, 1910*
St. Lawrence	1660s, 1810s* (monuments date from 1780 onwards)
St. Crux	1880s most of the church was demolished
St. Martin-cum-Gregory	1840s*, 1875*, late twentieth century made redundant
St. Michael, Spurriergate	1820*, 1960s*
St. John	1850s-1860s*, 1960s*, closed in 1930s
St. Mary, Bishophill	1860s*, 1880s, 1980s
St Mary, Castlegate	1860s-1870s*
St. Michael-le-Belfry	1710s, 1820s, 1850s*
St. Saviour	1820s, 1840s*, 1860s*,1950s
St. Cuthbert	1660s, 1840s, 1860s*, 1910*

Monument Statistics

York has a rich history as a fashionable urban centre. This reputation grew in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. York had a smaller population than the other urban centres, at around 11,000 circa 1700. The population did not noticeably increase until the 1760s. By the end of the eighteenth century, its population had grown by one-third to around 16,800.[1] The registration of freemen reveals that the influential trades in York were mostly those that provided directly to consumers, such as victualling, clothing, furnishing and various professional occupations.[2] In addition to changes in its demographics, York, like other urban centres, experienced great architectural expansion and renovation to accommodate its residents' and visitors' need for leisure and social engagements: this included the erection of the assembly rooms (built in 1730s), the racecourse (built in 1755) and the Theatre Royal, which received its Royal patent in 1769.

York had an unusual pattern of church monument distribution compared with the other urban centres. There was a steady increase in the number of church monuments erected between 1660 and 1690, and then a significant decline, reaching the lowest number of erected monuments between 1700 and 1709. Perhaps this change was due to increased competition from the neighbouring cities of Leeds and Hull, which were starting to dominate the cloth trade in the north of England. However, numbers climbed once more heading into the mid-eighteenth century, with only a slight decline in the 1740s, before another sharp incline in the 1750s and 1760s.

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[1] Population numbers taken from 'The seventeenth century: Topography and population', in *A History of the County of York: the City of York*, ed. P.M. Tillott (London, 1961), 160-165.
[2] 'York Freemen', ii, ed. Mrs. G. C. F. Forster and Miss M. E. Sands, in *History of the County of York: the City of York*, ed. P.M. Tillott (London: Victoria County History, 1961), 166-173, British History Online, accessed 12 August 2017, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/city-of-york/pp166-173.

In York, the distance between the percentage of middling-sort titles and urban elite titles was widening in the 1680s; and from 1720 to 1739, urban elite titles nearly doubled compared with the number of monuments displaying middling-sort titles. This proportion switched from the 1750s onwards, however, when the middling titles appeared twice as often as urban elite titles. In addition, monuments that commemorate a single male comprised the highest proportion of interior church monuments from 1660 onwards. This shifted between 1740 and 1759 when monuments that commemorate a single female outnumbers those that commemorate a single male. This change was especially evident in the 1750s, when the number of monuments that commemorate a single female was double those single males. It is unclear why this shift occurred. Perhaps it was due to male citizens dying outside the city due to foreign wars, or, potentially, from increased competition and opportunities further afield that led male traders and manufactures to move outside York.

Graph 10: The number of church monuments erected in York, 1660–1770

Bar chart showing the total number of church monuments erected in York by decade. Approximate values: Pre-1660: 1; 1660s: 16; 1670s: 26; 1680s: 39; 1690s: 27; 1700s: 13; 1710s: 30; 1720s: 36; 1730s: 38; 1740s: 28; 1750s: 49; 1760s: 60.

■ Total Number of Monuments
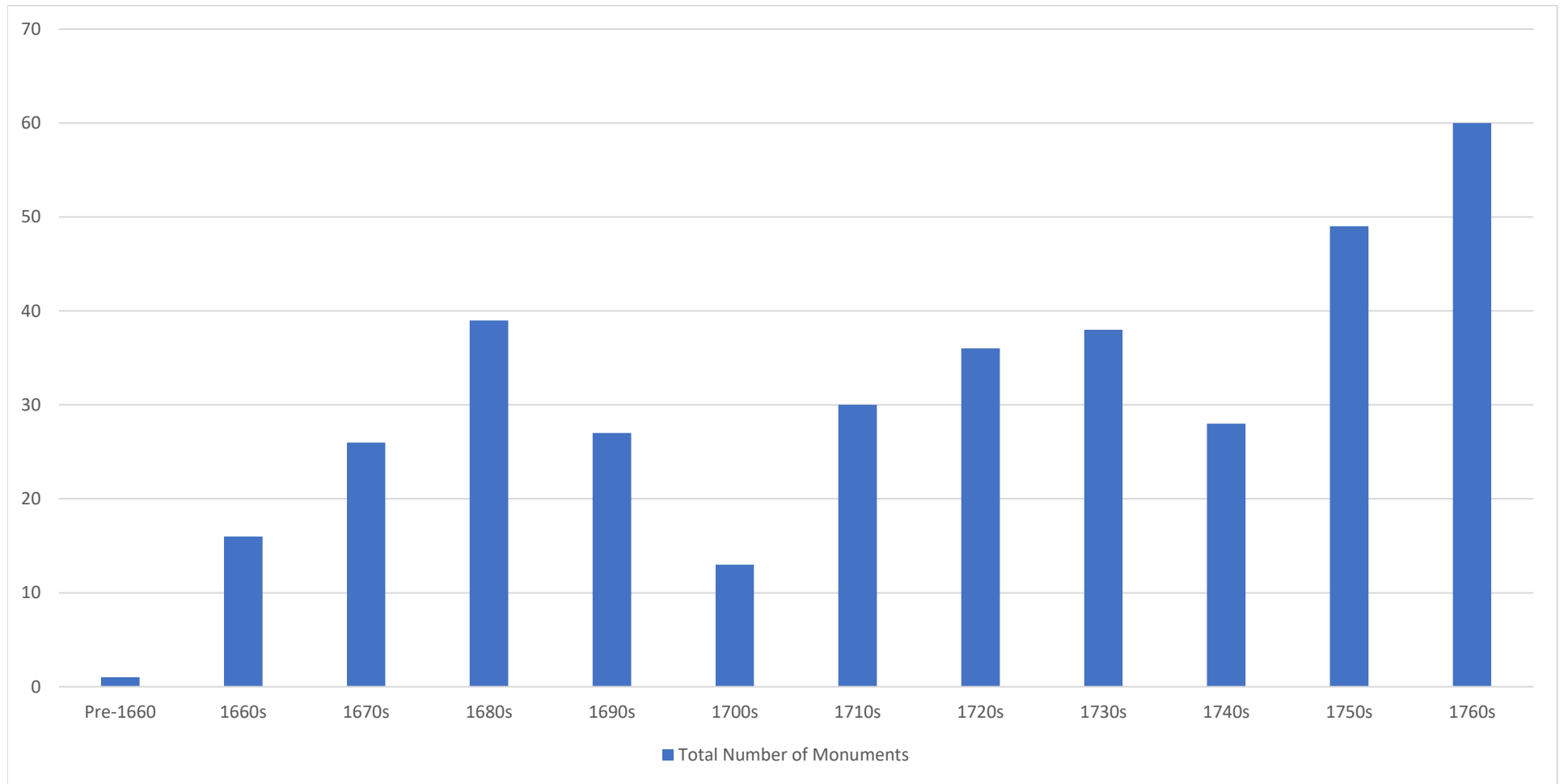
Graph 10.1: The number of individuals commemorated in York church monuments, 1660–1770
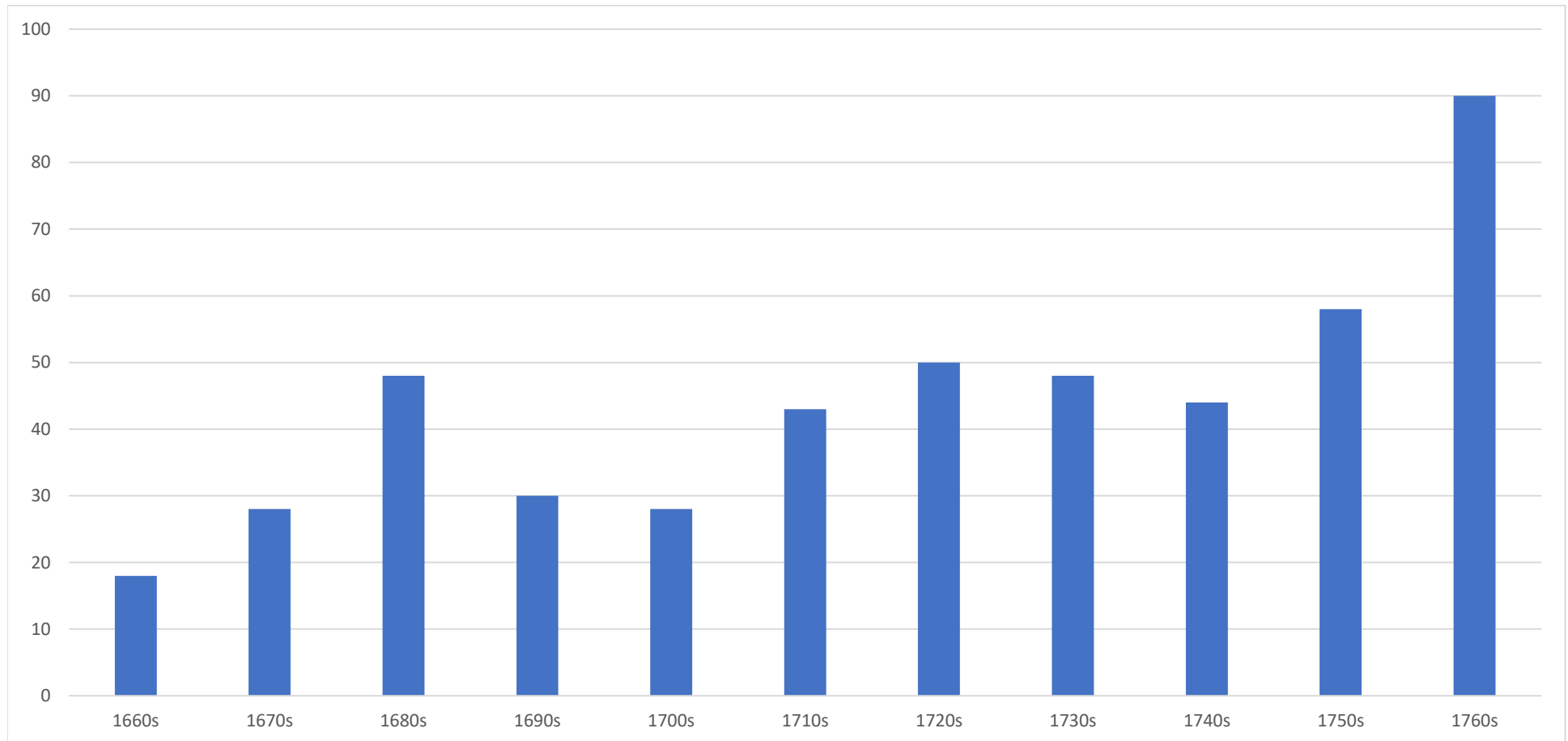
Table 10.2: Socio-economic/status titles on York church monuments from 1660 to 1770

	Mr/Mrs	Prof/Trade	Merchant	Civic	Esq/Gent	Sir/Lord	Combo
1660s	1	4	0	1	4	0	1
1670s	2	2	3	2	1	2	3
1680s	1	0	1	0	11	7	6
1690s	2	2	1	1	5	4	4
1700s	0	4	1	2	5	2	3
1710s	2	6	0	0	5	3	6
1720s	4	1	2	1	8	2	2
1730s	2	1	3	0	8	3	3
1740s	3	1	1	0	8	0	5
1750s	3	5	3	0	5	3	6
1760s	7	5	2	3	5	2	6

Conclusion: Overall Summary of Findings

This section considered shared trends between the six urban centres to determine whether there was a shared culture of urban memorialisation. The findings reveal that there were shared trends of church monument proliferation, including that the height of the distribution occurred primarily in the decades leading up to 1740, single men were represented on a higher scale than females and families, floor slabs were the most common type of memorialisation, and, on the whole, middling-sort titles outnumbered urban elite and aristocratic titles, especially prior to the mid-eighteenth century. In addition, as expected, the two cities from each urban categorisation—industrial provincial capitals, leisure provincial capitals, and growing regional centres—exhibited several shared chronological developments unique to each subcategory. The following section further discusses these shared trends while continuing to acknowledge that each city had its own unique profile.

1. The Industrial Provincial Capitals of Bristol and Newcastle

Bristol and Newcastle were port cities with manufacturing-based economies. Both experienced an era of rapid commercial development in the mid-seventeenth century, reflected in an increased number of church monuments during the same period. Unlike the other four urban centres, which had low numbers of monuments erected pre-1700, the 1670s and 1680s were decades of high distribution in both Newcastle and Bristol. Furthermore, both cities declined in overall distribution of church monuments between 1730 and 1760. This decline may have been linked with the economic recession experienced in those urban communities triggered by increased competition from the emerging trading cities across Britain. These competing cities started to overtake Bristol and Newcastle as the leading traders in slaves and tobacco. It is argued here that church monuments

were directly affected by economic standing; therefore, it is to be expected that the number of church monuments would increase or decrease according to wider economic trends—hence, the height of distribution was during the cities' economic growth pre-1700, and the lowest distribution of monuments correlated with the cities' economic decline in the mid-eighteenth century from increase trade competition.

2. The Leisure Provincial Capitals of York and Bath

York and Bath had similar socio-economic profiles as more consumer-centric, as opposed to manufacturing-centric, commercial economies. Daniel Defoe, in his *A Tour Thro' The Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–1727), comments on York's gentrified society as an 'abundance of good company here, and abundance of good families live here. . . . a man converse here with all the world as effectually as at London, the keeping up assemblies among the younger gentry was first set up here'.[1] Bath, according to historian Peter Borsay,

> was a city dependent upon image-making. Perhaps more than any other town in eighteenth-century Britain, its success and its very identity depending not upon what it was, but what it was imagined to be. . . Image, therefore, was central to Bath's economic livelihood.[2]

In the eighteenth century, both York and Bath were popular national destinations for genteel social events and engagements. It can be presumed that a society so preoccupied on visual displays of status would also invest in church monuments as additional forms of public demonstrations. This would explain why, prior to the 1700s, middling-sort titles outnumbered urban elite titles in these two cities, but, throughout the eighteenth century, urban elite titles began to grow in number and

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[1] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' The Whole Island Of Great Britain,* ed. Pat Rogers (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), 520.
[2] Peter Borsay, *The Images of Georgian Bath, 1700-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 19.

eventually greatly outnumbered those of the middling sort. This trend in commemoration, however, is reversed when examining the chronology of commemoration in the growing regional centres of Hull and Leeds.

3. The Growing Regional Centres of Hull and Leeds

Hull and Leeds were included in this study to trace the development of urban values in late up-and-coming provincial capitals. Neither of these cities exhibited urban economic growth until post-1700. Once the commercial trade of wool and other goods was booming (largely affected by the Navigation Act of 1700), church monuments increased in overall number, as well as a high percentage of middling-sort titles, similar to the patterns seen in the industrial provincial centres of Bristol and Newcastle. Hull and Leeds both had around 110 church monuments erected between 1660 and 1770, and both cities had similar population numbers and population growth: Hull's population was around 6,000 circa 1660, and around 13,500 circa 1770; Leeds' population was around 5,000 circa 1660, and around 17,000 circa 1770. Whereas the other cities had multiple churches to service their high population, Hull had two churches in service during the period, and Leeds had three. The similarities between the two cities' populations and the proliferation of church monuments are arguably linked to their similar economic profiles as growing manufacturing-based economies. The commercial success of these urban centres resulted in merchants and traders becoming the dominant authoritative social group in these urban communities. These groups controlled the mechanisms of the economy and subsequently held positions of power in the civic government.

The economic success of Hull and Leeds is further evident in their efforts to boast a social community like that of York and Bath. Eighteenth-century Hull, for instance, was described by a young William Wilberforce as 'one of the gayest places out of London' because of the 'theatre, balls, large supper and card parties

[that] were the delight of the principal merchants and their families'.[3] Yet, Wilberforce was deliberate in his wording when stating it was the *merchant* families who delighted in Hull's genteel society. Daniel Defoe depicts Leeds' commercial industry as 'a Prodigy of its kind. . . perhaps not to be equalled in the World'.[4] Leeds and Hull both have a high number of church monuments that commemorate families, and from 1660 to 1749, the majority of these monuments commemorated members of wealthy merchant families. Furthermore, although Hull and Leeds produced the fewest number of urban church monuments [bearing in mind both had low population numbers, nearly quarter to a half the size of the other cities], they have the highest number of extended epitaphs compared with the other four cities. It is these extended epitaphs that provide such insightful information on what urban society valued and idealised. It is these commemorative words that are further explored in the next chapter.

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[3] Gordon Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Economic and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 267.

[4] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Circuits or Jounries*, 'Letter 8, Part 4: Leeds and North Yorkshire', A Vision of Britain Through Time, accessed 3 June 2017, https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Defoe.

Chapter 3: The Language of Memorialisation: How the Dead Taught the Living to be Exemplary

We profess to reverence the dead not for their sake but for our own
Samuel Johnson, *Essay on Epitaphs* (1740)

In early modern England, it was common for church monuments to have a basic inscription that detailed the deceased's name and the date of their death. Sometimes, the inscription would elaborate upon family relationships, such as marriages and the resulting children. However, a few went beyond this to provide detailed biographies about the characteristics and behaviours of the deceased. Such epitaphs were most common on elevated wall-mounted monuments. The epitaph was the central feature of these types of monuments, and the words used in the inscription tended to focus more on constructing a representation of the dead than marking the location of the corpse. Within the 1,234 monuments evaluated in this thesis, 113 have an epitaph that provides more than the basic information and celebrates the dead for their exemplary characteristics and behaviours. These detailed epitaphs are referred to as 'descriptive epitaphs' for the remainder of this thesis due to their content going beyond one's basic biography. Although this overall representative sample is small, it is key to remember that most of these epitaphs were located on walls. They were elevated pieces of stone set in front of stark, white backdrops. This positioning made descriptive epitaphs visually dominant, commanding the attention of the living to gaze upon them and remember and reflect. These types of monuments arguably held influence over the laity and thus, although a limited sample, descriptive epitaphs nonetheless provide important information about early modern society via the ways people constructed the social identities of their dead.

As discussed in Chapter 1, there was a shared, increased distribution of church monuments in all six urban centres between 1660 and 1770. In addition to these trends, there was an increased proliferation of descriptive epitaphs. It is argued that these epitaphs were built to shape the memory of the community by using the dead to communicate constructed, idealised identities of virtue. The use of effigies, heraldry and other iconography assisted with this agenda, but arguably the most influential aspect was the language of memorialisation. The character traits and behaviours presented as exemplary changed over time. By examining changes to the language of memorialisation, it is possible to chart wider changes to social structures, values and beliefs. For example, a major change to the language of memorialisation was enacted by the Reformation, when epitaph inscriptions shifted to become more retrospective than prospective. Samuel Johnson states in his *Essay on Epitaphs* (1740) that epitaphs of his day were constructed to honour the dead and 'to incite others to the imitation of their excellencies'.[1] These epitaphs, as argued by Philipe Ariès, became 'patterns of piety'.[2] Jonathan Finch furthered opines the historical value of epitaphs stating,

> The inscription is probably the most important feature of a church monument to modern eyes. It provides information about who is commemorated and when they died, allowing us to place the monument within social and historical contexts. The function of an epitaph was apparently so self-evident that little interest has been shown in them beyond books of 'grave humour', which unfortunately highlights the unusual and comedic. The way in which the epitaph developed is important, however, and related to the changing role and function of monuments, as well as changes in religious doctrine.[3]

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[1] Samuel Johnson, 'Essay on Epitaphs', *Gentleman's Magazine* (1740), 498, accessed 2 April 2016, http://www.yalejohnson.com/frontend/sda_viewer?n= 112192.

[2] Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: Penguin Books, 1987), 215.

[3] Jonathan Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 139.

Yet, despite their social significance, epitaphs have consistently been an overlooked subject within the study of church monuments.

The purpose of this chapter is to add to the small scholarship on epitaphs by further exploring changes made to the language of memorialisation between 1660 and 1770. Monuments were a practice of idealisation, and representations of the dead were used to promote distinct codes of social behaviour. This chapter examines whether the increased proliferation of descriptive epitaphs parallels Finch's claim that the language of memorialisation reveals an 'unashamed pride in commercial success with honour and virtue'.[4] Such language also complements Matthew Crake's study on London church monuments to determine the effects the cultural movement of civility had on the language of memorialisation in the six cities of Bath, Bristol, Hull, Leeds, Newcastle and York.

This chapter is separated into four sections. The first section considers the established virtue of charity. Charitableness has been part of the language of memorialisation for centuries. This section discusses why the virtue of charity shifted from a primarily female virtue in the seventeenth century to a male one in the eighteenth century. Sections 2 through 4 explore words and concepts that appear to be entirely new additions to the language of memorialisation. Section 2 examines the ways memorials celebrate friendship as a useful and essential character trait. It argues that friendliness was presented as an essential trait needed to maintain the stability and continued progression of a civil society. The third section examines the word 'useful' and why it was momentarily added to urban commemoration in the early eighteenth century. The fourth and final section examines the appearance and use of 'affection' and 'tender' in eighteenth-century epitaphs. These additions are intriguing because although words typically

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[4] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 139.

associated with affection and tenderness (e.g. loving and beloved) have a long-standing tradition in the English language of memorialisation, these specific words appear to be recent additions appearing in the eighteenth century, but which grew in popularity to become common usage. Overall, this chapter explores how monuments were sites of living memory, and how the changes made to them demonstrate the ways the dead continued to do cultural work in shaping the lives that created them. This chapter describes how the language of memorialisation was utilised by the living to present the deceased, as well as those related to them, as people who not only complied with, but also excelled within the wider notions of civility and gentility.

Section 1: The Memorialisation of Charity in the 'Age of Benevolence'

The Post-Reformation period has been labelled by some historians as the 'age of benevolence'.[5] In 1749, Henry Fielding wrote that charity 'is the very characteristic virtue at this time, I believe we may challenge the whole world to parallel the examples which we have of late given of this sensible, this noble, this Christian virtue'.[6] Memorialisation was viewed as a religious duty the living owed the deceased. Epitaphs, however, extended the living's chance to do more than simply mark the burial place of the dead, but also celebrate the dead's virtues. These virtues expanded in the early modern period to incorporate both religious and sociable characteristics; however, the argument can also be made that sociable

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[5] This term is used in David Owen, 'Part One: Philanthropy in the Age of Benevolence', in *English Philanthropy: 1660-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964): 11-88; Claire S. Schen, *Charity and Lay Piety in Reformation London, 1500-1620* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 170; and Donna Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton Legacy Library, 1989), 11.
[6] Henry Fielding, *The Covent Garden Journal* no. 44 (2 June 2 1752), in *The Works of Henry Fielding*, vol. x, ed. James P. Browne (London, 1871), 78-79.

characteristics and religious devotion can and did overlap. Charity is one such example.

Changes to the language of memorialisation concerning acts of charity were affected by changes in religious doctrine and the resulting social attitudes toward charitableness. Charity was as much a social virtue as it was religious. Eighteenth-century Protestant doctrine stated that acts of charity were a religious duty, but that one should not be motivated by the hope of salvation, as it was taught in Catholic doctrine, but motivated by the knowledge that doing good was for the good of the Christian community. Theologians of the day, such as Isaac Barrow, William Talbot, Francis Atterbury and Benjamin Hoadly, all preached that charity was a virtue that connected religious and social life. In the words of eighteenth-century preacher Matthew Audley, charity was a naturally engrained duty 'as well as of revealed Religion'.[7]

This type of rhetoric was mainly associated with latitudinarianism. During a time when the Protestant faith was segregated into various sects, known by the main church as dissenters, latitudinarianism preached for the reunification of the Anglican Church, believing that, 'stability was possible without constant divine intervention; the spiritual order could be maintained; the church was necessary and essential'.[8] Theologians of the time, however, were not blinded by the cultural shift urbanisation effected on early modern society, and believed men could pursue their worldly interests alongside their religious duties. According to Benjamin Hoadly:

> Charity makes us omit oftentimes the Duties incumbent on us from our Professions and Callings. . . This is a very bad sort of Charity indeed, which is inconsistent with the performance of those Duties which are as indispensable as Charity it self. . . Assuredly, the

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[7] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Matthew Audley, *The Duty of Benevolence and Charity* (London: 1742), 11.
[8] Margaret Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution 1689-1720* (Hassocks: The Harvester Press, 1976), 18.

Christian Religion knows nothing of it: nor doth it deserve to be represented to the People, as requiring a Duty inconsistent with their own Duties.[9]

He continues to discuss how the motivation behind acts of charity should be based on how it 'warm us with such a Zeal for doing good'.[10] Hoadley's approach to charity parallels what historian Donald Greene identifies as Arminian sentiments.[11] Hoadly, and others like him, believed that charitable acts were a manifestation of man's natural affection toward his fellow man, and that such acts of benevolence were accompanied by 'self-approving' joy. Matthew Audely expressed a similar sentiment in a sermon given at the anniversary meeting of a London charity, in which he claimed that to lavish on oneself was a fleeting joy but 'doing Good to his Fellow-Creature. . . yields us a growing Satisfaction upon every Recollection'.[12]

Daniel Waterland, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and Archdeacon of Middlesex, took this sentiment a step further, stating the 'value of charity' was in how God did not directly provide for the poor because it was his gift to the wealthier sort as an opportunity to demonstrate their good works toward men.[13] The urbanised world enacted social change that prioritised the pursuit of private interests; religious tracts worked to reframe commercial and monetary values as not only virtuous, but also necessary traits that enabled and enhanced political

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[9] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Benjamin Hoadly, *A second letter to the Reverend Dr. Francis Atterbury, in answer to his vindication of the doctrine preach'd by him at the funeral of Mr. Bennet. With a postscript relating to his doctrine concerning the power of charity to cover sins* (London: 1708), 107

[10] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Hoadly, *A second letter,* 108.

[11] Donald Greene, 'Latitudinarianism and Sensibility: The Genealogy of the 'Man of Feeling' Reconsidered', *MP*, no. 75 (1977): 159-83. In this article Greene identified four principal themes as 'Arminian sentiments' which included 'the identification of virtue with acts of benevolence' and that such acts were accompanied by 'self-approving' joy. For more on the subject, see also Frans De Bruyn, 'Latitudinarianism and Its Importance as a Precursor of Sensibility', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* vol. 80, no. 3 (July 1981): 349-368.

[12] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Matthew Audley, *The Duty of Benevolence and Charity* (London: 1742), 13.

[13] David Waterland, 'The True Nature of Charity', in *The Works of David Waterland*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1843), 563.

stability and economic security. This approach to charity solved the virtuous

businessman conundrum, or as Donna Andrews phrases it, a 'remedy for

miserliness'.[14] Joseph Ryder, a Leeds clothier, expresses in one of his diary entries:

> commercial life actively promoted the self-interest that [one's]
> spiritual life told him to subdue. . . [there was] some little struggle in
> my mind about the proportioning [of] my acts of benevolence to the
> poor. . . I look upon it as my bounden duty. . . as God gives me ability
> [I long] to find my self more and more a cheerful giver.[15]

Acts of charity, as the eighteenth-century Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Secker

once stated, was the best cure for covetousness, as it kept the 'Love of Money from

fixing and growing upon us'.[16] Charitable donations, especially those publicly

advertised to the public, were one way in which the urban elite could counteract

and combat the negative reputation associated with acquired commercial wealth.

Of the 113 descriptive epitaphs, around 28% (32) present charity as a

characteristic of the dead, either by directly using the words 'charity' or 'charitable',

or by using similes such as 'benevolence' / 'benefactor' or 'generous' / 'generosity'.

In previous centuries, charity was commonly seen as an exemplary virtue for

women and was frequently used in epitaph inscriptions that commemorate a

female person.[17] This pattern continued into the late seventeenth century. The

epitaphs commemorating Elizabeth Gyare (d. 1668), Mary Frampton (d. 1698) and

Anne Hall (d. 1699) describe the women as 'charitable, prone to all good Acts', 'in

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[14] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police* 15.

[15] Matthew Kadane, *The Watchful Clothier: The Life of an Eighteenth-Century Protestant Capitalist* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013), 7 and 190.

[16] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Thomas Secker, 'On the Duties of the Poor', in *Sermons on Several Subjects*, vol. 3 (London: J. & F. Rivington, 1790), 247.

[17] For more on charity in epitaphs in Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). Preliminary research into early modern commemoration of charity on female epitaphs was explored in my Master's thesis Sarah Jensen, 'Englishwomen and Domestic Authority: Memorialisation of Femininity and Womanhood, 1600-1650' (MA diss., York University, 2015).

such charity she possessed the day', and 'her heart benevolent', respectively.[18] At the turn of the century, however, the sample population reveals that references to charity appeared less frequently on female epitaphs post-1700. From the 32 descriptive epitaphs commemorating charity as a virtue, six were erected before 1700, half of which commemorate a female; however, from 1700 to 1740, 18 epitaphs list charity as a virtuous trait but only four commemorate females. This trend altered from 1740 to 1770, with seven of the eight epitaphs celebrating charity commemorate a female. The sample population, although small, indicates that charitableness increasingly became a male characteristic during the first half of the eighteenth century. This section first examines why males were increasingly celebrated as virtuous, and then the ways in which charitableness shifted back as a common female trait in the mid-eighteenth century.

The continued appearance of charity on church monuments counters what other historians have categorised as a time when charity was in a decline. R.H. Tawney, for instance, argues that, after the Civil War, 'religious opinion laid less emphasis on the obligation of charity than upon the duty of work'.[19] This thesis regards epitaph inscriptions as complementary materials to religious sermons. Church monuments, like sermons, continued to preach charity as a needed and valued activity in early modern urban communities. The changes to how charity is presented in these urban epitaphs reveal how society was adapting traditional Christian beliefs into an urban context. This section, therefore, adds to the works of David Owen, Claire Schen and Donna Andrews, who explored how charity remained

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[18] All aforementioned church monuments are in Bath Abbey: Elizabeth Gyare's wall-mounted memorial is located in the North outer west porch, Mary Frampton's wall-mounted memorial can be found in the Norman Chapel, and Anne Hall's floor slab memorial is located in the North Transept.

[19] R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London: Verso, 2015), 264.

an important aspect of identity and belonging in the growing urban society of eighteenth-century England.

Donna Andrews examined sermons from 1670 to 1740 to reveal how 'the vision of a Christian community, tied together by gratitude and acts of kindness. . . continued to occupy an important place in social thought'.[20] She further states that the,

> English men and women of the eighteenth century judged it to be a great age of benevolence. They were convinced that a new phase in England's care of the poor had been initiated, vindicating for all time the superiority of the Protestant faith, which, while not making good works the method of salvation, showed its true Christianity by its overflowing beneficence.[21]

However, the importance of charity was not only religiously motivated, but economically and socially as well. As Claire Schen states, charity in the eighteenth century was used to 'accentuate social differences' by those in higher social classes who simultaneously used acts of charity to further their own 'worldly or civic goals'.[22] David Owen's *English Philanthropy: 1690–1960* argues how the urban middling sort monopolised charity institutions in the eighteenth century due to how such participation publicly advertised their community involvement.[23] In death, wealthy men could use epitaphs to negotiate an identity of a virtuous businessman who promoted an urban identity that was congruent with traditional religious morals. As Thomas Lynford stated in 1712, religious acts of charity gave 'due Regard for Trade, the Honour of this famous City, the Spiritual as well as Temporal Welfare of your Neighbours'.[24] He believed that acts of charity could lead to the

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[20] Donna Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton Legacy Library, 1989), 22.
[21] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police, 22.*
[22] Schen, *Charity and Lay Piety*, 170.
[23] Owen, *English Philanthropy*, see pages 12-13 and 25 for specific examples.
[24] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Thomas Lynford, A *Spiritual Sermon* (London: Joseph Downing, 1712), 9-10.

visual as much as the spiritual improvement of the urban community. Charity, as ever before, was a community service. Church monuments, put on display in the parish church, were an ideal platform on which one could publicly demonstrate his or her beneficence to the entire community—both current and future.

1.1 The Commemoration of Charity in Male Epitaphs

The appearance of civility rhetoric in the language of memorialisation is evident in an epitaph commemorating Thomas Lamplugh, a pastor of York. Lamplugh's father was the former Archbishop of York and was buried in York Minster upon his death in 1691. His son was his executor, but although there appears to be no surviving monument honouring his father, the grand standing monument that commemorates his own life resides in the south choir aisle of York Minster. The Lamplughs were a wealthy family and well known in the community due to their eminent positions in the Protestant church. The epitaph inscription describes Lamplugh as a 'Generous master' who was 'eminent for his general kindness, Hospitality and Charity'. Hospitality, as Leah Marcus demonstrated, was a way in which an urban gentleman could increase his reputation and authority within his community and with his neighbours; according to Marcus, 'great hospitality was a sign of great power'.[25] Ilana Ben-Amos draws a similar conclusion in her work on gift exchange in early modern England. Hospitality, especially within the households of the rich, was a 'type of reciprocal exchange in which issues of power and prestige, deference and subordination loomed large'.[26] Acts of hospitality could be seen as an exchange of personal honour in which hosting the less

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[25] Leah S. Marcus, 'Politics and Pastoral: Writing the Court in the Countryside', in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (London: Macmillan Press, 1994), 148.
[26] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, 'Gifts and Favours: Informal Support in Early Modern England', *The Journal of Modern History* vol. 72, no. 2 (June 2000): 315-317.

fortunate was viewed as an act of charity. The descriptive words in the epitaph all depict a man who gave back to the community. Lamplugh is commemorated as a pastor, but also as a husband, father and master. Thus, his benevolence is portrayed as part of his person, not as a by-product of his profession.

Post-mortem bequests to the poor were another way early modern people could publicly demonstrate their charitable nature. According to Donna Andrews' research into the wills of early modern alderman, bequests to the poor were in decline between 1690 and 1778.[27] She argues that this decline may have been caused by changes in attitude toward giving to charity because it was to deny goods to their heirs. As one commentator noted on the Mortmain Act of 1736, that 'one great Intention of this Act was to prevent the mistaken Charity of Men' who upon dying, give away, 'the Riches which they can longer enjoy and which are indeed the Property of their Heirs'.[28] Another possible motivation is discussed in John Dunton's *An essay on death-bed-charity* (1728). He argues that, 'giving large Donations to the Poor in their last Will, is no Charity' because it is viewed as 'a sort of Compounding with God Almighty for giving Nothing to the Poor in their Life time'.[29] Demonstrating a lifetime commitment to charity as part of one's personality was how one truly demonstrated they embodied the virtue of Christian charity. John Norris expresses a similar sentiment in *Theory and Regulation of Love,* in that 'He is fearful lest his Legacie should be lost, or not dispos'd of according to his Mind and Intention. And therefore takes Care to distribute a good Part of his Charity with his own hand'.[30] Henry Abbot states that the noblest display of charity is when it

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[27] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police,* 46-47.
[28] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Old Whig*, no. 67, 17 June 1736, reprinted in *Gentleman's Magazine* (June 1736), 336-37.
[29] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) John Dunton, *An essay on death-bed-charity, Exemplify'd in the Life of Mr. Thomas Guy* (London: 1728), 2.
[30] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) John Norris, *Theory and Regulation of Love* (London: 1694), 123.

'never looks Noble, never so Pious and Beneficent, as when the Benefactor himself is in own Overseer'.[31] Bequests to the poor may have declined in wills, but they continued to be etched in stone—a permanent and very public demonstration of one's generosity, but with clear directions on how their wealth should be given and to whom.

William Milner (d. 1740), an established member of Leeds' merchant elite, has an epitaph that articulates such devotion to charity. An elevated wall-mounted mounted was erected in his honour inside Holy Trinity (now Leeds Minster) specifically detailing how his money should be distributed:

> His Publick Benefactions were Twenty Pounds / per Annum to the Poor. Ten Pounds per Annum towards the Repairs of Trinity Chapel, and Twenty / Pounds per An. As a Stipend for Clergyman to read Prayers in S. Peter's Church at Seven o Clock in / ye evening.[32]

Milner was a wealthy merchant who earned a considerable fortune from his early investments in the wool trade and the Navigation and Aire Co. Act of 1700. According to a diary entry from the Leeds antiquarian Ralph Thoresby, Milner started in this 'world with little, being the youngest son' of a cloth merchant who 'now dealt for £80,000 per annum'.[33] The bequests listed in the epitaph are particular to the church and its responsibilities. There are direct donations to the church: repairing the chapel and a stipend for the clergymen to read evening prayers. The other, the annual 20 pounds to be given to the poor, was likely the responsibility of the church. Before the erection of charitable institutions, it was the

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[31] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Henry Abbot, *Unity, Friendship and Charity, Recommended in a sermon Preach'd before The Gloucestershire Society* (Bristol: 1713), 17.
[32] The monument no longer resides within the church. The transcription was taken from Margaret Pullen, *The Monuments of Parish Church of St. Peter-as-Leeds* (Leeds: Maney Publishing for the Thoresby Society and the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 2007), 190-191.
[33] Ralph Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby (1677-1724)*, ed. Rev. Joseph Hunter (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830), 30.

duty of the parish church to manage the community's poor and to dictate how donations were doled out and to whom. Thus, it is logical to see why these three bequests are specifically mentioned in Milner's church monument. It is a permanent reminder to the laity and the clergymen of Milner's generosity to the church, and more so, specifically that the dealings of the church could be attributed to his kindness.

Milner's epitaph also celebrates 'his private charities' for being 'large frequent and extensive'. His private charities are likely a reference to his many public benefactions, including commissioning a statue of Queen Anne, located in front of Moot Hall, and an allocation of funds toward the building of the White Hall cloth market. The epitaph was purposefully created to shape Milner's identity as the ideal urban gentleman who distributed his wealth toward the improvement of the community as opposed to benefit solely himself and his kin. The use of the church monument to display charitable works was a tactful ploy. The same sentiment can be seen in an obituary published in *The Leeds Mercury* upon Milner's death. The author recognised charity as a means to acquire fame and social recognition: 'a Gentleman of high Distinction in this Town, who lived in universal Esteem, and provided for the Perpetuity of his Name, by sundry great Acts of Munificence and Charity'.[34] The fact that the list of his charitable actions directly followed the commemoration of Milner's business etiquette should not be overlooked. In the epitaph inscription, Milner is said to have 'eminent Knowledge in that Business procured him the Regard as his uprightness in the Exercise of it did the Esteem of all he dealt with'. The list of his charitable donations was arguably

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[34] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) cited in Pullen, *The Monuments of Parish Church,* 190-191.

purposefully positioned after this declaration to quash any reader interpretation of his success in the commercial market as creating the rich miser stereotype.

Acts of charity, and the identities of the poor who deserved charity, changed in the eighteenth-century as the urban community continued to separate into broader and more ambiguous social groups. This separation is particularly evident in how famous authors of the day reimagined the classical rogue character as a beggar. Marcellus Laroon's engraving series *Cries of London* (1687) was foundational to this reclassification. Laroon invested the beggar character with a new identity and an important place in the urbanising streets of England. This new beggar is depicted as the 'criers' of trade. It was this association that gradually led to the beggar characters becoming indistinguishable from the labouring poor. According to Timothy Hitchcock's work on poverty in early modern London, it was these beggar criers who 'bridged the gap between the most marginal denizens. . . and more financially secure traders'.[35] This meant that beggars were not foreign strangers but familiar persons within a single community. This reimagined urban beggar reached a whole new level of visibility with the erection and spread of charitable institutions.

Charitable institutions such as schools, hospitals, Magdalene houses and parochial workhouses boomed between 1690 and 1740. These community and subscription-based organisations were intended to address the social issue of aiding, employing and educating the urban poor.[36] Nicholas Clagett states in a 1733 printed sermon that giving to charitable institutions prevents the upper sorts of

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[35] Tim Hitchcock, "All besides the Rail, rang'd Beggars lie': Trivia and the Public Poverty of Early Eighteenth-Century London', *in Walking the Streets of Eighteenth-Century London: John Gay's Trivia (1716)*, ed. Clare Brant and Susan E. Whyman (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2007), 76.
[36] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, 49-50. For more on charity schools see M.G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth-century Puritanism* (London: F. Cass, 1964); Jeremy Schmidt, 'Charity and the Government of the Poor in the English Charity-School Movement, 1700-1730*', Journal of British Studies* vol. 49, no. 4 (October 2010).

society from witnessing the poor 'lye languishing, and even expiring in our view'.[37] Furthermore, according to research conducted by David Owen and Donna Andrews, it was the urban middling sort who spearheaded the financial and managerial operations of these various institutions. It was the 'middle kind of people', wrote Richard Steele in *The Guardian* in 1713, who 'concerned themselves the most with charitable deeds'.[38] This sentiment was also expressed by Bishop Burnet, who praised 'the men of trade and business,' who are, 'generally speaking, the best body in the nation, generous, sober, and charitable'.[39] The link between charity, the community and the middling sort was a common topic in sermons and printed works of the day, but it also appeared in words of commemoration found on the descriptive epitaphs of urban church monuments.

The epitaph commemorating Richard Ford (d. 1733) shows how these institutions were not only instrumental in cultivating the virtuous businessman persona, but also how charity was repurposed in the eighteenth-century language of memorialisation within the specific context of community improvement. Richard Ford was the first name listed on a lengthy family epitaph located in the south transept of Bath Abbey (see Figure 4):

> Near this Place lieth the Body of RICHARD FORD Gentleman who was Senior Alderman of this Corporation, Twice Mayor of the City & Treasurer of the Charity School, till his Decease. He was a Vigilant Magistrate and an Orthodox member of ye Church of ENGLAND, an Affectionate Husband, & a tender Father, a daily frequenter of Public Worship, and a Generous Promoter of every good work. He died the 27th of May 1733: in the 67th year of his Age. In respect to his Memory this Monument was Erected by PRISCILLA FORD his Widow

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[37] Nicolas Clagett, *Sermon Preach'd before the Lord Mayor of London* (London: John Pemberton, 1733), 23.
[38] Ricard Steele, *The Guardian* (1713) quoted in Owen, *English Philanthropy*, 12-13.
[39] Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989), 11.

Ford's epitaph was atypical for its public recognition of his role as Treasurer for the Charity School. Yet, in its atypicality, it reveals that for Ford, and arguably his family, this position was a key aspect of his public reputation. It is clear from his various civic positions as senior alderman and twice mayor that Ford would have been a very familiar figure in the Bath community.
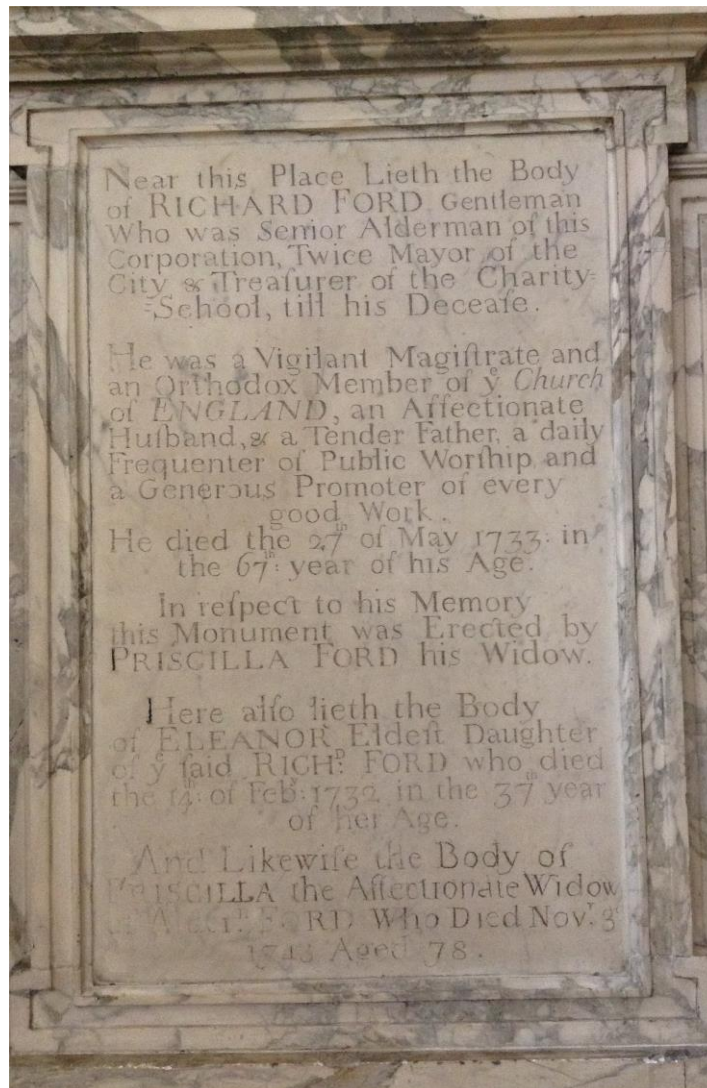
Figure 4. Personal photograph taken of the elevated wall-mounted monument of the Ford Family (d. 1733-1743), Bath Abbey, Bath.

The Charity School mentioned in Ford's epitaph was likely the Blue Coat School of Bath. A subscription for the school was opened by Robert Nelson in 1721, who promoted the school as a 'pattern of piety and philanthropy'.[40] Its purpose was to educate poor children of the urban community. The result, it was hoped, would be a virtuous workforce who useful skills would contribute to the local community's economy. The larger charity schools, such as the Blue Coat School, relied on public subscriptions. They were managed by an elected committee that consisted mainly of wealthy traders and merchants; those who were familiar with the organisation of a business. It was the 'middling folk', according to David Owen, who disproportionately founded charity schools. He believed this was likely due to the social perception that such participation was a form of self-advertisement for their virtue and community involvement.[41]

The public recognition of Ford's role as the Treasures of the Charity School, coupled with him being a "generous promoter of all good works", effectively provided the deceased with the means to project continually 'the image of a selfless benefactor, interested in public rather than [his own] private improvement'.[42] In *An Account of charity schools in Great Britain*, the editors state that the success of charity schools was evident in the visible accomplishment of producing a child workforce that actively pursued 'Piety, Virtue, and [an] honest Livelihood', and also in how the poor's active pursuit of these qualities calmed the mental state of the community—'the Ease and Security of all other People'.[43] Ford's

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[40] Samuel Tymms, *The Family Topographer: being a compendious account of the antient and present state of the counties of England*, Vol. II (London: 1832), 206.

[41] Owen, *English Philanthropy,* 25.

[42] Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in The Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 251.

[43] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Anon, *An Account of charity schools in Great Britain* (London: Joseph Downing, 1714), 3.

motives may have been purely religious and selfless, but the theology of the time also preached that religious piety and self-beneficence were not mutually exclusive.

Sermons given at charity school anniversaries told their audience of manufacturers and civic officials that charity would not only improve their current life, but their afterlife as well. Many Anglican theologians believed that acts of charity were the greatest public display of the Protestant faith. Their sermons commonly employed rhetoric that retreated from Calvinistic ideas of salvation to make statements about the theology of good works. William Talbot, Bishop of Durham, preached that charity was 'a means of convincing men of the reality of our Faith in the rewards of another Life'.[44] Sir William Dawes, Bishop of Chester and later Archbishop of York, said 'the *great Duty of Charity* was the '*likeliest* of *all* Christian Graces. . . to *secure* [Christ's] *favour* at the *day of Judgement,* and to *sit* us for *the everlasting enjoyment* of *him* and *Heaven,* in the *next* life'.[45] Francis Atterbury, in his *The Power of Charity to Cover Sin* (1708), writes that the 'vertue of Charity is of so great price in the Sight of God' that those who practise it are 'Entitled to the Divine Favour and Pardon'.[46]

Ford's epitaph depicts him as 'a daily frequenter of Public Worship' alongside his role as 'a Generous Promoter of every good work'. The specific use of 'public' with 'every good work' indicates a shift in the type of charity and its intended social consequences. Ford's acts of benevolence were not aimed at a general poor; they were aimed at the benefactors and institutions—he being a 'promoter of every good work'. Francis Atterbury once preached that it was up to

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[44] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) William Talbot, *A sermon preach'd before. . . governours of the several hospitals of the city of London* (London: 1700), 30.
[45] (italic emphasis in the original) Sir William Dawes, *A sermon preach'd before. . . governors of the several hospitals of the City of London* (London: 1713), 12-13.
[46] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Francis Atterbury, *The Power of Charity to Cover Sin* (London, 1708), 3.

the benefactor 'to chuse out the most deserving Objects, and the most likely to answer the Ends of Charity'.[47] Ford is an example of how wealthy men participated and enforced the new definition of who was the deserving poor. The masters of trade and manufacturing could fulfil their religious duty by giving to the labouring poor, who in turn worked in the industry that provided the wealthy with their source of income. Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, promoted this tactic, believing that the 'best Method of relieving the able Poor is employing them'.[48]

Targeted relief had been part of the Protestant ethos since the Reformation. Protestants criticised the Catholic's approach to charity because it was motivated by an individual's wanton desire for salvation. Theologians continued to promote Christian duty as the best way to demonstrate its superiority over Catholicism. It was a popular belief that charity should be for the betterment of the community. It was the rich's duty to give to the poor. This new economic thought and policy redefined the cultural guidelines regarding which individuals were deserving of charitable aid.

An example of the new deserving poor can be seen in a large floor slab located in the south aisle of Hull Minster. The slab was erected to commemorate the death of Mr. Edward Carleton (d. 1704). In the time since it was erected, modern additions have been made to the interior of the church, and these have subsequently and permanently covered parts of the inscription. The epitaph, in its entirety, was transcribed by Thomas Gent in 1735:

> Here lieth the Body of Mr. EDWARD CARLETON, who departed this
> Life in the true Faith of CHRIST, by whose Example he piously
> forgave his Enemies: He was generous, brave, just, and charitable,
> willing to assist all in Distress, ever true to his Friend and Promise,

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[47] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Francis Atterbury, *Sermons and Discourses on Several Objects and Occasions*, vol. 2 (London: 1730), 231.
[48] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Secker, 'On the Duties of the Poor', 247.

tho' to the Hazard of his Life: He liv'd belov'd and died lamented the 3rd Day of August, 1704. Aged 33 Years[49]

Carleton is identified as 'Mr.'; therefore, it is likely he was involved in a trade or certain profession.[50] In comparison with other Hull church monuments, a combination of social titles was the most common, at 44% (48/109). As such, it seems likely that if Edward Carleton had ever attained political authority as an alderman or mayor, or was also a merchant, or had earned enough wealth to purchase land and become an esquire, his epitaph would have listed these additional social titles. His relatives, who are commemorated on separate floor slabs in Hull Minster, support this conclusion as a middling-sort family: they are identified as Mrs. Dinah Carelton (d. 1690), Mr. John Carleton (d. 1674), who is further identified as 'Master and Mariner', his son, William Carleton (d. 1705), was a 'divine Philosopher' and 'Gentleman', and lastly, William's daughter, Dinah Carleton (d. 1731), married John Monckton, a Mayor of Hull.[51] Individuals needed to receive permission from church officials to be buried and have a monument erected in their memory. This, in addition to the fact that interment and church monuments could cost a substantial amount of money, means it is highly probable that Carleton and his family had a higher degree of wealth than normally expected of the urban working sort. Thus, as a presumed wealthier member of the Hull community, Edward Carleton's public identity would have likely been tested against the popular 'miser' stereotypes of the time; to give to charity was the best cure for miserliness.

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[49] Thomas Gent, *Annales regioduni Hullini* (Hull: M.C. Peck, 1735), 27-28.

[50] No additional biographical information could be found on Edward Carleton either in *Oxford English Dictionary of Biographies*, nor in the antiquarian sources, nor in any secondary sources on Hull and its residents consulted for this thesis.

[51] Mrs. Dinah Carleton's floor slab is located in the great aisle of Hull Minster, Mr. John Carleton and his son William's epitaph is located near the organ [as was Edward Carleton's], and Dinah (Carleton) Monckton's memorial is located in the south aisle of Hull Minster.

Carleton was identified as dying in 'the true Faith of Christ'. He was depicted as a man who was forgiving 'generous . . . charitable, willing to assist all in Distress'. The 'distress' was an indication of who benefited from Carleton's generosity. In the eighteenth century, 'political arithmeticians', as Donna Andrews describes them, believed that a wealthy, prosperous state relied on the virtue of its working population. According to their ethos, the poor who were deserving of charitable aid, especially from the commercial community, were the labouring poor. The distressed were the deserving poor who had fallen upon hard times. William Temple, a clothier, defined the states of distress as 'in times of sickness, dearth, [or] want of work'.[52] They were differentiable from the undeserving poor, who were stereotyped as the sinful vagabonds and beggars of city streets. The distressed were those who were once prosperous but had since found themselves in a diminished state. Such members of society were illustrated in the works of Hogarth's *The Distrest Poet* (1736) and in Ambrose Philip's play *The Distrest Mother* (1717). Similar rhetoric is used in the epitaph commemorating Robert Crowne, Esq. (d. 1741) as a 'compassionate Reliever of the Distress'd' [Bristol Cathedral] and the epitaph to Mary Ford (d. 1749), who was remembered for her role as a 'Benefactor to the Poor & Distrest' [Bath Abbey].[53]

Brewer Henry Dighton (d. 1741) is commemorated in an elevated wall-mounted monument located left of the entrance to St James parish church, Bristol (see Figure 5). When his name was added to his family's monument, it detailed his post-mortem bequests to the poor. According to the epitaph, the donation of, 'five pounds p annum for ever' was to be 'bestowed on ten coats & given to ten poore men of this parish not receving almes yearly against winter'. The inscription

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[52] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police*, 139.
[53] Robert Crowne's monument can be found in the south choir aisle of Bristol Cathedral and Mary Ford's monument can be found on the south wall, south transept of Bath Abbey

targeted a specific type of deserving poor. According to Dighton's epitaph inscription, men who did not qualify for poor relief were granted his post-mortem bequests. He was pinpointing the labouring poor as those deserving charitable aid. To give to the working poor enforced the urban hierarchy and promoted industry, all while under the pretence of religious piety. As Richard Grey stated in one of his sermons, charity 'by consequence promotes the Harmony and Subordination, in which the Peace and Happiness of Society consists'.[54]

Figure 5. Personal photograph of the elevated wall-mounted monument commemorating Henry Dighton (d.1741), St. James, Bristol.

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[54] Richard Grey, *A Sermon before the Governours of Northampton County Infirmary for the Sick and Lame* (London: 1744), 22.

Peace and stability in the new urban economy were only accomplished if all involved, including all rungs of the social hierarchy, worked together toward its success. Charity in the eighteenth century was to promote productive labour. According to political economist and merchant Matthew Decker, 'not only did regular care afforded by parish relief encourage sloth, but charity itself, given indiscriminately to beggars or through casual solicitation, contributed to the same evil'.[55] Epitaphs such as those of Carleton, Crowne and Ford reflect wider changes to the social rhetoric and practices of charity. The deserving poor were associated with the labouring poor as well as fellow members of the middling sort who had fallen from grace yet who retained the work ethos prized by those involved with industry.

1.2 The Commemoration of Charity in Female Epitaphs

The previous section considered how male commemoration used acts of charity to promote a virtuous identity that complemented traditions and religious customs with new urban values. It showed how memorialisation offered a public stage on which men could establish and negotiate their status and reputation as virtuous businessmen. This section discusses how females used epitaphs to gain public recognition as charitable people. From around the 1740s onwards, epitaphs celebrating the lives of women increasingly reintroduced charity as an exemplary female virtue. In the sample population, approximately 87.5% (7) of charity epitaphs erected circa 1740–1770 commemorate women. Before discussing why charity in female commemoration increased in this period, the reasons for its apparent decrease beforehand need to be addressed.

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[55] Matthew Decker, *An Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade* [1744], 2nd edition, (Dublin: G. Faulkner 1749), 32.

In the seventeenth century, it was common practice for women to place control of charitable bequests in the hands of a patriarchal authority, whether it be her husband, a male acquaintance or the churchwardens.[56] Thomas Gent recalls in his *Hullini* how the wife of a Joseph Ellis (d. 1683), who was buried near the church door of Hull Minster, 'piously persuaded' her husband that upon her death he was to 'deposit sixty pounds in the hands of the Mayor and Alderman of Hull, so that the interest. . . might purchase Coal for the Use of the said poor Widows'.[57] This may explain why charity bequests to the poor do not appear in female epitaphs. Dorice Elliot's research on female philanthropy found that the formation of charity institutions as joint-stock businesses restricted the ways in which women could participate in community-sanctioned acts of charity. Her analysis of Sarah Scott's *Millenium Hall* (1762) looked at how female writers were reclaiming 'women's traditional prerogatives from a new of philanthropic practice that threatened to exclude them'.[58] Karen Soonelitter, on the other hand, suggests that male dominance in eighteenth-century charity culture did not stop women from 'participating in philanthropy' but, instead, took focus away from female acts of charity so 'that they rarely received public recognition'.[59] These suggestions provide some explanations as to why charity appeared to recede from early eighteenth-century female commemoration. Its reintroduction into the language of memorialisation could be accredited to wider shifts in female social and economic standing. This section considers the women celebrated for their charitableness in death and what that may reveal about the society they lived and died in.

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[56] Schen, *Charity and Lay Piety*, 176-177.

[57] (capitalisation emphasis in the original Gent, *Annales*, 30.

[58] Dorice William Elliot, 'Sarah Scott's Millennium Hall and Female Philanthropy', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* vol. 35, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 535-536.

[59] Karen Sonnelitter, *Charity Movement in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Philanthropy and Improvement* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 123.

Mrs. Catherine Wilson (d. 1736), the wife of a York merchant, is depicted in her epitaph as 'a shining Pattern of her sex' because 'she was eminent for Piety, Charity, and Humility, and was of a mild, peaceable and obliging Temper'.[60] By praising her 'Piety, Charity and Humility', Wilson's epitaph is reminiscent of the stereotypical female epitaph popular in the seventeenth century. However, it differs from previously erected epitaphs by also celebrating her more sociable characteristics of 'a mild, peaceable and obliging Temper'. In the early modern period, attributes of civility were perceived to be natural, but how they manifested in social ceremonies and mannerisms were through politeness. Wilson embodied the natural characteristics of civility—piety, charity, and humility—as well as the mannerism of politeness—mild, peaceable and obliging. It was these characteristics, as Captain Edward Panton stated, that were examples of 'polished Civility' that 'gives us the reputation of being Gentlemen'.[61] Wilson's epitaph is an example of how charity was being incorporated into an ideal exemplar of femininity and gentility.

The epitaph of Mary Smyth (d.1742) is similarly worded to Wilson's but employs more elaborate, sentimental language. Located in north nave aisle of Hull Minster, Mary is commemorated alongside her husband, Jeremiah (see Figure 6). The epitaph inscription claims it was erected out of 'Affection to both', but it was only 'her uncommon merit' that inspired the descriptive epitaph:

> Good Works to purest Faith she ever joyn'd,
> Sincerely pious and discreetly kind.
> She taught th' afflicted to forget their Grief;
> And chear's the needy with unmask'd Relief.
> God's Presence in his House she daily fought,

[60] Church monument to Mrs. Catherine Wilson is located in St John church, York, left of the altar. The monument still resides, but I was unable to get access to the church to get a photo.
[61] Captain Edward Panton, *Speculum Juventutis* (London: Printed for Charles Smith, and Thomas Burrell, 1671), 149-50.

When not prevented by the Good she wrought.

Reader admire and copy all her Ways,

For Imitation is the End of Praise
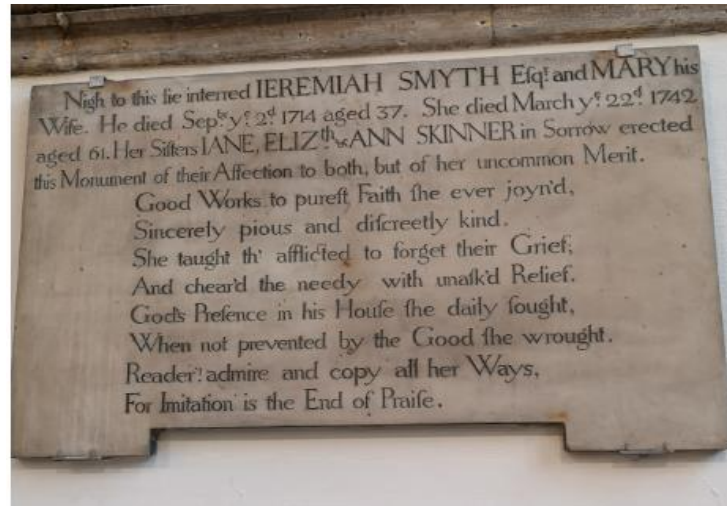
Figure 6. Personal photo of the elevated wall-mounted monument commemorating Jeremiah (d. 1714) and Mary Smyth (d. 1742). Located in Hull Minster, Hull.

The executors of the monument are identified in the epitaph as Mary's sisters: Jane, Elizabeth and Ann Skinner. The Skinner family were one of the wealthiest families in Hull.[62] It is highly probable that Mary Smyth was the daughter of William Skinner (d. 1680), who was an alderman and mayor of Hull. His memorial, a floor slab within the altar rails of Hull Minster, indicates he had six daughters: Mary, Jane, Lydia, Elizabeth, Elinor and Sarah; yet the floor slab to his first wife, Mary (d. 1674), states they had seven daughters, which may explain the missing 'Ann Skinner' in William's epitaph that appears in Mary Smyth's epitaph; or, potentially, the sister Ann Skinner mentioned in Mary's epitaph could refer to her sister-in-law

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[62] *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 1, the City of Kingston Upon Hull*, ed. K J Allison (London, 1969), http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol1.

Ann Skinner (d. 1753), who is also commemorated in a floor slab in Hull Minster as the wife to merchant John Skinner, son of the aforesaid alderman William Skinner.

This epitaph is atypical as it only focuses on Mary's attributes, with no mention of any characteristics pertaining to her husband. It only celebrates her role in the Hull community and, more interesting, there are no listed character traits pertaining to her role as a wife. In life, Mary was 'discreet' in her acts of kindness, but in death, her epitaph metaphorically screams for public attention. The entire epitaph is an ode to her life-long pursuit of charity: 'She taught the 'afflicted to forgot their Grief; / And chear'd the needy with umask'd Relief', and she was a devout church-goer 'when not prevented by the Good she wrought'. In comparison with other earlier eighteenth-century epitaphs, which typically celebrate the deceased as indistinguishably charitable or elaborate on monetary bequests to the poor (e.g. Dighton and Milner), Mary is celebrated for how she made the poor *feel*.

Mary Skinner made the poor cheery and 'forget their Grief'. Women were culturally believed, in early modern England, to be more affected by the passions and, thus, more inclined to evoke and empathise with sentimental emotions. Carey McIntosh, for instance, describes the rise of the sentimental novel as the 'feminization of writing'.[63] Mark Phillips states that by the end of the eighteenth century, sentimental reading was 'both promoted and limited: namely through the conventional association between sentiment and the female reader'.[64] It is possible that sentimentalism affected not only the rhetoric of novels, but also the language of memorialisation. Instead of focusing on monetary charitableness, an act affiliated with male dominance, Mary's epitaph redefines a feminine charitableness

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[63] Carey McIntosh, *The Evolution of English Prose, 1700-1800: Style, Politeness, and Print Culture* (Cambridge University Press: 1998), 196.

[64] Mark Phillips, 'History, The Novel, and the Sentimental Reader', in *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 110.

that focuses on sentimental virtues. Where women were unable to provide monetary relief directly, they could use their feminine gifts of empathy to help the poor. Mary represents a new identity of female virtue, for as the epitaph concludes, 'Reader admire and copy all her Ways, / For Imitation is the End of Praise'.

Another important shift in the commemoration of women concerned how charity was used to present single women not only as virtuous, but also as assets to society. Dorice Elliot argues that Mary Astell's *Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1694) reveals the exclusion of females 'from the leadership of these new charitable projects,' which resulted in the diminished visibility of female participation in charity. More so, this public exclusion took away 'the opportunity that philanthropy had offered them—opportunity not only for useful public activity, but also for an alternative vocation to marriage'.[65] The epitaph inscription to Katharine Coppinger, for instance, shows how widowed women could have agency over how they were represented in death. Katharine was a widow when she died in 1763 (see Figure 7). Her son erected a monument, per his mother's 'own particular Request', near the altar at St. Michael, York. It is highly likely, therefore, that the epitaph inscription was influenced, if not completely written, by Katharine. She was the daughter of Timothy Fysh and wife and relict to John Coppinger and, according to the epitaph, she inherited from her parents, 'many Virtues / Piety, Charity, Benevolence'. It was common practice for the living to formulate their own epitaph before death, but it was customary for those close to deceased to present the epitaph as their own creation as it would be uncouth for the dead to promote themselves.[66] Thus, it is highly probable that Katharine had a say in which virtues

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[65] Elliot, 'Sarah Scott's Millennium Hall', 536.
[66] For more examples of the living erecting their own memorials see Matthew Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body: A History of Monumental Sculpture and Commemoration in England, 1720-1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 48.

were used to describe her character. Although these attributes were commonly used in early modern commemorative language, when the epitaph is placed within the context of mid-eighteenth-century polite society, they gain new meaning.

Charitable acts were a public act in which single women could present themselves as fulfilling the culturally prescribed gender stereotype of being a mother. As James Bland states in *The charms of women* (1736), 'the most generous Act of Charity' a woman could perform 'was to comfort and relieve the Necessities of the indigent poor,' like a 'nursing Mother'.[67] Women were under constant societal pressure to wed and produce children, and those who did not yield to this expectation, whether intentional or not, were often depicted as unnatural, foreign and dangerous to the social order. Marilyn Francus' work on female representation in eighteenth-century literature relates how celebrated authors such as Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope commonly criticised the 'childless matron and the excessively fertile mother' for their 'failure to fulfil society expectations'.[68] Just as these authors contributed to the reimagined urban beggar character, so they contributed to popularising this 'monstrous' single female persona. As Marilyn Francus argues,

> Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, Sin in *Paradise Lost*, Criticism in Swift's *Battle of the Books*, and Dulness in Pope's *Dunciad* all depict the authority that women derive from their reproductive capacity and the patriarchal fear of that female power. . . Through these characters, Spenser, Milton, Swift, and Pope seek to justify female containment as a social and moral imperative by depicting the catastrophic results of maternal agency and reproduction that await otherwise.[69]

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[67] James Bland, *The charms of women* (London, 1736), 112-113.
[68] Marilyn Francus, *Monstrous Motherhood: Eighteenth-Century Culture and Ideology of Domesticity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 25.
[69] Francis, *Monstrous Motherhood*, 25-56.

Charitable acts, especially those aimed at children, widows and unwed mothers, helped single women challenge this constructed stereotype. Through public acts of charity, single women could publicly demonstrate an adherence to the characteristics of a wife and mother without physically being one. They were the metaphorical wives and mothers of the community—a position that was further established in church monuments. Coppinger was a daughter and wife to esquires of Middlesex and Scarborough, and so she would not have inspired the same demonisation typically applied to poor women, yet she was still a widow and would have likely faced the rumoured stereotype applied to all unmarried women. By perpetuating the image of a pious, charitable and kind woman, Coppinger was able to shape a public persona that completely countered the popular image of the 'monstrous mother'.

A similar self-appointed epitaph commemorates Mrs. Elizabeth Towgood of Bristol. Unlike in modern society, when the title of 'Mrs.' is given to a woman upon marriage, in early modern England, both single and married woman could be identified as 'Mrs.'. It was a symbol of status and respect, rather than matrimony, particularly in urban communities in which woman had roles in various forms of business and trade. As a result, the title of Mrs. typically signified women of greater wealth and/or greater trade.[70] Located in the north choir aisle of Bristol Cathedral, Towgood was able to celebrate herself respectfully by crediting her ancestors as responsible for her virtues (see Figure 7).

> In Memory of her renowned Ancestors / RICHARD TOWGOOD S.T.B. Dean of this Church ye Grandfather / And ELIZABETH his wife; / RICHARD TOWGOOD M.A. Prebendary, the Father; / And ELIZABETH his Wife; / M[RS] ELIZABETH TOWGOOD ye Daughter, & last of ye Family, / Caused this Monument to be erected; / Who

[70] Amy Louise Erickson, 'Mistresses and Marriage: or, a Short History of the Mrs.', *History Workshop Journal* vol. 78, issue 1 (1 October 2014): 39-57.

having inherited ye Virtues of her Forefathers, / And exhibited ye same illustrious pattern / of unaffected Piety, undisembled Charity, & unsullied Integrity / To the 77th: Year of her age, / Followed them to the Mansions of eternal Rest. / January 24th: 1767

Catherine Cappe, a female writer in the late eighteenth century, believed that women from the 'middle ranks of life' who were 'free from the cares of family' were morally obliged to prove their usefulness by 'voluntarily [taking] upon themselves' the role of patron and caregiver to the forlorn and disadvantaged.[71] In life, Elizabeth had not acquired the traditional roles of womanhood—to be a wife and mother— yet, in death, she was able to still present herself as accomplished. Her epitaph challenges prescribed gender norms and calls for a re-examination of what made a woman accomplished in polite society. The adjectives 'unaffected', 'undisembled', and 'unsullied' actively refute any notion of impurity. Towgood arguably used these specific words to stop the reader from applying any of the negative stigmatisation typically applied to single woman during this age. The epitaph perpetuates a virginal identity without directly relating it her sex. By participating as a caregiver through public acts of charity, single women like Towgood could redefine themselves as fulfilling a social purpose. Through the epitaph inscription, Towgood has agency in shaping her own public reputation. She presents her single life as not only beneficial to society, but also as a new standard of exemplary.

The epitaphs discussed in this section support wider historiographies on early modern charity. They indicate how charity was not removed from cultural and religious discourses but was ever present. The language of memorialisation was adapted to the new urban existence. The ways in which charity is presented in descriptive epitaphs reflect Finch's argument of it being an age when

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[71] Catherine Cappe, *Account of Two Charity School for the Education of Girld and of a Female Friendly Society in York* (York: 1800), iv-v.

commemoration promoted pride in commercial success. Wealthy men of industry

were commemorated for their business dealings/positions and for how such

success resulted in acts of charity. The labouring poor were promoted as the

deserving poor. The rich were to give to the distressed members of the community

who shared the same industrial values as the middling sort and urban elite but who

had fallen on hard times. Women used commemoration and charity to redefine their

social value within the urban community. Through charitable acts, single women

could present themselves as exemplary representations of femininity and not as

pariahs for being unmarried and/or childless. As the epitaph to Jacob Bosanquet (d.

1767) reads: 'Not more industrious in acquiring Fortune / Than generous in

dispensing it / thus happily furnish'd / with every social Virtue / He liv'd belov'd /

and dyed lamented'.[72]

Figure 7. Personal photo of the elevated wall-mounted monument commemorating Katherine
Coppinger (d. 1763) (left), St. Michael, York and standing wall mounted monument
commemorating Elizabeth Towgood (d. 1767), Bristol Cathedral, Bristol.

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[72] The elevated wall-mounted monument to Jacob Bosanquet is located in Bath Abbey on the
east wall of the south transept.

Section 2: The 'great effect of friendship is beneficence':[73] Constructing a Virtuous Friendship in Early Modern Commemoration

To be charitable was not the only way the dead were used to establish social behaviours in the urban community. Whereas charity was redefined and re-employed in eighteenth-century epitaphs, friendships (and to be friendly) was a new addition to the commemorative language of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. Of the 113 descriptive epitaphs, over one-third (41) commemorate friendship as an exemplary trait. A chronological analysis of the appearance of friendship in church monuments indicates a growing popularity of the word in epitaphs, from four between 1660 and 1699, to more than double that between 1700 and 1739, to an approximate 233% increase between 1740 and 1770. Of the 41 descriptive epitaphs commemorating friendship, 70.5% were erected between 1740 and 1770. This thesis does not argue that friendship was a newly valued social relationship in the eighteenth century; what is argued is that changing patterns to the language of memorialisation mean the vocabulary of friendship was increasingly incorporated into commemorative rhetoric. This was an era of loose and broadening definitions of identity, especially regarding genteelness. Genteelness could be demonstrated and tested by how one engaged with others in acts of friendship. Genteelness was a cultivated reputation, and epitaphs provided another visual and material platform onto which individuals could construct and perpetuate this. The escalation of friendship in memorialisation strongly suggests a growing cultural significance of friendship and genteelness as an integral part to what early modern society believed made the ideal gentleman or gentlewoman.

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[73] Samuel Johnson, 'The requisites to true friendship', *The Rambler*, no. 64, October 27, 1750, http://www.johnsonessays.com/the-rambler/requisites-true-friendship/.

Friendships were coveted in early modern England as essential relationships that connected community networks. In the words of E.G. Gent, friendship was 'love and society mixt together' that once combined 'make it the most delightful in the sociable state'.[74] Friendships were more than personal, intimate relationships, they were cultural exchanges between people who had shared economic, political and religious interests. Naomi Tadmor's research on the eighteenth-century shopkeeper Thomas Turner, for example, showed how he listed his friends as his familial relations, his wife, 'close intellectual of devotional affinity', 'trusty tradesmen', his tenant and landlord, and 'an officer of the excise'.[75] In Samuel Richard's *Clarissa*, the character Goodman describes his network of friends as formed by selected and trusted business associates, as well as personal acquaintances. Promoting business partnerships as friendships was a tactful manoeuvre. It provided a pleasant vocabulary to mask the pursuit of commercial success. In a society that John Gay depicted as the 'Urban corruption of Rural' in which one's 'thirst of Gain' fostered a culture in which money spoke louder than good consciousness, friendships were important social relationships that not only connected people, but, more importantly, worked as moral police to ensure stability, order and pleasantry in the urban community.[76]

In recent years, historical works have focused on early modern friendships and how such relationships can provide us with a better understanding of how early modern society constructed identity and senses of belonging. Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin, in their edited collection *Love, Friendship, and Faith in Europe, 1300–1800,* explore the variant definitions and meanings of friendships

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[74] E.G. Gent, *A Discourse on Friendship* (London:1676), 13.

[75] Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 173-174.

[76] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) John Gay, *Trivia: Or, The Art of Walking the Streets of London* (London: 1716).

to show changes in belief and language about friendships.[77] Alan Bray extensively

researched the development and sentiment behind early modern male friendships

and how such friendships could refer to homosexual relationships.[78] Amanda

Herbert defines female friendships as 'alliances' in order to incorporate

relationships between superior and inferior social groups [such as gentlewomen

and their maids] and how such friendships were an important aspect of how

women defined themselves and constructed their public reputations in early

modern England.[79] The majority of scholarship on early modern friendships used

conduct manuals, philosophical and religious tracts, novels and personal written

documents to explore the ways friendships contributed to how individuals and

groups constructed and understood belonging in a civil, urban society.[80] However,

except for Alan Bray, historians researching friendship in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries overlook epitaphs as an important textual resource.[81] This

section first considers friendship in male commemoration followed by how

friendship was celebrated in female commemoration. It then expands upon these

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[77] *Love, Friendship, and Faith in Europe, 1300–1800*, ed. Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter, and Miri Rubin (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

[78] Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[79] Amanda Herbert, *Female Alliance: Gender, Identity and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (London: Yale University Press: 2014). See also Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England* which looks at the importance of the household and the role of female friendships in establishing social, economic and political networks between kin and non-kin persons.

[80] For more on friendships in the wider context of European and British cultures see *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Exploration of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse*, ed. Albrect Classen and Marilyn Sandidge (ProQuest Ebook Central: 2001). For further discussion on friendships in early modern philosophy see Vanessa Smith and Richard Yeo, 'Friendship in Early Modern Philosophy and Science', *Paregon* vol. 26, No. 2 (2009), 1-9; Daniel Schwartz, 'Aquinas on Friendship' (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2008); and *Friendships and Politics: Essay in Political Thought*, ed. John von Heyking and Richard Avramenko (Notre Dame: University of Norte Dame Press, 2008).

[81] Alan Bray claimed the tomb of John Bloxham and John Whytton inspired his book and although other memorial inscriptions were used, they were a low occurrence. In Cedric Brown, *Friendship and its Discourses in the Seventeenth-Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2016) a few memorial inscriptions were explored, but mostly looked at memorials used as garden features, and commemoration objects such as pictures and keepsakes as a means to examine the role of friendships in the social context of gift exchange.

works to explore how epitaphs reveal how friendships were coveted in life and, in death, idealised.

Thomas Wrangham (d. 1689) was a shipbuilder from Newcastle whose life was commemorated in an elevated wall-mounted monument erected in the east end of All-Hallows [now All Saints]. Although the monument no longer survives , its epitaph inscription was recorded by antiquarian Henry Bourne in 1736:

> UNDER the adjacent Marble is inter'd the Body of Thomas Wrangham, the famous and beloved Ship-builder of this Town, he married Jane the Daughter of Mr. Robert Carr, by whom he left Issue two Sons and one Daughter; Thomas, William, and Jane. He built Five and Forty Sail of Ships, and dyed of a Feaver in the 42^{d} Year of his Age, May the 26th, 1689. He was a Man of a most generous Temper, of a plain and unaffected Conversation, and a sincere and hearty Lover of his Friend.[82]

The inscription showed signs of what Finch argues was a focus on commercialism by how it paired Wrangham's economic identity with his public reputation. The epitaph opened with the memory of Wrangham's success as a shipwright and ended with his quality as a friend. Friendship was a personal, intimate relationship, but conduct manuals and personal writings of the time indicate that friendship groups could go beyond intimate social groups to include business partners and customers. Samuel Richardson, for example, in *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum* (1734), warns apprentices not to cause him the loss of 'a good Customer, and Friend'.[83] Friendship, in this context, could loosely apply to a person whose opinion mattered to an individual. In other words, how one kept and treated friends was a social and public interaction that could be interpreted by others as an insight into that person's moral character. Wrangham was not commemorated as a standard

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[82] The transcription was taken directly from Henry Bourne, *The history of Newcastle upon Tyne: or, The ancient and present state of that town* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1736), 96.
[83] Samuel Richardson, *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum* (London: 1734), 6.

friend but celebrated for his sincerity and loving character—he was a 'sincere and hearty Lover of his Friend'. This behavioural trait was coupled with his 'generous Temper' and 'unaffected Conversation'. Focusing on the words that were capitalised, the character traits the reader was led to interpret as the most valuable are highlighted: Man, Temper, Conversation, Lover and Friend. These characteristics were foundational to concepts of civility and sociability—the connection between natural temperament and the ways these qualities manifested in social interactions. This was the new ideal man of the civilised polite society of eighteenth-century England.

It is interesting that Wrangham was said to be a 'sincere and hearty Lover of his Friend', instead of plural, 'friends'. First, as discussed earlier with the specific capitalised letters, when the word is isolated it distinguishes Wrangham as the friend. Second, it refers to an ambiguity of friends in that it generally applies to those who found themselves being called 'friend' by Wrangham, and those people should consider themselves blessed. In this manner, the epitaph spoke to a certain group of people [still living] to remember their dearly departed friend while simultaneously promoting Wrangham to the general public as a friendly person. Wrangham was also depicted as 'a Man of a most generous Temper, of a plain and unaffected Conversation'. Therefore, Wrangham was presented in a similar fashion to how Bishop Edward Fowler presented Jesus Christ in the 1670s as the archetypal civil gentleman who was 'marvellously conversable, sociable and [of] benign temper'.[84] The ability to speak well and socialise with one's fellow human beings was the epitome of how one practised civility. As Peter Borsay argues,

> One of the most commendable activities a gentleman could engage in, and one in which moderation and an even temper was

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[84] Bishop Edward Fowler, *The Design of Christianity*, 4th edition (London: Printed for John Rivington, 1760), 34.

considerable assets, was simply that of meeting and mixing with his fellow human beings. Indeed, sociability was considered one of the foremost civilizing influences[85]

Jean Baptiste Morvan Bellegarde iterated the importance and expectation of such truisms in his *Maxims of Civil Society* [translated into English in 1707]: 'Pleasures of Conversation. . . contribute mightily to the forming a Gentleman and that it was only by conversing with a man that could one discern if he was indeed a true gentleman'.[86] It was through moderate temper and good conversation that friendships could be formed and maintained. Thomas Gordon, in 1720, stated that gentlemen were distinguishable by their ability to 'taste the Pleasure of Conversation' and thus, 'reap any Benefit from Civil Society.[87] These were the exact sentiments presented in Wrangham's epitaph. Even in death, Wrangham was able to continue participating in social conversations by how the living remembered him and reflected upon their own character in comparison.

Sociability was a key aspect to how individuals could assert their status as gentlemen. The rules and conventions of social interaction were believed to reflect one's inner moral character. To comply, and indeed master these skills, was to demonstrate one's natural disposition of civility and refinement. Thus, to have a good temper and conversation were deemed essential character traits in defining what it meant to be a gentleman, and it was these traits that consequently culminated into what it meant to be a friend. In other words, friendships bound civil society together. Yet not all friendships were virtuous, some were formed based on their usefulness.

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[85] Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, 267.
[86] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Jean Baptiste Morvan Bellegarde, *Reflexions upon the Politeness of Manners; with Maxims for Civil Society* (London: 1707), 239-240.
[87] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Thomas Gordon, *The Humourist: Being Essays upon Several Subject (London: 1720),* 239.

Archibald Campbell advocates, in his *Instructions to a son*, first printed in 1661, that the value of friendship is based on its level of utility. He compared the cultivation of friendships to the maintenance of animals: 'Most men regard their profit, and therefore use their friends as men use beasts, carefully attend and look to them, from whom they receive increase and advantages', but he then softened his opinion, stating that this was the 'natural' state of 'reciprocal amity'.[88] Divine Jeremy Taylor stated that friends 'ought to be chosen. . . amongst those that can do greatest benefit. . . [for] those friendships must needs to be most perfect, when the friends are most useful'.[89] Thomas Hobbes argued that his contemporaries masqueraded the selfishness of friendships with the adoption of Aristotelian rhetoric, but that the real value of friendship was in proportion to how one perceived use of a friend in increasing his own relative power.[90] Yet, not all approached friendships so callously. Samuel Masters, for instance, said that friendship was a 'higher degree [of] ordinary kindness and common civility'.[91] It was sincere friendship, Masters concluded, that was 'built on solid Virtue, conducted with true Wisdom and fixt in the strongest inclinations of Love' that separated the civil gentleman from 'the flight friendships of the vulgar'.[92] From either perspective, the social necessity of friendship was undeniable. These relationships, and how people worked to curate and maintain them, reveal an insightful framework for how early modern people interacted with one another.

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[88] Archibald Campbell (Marquis of Argyll), *Instructions to a son* (London: 1661), 49.

[89] Jeremy Taylor, *A Discourse of the Nature, Offices, and Measures of Friendship* (London: Printed for R. Royston, 1657), 10, 23, 39.

[90] Travis D. Smith, 'Hobbes on Getting by with Little Help from Friends', in *Friendship and Politics: Essays in Political Thought*, ed. John Von Heyking and Richard Avramenko (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 219.

[91] Samuel Masters, *A Discourse of a Friendship, preached at the Wiltshire-Feast, in St. Mary-le-Bow Church, December the 1st 1684* (London: Printed by T.B., 1684), 11.

[92] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Masters, *A Discourse of a Friendship,* 19.

Although society accepted that friendships could be transactional and, as Hobbes argued, a means to an end, a true friendship, a friendship that was exemplary, was one that was not fleeting, but a constant, unmoving source of stability and affection. The epitaph inscriptions commemorating Evan Lloyd (d. 1728) and Henry Bradberne (d. 1769) describe Lloyd as a 'firm friend' and Bradberne as a 'firm and ready friend'.[93] To describe these men as "firm" suggests an air of solidarity and consistency. According to men like Samuel Johnson, friendships could only be 'fond and lasting' if those involved had 'equal virtue on each part . . . [and] of the same kind'; in other words, friendship 'is seldom lasting but between equals'.[94] Johnson's definition of equal friends aligns with Hobbes' pessimistic view on the give-and-take element of friendship. Johnson states that lasting friendships were only possible between equals because 'benefits which cannot be repaid, and obligations which cannot be discharged, are not commonly found to increase affection'; however, he states that although lasting friendship could only be accomplished between men of similar standing, this should not deter one from bestowing *acts* of friendship onto others:

> The great effect of friendship is beneficence, yet by the first act of uncommon kindness it is endangered, like plants that bear their fruit and die. Yet this consideration ought not to restrain bounty, or repress compassion; for duty is to be preferred before convenience, and he that loses part of the pleasures of friendship by his generosity, gains in its place the gratulation of his conscience.[95]

Jean Baptiste Morvan Bellegarde proposes that friendships were not only the foremost quality of 'genteel and generous Behaviour', but that the self-beneficence

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[93] The monument to Evan Lloyd is wall mounted located in the north choir aisle of Bath Abbey; the monument to Henry Bradberne was located in St. Augustine, Bristol [since demolished] the transcription was taken from loose, handwritten papers, unnumbered, by JP Sturge and Sons (1958) located in Bristol Archives.
[94] Johnson, 'The Requisites to True Friendship'.
[95] Johnson, 'The Requisites to True Friendship'.

in friendships resides in their reciprocal nature, that the act of giving to one's friends produces internal 'delight in doing them good' by 'obviat[ing] their Necessities'.[96]

Sir William Daines (d. 1724) was celebrated for his 'generous disposition to his friends' in addition to his 'great strength of judgment and extraordinary prudence'.[97] Daines' generosity to his friends was tied to his conscience; it was a duty as much as it was a pleasure. Friendships were 'Part of our Religion', according to theologian Samuel Masters, because 'nature designed us to be Friends' and it was 'mutual Friendships' that promoted Christian faith while simultaneously being 'a very great advantage, delight and ornament of human conversation'.[98] The connection between Daines' generosity toward friends and his 'strength of judgment and extraordinary prudence' reflects the mentality of friendship being a thoughtful contract. Friendships were tactical, and one's circle of friends was as much a reflection of one's inner character as one's public behaviour. Vanessa Smith and Richard Yeo argue that early modern philosophy and science promoted friendship as 'both necessary and a fraught conduit for cultural exchange', and that in the growing urban culture of eighteenth-century England, friendships served as public contracts that effectively 'integrat[ed] personalities with the political community'.[99]

A similar sentiment is expressed in the epitaph commemorating William Milner (d. 1740), who is celebrated for his 'Kindness & Affability to his Friends & Acquaintances & Benevolence towards all Men'.[100] It is of note that Milner, an

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[96] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Morvan, *Reflexions upon the Politeness, 184.*
[97] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Sir William Daines' monument was located in St. Augustine, Bristol [since demolished] the transcription was taken from loose, handwritten papers, unnumbered, by JP Sturge and Sons (1958) located in Bristol Archives.
[98] Samuel Master, *A Discourse of a Friendship,* 5-6.
[99] John von Heyking Richard Avramenko, 'Introduction', in *Friendship and Politics,* 3.
[100] Vanessa Smith and Richard Yeo, 'Friendship in Early Modern Philosophy and Science', *Paregon* vol. 26, no. 2 (2009): 1.

exceedingly wealthy Hull merchant, is celebrated for his kindness and friendliness not only toward his friends, but also acquaintances and generally all men. The epitaph depicts a man who was not only generous towards his equals, but was also so virtuous and so innately and naturally friendly that it extended to all those around him. Milner was exemplary because he overcame what Hobbes theorised as the natural passion of friendship because he went beyond the innate desire to form alliances based on his individual goals and to instead offer friendship toward the collective. The same can be said for John Preston (d. 1758), a merchant from Leeds, who was said to be 'justly lamented by the Publick, and his more particular Friends, as he was always ready to serve both, with great Abilities and unshaken integrity'.[101] These men were examples of what Samuel Master states was the 'higher degree . . . [of] ordinary kindness and common civility'.[102] Friendship, to be a friend, was part of the codes of civility that separated men from the vulgar.

Jonathan Swift discusses the importance of friendship and civility in his novel *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). In the novel, he describes the immortal creatures called 'struldbrugs', who upon reaching the age of 80 become legally dead. Once in this state, being alive but dead from society, these creatures become 'incapable of friendship' and, thus, with other ailments, 'they find themselves cut off from all possibility of pleasure'.[103] Thomas Gordon, in 1720, expressed similar sentiments in that gentlemen were distinguishable by their ability to 'taste the Pleasure of Conversation' and, thus, 'reap any Benefit from Civil Society'.[104] Friendships were pleasure, in that within polite society, friendships could lead to pleasurable

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[101] The monument to Preston was wall mounted and was located inside Leeds Minster. Its inscription was taken from Pullen, *The Monuments of Parish Church of St. Peter-as-Leeds,*
[102] Masters, *Discourse on Friendship*, 11.
[103] Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World* (London: T and J Allman, 1825) 243-244.
[104] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Gordon, *The Humourist, 239.*

experiences, notably good conversation as well as confidence. It is this latter aspect of friendship, the ability to trust and confide in another, that separated friendship of opportunity or convenience from sincere, authentic friendships. This separation is evident in the numerous epitaphs that specifically use the word 'sincere'.

The use of the word 'sincere' in describing a type of friend is included in Wrangham's epitaph (mentioned earlier). It also appears in the monument commemorating Nathaniel Wilson (d. 1726).[105] Wilson is commemorated in an elevated wall-mounted monument erected on the north wall of St. John, York. The epitaph combines Wilson's commercial, religious and social characteristics to present an exemplar of the ideal urban gentleman. According to the inscription, he was a York merchant,

> unbleamable in his Dealings and Commerce. He was an affectionate Loving Husband: a kind indulgent Father; a good Master, a sincere Friend; a charitable devout Christian; and a zealous advocate for the Constitution, in Church and State. After he had been afflicted for many years with a painful distemper, which he bore with great Patience and Resignation he died in 1726. Age 71.

Wilson's epitaph bears remarkable similarities to Wrangham's epitaph despite being erected around 40 years later and in a different city. Both epitaphs praise the men's business reputations and for being sincere friends. Another example is the epitaph in honour of Lord Edward Rockingham (d. 1723).[106] His epitaph is interesting regarding how his integrity is linked to both his position in the senate and his role as a friend: 'in senate impartial, in friendship sincere'.

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[105] Nathanial was commemorated alongside his wife (mentioned earlier). The monument survives but was unable to get access to the building [as it no longer resides as a church].
[106] The standing monument to Lord Edward Rockingham is located in the north choir aisle, near the main alter in York Minster.

The use of the word 'sincere' to describe friendship appears on 28% (10) of the friendship-orientated descriptive epitaphs. To be a sincere friend was a commonly employed adjective in various other eighteenth-century texts. Monsieur Baudoin's reflection on *Aesop's Fables* [translated from French in 1704] interprets the moral of *the Countryman and the Forest* tale as how a 'sincere Friend supplies a hypocritical Friend with all the Advantages he has over him. He tells him of all his Imperfections, relates to him the whole Story of his Life'.[107] In the mid-eighteenth-century novel *The Adventure of Mr. Loveill*, an unnamed character is described as a 'sincere friend' because he was the polar opposite of the gentleman friends who were 'famous. . . for cultivating acquaintances with every thing that came from England'.[108] Jean Baptiste Morvan Bellegarde states, a 'Person that meets with one sincere Friend in all that Number, must be a very happy Man'.[109] To be marked as a sincere friend was to be marked as exemplary. According to these texts, a friendship like that was a rarity among the masses and, thus, it would seem natural to translate such reverence for sincerity into the rhetoric of idealisation and virtue used in the language of memorialisation.

The terms 'sincere' and 'friendship' are also used in the commemoration of females, yet all examples of such use date from the mid-eighteenth century. Mary Ford (d. 1749) was 'cheerful Companion, Sincere Friend'; Anne Norton (d. 1759) is celebrated as 'a woman of distinguished Honour, Sincere Friendship, tender compassion of exemplary Life, and ornament of her Sex and her many Vertues make her Memory Precious'; Elizabeth Hutchinson (d. 1763) was 'a sincere and

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[107] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *The fables of Æsop. With the moral reflexions of Monsieur Baudoin, translated from French* (London: The Rose and Crown, 1704), 152.
[108] *The adventures of Mr. Loveill, interspers'd with many real amours of the modern polite world,* Vol. 1 (London: M.DCC.L. [1750]), 127-128.
[109] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *The fables of Æsop,* 294.

usefull Friend'.[110] It is of note that the word 'sincere' appears in several other female epitaphs but refers to their role as a Christian or as general character trait. The appearance of 'sincere' in female commemorations shows a progression of the term becoming either nongender specific or perhaps an appropriation of the word as a female trait. It nonetheless indicates how women were utilising the same language of civility in their own commemorative rhetoric. Friendships, and the ability to demonstrate oneself a true friend, were just as important an aspect of female sociability as they were for their male counterparts.

Within the sample population of urban monuments, the appearance of friendship in female commemoration has a similar pattern of distribution to that of female charity. As mentioned previously, the majority of epitaphs that celebrate friendship as a virtue [70.5% (30 epitaphs)] were erected between 1740 and 1770. Of these 30 epitaphs, 60% (18) commemorate a female. The epitaph commemorating Rebecca Roffey (d. 1765) is one example that shows the importance of friendship in constructing a civil, urban female identity. Located in the north-west porch of Bath Abbey, Roffey's epitaph declares it was 'in testimony of the highest regard to her memory, As a most tender Wife and sincere friend'. 'Wife' and 'friend' are the only social relationships identified in the epitaph. The monument was erected by 'her much afflicted Husband', which may suggest her role as a friend was linked to her role as a wife. A similar argument is made by Lawrence Stone, who cites the church monument erected to Catherine Mordaunt (d. 1714) as evidence for the companionate marriage he said was on the rise in the eighteenth century: 'With unavailing tears he mourns her end,/Losing his double

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[110] Mary Ford was commemorated in a familial monument located on the south wall in the south transept Bath Abbey; The monument to Anne Norton is located on the north wall of St. Michael-le-Belfry, York; the monument to Elizabeth Hutchinson is located in the north nave aisle of Bath Abbey.

comfort, wife and friend'.[111] The concept of marriage being a type of friendship

appears in other forms of print. Samuel Richardson, in his novel *Pamela* (1740),

states, 'wives and husbands are, or should be, friends'.[112] Philogamus, in *Marriage*

Defended, or, the Ladies Protected (1741), argues that a wife 'is a Man's best

companion in prosperity and his only Friend in Adversity'.[113] This rhetoric is similar

to Proverb 17.17, which Samuel Master's quotes in his treatise on friendship: 'A

True Friend will love at all times, and a Brother is born for Adversity', yet according

to Masters, this friendship was between men.[114]

This sentiment was propagated by John Norris in the late seventeenth

century, who blatantly stated that, 'man and wife could not be friends'; and E.G.

Gent believed that due to the contradictory natures of men and women, there was

an inability to engage in 'equal conversation' and, thus, an inadequacy to form

friendships.[115] Although mid-eighteenth-century authors promoted friendship as a

possibility between husbands and wives, their definitions of such marital

friendships were likely inspired by Augustine's treatise on marriage, *De bono*

coniugali. This treatise was very popular in the early modern period and was

reprinted multiple times throughout that time. Constance M. Furey's research into

seventeenth-century male philosophers reveals how these men adopted

Augustine's views on marriage into their own treatises to promote the sense that

marriage was a 'true union of friendship' but an unequal one that supported the

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[111] The monument is located at Yarnton, in Oxfordshire see Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Penguin Books, Ltd, 1980), 219.
[112] Samuel Richardson, *Pamela* (1740), ed. Sabor (London: Penguin Classics, 1980), 469.
[113] Philogamus, *Marriage Defend, or, the Ladies Protected* (London: 1741), 44.
[114] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Masters, *A Discourse of a Friendship*, 5.
[115] John Norris, *A Collection of Miscellanies* (Oxford: John Crosley, 1687), 7; and E.G. Gent, *A Discourse of Friendship* (London: 1676), 51.

concept of a dominant patriarchy—as Augustine stated, marital friendships were composed of 'one governing and the other obeying'.[116]

Lawrence Stone argues that by the eighteenth-century companionate marriages were redefining marital relationships as more equal because emotional satisfaction was prioritised over one's 'ambition for increased income or status'.[117] However, the material evidence he references does not provide any clear-cut conclusions: Mrs. Hester Chapone praised companionship and compatibility in finding a spouse but still maintained the husband's dominion over his wife; and Wetenhall Wilke's conduct book redefined the ideal husband using the rhetoric of civility as being 'virtuous disposition, a good understanding, an even temper. . . an agreeable person', yet also states that the husband should have an 'easy fortune'.[118] It is highly likely that the attribute of wealth was omitted, except for being hinted at as an 'easy fortune', because to place value on wealth in choosing a partner would be to praise the sin of greed. Stone's use of personal correspondences is enlightening though problematic, as for every letter that demonstrates loving sentiment and promotion of equality there are those that represent the opposite. For example, in a funeral sermon dedicated to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Dunton (d. 1697), the male author encourages the male readership regarding how 'happy is who when he has found them and gives them [women] all that Respect and Love which they deserve', while also encouraging the female readership that 'good women prize and love their husbands above all others', and to emulate Elizbeth Dunton, was to remember 'the order in which her Creation has placed her', for although, 'She is a Companion,' she was also 'but a

[116] Constance M. Furey, 'Bound by Likeness: Vives and Erasmus on Marriage and Friendship', in *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, ed. Daniel Lochman, Maritere López and Lorna Hutson (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 29-43.
[117] Stone, *The Family*, 217.
[118] Stone, *The Family*, 218-219.

Subject'.[119] The same rhetoric was used in a funeral sermon to commemorate Elizabeth Bury (d. 1720), written by her husband, Samuel Bury. He spoke of their 'mutual Endearments, and unbroken Affection to each other', but also how Elizabeth was the 'more observant, Tender, Indulgent, and Compassionate Wife' because it was 'never in her Temper to desire any greater *Authority* than GOD had given her'.[120]

However, a true union of friendship between a husband and wife is illustrated in the epitaph erected in the memory of Elizabeth Hutchinson (d. 1763) (see Figure 8). It is of note that this epitaph was erected several decades later and is arguably more representative of an exception to the rule rather than the norm. Located on the west wall of the south transept in Bath Abbey, the descriptive epitaph celebrates Elizabeth's role as a friend in addition to her roles as a wife and mother. She is commemorated as a 'Sincere and usefull Friend' who 'abor[ed] all Flattery or deceit'. Just like the 'sincere' gentleman friends mentioned previously, Elizabeth is celebrated as embodying the same honest and steadfast values as her male counterparts. Her friendship may have been separate from her domestic role and referred to her female friendships, but her epitaph is atypical. It praises her ability to assist her husband in business as well as in domestic duties. She was a

> just Steward. . . Whose Fortune was always left in her Care when he went abroad; She was greatly esteem'd by all her Acquaintance. And in regard to her good Qualities, and in Tender remembrance for so dear a Wife this monument is erected by her above mentioned Husband.

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[119] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Timothy Rogers, *The Character of a Good Woman, both in a single and marry'd state : in a funeral discourse on Prov. 31, 10 : Who can find a vertuous woman? for her price is far above rubies : occasion'd by the decease of Mrs. Elizabeth Dunton, who died May 28, 1697* (London: Printed for J. Harris, 1697), 57.

[120] (capitalisation and italic emphasis in the original) Samuel Bury, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury, Who Died, May 11th 1720. Aged 76. Chiefly Collected out of her Own Diary. Together with Her Funeral Sermon, Preach'd at Bristol, May 22. 1720. By the Reverend Mr. William Tong and Her Elegy by the Reverend Mr. J. Watts* (Bristol: Printed by J. Penn, 1721) 22-23.

Early modern women were often left to run the household while their husbands

were away, including managing the household expenses. Yet written praise for a

female's business prowess, especially by their male counterparts, are rare.

Hutchinson's epitaph, on the other hand, indicates how friendship could not only

apply to marital relationships, but also be a way to celebrate a woman's skills in

business while maintaining the superiority of patriarchal authority.
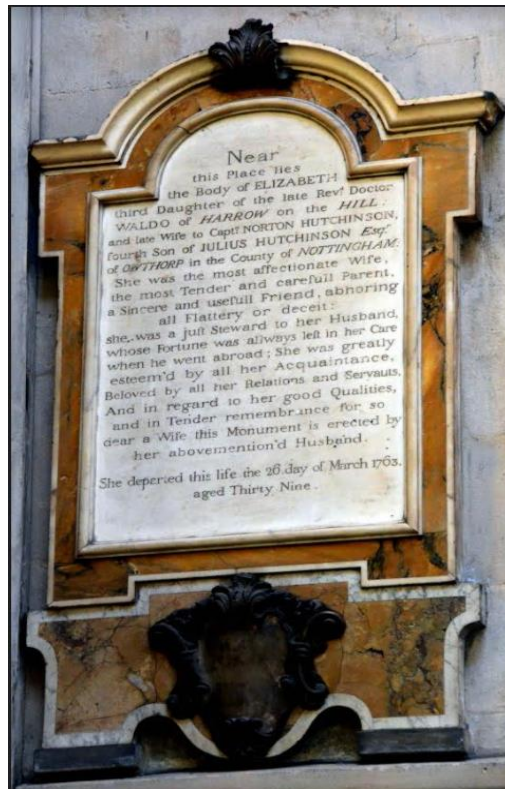
Figure 8. Photo of the elevated wall-mounted
monument commemorating Elizabeth
Hutchinson [Waldo] (d.1763), Bath Abbey,
Bath. Reproduced by permission of Bath
Abbey Archives.

As demonstrated, the existence and quality of marital friendships was a

contested subject, but same-sex friendships were consistently presented as a

prized social relationship commonly considered as surpassing marital bonds.

According to Amanda Herbert, same-sex friendships between women were

essential, and 'the ability to relate to others, and especially other women, was considered to be an essential component of this modern feminine identity and women of the time used these connections to enrich and empower their lives'.[121] Ingrid Tague has a similar argument in her book *Women of Quality*:

> . . . women's participation in sociability and their mastery of polite forms. . . had direct implications for their personal reputations. Choices about one's friends and companions, patterns of speech and gesture, and letter-writing itself, were all fraught with significance. . . As they [contemporary women] insisted over and over again, women's friendships and appearances in public were believed to reveal insights into their moral character.[122]

The importance of a female's ability to form friendships is further explored in the eighteenth-century epitaph to Elizabeth Winckley (d. 1756) (see Figure 9). Her epitaph articulates the same moral codes of civility and politeness that were commonly presented in male epitaphs. She is commemorated for her 'agreeable' mind, her conversation and her ability to make friends:

> Her understanding was excellent
> Her genius innocently sprightly
> Her heart sincere and generous
> Her conversation agreeable
> Her friendship constant
> Her mind & person equally amiable

The language in Winckley's epitaph links her role as a friend to various skills of intellect— 'her understanding', 'her genius' and 'her mind' and her 'agreeable' conversation. The use of these terms extenuates the eighteenth-century belief in the connection between mental capacity and sociability. As John Locke states in *Some thoughts concerning education* (1693), to be considered a gentleman, and

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[121] Herbert, *Female Alliances,* 13.
[122] Ingrid Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-176*0 (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2002), 125.

arguably a gentlewoman, education is a 'valuable part', but to be publicly considered 'an accomplished, valuable Man' is to also have 'Knowledge of the World, and Civility'.[123] To master the codes of civility, one needed a degree of intellect that separated them from the vulgar barbarian. Arguably, this quality was culturally expected in men, which may explain why it was not commonly featured in male commemoration, whereas in women, an ample mind could be viewed as unordinary and, thus, extraordinary. It is key to note that the commemoration of Winckley's mind is related to her overall sociable characteristics, as is evident in the words 'innocently', 'agreeable' and 'amiable'.
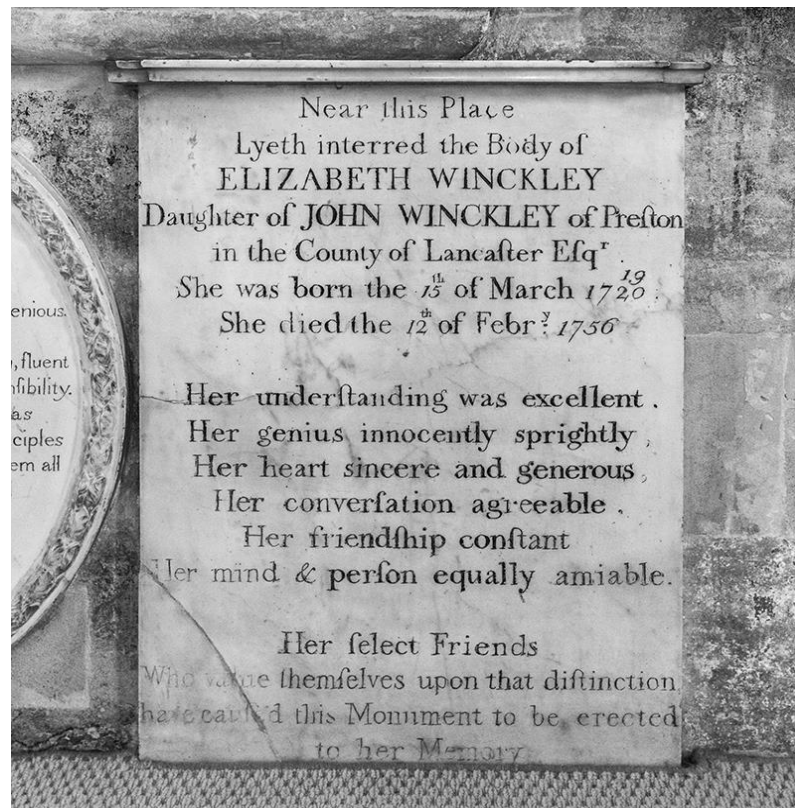

Figure 9. Photo of the elevated wall-mounted monument commemorating
Elizabeth Winckley (d. 1756), Norman Chapel, Bath Abbey, Bath.
Reproduced by permission of Bath Abbey Archives.

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[123] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) John Locke, *Some thoughts concerning education*, ed., John W and Jean S. Yolton (Oxford, 1989), 400.

These characteristics are also seen in the epitaphs dedicated to the memory of Mary Pickering (d. 1748), who is described as 'inoffensive to all' and a 'true friend', Anne Skinner (d. 1753) is celebrated for her 'politeness of manner' and her 'sincerity of friendship', and the epitaph to Mary Sherman (d. 1767) praises her 'power to charm' and how she was 'firm in friendship'.[124] The ways in which these women are represented in death show how epitaphs linked the rhetoric of civility with notions of politeness and sociability. These women are celebrated for their quality of friendship and other sociable characteristics. Although conversation is not directly presented in these epitaphs, as it is in male epitaphs, it is nonetheless referred to by how Pickering was inoffensive, Skinner for her polite manner and Sherman for her ability to charm. These epitaphs show how women harnessed this cultural language of behaviour with the language of memorialisation to present themselves as ideal representations of civility and gentility.

Female friendships were complex and, like male friendships, could cater to a wide array of needs, from emotional support to social networking and political participation. Female friendships, as Amanda Herbert states, could even supplement marriage for single women. Katherine Austen, a widow in late seventeenth-century London, for example, said her friends and herself were 'married in the dearnesses and usefulness and benefits of friendship'.[125] Friendships in epitaph inscriptions further reveal the importance of friendship for single women, especially as a way to cultivate a public reputation. Females used the language of memorialisation, like their male counterparts, to construct and

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[124] Mary Pickery (1748) was commemorated in an elevated wall-mounted monument located on the west wall of St. Michael-le-Belfry, York; Anne Skinner (1753) church monument is a floor slab located in the north choir aisle of Hull Minster; and Mary Sherman (1767) was commemorated on an elevated wall-mounted monument located in the north choir aisle of Bristol Cathedral.

[125] 'Considering remarriage: Katherine Austen, 1665', in *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth Century England*, ed. Crawford and Gowing (Yale University Press, 2014), 184.

establish an identity as a true friend. Of the three abovementioned female epitaphs, Anne Skinner was a widow when she died, and Mary Sherman appeared to have never been married as there is no mention of marriage on her epitaph. Mary Pickering was married; however, the impressive monument was erected not by her husband but by a Mrs. Ellen Bowes, Mary's aunt. Mrs. Bowes states in the epitaph that she erected the monument as testament to how Mary was a 'true friend' to her (see Figure 10). Mrs. Bowes took up the duties typically expected of the husband or children of the deceased, demonstrating how friendships could act as a sort of surrogate marriage.
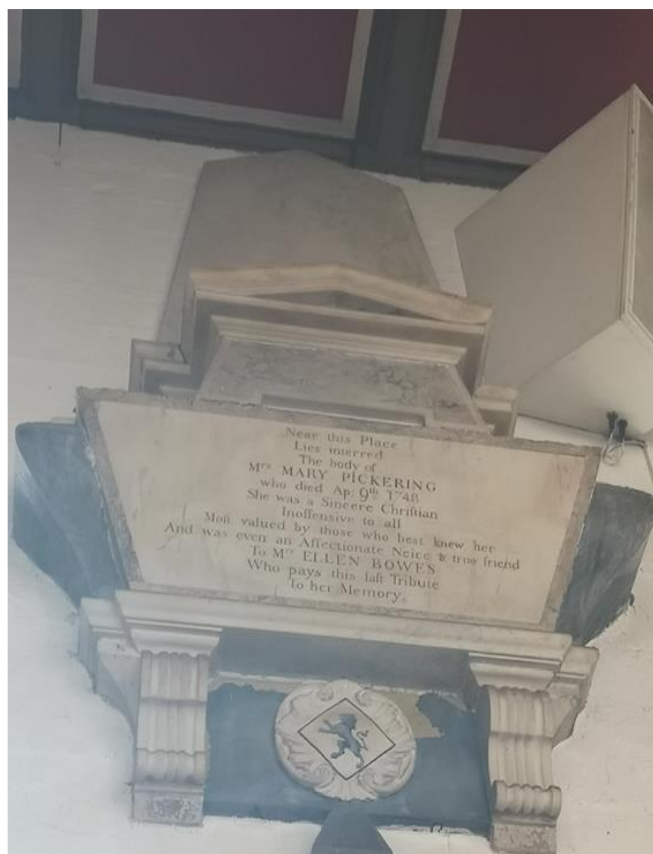
Figure 10. Personal photograph of the elevated wall-mounted monument commemorating Mary Pickering (d. 1748), St. Michael-le-Belfry, York.

The epitaphs in this section show how friendships had an important role in constructing an ideal reputation. For men, this was the case consistently throughout the period in focus, whereas with women, there is a correlation with increased use of charity and friendship from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. This escalation in female commemoration coincided with the rise of sentimentality and the English novel, which consistently presented women as more naturally inclined to the passions and thereby more inclined to form affectionate friendships and to feel pity for the poor. The memorialisation of these women, therefore, not only advertised the importance of female friendships, but also how female friendships worked to establish these women's reputations as being in line with the model eighteenth-century gentlewoman.

In death, men and women were represented as the ideal personification of a true friend; and even if dead, they had a continued social purpose to the community to act as moral guides to the wider public as well as to their close kin. Similar to how charity combatted miserly tendencies, exemplary friendships in memorialisation promoted an Aristotelian, not Hobbesian, approach to friends. Sincere and firm friends were not for superficial gain, but spiritual. Although memorialisation, in itself, is a practice of flattery, epitaphs were meant to be interpreted as "unbiased" truths that did not attempt to help the living to gain social or political favour—like the feigned friendship of flattery discussed in other printed texts—but to help the living improve themselves for the sake of their own religious and social virtue. It was a sincere friend who early modern writers identified as the embodiment of the true civil gentleman and, thus, it was a sincere friend who was celebrated in church monuments.

Section 3: 'Being more useful in my generation': Usefulness as an Urban Virtue

The epitaph inscription to Elizabeth Hutchinson commemorates the deceased as a 'sincere and usefull Friend'. The addition of the word 'usefull' provides another example of how the language of memorialisation was affected by wider shifts in social vocabularies. It reflects a language of utility that increasingly appeared in the cultural language of urbanised England. Jeremy Taylor, who wrote one of the most popular works on friendships in the late seventeenth century, characterised the ideal friend in his *Discourse of Friendship* as one who 'ought to be chosen. . . amongst those that can do greatest benefit,' and those friendships are the 'most perfect, when the friends are most useful'.[126] The evaluation of friendships by means of the theory of utility was, as historian Timothy Fuller argues, partly founded on the philosophies of Plato and Montaigne, who taught that the quality of friendship is 'determined by what is useful and useless'.[127] Although the direct use of the word 'usefull' in early modern epitaph inscriptions is atypical, its appearance, even in a few select epitaphs, demonstrates how social rhetoric employed in other forms of print affected the development of the language of memorialisation.

An examination of electronic archives revealed that the word 'useful' first appeared in print titles in the early seventeenth century and was commonly employed in print titles beginning in the 1620s until roughly the 1720s, when the use of the word in print titles started to decline.[128] This is not to suggest that the

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[126] Taylor, *A Discourse of . . . Friendship*, 39.

[127] Timothy Fuller, 'Chapter 7: Plato and Montaigne: Ancient and Modern Ideas of Friendship', in *Friendship and Politics : Essays in Political Thought*, ed. John von Heyking, Richard Avramenko, Stephen M. Salkever, and Jeanne Heffernan Schindler (University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 201.

[128] Oxford English Dictionary sites the first appearance of 'useful' was in 1596. According to the Early English Book Online catalogue, the word 'usefull' [and variant spellings], appeared in 280 titles between 1620-1649, this boomed to an average of 715 titles between 1650 and 1700;

word went out of use, but rather that the concept of usefulness was a quality brought to the forefront of English social ethos during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This adoption into England's lexicon was arguably a result of urbanisation. Capitalistic ideologies propagated that the value of a person or object was dependent upon their degree of usefulness; in other words, a person's or object's ability to provide a beneficial or profitable service to an individual, business, and/or the community determined its social value. Eighteenth-century philosophers such as Hume, Hutcheson, Kant, Shaftsbury and numerous others printed treatises that discussed whether utility, aesthetics or both were what made something beautiful.[129] Larry Stewart's examination of the rise of machinery and industry in early modern England indicates a society that redefined how 'success or failure in the promotion of public service depended very much on a representation of social utility'.[130]

The quality, the necessity and the purpose of a person or object heavily relied on its usefulness to the public. Robert Midgley (d. 1723), a Leeds surgeon, is celebrated as 'Usefull, Charitable & Pious'.[131] This terminology mirrors numerous print titles from the same time period, including Robert Boyle's *Some Consideration Touching the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy* (1663, 1671), *Bank-credit, or, The usefulness & security of the bank credit* (1683), *The necessity and usefullness of laws and the excellency of our own* (1708) and William Graham's *The fatal consequence of national discord. . . so as to become Usefull in carrying on*

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the use of 'usefull' in titles declined significantly to less than twenty titles between 1700-1729, to then under ten reported titles for the remainder of the century.

[129] Paul Guyer, 'Beauty and Utility in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Aesthetics and the Disciplines vol. 35, no. 3 (Spring 2002): 439-453, https://www.jstor.org/stable/30054208.

[130] Larry Stewart, 'A Meaning for Machines: Modernity, Utility, and the Eighteenth-Century British Public', *The Journal of Modern History* vol. 70, no. 2 (June 1998): 281.

[131] Church monuments to William Milner and Robert Midgley are both located inside Leeds Minster.

Commerce.[132] To be useful was to have a practical purpose and to do something that had some value or benefit for another person or institution. More so, it was a trait adopted and prized by the urban middling sort. Richard Steele's novel *The Conscious Lovers* (1722) contains a merchant from Bristol stating, 'we merchants are a species of gentry that have grown into the world this last century, and are as honourable and almost as useful as you landed folk, that have always thought yourselves so much above us'.[133] Midgley was a surgeon. His profession alone had use in providing valuable services toward the health of the community. To redefine his professional duties as virtues shows how society was redefining values based on utility and how such use benefited the public. Midgley is, after all, also commemorated for his charitableness.

William Milner (d. 1740), mentioned earlier for his charitable donations, is also commemorated as living a life of 'usefullness to his Country'. Milner was not a member of the military nor a Member of Parliament; however, he held several public office positions, including Mayor of Leeds (1697–98) and deputy receiver of the land tax in Yorkshire, Northumberland and Durham (1697–1717). It was during his stint as Mayor that Milner was instrumental in the proceedings to secure the Aire and Calder Navigation Act (1700), which solidified Leeds' commercial success in the cloth market trade. According to R. G. Wilson, this was 'perhaps the most

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[132] Robert Boyle, *Some Considerations Touching the Vsefulnesse of Experimental Naturall Philosophy Propos'd in Familiar Discourses to a Friend, by Way of Invitation to the Study of it* (Oxford: Printed by Hen: Hall, 1663); Henry Downes, *The Necessity and Usefullness of Laws and the Excellency of our Own* (Oxford: Anth. Peisley, 1708); Some *Bank-credit, or, The Usefulness & Security of the Bank Credit: Examined in a Dialogue between a Country Gentleman and a London Merchant* (London: Printed by John Gain, 1683); William Graham, *The Fatal Consequences of National Discord: or, a Political Address to the Noble and Rich Families of Great Britain. . . So as to become Usefull in Carrying on of Commerce in Time of Peace and prevent our Scarcity of Seamen, for the future, in Time of War* (Edinburgh: printed by R. Drummond, 1748).
[133] Richard Steele, *The Conscious Lovers* (Paris: Parsons and Galignani, 1805), 58.

notable river navigation improvement of the eighteenth century'.[134] It is highly likely, therefore, that Milner is celebrated as useful because he provided an immensely beneficial service to himself, his city, and indeed the nation. In the words of Ralph Thoresby, a friend of Milner's, to become a part of the Leeds aldermanic bench was to become 'more useful in my generation'.[135]

Similar rhetoric is used in the monument erected in memory of Anthony Lambert (d. 1688), an alderman and Mayor of Hull (see Figure 11). Located in Holy Trinity Hull, the epitaph commemorates how 'he had lived piously towards God, faithfulling to his friends & useful in his stations to all'.[136] Lambert's usefulness to his stations likely refers to his various public positions as an alderman and mayor. The civic positions of alderman and mayor were very public roles. According to public records, in 1701, Leeds aldermen were required to attend all 'festival days and other public and solemn occasions or face a fine of one shilling'.[137] The public nature of this role meant that it was an influential part of constructing these men's urban identities. They needed to prove their usefulness to the community not only because it was their duty, but also because societal values had shifted to prioritise utility. Thus, although limited, the shared use of 'useful' and its shared connotative meanings in epitaph inscriptions reveal how shifts in the wider English lexicon affected the development of the language of memorialisation. The rise of industry and commercialism redefined urban identities and, consequently, how the living commemorated those identities in death.

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[134] R. G. Wilson, 'Milner, William (1662-1740)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified 23 September 2004, https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/49507.
[135] Ralph Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby (1677-1724)*, ed H. Colburn and R. Bentley (1830), 318-319.
[136] Church monument to Anthony Lambert is located in the south transept, south wall, of Hull Minster. The original inscription and format was the following: PIOUSLY TOWARDS GOD FAITHFULLY TO / HIS FRIEND[s] & VSEFUL IN HIS STATI[ns] / TO ALL DEPARTED THIS LIFE 28 / MAY 1688 MUCH LAMEN[ed]
[137] John Mayhall, *Annals & History of Leeds, and other places in the County of York, from the earliest period to the present time* (Leeds: Joseph Johnson, Rotation, 1860), 109.
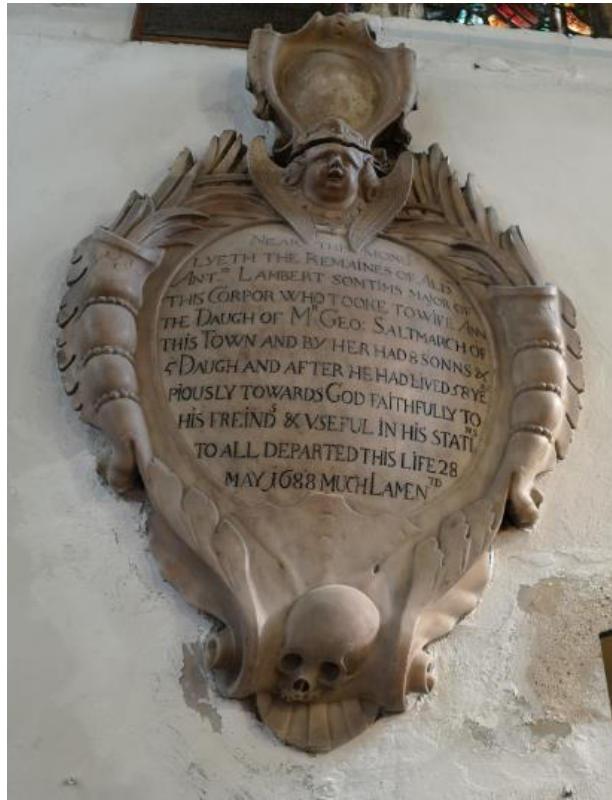
Figure 11. Personal photograph of the elevated wall-mounted monument commemorating Anthony Lambert (d. 1688), Hull Minster, Hull.

Section 4: 'Affection' and 'Tender': The Language of Emotion in Eighteenth-Century Epitaphs

Of the 113 descriptive epitaphs, over half (65) employ a vocabulary of love. The words 'loving' and 'beloved' were frequently used throughout the period in focus, as well as previous centuries, but two other words started to appear and increased in frequency during the eighteenth century: 'affectionate' and 'tender'. Of the 65 appearances of these words, 86.2% are from the 1710s onwards. Men and women are depicted as affectionate and/or tender in eighteenth-century epitaphs, yet the sample population suggests that while males were consistently commemorated as affectionate and/or tender throughout the period, female commemoration only appeared in higher numbers from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. This thesis argues that the vocabulary of emotion used in epitaph

inscriptions reflected cultural codes of behaviour and should not necessarily be interpreted as genuinely felt emotions. The possible motivations for why affectionate and tender were considered essential characteristics of polite society and what possible political and social implications such characterisation had on the reputation of the deceased are further examined in this chapter. This section considers the development of 'affection' and 'tender' in male commemoration, before discussing their use in female commemoration.

The language of emotions has a long-standing role in the history of church monuments. Barbara Rosenwein, Peter Sherlock, Sarah Tarlow and Jonathan Finch all found that the vocabulary of love was commonly used in the writing of medieval and early modern epitaphs, in particular, the words 'loving' and 'beloved'.[138] These two words were often paired with the word 'lamented', which is why Sarah Tarlow interprets such use of language as reflecting the growing 'emotional concern of the bereaved and [how] the mortal individual responds to death'.[139] She further claims that because many of the epitaphs employ loving sentiment when commemorating couples from the middling sort and lower gentry, this is evidence for the eighteenth-century 'cult of love' argument.[140] This theory posits that the middle class was increasingly idealising romantic love as the motive for marriage in early modern England. However, it is of note that Lawrence Stone, whom she references, makes this argument for the late eighteenth century, specifically starting in 1780.[141] It should be noted that, the use of the word 'love' as an adjective for a wife or husband is used sparingly in this thesis' sample population. However, use of the

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[138] Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007); Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and commemoration: an archaeology of mortality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999); and Jonathan Finch *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000).
[139] Tarlow, *Bereavement and commemoration*, 25 and 102.
[140] Tarlow, *Bereavement and commemoration*, 127-129.
[141] Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*, 189-191.

words 'affectionate' and 'tender' are substantial and, as stated above, account for over 86% of the epitaph inscriptions that use emotive vocabulary.

Mathew Craske, on the other hand, argues that increased representations of loss over a loved one in mid-eighteenth-century memorialisation are evidence of 'the rise of sentimentalism' as opposed to authentic displays of affection. He claims that the rise of polite society in the eighteenth century altered English culture to become 'fixed about the manufacture of agreeable sensations' and that expressing pain over losing someone was 'on some level, shunned'.[142] It was socially acceptable for females to express excessive grief, but males were held to higher standards of moderation and were widely considered the more rational gender expected to sustain the ethos of polite society. This, he argues, changed in the 1740s because the 'ideals of restraint in the 1720s and 30s had been so intensively applied that sensibility became a path of liberation from some of the children of these decades'.[143] Craske largely focuses on kneeling monumental bodies with the look of tears or frowns depicted on their carved faces. These monuments, he argues, are examples of this culturally cultivated sentiment. Memorialisation depicted constructed emotions that had more of a symbolic meaning than a representation of genuine, internally felt emotions.

Thomas Lamplugh (d. 1717) is commemorated as a 'tender husband'; Nathaniel Wilson (d. 1723) as 'an affectionate Loving Husband; a kind indulgent Father'; Richard Ford (d. 1733) is said to be 'an Affectionate Husband & Tender Father'; William Milner (d. 1740) is celebrated for his 'Tenderness and Affection to his family'; and Jacob Bosanquet (d. 1767) is depicted as a 'Tender Husband' and

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[142] Tarlow, *Bereavement and commemoration*, 48.
[143] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric*, 315.

an 'Affectionate Father'.[144] At first glance, a modern reader may interpret 'affection' and 'tender' with today's modern definitions and connotations of loving expressions expected between spouses and parents. However, these terms had appeared in handwritten and printed texts since the fifteenth century and, instead of depicting relationships between spouses or parents to children, were more commonly used to describe one's relationship with religion or with the government.[145] Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* offers 12 uses and definitions of the word 'tender', with only one referring to expressing feelings of love—to be 'amorous'—while the remaining refer to the term as an effeminate trait or to have compassion toward another.[146] It is of note that Johnson's examples for tender as an expression of compassion are in relation to the church: 'the tender kindness of the church', 'the civil authority should be tender of honour of God and religion'; or in relation to someone else's state of being: 'be tender hearted and compassionate towards those in want, and ready to relieve them', or be 'tender of every particular person's reputation. . . taken care not to give offence'.[147] From these definitions, and within the context of early modern England as a patriarchal society, the argument can be made that 'tender', when depicting a woman, was to portray the 'softer' and 'effeminate' passions of the female sex, but when applied to a man, referred to the compassion of a superior towards an inferior. To be a tender husband or a tender father in the eighteenth

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[144] Thomas Lamplugh's monument is a standing wall mounted memorial and is located in the north-east choir aisle of York Minster. Nathaniel Wilson's monument was an elevated wall-mounted memorial located in St. John, York which has since been turned into a nightclub and has removed all its interior church monuments. Richard Ford's monument is an elevated wall mounted memorial located on the south wall of the south transept in Bath Abbey. William Milner's monument was an elevated wall mounted memorial located in Leeds Minster, but has since been removed. Jacob Bosanquet's monument is an elevated wall mounted memorial located on the east wall of the south transept in Bath Abbey.
[145] Date origins was taken from the Oxford English Dictionary and from keyword searches in the online databases *Early English Books Online* and *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*.
[146] Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language* (London: 1755), 2034.
[147] Johnson, *Dictionary,* 2034.

century was the new sentimental or polite way to describe an age-old patriarchal duty of the head of the household to provide for his subordinates.

The word 'affection' in Johnson's *Dictionary* has similar properties to the word 'tender'. Johnson defines affection as any state of mind, or 'passion of any kind', or specifically as 'love; kindness; good-will to some person'.[148] The connection of 'love' with the expression of 'kindness' and 'good-will' denotes sentiments of compassion. This is further supported by 'affectionate' having four definitions, two of which use the word 'tender' ['Fond; Tender' and 'Benevolent; Tender']; the other two align with the earlier fifteenth- to seventeenth-centuries' use of being 'full of affection, strongly moved', as an expression of piety, and to be 'strongly inclined to', which is described as being a sentiment toward a type of government or government policy. Based on Johnson's definitions, 'affection' and 'tender' had far more complex and varied social applications than solely expressions of romantic feelings.

Thomas Lamplugh (d. 1717), Nathanial Wilson (d. 1726), Richard Ford (d. 1733), William Milner (d. 1740) and Jacob Bosanquet (d. 1767) are all commemorated as tender and/or affectionate husbands and fathers. They are also celebrated for how they treated others who would be socially viewed as their inferiors, whether by occupation or economic standing. Lamplugh is said to have been 'a Generous Master, and eminent for his general kindness Hospitality, and Charity'; Wilson was also 'a good Master, a sincere Friend; a charitable devout Christian'; Ford's role as a husband and father is celebrated in addition to his role as a 'viligant magistrate and Orthodox member of the C.O.E' and 'and a Generous promoter of every good work'; Milner's 'loving' disposition is seen in his treatment of friends and generally 'all men', as well as his numerous charitable donations; and

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[148] Johnson, *Dictionary,* 92-93.

Bosanquet is depicted as 'Not more industrious in acquiring Fortune/Than generous in dispensing it'. All these men were members of the middling sort and urban lower gentry: Lamplugh was a rector, Wilson was a merchant, Ford was a public official and magistrate, Milner was a wool merchant, and Bosanquet was an esquire from London. The connections between economic standing, living in an urban centre, and the commemorative rhetoric used in all five epitaphs point to an adaptation of the language of memorialisation to depict the new ideal urban man as fulfilling the expected patriarchal duty, but with the new finesse expected of an eighteenth-century polite, civil gentleman.

Another example is the floor slab in commemoration of John Teshmaker (d. 1713), located in the south nave in Bath Abbey (see Figure 12). It contains traditional elements of *memento mori* in addition to a celebration of his role as husband, parent, and public benefactor:

> In Hopes of ye Blessed Resurrection/ Here lyeth ye Body of Mr. John/ William Teshmaker late of/ ye Parish of/ Edmunton in ye/ County of Midx. Merchant/ Deceased ye 25th of June Anno/ Domini 1713 Aged 50 Years/ He was an Affectionate and/ Prudent Husband a Careful/ and Indulgent Father. Loving &/ Charitable to ye Poore to whose/ Pious Memory this Disconsolate/ Widow erected this Tombe./ O reader, stay one moment with the dead/ have one Good thought when thus on Graves you tread/ Think where now my soul abodes in heaven I trust/ It's there in bliss my Body's hear in dust./ O. Reader go & live & learn to dye like men/ That have immortal souls I then come hear agen

The *memento mori* rhetoric clearly instructs the reader to stop and remember the person honoured in the epitaph. It calls on the living to use the representation of the dead to reflect on death and to 'live & learn to dye like men'. Teshmaker's roles as husband and father are paired with the adjectives 'Affectionate and Prudent' and 'Careful and Indulgent'. The words 'prudent' and 'careful' denote notions of

restriction and control, whereas the words 'affection' and 'indulgent' denote notions of giving, kindness, and compassion. Teshmaker's epitaph not only celebrates how he treated his family, but also his social roles as a benefactor to the poor. He is depicted as being 'Loving & Charitable to ye Poore' of his community. This language of memorialisation shares rhetoric with what Jonathan Barry argues was the new codes of civility that emphasised self-control and accommodation to others. These thoughts and beliefs were often expressed as 'patriarchal and paternalistic sentiments towards women, children, and dependent poor'.[149] Teshmaker's epitaph inscription performs a continuous social act by perpetuating Teshmaker as the archetypal civil gentleman. He demonstrated his superiority, both socially and economically, by how he gave aid and expressed compassion toward his inferiors, be it his wife, children, or the poor.
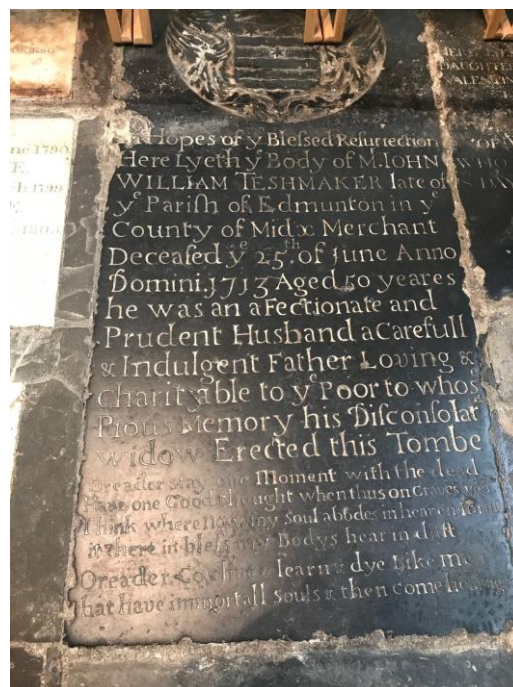
Figure 12. Personal photograph of the floor slab commemorating John Teshmaker (d. 1713), Bath Abbey, Bath.

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[149] Jonathan Barry, 'Civility and Civic Culture', in *Civil Histories Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas,* ed. Peter Burke, Brain Harrison, and Paul Slack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 195.

The connections between men's roles as husbands, fathers, and benefactors were symbolic of the cultural perception of men as kings of their own household. This rhetoric mirrored that of sovereignty, which was predominantly used in political writings that advocated relationships in which a loving sovereign received passive and happy obedience from his subjects in return for his public demonstrations of affection.[150] As William Graham states, if a King 'would have Virtuous Subjects, they must endeavor to gain their Affection' by providing 'Safety and Happiness' so that their subjects will find 'joy in their Obedience'.[151] Christopher Brooks demonstrated how the same rhetoric was used in other political genres as 'an important weapon in securing the compliance of the subjects', which then shaped the performance of civic ceremonies as 'based on love, community and subordination'.[152] 'Affection' and 'tender' were part of this tradition to mask social inequalities with a veil of worded pleasantries. As Nicole Eustace argues in her work on the language of emotion in eighteenth-century colonial America, 'expressions of affection could describe and inscribe unequal social status', and that 'because convention demanded that expressions of love should be reciprocal, exchanges of affection could promote notions of social interdependence even in the midst of negotiations over dominance and submission'.[153]

This relationship is evident in the church monument erected in memory of a departed wife, Elizabeth Morrison (d. 1738).[154] The executor of the memorial was Elizabeth's husband, Rev. Mr. Thomas Morrison. Thomas Morrison arguably used

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[150] For more discussion on the language of love in political literature see Nicole Eustace, *Passions of the Gale*: *Emotion, Power, and the Coming of an American Revolution* (Omohundro Institute: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

[151] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) William Graham, *The fatal consequences of national discord* (Edinburgh: 1747-48), 9.

[152] Christopher Brooks, *Lawyers, Litigation and English Society Since 1450* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1998), 247.

[153] Eustace, *Passion is the Gale*, 115-116.

[154] Monument to Elizabeth Morrison is wall mounted and located in the west porch of Bath Abbey.

and manipulated the practice of memorialisation for his own self-benefit. The epitaph reads (see Figure 13):

> Her ever Affectionate & Afflicted / Husband hath caus'd this Little / Monument to be Erected / As a Testimony of his Everlasting / Gratitude to the Memory of the / Best of Wives, / who, for the few years She Liv'd / with Him, not only made Him / a much Happier, but a Better man. / Since her Rational and Endearing / Conversation was not only the / Perpetual Delight of his heart / But her Pious & Exemplary Conduct / was likewise the Pleasing Rule / And Constant Direction of his Life.

At first glance, the epitaph appears to support the argument made by Sarah Tarlow as being a 'movement away from the representation of social status toward an emotional concern with how the bereaved and the mortal individual responds to death'.[155] This conclusion becomes questionable, however, when the atypical aspects of the memorial are considered. First, it is atypical because the identity of the executor is listed first in the extended part of the epitaph (located after the initial biographical information). If an executor was listed in an extended epitaph inscription, it traditionally was located at the very end. [156] Second, Mr. Morrison uses the word 'affection' to describe his *own* personality as opposed to his wife's personality. This is the only epitaph within this sample population in which an executor uses such vocabulary to describe himself. If an adjective is placed before the name of the executor, it tends to emote a sentiment of grief and remorse. The addition of 'affection' reveals how Mr. Morrison manipulated the language of memorialisation to promote himself within the commemoration of his wife.

The structure of the epitaph consistently depicts ways in which his wife's actions improved his state of being. According to polite etiquette, it was uncouth to

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[155] Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration*, 102.
[156] As mentioned earlier, an 'extended' epitaph is an inscription that went beyond the basic biographical information. The 'extended' part of the Elizbaeth Morrison epitaph starts with, 'Her ever Affectionate & Afflicted Husband hath Caus'd this Little Monument to be Erected'.

promote oneself as it was a sign of vanity. As Francis Bacon argues in his discourse

on friendship, 'A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less
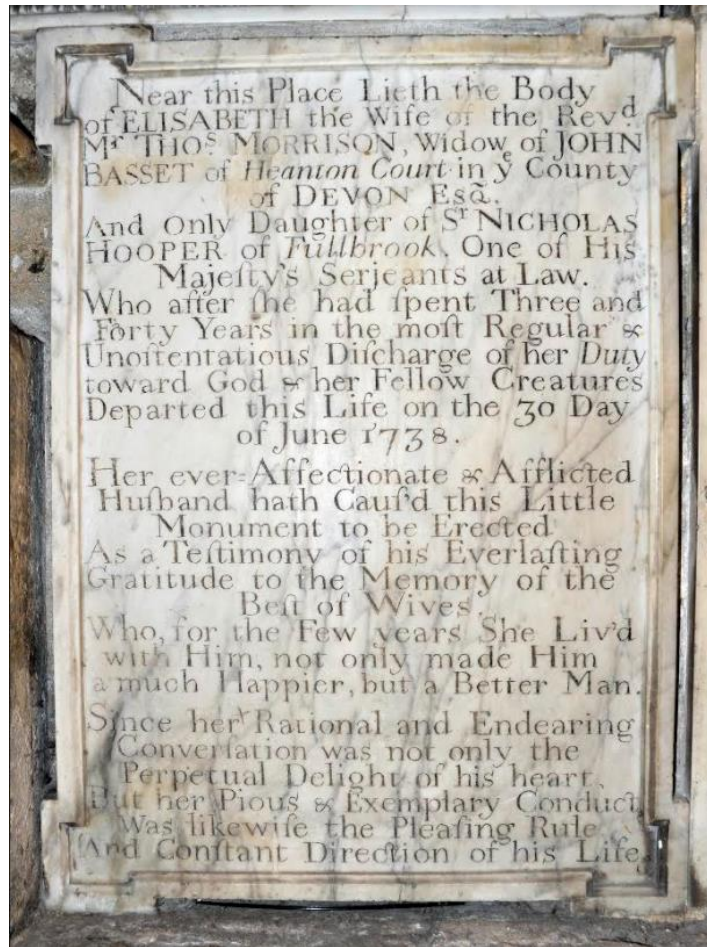
Figure 13. Personal photograph of the elevated wall-mounted
monument commemorating Elizabeth Morrison (d. 1738), located
in the west porch, Bath Abbey, Bath.

extol them. . . but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth'.[157] This mentality

is shared by Samuel Johnson in his *Essay on Epitaphs*: 'malice has seldom

produced monuments of defamation, and the tombs hitherto raised have been the

work of friendship and benevolence'.[158] Although the epitaph inscription praises

Elizabeth's character, it is purposefully portrayed in a manner to reflect favourably

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[157] Stella Achilleos, 'Friendship and Good Counsel: The Discourses of Friendship and Parrhesia in Francis Bacon's The Essays or Counsels, Civill and Morall'', in *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age,* ed. Albrect Classen and Marilyn Sandidge (Berlin: De Gryuter, 2001), 164-165.
[158] Johnson, 'Essay on Epitaphs', 497.

on her husband's character: he was 'happier' and a 'better' man, and the fact they had conversations together meant that he too expressed the skill of 'rational and endearing' dialogue, and was 'pious & exemplary' because it was the 'rule and constant Direction of his Life'. This specific manipulation of the language of memorialisation can be interpreted as an example of the living (Mr. Morrison) using commemoration as a tool to establish and promote his own constructed identity to a public audience. Thomas Morrison uses the sentiments behind the culture of memorialisation to promote himself through the commemoration of his dead wife as the ideal civil gentleman who was compassionate, pious, and sociable.

Men were celebrated as affectionate and tender in steady proliferation throughout the eighteenth century. 'Affectionate' and 'tender' were typically used to depict male roles as husbands, but they were not limited to this social role. Reverend Richard Sanford (d.1721) of Bristol was an 'Affectionate Brother', and John Green (d. 1754) of Bath was an 'affectionate friend'.[159] The use of these terms to depict other social bonds of brotherhood, parenthood, and friendship also challenges the 'cult of love' interpretation.[160] Such use not only shows that this vocabulary was used to depict non-spousal relationships, but also that such use calls for a reinterpretation of the possible denotative meanings of 'affectionate' and 'tender' when used to describe the deceased as a spouse. In addition, the early and consistent use of 'affection' and 'tender' towards the depiction of men questions the effect that the rise of sentimentalism in the mid-eighteenth century had on

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[159] Richard Sanford's memorial is located in the tower of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol; William Milner's monument is located in Leeds Minster, Leeds; John Green is located in the north nave of Bath Abbey.

[160] For other works on the 'cult of love' see Laurence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977); Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); and Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999).

male commemoration; however, what did change in the 1740s was an increased frequency of women commemorated as affectionate and/or tender.

There is an argument to be made that the increased commemoration of women as affectionate may have been affected by the rise of sentimentalism. As mentioned previously, Johnson defines affection and tender as effeminate expressions and dispositions. When women such as Elizabeth Hutchinson (d. 1763) are celebrated as 'the most affection Wife. And most Tender and carefull Parent' or Rebecca Roffey (d. 1765) as 'a most tender Wife', these may be examples of executors using prescribed feminine rhetoric to depict these women. Alternatively, these epitaphs may be examples, as seen with charity, in which women were adapting previously male-dominant traits into their own social lexicon and promoting a general, rather than gender-based, definition of civility and gentility.

For example, the adjectives 'affection' and 'tender' in the commemoration of single women had a similar implication and pattern to the re-emergence of charity as a female virtue. Anne Norton (d. 1759), an unmarried woman, is commemorated on a floor slab located in the entrance of St. Michael-le-Belfry, York (see Figure 14). She is celebrated as 'a woman/of distinguished Honour/Sincere Friendship/tender compassion/of exemplary Life/an ornament to her Sex/ and her many Vertues/ make her Memory Precious'. Her displays of 'tender compassion' were presumably aimed toward her friends and others in the neighbourhood, and it was this behaviour that made her 'an ornament to her Sex'. Mary Pickering (d. 1748) [mentioned previously] is celebrated as a 'Sincere Christian, inoffensive to all/ most valued by those who best knew her/and was ever an Affectionate Niece & true friend/to Mrs. Ellen Bowes'. The rhetoric in the epitaph instructs the reader to supplant the cultural prioritisation of a woman as a wife and mother with the belief that Mary was exemplary because of how she interacted with others in the

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community, and, in particular, her aunt. To depict her as 'inoffensive to all' is a clear use of the language of civility promoting the idealisation of polite discourse. Mary was exemplary because of how she behaved toward her aunt, a fellow woman, as an 'affectionate niece' and 'true friend'. This coupling, in addition to her inoffensiveness, favours the compassionate, generous, and 'careful not to hurt' definitions of affection presented by Johnson. It was by her social behaviours that she is commemorated as 'most valued by those who best knew her'. These epitaphs are examples of how, in the mid-eighteenth century, single women were increasingly commemorated as emblems of femininity without attaining the traditional role of wife or mother.
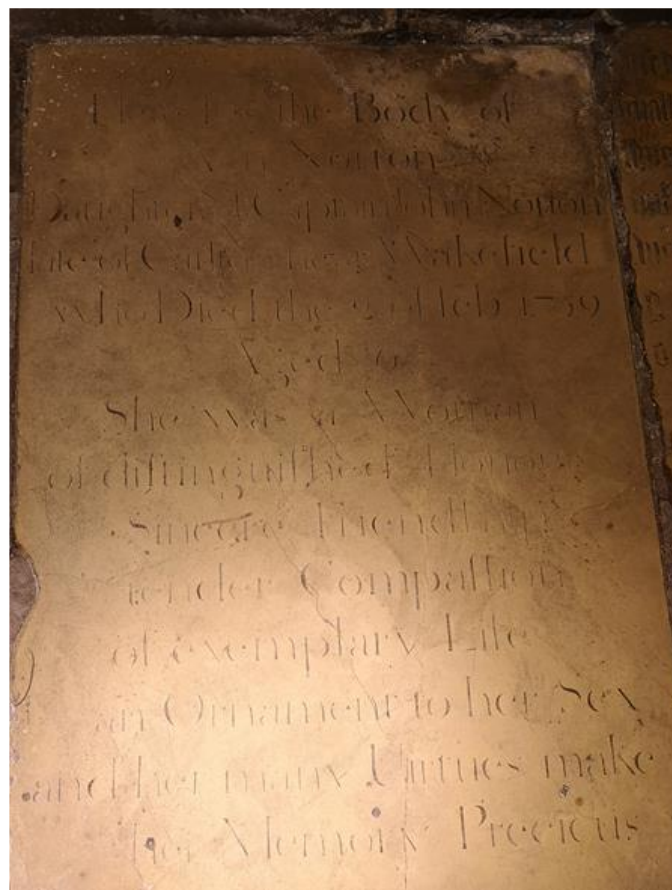
Figure 14. Personal photograph of the floor slab commemorating Anne Norton (d. 1759), St. Michael-le-Belfry, York.

Conclusion

During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a loose and broadening definition regarding what it meant to have a gentle identity. Gentleness was a cultivated reputation typically formulated by an individual's outward behaviour and dress; epitaphs provided another visual and material platform onto which individuals could construct and perpetuate this acquired reputation. The living constructed epitaphs to create representations of the dead that promoted distinct codes of civility. Embodying these traits was beneficial not only to an individual, but to the community at large. In this thesis, the sample population of church monuments reveals the ways in which the living redefined the ideal man and woman to coincide with shifting values of commercialism, civility, and utility that arguably defined the 'urban renaissance' of eighteenth-century England. In the words of Daniel Defoe, from *The Complete English Tradesmen* (1725), the commercial ambitions of tradesmen and merchants were so intrinsically linked to one's acquisition of credit that the drive for its self-preservation was 'enough to make men forget, not friendship only, and generosity, but good manners, civility and even justice itself'.[161] Epitaphs provided an alternative and additional platform for tradesmen, merchants, and similarly positioned men and women of the middling sort and lower gentry to combat the stereotyped urban identity as corrupted by commercialism. This chapter showed how the language of memorialisation was adapted to portray these new social values. The new rhetorics of civility were used by the living to reconstruct the new ideal persona, who was celebrated for their friendliness, generosity, usefulness, and tender affection towards others.

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[161] Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesmen* (London: 1725), 205.

Charity was commemorated as an indistinctly male characteristic in the first half of the eighteenth century. Urban centres were expanding due to commercial success, and the *nouveau riche* was put into a position of power while maintaining social titles affiliated with the middling and working sort. Theology and literary prints redefined the deserving poor as those in distress, the labouring poor who prioritised their industrial drive but had found themselves in deprived circumstances. To give to charity was promoted as important to the wealthy as it fed the mechanisms of trade. Wealthy tradesmen and merchants could fulfil their religious duty while simultaneously stimulating their businesses and the overall economy.

In the late eighteenth century, charity increasingly began to emerge in the commemoration of women. Charity is a common female trait on seventeenth-century epitaphs, but, within this sample population, charity as a female trait was nearly extinct in the early eighteenth century and, instead, increasingly seen in the commemoration of men. However, by the 1740s, charity as a female trait began to re-emerge, with a high occurrence in the commemoration of single females. This thesis argues that women, especially single women, used charity to promote themselves as useful within this growing industrial society. Charity provided an outlet and public demonstration for single women to demonstrate traits associated with motherhood and married life. Far from the monstrous persona depicted in novels and popular print, women could be seen and, more so, celebrated in their death as contributing to society and maintaining social stability, not by how they submitted to the status quo expected of their gender to secure a marriage certificate but through their charitable acts.

This chapter also revealed how being friendly was a new addition to the language of memorialisation. The addition of friendliness in commemorative

rhetoric reflected wider shifts in early modern social decorum, in which sociability became a key defining characteristic in determining one's social status in polite society. Friendships were important relationships in urban society; they were used for cultural and economic exchanges. Theologians celebrated sincere friendship as a virtue, be it between same-sex couples or married spouses, and it was this virtuous friendship that was increasingly celebrated in early modern epitaphs.

Friendships came under scrutiny in the eighteenth century as relationships of utility and social discourses focused on determining who was a sincere friend and who was using others for personal gain. The usefulness of friends reflected a shift in societal ideology, in which utility became paramount in determining a person's or object's value. Usefulness began to appear in the language of memorialisation, typically in epitaphs celebrating men of industry. The exemplary man, according to these epitaphs, demonstrated a usefulness to the community. This was often associated with their public positions as aldermen, mayors, or magistrates, in addition to the virtue of charitableness. Usefulness appears in single female epitaphs in the late eighteenth century, mirroring the pattern of increased proliferation of charity in female epitaphs. This change further reveals how women were redefining their gender as contributing to society in more ways than as a wife or mother, while also personifying the ideals of gentility and civility often celebrated in their male counterparts.

'Affection' and 'tender' were also new additions to the language of memorialisation. They appear to have replaced the traditional emotional vocabulary of 'loving' and 'beloved' when depicting not only marital and paternal relationships, but also familial and social relationships. According to contemporary definitions, affection and tender relate to attentive acts often associated with unequal relationships; for example, the relationships between an individual and the state, an

individual and the church, or between a sovereign and their subjects. To see these

terms in epitaphs, especially between spouses or between a parent and a child, are

examples of how the language of civility was further adapted into the language of

memorialisation to mask social inequalities as a pleasant state of being.

These changes to the language of memorialisation indicate how it was

adapted to promote commercial success using the lexicon of civility and gentility.

Rather than discerning whether the emotions expressed in epitaphs were honestly

felt, this chapter focuses on the ways emotional language was culturally

constructed and what interpretations were meant to be taken by the individual

observers interacting with the church monument.[162] One did not need to feel certain

emotions genuinely to use emotional language in daily life. Epitaphs were

constructed with the intent to promote an exemplary life, to act as teachers for the

living by personifying the essential qualities needed to be identified as the ideal

man or woman in the changing urban landscape of early modern England. Thus,

these ideal qualities changed over time and, in the eighteenth century, they

involved being sociable and useful. Epitaphs were like monumental bodies in that

they provided a means for the dead to continue their participation in cultural

discourses. As Laurence Sterne states in *Tristram Shandy*, reading and writing

'when properly managed. . . is but a different name for conversation'.[163] As this

thesis demonstrates, it was through the language of memorialisation that the dead

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[162] For more on emotional language in the early modern era see William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007). For further research on more modern displays of emotional language and expression see Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986); Eva Illouz, *Consuming the Romantic Utopia: love and the cultural contradiction of capitalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); and Benno Gammerl, 'Emotional styles – concepts and challenges', *The Journal of Theory and Practice* vol. 16, no. 2 (2012): 161-175.
[163] Laurence Stern, *The Life and Opinion of Tristram Shandy*, ed. Ian Campbell Ross (Oxford: Oxford's World Classics, 1983) 87.

could continue to do cultural work via how they engaged with memory and shaped

the lives of the living.

Chapter 4: The 'verbose, didactic, and unconciliating' Dead: An Introduction to Ghostly Voices in English Society, 1660–1770.

The pasquinaders of those factious days would not allow any public men to drop quietly into oblivion. . . Public curiosity demanded that each of them should have a Ghost; and the Ghost was generally expected to be as verbose, didactic, and unconciliating when out of the body, as it had been before expulsion.

John Ker, 3rd Duke of Roxburghe,
[*Roxburghe Ballads*, Vol. 6, p. 487]

As discussed in previous chapters, the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dead delivered messages from the walls of churches, but as John Ker, the third Duke of Roxburghe observed, the dead also communicated with the living through ghost stories. Ghost stories, like church monuments, were another way in which representations of the dead were used by the living to instil, support, or challenge social and political ideologies. Ghost stories had an important presence in contemporary culture, and it is the purpose of the following chapters to explore aspects of this presence and the ways in which the dead, as speaking ghosts, were used to control social behaviour and propagate socio-political ideologies. The study of ghosts has stereotypically been approached as part of the wider general history on the supernatural. Keith Thomas' *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), for example, incorporates ghost beliefs alongside beliefs in astrology, witchcraft, fairies, and magical healing. According to Thomas, supernatural beliefs had a social function in medieval England, but their usefulness to English society declined once science displaced the old ways of thinking and became the preferred approach to understanding the inner workings of the world.[1] Ronald Finucane, on the other hand, suggests that the dead continued to play an

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[1] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*: *Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Penguin, 2003).

influential part in the development of early modern English society. He argues that, once 'cut free from the purgatorial matrix, apparitions reflected more accurately the anxieties of the people who experienced them'.[2] Whether a story was real or fictitious, ghost stories continued to reveal society's inner thoughts, values, and beliefs, and are thereby a valuable resource in social history studies.

In more recent years, ghost beliefs have become a more independent subject in early modern studies. Peter Marshall examined the ways ghost beliefs were used as a polemic weapon during the Post-Reformation period. Catholic and Protestant theologians used ghosts as 'representations and reaffirmations of the social order, with notions of "community" and "identity"'.[3] John Newton continued this thought, arguing that, 'the world view of the religious community' dictated how one interpreted and made sense of reports of ghosts.[4] However, these interpretative communities overlapped and, as Jo Bath states, 'doctrinal changes were not uniformly taken up', and witnesses and readers of the paranormal formulated their own combined interpretative strategies to make sense of ghostly sightings.[5] Within these studies, ghost stories are presented as having played an active role in local communities by working as a sort of coping mechanism; ghosts would return from the dead with privileged knowledge [typically providing an explanation as to why someone was being supernaturally punished], which was used by the living to commentate on and criticise present social conditions. Jane

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[2] R.C. Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead: A Cultural History of Ghosts* (London: Junction Books, 1982), 150.

[3] Peter Marshall, *Beliefs in the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3.

[4] John Newton, 'Reading ghosts: early modern interpretations of apparitions', in *Early Modern Ghost*: *Proceedings of the 'Early Modern Ghosts' conference held at St. John's College, Durham on 24th March 2001*, ed. John Newton (Durham: Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies, 2002), 59.

[5] Jo Bath, ''In the Divell's likeness': interpretation and confusion in popular ghost belief', in *Early Modern Ghost*: *Proceedings of the 'Early Modern Ghosts' conference held at St. John's College, Durham on 24th March 2001*, ed. John Newton (Durham: Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies, 2002), 70.

Shaw termed these continued experiences of the supernatural by local communities as 'lived religion'. She argues that it played a crucial part in the development of Enlightenment ideologies. The involvement of the educated circles of English society—the Court, the Church, natural philosophers, and others—in explaining these everyday ghost experiences challenged earlier interpretative strategies as folkloric.[6] However, ghosts were malleable and were recrafted to support or challenge shifts in doctrinal truths. The approach to ghost beliefs as part of the polemic history inspired more recent scholarship on the relationship between ghosts and early modern science. The supernatural and preternatural were reimagined and contested by natural philosophers as either acts of nature whose mechanics were unknown to the human mind, or as manifestations of man's superstition and credulity.[7] Men like Henry More, Joseph Glanvill, and Robert Boyle believed that spirits were evidence of salvation and the afterlife. They further hoped ghosts would be an underlying shared belief amongst Christians that could contribute to the latitudinarian efforts toward the reunification of the Anglican church.

The adaptability of ghost beliefs is further explored by Sasha Handley in her ground-breaking work *Visions of the Unseen World*. Many historical studies on ghosts

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[6] Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2006), 9. For more on the cultural exchange between popular religion and elite interpretations see Jerome Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution: The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies* (Lancashire: UCL Press, 1993); William Burns, *The Age of Wonders: Prodigies, Politics, and Providence in England, 1657-1727* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); and Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Wonder of Nature: 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2001).

[7] For more on the subject see the works of Thomas F. Gleryn, 'Distancing Science from Religion in Seventeenth-Century England', *Isis* vol. 79, no. 4 (December 1988): 582-593; Rhodri Lewis, 'Of 'Origenian Platonisme': Joseph Glanvill on the Pre-existence of Souls', *Huntington Library Quarterly* vol. 69, no. 2 (June 2006): 267-300; Jo Bath and John Newton, ''Sensible Proof of Spirits': Ghost Belief during the Late Seventeenth Century', *Folklore* vol. 117, no. 1 (April 2006): 1-14; Michael Hunter, 'The Royal Society and The Decline of Magic', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* vol. 65, no. 2 (June 2011): 103-119; and Peter Elmer, 'Science and Witchcraft', in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed. Brian P. Levack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

focus on medieval England, the Reformation or nineteenth-century Spiritualism, whereas

Handley examined the overlooked eighteenth century, arguing it was a significant era in

the development of ghost beliefs. Handley studied a vast array of printed sources,

including ballads, chapbooks, pamphlets, and periodical presses to explore how ghost

beliefs remained relevant in early modern English society. One of her main arguments is

that ghosts continued to have an important social role via ghost stories. These ghost

stories were being used as tools for social criticism, specifically by marginalised social

groups (e.g. women and servants). Ghost stories, she claims, 'provided a space for the

active agency' of the socially oppressed and provided opportunity for these narratives to

be used as 'weapons to secure social and economic survival'.[8] This chapter expands

upon this conclusion to argue that ghost beliefs were also used in the eighteenth century

by individuals to criticise members of the same or similar social status.

This thesis does not consider whether people believed in ghosts, but rather the

ways ghosts remained relevant and present in early modern society due to how they

were consciously recreated in fictional writings as a way for authors and readers to

participate actively in the ongoing social and political discourses of the day. The

methodology used to collect relevant source materials was similar to the methodology

used by Phil Withington in *Society in Early Modern England*. Withington used the ESTC

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[8] Sasha Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World: Ghost Beliefs and Ghost Stories in Eighteenth-Century England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 66-67. For more on how early modern women used ghost narratives to challenge their social betters see Laura Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay', *Gender & History* vol. 14, no. 2 (2002): 183–201. For more histories on early modern ghosts see *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and *Early Modern Ghost*: *Proceedings of the 'Early Modern Ghosts' conference held at St. John's College, Durham on 24th March 2001*, ed. John Newton (Durham: Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies, 2002). For a general survey on academic research on ghosts see Hereward Carrington and Nandor Fodor, *The Story of the Poltergeist Down the Centuries* (London: Rider and Company, 1953); and *Hauntings and Poltergeists: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. James Houran and Rense Lange (Jefferson: MacFarland & Company, Inc., 2001).

database to track the occurrence of 'society' in the titles of early modern print.[9] The allocated keywords of 'spirit', 'apparition', and 'ghost' [all words used in early modern rhetoric to describe a human soul returning to earth] were input into both the 'title' and 'entire document' search boxes within the ESTC database. Overall, there appears to be a relatively equal distribution between 'title' and 'content', except for the word 'ghost'. The word 'ghost' appears less frequently in titles than content between 1660 and 1700. This discrepancy may be explained by the common use of 'tragedy' in ghost ballad titles instead of directly using the term ghost. Another interesting development was the apparent decline in the use of 'spirit' coupled with increasing appearances of 'ghost' and 'apparition' in 1710s titles and content. This change potentially marked a transition in eighteenth-century writers increasingly using these words to depict the preternatural ghost and the decline in the use of 'spirit', which often described an emotive response or the biblical 'Holy Spirit'. To test this theory further, I examined the n-grams provided by the online catalogues *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) and *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* (ECCO) [these n-grams are located at the end of this section].

The first catalogue, EEBO, was consulted for sources printed between 1660 and 1700. The n-grams of EEBO were an ongoing project and, therefore, incomplete during the writing of this thesis, but nonetheless provide a snapshot of the distribution of printed ghosts stories in the late seventeenth century. The EEBO n-grams were word related and, thus, plot the relative frequencies of an individual word or phrase for each year recorded. This means that one document could contain all the word occurrences reported for a single year. For example, the n-gram would show 50 occurrences in the

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[9] 'ghost' was a slightly ambiguous term in the early modern era and there were several synonymous words that correlated with the concept of a ghost—the two used more often were 'spirit' and 'apparition' which are thus also used in the keyword title search.

year 1661, but these could all be in a single document or spread out across multiple documents. As a result, the statistics are presented as proportional. According to the EEBO n-grams, 'spirit' was used more frequently than the words 'ghost' or 'apparition'. On average, the relative frequency of 'sprit' was between .0005% and .0007%, while the word 'ghost' remained steady at about .00015%, and 'apparition' remained significantly lower at .000005%. One explanation for the popularity of 'spirit' over 'ghost' and 'apparition' is likely due to the religious overtones of 'spirit' being used to describe the Holy Spirit and for more allegorical uses, such as in 'the spirit of freedom'.

The ECCO database was used to examine sources printed from 1700 to 1770. The database uses an algorithm that digitally searches for keywords within an entire document. As such, not all occurrences are detected, but an approximate representation of distribution is still provided. The search also provides a separate graph detailing that number in proportion to all other printed documents printed in the same year. In doing so, ECCO charted frequency and popularity. The word 'spirit' was used the most frequently and was the most popular, followed by 'ghost', and then 'apparition'. Combined, there were approximately 1,600 documents per year that discussed the subject of spirits, ghosts or apparitions. The word 'spirit' appeared in 50–60% of all printed documents between 1700 and 1770. This finding is unsurprising as religious polemics were a prominent subject of discussion in early modern England and, thus, likely skewed the results and should not necessarily be taken as evidence for ghost stories. 'Ghost' was used in around 20–30% of the documents, and 'apparition' remained steady at about 5%. These numbers suggest that the topic of the preternatural was a noticeable genre of print throughout the eighteenth century. However, it is likely that many of these printed texts would have been fiction. Still, whether real or imagined, ghosts continued to play an important social role in English society. As R.C. Finucane

states, 'made-up ghost stories are just as revealing of social assumptions as so-called authentic accounts' for all 'represent man's inner universe just as his art and poetry do'.[10]

To collect a sample population of distinctly ghost narratives, I conducted a title keyword search for the words 'spirit', 'apparition', and 'ghost' in various online databases. From these title keyword searches, the sources were then individually read to narrow down prints that discussed only the preternatural and to eliminate stories about the 'Holy Ghost', 'Holy Spirit', or more abstract, allegorical connotations such as, 'The death of her child put the mother in low spirits', or cosmic apparitions such as the appearance of a comet in the sky. This strategy showed that although 70 titles were found for the period between 1660–1680, only 27 can be distinctly labelled as preternatural. Upon further research, it came to my attention that many ghost ballads had a title with the word 'tragedy' in it, such as *The Lancashire Tragedy, The Hull Tragedy,* and *The Gloucester Tragedy.* Thus, an additional title keyword search was conducted with the word 'tragedy', and any ballad that had a ghost character in the narrative was subsequently included into the sample population. This research provided an indicative, but by no means definitive, representation of the number of ghost stories printed between 1660 and 1770. This thesis acknowledges that some sources will have been lost through gaps due to incorrect cataloguing or from algorithms overlooking word searches in the text, or because not all early modern prints have been digitalised.

The title keyword searches produced approximately 300 titles printed between 1660 and 1770; however, only 61% (182) were specifically about the preternatural. Within these results, around 10 to15 texts were published in each decade, except between 1720 and 1739, when distribution dropped to around eight per decade. After the texts were

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[10] Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead,* 3.

catalogued as preternatural, they were separated into subsections detailing type of document: anthologies, treatises, chapbooks/pamphlets, and ballads. Each document was then categorised by theme: murder, political, treasure hunting, and proof of the afterlife. To examine all 182 ghost stories thoroughly would be an entire thesis on its own; therefore, I looked for patterns within the catalogue. From this quantitative collection, it was patterns of reprints that inspired the structure and subjects of this thesis. These reprints were Joseph Glanvill's *The Drummer of Tedworth*, the ballad and short-prose form *Bateman's Tragedy,* the story *A True Relation of the Apparition of One Mrs. Veal,* a series of political ballads advertised as imitations to David Mallet's ballad *William and Margaret*, and the Cock Lane ghost phenomenon from the early 1760s.

Before discussing the printed materials concerning fictitious ghosts, Chapter 5 introduces the famous scrutinised hauntings of *The Drummer of Tedworth*. No ghost study of the long eighteenth century is complete without an analysis on this story. Yet, this thesis does not seek to prove if this event was a true experience of the paranormal, nor does it seek to demonstrate how early modern people continued to believe in the reality of spirits, it instead looks at how contemporary discourses approached this story as fictitious and how such treatment of the paranormal affected how ghosts were subsequently presented in fictional renditions. Chapter 6 of this thesis is broken into three sections that consider the development of fictional ghost stories. The first section discusses an adaptation of the popular seventeenth-century ghost ballad *A Godly Warning to All Maidens* and how it reflects changing attitudes toward marriage and class. The second section examines the famous ghost story *A True Relation of The Apparition of One Mrs. Veal* (1705). It approaches the retelling of the story, presumably by Daniel Defoe, as an example of how fictional ghost stories could be inspired by true events. In addition, how the author used Mrs. Veal's ghost to discuss domestic abuse

and female friendships is an example of how the paranormal was used to challenge social policies on the rights and agency of women. The final section further explores this literary genre in terms of how real people were used to personify ghostly characters as a tool for political and social engagement. It examines a series of ballads advertised as imitation ballads of the popular courtship ballad *William and Margaret,* as well as how the dead personified in these ballads were created with the direct intention of shaping the public consciousness regarding politics and reputations of specific people. Lastly, Chapter 7 re-examines the infamous Cock Lane Ghost haunting and how the ways the public approached the haunting transformed ghosts into memory symbols that then became an established aspect of the English identity.

	SPIRIT		GHOST		APPARITION	
Decade	Title	Content	Title	Content	Title	Content
1660s	258	270	36	109	3	3
1670s	182	192	38	161	10	10
1680s	165	179	63	241	31	32
1690s	139	152	49	203	14	14
1700s	146	169	75	104	22	24
1710s	98	118	85	87	40	43
1720s	94	104	41	44	13	19
1730s	83	95	33	37	7	10
1740s	129	142	64	65	13	15
1750s	154	165	56	61	10	13
1760s	143	165	60	61	6	9

Table 11: ESTC Keyword Occurrences in title and content, 1660-1770
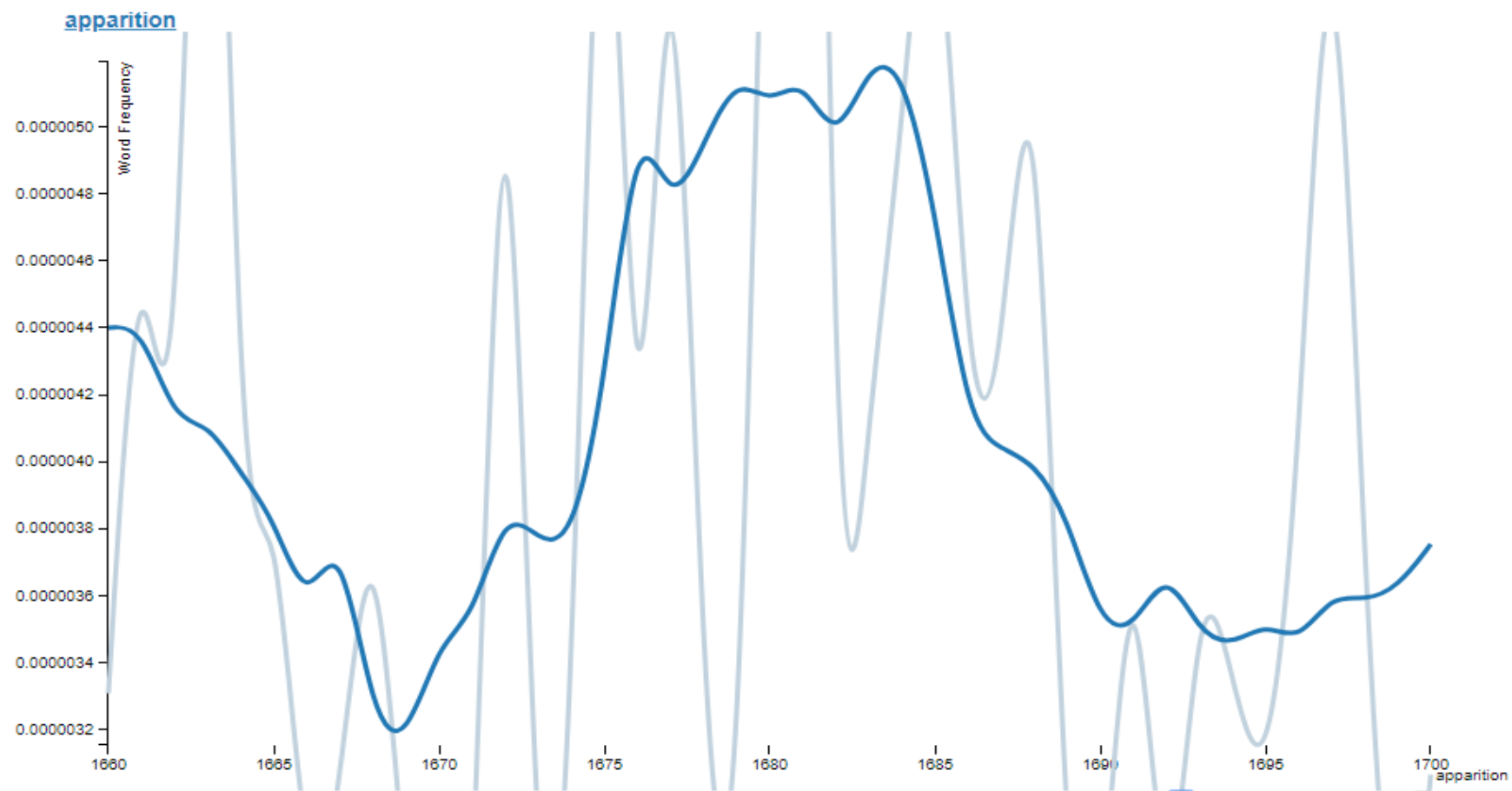
Graph 11: EEBO occurrence of 'apparition' in printed documents, 1660–1700
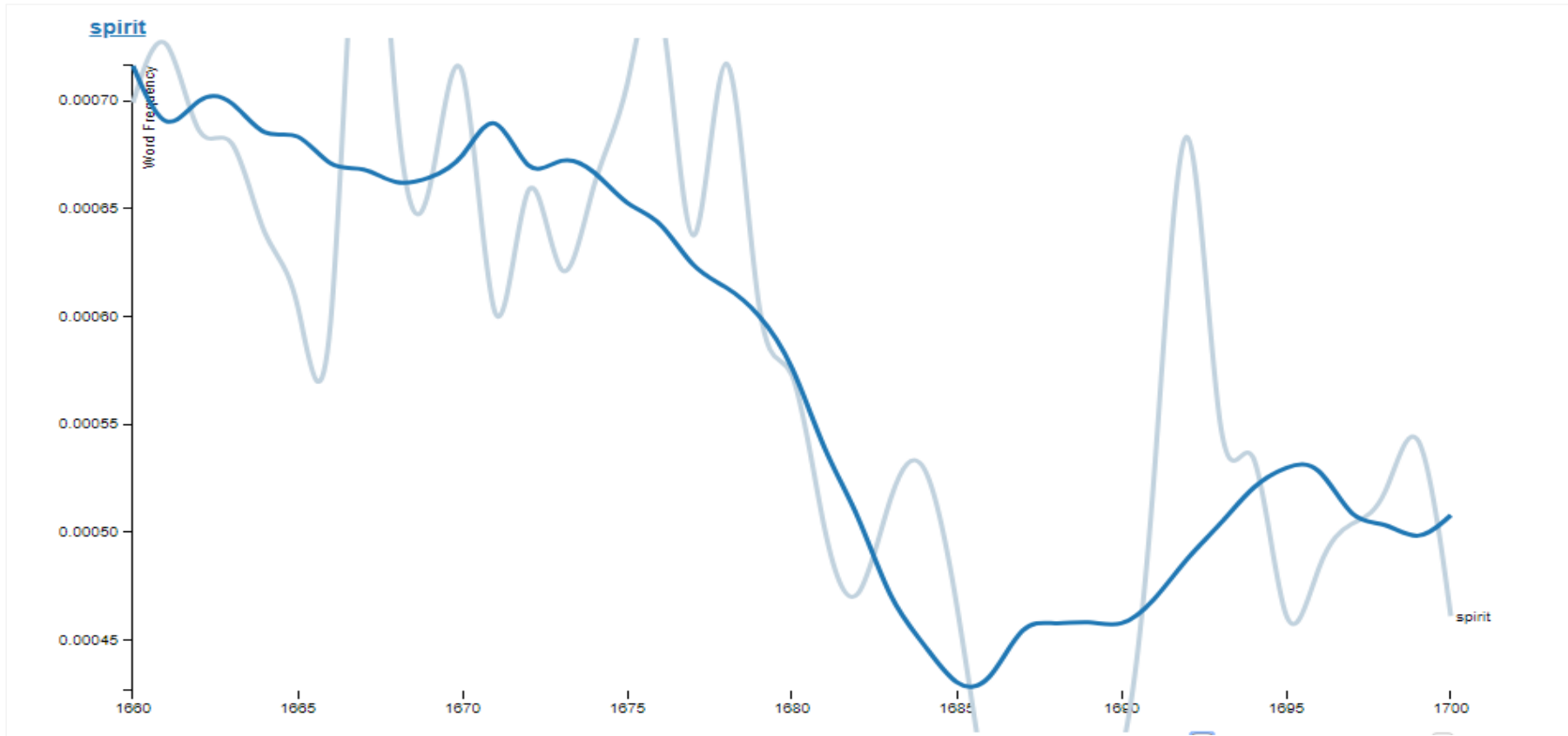
Graph 11.1: EEBO occurrence of 'spirit' in printed documents, 1660–1700
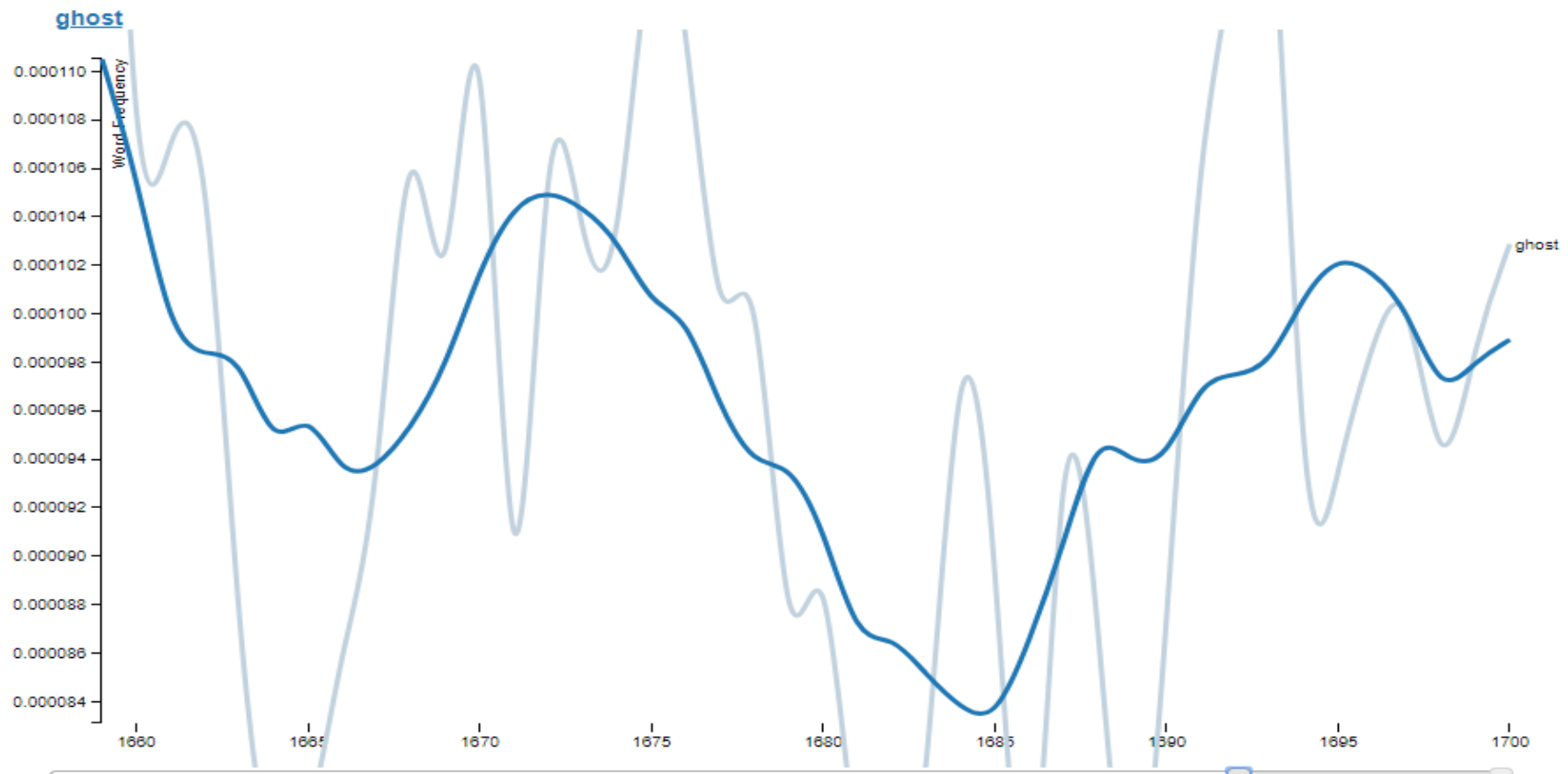
Graph 11.2: EEBO occurrence of 'ghost' in printed documents, 1660–1700
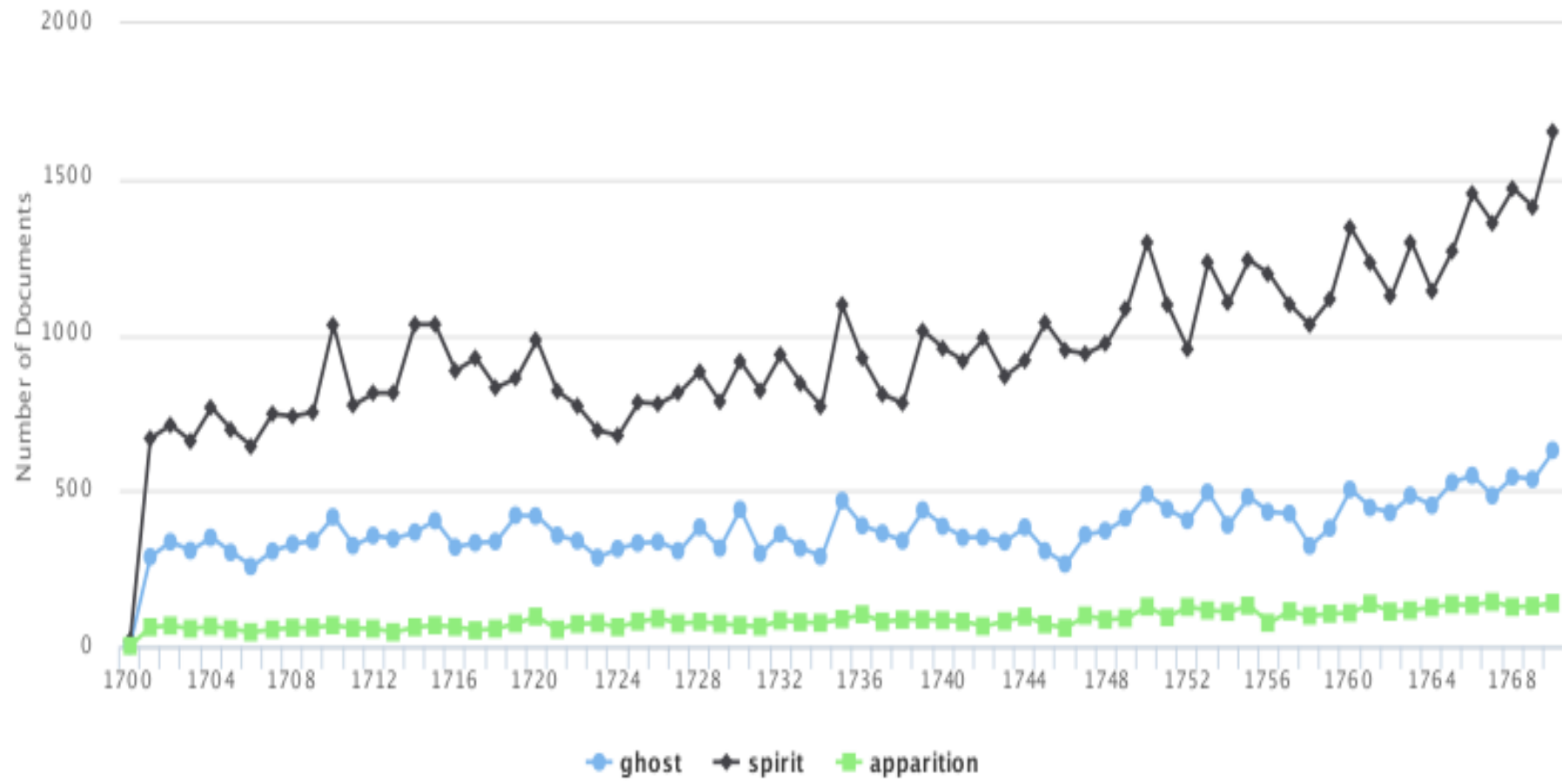
Graph 12: ECCO frequency of documents (per year)
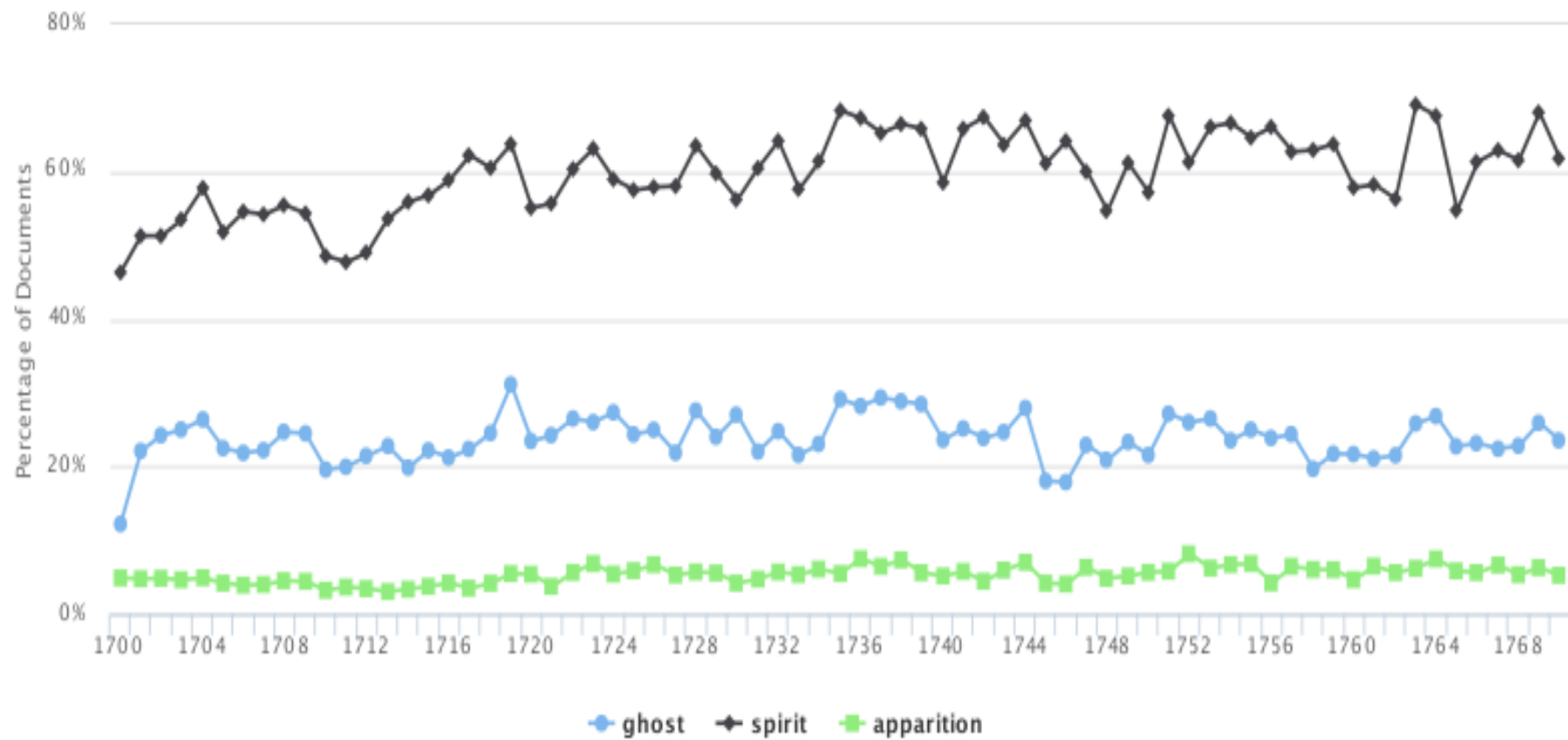
Graph 12.1: ECCO: Popularity: percentage of documents printed within that year containing the word

Chapter 5: Glanvill's *The Drummer of Tedworth*

The Drummer of Tedworth incident started in April 1661, when Mrs. Mompesson awoke to disturbing noises. She recalled to her husband that it sounded as if the house had been 'much affrighted in the Night by Thieves'.[1] Over the next three nights, the Mompesson family reported phantom knockings and a thumping sound like that of a beating drum coming from the roof. For the following two months, these mysterious noises continued non-stop in a loop of five nights of heightened paranormal activity followed by three nights of silence. As time passed, the haunting worsened. Mompesson's children began to be targeted with the beating of their 'bed-stead with that violence, that all present, expected when they would in pieces'.[2] The children reported feeling the sensation of having hands on them, shaking, scratching, and lifting them from their beds. For a while, it was only the children who were tormented. In November, word of the haunting had spread within the local community of Tedworth, and townsfolk flocked to the Mompesson household to witness the paranormal activity for themselves. Upon one such occasion, one of the servants, during the day and in a room full of witnesses, asked for the spirit to give him a board of wood, 'upon which the Board came (nothing moving it that he saw) within a Yard of him'. He then asked for the wood to be put into his hand, to which the board moved in several directions 'at least twenty time together', but it never made it into the man's hands. After this experience, Mr. Mompesson forbade 'his servants such Familiarities'.[3] This heightened activity caused the Mompessons to call a minister to aid them in their time of distress. During the minister's prayers, chairs walked around the room, shoes were thrown about, and a

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[1] Joseph Glanvill, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, ed. Henry More (London: 1726), 271.
[2] Glanvill, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, 271.
[3] Glanvill, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, 272.

bed-staff hit the minister on the leg. By January 1662, reports of clawed footprints in

ashes, floating orbs of light, and communication with the spirit via knocking were

included in the list of paranormal occurrences. It was around this time that the activity

gained the attention of Joseph Glanvill, a fellow of London's Royal Society, who came to

visit the Mompessons to conduct an empirical investigation into the haunting. Michael

Hunter's research into the haunting found an official report written around January 1663,

and although the author is unknown, 'a strong candidate' is Glanvill.[4] This official report

was submitted during the same period when other forms of print on Tedworth were

being distributed, including newspaper articles in *Mercurius Publicus* and *The Kingdom*

Intelligencer and the popular broadside ballad *A Wonder of Wonders; Being a true*

Relation of the strange and Invisible Beatings of a Drum, at the House of John

Mompesson, Esquire, at Tidcomb [sic] in the County of Wilt-shire. Glanvill's experiences

were first publicly printed roughly five years later, in his treatise *A Blow Against Modern*

Sadducism (1668).

Glanvill's investigative techniques included attempting to recreate the phantom

sounds to discern if any natural explanation could be deduced. He claimed there were no

tricks at play and that the phantom sounds were in fact produced by a 'Daemon or

Spirit'. He even recalled one night asking the spirit, 'In the name of God who it is, what

would you have?' to which a disembodied voice replied, 'Nothing with you'.[5] Glanvill

continued to record sightings of shadow figures, objects being thrown about, sounds of

dogs panting and cats purring (yet no animals were about), and sharp objects being

hidden in the residents' beds. In a letter between Mr. Mompesson and Dr. Creed,

Mompesson complained about the 'many spectators as well Divines as other, persons of

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[4] Michael Hunter, 'New Light on the 'Drummer of Tedworth': conflicting narratives of witchcraft in Restoration England', *Historical Research*, vol. 78, no. 201 (August 2005): 324-35.
[5] Glanvill, *Sadducismus Triumphatus,* 278.

judgment' who bombarded the house and who were 'not only troublesome and chargeable, but hinder us from doing our duties'.[6] The increased public interest, reportedly heightened by Glanvill's visitation, spread the news of Tedworth across the nation. A diary entry of Samuel Pepys recalled a dinner conversation recounting the interests of London's elite in the phenomenon:

> At the Trinity House, with Lord Sandwich, Lord Craven, his cousin Roger Pepys, and Sir William Wheeler. Both at and after dinner we had great discourses of the nature and power of spirits, and whether they can animate dead bodies; in all which, as of the general appearance of spirits, my Lord Sandwich is very scepticall. He says the greatest warrants that ever he had to believe any, is the present appearing of the Devil in Wiltshire, much of late talked of, who beats a drum up and down; there is books of it, and, they say very true. But my Lord observes that though he doth answer to any tune that you will play to him upon another drum, yet one tune he tried to play and could not; which makes him suspect the whole; and I think it is a good argument.[7]

Around the same time, and likely interconnected, Sir Christopher Wren arranged a visit to Tedworth, and King Charles II sent the Earl of Falmouth, Earl of Berkeley, and the Earl of Chesterfield and his son to investigate Tedworth and test the validity of the wild rumours sweeping the nation.[8]

Ghosts in seventeenth-century England were often connected with wider discussions concerning unearthly spirits (demons or angels) and God's power over Earth. Members of the Royal Society and other intellectuals were interested in empirically proving the workings of the spiritual world, including the existence of ghosts.[9]

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[6] Joseph Mompesson, 'Letter to William Creed', 26th December 1662, in Hunter, 'New Light on the 'Drummer of Tedworth', 26

[7] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews (11 vols., 1970-83), iv, 185-6.

[8] Hunter, 'New Light', 329.

[9] There is a rich scholarship on the relationship between natural philosophy and the supernatural. Arguments for recrafting the 'decline of magic' theory is the central focus in Thomas F. Gleryn, 'Distancing Science from Religion in Seventeenth-Century England', *Isis* vol. 79, no. 4 (December, 1988): 582-593; Michael Hunter, 'The Royal Society and The Decline of Magic', *Notes and Records of*

Seventeenth-century philosophical investigation was based primarily on eye-witness observation. It was the purpose of natural philosophy to observe these patterns and mechanics but not to present these findings as scientific principles. As Glanvill states in *A Philosophical Endeavour towards the Defence of the Being of Witches and Apparitions* (1666), the fundamental principle of philosophical investigation was to reveal 'the *probable causes,* shewing how things *may be,* not presuming how they *are*'.[10] Through empirical experimentation, men could glimpse truths of nature; however, natural philosophers also believed that some truths remained purposefully hidden by God, and though the human mind could not comprehend or distinguish these truths, this did not equate to their non-existence. Henry More's contribution to Glanvill's second edition of the treatise *Saducismus Triumphatus* (1681) states that through these relations 'we will prove that the Notion of Idea of a spirit, which we have produced, is a Notion of a Thing possible. . . [but] is not only possible in itself, but very plausible and. . . contribute to the Discovery of Truth'.[11]

Other theologians and natural philosophers believed Tedworth to be an authentic haunting, as seen in Increase Mather's *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providence* (1684), George Sinclair's *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* and Richard Baxter's *The certainty of the world of spirits* (1691). The incident is also referenced as a true experience in a number of cheap prints, including *A Full and true account of a strange apparition* (1685), *A strange: Unprecedented and Unheard-of apparition* (1714)

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the Royal Society of London vol. 65, no. 2 (June 20, 2011): 103-119; Peter Elmer, 'Science and Witchcraft', *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed Brian P. Levack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); and Jo Bath and John Newton, ''Sensible Proof of Spirits': Ghost Belief during the Late Seventeenth Century', *Folklore* vol. 117, no. 1 (April 2006): 1-14.
[10] (italic emphasis in the original) Joseph Glanvill, *A Philosophical Endeavour towards the Defence of the Being of Witches and Apparitions* (London: 1666), 13 and 41.
[11] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Glanvill, *A Philosophical Endeavour,* 85 and 104.

and William Henry's *A full and true account of the woefull and wonderfull apparition of Hurloe Harrington*, (1750). However, as much as Tedworth was praised, it was also highly criticised, particularly in John Webster's *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677), Balthasar Bekker's *The World Bewitched* (1692–94), John Beaumont's *Historical, Physiological and Theological Treatise of Spirits, Apparitions, Witchcraft, and other Magical Practice* (1705) and Oliver Goldsmith's *The Mystery Revealed* (1762). It was also the inspiration of satirical publications such as Joseph Addison's play *The Drummer; or, the Haunted House* (1716) and William Hogarth's print *Credulity, superstition and fanaticism: A Medley* (1762).

Joseph Glanvill's role as apologist for the Royal Society and believer of spirits has been the focus of numerous scholarships.[12] In recent years, Michael Hunter focused specifically on the retellings of *The Drummer of Tedworth* both in Glanvill's publications and other texts to show the wide array of reactions people had to the events that took place. Hunter argues that, together, these texts 'illustrate the process of constructing "narratives" of witchcraft and related phenomena. . . and especially the way in which a plausible rationale was sought for events, and how this might change'. He claims that from this single event 'we learn much about the history of Restoration thought'.[13] Hunter was the first to examine the variances between the Tedworth narrative in *A Blow Against Modern Sadducism* (1668) and its retelling in *Saducismus Triumphatus* (1681).

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[12] See the works of Moody E. Prior, 'Joseph Glanvill, Witchcraft, and Seventeenth-Century Science', *Modern Philology* vol. 30, no. 2 (November 1932): 167-193; Jackson Cope, 'The Cupri-Cosmits: Glanvill on Latitudinarian Anti-Enthusiasm', *Hunting Library Quarterly* vol. 17, no. 3 (May 1954): 269-286; Richard H. Popkin, 'The Development of the Philosophical Reputation of Joseph Glanvill', *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol. 15, no. 2 (April 1954): 305-311; Rhodri Lewis, 'Of 'Origenian Platonisme': Joseph Glanvill on the Pre-existence of Souls', *Huntington Library Quarterly* vol. 69, no. 2 (June 2006): 267-300; and Thomas Harmon Jobe, 'The Devil in Restoration Science: The Glanvill-Webster Witchcraft Debate', *Isis* vol. 72, no. 3 (September 1981):343-356.

[13] Hunter, 'New Light on the 'Drummer of Tedworth'', 316-317 and 337.

In *A Blow Against Modern Sadducism*, the narrative is filled with satirical rhetoric. One of the most notable pieces of satire is Glanvill's retelling of John's (a servant of the Mompessons) eye-witness account as a mock heroic:

> [the servant] takes the *Alarm*, and catch at his *Sword* to assault the *Lady* [spirit], contrary to all the rules of *Knight errantry*. 'Twas with much difficulty and tugging that he got into possession: for it seems the *Aiery Damosel* was not willing to be courted with John's Cutting Complements: But being possest of that *dreadful Blade*, the Amazon of the Aire withdrew her self from the danger of his provoked ire, and left the Champion to admire the effects of his courage.[14]

Hunter suggests this style of writing reflects Glanvill's religious sensibility. According to Hunter, such light-hearted language veered away from the puritanical tone of Mr. Mompesson's own retellings of the haunting detailed in his personal correspondents with Dr. Creed. He argues that the use of language showed-off Glanvill's, and More's, inclination to use 'humour to add "salt" to a more serious argument'.[15] Yet, in *Saducismus Triumphatus*, the interaction between John and the spirit is drastically altered.

> *John* heard a rusling noise in his Chamber, and something came to his Bedside, as if it had been one in silk. The Man presently reacheth after his Sword, which he found held from him, and 'twas with difficulty and much tugging that he got it into his power, which as soon as he had done, the Spectre left him, and it was always observed that it still avoided a Sword.[16]

This drastic restyling of the narrative may have been instigated by Glanvill, who stated his intention to restructure his story in a letter to Robert Boyle:

> I have of a long time been exceedingly importuned to reprint the story of Mr. Mompesson, which hath been so industriously run down by contrived tales, that have manner of truth in them, and some of them not the least

[14] Joseph Glanvill, *A blow at modern Sadducism* (London: E.C. 1668), 107.
[15] Hunter, 'New Light on the 'Drummer of Tedworth'', 333.
[16] Glanvill, *Sadducism Triumphatus*, 98.

appearance of any. . .But having not been very willing to intermeddle further in things of this nature, I have till of late contented myself to satisfy the enquiries, that have been made about it, either by letter, or word of mouth. . . And because some books have come out since mine, that very confidently oppose, and scorn the belief of witches and apparitions, and particularly one lately written by Mr. Webster, license by Sir Jonas Moore, the vice president of the Royal Society I have therefore determined not only to confirm that I have writ formerly on this subject, but the endeavour fully to prove the main business by a collection of the best modern evidence I can get.[17]

However, Glanvill had a reputation for his 'flowery pen', and it is possible that Henry More had a heavier hand in the editing of these stories than More had previously stated.[18] In addition, the previous aside in *A Blow Against Modern Sadducism,* in which Glanvill states, 'In the Relation of whose *vexations*, I beg your Lordships leave to be a little less solemn', and a reference to John as a 'gamester' were omitted.[19] Hunter argues that a possible motivation for Glanvill's [or More's] change in writing style was that 'he had now come to feel that the use of mirth as weapon by sceptics made it less appropriate for a humorous element to appear in the orthodox case'.[20] This may explain why John's testimony was reimagined in a more serious tone in *Saducismus Triumphatus*. However, despite these changes, educated society was seemingly more apt to disbelieve stories of the paranormal than interpret them as fact.

Thus, despite Glanvill's attempt to rewrite the narrative, the initial mirth, especially directed at the lower-class witnesses, was the public's first impression of the paranormal events. It was this credulity of the lower classes that spearheaded many

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[17] 'Letter 7 Oct. 1677', in *Boyle Correspondence*, Book 4, ed. Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio and Lawrence Principe (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2001), 460-461.
[18] 'Letter from Henry Oldenburg to Robert Boyle', 31 October 1666, in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle,* ed. Thomas Birch, 2nd edition, volume vi (London, 1772), 418.
[19] (italic emphasis in the original) The later omitted remarks can be seen in Glanvill, *A Blow Against Modern Sadducism*, 105.
[20] Hunter, 'New Light on the 'Drummer of Tedworth'', 336.

critics of Tedworth, and it was the 'looser gentry', in the words of Glanvill, who were the source and leaders of turning the public's consciousness away from believing in the paranormal. Glanvill targeted the ambiguous "wit" character of the urban elite as being those who could 'believe this Heap of Absurdities [that spirits are not real]' and who were actually the 'more credulous than those who credulity they reprehend'.[21] Although critics targeted the testimonies of the servants as dismissible, much of the criticism of the events centred on Mompesson. Outsiders commented on whether Mompesson was duped by his servants or if he contributed to the falsehood for some sort of monetary or notoriety gain. Other sources discussed why Mompesson was being haunted—was it a vengeful spirit sent by a drummer boy he had imprisoned [who was not dead; thus, referring to some sort of witchcraft] or was it punishment from God.[22] Much of the debate on Tedworth stemmed from why the haunting was occurring in the first place. Motivation was, therefore, a key aspect in determining if the haunting was real or fake.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the antagonism between Glanvill and those of similar social status [mainly those who attended fashionable coffee houses, such as professionals, lower gentry, theologians, natural philosophers, etc.] arguably shaped how ghost stories developed in the eighteenth century. The focus on motivation and the involvement of the higher classes with the Tedworth case arguably contributed to a reconfiguration of ghost stories as a fictional literary genre. First, the validity of ghosts became circumstantial; audiences needed only to accept the social function of spirits as messengers who were

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[21] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Glanvill, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, 4 and 37.

[22] See personal letter between Mompesson and Revered William Creed sent on 6 December 1662, on where Mompesson questions the origins of the haunting 'I suppose may be ready enough and have been as I am told) to judge that this comes upon me for some enormous sin or other'. Transcribed and copied by Hunter in 'New light on the 'Drummer of Tedworth'', 341.

motivated to return to the living in order to appreciate the theme of the narrative. Second, target audiences expanded to include the middling sort and lower gentry. This expansion arguably calls for a broader definition of 'marginalised' to include those in elevated status but still considered somewhat peripheral [e.g. gentlewomen and men of the middling sort and lower gentry with elevated social status but who did not wield political power in the House of Commons or the House of Lords]. The following chapter explores this development in greater depth to reveal specific ways the dead were used to challenge the public's perception and opinion regarding specific people and social policies.

Chapter 6: Making a History of the Fictional Ghost

Whether or not contemporaries believed in the paranormal, the public continued to consume ghost stories. They did this because ghost stories discussed themes and issues that connected its readership to aspects of their daily lives. There was a shared cultural perception in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that ghosts, both real and imagined, returned to earth to instruct the living on morality. These representations of the dead had privileged knowledge, hidden information used to instruct and inform the living. Ghosts provided guidance and understanding. The words of ghosts, therefore, provided a way that early modern society could textually challenge or support unwritten rules of social decorum and partisan politics.

This chapter expands upon the scholarship on early modern ballads, chapbooks, and pamphlets by examining how ghost stories were used by all sorts of people for various forms of cultural engagement. David Cressy and Margaret Spufford laid the groundwork on popular print in early modern England; however, these historians neglected ballads as an important tool for social and political engagement.[1] They argue that the lower classes of English society did not care or have access to the political culture of their social betters; therefore, these historians dismiss the use of ballads as an alternative way the lower classes actively participated in political culture. Margaret Spufford, for instance, argues that, 'popular prints', such as ballads, were mere 'pass times', and that ballads were in decline after the 'first decades of the seventeenth century'.[2] However, Spufford neglected to use the extensive ballad collections of Pepys

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[1] David Cressy, 'Literacy in Seventeenth-Century England: More Evidence', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* vol. 8, no. 1 (Summer 1977): 145; and Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 32-33.
[2] Spufford, *Small Books,* 9-10 and 249.

and Roxburghe in her analysis and source selection, which is why her argument has since been proven to be misconstrued.

Angela McShane Jones, on the other hand, re-evaluated the cultural importance of ballads as tools for political engagement. Jones demonstrated how ballads had a 'political agenda' and were understood as 'an expression of conflict: the struggle of the weak and virtuous against the oppressions of class and capitalism'.[3] Anthony Fletcher and Joy Wiltenburgh approached ballads as important materials that show how people used popular print to participate in ongoing cultural discourses—in particular, narratives relating to crime and examples of social deviance.[4] Diane Dugaw and the edited work of Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee furthered explored the role of women and the female voice in early modern ballads. Their research reveals how such representations demonstrated ways women could negotiate power and participate in civil society.[5] Patricia Fumerton and Christopher Marsh expanded this line of research to explore the role of woodcuts in ballad literature.[6] Marsh claims that repeated images were not passive parts of ballad literature but were 'an incitement to engagement and debate'.[7] This thesis adopts this approach to popular print to examine how ghost stories

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[3] Angela McShane Jones, ''Rime and Reason.' The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640-1689', (PhD Thesis, Warwick University, 2004), 2.

[4] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven, 1995); Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modem England and Germany* (Charlottesville, 1992). For more on the subject see also David C Fowler, *A literary history of the popular ballad* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1968); and David Atkinson, *Street Ballads in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and North America: The Interface Between Print and Oral Traditions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014).

[5] Diane Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini and Kris McAbee (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010).

[6] Christopher Marsh, 'A Woodcut and Its Wandering in Seventeenth-century England', *Huntington Liberary Quarterly* vol. 79, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 246; see also Patricia Fumerton, 'Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modem England', *The Journal of Mediaeval and Early Modern Studies* vol. 32 (2002): 490-518.

[7] Marsh, 'A Woodcut and Its Wandering', 246.

printed as ballads and chapbooks were used as a means for social and political engagement.

Section 1: Bateman's Ghost and Political Engagement

The earliest known record of the Bateman ballad is in the *Stationer's Register* (1603) as *A Warning for Fayre Maides by th[e] Example of Jarmans Wife*. It is testament to its popularity how the ballad went through at least 40 reprints between 1603 and 1820, how it appeared in all three editions of the first volume of *A Collection of Old Ballads* (1723), and how it was featured in various stage-play adaptations.[8] This section reviews the changes made to the ballad when it was adapted into a short-prose form entitled *Bateman's Tragedy: or, The Perjur'd Bride Justly Rewarded*. From the surviving publications, the earliest two prints of *Bateman's Tragedy* were published in 1701 and 1720 by C. Brown and T. Norris [who were proprietors of the Ballad Warehouse stock] and had at least four reprints between 1720 and 1820.[9] One major change seen in the short-prose form adaptation was how the author recast the characters from ambiguous personas into stock characters representing the wealthier middling sort and lower gentry of polite society. Second, there was a shift in language and narrative structure. This shift reflected a change in writing style, which suggests a new target audience consisting of

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[8] The ballad was mentioned in Fletcher's comedy *Monsieur Thomas* (1615) as well as in William Sampson, *The Vow-Breaker; or, The Fair Maid of Clifton* (1636). For a comprehensive list of all the various publications and dates for the Bateman narrative see 'Appendix 1: Select Bibliography', in David Atkinson, *Street Ballads in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and North America: The Interface Between Print and Oral Traditions* (Routledge: 2014), 202-204.

[9] Atkinson, *Street Ballads in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 192. For more on the Ballad Warehouse stock and intellectual property ownership in early modern England see Cyprian Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography* vol. 6 (January 1954): 161– 80; and Paula McDowell, 'The Manufacture and Lingua-facture of Ballad-Making: Broadside Ballads in Long Eighteenth-Century Ballad Discourse', *The Eighteenth Century* vol. 47, no 2/3, (Summer 2006): 151-178.

those who identified as belonging to polite society. These changes contextualised

cultural discourses debating the legality of spousal and clandestine marriages.

1.1 The Ballad

A godly warning to all maidens is categorised as a revival ballad due to its

continual reprints throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A revival ballad,

as Diane Dugaw defines it, had a cultural value that 'lies more in its familiarity than

novelty' by the ways it 'acquires for its audience a history of meaning and sentiment'.[10]

However, other than the brief mentions afforded it in the work of David Atkinson and

Sasha Handley, there has been little historical analysis on the Bateman ballad's social

significance.[11] This section seeks to rectify this neglect and examines how the ballad's

history of meaning and sentiment was repurposed into a short-prose form narrative to

criticise persisting eighteenth-century prejudice between social classes and

marriageability.

The ballad is about two lovers, Bateman and a beautiful unnamed maiden, whose

love for one another quickly escalated into a secret oath of marriage. However, after two

months of this secret love affair, the young maiden marries another man named Jerman

(sometimes spelt German). According to the ballad, part of the reason why the maiden

renounces Bateman's affection is because Jerman was 'greater in wealth/ and better in

degree'.[12] The woman's betrayal causes Bateman to hang himself in front of the bridal

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[10] Diane Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 45.

[11] For a comprehensive list of all the various reprints see David Atkinson, *Street Ballads*, 202-204. Further works that briefly mention the ballad are David Atkinson, 'Marriage and Retribution in 'James Harris (The Dæmon Lover)'', *Folk Music Journal* vol. 5, no. 5 (1989): 603-604, where he argues the ballad of Bateman was an example of 'freezing popular canon'. It is also briefly mentioned in Sasha Handley's *Visions of Unseen World*, 53-54 and *Sleep in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016)*,* 96-97.

[12] Anon., *A Godly Warning for All Maidens; by the Example of God's Judgement Shewed on Jerman's Wife of Clifton* (London: A.M., W.O. and T. Thackeray, 1680 and 1685), [broadsheet].

chamber door on the night of the maiden's second wedding. After his death, Bateman's

ghost returns to earth to haunt the newlywed couple. The ballad then details the

woman's pregnancy, which cause a temporary hiatus to the ghost's torments, but which

resume after the child was born. After the birth of the child, the maiden pleads for her

friends and family to remain awake because she fears she will be taken away.

Unfortunately for the maiden, sleep overtakes her attendant watchers and she 'thence

was born away' by the spirit of Bateman 'to what Place no Creature knew, nor to the Day

can tell'.[13]

In a comparison with the ballad *The Leicestershire Tragedy*, Sasha Handley

interpreted the Bateman ballad as intended for the 'lower tiers of the social ladder' due

to its criticism regarding the prioritisation of wealth over love by the upper classes and

its use of black-letter type.[14] She argues that although the ballad shows 'an appreciation

of the social and economic realities that determined the choice of marriage partners', it

mainly reflects the 'idealistic strain that prioritized true love over material wealth'.[15] This

conclusion, although plausible, is problematic. First, it subscribes to the mentality that

early modern communities, stereotypically those of the middling sort and below, were in

a position to prioritise love when choosing marital partners. Other scholarship on social

history has revealed this thinking to be misconstrued. Diane O'Hara, for instance, shows

how in the sixteenth century there was a 'full range of constraints and consideration'

that affected 'even the humblest' of people when choosing a spouse.[16] Ralph Houlbrooke

argues that although couples from 'the middling ranks of society' had freedom to initiate

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[13] Anon., *A Godly Warning to All Maidens*, [broadsheet].
[14] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 54. Handley does go on to say that this theme was also relevant in ballads that were targeted at the middling and upper classes.
[15] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 53.
[16] Diana O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 3.

courtships, economic considerations and affection were the criteria when choosing a partner.[17] H. R. French's research into middling-sort communities found patterns of trade groups that were 'statistically more likely to associate together for the purpose of marriage and apprenticeship than they were to form connections elsewhere'.[18] Lastly, R. G. Wilson shows how, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a merchant's 'marriage was as important as his education in fixing his rank in society' because dowries 'were an important source of business finance'.[19]

Second, Handley neglects to include an analysis on the accompanying woodcut to the Bateman ballad, which depicts similar figures to 'the figures of a gentleman and gentlewoman of fashion' reportedly printed in conjunction with *The Leicestershire Tragedy* broadsheet [I say 'reportedly' as I was unable to find any woodcut of Handley's depiction in either The Roxburghe or the Pepys anthologies, nor in any of the prints available on EEBO or ECCO affiliated with *The Leicestershire Tragedy*].[20] From the 1670s onwards, a woodcut depicting the image of a genteel couple was repeatedly used in the Bateman ballad reprints (see Figure 15).[21] In the image, the man wears a wide-brimmed hat, has a large collar, and a lavish cape, while the female is more humbly dressed in a cap and apron, but whose ruff sets her apart from the working class.[22] This is not to say that the ballad was not of interest to the lower tiers, as theorised by Handley, but

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[17] Ralph Houlbrooke, 'The Making of Marriage in Mid-Tudor England: Evidence from the records of matrimonial contract litigation*', Journal of Family History* vol.10, no. 4 (December 1985): 339-352.
[18] H.R. French, 'The Search for the 'Middle Sort of People' in England, 1600-1800', *The Historical Journal* vol. 43, no. 1 (March 2000): 283.
[19] R.G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: the merchant community in Leeds 1700-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 211.
[20] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 55.
[21] There are some slight variances between reprints of the images such as the image presented as a mirror image, or the image was decreased in size, or redrafted in slight cruder illustration [see image at the end of the section].
[22] It is of note, I am *not* questioning Sasha Handley's scholarly integrity, but I could not find a version of *The Leicester Tragedy* with a woodcut of the genteel couple she mentions in *Visions of an Unseen World*, 55.

Figure 15. *Bateman Tragedy; or, the Perjur'd Bride Justly Rewarded Being The History of The Unfortunate Love of German's Wife and young Bateman* (London: Printed by and for C. Brown and T. Norris, 1701), *Early English Books Online*, accessed 26 Jan. 2018, https://www-proquest-com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/eebo/docview/ 2240882953/99899890. This triad of images appears in the ballad prints from 1670s onwards and appears twice (title page and Chapter 8 title) in the short proses from 1701, 1720, and 1740. Some subtle variations to this triad of images can be seen in various prints of the Bateman ballad, but these are minute and maintain the overall general image of a genteel couple, a hanged man, and a bedroom scene with a ghost and a demon.

suggests that it also reached readers from the middling sort and above, as illustrated in the woodcut. Arguably, it is because of this accessibility that the ballad was later adapted into the short-prose form that featured various archetypal gentleman characters: Bateman is presented as a gentleman without wealth, the maiden's father is said to be a farmer who had acquired property and wealth, and German, the romantic rival, is a rich gentleman with a born title and wealth but who internally lacks qualities of civility, as evidenced by his lack of restraint and control over his emotions. The theme of

the Bateman ballad, after all, is not the idealisation of love, but the idealisation of fidelity. [23] This point is clearly stated in the final line of the ballad.

> For God that hears all secret Oaths,
> will dreadful Vengeance take,
> On such that of a wilful Vow,
> do slender Reckoning make.

Thus, the ballad is interpreted as addressing contemporary concerns regarding the feebleness of spousal and clandestine marriages.

During the early modern period, there were three types of marriage: spousal or contract, clandestine, and regular. A spousal or contract marriage was a verbal oath made between two people but with no witnesses, a clandestine marriage was conducted by a member of the clergy, and a regular marriage went through all the legal and religious proceedings including the issuing banns and paying for a marriage certificate. The oath made in the Bateman ballad was a spousal or contract marriage. Bateman and the maiden had made the 'promise secretly' and without a witness, neither friend nor family nor clergy, and it was ratified by a 'a piece of Gold in twain'. This was an example of a *de praesenti* contract of marriage, as opposed to a *de futuro* or future promise; however, in early modern England, both contracts came into effect if the parties partook in sexual intercourse, 'as it was deemed to represent their present consent to marriage'.[24] Furthermore, while under the *de praesenti* oath, neither party was legally allowed to marry a different person.[25] Thus, upon marrying German, the maiden broke

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[23] This argument is also supported in Atkinson, 'Marriage and Retribution', 592-607 and in 'Street Ballads in Nineteenth Century Britain', 189.

[24] Rebecca Probert, 'The Impact of the Marriage Act of 1753: Was it Really 'A Most Cruel Law for the Fair Sex?'', Eighteenth-Century Studies vol. 38, no 2 (Winter 2005): 247.

[25] Probert, 'The Impact of the Marriage Act of 1753', 247. See also, Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 126. For more on marriage in the early modern period see also Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) and *The English Family, 1450-1700* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1984); and Richard Adair, *Courtship, illegitimacy and marriage in early modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

her oath and committed bigamy. For although spousal contracts were exceedingly difficult to prove, society commonly accepted the gifting of a ring as legal evidence for a marriage taking place. For example, Martin Ingram's research on early modern church court cases found that plaintiffs often appealed to rings as proof of marriage: one plaintiff described it as 'a piece of gold', and another as 'a silver bodkin. . . in a true lover's knot'.[26] Both examples, 'a piece of gold' and 'a true lover's knot', are used in the ballad when the narrator describes the proceedings of the spousal marriage.[27] Yet, according to Martin Ingram, between 1570 and 1640 [the suspected time when the ballad originated], marriage contract cases had reduced to 'the merest trickle' in the English church court system. This suggests that rather than being an accurate reflection of societal norms, the ballad was an exaggeration of a specific social anxiety.[28] These contracts relied on the person's word, an action that relied on a commitment to a community's shared cultural values. The sanctity of spousal and clandestine marriages relied upon the participants' commitment to these unwritten societal norms— commitment that was often secured through fear of religious and social punishment; for although these types of marriage were legal prior to 1753, the church 'through pulpit, confessional and court action' as well as 'decisions made by common lawyers' actively discouraged these types of marriages and were reluctant to enforce them.[29] This was often because it was difficult to procure evidence proving a marriage took place that was not circumstantial or hearsay.

The concentration on vow-breaking meant the reader was encouraged to focus on the voices of the characters, and, in particular, the male, authoritative voice of

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[26] Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage,* 197.
[27] Anon., *A Godly Warning to All Maidens*, [broadsheet].
[28] Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage,* 192.
[29] Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage*, 132.

Bateman. Bateman has one line that is repeated twice in the narrative: 'Oh! thou art she that I must have, And will not be deny'd'.[30] This line is dictated by Bateman both during his last dying speech and as his only verbal action as a ghost. Bateman was presumably granted by God the ability to return to Earth to punish the 'false and forsworn wretch' and force her, through his tormented hauntings, to repent.[31] The dying, and the dead, Bateman identifies the false words spoken by the female as the cause of all the disorder. In this interpretation, the real moral message of Bateman's ghost is a warning to other men to be cautious of dishonest women.

This point is further exhibited in the gender role reversal of a woman's words holding power over a man. By revoking her vow, the maiden usurped Bateman's authority over her body and, thus, in a way, stripped him of his masculine prowess. *A Godly Warning* was, therefore, akin to the early modern 'murderous wives' ballads, which sensationalised dangerous women who threatened the established patriarchy.[32] In the first half of the ghost ballad, the female remains silent, and by her silence, she is figuratively positioned as the submissive character, who only gains power when she breaks her vow.[33] The maiden's first act of agency is depicted as dishonourable and dishonest, not only because she broke an oath made in front of two male authorities,

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[30] Anon., *A Godly Warning to All Maidens*, [broadsheet].

[31] It is of note that Bateman committed suicide, the implication of which are discussed further later on in this chapter. It was a general belief during this period that to commit suicide was to commit a crime against God. Prior to the 1700s, it was a common belief that souls of those who died by suicide would become malevolent, wandering spirits—suicide was the literal work of the devil. This would explain the picture of the devil figure alongside the ghost figure in the "Bateman" woodcut. However, the ballad places Bateman as the tragic hero and victim of the story; therefore it is likely that Bateman's ghost was interpreted as an agent of God sent to punish the woman: 'For God that hears all secret Oaths, will dreadful Vengeance take'.

[32] Simone Chess, ''And I my vows did keepe': Oath Making, Subjectivity, and Husband Murder in 'Murderous Wife' Ballad', in *Ballad and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 131-147.

[33] Chess, ''And I my vowe did keepe'', 136. For more on the female voice in early modern literature see Elaine Showalter, 'Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness', *Writing and Sexual Difference*, ed. Elizabeth Abel (Winter 1981): 179-205; and John J. Richetti, 'Voice and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Haywood to Burney', *Studies in the Novel* vol. 19, no. 3, (Fall 1987): 263-272.

Bateman and God, but also because her words directly lead to a male's death. Balance is restored and Bateman's masculine authority regained when the ballad finally gives her the power of speech, but only to recite an apology to Bateman's ghost.

A Godly Warning to All Maidens was built around the theme of fidelity and spousal contracts, but more so, despite the title, was a warning to men to be wary of dishonest women. This warning was contradictory to the typical social fear of men taking advantage of women—to bed them, then leave them. Its novelty as a marriage ballad was reimagined in the eighteenth century within the cultural framework of civility. This was likely as a response to the changing readership of eighteenth-century England to include the middling sort and lower gentry. The adaptation recast the characters and scenes according to polite society archetypes and refocused the theme of spousal contracts as a contemporary concern experienced primarily by the wealthier middling sort and above.

1.2 The Short-Prose Form

Although the ballad of Bateman has been included in a couple of previous scholarly works, this thesis is the first to examine the short-prose form as an influential piece of text that affected the development of ghost stories into fictional literature.[34] *Bateman's Tragedy: or, the Perjur'd Bride Justly Rewarded* is a short-prose form adaptation of *A Godly Warning to All Maidens*. The earliest surviving date of this short-prose form was from 1701. It is possible an earlier edition existed, but the overall changes to the narrative point to its origin being at the very least the late seventeenth century, if not precisely 1701. *Bateman's Tragedy* is a 25-page chapbook. It was

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[34] *Bateman's Tragedy* is mentioned in the works of David Atkinson and given a brief description of its visual appearance, but he does not give any analytical attention to the changes made between the poem and the short-prose form. The short-prose form is not referenced in Sasha Handley's *Visions of an Unseen World*, nor in any other early modern studies that I could find.

restructured into separate chapters (listed below) and includes 10 various woodcuts that are purposefully positioned throughout the text to represent key plot points in the narrative.

Chapter I

How young Bateman, *riding thro'* Clifton-*Town accidentally espied fair* Isabella, *a rich Farmer's Daughter, standing at her Father's door, and fell in Love with her, enquiring who she was, and his Resolves to let her know his Passion.*

Chapter II

How the fair Isabella *fell sick of Love for* Bateman, *though a Stranger, and his abode unknown to her; and how, when she was given over, he came in the Habit of a Physician, discovered himself to her, and she recovered by that means her Health, to the unspeakable Joy of her Parents.*

Chapter III

How being invited to her father's House, he walked abroad with and discovered his Passions to her at large; of the Encouragement be found to proceed in his Suit, and the Prospect there was of a happy Marriage between them.

Chapter IV

How he came in his proper Garb, and with her asked her Father's Consent, but for want of an estate was refused: how one German, *who was his Rival, attempting to kill him, was wounded by him, and how he made his escape,* &c.

Chapter V

How, being banished her Father's house, his love Mistress, upon sending a Letter, came to him in Disguise, in a Neighbouring Wood, and there they sealed their Love, by solemn Vows, and breaking a piece of Gold betwixt them.

Chapter VI

How, upon her coming back, her going was discovered, and she confined to her Chamber, which German *courting her with Tears, Presents and the Proffer of a good Estate; she, at the Insistence of her Parents, renounced her Vows, sent back the broken Gold, and married* German, *whereupon* Bateman *hanged himself.*

Chapter VII

How, upon Bateman'*s hanging himself before her Chamberdoor, she grew melancholy, always fancying she see him with a ghastly face, putting her in mind of her broken Vow; and how, after being delivered of a Child, a Spirit carried her away.*

Chapters I through V establish Bateman's character as an honourable gentleman, whereas the last two chapters depict Bateman's death and resurrection as a ghost. This section focuses on Bateman's progression through the narrative to show why, in death, he was given moral authority and power to punish Isabella, his spousal contracted wife, and the social significance behind such representation.

The familiarity with genteel society in the narrative—lavish parties, duelling, and the characters themselves—suggests a target readership of the same or similar status to the characters depicted in the narrative. The main characters are reimagined from social stereotypes of urban polite society—the moral gentleman (Bateman) and the corrupt bourgeoise (Isabella and her parents). Bateman is depicted as a 'Son to a Gentleman. . . a Person well Educated, but (by his Father's too much Liberality), of no great Fortune'.[35] The maiden, now called Isabella, is the daughter of a rich farmer. The relationship between Bateman and Isabella is recast as a love affair between the penniless gentleman and a wealthy tradesman's daughter. Bateman's romantic rival, German, is also identified as a 'Gentleman', but one who had recently inherited a 'great Estate'.[36] In a way, this characterisation is similar to the social dynamic Daniel Defoe describes in his *The Complete English Tradesmen,* as when the nobility 'loaded with titles and honour rather than fortune. . . come down into the city and choose wives among the merchants' and trademans' daughters'.[37]

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[35] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Anon,. *Bateman's Tragedy; or, the Perjur'd Bride Justly Rewarded* (London: C. Brown and T. Norris, 1701), 3.
[36] Anon., *Bateman's Tragedy*, 10-11.
[37] Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesmen* (London: 1725), 226.

This reimagining of Bateman as a gentleman who is distinguishable by his behaviour and attire is likely a reflection of how the middling sort were imposing civility not only on themselves, but also on the social classes ranked above them.[38] Bateman, for example, has a similar characterisation to the middling-sort hero featured in the novels of Augustan authors such as Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson, and Daniel Defoe. Arguably, the shift of emphasis to Bateman's personal qualities repositions the short-prose form in a more similar thematic scheme to the ghost ballad *The Suffolk Miracle*. *The Suffolk Miracle* was a popular ghost ballad that criticises a rich farmer for separating his daughter from her love in hopes of a more prosperous union. With this comparison in mind, the Bateman short-prose form 'promoted the scenario in which the poor man could compete on an equal footing with his social superior'.[39]

This social contention between the man of spiritual wealth and the man of material wealth was particularly poignant in matters of marriage. As previously discussed, the Bateman ballad addressed the social anxiety of spousal and clandestine marriage contracts. In the 1690s, 'the crown taxed marriages, and the stamps to go on banns and licenses', which Roger Lee Brown argues, made 'clandestine and contract marriages. . . an economic interest'.[40] More parliamentary acts were introduced between 1702 and 1710, in 1718, and in the 1730s, which restricted and regulated practices of

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[38] For more on civility and the middling sort see Keith Wrightson, *A Social History of England, 1500-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Jonathan Barry, 'Provincial Town Culture, 1649-1780: Urbane or Civic?', in *Interpretation and Cultural History*, ed. Joan H. Pittock and Andrew Wear (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991); Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989); and *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society, and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, ed. Johnathon Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: The MacMillan Press, 1994).

[39] This was the interpretation given by Sasha Hadley for *The Suffolk Miracle* ballad, a ballad where two lovers are separated by the bride's farmer—also a farmer—and the male lover dies from his grief. When he returns as a ghost in front of his beloved, she is so saddened, that she too dies of heartbreak: Sasha Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World, 54*.

[40] Roger Lee Brown, 'The Rise and Fall of the Fleet Marriage', in *Marriage and Society*, ed R.B. Outhwaite (London: Europa Publications, 1981), 119-120.

spousal and clandestine marriages. These acts were reportedly proposed because of the difficulties in validating these types of marriages in court—cases that stereotypically dealt with the exchange of wealth or land ownership—'but public opinion was not ready at that time to support the idea of voiding clandestine marriages and these bills proposed'.[41] It appears that a heightened affiliation with money increased the stigmatisation of these marriages as being an issue of foul seduction by social climbers who sought to take advantage of heirs and heiress.[42] This mentality was articulated by Sir Dudley Ryder, who stated his concerns to Parliament as 'when a young gentleman or lady is entitled to a large estate, the advantage to be got by marrying them is so great, and consequently the temptation so strong, that our laws have never as yet been able to prevent the evil [spousal and clandestine marriages]'.[43] However, Brown's research into records of the Fleet Prison marriages in London found that only 1% of the cliental belonged to the professional and gentleman social groups.[44] The rhetoric surrounding spousal marriages, and more important, the type of people who typically voiced such fears, reveals a society in which the ambitious middling sort and lower gentry were vilified as money-hungry deviants.

In the short-prose form, Bateman asks Isabella's father for his consent by declaring that, 'Truly. . . I am rich in Love towards her, but for Estate I cannot boast of much; I was born a Gentleman, but without the Fortune to maintain it'.[45] In this statement, a reader could interpret Bateman as the stereotypical 'social climber'

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[41] Brown, 'The Rise and Fall', 134-135.
[42] Brown, 'The Rise and Fall', 126. Brown's investigation into the records kept by officiant clergy in Fleet Prison showed that clients came from all social groups, both within and outside of London. The largest represented social group was 'craftsman' and 'sailors', followed by 'tradesman and innkeepers', and the professional and 'gentlemen' social group remained around 1%.
[43] David Lemmings, 'Marriage and the Law in the Eighteenth Century: Hardwickee's Marriage Act of 1753', *The Historical Journal* vol. 39, no. 2 (June 1996): 350-351.
[44] Brown, 'The Rise and Fall', 126.
[45] Anon., *Bateman's Tragedy*, 12.

described by Sir Dudley Ryder, feigning love to obtain Isabella's inheritance. However, the dialogue quickly changes to present the father as the greedy social climber, not Bateman: 'A Gentleman without an Estate', Isabella's father states, 'is a Pudding without Fat', my daughter is 'meat for your Betters'.[46] It is of note that the father figure is introduced as a rich farmer, indicating a middling-sort persona who has found wealth and now lives the life of the elite—living in a big house and hosting lavish parties. The metaphor of food symbolises how the father views his daughter as a currency of exchange. He sees her as a product. Moreover, if taken as a phallic symbol, the metaphor depicts the farmer as measuring masculinity based on material wealth as opposed to moral virtue.[47] The metaphor, therefore, could be read as a criticism of the relationships between sexuality and class morality regarding how wealth determines masculine prowess. Sir William Temple criticised this cultural practice and believed it had become too common in England:

> our Marriages are made, just like other common Bargains and Sales, by the meer Consideration of Interest and Gain, without any Love or Esteem. . . Noble Families that married into the City for downright Money, and thereby introduced by degree this publick Grievance.[48]

This statement was likely inspired by his own personal experience when his wife's family disapproved of their marriage because they sought a more lucrative match for Dorothy (his wife) in the hope it would restore the family's depleted finances.[49]

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[46] Anon., *Bateman's Tragedy*, 12.

[47] 'Pudding', entry 9, *Oxford English Dictionary*: 'coarse slang. The penis' and cites evidence from 1693 and 1719.

[48] Sir William Temple, *An essay on popuilar discontents, Miscellanea. The third part in The works of Sir William Temple, bart*, vol. 1 (London, 1731), 268.

[49] Kenneth Parker, 'Osbourne, Dorothy [married name Dorothy Temple, Lady Temple] (1627-1695), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (published 23 September 2004), https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ ref:odnb/27109.

Although Isabella makes the final decision to end her spousal marriage contract with Bateman, the narrative blames the parents, indicating their manipulation of Isabella causes the betrayal. Isabella's decision to break her vow to Bateman is the subject of Chapter IV, which is subtitled: 'by the desire of her parents, she consented to renounce her vows'.[50] This is expanded upon in the following pages as being accomplished by the 'the Glittering of the Miser's Gold, the Perswasions and Threats of her Father, and her Mother's Tears, with fine treats and rich Presentations, prevailed with her to alter her Mind'.[51] This interaction dramatises the social stereotype of the wealthier miser middling-sort man who forgoes his former virtue to seek elitist prestige. In the words of M.P. Nugent, it was a common cultural pattern for 'an old miser, even of the lowest birth' to be 'generally ambitious of having his only daughter married to a lord'.[52] The immorality of Isabella's father to refute the marriage contract is further established when, he demands 'if [Bateman] made Love to his Daughter', who 'boldly own[ed] it and desired his Consent to have her in Marriage'.[53] In this statement, Bateman is presented as an opposition to a popular marriage stereotype of the dishonest seducer. As commonly depicted in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century 'Murderous Sweetheart/Murderous Lover' ballads, as well as in eighteenth-century novels such as *Pamela* and *Tom Jones*, there was a social anxiety that spousal and clandestine marriages encouraged male infidelity and that many women, as William Beckford stated, were 'so often deceived, deluded and ruined by promises of marriage'.[54] Henry Fox, for example, opposed making spousal and clandestine marriages illegal because he believed a repercussion of the law would make young women of the upper classes defenceless against wealth-seeking

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[50] Anon, *Bateman's Tragedy*, 14.
[51] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Anon, *Bateman's Tragedy*, 15.
[52] Lemmings, 'Marriage and the Law', 355.
[53] Anon., *Bateman's Tragedy*, 12.
[54] Lemmings, 'Marriage and the Law', 356.

male seducers.[55] However, in the Bateman narrative, he was willing to honour his vow, it is the woman who is unfaithful to her word and who leaves Bateman in a diminished, dishonourable state.

Chapters VI and VII of the short-prose form detail how Bateman dies and how he returns as a vengeful ghost. In the ballad, Bateman hangs himself in front of the bridal chamber door. In the short-prose form, Bateman resolves to kill himself by hanging, but only after contemplating other forms of violent revenge, including killing German before killing himself. Arguably, this adaptation of the narrative illustrates changing beliefs in the cultural acceptance, or more so the cultural forgiveness, of certain types of suicide. MacDonald and Murphy argue there was a secularisation of suicide circa 1700 based on how the verdict of *non compos mentis* was growing as the most frequently granted verdict in middling and upper-class suicide cases.[56] This verdict meant that the deceased's belongings would go to the family instead of the government. However, to be granted this verdict, the victims of 'self-murder' had to be judged as being in a mental state of distress. Bateman is depicted as heartbroken and dishonoured; thus, is in a culturally accepted mental state of distress. Yet, although his actions may have been cautiously accepted by contemporary society as understandable and forgivable, it effectively emasculates Bateman's character. Civilised men of the English gentry were expected to embody the code of moderation and restraint, but by attesting that Bateman's decision was reasonable and calmly made, the author reconfigures his death by hanging as civilised. As MacDonald and Murphy argue, 'to be honourable. . . a suicide

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[55] See the debates in the House of Commons on 7 May and 5 June 1753 (*Parliamentary History,* xv, i-86).
[56] Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 132-133.

had to be an act of cool resolutions, a deed of calm reason rather than passionate impulse'.[57]

This sense of a civilised death was justified by the narrator's depiction of Bateman as considering a more stereotypical gentleman's death before resolving on death by hanging [arguably to coincide with the original ballad narrative]. First, Bateman considers suicide by falling 'on his own sword'.[58] To die by a duelling weapon, such as a sword or pistol, was culturally perceived as an acceptable way for a gentleman to die.[59] Christopher Moore, for instance, upon hearing that a 'man of consequence' had killed himself, stated that the man was a 'low-minded wretch, to apply the halter! Had he shot himself, like a gentleman, I could have forgiven him'.[60] However, popular opinion also believed that a plebeian death by hanging or poison was appropriate when the person identified themselves as recently impoverished. For example, a gentleman named Thomas Davies used poison to complete self-murder because he believed his recently reduced status deprived him of the cultural right to 'die like a gentleman'.[61] Arguably, to change how Bateman died would have been too great an alteration and would diminish the revival ballad's cultural familiarity, but changing how Bateman approached his suicide addressed how contemporaries were restructuring suicide as adhering to codes of civility.

Chapter VIII marks the return of Bateman's ghost. It is one and a half pages long, suggesting that the narrative is more concerned with depicting the moral messages of Bateman life than his death. Yet, as this thesis discusses regarding church monuments,

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[57] MacDonald and Murphey, *Sleepless Souls,* 45.

[58] Anon., *Bateman's Tragedy*, 15.

[59] MacDonald and Murphey, *Sleepless Souls*, 185-86. For more on dueling and genteel identity see Markku Pelteren, *The Duel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). 149-150.

[60] MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls,* 185-86.

[61] MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls,* 185-86.

death did not mean an end to the living's reputation. It was essential for the narrator to set up Bateman as a virtuous gentleman or else his actions against Isabella could be misconstrued and misjudged by the reader. It is only in death that Bateman receives justice for the wrongdoings done unto him. For her sins against him, Isabella is punished, not only by the torments of her guilt, which are manifested and magnified through the representation of Bateman's ghost, but also how her soul is borne away to hell. This interpretation is supported by the narrator's statement that a 'strong smell of Sulpher' was left in Isabella's room—a smell notoriously believed to be that of hell and demons. Furthermore, in the woodblock image used in a multitude of the ballad and short-prose form prints (see Figure 15), the image of a black, horned, and spiked-tail creature carrying a woman is depicted alongside an image of the stereotypical early modern ghost wrapped in a winding sheet and carrying a torch. This image suggests the two beings are separate. Bateman's ghost comes to deliver the message of damnation, and then an actual demonic creature carries Isabella away.

The climactic events leading up to Bateman's death were added to the narrative purposefully to present Bateman as a gentleman who, despite his superior morality, is ostracised from polite society, as represented by the rich farmer and his wealthy rival German. Bateman is arguably reconstructed from an archetypal persona of a civil gentleman whose honourable pursuits in life were thwarted by those whose vanity and greed represent the disingenuous, corrupted social elite of polite society. The attacks on the legality of spousal and clandestine marriages threatened the urban gentleman's way of life. Marriage was an important way for these types of men to gain social, political, and economic power in early modern England. *Bateman's Tragedy* explores this social anxiety via its reinterpretation of a popular revival ballad. Like the novels of the mid-eighteenth century, *Bateman Tragedy's* is a ghost story that mixes a sense of realism

with fiction. It reflected ongoing political discourses on marriage and reputation and had the potential to be used as narrative evidence to support the legality of spousal and clandestine marriages and the pursuits of so-called "social climbing" gentlemen. Thus, when *Bateman's Tragedy* is contextualised with complementary political discourses on marriage, the ways in which the representation of the dead continued to do cultural work is evident.

Section 2: A Reimagination of *A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal*

Around noon on 8 September 1705, Mrs. Veal came to Canterbury to visit her long-time friend Mrs. Bargrave. They sat and talked with one another about their past friendship, with Mrs. Veal apologising for neglecting their friendship for the past two years. After pleasantries were exchanged and forgiveness granted by Mrs. Bargrave to Mrs. Veal, the gentlewomen moved on to discuss beliefs in the afterlife. They discussed multiple books on the subject but settled on Drelincourt's *The Christian's Defense* as 'the best. . . [and] had the clearest Notions of Death'.[62] Mrs. Veal then asked Mrs. Bargrave to write a letter for her and address it to her brother, William. The letter discussed matters of inheritance and contained instructions on how Mrs. Veal wanted her property to be posthumously distributed to her friends and relatives. Once Mrs. Bargrave had written the letter, Mrs. Veal took her leave, 'which was three quarters after One in the Afternoon'.[63] The two gentlewomen had been conversing for over an hour. Two days later, Mrs. Bargrave was informed that Mrs. Veal had died on the 7th of September, a day before her sudden visit. This would mean that the Mrs. Veal she had

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[62] *A True Relation of the Apparition of One Mrs. Veal*, (London: 1706), 3.
[63] *A True Relation*, 5.

been conversing with for over an hour that fateful afternoon was not the living Mrs. Veal, but her ghost.

The story of Mrs. Veal began to circulate within the local community of Canterbury. It was retold by word of mouth, in letters, such as those written by an E.B. and Lucy Lukyn, and appeared in the local newspaper *The Loyal Post*. A year later, in 1706, the most famous retelling of the paranormal events was published as a chapbook entitled *A True Relation of the Apparition of One Mrs. Veal* by an anonymous author. This print proved to have long-lasting appeal and was in its ninth edition by 1719 and had copies printed in the cities of London, Edinburgh, and Coventry. Most literary historians believe the author to be Daniel Defoe, who was first given recognition as the author in 1790, when George Chalmers included the publication in the 'Lists of Writings' appended to his *Life of Daniel De Foe*.[64] Since then, speculation has arisen that *A True Relation* was written to increase sales for Drelincourt's *The Christian's Defense*. This theory is supported by the fact that *A True Relation* was frequently appended to newer editions of *The Christian's Defense* from 1707 onwards. In more recent scholarship, Defoe's credit as the author to Mrs. Veal has been challenged.[65] Whoever wrote *A True Relation*, though intriguing, does not, however, drastically alter the meaning behind the narrative.

A True Relation of the Apparition of One Mrs. Veal has a rich literary scholarship, but its place in the historical development of ghost stories is notably explored by Sasha Handley in her *Vision of the Unseen World*.[66] Handley argues that *A True Relation*

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[64] George Chalmer, *The Life of De Foe* (Oxford: Printed by D.A. Talboys for T. Tegg, 1841)*, Hathi Trust Digital Library*, accessed 15 June 2019, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/ 011256610.

[65] George Starr, 'Why Defoe Probably Did Not Write The Apparition of Mrs. Veal', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* vol. 15, no. 3-4 (April-July 2003): 421-450.

[66] Some examples include: Arthur H. Scourten, 'An Early Printed Report on the Apparition of Mrs. Veal', *The Review of English Studies* vol. 6, no. 23 (July 1955): 259-263; Rodney M. Baines, 'The Apparition of Mrs. Veal: A Neglected Account', *PMLA* vol. 69, no. 3 (June 1954): 523-541*;* Dennis M.

signified an important shift in the development of ghost stories in eighteenth-century

England. She states that a 'number of educated commentators' accused the print of

blurring the boundaries between fiction and reality 'to an unacceptable degree'.[67] These

blurred boundaries illustrate how ghost stories were being constructed into a literary

format that reflected popular writing styles of the eighteenth-century novel and, thus,

signify a transition of ghost stories into the realm of fiction. I do not disagree with this

argument; however, the adaptation of the Bateman ballad into a similar literary format

six years previously indicates that this transition was already in motion. Although

Handley's treatment of *A True Relation* focuses more on the public's response to the

narrative as evidence for ghost beliefs, this thesis steps away from the focus of belief to

expand upon Handley's argument regarding how 'these kinds of stories allowed female

domestic troubles to be aired in the public spaces and in print. . . and rallied support for

women in distress'.[68] *A True Relation* is part of the genre of works from the early

eighteenth century that portray the emerging role of 'the female public intellectual',

which, as Susan Stave argues, demonstrated the ability of women to engage actively in

'rational, and even philosophical debate on moral and religious themes'.[69] In a way, *A*

True Relation is similar to the conduct manuals authored and aimed at those who

belonged to the wealthier middling sort and above. This section contextualises *A True*

Welch, 'Defoe's 'A True Relation', Personal Identity, and the Locke-Stillingfleet Controversy', *Studies in Philology* vol. 100, no. 3 (Summer 2003):384-399*;* Jennifer Frangos, 'Ghosts in the Machine: The Apparition of Mrs. Veal, Rowe's Friendship in Death and the Early Eighteenth-Century Invisible World', in *Spirits Unseen : The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture* (Brill, 2008); Heather Harper, 'Matchless Sufferings: Intimate Violence in the Early Modern Apparition Narratives of Daniel Defoe and Elizabeth Boyd', *Women's Writing* vol. 16, no. 3 (November 2009): 425-444; and Laurie Chesley, 'The place of Mrs. Veal in Defoe's fictions about women', *Essays in Literature* vol. 22, no. 1 (March 22, 1995): 3-16.

[67] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 99.

[68] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 82.

[69] Susan Staves*, A Literary History of Women's Writing in Britain 1660-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 218.

Relation within legal and social discourses by discussing the ways women used female friendships and the rhetoric of civility to negotiate power within the community. *A True Relation* was foundational in the development of ghost stories due to not only how it used real people to frame the fictional narrative, but also by how it recasts the vengeful, victimised female ghost trope into a pious, accomplished conversationalists.

A True Relation is allegedly based on a real event. In the mid-twentieth century, archival research into the story of *A True Relation* revealed that the story was reported in *The Loyal Post* (1705), in personal correspondences, and was subject to a formal investigation headed by Royal Society fellow John Flamsteed and his friend Stephen Gray.[70] Therefore, one interpretation of *A True Relation* is as a real paranormal occurrence that demonstrates how ghost beliefs remained pertinent in early modern English society. After all, the title claims the occurrence to be a 'true relation', and the first line of the narrative states it was a 'Matter of Fact'.[71] Another interpretation, and the one adopted for this thesis, is that the author uses the language employed in philosophical texts on the paranormal, as seen in Glanvill's *The Drummer of Tedworth*, as a rhetorical framework to construct a ghost narrative with a sense of realism. *A True Relation* retains elements of the true events reported by Gray and others, which gives the narrative a dash of realism, but it is clear the author takes artistic licence to elaborate upon more popular literary themes and motifs, including death, domestic abuse, and female friendships. Ultimately, the reader does not need to believe in the existence of ghosts to believe in the validity of the ghost of Mrs. Veal's message.

According to the author of *A True Relation*, Mrs. Bargrave and Mrs. Veal first became friends during their childhood, a friendship that blossomed from their shared

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[70] Scourten, 'An Early Printed Report', 259-263; and Baines, 'The Apparition of Mrs. Veal', 539-541.
[71] *A True Relation*, 1.

misfortune of negligent fathers. Together, the two women 'condole each others adverse

Fortune' and 'comforted each other under their Sorrow'.[72] The plot of the narrative was

motivated by a societal empathy toward female experiences of domestic abuse. The

history of domestic abuse and violence in medieval and early modern England has been

the subject of numerous studies, including the works of Laura Gowing, Anthony Fletcher,

Elizabeth Foyster, and Margaret Hunt.[73] Their research examined court cases,

biographies, and letters to understand the relationship between gender, domestic

violence, and defamation. This research expanded into the realm of popular print,

including ghost stories, in the works of James Sharpe and Francis Dolan. These

historians showed how representations of the dead and the theme of social order was

used in printed materials to support or challenge popular ideologies concerning

behaviour and belonging in early modern England.[74] *A True Relation* is more about

domestic abuse than domestic violence, but nonetheless uses the ghost as a vehicle for

public shaming to encourage social reform regarding the treatment and rights of women.

This thesis considers *A True Relation* to be an example of how ghosts were repurposed

in the eighteenth century as an additional platform for contemporaries to bring

controversial topics to the public's attention. Ghost stories provided access to all those

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[72] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *A True Relation*, 2.

[73] Margaret Hunt, 'Wife Beating, Domesticity and Women's Independence in eighteenth century England', *Gender & History* vol.4, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 10-33; Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500*-1800 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital violence: an English family history, 1660-1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[74] James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); James Sharp, 'Last Dying Speeches: Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present* vol. 107, issue 1 (May 1985): 144-167; Francis E. Dolan, ''Gentlemen, I Have One Thing More to Say': Women on Scaffolds in England, 1563-1680', *Modern Philology* vol. 92, no. 2 (November 1994): 157-178.

involved, and most notably those stereotypically excluded from such discourses (e.g. women and the non-elite), to participate in the social and political conversations.

In the opening paragraph of *A True Relation*, Richard Bargrave, Mrs. Bargrave's husband, is introduced as a 'very Wicked' man, and the reader is led by the narrator to pity Mrs. Bargrave, who has suffered under his 'Barbarity' and 'ill usage' for many years. The narrator further qualifies this characterisation by stating that this opinion is shared by 'several other Persons of undoubted Reputation'.[75] As part of his investigation into the credibility of Mrs. Bargrave and her story, Stephen Gray assessed the neighbourhood's opinion of her and whether the neighbours could attest to her character as an honest gentlewoman. His questioning revealed that Mrs. Bargrave's mistreatment by her husband was common knowledge.[76] Bernard Capp revealed how late seventeenth-century ballad literature was used to sway public opinion, and that the characters and themes depicted in popular print had a significant impact in deterring domestic abuse. These voices for change came predominantly from the female perspective. Capp looked at ways female social groups, 'by signalling disapproval. . . reinforced the boundaries of acceptable behaviour and sent a veiled warning to other men, including their own husbands'.[77] Mrs. Veal's conversation with Mrs. Bargrave would have been recognised by contemporary readers as familiar: female friends coming together to discuss their lives and voice complaints about abusive husbands.

The language used to inadvertently discuss Richard Bargrave's misbehaviour is a key representation of real shifts to social and legal discourses concerning domestic abuse. Men were legally and culturally allowed to beat their wives as long as it was in

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[75] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *A True Relation*, Preface.
[76] 'Letter from Stephen Gray', *Accounts of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal*, ed. M. Schonhorn (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1992), 3.
[77] Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 106.

moderation and done with the intention to 'support patriarchal household authority'.[78]

Thus, for a woman to present herself as victim of unprecedented violence, she had to

prove her reputation and behaviour adhered to rules of civility and the domestic

hierarchy. The narrator of *A True Relation* states he/she can 'avouch for [Mrs.

Bargrave's] Reputation' as being a woman of 'Good Character' because he/she was an

'Intimate Friend' of hers for 15 or 16 years. Mrs. Bargrave's description of character is

juxtaposed with that of her husband being wicked and barbaric. This was arguably a

tactic to present Mrs. Bargrave's mistreatment as undeserved. A similar manoeuvre was

used by Sarah Sabin in her separation proceedings in 1702; she testified she had been

'modest, sober, virtuous and submissive' and so her husband had no just cause to hurt

her.[79] Through this description, the narrator presents Mrs. Bargrave as conforming to the

unwritten rules of civility, whereas her husband has built a reputation of consistent ill

usage and vulgar behaviour. His character is further admonished by Mrs. Veal's ghost,

who refers to Mrs. Bargrave's life as a time of 'Adversity', and that God will reward her

'for all your Sufferings' for she 'cannot believe. . . that ever God will suffer you to spend

all your Days in this afflicted State'.[80]

Scholarship on early modern domestic disputes revealed how domestic disputes

often seeped out of the confines of the private space to become a shared problem of the

community.[81] The rise of polite society encouraged such unpleasant subjects to be

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[78] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination,* 193.

[79] This court case was referenced in Hunt, 'Wife Beating, Domesticity and Women's Independence', 15-16 as well as Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination,* 197.

[80] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *A True Relation*, 4-5.

[81] Case of community involvement in domestic disputes can be further seen in following works: Susan Dwyer Amussen, ''Being Stirred to Much Unquiteness': Violence and Domestic Violence in Early Modern England', *JL of Women's History* vol. 6, no. 2 (1994): 70-89; Anthony Fletcher, *Sex, Gender and Subordination*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 1999), 197-198; Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 216-217; and Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital Violence: An English Family History, 1660-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 168-204.

increasingly hidden from public view, but the basic principles of civility that structured early modern society openly disapproved of barbaric actions. 'Good conduct in the household', as Erica Longfellow states, 'was regarded as vital to the health of the society'; thus, when that health was threatened, it became the community's problem as much as the individual's.[82] It was only when a resolution could not be achieved, with the assistance of neighbours, that cases of defamation or violence were resolved in the ecclesiastical courts. It is argued that more minor cases never reached the courts and were typically resolved, or more so appeased, by women broadcasting the misdeeds of their husbands [or other male relative] to their friends. Consequently, if a case entered the courts, it was the neighbours who were called upon to provide testimony. For example, in 1690, Mary Holford filed a case petitioning for a separation from her abusive husband. A female neighbour of Mary's testified, 'if it was not for the kindness of her [Mary's] friends. . . she would have been in great need since she left her husband'.[83] According to Elizabeth Foyster, this was an example of how 'marital violence had bound Mary closer to her neighbours, whereas it had alienated her husband from them'.[84]

The characterisation of Mr. Bargrave's husband is similar to the growing literary theme of sexual antagonism predominantly seen in storylines of mid-eighteenth novels in which the virtuous female is destroyed by the malign masculine ethos.[85] Stephen Gray gathered testimonies that reported Richard Bargrave was once caught by his wife engaging with a local prostitute in a public space.[86] It was also reported to be public knowledge that the night before Mrs. Veal's ghostly visit, Richard Bargrave had returned

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[82] Erica Longfellow, 'Public, Private, and the Household in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies* vol. 45, no. 2 (April 2006): 329.
[83] Foyster, *Marital violence,* 195.
[84] Foyster, *Marital violence,* 195.
[85] Chesley, 'The place of 'Mrs. Veal'', 5. See also, John J. Richetti, *Popular Fictions Before Richardson: Narrative Patterns, 1700-1739* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 124.
[86] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 90.

home drunk and locked Mrs. Bargrave out of the house. This abusive act is juxtaposed with Mrs. Bargrave's subservient and considerate character, exemplified by how she was 'not willing to expose him & disturb the neighbourhood walk'd & Sate on ye steps all Night'.[87] Yet, these occurrences are omitted from *A True Relation*. Laurie Chelsey and Dennis M. Welch suggest these omissions may have been evidence of the author's attempt to diminish sceptics' suspicion of Mrs. Bargrave's credibility or to rid the story of any 'farcical air'.[88] It is also possible that these specific examples of Mr. Bargrave's ill-treatment were excluded to avoid an interpretation of Mrs. Bargrave's testimony [via her conversation with Mrs. Veal] as a case of defamation against her husband. Defamation, as defined in Henry Conset's *Practice* (1700), was only legally defamation when 'those words were uttered out of a malicious and angry mind'.[89] To cite the incident that occurred the night before Mrs. Veal's visitation could have effectively tarnished Mrs. Bargrave's credibility. Her story could have been interpreted by readers as a malicious ploy to use the paranormal to punish her husband.

Women had restricted legal agency to protect themselves from marital violence and spousal misconduct. Their religious and cultural position as a subordinate in marriage, and the fact early modern culture often perceived wife-beating as 'honest' work, meant women had little opportunity for social escape. Support from friends and neighbours provided women not only solace in their existence, but also the ability to use the voices of the many to negotiate female power and position within the confines of patriarchal marriage. *A True Relation* supported this practice by using the words of a

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[87] 'Letter from E.B.', transcribed in full in Frank Higenbottam, *The Apparition of Mrs. Veal to Mrs. Bargrave at Canterbury, 8th September, 1705: Two New Contemporary Manuscript Accounts* (Kent Archaeological Society, 2017), 155-157.
[88] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 84.
[89] Henry Conset*, The Practice of the Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Courts* (London: printed for W. Battersby, 1700), 335.

female, well-to-do ghost.[90] Ghosts were traditionally embedded with divine authority because they were believed to be messengers from God; thus, the words spoken by the dead were taken as absolute truth; their only agenda was to restore order and justice. In the words of Sasha Handley, *A True Relation* 'conformed to a set of familiar social practices, whereby women rallied together to expose marital abuse and to regulate spousal relation—all within a familiar framework of providential intervention'.[91] With the help of the dead, Mrs. Bargrave's mistreatment did not go unpunished. *A True Relation* is an example of how ghost stories could have real consequences for the reputations of the living.

Mr. Bargrave was not the only man the ghost of Mrs. Veal publicly shamed; it also shamed Mrs. Veal's brother, Mr. William Veal. Upon first arriving at Mrs. Bargrave's home, Mrs. Veal states she was only able to visit her because she had given her 'Brother the slip'.[92] Although the narrator never goes as far as to accuse William Veal of abuse openly, it is suggested by Mrs. Veal's ghost that he controlled and limited her social interactions to her detriment. Before Mrs. Veal departs from Mrs. Bargrave's home, she asks Mrs. Bargrave to write a letter to her brother dictating what items she wants to bequeath to her friends and family. Although not mentioned in *A True Relation*, but presumed public knowledge, Mrs. Veal also requests Mrs. Bargrave's assistance to ensure she was given a memorial stone, as she was anxious that her brother would

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[90] These women part of the urban elite and lesser gentry considering Mrs. Veal brother was the controller of Sandwich port earning a yearly salary of £15 and Mrs. Bargrave's husband, Richard Bargrave, was an attorney, before being forced out of his job for 'drunken and careless behaviour'; he then moved to Canterbury and found work as a maltser. For William's occupation see Baines, 'The Apparition of Mrs. Veal', 541; and for Richard's occupation as an attorney, see page 561. For Riachard's occupation as a maltser see Dorothy Gardiner, 'What Canterbury Knew of Mrs. Veal and her Friends', *The Review of English Studies* vol. 7, no. 26 (April 1931): 191.

[91] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 91.

[92] *A True Relation*, 3.

neglect her one as he had neglected to erect one for their parents.[93] By bestowing these mortuary responsibilities on Mrs. Bargrave, Mrs. Veal was usurping her brother's power as executor of her will and simultaneously accusing him of patriarchal neglect. This threat to his reputation as a gentleman was taken seriously by William Veal. Mrs. Bargrave claims the ghost talked about a purse of gold hidden away in a cabinet located within the Veal household. To test the word of Mrs. Bargrave, William Veal opens the locked cabinet in front of witnesses to prove that there is no such purse, thus challenging the credibility of Mrs. Bargrave's story.[94] He adamantly and publicly 'Blast[ed] Mrs. Bargrave's Reputation' and encourages other members of his social circles 'to laugh the Story out of Countenance'.[95] Veal's actions reveal the ways local and national ties connected polite society together. In the words of Elizabeth Foyster, this 'consciousness of belonging to this type of community meant that. . . behaviours of the middling- and upper-class couples could be influenced by their perceptions of the attitudes of people they had never met'.[96] William Veal's reaction to Mrs. Bargrave's story showed how female voices, with the assistance of the speaking dead, could have power in shaping men's reputation.

The rise of polite society created a vacuum in which unpleasant subjects were increasingly hidden from the public—domestic abuse being one of them. Since polite society structured mannerisms and ceremonies around ideologies of civility, it was commonly perceived that acts of barbarity were practised among the lower sorts, and that the civil gentleman was above such vulgar displays of emotional and violent outbursts. Yet, as Margaret Hunt's research on consistory courts from 1711 to 1713

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[93] The detail is found in the letter by E.B. [see footnote 106].
[94] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 89.
[95] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *A True Relation*, 1-3.
[96] Foyster, *Marital violence,* 204.

revealed, 'most of the husbands accused of assaulting their wives were from the middling sort or above: they included a gentleman, a physician, a pawnbroker and a wine wholesaler'.[97] *A True Relation* is a textual construct of community gossip. It not only reintroduced, but also highlighted, domestic abuse as a middling and upper sort issue that continued to plague virtuous women like Mrs. Bargrave. As Heather Harper argues, the moral messages articulated through the ghost of Mrs. Veal challenged 'the scrutiny of private female transgression in legal and journalistic contexts'; it allowed 'reading audiences to conceive intimate violations, including battery and marital rape. . . it provided a media template in which the 'unutterable topic' of domestic violence could be included in active public discourses'.[98] It can be argued, therefore, that the ghost of Mrs. Veal is an example of how the traditional trope of the vengeful female ghost was transformed in the eighteenth century into a civilised conversationalist who could participate in complex discourses on the afterlife while continuing the providential role of unveiling and avenging the mistreatment of women by barbarous men. *A True Relation* is a milestone in the development of ghost narratives thanks to how it challenged social stereotypes of domestic abuse and how such abuses were not exclusive to the lower sorts but were experienced in the so-called civilised households of the middling and upper classes.

The second prominent theme of the narrative deals with female friendships. Although much of the scholarship on *A True Relation* focuses on how women found relief in religious doctrine, arguably the main mechanism of comfort for these women was the solace of friendship—for even the discourses on religion take place as a conversation between two friends. There are multiple references to friendship throughout the

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[97] Hunt, 'Wife Beating, Domesticity and Women's Independence', 11-12; also referenced in Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination,* 201.
[98] Harper, 'Matchless Sufferings', 425.

narrative: from the author claiming to be an 'Intimate Friend' of Mrs. Bargrave's, friends of Mr. William Veal who secured 'him a Place in the Custom House at Dover', and it is discussed as a concept or theme when the ladies discuss Norris' poem *Friendship in Perfection*.[99] The focus on friendship led some historians, such as Jennifer Frangos, to conclude the story is evidence of increased emotionalism in how English society approached mortuary culture.[100] Arguably, however, *A True Relation* is not a direct demonstration of the effects of death on close kinships, but more a social commentary on the importance of female friendships. Mrs. Veal and Mrs. Bargrave began their friendship in childhood, when 'it was in the Power of Mrs. Bargrave to be very much her Friend in several Instances' in so much as Mrs. Veal 'would often say, *Mrs. Bargrave you are not only the Best, but the only Friend I have I the World; and no Circumstances of Life, shall ever dissolve my Friendship*'.[101] First, based on this description of them as children, Mrs. Bargrave was in an elevated position compared to Mrs. Veal. However, Mrs. Veal's position changed once her brother received his elevated occupation in Dover as the controller of Sandwich port.

The ghost of Mrs. Veal admits to Mrs. Bargrave that her seemingly impromptu visit is to mend their unattended friendship: 'My Dear Friend, I am come to renew our old Friendship again, and to beg your Pardon for my breach of it'.[102] Before asking for her forgiveness, Mrs. Veal asks, 'What did you think of me?', to which Mrs. Bargrave responds, 'I thought you were like the rest of the World, and that Prosperity had made

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[99] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *A True Relation*, 1-2 and 5.
[100] Jennifer Frangos, 'Ghosts in the Machine: The Apparition of Mrs. Veal, Rowe's Friendship in Death and the early eighteenth-century invisible world', in *Spirits unseen: The representation of subtle bodies in early modern European culture,* ed. Christine Göttler and Wolfgang Neuber (Den Haag: Brill, 2007), 318.
[101] (capitalisation and italic emphasis in the original) *A True Relation*, 2.
[102] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *A True Relation*, 3.

you forget your self and me'.[103] In this singular comment a lot is said. Mrs. Bargrave

presents Mrs. Veal's behaviour as common practice because she believes it has become

the way of the world for an acquisition of wealth and prestige to equate to one forgoing

their social and civil duties. This action was an affront to the sanctity of female

friendship, as Hannah Wooley states in *The Gentlewoman's Companion*: 'distance of

place, will not admit of a union of persons. . .the necessity of conversing with one

another as long as we live, layeth on unavoidable cogency of communicating our affairs

to each other'.[104] Thus, at the very least, written correspondences should be exchanged

to continue women's conversations and, subsequently, retain the support system female

friendships had cultivated. Furthermore, this action, or lack thereof, was an affront to

social decorum as Mrs. Veal is socially indebted to Mrs. Bargrave for her friendship

during her tumultuous childhood. As children, Mrs. Veal was Mrs. Bargrave's financial

and social inferior, as evidenced by how Mrs. Bargrave likely provided monetary support

to Mrs. Veal, who was suffering without food or clothing.[105] It is as a ghost that Mrs. Veal

is able to rectify her neglected duty as a 'Christian Friend'. She returns to the land of the

living to provide comfort and advice to Mrs. Bargrave, who is now suffering under her

own abusive male patriarch.

The motif of friendship continues when Mrs. Veal's requests Mrs. Bargrave to

read out loud Norris' poem *Friendship in Perfection*. Mrs. Veal first requests the entire

volume with the intent to have the poem within it read to her. This poem comprises only

a few pages of Norris' 400-page text *A Collection of Miscellanies* (1687). Mrs. Bargrave

claims to not have the book, but that she had transcribed that particular poem at an

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[103] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *A True Relation*, 3.
[104] Hannah Wooley, *The Gentlewoman's Companion or, a Guide to the Female Sex: The Complete Text of 1675,* ed. Caterina Albano (Blackawton: Prospect, 2001), 212-213.
[105] *A True Relation*, 2.

earlier date, and so it was available to be read aloud. Although this scene in the narrative

is plausible, it is more likely another example of artistic licence employed by the author.

In Norris' poem *Friendship in Perfection,* the characters Pyth and Damon discuss the

value of friendship and its ability to survive death:

> Where all shall envy, non divide our love!
> *Death* will. . .
> No, banish all such fear, I then will be
> Your Friends and guardian Angel too.
> And tho with more refined Society
> I'll leave *Elysium* to converse with *you*
>
> When I like you become all thought and mind
> . . . . .
> With care on your last hour I will attend,
> And lest *like* Souls should me deceive
> I closely will embrace my *new-born* friend,
> And never after my dear *Pythias* leave.[106]

The stark similarities between the poem and *A True Relation* should not be overlooked.

The poem not only details the ability of a dead friend to converse with the living, but it

also alludes to Mrs. Veal's earlier statement, 'no Circumstances of Life, shall ever

dissolve my Friendship'.[107] In death, Mrs. Veal is able to provide the friendship she had

neglected to fulfil during her adult life. Early modern society valued fidelity, and, as

demonstrated in the previous chapters on friendships in epitaphs, a virtuous friendship

was one that was constant and sincere. The importance of female friendships celebrated

both in the language of memorialisation and in ghost narratives demonstrates the ways

the dead continued to have a social function in eighteenth-century society. The dead

were utilised by the living as voices of authority and as voices of absolute truths whose

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[106] John Norris, *A Collection of Miscellanies: Consisting of Poems, Essays, Discourses & Letters, Occasionally Written*, 4th edition (London, 1706), 77-78.

[107] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *A True Relation*, 2

only motivation was the improvement and stability of the community and its individual citizens.

Blurring the boundaries of realism and fiction gave Mrs. Veal's ghost an active voice in early eighteenth-century society. The ghost acted as a catalyst for female voices to be amplified and actively partake in ongoing public discourses concerning their rights and roles as women. The ghost of Mrs. Veal is a voice of truth and authority used to not only publicly shame specific gentlemen, but also to target general social anxieties about domestic abuse and the importance of female friendships in targeting and policing such abuse. It is this topic that strongly points to Daniel Defoe as the author as he was an avid supporter of female domestic rights. In *Conjugal Lewdness* (1727), Defoe states the radical view that being married to a victim did not excuse the crime of rape, and in his *Augusta Triumphans* (1728), printed under the pseudonym of Andrew Moreton, Defoe calls for an improvement of London society by demanding the justice system interpose in the 'evil' practice of wife-beating.[108] He frames his political stance around the importance of female friendships, especially those formed between the middling sort and lower gentry, who, according to court records, were more likely to suffer from domestic abuse and violence. Defoe encourages his readers to partake and support the social role of women as the moral police of their community.[109]

The ghostly voice of Mrs. Veal was a manifestation of public shaming often utilised by middling sort and gentry women to participate in regulating social behaviours.

[108] Daniel Defoe, *Conjugal Lewdness*: *or, Matrimonial Whoredom* (London: T. Warner, 1727) and *Augusta Triumphans*: *Or, The Way to Make London the most flourishing City in the Universe* (London: J. Roberts, 1728).

[109] See Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); for more on how women spoke out against their husbands in both community discourses and within the court system. Specifically refer to chapter 'The Language of Insult' for ways in which women claimed moral responsibility to bring indiscretion to light and socially punish those who broke these unwritten moral codes of behaviour.

A True Relation marks a significant development in ghost stories in early modern England. It not only uses real people and events to add substance to the narrative, but it also merges narrative structure and themes of traditional ghost ballads with true relations. This merging of genres altered the social role of ghosts in that they no longer needed to be believed as real entities in order to continue their cultural work. The next section reveals how this new realism-fiction amalgam ghost was utilised to attack specific prominent people publicly in eighteenth-century polite society.

Section 3: Ghosts, Morality, and Defamation

This section continues to look at the 'verbose, didactic, and unconciliating' ghosts depicted by John Ker as being created by 'the pasquinaders of [these] factious days [who] would not allow any public men to drop quietly into oblivion'.[110] According to Ker, it was common practice for the public to create a fictionalised ghost who embodied the persona of a recently departed well-known person. The use of a real person as inspiration for the ghost was to transform affectively a voice already established in the public's consciousness into a rhetorical voice through which controversial opinions could be expressed and challenged. Through the voices of the dead, authors and their readers could engage in current cultural affairs. This section discusses a particular genre of 1740s ghost ballads that acted as an alternative medium for non-elite members of society to participate in socio-political culture. These ballads are the focus of this section because they restructured a popular ghost ballad on marital relationships into active agents of political engagement. Angela McShane Jones' ground-breaking work on political ballads shows how ballads were 'as an expression of conflict' that illustrate the 'struggle of the weak and virtuous against the oppressions of class and capitalism'.[111] As

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[110] See quote cited at the start of this chapter.
[111] Jones, 'Rime and Reason', 2.

discussed in the previous section on *Bateman's Tragedy*, these ghost ballads were used by members of society who felt their voices were restricted and/or silenced. Ghost ballads were tools that marginalised groups could use to criticise partisan politics openly and the ways polite society had corrupted the overall moral virtue of urban society. This section, therefore, demonstrates how ghost ballads continued to do cultural work as rhetorical representations in which ideas about reputation, national identity, and domestic policy could be discussed and contested.

Angela McShane Jones' work on political ballads inspired the methodology of this section, yet this thesis expands upon Jones' work to include scholarships on eighteenth-century satire.[112] In particular, this thesis adopted Ashley Marshall's approach to satire as a 'mode' rather than a 'genre' to explore how satire was used in popular print as a way for the non-elite to participate in ongoing political and social discourses.[113] Alvin Kernan, Maynard Mack, Ronald Paulson, Ashley Marshall, and Dustin Griffin all argue that satire worked as a tool of engagement because there were assumed standards that connected the theme of satire with wider beliefs and opinions.[114] As Kernan states, satire 'asserts the validity and necessity of norms, systematic values and meanings that are contained by recognizable codes'.[115] However, most of the scholarship on eighteenth-century satire focuses on writings by famous authors such as Pope, Dryden, and Gay and dismisses the vast array of popular prints. This section contributes to these arguments by showing how satire was used in popular prints as a means for the urban

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[112] Jones, 'Rime and Reason', 2.

[113] Ashley Marshall, *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658-1770* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013).

[114] Alvin Kernan, *The Cankered Muse: Satire of English Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962); Maynard Mack, *The Muse of Satire*, (Gordian Press, 1966); Ronald Paulson, *The Fictions of Satire* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1967); and Dustin Griffin, *Satire: a Critical Reintroduction,* (Lexington: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

[115] Kernan, *The Cankered Muse*, 840.

non-elite [arguably the middling sort and lower gentry] to participate in political polemics. The section explores new avenues of research by including the scholarship on ghost stories with political satire to explore how ghosts were commonly employed in satirical ballads as moral police characters sent to instruct the living on the vice(s) plaguing the urban community and its people.

This section examines four imitation ballads: *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y; or The Injur'd Ghost* (1743), *Pope's Ghost: A Ballad* (1744), *Lovat's Ghost: or, The Courtier's Warning-Piece* (1747), and *Scelus's Ghost; or, The Lawyer's Warning Piece* (1748). The ballad that provided the framework for these imitations was David Mallet's *William and Margaret*.[116] This ballad had achieved widespread popularity throughout English society in the early eighteenth century. It was praised by socialites such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, included in numerous printed anthologies, and playwright and novelist Thomas Holcroft (1745–1809) stated that the ballad was pasted on 'the walls of cottages and little alehouses' across all of London.[117] Although the ballad's authorship has, at times, been contested, it has widely been attributed to David Mallet.[118] Mallet's rendition of *William and Margaret* appears to be loosely inspired by a seventeenth-century ballad entitled *Fair William and Sweet Margaret* (1600–1610). Despite the similarities, David Atkinson argues that Mallet's rendition of the ballad displays enough variation for us to conclude that the ballads were 'separate but intertextually related pieces, representing different ways of handling' the themes of marriage and death.[119]

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[116] David Mallet, 'William and Margaret', in *The Excursion* (London: 1728), 75-80.

[117] David Atkinson, 'William and Margaret: An Eighteenth-Century Ballad', *Folk Music Journal* vol 10, no. 4 (2014): 497. Anthologies include: Percy's *Reliques*, Ramsay's *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, *The Hive* (1724), *A Collection of Old Ballads*, 3rd vol (1725), *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725); *Miscellaneous Poems, by Several Hands* (1726).

[118] Atkinson, 'William and Margaret', 488.

[119] Atkinson, 'William and Margaret', 480.

Mallet's ballad is about a jilted lover, Margaret, who upon seeing her true love marry another woman resolves to kill herself. Her spirit returns to earth 'to haunt the faithless *Man*' and seek answers regarding why he broke his marital promise. At the end of the ballad, William is so emotionally moved by her ghostly appearance that he goes to her grave 'and thrice he wept full sore. . . and Word spoke never more'.[120] Each of the imitation ballads reimagines the faithless man character of William in unique and individual ways. Each reimagined 'faithless man' was designed to attack a particular person or group of people the authors felt were corrupted or actively corrupting the English populace. The social relevance of each variant caricature of the faithless man is used to show how the 'verbose, didactic, and unconciliating' ghosts worked as an effective rhetorical and satirical tool for various forms of social and political engagement.

3.1 Dorothy Boyle's Ghost: An Urban Take on the 'Murderous Lover' Ballad

The ballad *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y* is a clear parody of the popular *William and Margaret* ballad. [121] This ballad is less satirical exploit and borders more on libel, but nonetheless uses ghost literature to make a political and social statement concerning the public reputation of Lord George Euston. *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y; or The Injur'd Ghost* (1743) is an urban adaptation of the 'murderous lover' narrative commonly used in traditional courtship ballads from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A typical murderous lover ballad, such as *The Oxford Tragedy, The Berkshire Tragedy, or The Gosport Tragedy,* features a female victim seduced by a male lover. The promise of marriage persuades the woman to engage in intercourse with her so-called beloved. After bedding and impregnating the woman, the man turns to murder, killing both the

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[120] (original capitalisation and italics in the original) David Mallet, *William and Margaret*, 77 and 80.
[121] Three versions of the ballad *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y; or The Injur'd Ghost* (1743) can be found on the ECCO database: one was published for A. Moore and the other for a W. Webb.

woman and unborn child to escape his social and religious obligations. Patricia Fumerton argues that such popular ballads reflected circumstances that were 'well-documented in administrative and judicial records' and so created a familiar narrative that discussed ongoing social realities and attitudes.[122] The ghost of the female returns to haunt the faithless man. This usually results in the man feeling so guilty for his past sins that, as a type of atonement, he kills himself to join his dead lover. *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y; or The Injur'd Ghost* follows a similar framework to criticise the real relationship and alleged murder of Dorothy Boyle by her husband, Lord Euston.

In the ballad, the characters' names are partially redacted, but it is clear from the clues left in the title and throughout the ballad that the caricature of 'William' and 'Margaret' were George Fitzroy and his dead wife, Dorothy Boyle. The omission of letters suggests the author was catering to a readership familiar with the current rumours and identities of the people involved. It is of note that the author is identified solely as 'A Lady of Quality'. The redaction of names may have been done to plead technical ambiguity and, thus, not be subject to libel allegation. Nonetheless, this ghost ballad was decisively created to criticise Euston's recent social behaviour. Although the ghost of Dorothy was not a real, recorded haunting, her ghost had an effective communicative function.

Similar to *A True Relation, G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y* is an example of how ghosts were used to challenge the patriarchy in polite society by supporting and encouraging the female voice as weapons to shame men into altering their behaviour. Dorothy's ghost returns to haunt Lord Euston, her husband, whom she claims caused her death and the death of their unborn child. Countering the murderous lover framework, when she

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[122] *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini and Kris McAbee (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010), 75 and 79.

returns to confront him for his sins against her, there is no scene of admission of guilt or remorse by Lord Euston; in fact, Lord Euston is never granted speech throughout the ballad. This omission of the male voice adds power to the voice of the female ghost. Dorothy may have been silenced in life, but in death her voice would be heard, respected, and feared. The ballad is a clear statement against Lord Euston's character and behaviour. It clearly intended to besmirch his public reputation by giving the dead a platform to reveal the suspected hidden truths of how and why he purposefully killed his wife. This ballad was an additional, tangible substance that accompanied the word-of-mouth rumours circulating about Lord Euston and his vulgar transgressions. Before discussing the social significance of the voice of Dorothy's ghost in further detail, the reason behind her death and subsequent revival as one of the speaking dead needs to be established.

Lord Euston and Dorothy Boyle were well-known members of English society. Lord Euston was the second son of the 2nd Duke of Grafton, the illegitimate grandson of Charles II, and Dorothy Boyle was the daughter of Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, and Dorothy Saville, a noblewoman and member of Queen Catherine's bedchamber. Dorothy Boyle was known for her beauty, whereas Lord Euston was notorious for his brutality.[123] The two were married in October 1741, and about six months later, just before her eighteenth birthday, Dorothy died on the 2 May 1742. Her true cause of death remains unknown, with some sources speculating it was from smallpox, while others claim it was due to complications from her pregnancy.[124] Regardless of the actual cause,

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[123] Pat Rogers, *Alexander Pope's Encyclopaedia* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 43; see also letters between Walpole and Mann and between Dorothy's mother, Lady Hertford, and her friend, Lady Beauchamp, in 'FITZROY, George, Lord Euston (1715-47)', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, ed. R. Sedgwick (1970), accessed 5 May 2017. http://www.historyof parliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/fitzroy-george-1715-47.
[124] Pat Rogers, *The Alexander Pope Encyclopaedia* (Greenwood Publishing Groups, 2004), 48.

her untimely death, mixed with her husband's very public reputation as a brute, caused the rumour mills to explode, and even years later social discourses continued to discuss the possibility that Lord Euston had had a hand in her untimely death.[125]

The creation of the ghost ballad created a platform for rumours about Dorothy's demise to be publicly discussed and published without fear of legal retaliation as libel. According to some popular history writers, Dorothy's death was 'the greatest scandal of the time', and it was public opinion 'her husband had brutalised her during the pregnancy with the intention of killing both mother and child'.[126] This accusation was touched upon in the personal correspondence between Mrs. Pendarves [Mary Delany] and Mrs. Dewes [her sister]. Mrs. Pendarves diary has received considerable historical attention. She was a woman of courtly networks but little wealth, who reportedly married Mr. Alexander Pendarves, a wealthy landowner and 30 years her senior, to acquire

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[125] This rumour of murder was directly referenced in the ballad, but there appears to be no historical evidence of this. It is mentioned in the writings of popular historians John Pearson and Roy Hattersley, but they themselves do not reference where they received this information from. See John Pearson, *Stags and Serpents*: *Story of the House Cavendish and the Dukes of Devonshire* (Basingstoke: Macmillian, 1983), 70; and Roy Hattersley, *The Devonshires: The Story of a Family and a Nation* (London: Vintage Books, 2013), 206. T.S. Rosoman states in his review of the Chiswick House that Lord Burlington allegedly challenged Euston to a duel over his mistreatment of his daughter, but the charge was reportedly 'never taken up'; it is of a note, that Roseman does not reference where this information originated from (see T.S Rosoman, 'The Chiswick House Inventory of 1770', in *Furniture History* vol. 22 (1986): 91). A portrait of Dorothy hangs in Hardwick Hall, now a National Trust property, with the caption 'She died. . . according to Cavendish tradition, to her ill-treatment at the hands of her husband' ('Lady Dorothy Boyle, Countess of Euston (1724-1742)', *National Trust Collections*, accessed 16 May 2018, http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1129180). The British Museum has a similar biography stating her husband 'treated her scandalously' and references the engraving her mother wrote 'lamenting her marriage' as the cause of her death ('Dorothy Fitzroy, Countess of Euston, *British Museum*, accessed 16 May 2018, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG 139390). The engraving is transcribed in a letter reportedly from Alexander Pope to Sir Horace Walpole, written in 1744: 'Lady Dorothy Boyle, / Once the pride, the joy, the comfort of her parents, / The admiration of all that saw her, / The delight of all that knew her. / Born May 14, 1724, married alas! Oct. 10, 1741, and / delivered from extremest misery May 2, 1742' (see *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford: Including Numerous Letter Now First Published from the Original Manuscripts*, Vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1840), 361).
[126] Pearson, *Stags and Serpents*, 70; and Hattersley, *The Devonshires*, 206.

wealth to supplement her prestige.[127] It is this social background that illuminates what Sasha Handley touches upon in her research on ghost stories. Women were considered a marginalised social group in early modern England, and ghosts provided an outlet for these women to attack their social superiors publicly. Yet, where Handley focuses more on women who were also economically marginalised (e.g. servants), this ghost ballad reveals how people from higher social classes also used ghosts to comment on people within their shared social circles. Written around January 1743 (roughly a year after Dorothy's death), Mrs. Pendarves talks about how the 'present discourse of the town is that Lord Euston' will remarry. She states that this rumour came from Euston's request to know 'what the expense will be to keep out of spiritual Court'. This crude inquest, she says, showed the public, 'what a monster' he was, as well as 'his co-partner in wickedness' (Lady Augustus Fitzroy). These actions, she claims, 'will confirm every villainous action he has been suspected of'.[128] The continued public fascination with Euston and Dorothy is evident also in a letter written by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to the Countess of Oxford. Written two years after Dorothy Boyle's death, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu says she was recently informed by a Mrs. Massam of the 'fortune of poor Lady Euston', and how there was 'no excuse for the brutal behaviour of her worthless husband'.[129] Edward Young, in *The Centaur not fabulous, in Six Letters to a Friend, on the Life in Vogue* (1755), reportedly fashioned one of his characters after Lord Euston. During a death-bed scene, the character claims he was deserving of death

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[127] Mary Delany, *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany: With Interesting Reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); See also Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), 205-207.

[128] Letter is suspected to be from January 1743, referenced in Mary Delany, *Autobiography and Correspondence,* 205-206.

[129] Mary Wotley Montagu*, The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 137.

because of how his '. . .unkindness has murdered my wife'. According to Samuel Johnson, it was a popularly held belief that this character was a caricature of Euston.[130]

From these rumours, the tragic story of Dorothy Boyle became akin to the popular murderous lover narrative: she was a beautiful, wealthy girl who was seduced and impregnated, and then her and her unborn child were murdered by a faithless man. The author of the ghost ballad used the recent memory of Dorothy, coupled with traditional ghost tropes, to turn Dorothy's ghost into a rhetorical weapon of influence intended to sway the public's opinion on Lord Euston. Lord Euston still lived and was apparently going unpunished for his heinous crime. By using a ghost characterisation of Dorothy Boyle, the author instils an essence of truth into the rumours about how Lord Euston killed his wife and unborn child. In a world that was supposedly becoming a society of disbelief, this ballad shows how ghosts continued to retain social relevance within a fictional genre; in this case, to strengthen credibility of the rumours of Lord Euston's guilt. For example, one rumour claimed Euston would force his wife to exhaust herself in the hopes that such over-exertion would kill her and their unborn baby. When Dorothy's ghost accuses Euston, 'Behold this *Babe. . .* why did you destroy/ That *Life*, you sought to give?', the author places an asterisk on the following line: 'The *MEANS were horrid as thy Soul'. The asterisk links to additional information at the bottom of the page detailing the circumstances of Dorothy's death as, 'By being frequently hurried about in a Coach, and as often over-walked, & c. She miscarried, when five Months gone with *Child, and dyed* the next Day'.[131]

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[130] Samuel Johnson, *Johnson's Lives of the Poets,* ed. Henry Morley (The Gutenberg Project, 2006), 345-346.

[131] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y; or The Injur'd Ghost* (London: printed for A. Moore, 1743), 4.

As in *A True Relation*, the voice of Dorothy's ghost is an example of how women used public shaming to condemn men within their shared social group. The ghost of Dorothy goes beyond accusations of murder to more complex issues regarding how a gentleman should treat his wife. The ghost of Dorothy describes Lord Euston's injurious actions as 'ill-treatment', and she lists 'ev'ry black Offence' on how he was a 'Monster', a 'Vile Pillager', a 'dissembling Man', and 'Perfidious', because although he gave her his hand, 'To Others---gave [his] Heart'.[132] Lord Euston's brutality to his wife was not only physical (forcing her to exhaust herself) but emotional as well:

> Why was I wretched! singled out
> To screen your deathless Shame?
> Why was a false One deem'd as ---*Wife*,
> While I but wore the *Name*?[133]

According to the ghost, Lord Euston paraded his mistress as his wife and, thus, neglected his duty as a husband to Dorothy, both socially and sexually. To add further insult, his mistress was the widow of his recently deceased brother— 'Think on thy absent Brother's Wife/ Thy Brother's Widow still'—a relationship frowned upon in polite society. [134] In the same year the ballad was printed, rumour had it, as detailed in Mrs. Pendarves' letter, Euston was planning to wed Lady Augustus Fitzroy, the mistress named in the ballad, which arguably revived accusations he murdered his legal wife so he could be free to marry his brother's widow. Lord Euston's private affairs had become far too public. His actions, as clearly indicated by the publishing of the ballad, invited criticisms not only from his fellow elites, but from far worse—his social inferiors. Euston's now heightened reputation as a brute went beyond the gossip of polite

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[132] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y*, 4 and 6-8.
[133] (italic emphasis in the original) *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y*, 6.
[134] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y*, 7.

society.[135] It was likely because of his disgraced public reputation as a symbol of everything that went against the codes of decorum in polite society that, in 1743, his father, the Duke of Grafton, publicly disowned him.[136] It is impossible to determine whether the ballad was published before or after the Duke disowned his son, but what is clear is how the ballad was part of the cultural process—whether a causation or a product. The appearance of the ghost of Dorothy in 1743 was arguably a strategic and well-timed resurrection.

Immortalised in print, the ghost figure of Dorothy is infused with a degree of power the real Dorothy had lacked while alive. *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y* uses the familiar structure of the ghost ballad to comment publicly on current vices the author believed were running unchecked in polite society. As a ghost, Dorothy is instilled with authority and power, her words are given agency. In death, she is able to influence the public's opinion (beyond that of her immediate social circles) to condemn the actions of her husband as vile and barbaric. Lord Euston was never legally punished for his crimes against his wife, but he could be socially punished if the community rallied together to sway public opinion against him and ruin his public reputation.

Just as the ghost of Mrs. Veal brought the misdeeds against Mrs. Bargrave to the public consciousness, so too did the ghost of Dorothy Boyle. By constructing the ghost based on a real person, the traditional ghost ballad was transformed into direct

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[135] Euston's behaviour is commented on in a letter between Horace Walpole and Horace Mann (29 June 1743): 'Last week he heard a new exploit of his barbarity. A tenant of Lord Euston in Northamptonshire brought him his rent, and the Lord said it wanted three and sixpence: the tenant begged he would examine the account, that it would prove exact - however, to content him, he would willingly pay him the three and sixpence. Lord E. flew into a rage and vowed he would write to the Duke to have him turned out of a little place he has in the post office of thirty pounds a year. The poor man, who has six children, and knew nothing of my Lord's being on no terms of power with his father, went home and shot himself.' cited in, 'Fitzroy, George, Lord Euston (1715-47)', *The History of Parliament,* accessed May 2017, https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/fitzroy-george-1715-47.
[136] 'Fitzroy, George', *The History of Parliament.*

commentary on current affairs. Ghosts of the past that taught general codes of behaviour and beliefs were adapted and repurposed in the eighteenth century to target specific social and/or political misjustices. This adaptation continued to evolve with the growing popularity of political satire that boomed in the mid-eighteenth century. It is the obvious fictionalisation of a ghost from a real, public persona that effectively and seamlessly merged ghost stories into the popular realm of satirical prints. Ghosts provided opportunity and authoritative voices through which authors could actively participate in ongoing social discourses. This sense of power and political participation is further explored in the other imitation ballads: *Pope's Ghost, Lord Lovat's Ghost,* and *Scelus's Ghost.*

3.2 *Pope's Ghost*, *Lovat's Ghost,* and *Scelus's Ghost*: Reimagining the Faithless Man in Political Satire

The satirical ghost ballads *Pope's Ghost*, *Lovat's Ghost,* and *Scelus's Ghost* reimagined the traditional faithless man character into a politically motivated caricature. All three imitation ballads follow a similar framework: the ghost represents a virtue and rises from the grave to walk about London until ending its journey at the house of its metaphorical opposing vice that is personified by a specific politician or public official. In *Pope's Ghost*, the ghost of Pope represents the virtues of art and morality, whereas his rival, Colley Cibber, represents the corrupted writer who seeks wealth over artistry. In *Lovat's Ghost*, the ghost of Lovat represents patriotism, and the opposing vice of a corrupted government is personified by Prime Minister Henry Pelham. In *Scelus's Ghost*, the ghost of Scelus [Latin for crime] represents political reform, and the opposing 'scribe' and 'fur' characters represent corrupt political proceedings. The authors of these ballads played off social stereotypes commonly applied to politicians as men who kept hidden agendas from their constituents. The ghosts in these political ballads provided a

way for the middling sort and lower gentry [i.e., men who were typically restricted from standing in Parliament] to participate in politics. This view supports the argument made by McShane Jones concerning how these social groups cared about politics and sought the means to contribute to shaping policies and reform. Ghost stories were one such tool.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, satire reached heightened recognition as literary artistry due to Augustan authors such as Alexander Pope, John Gay, John Dryden, Jonathan Swift, Henry Fielding, and numerous others. According to Morya Haslett, in the eighteenth century, 'parodies, burlesques, and absurd imitations were deployed more frequently than any other form of attack'.[137] For example, Samuel Johnson defined satire 'as a poem in which the wickedness or folly is censured,' and that a 'proper satire is distinguished by the generality of the reflections, from a lampoon which is aimed at a particular person'.[138] On the other hand, some authors, such as Alexander Pope, believed it was justifiable to attack particular persons and still call it satire, as seen in his *Epilogue to the Satires*,

> F: Spare then the Person, and expose the Vice,
> P. How Sir! Not damn the Sharper, but the Dice?[139]

These ghost ballads did both. *Pope's Ghost* and *Lovat's Ghost* personified real people and used their publicised virtues and vices as a literary avenue to pass moral judgement on both the person themselves and what their actions represented. *Scelus'*s *Ghost* uses stereotyped occupations, such as the lawyer and politician, as personifications of urban vices. The social impact of these ballads and their fictionalised ghosts depended on

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[137] Moyra Haslett, *Pope to Burney, 1714-1779: Scriblerians to Bluestockings* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2003), 87.
[138] Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. 2 (London: 1755), 558.
[139] Alexander Pope, *Epilogue to the Satires*, Dialouge II, in *The Complete Poetical Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Henry W. Boynton (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903), 672.

there being assumed shared standards of moral values through which the author and the

reader measured representations of good and evil. Alvin Kernan describes this system as

a shared 'battlefield between a definite, clearly understood good, which he [the author]

represents, and an equally clear-cut evil'.[140] This section explores how these ghost

figures were reflections of real societal concerns and values. It argues their adaptation

into satirical political ballads recast the "declining" ghost into a relevant and important

political player.

Pope's Ghost: The Faithless Man of Greed

Pope's Ghost: A Ballad (1744) turned the famous, and recently departed (d. 30

May 1744), Alexander Pope into a ghost, who returns to haunt his long-time rival, Colley

Cibber. *Pope's Ghost* was anonymously published in 1744 but was attributed to a W.

Lewis of Snow-hill. According to the ESTC database, this was the only publication

associated with this publisher at this address. However, there is a strong possibility that

he was the same W. Lewis of Russel Street who appears in H.M. Plomer's *A Dictionary

of Printers and Booksellers* as having published several prints pertaining to the works

and Grub Street print war of Colley Cibber and Alexander Pope. Therefore, it seems

highly probable that the same W. Lewis would also publish an imitation ballad

constructed from the two authors' notorious feud.[141]

The rivalry between the two authors was infamous and well known by the

eighteenth-century public. The print war started around 1717 with an altercation

between Colley Cibber and Alexander Pope concerning John Gay's play *Three Hours

After Marriage.* Pope's altercation with Cibber was verbal rather than physical—a lashing

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[140] Kernan, *The Cankered Muse*, 21-22.
[141] H.R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work, in England, Scotland and Ireland*, ed. George Herbert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932).

of the tongues that continued and turned into a 30-odd-year print war.[142] A description

of the altercation was printed in an apparent letter from Cibber that appeared years later

in the 1761 edition of *Three Hours After Marriage:*

> Mr. Pope, that in the swellings of his heart after the play was over, he
> came behind the scenes with his lips pale, and voice trembling, to call me
> to account for the insult, and, accordingly fell upon me with all the foul
> language, that a wit out of his senses, could be capable of. . . Mr Pope,
> you *are so particular a man, that I must be asham'd to return your
> language as I ought to do; but since you have attacked me in so monstrous
> a manner, this you many depend upon, that as long as the play continues
> to be acted, I will never fail to repeat the same words over and over
> again.*[143]

This altercation was the 'end to Pope's friendship for Cibber, if he really had any, and his

enmity for near thirty years'.[144] The most publicly recognised attack on Cibber by Pope

was when Pope characterised Cibber as the 'King of Dunces' in Book IV of his popular

mock-heroic poem, *The Dunciad* (1743). This public feud continued in print until Pope's

death in 1744. However, death was not the end of the feud, as Pope was not allowed to

'fall into oblivion', as John Ker surmised, but was resurrected as a fictional ghost. By

parodying *The Dunciad* as the *William and Margaret* ghost ballad, the ballad acts as a

continuation of Pope's satirical work to criticise partisan politics and immoral social

behaviour.

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[142] For more on the Pope-Cibber feud see Charles D. Peavy, 'Pope, Cibber, and the Crown of
Dulness', *The South Central Bulletin* vol. 26, no. 4 (1966): 17–27; Kristina Straub, 'Men from Boys:
Cibber, Pope, and the Schoolboy', *The Eighteenth Century* vol. 32, no. 3 (1991): 219-239; and Helen
Koon, *Colley Cibber: A Biography* (University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 157-165.

[143] (italic emphasis in the original) John Gay, *Three hours after marriage, A comedy, by Gay, Pope,
and Arbuthnot. To which is added, never before printed a key, explaining the most difficult* (Dublin:
1761), 217-218.

[144] Gay, *Three hours after marriage,* 219-220.

The ballad *Pope's Ghost* was printed in the same year as Alexander Pope's death and, according to the ghost of Pope, his return to earth was prompted by a satirical epitaph written by Cibber and printed in *The Daily Paper*.

> C-BB-R awake! The Phantom call'd,
> With hoarse and dismal Cries,
> I, from the dreary Grave am come,
> By thee compell'd to rise
> . . . . .
> Those sland'rous Lines you made on me,
> And stil'd an Epitaph[145]

The epitaph in question is cited in the ballad.

> Our pious Praise on Tomb-stones run so high
> Readers might think, that not but good Men die!
> If Graves held only such, *POPE*, like his Verse,
> Had still been breathing, and escap'd the Hearse.
> Tho' fell to all Men's Failings, but his own,
>   Yet to assert his Vengeance, or Renown,
> None ever reach'd such Heights of *Helion*!
> E'en Death shall let his Dust this Truth enjoy,
> That not his Errors can his Fame destroy
>   *Prince* Henry on the *Death* HOTSPUR.
>   Adieu! And take thy Praise with thee to Heaven!
> Thy Ignominy sleep with thee in the Grave,
> But not remember'd in thy Epitaph[146]

This introduction sets the stage and provides the reader with justification and reasoning as to why the ghost of Pope felt compelled to re-join the land of the living. The rest of the ballad is a condensed continuation of Pope's mock-heroic *The Dunciad.* Like the

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[145] *Pope's Ghost a ballad. To the tune of William and Margaret* (London: Printed for W. Lewis, 1744), 2.
[146] (capitalisation and italic emphasis in the original) I could not find the 'The Daily Paper' article, but the same epitaph was printed in *General Advertiser* roughly one month after Pope's death: *General Advertiser*, Issue 2997, in the *Burney Newspaper Collection*, British Library.

ghost ballad about Dorothy Boyle, the ballad is an example of how authors were taking

advantage of local memory to construct and reimagine the genre of ghost literature.

Just as Pope presented himself [by proxy] as the virtuous author in his satire *The*

Dunciad, so too the author present the ghost of Pope as a symbol of virtue: 'To sacred

Virtue, and her Friends, / I ever was a Friend'.[147] In Book I of *The Dunciad*, Pope

criticises the 'King of Dunces' [later recast as Cibber in Book IV] as representative of

partisan politics practised by the Whig party, as well as the Grub Street writers who

wrote for a fee as opposed to writing for the sake of artistic expression. When the ghost

of Pope confronts the sleeping Cibber in his bed, he ridicules his talent as a writer: 'That

Rubbish, rightly term'd thy *Works*', and how he wrote for money as opposed for the art of

it, 'Resign the Laurel, ill confer'd. . . Forego thy Sack and Pension too'.[148] The ballad

continues the satirical jest that Cibber's appointment to Poet Laureate was politically

driven and not based on real talent. The ghost attacks Cibber as a personification of

vices stereotypically embodied by those who appointed him—the Whigs.

> The *Quondam Patriot* now may in
> The *wiley Statesman* shine;
> And seeming *England*'s Good to seek,
> His Country undermine.[149]

Pope's ghost reimagines Cibber and the Whigs as the faithless man caricature. The

ghost accuses the newly elected William Pitt, 'now may in', as being a former patriot who

is 'seeming *England's* Good to seek' but is actually causing 'His Country undermine'.

This was a common cultural stereotype to present politicians as hiding their true

character behind masks of public speeches regarding how they intended to fight for the

public's good when they were really motivated by self-interests.

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[147] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Pope's Ghost*, 3.
[148] (capitalisation and italic emphasis in the original) *Pope's Ghost*, 4.
[149] (capitalisation and italic emphasis in the original) *Pope's Ghost*, 5.

The final stanzas of the ballad represent Book II and Book III of *The Dunciad*. In Book II, Pope presents the publishers as competing in scatological 'heroic' games. The corrupt publishers, who seek money over self-worth, progress through bed-pan slops and heaps of faeces. In the ballad, when Pope's ghost visits Cibber, Cibber is so afraid he loses all control of his bowels: 'But Fear had stop'd his Speech; / O Fortitude, why cam'st thou not, / In time to stop his * * *'.[150] This imagery and use of bathroom humour has been connected with satirical writings and politics since the mid-seventeenth century.[151] Jonathan Swift, for instance, inspired a plethora of scholarship on his use of scatological satire.[152] This use of scatology further developed the allegory of corruption and immorality of politicians who prioritised objects of wealth over civic virtue.

The parallels between the ballad structure and Pope's *The Dunciad* suggest that the intended audience of the ballad would have been familiar with the content of *The Dunciad* as well as its reputation. In other words, it points to a readership that included clientele prone to purchasing both Grub Street and elite publications, i.e. the middling sort and lower gentry. Ultimately, this ballad is a clever satire of a satire. It portrays Pope's *The Dunciad,* a publication that famously condemned Grub Street print, as a Grub Street publication. It even pokes fun at ghost beliefs: 'But hark! the Cock's tremendous voice calls me hence/ Warms me to bid adieu!'.[153] Overall, the ballad resurrects Pope as a ghost to reflect the author's and readership's stance on the moral

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[150] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Pope's Ghost*, 7.
[151] For more on scatology in early modern England see Mark S. R. Jenner, 'The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England', in *Past & Present*, no. 177 (November 2002): 84-120.
[152] For further scholarship on Swift and scatology see: N. Brown, 'The Excremental Vistion', in *Discussion of Jonathan Swift*, ed. J Traugott (D.C.: Hearth & Co, 1962); Jae Num Lee, *Swift and Scatological Satire* (University of New Mexico, 1971); Peter J Schakel, 'Swift's Remedy for Love: The 'Scatological' Poems', *Papers on Language and Literature* vol. 14, no. 2 (Spring, 1978): 141-43; and Peter J. Smith, *Between Two Stools: Scatology and its Representations in English Literature, Chaucer to Swift* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).
[153] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Pope's Ghost*, 7.

and civic corruption of London. Arguably, this adaptation instilled power into the

mockery real ghosts had reportedly become in eighteenth-century England; though even

if fictious, even if as a joke, ghosts continued to be used as a platform to voice serious

comments about urban society and its people.

Lovat's Ghost : A Reverse on the Faithless Man of Treason

Lovat's Ghost: or, The Courtier's Warning-Piece (1747) is similar to *Pope's Ghost*,

but it elaborates more on a 'collapse of order' theme. Rose A. Zimbardo argues that

eighteenth-century satire was,

> not concerned to hold up models for emulation. Rather, it signals the
> collapse of order. . . it exposes as illusory all that we perceive of conceive.
> . . [there is no] good man of common sense speaking. . . to assure of us of
> our community.[154]

Lord Lovat was a Scottish Lord who was beheaded for treason in 1747. In the ballad, his

ghost returns to London to haunt Henry Pelham, the newly appointed prime minster.[155]

This use of traitors as ghosts was a common trope since the early seventeenth century.

Stories of dead traitors were used to bolster support for the crown and enforce codes of

social behaviour by using ghosts to deter would-be traitors by personifying their

prospective fate.[156] However, unlike other treasonous ghost ballads, Lovat does not

return to earth to warn potential traitors against following in his own footsteps; he

returns to warn the general public about the traitors currently in office. Following the

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[154] Rose A. Zimbardo, 'At Zero Point: Discourse, Culture and Satire in Restoration England', *English Literary History*, vol. 59, no. 4 (Winter, 1992): 794-795.

[155] For more biographical information on Lord Lovat see John Hill Burton, *Lives of Simon Lord Lovat* (London: Chapman and hall, 1847).

[156] For more on scatology in the eighteenth-century see Nicholas Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); and Peter Thomson, 'Magna Farta: Walpole and the Golden Rump', *Humour and History*, ed. Keith Cameron (Oxford: Intellect Books, 1993).

traditional ghost trope, Lovat returns to reveal hidden knowledge—he exposes the men

of Parliament as wolf in sheep's clothing. The ghost of Lord Lovat proclaims that,

> Tho' as a traiterous Rebel, I
> Justly reciev'd my Doom,
> Yet know that many bad as me,
> Survive to fill my Room[157]

The faithless man caricature in this ballad is not the convicted traitor, but reimagined as

members of Parliament, the hidden traitors, whose civic motivations are depicted as

corrupt and no longer serving the benefit of the public. Unlike *Pope's Ghost*, Lord Lovat's

character needed to be recast as a reliable and moral voice as he was executed for

treason.

> The Critic now, methinks I hear
> Say, with a scornful Sneer
> Can headless Spirits, or Bodies speak,
> How make you this appear?
>
> Thou foolish Elf! Do but attend,
> At * *Stephen*'s House of Prayer,
> And many a Speech, by headless Men,
> You'll find it utter'd there
>
> Full many speak, and many write,
> Without ev'n Heads or Sense;
> Why then in our Ghost can you
> Not with the same dispense?

Again, with a jest aimed at Cibber Colley's writing ability:

> Take *Colley's* yearly Odes, ---and when
> That you the same have read,
> Say, can you think they e'er were penn'd

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[157] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Lovat's Ghost, 6.

By Man that wore a Head?[158]

Lovat's Ghost was not to be interpreted as a real ghost sighting, but that his presence and purpose was within the cultural casting of ghosts as moral messengers. This traditional belief in ghosts made them easily transferable to satire. Satire was meant to act as a literary form of moral policing that called out general vices and their perpetrators. The ghost of Lovat brought urban decay to the forefront of public consciousness. He returns to warn the public that the men in government do not hold the public's good as a priority. Lovat's involvement with the living is not for his own sake; his fate has already been set; he has returned, 'To warn in time the guilty Chiefs, / Of this much injur'd Land'. [159]

The narrative spends two pages describing the watchmen of London's gate as 'some blind—some lame—and some withal/ so drunk they scarce could stand'.[160] Watchmen were the guardians of social order and morality. It was their duty to watch over the streets of London. The expectation of watchmen was to secure social order and peace, yet they are found by Lovat's ghost to be handicapped and intoxicated. The irony of the watchmen being blind to immorality is emphasised when the ghost states,

But think no Harm, you're honest Men,
And watch for publick Good;
And for the very self same End,
Your Wives encrease your Brood.[161]

While these men underperformed their civic duty in service to London's public, their wives allowed other men to fulfil their domestic duty in the home. Satires exposed vices that threatened the public good. The men meant to protect the public good, to be the

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[158] (capitalisation and italic emphasis in the original) *Lovat's Ghost,* 2-3.
[159] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Lovat's Ghost*, 4.
[160] (capitalisation and italic emphasis in the original) *Lovat's Ghost*, 3.
[161] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Lovat's Ghost*, 4.

moral guardians, are supplanted by a headless ghost who was, ironically, executed for treason.

Lovat's ghost claims that in life, although his actions may have been wrong and misguided, his motivations were virtuous.

> My Country's Good I thought to find,
> Tho' by wrong Measure led
> I then, too late, found my Mistake,
> And for it lost my Head[162]

In *Lovat's Ghost*, Pelham is depicted as besmirched by greed and vanity, the sins of the aristocracy, and therefore more invested in his own material treasures and luxuries— 'He hy'd him to that splendid Place, / Where nought but Pomp appears'.[163] The ghost ends his nightly walk at the house of Henry Pelham. In the tradition of a ghost's ability to see the hidden, Lovat is privy to how the politician dreams 'of Taxes new. . . of *Bargains* made to *wrong* the State'.[164] Before he was Prime Minister, Pelham was Lord of the Treasury, who controlled the government's purse strings. The italicisation of 'bargains' implies bribery, insinuating corrupt morals. Pelham is having 'pleasant Dreams' of how he oppressed the good, hard-working people of London by enforcing taxes that diminished the wealth of London's businesses men in order to fund his own political ambitions. These were Pelham's 'daily Crimes', ones that the ghost claims Pelham consistently committed and, yet, continually went unpunished.

In this political satire, the traitor is resurrected ironically as the moral guide and judge. He was executed for crimes against the nation, but although his actions were admonished, his motivations were praised. It is here the theme of the corrupt elite comes into view—the dead are represented as a force for good who return to criticise

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162 (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Lovat's Ghost,* 6.
163 (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Lovat's Ghost,* 8.
164 capitalisation and italic emphasis in the original) *Lovat's Ghost,* 6.

their equals on the morality of urban society. The ballad ends, in his 'splendid Place. . . There soon forgot old Lovat's Ghost, / and all his former fears'.[165] The urban elite were forgetting their civility and it was up to the dead to remind them of their mortality and to alter their ways and to live a more virtuous life.

Scelus's Ghost: The Faithless Men of the Urban Community

The author of *Scelus's Ghost: or, The Lawyer's Warning Piece* (1748) is straightforward in what he or she envisioned for this satirical ballad:

> the End of this Essay was not merely to rake into the Ashes of the Dead, or to revive the Memory of their Crimes, which had been better buried in eternal Oblivion, but as Surgeons are permitted to anatomize the Dead for the Benefit of the Living, so I presume 'tis lawful for me to characterise 'em with the same View.[166]

The reader was to interpret the ballad as a purposeful adaptation and fictionalisation of the useful eighteenth-century ghost who returns for 'the Benefit of the Living'. In this ballad, the purpose of *Scelus's Ghost* is to call out the faithless men, in this case, lawyers and politicians who have betrayed their civic duties to the urban community. The ghost's warning is aimed more particularly at the House of Commons and targets the men who wrote the laws, identified as 'Scribe' in the ballad, and the men who created them, identified as 'Fur'. It was a common stereotype in eighteenth-century satire for the lawyer and the politician to be the personifications of vice. For example, *Queries: proposed to the Consideration of the Publick, concerning the Lawyer and the Alderman* asks its readership: 'Whether the Scribbler of a Paper, A Lawyer a Courtier, be not a Friend of Liberty or Truth?'.[167] Similar sentiments are in the satirical play *The Lawyer's*

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[165] *Lovat's Ghost*, 8.

[166] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Scelus's Ghost: or, The Lawyer's Warning Piece* (London: 1748), 3.

[167] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Queries: proposed to the Consideration of the Publick, concerning the Lawyer and the Alderman*, (Dublin: 1737), broadsheet.

Fortune and the pamphlet *Direction to Mankind in General.*[168] The greedy lawyer is

stigmatised as a stereotypical culprit of urban immorality who prizes money over virtue.

According to Christopher Brooks research on lawyers and litigation, from the mid-

seventeenth century onwards there was a proliferation of prints that criticised lawyers

for engaging in secret bribery and calling for them to participate in an honest trade.[169]

Scelus's Ghost is clearly part of this genre.

     Scelus's Ghost is the only one of the four *William and Margaret* imitation ballads

to assign an author: 'J.M.'. Although the author remains ambiguous, it is possible that the

author of *Scelus' s Ghost* was the same 'J.M.' who wrote *A Concise History of the City of*

London (1752). If the connection is true, though indeed tenuous, it reveals a continued

theme of social awareness and urban morality. In *A Concise History*, the author praises

the newly elected Mayor of London for his impartiality in the pursuit of justice:

> several worthy Gentlemen heard your LORDSHIP declare. . . your fixed
> Resolution to do Justice with the upmost Impartiality. . . Happy is the City
> to be governed by a Magistrate of such unbiased Integrity; One, who not
> only has a perfect Knowledge of the Rights of those over whom he
> presides, but is unalterable determined to maintain them in their full
> Extent. Honest and Virtue have the agreeable Prospect of coming once
> more into Fashion.[170]

Although potentially pure coincidence, both works advocate that London was a city

plagued by corruption, where 'Honest[y] and Virtue' had gone out of fashion. In *Scelus's*

Ghost, the theme of moral corruption is presented in the image of a soiled city, both

metaphorically and literally.

<p style="text-align:center">. . . . .</p>

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[168] William Grimston, *The Lawyer's Fortune: or, love in hallow tree. A Comedy* (London: 1736).
[169] Christopher W. Brooks, *Lawyers, Litigation and English Society Since 1450* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1998), 257.
[170] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) J.M., *A Concise History of the City of London* (London: 1752), Preface.

> When Watchmen sleep upon their Guard,
> And Robbers seek a Prize.
>
> When *Bung* surveys his shining Hoard,
> When *Stercus*' stinking Trade,
> Poisons the Neighbours all around,
> And **** goes drunk to Bed[171]

The watchmen, as seen in *Lovat's Ghost*, were civic officials depicted as sleeping on the job. They continued to ignore the ongoing immorality taking place in the city: Bung, or Bribery, was rife. Faeces, identified as 'Stercus' stinking Trade', literally covered the streets, poisoning the air with its terrible stench, and it was this polluted air, both literally and figuratively, that invited Scelus's (crime's) ghost to rise and stalk the streets of London.

According to the ghost, the persons he seeks to haunt are those who continued to commit the same crimes he had committed while living:

> Then thus for former Crimes he mourn'd
> Ah what a Wretch am I!
> Who head regardless Orphans Moans,
> And saw them pine and dine.
> Oft' have I seen the Widow's Tear,
> Quite heedless of their Pain,
> And tho' they pity oft' implored
> From me, 'twas all in vain.[172]

The ghost's words are not uncommon and reflect similar language used in other eighteenth-century poems depicting the state of London. John Gay's *Trivia: Or, The Art of Walking the Streets of London* (1716) paints a world where greed ravaged the city so

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[171] (italic emphasis in the original) *Scelus's Ghost,* 3.
[172] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) *Scelus's Ghost,* 5.

that 'Proud Coaches pass, regardless of the Moan, / Of Infant Orphans, and the Widow's Groan' and a watchman 'for Sixpence will support thy helpless Arm'.[173] Samuel Johnson's *London: A Poem* (1738) identifies the 'fell Attorney prowls for Prey' as one of the numerous 'publick Crimes' that 'inflame the Wrath of Heav'n'.[174] It was a guilty conscience that created a walking spirit, and as Defoe articulates, it was the newly wealthy oppressors, the urban elite, who were the prime candidates for such ghostly activity:

> tis not a thing of the least concern to us to have the cry of the poor against us, or to have the widows and orphans, who we have injur'd and oppress'd, look up to heaven for relief against us, when they, perhaps have not money to go to law, or to obtain or seek remedy against us in the ordinary way of justice. I had much rather have an unjust Enemy draw his Sword upon me, than an injur'd poor Widow to cry to Heaven for Justice against me.[175]

These men allowed their social ambition for luxury and status to overshadow their minds and to make them forget the civil and genteel virtues they once held dear. As discussed in the previous chapter on funeral monuments, urban acts of charity were a lynchpin of the cultural stereotype of the wealthy urban merchants and traders, and yet, they were the same social group typecast in these ballads as the demographic that ignored their civil and religious duty.

Conclusion

This chapter shows the ways the dead continued to be used as a tool to control social order; they were resurrected as defenders of the new codes of civility and gentility

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[173] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) John Gay, *Trivia: Or, The Art of Walking the Streets of London* (London: 1716).

[174] Samuel Johnson, *London: A Poem in Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal*, 2nd edition (London: Printed for R. Dodsley, 1738).

[175] (capitalisation emphasis in the original) Daniel Defoe, *An Essay on the History and Reality of Spirits* (London: 1727), 99-100.

that framed polite society. The adaptations made to the popular Bateman ghost ballad recast Bateman as the respected but poor gentleman being demonised by the aristocracy as the stereotyped social climber who seduced heiresses for monetary gain. The ballad was repurposed by the author as a challenge to current political discourses threatening the validity of contract and spousal marriages, while also promoting the middling sort and lower gentry men as the hero and the bourgeoisies as the villain. This short-prose promotes Bateman as the virtuous character, rich in virtue though lacking in wealth, whereas the rich farmer and the rich rival are the real manifestations of greed and deserved the public's contempt, not men like Bateman. This short-prose form was a landmark development in the use of ghost stories as a platform for social and political engagement—a genre that continued to develop, as demonstrated by *A True Relation* and the imitation ballads of *William and Mary*.

   A True Relation appropriated traditional ghost tropes to encourage readers to support female rights, as well as employing the female voice as moral police. The ghost of Mrs. Veal returns to impart important messages the author arguably believed were vital to maintaining order and stability in urban, polite society. The author uses real people and events to add substance to the narrative but takes artistic licence to drive home the specific key themes of female friendship and domestic abuse. Ghost were traditionally viewed as authoritative messengers, and it was this archetype that imbues the female voice of Mrs. Veal with newfound agency and power. As a ghost, Mrs. Veal escapes her controlling brother and returns to provide not only friendship to Mrs. Bargrave, but also to propagate the public reputation of her husband, Mr. Bargrave, as a brute. The blurred boundary between fiction and realism altered the social role of ghosts. Ghosts no longer needed to be believed as real to do real damage to people or cultural institutions.

The series of 1740s imitation ballads indicate how representations of the dead were adapted to the satirical framework popular in the mid-eighteenth century. These prints used mockery as a tool for social and political engagement. They reimagined personas according to changing value systems regarding what the community considered a virtue and what was considered a vice. It was the shared theme of urban corruption in polite society that underpins all four imitation ballads. The authors of these prints reimagined the traditional faithless man character depicted in Mallet's *William and Margaret* to address current political and social affairs. *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y; or The Injur'd Ghost* (1743) is similar to *A True Relation* regarding how it bolsters a female voice as an authority on morality. Dorothy Boyle's resurrection as a fictional ghost imbued her female voice with power and authority. The author utilised the cultural practice of public shaming to have the ghost of Dorothy accuse her husband of murder. The ghost ballad cultivated further circumstantial evidence to the rumours already circulating polite society about Lord Euston's vulgarity and barbarity. Whether a product or causation, Lord Euston was disowned in the same year of the ghost ballad's publication. Overall, this ballad shows how ghosts were used as spokespersons for peripheral discourses to the public's consciousness.

Pope's Ghost: A Ballad (1744) reimagines the faithless man character as Cibber Colley who was motivated by greed and not by the artistic muses. In the ballad, Pope is virtuous because he wrote for the people, whereas Cibber is a puppet for the politicians responsible for the moral and civic corruption of London. The corrupt politician is also represented in *Lovat's Ghost: or, The Courtier's Warning-Piece* (1747). The traditional traitorous ghost archetype was ironically repurposed as the virtuous countryman. Lovat was not the true betrayer of his country; it was the politicians who feigned promoting the public good when they secretly work for their own benefit. *Scelus's Ghost; or, The*

Lawyer's Warning Piece (1748) has the same theme as *Pope's Ghost* and *Lovat's Ghost* but applies it more generally to public officials, who were even more traitorous because they were part of social group [the middling sort and lower gentry] being oppressed by Parliament. These ghost ballads are evidence of how the lower middling sort through to the lower gentry could and did actively participate in political culture. Not all had power in Parliament, but they had power in the streets. These imitation ballads reveal how ghosts were culturally accepted as active influencers regarding establishing or challenging quintessential English codes of ethics and behaviour. These examples of ghosts, whether real or not, were in the process of becoming an established part of English identity.

Chapter 7: The Cock Lane Ghost: A Re-examination of the Banishment of the Ghost from Reality into Fiction

The Cock Lane Ghost has been included in an array of historical discourses. Douglas Grant and Paul Chambers approached the event with a journalistic analysis to test the credibility and development of the story.[1] Grant and Chambers pieced together newspaper articles, personal correspondences, and cheap print literature to draw a map of the people involved the progression of events and the public responses to the story; however, a historical analysis of the narrative itself is missing. The story is briefly mentioned in Keith Thomas' *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* as well as in Emma Clery's *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction.* Clery places the Cock Lane Ghost as the landmark story that pushed the ghost figure firmly into fictional writings.[2] Sasha Handley, on the other hand, argues that the Cock Lane Ghost was more of the end, rather than the start, of ghost beliefs gradual progression into the realm of fiction.[3] This thesis agrees with Handley that the Cock Lane Ghost was a piece in the progression of ghost beliefs gradual inception into its own fictional literary genre. The Cock Lane Ghost was foundational in the development of ghost and ghost stories as constructed memory symbols. This section discusses how contemporary sources approached Cock Lane as a fraud and how this approach transformed famous ghost stories, as well as ghosts themselves, into a symbol of the English identity.

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[1] Douglas Grant, *The Cock Lane Ghost* (London: Macmillan, 1965); Paul Chambers, *The Cock Lane Ghost: Murder, Sex & Haunting in Dr. Johnson's London* (Cheltenham: History Press, Limited, 2006).

[2] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*: *Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 712; also referenced in Emma Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction: 1762-1800 (*Cambridge University Press, 1995), 17.

[3] Sasha Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World: Ghost Beliefs and Ghost Stories in Eighteenth Century England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015)*,* 147.

It was during the 1760s that the story of the Cock Lane Ghost reignited the general public's fascination with the speaking dead. People from all walks of life crowded the city streets of London in the hope of witnessing some sort of paranormal activity. One newspaper reported on the Cock Lane Ghost's universal appeal, detailing how 'clergy and laity, the nobility and commonality. . . continue their nightly attendance upon the invisible agent'.[4] Horace Walpole visited the house with his companions the Duke of York, Lady Northumberland, Lady Mary Coke, and Lord Hertford, and he reported he found the street 'full of mob', despite the unfavourable weather, 'and the house was so full we could not get in'.[5] To explain, possibly, why the nation was fascinated with the Cock Lane Ghost, we must first go back to its origins.

Sources conflict regarding whether Fanny Lynes was the fiancée or illegitimate live-in wife to William Kent, a wealthy stockbroker who had recently moved to London from Norfolk. The couple stayed at Richard Parson's lodging house for a short time before a quarrel between Kent and Parsons, allegedly over a debt of 12 guineas, forced Kent to seek lodgings elsewhere. Kent stated that Fanny fell ill soon after the eviction and shortly died thereafter on 2 February 1760. Kent declared his innocence in any wrongdoing toward Fanny's death and claimed that Fanny had died of smallpox; however, rumours fuelled by Parsons claimed Fanny had a far more salacious death—Kent had murdered his wife by poisoning. This accusation of murder reportedly came directly from the disturbed ghost of Fanny Lynes, which now haunted the Parsons' household. Much of the conversation with the ghost was through distinct patterns of knocking. Elizabeth Parsons, Robert Parsons' 12-year-old daughter, claimed to have seen the apparition of a woman

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[4] Douglas Grant, *The Cock Lane Ghost* (London: Macmillan, 1965), 52; also referenced in Sasha Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World,* 144.

[5] Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction*, 24 and Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World,* 144.

'without hands, in a shroud'.[6] Parsons had tried earlier to circulate accusations about Kent's misdeed using his own reputation as proof of truth but 'his mutterings fell on death ears'.[7] Some speculate he created the ghost of Fanny as a way to introduce a higher authority, giving more weight to his claim. In addition to the spirit of Fanny, Parsons sought the religious support from his local Methodist clergyman John Moore. Moore called upon his fellow Methodists Reverend Thomas Broughton and Mary Frazer to assist him in validating the Cock Lane haunting. The involvement of dissenters, as Sasha Handley states, meant 'this affair rapidly becomes an important case upon which the efficacy of the Methodist faith was to be publicly tested'.[8] Methodists, at this time, were steadily becoming the new scapegoated religious sect, much like the atheists and sadducists condemned in Glanvill's *Sadducism Triumphatus*. Anglican theologians often depicted Methodist preachers as overzealous, seeking to convert the laity via visual spectacles and loud voices. It has been suggested that their involvement with the case—as opposed to members of the high church—cast doubt on the case and encouraged increased scepticism from London's learned society on the validity of the haunting.[9]

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[6] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 144.

[7] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 144.

[8] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 144.

[9] The polemics of the time concerning the zealousness of Methodists and scepticism of using the supernatural as a conversion tool leading up the Cock Lane can be seen in the theological works of Eusebius, *A Fine of Picture of Enthusiasm* (London: 1744); and George Lavington, *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared* (London, 1749). In direct relation to Cock Lane, the role of methodism is mocked in William Hogarth's print *Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism* (1761). For a bibliographical list of primary sources see Clive Field, 'Anti-Methodist Publications of the Eighteenth Century: A Revised Bibliography', in *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Mancher* vol. 73 (1991): 159-280; and Richard Green, *Anti-Methodist Publication Issued during the Eighteenth Century: A Chronologically Arranged and Annotated Bibliography* (London: C.H. Keyy, 1902). For some secondary sources on the subject see Albert Lyles, *Methodism Mocked: The Satiric Reaction to Methodism in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Epworth Press, 1960); Owen Davies, 'Methodism, the Clergy, and the Popular Belief in Witchcraft and Magic', *History* vol. 82, no. 266 (April 1997): 252-265; Bernd Krysmanski, 'We See a Ghost: Hogarth's Satire on Methodists and Connoisseurs, *The Art Bulletin* vol. 80, no. 2 (June 1998): 2920310; and Robert Webster, *Methodism and the Miraculous: John Wesley's Idea of the Supernatural and the Identification of the Methodists in the Eighteenth Century* (Lexington: Erneth Press, 2012).

Despite the actual validity of the ghost of Fanny, it had real consequences for Kent's social standing and reputation. According to Douglas Grant, the ghostly accusations halted the contracted procedure put into motion to make Kent his brother's business partner.[10] The rising popularity of the ghost's accusation fuelled public discontent by claiming that a murderer was walking the streets a free man. It was because of this public outcry that the Lord Mayor felt forced to become involved. Just as Glanvill went to Tedworth, an investigative team of respected, educated persons was put together to investigate the reports: Stephen Aldrich (minister), the Earl of Dartmouth (Bishop of Salisbury), George Macauley (physician), Mrs. Oakes (a hospital patron), and Samuel Johnson (well-known writer). Their investigation reported that the Cock Lane Ghost was a fraud, though it seems that public opinion remained conflicted over whether the haunting was real or feigned.[11]

Kent, for example, was dissatisfied with the outcome of the case and sought further assistance in restoring his public reputation. Kent commissioned Oliver Goldsmith as his chief apologist, who wrote *The Mystery Revealed* in 1762 to defend the case to the public.[12] This pamphlet was sold for only one shilling as a likely ploy to target the 'middle-class reader who could both sympathise with [Kent's] predicament and afford to purchase the topical text'.[13] Goldsmith presents the case as a civil crime of defamation against an otherwise respectable man. Goldsmith calls on the reader to view Kent as 'a man, otherwise of a fair character, as will shortly appear' who was, 'rendered odious to society, shunned by such as immediately take imputation for guilt, and made unhappy in his family'.[14] In contrast

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[10] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 38.
[11] Douglas Grant, *The Cock Lane Ghost* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), 71-2.
[12] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 32:1 (1762), 43-4 and 81-4.
[13] Handley, *Visions of the Unseen World*, 146.
[14] Oliver Goldsmith, *The Mystery Revealed* (London: 1762), 2.

to naming Parsons as the perpetrator, Goldsmith makes the case into a class

partisan issue. He insinuates that only the uneducated and easily swayed

continued to believe in ghosts—a belief 'rejected by all but the lowest classes'.

More so, it was the lower classes who purposefully created ghosts as a

disingenuous ploy to call 'for justice upon supposed criminals when justice had

been denied to them'; he even cites Glanvill as a man who used spirits to

'strengthen our prejudices' by 'his authority and writings'.[15] Goldsmith targeted the

middling sort and those above whom his writings would not offend but further

separate from the suspicious lower classes as the distinguished, incredulous group

of the urban community. Goldsmith was attempting to use the 'language of sort' to

convince the middling sort and lower gentry that if they continued to support the

reality of the Cock Lane Ghost then they were no better than the credulous lower

classes.[16]

When the news of Cock Lane first began to circulate, Addison's satirical play

The Drummer (1715) was revived on the London stage. The play is a direct farce of

Glanvill's *The Drummer of Tedworth,* in which the phantom is revealed to be a man

using 'hocus pocus tricks' to scare away a romantic rival.[17] The sudden revival of

the play in London's theatre circuit, both in Drury Lane and Convent Garden, nearly

50 years after its first performance, reflected the growing notoriety of the Cock

Lane Ghost. It also reveals the ways in which ghost stories, such as Glanvill's 100-

year-old account, could be reused and reimagined to undermine the credibility of

current affairs. The parallels between Tedworth and the Cock Lane narratives are

plainly stated in the new prologue added to this play's revival:

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[15] Goldsmith, *The Mystery Revealed*, 1.

[16] For more on the 'language of sorts' in early modern English society see Keith Wrightson's chapter in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society, and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, ed. Johnathon Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: The MacMillan Press, 1994).

[17] Joseph Addison, *The Drummer* (London: 1715), 277.

In this credulous, believing age,
We bring a harmless ghost upon the Stage,
Some will perhaps conclude – in hopes of Gain,
We've hired the knocking Spirit from Cock Lane.

The revival of the play and its role as a metaphor were further mirrored in a published satirical illustration entitled *The Cock Lane Uproar* (1762) (see Figure 17). This illustration depicts the Cock Lane Ghost as an allegory for the latest theatrical performance catching London's attention. The print depicts Elizabeth Parson's room and features her bed with the curtains pulled back as if presenting a stage production. The inscription below reads: 'Miss Fanny's New Theatre in Cock Lane' (see image at the end of this chapter). This print communicates the opinion that the phenomenon was a play, an act of *fiction*.

Another example of how Tedworth was used to discredit the Cock Lane Ghost is William Hogarth's adaptation of his engraving *Enthusiasm Delineated* (1760). In the original engraving, Hogarth depicts enthusiasm as mainly a trait of Catholics and Methodists. The congregation are portrayed as either immoral, as in the image of the embracing couple, or in a state of overzealousness, as in the depiction of the swooning woman opposite of the aforementioned lustful couple. After the Cock Lane Ghost started to gain popularity and notoriety, Hogarth released an adapted print of *Enthusiasm Delineated* under the new title *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism: A Medley* (1762) (see Figure 16). The criticism of religious zealousness was replaced with zealousness over the paranormal. Both prints, *Enthusiasm* and *Credulity*, are representative of Hogarth's general criticisms of the growing influence of irreligion, namely Methodism, in English society. In the original print, the setting is meant to be interpreted as George Whitefield's

Methodist Tabernacle in London.[18] As mentioned previously, the religious advocate

for Parsons and his ghost, Fanny, was the Methodist preacher John Moore. The

Methodist laity sitting in the pulpits in *Credulity* are reimagined to hold an effigy of

a shrouded female figure holding a candle—a representation of the ghost of

Fanny— illustrating Hogarth's attack on idolatry as 'literal and low conceptions of

sacred beings'.[19]

In addition to Fanny, three other ghostly figures are depicted in *Credulity*:

the ghost of Sir George Villiers, the ghost of Julius Caesar, and the ghost of Mrs.

Veal. In addition, the swooning lady in the left-bottom corner is recast as Mary Toft,

a woman who claimed to have given birth to live rabbits in 1726.[20] The thermometer

in the far-right corner that measures enthusiasm is topped with a drummer, a clear

reference to Tedworth, as well as a scene of a ghost in a bedroom, another

representation of the Cock Lane Ghost. These images, as Sean Gaston argues,

illustrate how Hogarth 'recognises that this fictional ghost has a history'.[21] In this

use, these 'histor[ies] of fictional ghosts' are transformed into constructed memory

symbols.

This notion of ghost beliefs as an aspect of English identity is further

demonstrated in the print *English Credulity or the Invisible Ghost* (1762) (see

Figure 18). The image depicts the interior of the Parson's household, with the

daughter, Elizabeth, on the bed and a crowd of witnesses surrounding her. The

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[18] Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 300.

[19] Paulson, *Hogarth*, 300.

[20] For more on the story and cultural impact of Mary Toft see Jane Shaw, 'Mary Toft, Religion and National Memory in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* vol. 32 no. 3 (August 2009): 321-338; Karen Harvey, *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder: Mary Toft and Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); and Dennis Todd, *Imagining Monsters: Miscreations of the Self in Eighteenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[21] Sean Gaston, 'An Event Without An Object: The Cock Lane Ghost, London 1762–1763', *The Literary London Journal* vol. 12, no 1-2, (Spring/Autumn 2015): 12.

image of Fanny Lynes' ghost is depicted holding a mallet to indicate the source of the phantom knocking. On the wall are two framed pictures of other well-known fraudulent supernatural events: The Bottle Conjurer (1749) and Elizabeth Canning (1753). The Bottle Conjurer was an unnamed hoax theatrical performer who claimed to be able to fit his body into a wine bottle. He never appeared for his performance on 16 January 1749 and the audience rioted and destroyed the theatre. Elizabeth Canning was a maidservant who claimed to be kidnapped in 1753 but who was later convicted of perjury. By entitling the image *English Credulity*, the artist is insinuating that such beliefs in the *Invisible Ghost*, as well as the known hoaxes of the Bottle Conjurer and Elizabeth Canning, were an essentially English affliction.

Conclusion

The Cock Lane Ghost revealed how ghosts continued to have a duty to the public. The ghost was used a weapon by the socially oppressed to sway public opinion in their favour. Goldsmith states that not only did the ghost of Fanny call out for public support to condemn a man for murdering her [his wife], but also to rally support for Robert Parson, who arguably created Fanny to damage the reputation of Kent, a wealthier man who was threatening to ruin Parsons' reputation by sending him to debtors' prison. Ultimately, the influence of men such as William Hogarth, Oliver Goldsmith, and Samuel Johnson, as well as the court system, labelled the Cock Lane Ghost a fraud. On 10 July 1763, Parsons was convicted of conspiracy and sentenced to two years in prison and three sessions in the pillory.[22] While in the pillory, however, he reportedly suffered no public abuse, and a public subscription was organised on his behalf. These actions suggest that

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[22] Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World*, 142.

some of London society continued to believe in the reality of the Cock Lane Ghost despite the legal system and educated society claiming it to be fraud.[23]

Nonetheless, it was arguably the satirical prints surrounding the haunting that firmly pushed ghost beliefs into the realm of fiction. These prints also solidified ghosts as part of the English identity. Cock Lane proved the populace remained transfixed on the paranormal, as both sceptics and believers flocked to test the validity of the haunting. These authors' incorporation of other famous paranormal and supernatural cases, such as Tedworth, into the dialogue of Cock Lane affectively transformed ghosts into memory symbols. This process made ghosts more readily accessible to be integrated into supernatural fiction, but also integrated into the English identity as a haunted nation. Although this reputation was ironically accepted by eighteenth-century satirists, it has since become an accepted, and indeed profitable, aspect of England's identity on the world stage. England is forever haunted, and whether real or imagined, the ghosts of England continue to do important cultural work.

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[23] Grant, *The Cock Lane Ghost,* 2.

Figure 16. William Hogarth, *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (1762), British Museum.

Figure 17. Anon, *The Cock Lane Uproar* (1762), London Metropolitan Archives.

Figure 18. Anon, *English Credulity or the Invisible Ghost* (1762), British Museum.

Conclusion

In Boswell's biography of Samuel Johnson is a famous quote of Johnson's that has
been consistently used in studies of the dead:

> It is wonderful that five thousand years have not elapsed since the
> creation of the world, and still it is undecided whether or not there
> has ever been an instance of the spirit of any person appearing after
> death. All argument is against it, but all belief is for it.[1]

This quote illuminates how the dead remained present in early modern society.
Regardless of the 'rise of Enlightenment' and the progression of science, the dead,
although questioned, were not receding from the public's consciousness, but
instead recast and adapted into figures that reflected contemporary outlooks and
anxieties. The above quote was in reference to ghosts; however, Johnson also
expressed similar sentiments on the social importance of epitaphs,

> . . . the tomb of a good man may supply the want of his presence, and
> veneration for his memory produce the same effect as the
> observation of his life. Those *epitaphs* are, therefore, the most
> perfect, which set virtue in the strongest light, and are best adapted
> to exalt the reader's ideas and rouse his emulation.[2]

Johnson was far from a death enthusiast, but his continued interest and stated
value in representations of the dead demonstrate how important the dead remained
in early modern English society.

This thesis argues for a wider focus on death and the dead, a focus that
spans various cultures of memorialisation, and looks past the corporeal to focus on
the incorporeal. As such, this thesis approaches cultures of death, the dead, and

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[1] James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (London: 1791), entry for 31 March 1778.
[2] Samuel Johnson, 'An Essay on Epitaphs', *The Yale Digital Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven: Yale University, 2014), 498, http://www.yalejohnson.com/frontend/sda_viewer?n= 112192.

commemoration in a new way due to how it connects church monument studies with the history of ghosts. These two fields have traditionally been approached separately, yet when studied as symbiotic, shared trends emerged that connected them as cultures of memorialisation. The ways the dead are represented in church monuments and ghost stories created a sketch for the modern historian to trace, illustrating the ways in which the living used the dead as memory symbols and tools to construct, challenge, and enforce new identities and codes of behaviour that define urban, polite society of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. Thus, although initially one would not expect the fields of church monuments and ghost stories to have any linked cultural developments, both constructed specific images of the dead that were designed to interact, whether metaphorically or literally, with the living, and from such engagement shape the individual and collective memories of the community.

In the process of writing this thesis, I uncovered numerous unexplored materials, from dozens of unrecorded church monuments to hundreds of unexamined cheap print publications. Regarding England church monuments, this thesis recorded 1,234 dating from 1660 to 1770 from the six urban centres of Bath, Bristol, Hull, Leeds, Newcastle, and York. These monuments were spread out across 49 churches. York Minster, Bath Abbey, and Leeds Minster have thorough records of their monuments: York Minster has an abundance of antiquarian sources, notably Francis Drake's *Eboracum,* and Bath Abbey and Leeds Minster have modern catalogues.[3] However, the remaining parish churches visited for this

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[3] Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or, The history and antiquities of the city of York*, (London: W. Bowyer, 1736). Bath Abbey had arguably spent the most time and effort in recording their church monuments and created a detailed spreadsheet. At the time this thesis was written, this catalogued was not available to the public, but the team at Bath Abbey Archives has every intention in making it publicly accessible. As of 2019/2020, Bath Abbey plans to start the recent project to record all floor slabs within the Abbey. This was due to a National Lottery grant given to the Abbey to renovate the flooring; thus, it has embarked on this project as some slabs would be negatively affected by the ground works. In reference to Leeds Minster,

thesis had either limited antiquarian and/or modern records, though many favour the larger, standing church monuments, or none at all—this was particularly the case for the smaller parish churches within the cities [i.e. non-minsters/cathedrals]. There are a few modern projects from the twentieth or twenty-first century that record church monuments. The Church Monument Society is, of course, of note, and has worked for decades collecting and discussing the cultural importance of church monuments. However, again, contributors to the Society tend to focus on larger churches monuments and often neglect floor slabs. There are also some personal, small blogs created by miscellaneous locals and tourists who have photographed and transcribed church monuments across England, but again these are often limited to recording standing, wall-mounted, and elevated wall-mounted monuments and completely neglect floor slabs. There is still much work to be done in recording English church monuments—a daunting and expansive task—but this thesis has contributed to that effort.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the title and content keyword searches conducted for this thesis produced approximately 180 printed ghost stories; this thesis examined nine. Due to the available time and space of this thesis, I had to narrow down the source material significantly and decided to focus on prints that were continuously reprinted. This thesis added to the scholarship on Glanvill's *Drummer of Tedworth*, the tale of Mrs. Veal, and the infamous Cock Lane Ghost, yet this thesis is the first to evaluate the short-prose adaptation of the Bateman ballad and the series of *William and Mary* imitation ballads which had never been discussed in previous scholarship. This thesis is therefore a sort of micro-history of

Margaret Pullan's *The Monuments of Parish Church of St. Peter-as-Leeds* (Leeds: Maney Publishing for the Thoresby Society and the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 2007) is a book recording the church monuments of Leeds Minster that includes her modern research with antiquarian records.

printed ghost stories, but there is clearly an abundance of unexplored source material available for a far larger study or multiple other micro-histories.

I. Church Monuments

The first section of this thesis set out to establish whether there was an urban language of memorialisation. It was designed to act as a continuation of Nigel Llewellyn and Peter Sherlock's research on Post-Reformation church monuments while simultaneously providing a complementary survey to Jonathan Finch's research on Norwich Monuments and Matthew Craske's analysis of London church monuments.[4] This thesis adopted Finch's regional approach to church monuments, as well as the inclusion of floor slabs, to construct a chronology of commemoration. This thesis revealed a shared increased proliferation of church monuments across the six cities during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with the height of distribution occurring pre-1730s. This heightened distribution correlated with Finch's research on Norfolk and, thus, supports his argument that such increased distribution represented an earlier manifestation of what Peter Borsay called the 'urban renaissance'.[5] This idea is further supported by how the largest sample of church monuments contains floor slabs that commemorate members of the middling sort as determined by the social titles Mr. or Mrs., various artisan and trade occupations [e.g. surgeon, brewer, butcher, professor, etc.], the civic positions of alderman, sheriff and/or mayor, and the title of merchant. These social titles outnumber titles affiliated with the aristocracy [Sir, Lord, Lady, Baron, Count] and the urban/rural elite [esquire and

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[4] See Jonathan Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000); and Matthew Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body: A History of Monumental Sculpture and Commemoration in England, 1720-1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
[5] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 157.

gentleman/gentlewoman] until the mid-eighteenth century, when urban/rural elite titles significantly increased in church monuments. However, these titles are often paired with stereotypical middling-sort titles, indicating the rising success of industry and commercialism in providing the means to purchase the landed title of esquire and to self-identify as the ambiguous gentleman.

Bristol and Newcastle, the industrial provincial capitals, experienced an era of rapid commercial development in the mid-seventeenth century. This growth was reflected in an increased number of church monuments during the same period. Unlike the other four urban centres, the 1670s and 1680s were decades of high proliferation in both Newcastle and Bristol. These cities therefore support Finch's argument that church monuments were an earlier manifestation of the urban renaissance.[6] Both cities experienced a decline in the erection of church monuments between 1730 and 1760. This decline was likely linked with the economic recession triggered by increased competition from rival trade cities, such as Liverpool and Glasgow.

York and Bath, the leisure provincial capitals, had similar socio-economic profiles to more consumer-centric economies. The growing reputation of York and Bath as leisure epicentres in the eighteenth century is reflected in the number and type of social titles commemorated in church monuments. Middling sort titles surpassed the number of urban elite titles until the eighteenth century when urban elite titles began to grow in number and eventually greatly outnumber those of the middling sort. It is of note that in Bath, middling sort titles commemorated in conjunction with elite titles continued to be highly represented from the 1710s onwards. These results support Finch's statement that 'the increasing diversity of trades and occupation was part of the broader development of an urban identity

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[6] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 157.

and increasing consumerism which, in turn, resulted in greater prestige and social acceptability being attached to their practitioners'.[7] In other words, these church monuments show changing patterns of commemoration that are connected to urbanisation and the rise of polite society.

Hull and Leeds are included in this study to compare the development of urban values in late developing provincial capitals.[8] Neither of these cities exhibited urban economic growth until post-1700. Post-1700, church monuments increased in overall number. This was coupled with an increased representation of middling-sort titles. This pattern is similar to the patterns seen in Bristol and Newcastle. The commercial success of these urban centres resulted in merchants and traders becoming the dominant authoritative social group. These groups controlled and profited from the mechanisms of an industrial economy and subsequently held positions of power in the civic government. Unlike the other four urban centres, Leeds and Hull have a high number of church monuments that commemorate families; from 1660 to 1749, the majority of these monuments commemorate members of wealthy merchant families. This trend of commemoration is linked to the 'pursuit of status' obsession affiliated with the urban renaissance.[9] The growth of Hull and Leeds into provincial capitals during the eighteenth century—the pinnacle of the urban renaissance and rise of polite society—correlates with the number and type of social titles commemorated on their church monuments. In Leeds, aristocratic titles do not appear in church monuments until the 1750s and such titles never appear in Hull. However, throughout the period, middling sort titles and combos of middling sort titles with the tile of esquire and/or gent were the most represented demographic in both Hull and Leeds.

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[7] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 159.
[8] On my use of the term 'provincial capitals' see page 22.
[9] Peter Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance: The Development of Provincial Urban Culture c. 1680-c. 1760', *Social History* vol. 2, no.5 (May 1977): 593-597.

The sample population collected for this thesis therefore disproves Tarlow's argument about a movement away from displays of status and instead supports Finch's conclusion on how the middling sort 'were establishing themselves as new and dynamic sector of the city's economy . . . [who] sought to express their new status and wealth through traditional media, including monumental commemoration'.[10] Similar to the larger architectural builds that were changing the urban landscape of eighteenth-century England, church monuments were additional and, at times, more affordable ways the wider populace could produce a visible manifestation of their success and status within the urban community. This thesis, therefore, adds to the scholarship on urban histories, such as the works of Peter Borsay, Jonathan Barry, Keith Wrightson, Peter Earle and R.G. Wilson.[11] These previous studies focus on the ways in which the middling sort adopted and adapted the language and practices of civility affiliated with the elite to construct their own set standards of urban identity and behaviour. These histories focus on printed texts, personal correspondents, marriage arrangements, and purchase histories including land, houses, material goods, etc., but neglect church monuments as additional evidence of this pursuit of status lifestyle. The increased proliferation of church monuments coupled with increased cases of middling-sort commemoration show how valuable church monument studies are when evaluating

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[10] Finch, *Church Monuments,* 157 and 159.

[11] For more general urban histories see Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in The Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Jonathan Barry, 'Provincial Town Culture, 1649-1780: Urbane or Civic?', in *Interpretation and Cultural History*, ed. Joan H. Pittock and Andrew Wear (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991); *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society, and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, ed. Johnathon Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: The MacMillan Press, 1994); and Keith Wrightson, *A Social History of England, 1500-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). For an analysis on London see Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989). For a discussion on eighteenth century Bath see Peter Borsay, *The Images of Georgian Bath, 1700-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). For early modern Leeds see R.G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: the merchant community in Leeds 1700-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971).

the social and economic history of early modern England. The rise of industry and commercialism redefined urban identities, and church monuments track this transition.

This thesis focuses on interior church monuments as well as, by circumstance, established Anglican churches. It would be beneficial to urban histories to continue this line of research and look at outside burials as well as non-conformist churches, which were increasingly built in the mid- and late eighteenth century. Jonathan Barry demonstrates such potential in his article examining burial practices in Exeter and Bristol. He adopted the comparative analysis used by Vanessa Harding in her research on the burial practices of Paris and London.[12] He claims that, to date [2018], there had been no similar studies on other early modern English cities, barring the post-1700 analyses on Leeds and Sheffield conducted by J. Morgan on Leeds and the collective work of J. Rugg, F. Stirling, and A. Clayden.[13] These studies demonstrate the value of urban case studies, as well as the benefits of a comparative analysis in pinpointing underlying factors that effected the development of England's commemorative practices. Though, as Jonathan Finch demonstrates, rural case studies can also be illuminating by acting as a contrasting element to test the extent to which the social and political factors of industry and capitalism infiltrated all aspects of English society. Furthermore, a comparative analysis between Ireland, Scotland and England would be of value in determining unique national trends and perceptions of national identity. For instance, based on some brief first-hand observations, *memento mori* iconography appears to have

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[12] Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London*, *1500-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[13] Jonathan Barry, 'The organization of burial place in post-medieval English cities: Bristol and Exeter c. 1540-1850', *Urban History* vol. 46, no. 2 (2019), 598. Barry was referencing the works of J. Morgan, J. (ed.), *The Burial Ground Problem in Leeds c. 1700-1914*, *Thoresby Society* 2nd series, no. 23 (Leeds, 2013); and J. Rugg, F. Stirling, and A. Clayden, 'Churchyard and cemetery in an English industrial city: Sheffield 1740–1900', *Urban History*, no. 41 (2014): 627–46.

had a longer popularity in Edinburgh than in England, as seen with the continuous use of skulls and crossbones on church monuments from the seventeenth into the nineteenth centuries.

At more micro-levels, church monuments have gained popularity as a tool for tracking ancestry. It is, therefore, expected for this thesis to also contribute to the field of gender and family studies. For example, the regional focus on commemoration uncovered both shared and individual patterns in the commemoration of single men, single women and the family. Overall, single men are the most represented demographic across all six cities. However, there are some exceptions, including an increased proliferation of church monuments commemorating single women in the cities of Bath, Bristol and York post-1760, and a high number of family monuments throughout the period in the cities of Leeds and Hull. The high number of church monuments commemorating men can provide insight into studies of masculinity and early modern England.[14] Alan Bray's *The Friend* was inspired by an epitaph inscription that commemorates the friendship of two men whom he suspected were in a homosexual relationship. His work greatly contributed to the field of queer history, but his use of church monuments, though they inspired the book, were sparse. It is clear from this thesis that such commemoration was rare, and no monument from *this study* specifically pinpointed a male friendship that can be interpreted as homosexual. However, male friendship in the general sense was increasingly presented as a male virtuous characteristic in

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[14] Further reading on masculinity in Early modern England see Carolyn William, *Pope, Homer, and Manliness: Some Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Classical Learning* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); Bernard Capp, ''Jesus Wept' But Did The Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, no. 224 (August 2014): 75-108; John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Ethan H. Shagan, *The Rise of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Alexandra Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentleman?', *The Journal of British Studies* vol. 44, no. 2 (2004-2005): 281-295; and Jennifer C. Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion is Early Modern English Literature* (Aldershot: Oxford University Press, 2008).

the eighteenth-century epitaphs, indicating the incorporation and value of friendship in constructing a polite, genteel identity.

Single women were also celebrated for their acts of friendship. One epitaph in particular that may be of interest to queer or feminist histories is the commemoration of Elizabeth Winckley (d. 1756) [discussed in Chapter 3]. Located in Bath Abbey, the rectangular church monument celebrates the life and death of Elizabeth Winckley, daughter to John Winckley. There is no mention of a husband or widowhood, indicating she was unmarried. It was erected by 'Her select Friends Who value themselves upon that distinction, have caused this Monuments to be erected in her Memory'. There is no mention of any Winckley in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, but perhaps direct research in the city's parish records, personal correspondents, and other personal and institutional records may produce more information on Elizabeth and her friendship group. What can be determined based on the birth and death dates provided on the church monument is that Elizabeth was around 36 years old when she passed, a relatively high age to remain unmarried in mid-eighteenth-century England. This is not to conclude that Elizabeth engaged in homosexual relationships, but nonetheless this epitaph offers a possible intriguing glimpse into queer history or, at the very least, the value of female friendships in eighteenth-century England.

In addition, the increased appearance of single female commemorations in the mid- to late eighteenth century may be linked to feminist movements discussed in the works of Katherine Clinton, Lawrence Stone, Jane Rendall, Lucinda Becker, and E.J. Clery.[15] Social historians often cite the late eighteenth century as indicative

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[15] Katherine B. Clinton, 'Femme et philosophe: Enlightenment Origins of Feminism', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* vol. 8, no. 3 (Spring 1975): 283-99; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1980); Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States 1780-1860* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985); Lucinda Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*

of the cultural shift in female agency, which so happens to coincide with the increased representation of single female monuments post-1760. Furthermore, several female monuments from mid-/late eighteenth century employ rhetorics that present the deceased as exhibiting the same genteel characteristics often seen in men—friendship, charitableness, and usefulness. What is of interest was the reintroduction of charity in female epitaphs as a surrogate replacement for single women who were no longer, or who had yet to join, the socially expected ranks of wife and mother. These epitaphs contribute to feminist theories on how women were redefining female social roles as unbounded by the household.[16] These epitaphs are examples of the ways women were actively combatting the 'monstrous woman' persona, as Marilyn Francus states, was popularised by the rise of mid-eighteenth-century novels.[17]

In addition, the increased use of family monuments in the cities of Leeds and Hull challenges theories of affective individualism in early modern English society. These church monuments show a communal value in familial relationships and status within these urban communities, revealing how social mobility was prized in urban communities because it was a visual and tangible example of industry and its rewards. Urban centres such as Leeds and Hull were run by a dozen or so prominent merchant families, and their family name, by reputation and

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); and E.J. Clery, *The Feminization Debate in Eighteenth-Century England: Literature, Commerce and Luxury (*Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004).

[16] Some examples of the plethora of studies on eighteenth-century feminism see Katharine M. Rogers, *Feminism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Urbana: Harvester Press, 1982); Jane Randall, The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860 (Chicago: Macmillan, 1985); Ruth Perry, *The Celebrated Mary Astell: An Early English Feminist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Alice Browne, *The Eighteenth-Century Feminist Mind* (Brighton: Wayne State University Press, 1987); Gary Kelly, *Revolutionary Feminism: The Mind and Career of Mary Wollstonecraft* (Basingstoke: Springer, 1991); E.J. Clery, *The Feminization Debate in Eighteenth-Century England: Literature, Commerce and Luxury* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); *Bluestocking Feminism: Writings of the Bluestocking Circle, 1738-1785*, ed. Gary Kelly (London: Routledge, 2016).

[17] Marilyn Francis, *Monstrous Motherhood: Eighteenth-Century Culture and Ideology of Domesticity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

recognition, became a source of influence and power within the community. As discussed in R.G. Wilson's studies of early modern Leeds, it was not only wealth that gave these merchant families their status, but education, marriage, friendships and business transactions.[18] A multitude of church monuments commemorating tradesmen, professionals, and merchants also celebrate their wives' and daughters' trade connections by detailing their paternal genealogy and marriages with other civic officials, tradesmen, and merchants from the same or neighbouring cities. Arguably, these epitaphs demonstrate how middling-sort families were creating their own version of extensive genealogies that were commonly celebrated on the church monuments of the aristocracy. This shows how extensive kinship groups remained vitally important in cultivating an urban identity.

As this thesis uncovered, there was an apparent introduction of several new words to the language of memorialisation – friendliness, usefulness, affection, and tender – all of which were connected to the rise of polite society and the increased value of sociability. The value of friendship in the eighteenth century has also been linked with the rise of commercialism.[19] Eighteenth-century philosopher Adam Smith states that commercial society introduced a new superior friendship in which 'colleagues in office, partners in trade, call one another brothers; and frequently feel towards one another as if really were so'.[20] This same influence of

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[18] See R.G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants the merchant community in Leeds 1700-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press*,* 1971) and 'Merchants and Land: The Ibbetsons of Leeds and Denton, 1650-1850', *Northern History* vol. 24, no. 1, (1988): 75-100.

[19] See the works of Allan Silver, 'Eighteenth-Century Social Theory and Modern Sociology', *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 95, no. 6 (May 1990): 1474-1504; and ''Two Different Sorts of Commerce': Friendship and Strangership in Civil Society', in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, ed. Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); *Friendship and Politics: Essays in Political Thought*, ed. John Von Heyking and Richard Avramenko (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008); and Thomas L. Haskell, 'Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1', *The American Historical Review* vol. 90, no 2 (April 1985): 339-362.

[20] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1784), ed. W.B. Todd (based on 1784 edition), volume 2, *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976a), 223-24.

commercialism and industry is evident in the introduction and use of the word 'usefull' in early modern epitaphs. Urbanisation changed how people defined themselves and, as a result, one's utility became an important aspect of cultivating a virtuous, urban identity. Early modern friendship has been the subject of a multitude of scholarships, yet only Alan Bray and Cedric Brown explored the advantages church monuments offer for yielding further details.[21] However, their source material was limited. This thesis continues this avenue of research and provides multiple additional epitaphs as source materials supporting historical claims regarding the importance and value of early modern friendship.

In addition to contributing to the history of friendship, this thesis adds to the history of emotions. Sarah Tarlow argues that early modern epitaphs demonstrate a prioritisation of emotional sentiments; sentiments, she argues, support the 'cult of love' theory popularised by Lawrence Stone.[22] Barbara Rosenwein's research into early modern emotional communities, on the other hand, claims that such language was common in medieval church monuments.[23] What was new in the eighteenth century was the addition and growing popularity of using the words 'affection' and 'tender'. Yet, before jumping to interpretations of such vocabulary as evidence for growing romanticism, this thesis approaches affection and tender based on definitions listed in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*.[24] Affection and tenderness were intimately connected with depicting attentive acts between unequal participants.

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[21] Alan Bray stated in his book *The Friend* that the tomb of John Bloxham and John Whytton inspired the writing of his book, but although other memorial inscriptions were used, they were a low occurrence. In Cedric Brown, *Friendship and its Discourses in the Seventeenth-Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2016) a few memorial inscriptions were explored, but mostly looked at memorials used as garden features, and commemoration objects such as pictures and keepsakes as a means to examine the role of friendships in the social context of gift exchange.

[22] Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 127-129.

[23] Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007), 59-68.

[24] Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language* (London: 1755), *Johnson Dictionary Online,* accessed February 8, 2019, https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com.

Thus, when such sentiments were applied to marital relationships, one should not ignore patriarchal codes of power in early modern England. As Nicole Eustace discovered in her study of political rhetoric in eighteenth-century America, expressions of love and affection were often coupled with expressions of duty and loyalty, which demonstrated how, 'far from being an automatic harbinger of egalitarianism. . . [these] expressions of affection could describe and inscribe unequal social status'.[25] The same conclusion is made by Christopher Brooks in his study of early modern litigation rhetoric on how emotive vocabulary was used as 'an important weapon in securing the compliance of the subjects'.[26] This thesis continues this line of argument to demonstrate how expressions of affection and tenderness in commemorative practices were part of a wider lexicon of civility often employed in polite society to mask social inequalities as a pleasant state of being.

It is from this approach that epitaphs can be used by emotion historians as additional source material. For example, William Reddy discusses emotional regimes in his study of sentimentalism and the French Revolution. He examined personal correspondence and cheap print to determine how cultural constrictions on emotional expression played into the political rhetoric of freedom and revolution.[27] This idea of sentimentalism is also discussed by Mathew Craske in his study of church monuments; however, like Reddy, he presents a bipartisan structure of the elite vs. the masses.[28] Barbara Rosenwein's interpretation of 'emotional communities', however, offers a more multifaceted, unbounded approach to emotional expression and lends itself more adeptly to church

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[25] Nicole Eustace, *Passions of the Gale*: *Emotion, Power, and the Coming of an American Revolution* (Omohundro Institute: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 21.
[26] Christopher Brooks, *Lawyers, Litigation and English Society Since 1450* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1998), 247.
[27] William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[28] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric*, see Chapters 5-8 and 13.

monument studies.[29] A closer look at epitaph inscriptions within a specific location would be valuable for discovering rhetorics that link families, communities, religious groups, etc. as belonging to a shared emotional community while simultaneously setting them apart from other communities both within and without the same city.

Finally, this thesis presents epitaphs as an additional part of early modern English reading culture. Social historians such as David Cressy, Fred Parker, and Moyra Haslett explored how reading and literacy developed in the eighteenth century into an integral part of English society.[30] Literacy was no longer limited to the elite, but reading as a past time, as an act of self-reflection and as a self-portrait of contemporary society, grew, especially in the mid-eighteenth century, with the rise of the novel. It is plausible that the increased use of descriptive epitaphs commemorating the middling sort and lower gentry was a biproduct of this cultural development. The living were meant to read and engage with epitaphs, to use the information provided to sculpt both their perception of the deceased and their own self-identity. Changes to the language of memorialisation mirrored changes to the wider lexicon of civility that has been discussed by historians such as Peter Burke, Carey McIntosh, and Steven Shapin.[31] It would be intriguing for

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[29] Rosenwein defined emotional communities as 'groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value—or devalue—the same or related emotions. More than one emotional community may exist—indeed normally does exist—contemporaneously, and these communities may change over time' (*Emotional Communities*, 2). Rosenwein approached emotional communities as sharing the same discourse or vocabulary of emotions and therefore blurred the boundaries by arguing that people from various social class, beliefs and gender could consciously choose to belong to a certain emotional community and that such choice could change over the course of that individual's life. This would appear to be the best methodology to use when approaching cultures of memorialization as an array of social groups would interact with the commemorative materials; as this thesis showed, similar emotional vocabulary was used in church monuments that commemorated men, women, the middling sort and the aristocracy.

[30] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press: 1980); Fred Parker, *Scepticism and Literature: An Essay on Pope, Hume, Sterne and Johnson* (Oxford Scholarship Online: 2010); and Moyra Haslett, *Pope to Burney, 1714-1779: Scriblerians to Bluestockings* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2003).

[31] Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Carey McIntosh, *The Evolution of English Prose, 1700-1800: Style, Politeness, and Print Culture*

future research to track this development further and pinpoint when the use of extensive epitaphs declined, as today it is very rare to see more than basic biographical information on modern church monuments.

II. Ghosts

Ghost stories, like church monuments, were another way in which representations of the dead were used by the living to instil, support or challenge social and political ideologies. Previous scholarship tended to focus on the Reformation and Post-Reformation periods, with many supporting the theory popularly proposed by Keith Thomas as the years leading into the 'decline of magic'.[32] This thesis argues for a separation of ghost beliefs from other supernatural phenomena, especially cases of witchcraft. This thesis differs from other early modern studies on ghosts by veering away from proving or disproving society's belief in the paranormal to focus instead on ghosts' social impact through their development in fiction. It argues that readers did not need to believe honestly in ghosts to understand or sympathise with the plight of ghostly characters.

This thesis starts with *The Drummer of Tedworth*. Joseph Glanvill has been the subject of numerous studies.[33] Michael Hunter is an authority in this field and

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1998); and Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[32] Jerome Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution: The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies* (Lancashire: UCL Press, 1993); William Burns, *The Age of Wonders: Prodigies, Politics, and Providence in England, 1657-1727* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and he Wonder of Nature: 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2000); Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2006); Michael Hunter, 'The Royal Society and The Decline of Magic', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* vol. 65, no. 2 (20 June 2011): 103-119; and Thomas F. Gleryn, 'Distancing Science from Religion in Seventeenth-Century England', *Isis* vol. 79, no. 4 (December 1988): 582-593.

[33] Some examples include Moody E. Prior, 'Joseph Glanvill, Witchcraft, and Seventeenth-Century Science', *Modern Philology* vol. 30, no. 2 (November 1932): 167-193; Jackson Cope, 'The Cupri-Cosmits: Glanvill on Latitudinarian Anti-Enthusiasm', *Hunting Library Quarterly* vol. 17, no. 3 (May 1954): 269-286; Richard H. Popkin, 'The Development of the Philosophical Reputation of Joseph Glanvill', *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol. 15, no. 2 (April 1954): 305-

produced insightful observations on Glanvill's treatment of Tedworth in his in-depth comparative analysis of Glanvill's personal correspondence and publications. It is from his research that this thesis approached the causation and effects of Tedworth as indicative of how Glanvill and his fellow contemporaries altered the traditional role of ghosts as weapons for the disadvantaged into tools of criticism wielded by the middling sort and lower gentry. This idea was first explored in the short-prose form reinterpretation of the early seventeenth-century Bateman ballad. This thesis was the first to analyse the publication. This thesis shows how the short-prose form was evidence of how the middling sort adapted ghost stories for an eighteenth-century audience, recasting the characters into contemporary archetypes and their roles in the ongoing discourse concerning the validity of spousal/contract marriages. This short-prose form is evidence of what Angela McShane Jones claims was the middling sort participating in political culture; after all, it was the aristocracy who popularly opposed contract marriages because, for one, the practice allowed participants to escape paying marital taxes and, second, it threatened the aristocracy's personal wealth as the popular stereotype was the penniless gentleman seducing an heiress for her inheritance.[34] The close

311; Rhodri Lewis, 'Of 'Origenian Platonisme': Joseph Glanvill on the Pre-existence of Souls', *Huntington Library Quarterly* vol. 69, no. 2 (June 2006): 267-300; Thomas Harmon Jobe, 'The Devil in Restoration Science: The Glanvill-Webster Witchcraft Debate', *Isis* vol. 72, no. 3 (September 1981): 343-356; and Michael Hunter, 'New Light on the 'Drummer of Tedworth': conflicting narratives of witchcraft in Restoration England', *Historical Research* vol. 78, no. 201 (August 2005): 324-35.

[34] Angela McShane Jones, ''Rime and Reason' The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640-1689', (PhD thesis , Warwick University, 2004), 2. For further reading on early modern marriages see Ralph Houlbrooke, 'The Making of Marriage in Mid-Tudor England: Evidence from the records of matrimonial contract litigation*', Journal of Family History*, vol.10, no. 4 (December 1985): 339-352; Diana O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000); Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); Richard Adair, *Courtship, illegitimacy and marriage in early modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996). For further reading on the Marriage Act of 1753 see Jona Schellekens, 'Courtship, the Clandestine Marriage Act, and Illegitimate Fertility in England',

examination of the short-prose narrative not only contributes to the history of ghosts, but also histories of duelling, civility and emotional control, and the progression of suicide as being a socially accepted act by the middling and upper classes.

A True Relation of the Apparition of One Mrs. Veal is another landmark development in the history of ghost stories. This thesis builds upon Sasha Handley's interpretation of the narrative to include scholarship on domestic abuse and female friendships. It is from these inclusions that I approached this story as fictional. It is possible that the story was real and that perhaps the author believed in its validity; however, the clear signs of artistic licence strongly suggest the author used the story to promote certain messages that went beyond a simple demonstration of the existence of ghosts. *A True Relation* appropriated traditional ghost tropes to encourage readers to support female rights and the female voice. As a ghost, Mrs. Veal escapes her controlling brother and returns to provide not only friendship to Mrs. Bargrave, but also to propagate the public reputation of her husband, Mr. Bargrave, as a brute. The narrative theme of friendship between the two women harkens back to the changes made in female commemoration and the inclusion of friendship as a virtuous trait. Ghosts, like the dead in epitaphs, were recast according to shifts in perception of how one identified as belonging to polite society. Whereas epitaphs highlighted one's good works and attributes, ghosts focused on the foul underbelly of polite society, bringing to light issues deemed inappropriate in civilised conversation. The study of domestic abuse in the works of

Journal of Interdisciplinary History vol. 25 (1995): 433-44; David Lemmings, 'Marriage and the Law in the Eighteenth Century: Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753', *The Historical Journal* vol. 39, no. 2 (June 1996): 339-60; Eve Tavor Bannet, 'The Marriage Act of 1753: 'A Most Cruel Law for the Fair Sex'', *Eighteenth Century Studies* vol. 30, no. 3 (Spring 1997): 233-54; Virginia Duff, 'Early English Novelists Testify to the Law's Manifest Cruelties Against Women Before the Marriage Act of 1753', *Women's Studies* vol. 29 (2000): 583-618; and Rebecca Probert, 'The Impact of the Marriage Act of 1753: Was It Really 'A Most Cruel Law for the Fair Sex'?', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* vol. 38, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 247-62.

Margaret Hunt, Laura Gowing, Anthony Fletcher, and Elizabeth Foyster pinpoints the importance of the female voice and female camaraderie in structuring and securing defamation court cases in early modern England.[35] Ghost stories have historically been one way oppressed women could attack their social betters—typically, this took the form of poor servants attacking abusive [usually sexually] male masters. This ghost ballad, however, demonstrates how the upper classes were also utilising ghosts to achieve a similar end. *A True Relation* marked the transition of ghost stories into blurring the boundary between fiction and realism. Ghosts no longer needed to be believed as real in order to do real damage to the living.

This reimagined ghost story that blurred the lines between real and fiction came to fruition in the 1740s. *G[eorg]e and D[oroth]y; or the Injur'd Ghost* (1743) is similar to *A True Relation* in how it bolstered a female voice as an authority on morality. Ghost ballads were no longer limited to tales of poor servant girls and abusive masters, such as in earlier ghost ballads, but were adapted and elevated to depict the seedy underbelly of polite society in which even elite woman could suffer the same fatal demise. The resurrection of public figures into ghosts continued throughout the 1740s with the imitation ballad *Pope's Ghost: A Ballad* (1744) and *Lovat's Ghost: or, The Courtier's Warning-Piece* (1747). *Pope's Ghost* reimagines the faithless man character of "William" as Cibber Colley, a man whom Pope claimed, both while alive and, as it were, in death, was motivated by greed and power—in particular, as a puppet for the Whig party. *Lovat's Ghost* transforms the

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[35] Margaret Hunt, 'Wife Beating, Domesticity and Women's Independence in eighteenth century England', *Gender & History* vol.4, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 10-33; Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500*-1800 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); and Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital violence: an English family history, 1660-1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

traditional traitorous ghost archetype popularly used during the Civil War and Restoration era as a deterrent for treason into a critique on bi-party politics and Whig politicians.[36] *Scelus's Ghost; or, The Lawyer's Warning Piece* (1748) has the same theme as *Pope's Ghost* and *Lovat's Ghost* but applies it more generally to select public officials associated with Parliament and law-making. In this ballad, these officials are painted as even more treasonous because they are betraying their own social group of the middling sort and lower gentry who stereotypically viewed themselves as the oppressed and not the oppressors. These ballads provide a continuation, a step in the development of political ballads, in line with Angela McShane Jones' work on seventeenth-century political ballads, as well the studies of seventeenth-century socio-political historians Tim Harris, David Zaret and Steve Pincus; it is also complementary to the scholarship on satire such as in Howard Weinbrot's and Paddy Bullard's collection of essays.[37]

These imitation ballads mark a stark development from the dark, foreboding ghosts popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into the realm of satire. *The Demon of Tedworth* was arguably the start of this transition, pushing ghost beliefs into the discourse of the coffee-house wits. In its original publication (1668), Glanvill uses satirical elements that, as James Sharpe, Stuart Clark, and Ryan Clark

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[36] Oliver Cromwell, Jesuit Priests, Lord Strafford and Titus Oats were all popularly featured in ghost narratives that came in various cheap print formats: Some sample titles include *The Lord Stafford's ghost, or, A warning to traitors: with his prophecie concerning the blazing star* (1680), Oliver Cromwell's ghost, or, Old Noll newly revivied (1678)*, Father Whitebread's walking ghost: which lately appear'd to a cabal of Jesuits in Drury-Lane* (1679) *A dialogue between Doctor Titus, and Bedlow's ghost: Concerning the bayling the lords out of the Tower* (1684).

[37] Tim Harris, 'The Problem of 'Popular Political Culture' in Seventeenth Century London', *History of European Ideas* vol. 10 (1989): 43-58; David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Steve Pincus, ''Coffee Politicians Does Create': Coffee-house and Restoration Political Culture', *Journal of Modern History* vol 67, no. 4 (December 1995): 807-834. For further reading on early modern satire see the collected works in *Eighteenth-Century Satire: Essays on Text and Context from Dryden to Peter Pindar*, ed. Howard D. Weinbrot (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and *The Oxford Handbook of Eighteenth-Century Satire*, ed. Paddy Bullard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

show, were a common literary device in discourses about the Devil and the supernatural.[38] These imitation ballads resurrected satire and mockery in paranormal narratives to bolster the messages of the ghosts. For instance, in *Lovat's Ghost*, Lovat was beheaded for treason, but this reality is turned into a satirical commentary both on ghost beliefs and as an attack on politicians.These ghosts are fictional but utilise real, popular persons to reinforce their attack on real, ongoing current affairs. As in the words of John Ker,

> The pasquinaders of those factious days would not allow any public men to drop quietly into oblivion. . . Public curiosity demanded that each of them should have a Ghost; and the Ghost was generally expected to be as verbose, didactic, and unconciliating when out of the body, as it had been before expulsion.[40]

These ghosts did not need to be real in order to have real effects on the living.

The Cock Lane Ghost is the bookend, rather than the start, to the development of ghosts into their own genre of fictional writing. This thesis, therefore, explores the origin and development of supernatural fiction discussed in Terry Castle's *Phantasmagoria* and Emma Clery's *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction 1762–1800*.[41] Although the public may or may not have believed in the validity of Cock Lane, much of the print surrounding the case treated it as a work of fiction; yet the authors who paraded Cock Lane as a farce contributed to the transformation of ghosts into memory symbols of English history and identity.

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[38] J.A. Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); J.A. Sharpe, 'Disruption in the Well-Ordered Household: Age, Authority, and Possessed Young People', in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1996); Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: the Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)*;* and Ryan Stark, *Rhetoric, Science and Magic in Seventeenth-century England* (Baltimore: Catholic University of American Press, 2011).

[40] John Ker, 3rd Duke of Roxburgh, *The Roxburgh Ballads*, vol. 6 (Hertford: Printed for the Ballad Society by S. Austin, 1871-99), 487.

[41] Terry Castle, 'Phantasmagoria: Spectral Technology and the Metaphorics of Modern Reverie', *Critical Inquiry* vol 15, no. 1 (1988): 26-61; see also Emma Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction 1762-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

These contemporary authors mocked England as a credulous nation while at the same time celebrating the belief in ghosts as quintessentially British.

The ghost stories examined in this thesis were merely the tip of the iceberg; there remains a plethora of unexplored sources that could contribute to studies on early modern cheap print and eighteenth-century satire, as well as providing a stepping-stone toward a comparative study between the development of fictional ghost stories and the 'matter-of-fact' ghost stories published around the same time. This thesis proves the value of studying ghosts outside the realm of religion and revealed how ghosts continued to play an important social role in cultural arenas unbounded by the limits of belief. It shows how the living used the dead as a form of entertainment to tackle complex and often anxiety-inducing social and political issues. The same tactic can be seen today in horror films such as *Get Out* and *Us*.[42] What modern critics have claimed as an innovative leap in public entertainment is seen as far back as the eighteenth century.

In conclusion, this thesis demonstrates how the dead were not receding from the public's attention but were constantly adapted to the changing cultural landscape of an enlightened, civilised England. The physical dead body may have been increasingly hidden away, but the spiritual, incorporeal dead were ever present. In the words of the eighteenth-century writer Samuel Johnson, 'All argument is against it, but all belief is for it'.[43]

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[42] 'Get Out' (2017) was directed by Jordan Peele and was received as innovative for its depiction of middle-class white liberals, as opposed to "rednecks" or Neo-Nazis, as the villains and was a commentary on black lives and systematic racism in America. 'Us' (2019) was also written and directed by Jordan Peele and was a commentary on collective privilege and classism.

[43] James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (London: 1791), entry for 31 March 1778.

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