The Rising Generations: A Northern Perspective on Age Relations and the Contours of Cultural Change, England c.1740-1785

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Abstract

Mapping the generational contours of cultural change in eighteenth-century England sheds new light on a period that straddles the divide between the early modern and modern historical eras. This reveals an ongoing social process, rather than searching for an emphatic transformation or determining a specific turning point. Using age relations as a tool of historical research lends the investigation a chronological structure without imposing predetermined boundaries or a hierarchy of causation. At the same time, viewing England from the banks of the Tyne provides a vista that is national in scope without either assuming a metropolitan perspective that can too easily relegate the regions to the peripheries of society, or presenting a fragmented mosaic of discrete provincial experiences.

The investigation is centred upon a generational fault line discernable in the propaganda produced during the general election campaign that unfolded in Newcastle upon Tyne over the summer months of 1774. The research is not, however, confined to the political arena. Each chapter forms a distinct line of enquiry tracing the social context in which age became politicised, encompassing the nurseries and schoolrooms in which formative years were spent, the volatile terrain of youth transition, and shifting fashions in the adult world. This allows the ripples of generational change to be considered from the perspective of different age cohorts, and exposes a rich and dynamic social fabric. While age relations were only one of the factors shaping cultural change, they permeated every aspect of society and so provide a useful vantage point from which to survey a wide range of topics that will be more familiar to those who study the eighteenth-century.

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History, Durham University

2011

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List of Abbreviations

DUSCA	Durham University Special Collections and Archives
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online
EEBO	Early English Books Online
NRO	Northumberland Record Office
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
RJD	Ralph Jackson Diaries
TA	Teesside Archive
TPOB	The Proceedings of the Old Bailey
TWAS	Tyne and Wear Archive Service

Statement of Copyright

Acknowledgements

First, and foremost, gratitude is owed to my supervisors, Prof. Chris Brooks and Dr. Adrian Green, for guiding me through the travails of historical research whilst generously imparting their knowledge and experience. In addition, my thanks are due to the staff at Durham University Special Collections and Archives, Northumberland Records Office, and Tyne and Wear Archive Service, for being unfailingly helpful. I am also indebted to my fellow postgraduates and staff in the History Department in Durham, and members of the North East England History Institute, for both thought-provoking discussions and constructive advice. Particular thanks must go to the recent chairs of the Durham Early Modern Postgraduate Conference, Dr. Joanne Bailey, Dr. Helen Berry, Prof. Rosemary Sweet, and Prof. Keith Wrightson, who have all commented on sections of the research, and to Prof. Robert MacDonald for stepping outside of his academic discipline in order offer guidance on contemporary youth studies. The final acknowledgement is to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for providing the funds that made this research possible.

Introduction
Placing Age in the Historical Narrative

The interactions between age groups are central to cultural adaptation. Customs are most open to being transformed as they are passed from one generation to the next. Yet, unlike gender or class, age is not a conventional tool of historical enquiry.[1] This is a surprising oversight given that the contours of generational change provide a tangible structure often lacking in cultural histories, and impose a chronological accuracy that can be lost as thematic analysis skips across years, decades and even centuries. This makes age relations particularly pertinent to an investigation of eighteenth-century society. The period has long been cast as a liminal phase that formed the bridge between the early modern seventeenth and genuinely modern nineteenth centuries. As structural explanations of social history have lost ground to more subtle explorations of the construction of cultures, the emphatic transformation encapsulated by the notion of an industrial revolution has proved increasingly elusive. Early modernists have remorselessly found precedents for anything claimed as an eighteenth-century innovation. As a consequence, the first sightings of genuine modernity can seem to have appeared ever further back in time.[2] Nonetheless, the notion that the eighteenth century witnessed significant change stubbornly persists. Placing intergenerational relationships centre stage provides a methodological approach with which to negotiate the abyss between historical eras without falling into the quagmire that the pursuit of modernity inevitably leads to. Rather than isolating a period of gestation, attention is focused upon the transient ripples of a generational process and the story that unfolds is one of ongoing change.

Although structured around the mapping of generational transition, this investigation is shaped by an underlying interest in the correlation between locally-rooted and nationally-orientated identities. Hence the decision to adopt a northern vantage point, rather than assuming a metropolitan perspective that can too easily relegate the regions to the peripheries of a national culture. England may have looked a little different when viewed from the banks of the Tyne rather than the Thames but it was essentially the same landscape, and this approach allows the detail of a localised investigation to illuminate the broad brush strokes of a far larger picture. While this inevitably provides a particularised perspective, it offers a national vista that is

[1] Leslie Paris, 'Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1:1 (2008), pp. 114-124.
[2] See Keith Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations: Changing Social Relationships in Early Modern England', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 139 (2006), pp. 157-94; Richard Smith, 'Periods, Structures and Regimes in Early Modern Demographic History', *History Workshop Journal*, 63 (2007), pp. 202- 218.

provincial without being parochial. It could be argued that a British perspective would be more appropriate to an investigation of cultural change during this period, but for those living outside of England there was an added dimension to their geo-social identities that notably altered attitudes towards being British. Consequently, although the research offers insights that are significant in a British context, this remains an exploration of English society.

Using intergenerational relationships to explore the eighteenth century provides a robust foundation for an investigation of cultural change, and an open structure that prevents unfettered eclecticism without confining the research within prescribed boundaries.[3] Rather than imposing a timeframe, which implies a linear transition from inception to end point, attention is focused upon an event, tracing the circumstances that led up to, and emerged after, this moment in time. Although an arbitrary focus point is as predetermined as a delineated temporal boundary, it reveals the momentary convergence of various strands of social experience which makes it easier to see their interwoven trajectories. The chosen moment is October 1774, as the freemen of Newcastle upon Tyne cast their votes in the parliamentary elections. The question of age gained a prominence in the propaganda produced during the campaign that exposed a generational fault line within society, and searching for the roots of this political faction reveals the cultural contours of social change. Therefore, while premised upon the generational division discernable during the electoral contest, the investigation is not limited to the political arena or the 1770s. Instead, each chapter forms a distinct line of enquiry tracing the social context in which age became politicised. The chapters are divided into three sections, focused upon childhood, youth, and adulthood. The evidence leads back to the 1740s, and the research strays beyond 1774 to consider the decade that followed. Greater attention is given to the earlier period in the case of childhood. Then, as the children of the 1740s became youths the focus shifts to the 1750s and 1760s. Finally the 1770s are given a more central position as adult society is placed under the spotlight, by which time the children of the 1740s were the parents of the rising generation. While biological age is governed by the passing of time, social age is a more fluid concept, and it is therefore inappropriate to impose rigid age categories. So, although Section Two focuses upon those aged fifteen to twenty-five there is some overlap between this transitional age group the children and adults considered in Sections One and Three.

[3] For a discussion of the need for an effective structural form in which to frame cultural history see Dror Wahrman, 'Change and the Corporeal in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Gender History: Or, Can Cultural History Be Rigorous?', *Gender & History*, 20:3 (2008), pp. 584-602.

The formation of distinct self-aware generations tends to be associated with an acceleration of social change in the nineteenth century.[4] In keeping with this assumption, E. P. Thompson suggested that eighteenth-century society had 'not yet reached that point at which it is assumed that the horizons of each successive generation will be different'.[5] As historians have increasingly turned their attention towards the middle ranks of eighteenth-century society, Thompson's claim appears less tenable, and the significance of generational cohorts is often implied, even if it has not been directly investigated. Contemporaries were certainly aware of their place within a social generation. At the beginning of the century, the prominent dissenter Isaac Watts (1674–1748) lamented 'it is plain enough that the posterity of the former generation, who are the fathers and grand-fathers of the present, had more of serious religion and true virtue amongst them, than there is any hope or prospect of among the greater part of their children and grand-children'.[6] Similarly, in 1781 *An Address to English Protestants, of every class, and denomination*, which was published anonymously in Newcastle, stressed the importance of religious elders, as 'Monitors, and Remembrances, so necessary to every class and Age of Men', while emphasising the '*Looseness of Principle*, the Stain of this enlightened Generation', a cohort who, by their example, 'poison the Minds of the rising Generation.'[7]

The awareness of shared experiences that form a social generation may be more restricted if communication networks are weak but, as Susan Brigden argues, '[t]here is nothing in the world older than the proclivity of one generation to reject the beliefs and mores of the last and for the elder generation to despair of rebellious youth'.[8] The significance of these age-based fault lines ebbs and flows with the generational rhythms of society. There are times when they appear more pronounced as a younger cohort adopt a confrontational stance, but it is as likely that another generation will follow who feel able to forge novel futures within the existing structures rather than perceiving them as a constraint that must be overcome.[9] While this may be suggestive of the recurrence of 'revolutionary' generations that make a break with the past, the attitudes of an age cohort are not only shaped by the events of their own lives but also by

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[4] Karl Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London, [1925] 1968), pp. 267-321, esp. p. 309.
[5] E. P. Thompson, 'Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?', *Social History*, 3:2 (1978), pp. 152-153.
[6] One of a collection of sermons written by Isaac Watts during the first two decades of the century, which he redrafted during the early 1720s, published in *The Works of the Late Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts*, 6 Vols. (London, 1753), vi, p. 397.
[7] *An Address to English Protestants, of every class, and Denomination* (Newcastle, 1780), pp. 10, 15, 24.
[8] Susan Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), p. 37.
[9] Ken Roberts, 'Youth Transitions and Generations: A Response to Wyn and Woodman', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 10:2 (2007), p. 268.

the experiences of the older and younger generations with whom they interact.[10] It is the relationships between age groups, rather than the isolated actions of an age cohort, that forge a culture. This is not to suggest that a generational dynamic was the dominant factor shaping cultural change, but it permeated every aspect of society and so provides a structural framework with which to investigate a wide range of topics that will be more familiar to those who study the eighteenth century.

II.

The discourse of politeness pervaded eighteenth-century society, and is of central importance to an investigation of provincial attitudes. According to Laurence Klein politeness was an inclusive social artifice derived from an intellectual cosmopolitan perspective, and can be associated with a single set of cultural traits. Any variety therefore stemmed from different levels of aptitude.[11] In contrast, Paul Langford suggests that there were two types of politeness; the élite 'Shaftesbury version', as described by Klein, and the 'Spectator version', which provided the middling sort with a route to upward social mobility through the adoption of ascribed manners. For Langford, this was a form of 'cultural correctness', and 'its appeal lay primarily in its apparent endorsement of all kinds of self-aggrandisement.'[12] Rosemary Sweet introduces a third strand to her taxonomy of politeness, pointing out that the London-centric nature of earlier versions had resulted in a situation where provincial towns were inherently deficient when compared to the capital; but during the second half of the century 'a clearer expression of provincial politeness can be heard', as urban communities measured themselves against a less civilised past rather than a more cosmopolitan metropolis.[13] This growing local self-confidence is also noted by Helen Berry in reference to the provincial tastes evidenced in Newcastle's newspapers.[14] Considering generational change as it was experienced upon the banks of the Tyne therefore provides the opportunity to chart this transition from a London-centric to a provincial form of politeness.

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[10] Tamara K. Hareven, 'Introduction' in Tamara K. Hareven (ed.), *Aging and Generational Relations over the Life Course* (New York, 1996), p. 4.
[11] Lawrence Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 45:4 (2002), pp. 869-898.
[12] Paul Langford, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), p. 131.
[13] Rosemary Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 355-74; also John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (London, 1997); Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* (Oxford, 1989).
[14] Helen Berry, 'Promoting Taste in the Provincial Press: National and Local Culture in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle upon Tyne', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 1 (Spring 2002), pp. 1-17.

Newcastle was a vibrant commercial centre. Joyce Ellis estimates that it was the fifth largest of England's provincial towns in 1700 and, although outpaced in terms of demographic growth, it remained the ninth largest at the end of the century.[15] The town's first bank was established in 1755 and, as Kathleen Wilson suggests, an increasing number of 'ordinary Newcastle residents' were investing in both 'cargoes and ships trading in colonial and overseas markets.'[16] Exclusive clubs, professional associations, and cultural societies thrived, and there was ample opportunity to demonstrate commercial prowess through a public display of wealth in conspicuously polite settings.[17] Newcastle also became one of the most important printing centres outside London.[18] Among the traders listed in William Whitehead's *Newcastle Directory* (1778) were three circulating libraries, seven bookbinders, seven booksellers and stationers, and four printing offices.[19] Consequently, the town produced a wealth of material that provides insights into contemporary attitudes.

Whitehead's directory also included five coffee houses, but it is important to recognise that such establishments were relatively small in number when compared to the one hundred and seventy-five public houses.[20] Clearly, the image of an increasingly polite and commercial society provides only part of the picture. The dominance of the coal trade in the area had created a bottom-heavy social structure. David Levine and Keith Wrightson have noted that in Whickham (in the heart of the south-Tyneside coalfields) and Sandgate (in Newcastle) only one household in five had been liable to pay hearth tax in 1666.[21] Such rates were exceptional from a national perspective but, as Adrian Green has demonstrated, a considerable number of both urban and rural parishes in the region suffered from similar levels of poverty.[22] This distinct social stratification remained intact a century later, and Newcastle had the highest

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[15] Joyce Ellis, 'Regional and County Centres 1700-1840' in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, 3 Vols. (Cambridge, 2000), ii, p. 679; Joyce Ellis, 'The 'Black Indies': The Economic Development of Newcastle, c.1700-1840' in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle upon Tyne: a modern history* (Chichester, 2001), p. 14.
[16] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 328.
[17] Joyce Ellis, 'A Dynamic Society: Social Relations in Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1660-1790' in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800* (London, 1984), p. 200; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p. 290; Helen Berry, 'Creating Polite Space: The Organisation and Social Function of the Newcastle Assembly Rooms' in Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 120-140; Rebecca Frances King, 'The Sociability of the Trade Guilds of Newcastle and Durham, 1660-1750: The Urban Renaissance Revisited' in Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 57-71.
[18] Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 504; Berry, 'Promoting Taste in the Provincial Press', p. 1.
[19] William Whitehead, *The First Newcastle Directory* (Newcastle 1778; reprinted 1889).
[20] Ibid.
[21] David Levine and Keith Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society* (Oxford, 1991), p. 156.
[22] Adrian Green, *County Durham Hearth Tax Assessment Lady Day 1666* (London, 2006), p. lxv.

number of residents per house in the 1801 census.[23] Describing the town in the 1770s, a visitor to the area suggested that 'the whole has a most forbidding appearance, especially to those who have lived in towns where there is not such a dependence on commerce.'[24]

In a political context, Newcastle operated as a freemen's borough and therefore had a relatively large electorate. However, the civic structures in the town were dominated by an élite oligarchy; a political monopoly that rested upon control of the coal trade. During the earlier decades of the century Newcastle's politics had mirrored the coal owners' internecine rivalry in the economic arena, and it was only during the middle decades of the century that a truce between Whigs and Tories put an end to this political hostility.[25] When the general election was called in 1774 Newcastle witnessed its first political contest for a generation, but this did not reflect a return to élite infighting. The political truce remained intact, and the challenge to this stability came from within the ranks of the freemen.

Exploring the nature and derivation of this political contest leads down several tangential paths, drawing upon a wide range of both localised and more nationally-focused evidence. The newspapers printed in Newcastle form a central element of the investigation. These publications represent a regular weekly slice of life that allows the ripples of social change to be seen as they were lived out day by day. This is most clearly seen in the advertising columns, where fashions are seen to come and go and the chronology of changing habits is reflected in the goods and services being offered to the reader. In a survey of these advertisements, the notices placed over the course of every fifth year between 1730 and 1785 have been collated, consulting the *Newcastle Courant* (1730-1785), the *Newcastle Journal* (1740-1770), and the *Newcastle Chronicle* (1765-1785). These advertisements provide details relating to subjects as diverse as children's books, school provision, juvenile employment opportunities, absconding apprentices, and trends in coiffure. Political propaganda, civic records, and guild archives add further detail to this local picture, which is interspersed with case studies based upon personal letters, memoirs, and an unpublished diary written by an apprentice. Additional information is found in miscellaneous sources ranging from religious sermons to plays performed in Newcastle's theatres. In order to give this evidence a national context, prescriptive and imaginative literature is also consulted, as are schoolbooks and

[23] Ellis, 'Black Indies', p. 14.
[24] Cited in Ellis, 'A Dynamic Society', p. 196.
[25] This is contrary to the political stability of these decades described by J. H. Plumb in *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675-1725* (London, 1967).

educational tracts, children's literature, cookery books, satirical prints, and legal records. This diversity of source material allows a detailed montage to emerge, constructed around the contours of generational change and thereby cross-correlated as it is considered from the perspective of different age cohorts. The nature of the evidence inevitably lends a middling bias to the investigation, but other social groups are not overlooked.

III.

Childhood provides the logical starting point for an investigation into generational relationships, and Section One begins by considering children's experiences in a family setting. Lawrence Stone linked the eighteenth century to the emergence of the modern concept of childhood and the affective nuclear family. While these claims have provoked considerable criticism, demonstrating continuity has proved no more convincing and the idea that childhood was changing fundamentally continues to pervade the historiography.[26] As Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster point out, it is several decades since Tamara Hareven argued that historians should seek to demonstrate the family was a social dynamic rather than accepting Stone's assumption that family life responded to change, but few have attempted to do so.[27] Looking at attitudes towards parental practice as successive generations of children grew up allows comparisons to be made that provide a new perspective on this debate. Although age relations are clearly central to any investigation of familial relationships, the fact that children grew into youths, and in due time became parents and grandparents, tends to be disregarded. Similarly, life stages such as childhood or old age are usually considered in isolation and, even when intergenerational relationships are emphasised, limited attention is given to the fact that individuals progressed through the life cycle, or that they did so as distinct social generations.[28] In addressing this omission, Chapter One considers developments in the market for children's literature in the light of the educational theories espoused by John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. This provides a generational chronology of change, whilst exploring the gap between parental practice and philosophical debates about the nature of childhood. At the same time, retracing the lives of a generational cohort from their early years to parenthood highlights the extent to which childhood experiences helped to shape adult views, and

[26] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York, 1977); Anthony Fletcher emphasises continuities in the lives of children in *Growing up in England: the experience of childhood, 1600-1914* (London, 2008); also Anthony Fletcher, 'Courses in Politeness: The Upbringing and Experiences of Five Teenage Diarists, 1671-1860', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 417-430.
[27] Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster, 'Introduction' in Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster (eds.), *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 15.
[28] See Susannah R. Ottaway, *Intergenerational Relations in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2008).

therefore mitigates the unavoidable fact that most of the evidence relating to children is mediated through the eyes of adults.

Chapter Two complements this exposition of parenting by considering the changing expectations placed upon successive generations of teachers. Like the family, education was high on the social agenda throughout the eighteenth century. It was regularly promoted as a bulwark against the allegedly pernicious influence of contemporary habits. The image of eighteenth-century schooling was, however, tarnished by nineteenth-century educational reformers as they criticised existing provision in order to promote state intervention, and this negative depiction has proved difficult to shake off. The conventional assumption was that early industrialisation in England coincided with a period of educational stagnation, and that a shift towards a more rational and scientific epistemology occurred despite low standards of schooling.[29] It is only as the middling sorts have come to dominate eighteenth-century historiography that a more positive picture of schooling has emerged, albeit only relative to previously pessimistic claims.[30] Children attended a range of educational institutions, from charitable provision for the poor to élite grammar schools, and basic reading classes to polite girls' boarding schools. The ad hoc nature of this provision would seem to prevent any generalised conclusions being drawn, but exploring educational methods, rather than types of institution attended, reveals wide-reaching developments. Chapter Two therefore focuses upon the teaching of English grammar, considering changing perceptions of the learning process and the extent to which intellectual debates about the nature of language influenced practice in the classroom. Viewing education from an intergenerational perspective, and considering the school experiences of future teachers, demonstrates that it was not only within a familial setting that attitudes towards childhood were changing as the mid-century generation grew up.

Just as gender studies have tended to give female voices a secondary place in a predominantly male mainstream history, focusing upon age relations could also reduce the significance of childhood experiences by bestowing them with a support role in the theatre of adult history.[31] Giving youth a central place in the investigation reduces this risk by bringing the convergence

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[29] For a discussion of this see David Mitch, 'Education and Skill of the British Labour Force' in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain: Vol. I. Industrialisation, 1700-1860* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 332-356.

[30] For an overview see Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 79-90, 128-133.

[31] While the position of women in society has gained greater attention in recent decades, women still tend to be studied as an adjunct to the male-dominated historiography; see Rosemary Sweet, 'Introduction' in Rosemary Sweet and Penelope Lane (eds.), *Women and Urban Life in Eighteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 1.

between childhood dependence and adult status to the fore. As youths negotiate this piecemeal transition they are faced with a duality of roles that expose the socially-constructed nature of personal identities. Focusing upon the experiences of youths in Section Two therefore provides valuable insights into wider cultural mores. Methods of socialising the rising youth were transformed during the century. The old structures of the apprentice system atrophied, and a new form of apprenticeship had emerged out of the ruins by 1800.[32] The later decades of the century have also been linked to the rise of the juvenile delinquent, as an increasing number of young offenders began to appear in the legal records.[33] The historiography of youth therefore focuses upon the early-modern apprentice and the nineteenth-century juvenile delinquent, and the transitional phase is taken for granted but rarely elucidated.[34] While concentrating upon the generational contours of change, Chapter Three charts the transformation of apprenticeship between 1750 and 1780, linking the divergent experiences of poorer youths and their wealthier contemporaries. This structural analysis is built upon in Chapter Four as attention is turned to youth culture. This highlights the way in which changing youth employment practices were connected to the shifting attitudes towards childhood considered in Section One, as economic developments coincided with a cultural turn in a manner that fundamentally altered experiences of youth transition.

Ronald Inglhart's work on the formation of generational values highlights the importance of formative socialisation, demonstrating that attitudes formed during the early stages of life can make a lasting impression. In the twentieth century this had a profound effect upon political values as choices were made between collective security and individual freedoms.[35] Exploring these issues in an eighteenth-century context, Section Three focuses upon coiffure, cuisine, and contested elections. Hairstyles and eating habits may appear to be wholly unrelated to political faction, and yet they provide a complementary perspective from which to view

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[32] Christopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800' in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People* (London, 1994), pp. 52-83; Joanna Innes 'Origins of the Factory Acts: the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, 1802' in Norma Landau (ed.), *Law, Crime and English Society, 1660-1830* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 230-255.

[33] Peter King, *Crime and Law in England, 1750-1840* (Cambridge, 2006); Paul Griffiths, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Time' in Pamela Cox and Heather Shore (eds.), *Becoming Delinquent: British and European Youth, 1650-1950* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 23-40; also Heather Shore and Pamela Cox, 'Introduction: Reinventing the Juvenile Delinquent in Britain and Europe 1650-1950', Ibid, pp. 1-22.

[34] A notable exception to this is K. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660–1900* (Cambridge, 1985); also see Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914* (London, 1996).

[35] Ronald Inglehart, 'The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies', *The American Political Science Review*, 65:4 (1971), pp. 991-1017; Paul. R. Abramson and Ronald Inglehart, 'Generational Replacement and Value Change in Eight West European Societies', *British Journal of Political Science*, 22:2 (1992), pp. 183-228.

generational change. Chapter Five considers adult fashions and the values that they reflected. Hair and food were chosen because they have a specific relevance to the 1770s. However, they also have an inherent value to the cultural historian. As Lorna Weatherill points out, the preparation and consumption of food is a physical necessity, but at the same time it is both a social and personal expression of taste.[36] Contemporary cookery writers were clearly aware that cuisine was not an impartial topic. Their culinary guidance was blatantly flavoured with a liberal sprinkling of cultural mores, and while fashionable cookbooks can not be assumed to directly reflect what was being eaten, they did embody idealised projections of 'good taste' that people were buying into. Consequently, this developing genre illuminates cultural trends beyond the confines of the kitchen. Likewise, the hair that grows upon the head is a potent social signifier. It is both a natural attribute and a malleable aesthetic adornment that offers a highly visible method of expressing belonging and differentiation.[37] It also provides a prominent indication of age, as hair loss and grey locks mark the passing of time. Yet, the eighteenth-century penchant for wigs severed the connection between the innate and the culturally ascribed aspects of hair, and can be said to epitomise the social artifice associated with polite society. Charting the decline in wig wearing therefore presents a tangible indicator of the growing emphasis that was placed upon innate qualities during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Trends in cuisine and coiffure expose the inherent transience of fashion and allow the generational distinctions considered in earlier chapters to be traced in the adult world. In Chapter Six attention is firmly focused upon the 1770s in order to investigate the less frivolous expressions of the age-based divisions within society. The deteriorating relationship between the British government and the American colonies during the 1760s and 1770s coincided with a period of increasingly turbulent popular politics in the domestic arena, which John Brewer links to the return of party, or ideological, faction.[38] Looking at the generational tension in 1774, as evidenced in the propaganda and at the hustings, provides an opportunity to

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[36] Lorna Weatherill, 'The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in the Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England' in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1994), pp. 206-227.

[37] Angela Rosenthal, 'Raising Hair', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), pp. 1-16.

[38] John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1976); also James E. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism* (Cambridge, 1990); Thomas R. Knox, 'Wilkism and the Newcastle election of 1774', *Durham University Journal*, 72 (1979), pp. 23-37; H.T. Dickinson, *Radical Politics in the North-East of England in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Durham, 1979); Wilson, *Sense of the People*.

investigate this political turmoil in the light of ongoing cultural change, which exposes the endogenous factors that helped to shape the geo-politics of the period.

IV.

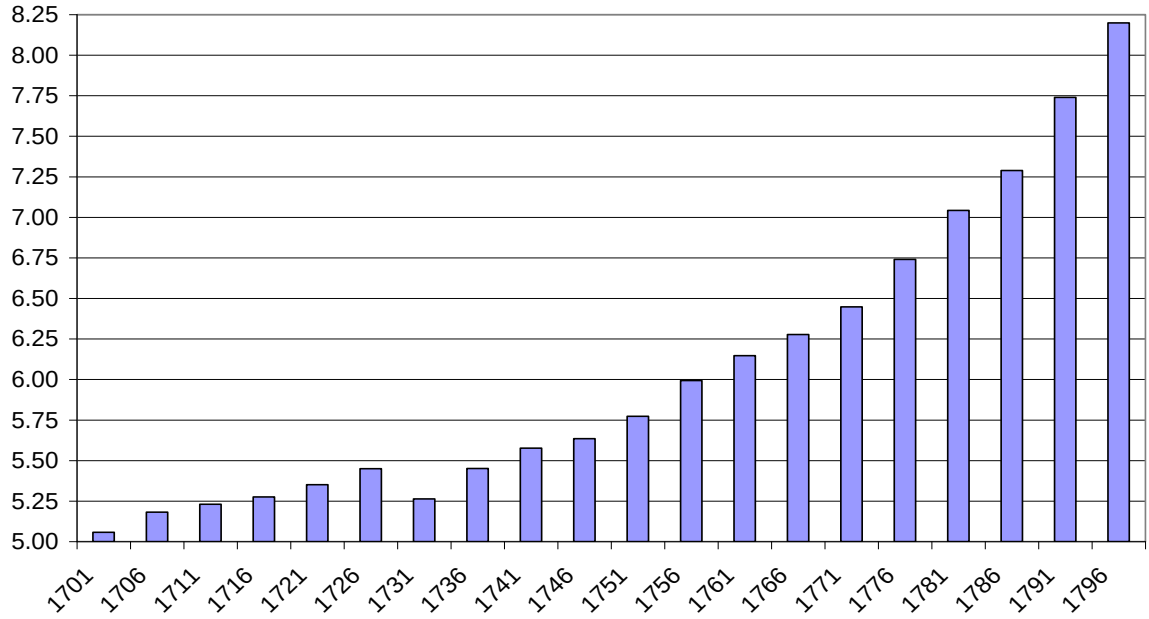
One area of research that is not considered is that of demographic growth. This could appear to be something of an oversight, but there are several reasons why this investigation does not attempt to establish the age structure in Newcastle. Despite the relatively good survival rates of the parish registers, population figures for the town are frustratingly elusive because of high levels of non-conformity. Tony Wrigley singles out Northumberland as the least reliable of his county population estimates based upon Anglican parish records, linking this to the proximity of the Scottish border.[39] When, in 1785, the Newcastle bills of mortality began to include the non-conformist congregations it was estimated that they accounted for close to a third of all baptisms. It was also suggested that almost half of those buried in the town had been interred in the non-conformist burial ground, which was free to use and open to all denominations.[40] Consequently, while it is possible to quite confidently suggest that the town doubled in size over the course of the century, from around fourteen to twenty-eight thousand, figures for the intervening years are less certain.[41] Michael Barke refers to estimates made in the mid-twentieth century that calculated a rise in the town's population from fourteen to twenty-four thousand between 1700 and 1770, but he admits that these figures are circumspect and need to be treated with 'extreme caution'.[42] Contemporaries claimed that somewhere between thirty and forty thousand people lived in the town during the 1770s yet, as Joyce Ellis notes, these estimates were unlikely to coincide with official boundaries and would have included urban developments within the immediate vicinity of the Tyne.[43] Attempting to determine the age structure of society is further complicated by the level of internal migration. The monumental scale of the national population reconstruction undertaken by the Cambridge Group

[39] E. A. Wrigley, 'English County Populations in the Later Eighteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 60:1 (2007), p. 67.
[40] *Newcastle Courant*, 8 January 1785; Eneas Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, including the Borough of Gateshead* (1827), pp. 408-9.
[41] Ellis gives no population figure for Newcastle in 1700 but places the town somewhere between Glasgow at 18,000 and Exeter at 14,000, and suggests there were a little over 28,000 people living in the town by 1801; Ellis, 'Regional and County Centres', p. 679; Ellis, 'Black Indies', p. 1.
[42] Michael Barke, 'The People of Newcastle: A Demographic History' in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle upon Tyne: a modern history* (Chichester, 2001), p. 136.
[43] Ellis, 'Regional and County Centres', p. 679; Ellis, 'Black Indies', p. 22.

significantly reduces the margin of error, but determining credible figures for an individual town is far more problematic.[44]

National demographic trends are more clearly discernable, and provide a useful backdrop to this investigation. Population estimates for 1700 vary between 4.8 and 5.7 million but all identify a relatively steep trajectory during the second half of the century, rising towards convergence with the first census in 1801, when the population had grown beyond 8 million (see Figure I:1).[45] English society became incrementally younger as it expanded, but the Cambridge Group suggest that it was not until the 1780s that increases in the birth rate began to notably alter the age structure of the population. Wrigley *et al* conclude that economic development encouraged people to marry at an earlier age, so driving up fertility rates, and in keeping with their economic focus, the higher dependency ratio is said to have been soaked up by improvements in the productive output of the working part of the population.[46]

Figure I:1 English Population in Millions

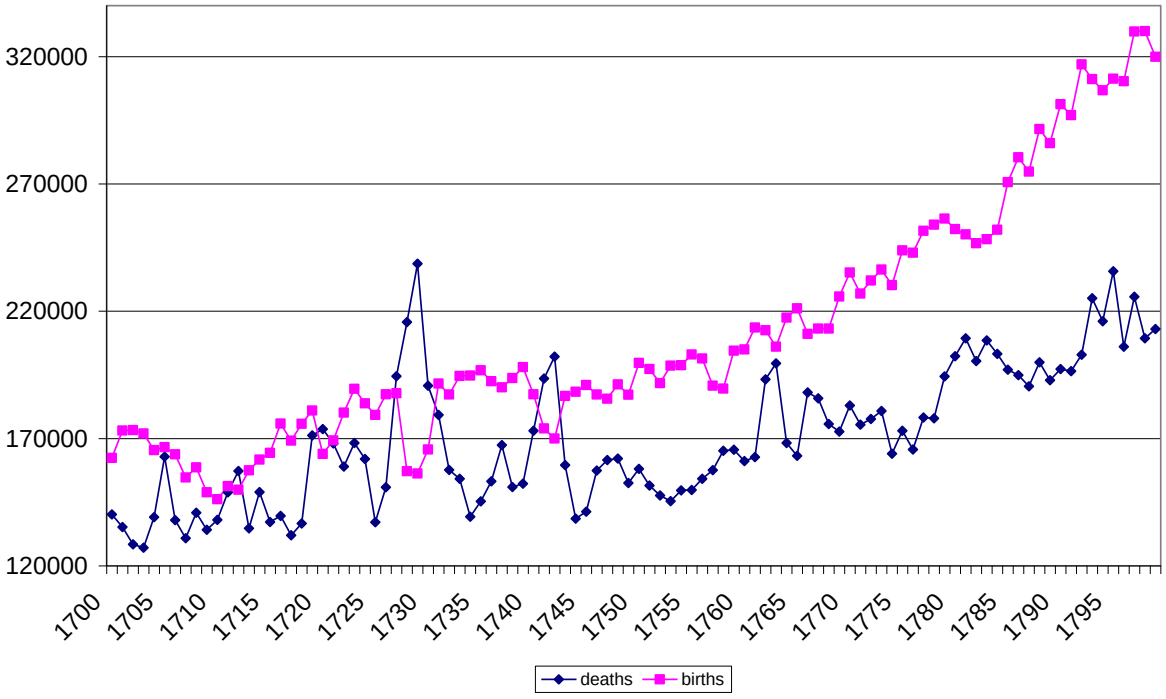


Source: Based on data from E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871* (Cambridge, 1989), Table A3.1. pp. 528-9.

[44] E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871* (Cambridge, 1989).
[45] Ibid, p. 578.
[46] E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen, and R. S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 134-5; Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, p. 449; for a critique of these arguments see John Hatcher, 'Understanding the Population History of England 1450- 1750', *Past & Present*, 180 (August, 2003), pp. 83-130.

The sustained growth that occurred after 1750 has tended to draw attention away from the earlier decades of the century, even though the demographic trends are no less noteworthy. The years between 1716 and 1733 were characterised by mortality crises, the result of various epidemics that caused some of the largest increases in the national death rate during the entire early-modern period (see Figure I:2).[47] The young were disproportionately affected by the presence of several identified diseases that are known to be more fatal to infants and younger children, which were compounded by the unremitting exposure to less serious infections that inevitably took their toll on the most vulnerable age groups. The Cambridge Group estimate that there were only three periods of extended and constantly high infant and child mortality between 1580 and 1837, two of which occurred between 1716-1721 and 1727-1733. A further peak in 1741/2 added to the statistics that make 1710 to 1749 'the most sustained period of unfavourable infant and child mortality' in over 250 years of English history.[48]

Figure I:2. Birth and Death Rates



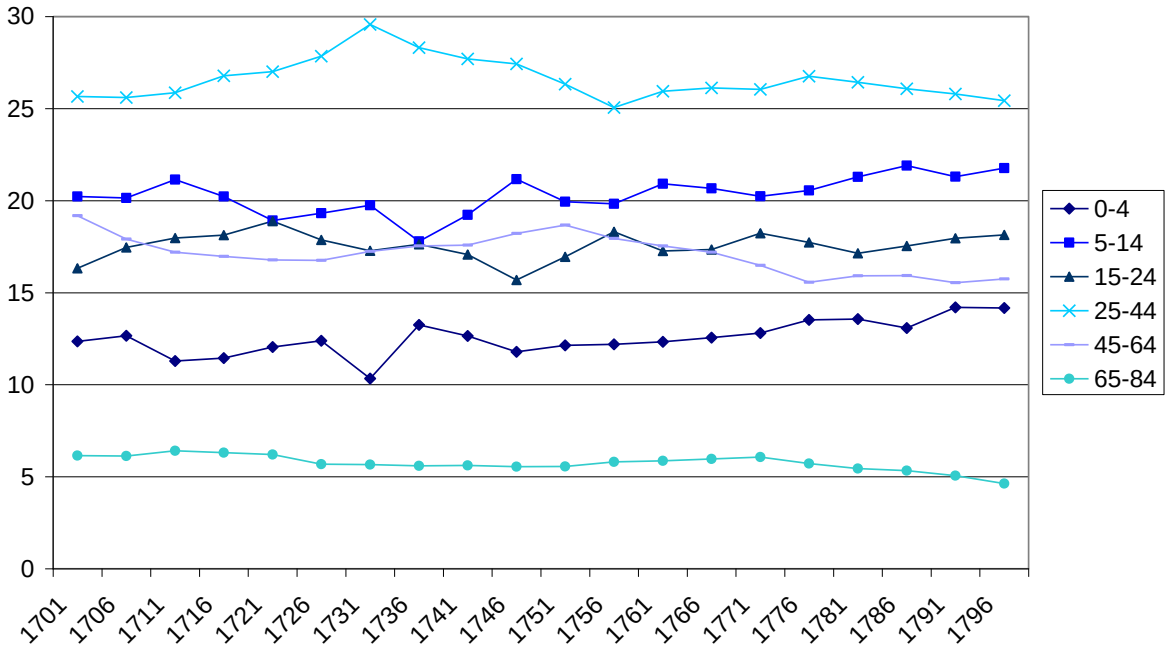
Source: Based on data from E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen, and R. S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 1997), Table A9.1, p. 614.

[47] John Walter and Roger Schofield, 'Famine, Disease and Crisis Mortality in Early Modern Society' in John Walter and Rodger Schofield (eds.), *Famine, Disease and the Social Order in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 37.

[48] Wrigley, Davies, Oeppen, and Schofield, *English Population History*, pp.267, 284; also see Mary J. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1997).

There was also a stark divergence in the trajectories of birth and death rates between 1727 and 1733 (see Figure I:2). As Gooder notes, the fall in birth rates could be the consequence of foetal deaths and maternal deaths during pregnancy, or it may be that the 'missing infants' were simply never conceived.[49] Regardless of the cause, this sharp fall in fertility rates increased the statistical significance of rising infant mortality levels. Although the fluctuations in the age structure of society involved relatively small percentage shifts when expressed as a proportion of the total population, the impact of the mortality crisis of the late 1720s can be seen in the Cambridge Group figures, as the numerical dip rippled through society over the following decades; even if the quinquennial averages and uneven age groups used dissipate this to some extent (see Figure I:3).

Figure I:3. Age Structure Expressed as a Percentage of the Total Population



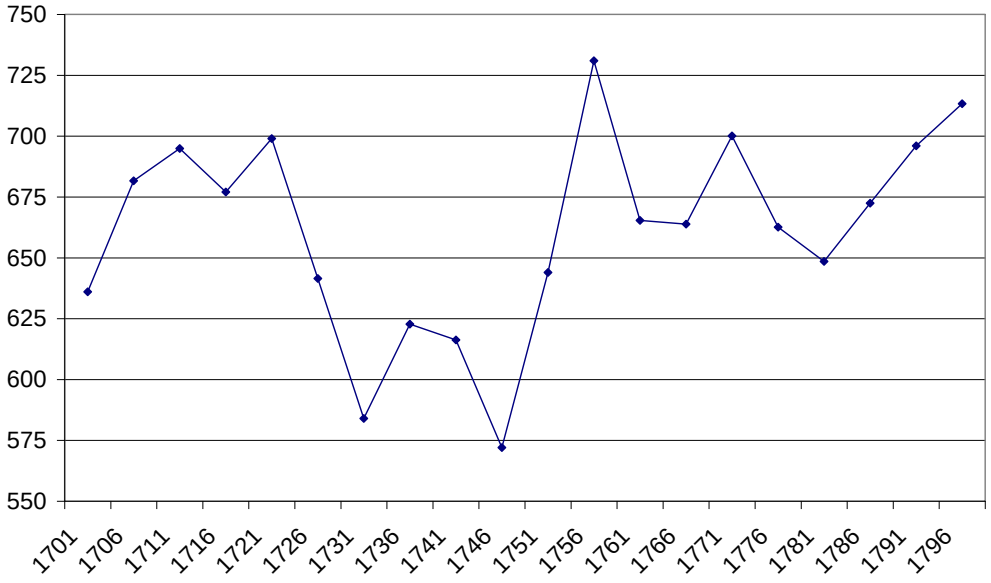
Source: Based on data from E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen, and R. S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 1997), Table 6.19, p. 290.

The 0-4 age group fell to its lowest point during the 1727-1733 crisis before rising from ten to almost fourteen per cent of the population five years later, as the 5-14 age cohort dipped. Over the following decade those between five and fourteen expanded to twenty per cent of the population for the first time in three decades. This coincided with a fall in the 15-24 age group during the mid-1740s, as the children born during the mortality crisis reached adolescence. The largest numerical change was in the 25-44 age group, which peaked at almost thirty per cent of the population in the early 1730s and then fell to just twenty-five per cent during the

[49] A. Gooder, 'The Population Crisis of 1727-30 in Warwickshire', *Midland History*, 1 (1971-72), p. 22.

mid-1750s. If this age group is directly compared to the 15-24 cohort the compounded effect of these fluctuations becomes more apparent. Figures designed to estimate long-term trends over the course of several centuries can not be assumed to be as accurate when used to consider short-term fluctuations, but the data does suggest a significant dip in the number of juveniles in society during the 1730s and 1740s, followed by a striking increase mid century (see Figure I:4). Long-term trends may provide more meaningful information from a statistical perspective, but more recently Richard Smith has questioned this tendency to underestimate 'the analytic importance of contingency, of the short-term, and of the event'.[50]

Figure I:4.The Number of Youths aged 15-24 per 1,000 Adults aged 25-45



Source: Based on data from E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen, and R. S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 1997), Table A9.1, p. 614.

Looking at localised infant mortality rates during the earlier decades of the century, Chris Galley and Nicola Shelton suggest that despite considerable variation it is possible to 'infer trends throughout the whole country'; although it may be that the northernmost counties of England were less affected by the crises than many other areas.[51] Yet, regardless of the exact geographic reach of the epidemics, high levels of youth migration would have dispersed the longer-term demographic effects. This exploration of England's rising generations is not, however, premised upon demographic trends, but as age relations are investigated in a cultural context the picture that is revealed acts to reinforce the statistical evidence and suggests that the age structure of society was an important factor in social change.

[50] Smith, 'Periods, Structures and Regimes', p. 216.
[51] Chris Galley and Nicola Shelton, 'Bridging the Gap: Determining Long-Term Changes in Infant Mortality in Pre-Registration England and Wales', *Population Studies*, 55:1 (2001), pp. 68, 75; Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History of England*, pp. 681-2.

V.

Tracing the contours of generational transition inevitably brings age-related issues to the fore, but this does not restrict the scope of the investigation. Intergenerational relationships cut across gender divides, they can transcend socio-economic status and, because they take place at both a personal and social level, they also breach the gap between private and public experiences.[52] Amanda Vickery suggested some time ago that the notion of separate spheres should be jettisoned if women's lives were to be understood, and it is not only women's history that can be distorted by this hypothetical divide.[53] As Dena Goodman notes, the public sphere that Jürgen Habermas describes, and the private life that Philippe Ariès and Roger Chartier concentrate upon, were 'two sides of the same coin'. Polite sociability reflected a privatisation of the civic and a civilising of the private.[54] Yet, the modish sentimentality of the 1760s and 1770s marked a stark contrast to the cosmopolitanism of mid-century politeness. Dror Wahrman concludes that this period witnessed the emergence of the subjective individualism of the *Modern Self*, but an intergenerational perspective offers an alternative explanation for the changes that were underway as the sociability of earlier decades gave way to the 'sensibility' of the 1760s and 1770s.[55]

Seeking to understand why age relations became politicised in 1774 leads to the nurseries and schoolrooms in which formative years were spent, travels through the volatile terrain of youth transition, and ends up back in the adult world of the 1770s. This is not to suggest the predominant importance of this decade. Instead, focusing upon intergenerational relationships questions the idea that a specific turning point can be identified. In keeping with Bruno Latour's claim that there was no rupture or revolution that designated a new regime of accelerated change in contrast to a pre-modern 'archaic and stable past', this investigation illuminates an ongoing process of transition.[56] As John Law suggests, change is a permanent feature of society and the task is to map this social flux.[57]

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[52] It is important to recognise that social rank shapes the experiences of various sectors within a generational cohort in distinct ways, see Pierre Bourdieu, "Youth' Is Just a Word', *Sociology in Question* (London, 1990), p. 101. Michael Mitterauer suggested that there was no gender-inclusive youth experience prior to the twentieth century, *A History of Youth* (Oxford, 1992), p. 24.
[53] Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres', *The Historical Journal*, 36:2 (1993), p. 408.
[54] Dena Goodman, 'Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime', *History and Theory*, 31:1 (1992), p. 10.
[55] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: identity and culture in eighteenth-century England* (London, 2004); Paul Langford, 'The Birth of Sensibility' in his *A Polite and Commercial People*, pp. 461-518.
[56] Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (New York, 1993), pp.10-12.
[57] John Law, *After Method: mess in social science research* (London, 2004).

Section One: Childhood

Chapter One
Cultivating Childhood

Investigating the nature of adult attitudes towards the primary socialisation of the rising generations provides an essential foundation for an exploration of the age-based divisions within society. More than half a century ago Philippe Ariès wrote of the discovery of childhood, suggesting that the notion of a distinct phase of life between infancy and adulthood had been unknown to medieval communities in Europe. According to Ariès, a slow and gradual gestation period had seen the child removed from adult society, and by 1700 a more modern concept of childhood had emerged. He argued that the discrete nature of this life stage was reinforced during the eighteenth century as 'the family finished organising itself around the child' and 'the wall of private life' was raised between the home and society.[1] Although his claims have been persuasively challenged, Ariès' influence pervades the historiography.[2] Looking specifically at English society, it is the legacy of Lawrence Stone's much criticised *The Family, Sex and Marriage* (1977) that shapes the debates. Stone concluded that the declining influence of neighbourhood and kinship led to a greater stress on the bonds of affection within the nuclear family. Consequently the 'true nature' of childhood emerged alongside 'an era of growing individualism and permissiveness' among the middle and upper ranks of society from the late seventeenth century onwards, before the moral reforms that began in the 1770s led to the revival of patriarchy and so a return to more austere paternal authority.[3] Stone provoked controversy from the outset and virtually every pillar of his thesis has been demolished, but his underlying claim that familial relationships were changing fundamentally has proved stubbornly resilient. Even those who emphasise continuity tend to focus upon either end of the century, making their arguments a little tenuous unless it is assumed that the intervening period can be disregarded.[4]

One thing historians can agree upon is that family life was high on the public agenda during the eighteenth century. As the print industry expanded, parents were faced with a plethora of

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[1] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (Harmondsworth, 1979), esp. p. 397.
[2] For discussions of the influence of Ariès see Anja Müller, *Framing Childhood in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals and Prints, 1689–1789* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 1-2.
[3] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York, 1977), p. 666.
[4] See Anthony Fletcher, 'Courses in Politeness: The Upbringing and Experiences of Five Teenage Diarists, 1671-1860', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. ; *Growing up in England: the experience of childhood, 1600-1914* (London, 2008), pp. 417-430; Sylvia Marks, *Writing for the Rising Generation: British Fiction for Young People 1670-1830* (Victoria, British Columbia, 2003); for a more effective account of the continuities 'household families' see Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2001).

prescriptive advice and literary exemplars that stressed the importance of the family's role in socialising the rising generations. Trying to determine how this public discourse related to the private practice of individual families can all too easily end in a quagmire of contradictory detail.[5] It is tempting to conclude that any generalisation would be unwise. After all, familial relationships depend to such a large extent upon an apparently infinite variation of personalities. Yet, despite its intrinsically intimate nature, the family is an inherently social institution. Margret Hunt is certainly right to suggest that projected images of the idealised family were in many ways no more than a case of papering over the cracks in domestic lives that failed to live up to public expectations.[6] Nonetheless, shifts in such public expectations would still seem to be in need of explanation.

The social obligations placed upon parents were clearly premised on assumptions about the nature of childhood, and arguably the most influential contemporary texts were John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) and Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762). Locke thought that a newborn child was a *tabula rasa*, or blank slate, and that it was a parent's responsibility to cultivate appropriate behaviour. He also dismissed the idea that infants were irrational creatures, arguing that they should be reasoned with rather than cajoled or awed into submission. It was these Lockean assumptions that Rousseau challenged when he suggested that children were inherently good and needed to be protected from the corruption of society. Instead of adults moulding civility, education should be guided by the innate qualities of the child. The popularity of these two educational tracts is beyond doubt. However, it is not that they were being read but how they were being interpreted that is significant. Focusing upon the growth in a new style of children's literature, and considering the ways in which this market can be said to reflect shifting attitudes towards the nature of childhood, illuminates the reception of these ideas within the wider social milieu.

John Newbery would become the century's most prolific publisher of children's literature. His first book for young readers, *A Little Pretty Pocket Book* (1744), was 'intended for the instruction and amusement of little master Tommy and pretty miss Polly'. This was part of a new wave of publications that placed an emphasis upon making learning to read an entertaining activity, and Newbery is often credited with coining the phrase 'to delight and

[5] See Adrian Wilson, 'The Infancy of the History of Childhood: An Appraisal of Philippe Aries', *History and Theory*, 19:2 (1980), pp. 132-153.
[6] Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: commerce, gender, and the family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley, 1996), esp. pp. 217-218.

instruct'. Prior to this there had been very little reading material designed specifically for the young, other than religious catechisms and hornbooks; the latter being a single printed sheet containing an alphabet, and often including *The Lord's Prayer*, mounted on a backboard and covered in a thin layer of horn to make it more durable. The beguiling nature of the new children's books can lead historians to overstate their exceptionalism. The desire to 'delight and instruct' dated back to Homer, and in many ways these books simply offered an alternative to the chapbooks that had long been produced for those with basic literacy skills regardless of their age.[7] However, because the new-styled books were aimed exclusively at a younger audience they provide important insights into contemporary perceptions of childhood.

Looking at the growing trade in children's literature exposes attitudes as they were reflected in consumer behaviour. This inevitably skews the investigation towards those who could afford to buy non-essential items, and this bias will be redressed to some extent in Chapter Two where an exploration of school provision offers insights into the experiences of children from a wider socio-economic background. The evidence also focuses attention upon the attitudes that shaped parental practice, rather than the practice itself, and this allows family life to be seen as part of a wider process in which social relationships were being renegotiated. Consequently, charting the changing perceptions of childhood not only establishes the age cohorts that are to be considered in later chapters, but also uncovers the key cultural shifts that form the basis of this investigation into England's rising generations.

Books for Little Masters and Misses

One of the earliest of the new style of children's books was Thomas and Mary Cooper's *The Child's New Play-Thing*. It was first published in 1742 and was advertised in the *Newcastle Courant* in March of that year as the 'Best Amusement, intended to make Learning to Read, a Diversion instead of a Task'.[8] The Coopers had included an alphabet to be cut out 'for Children to Play with' based upon 'Mr. Locke's plan', and the preface began:

> The tenderness of Parents generally prevents them from sending their Children to School so soon as they have a Capacity for Learning ... To remedy this Inconvenience, and at the same time indulge the Parents Fondness, I have ... compiled this little Book, which I would have made use of ... as soon as the Child begins to form articulate Sounds.[9]

It was by this time fifty years since Locke had published *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, in which he lamented the lack of educational toys and suggested 'that if *Play-*

[7] Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (London, 1981).
[8] *Newcastle Courant*, 13 March 1742.
[9] *The Child's New Play-Thing*, 2nd edn. (London, 1743), p. 3.

things were fitted to this purpose ... Contrivances might be made to *teach Children to read*'.[10] Locke also bemoaned the lack of suitable reading material for children, arguing that once basic literacy skills were mastered through play, entertaining books should be provided to incentivise young readers.[11] That Locke's book was reprinted throughout the century is testimony to its continuing influence, and the distinguished reputation it enjoyed is illustrated by its inclusion in Allan Ramsey's portrait of Queen Charlotte with her two eldest sons (painted in 1764-5), where it was prominently positioned amongst the few sundry objects in an otherwise uncluttered image.[12] But for the delay of half a century, Locke's direct influence over the emerging market in children's literature appears unequivocal.

When John Newbery advertised the first volume of his *Circle of Sciences* in the *Newcastle Courant* in 1745 it was described as 'A pretty entertaining Spelling Book for little Masters and Misses' that would '*open their tender Minds*, and give them a *Taste for Letters*'.[13] The series as a whole was 'intended to lead CHILDREN from the very Cradle through the most polite and useful of the *Literary Arts and Sciences*', and the sixth volume on geography directly referred to the 'celebrated Mr. Locke' and his 'excellent treatise on Education'.[14] This stance proved to be a lucrative one. Newbery and the successors to his printing business placed almost one in seven of the advertisements for children's books that appeared in the newspapers published in Newcastle during the years sampled (see Table 1:1.).[15]

Table 1:1. Advertisements for Children's Books

Year	Total number of notices	Total number of titles	Religious/moral instruction	Advice	Leisure/ entertainment	Educational
1730	2	1				2
1735	6	2				6
1740	25	6	4	8	12	1
1745	37	9	3		3	31
1750	51	8	16	1	16	18
1755	26	12		9		17
1760	36	13	1	6	3	26
1765	76	27		13	8	55
1770	120	38	21	19	12	68
1775	178	55	5	26	84	63
1780	89	36	4	11	34	40
1785	58	28			18	40
Total	704		54	93	190	367

Source: *Newcastle Courant* (1730-1785), *Newcastle Journal* (1740-1770), and *Newcastle Chronicle* (1765-1785).

[10] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, 5th edn. (London, 1705), p. 272.
[11] Ibid., pp. 269-279.
[12] Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: family portraiture in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven, 2006), p. 104.
[13] *Newcastle Courant*, 23 November 1745.
[14] *Geography made Familiar and Easy to Young Gentlemen and Ladies* (London, 1748), p. ii.
[15] Every fifth year was sampled between 1730 and 1785, see Introduction, p. 11.

The growing number of notices reflects a general increase in advertising and, as they are taken from a variable number of newspapers, these figures need to be treated with caution. It is nonetheless evident that the developing national market for children's literature was immediately reflected in the pages of the local press, and several of the books advertised were in fact printed in Newcastle. The number of titles being promoted increase incrementally from 1740 onwards, and then more rapidly after 1765, by which time a growing number of advice books designed for older children or youths were being offered for sale. Then, after a peak in advertising in 1775, far fewer notices were placed in the following decade. Prior to 1770 prices ranged between six pence and two and a half shillings, but thereafter many were advertised for less than this. For instance, in 1775 the readers of the *Newcastle Courant* were offered *A New Lottery Book of Birds And Beasts, For Children to Learn their Letters by As Soon As They Can Speak* for three pence, and *The Renowned History of Giles Gingerbread: A Little Boy Who Lived Upon Learning* for just a penny.[16] These less expensive books were published as the age cohort who had first read the new-styled children's literature became parents themselves. At the same time, an increasing number of titles were being sold as a recreational pastime rather than something that was good for children wrapped in the sugar coating of delight; as was the case in 1775, when the 'Little Book Warehouse' offered abridged versions of Smollett's novels *Roderick Random* and *Perigrine Pickle* alongside Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* and *History of Clarissa*, as 'New Chap Books, or Little Books of Entertainment, for the Amusement of little Boys and Girls'.[17]

Despite this development, the new-style children's books are often linked to the promotion of more rational education and a concomitant decline in pious instruction, a shift exemplified by Newbery's *The Newtonian System of Philosophy Adapted to the Capacities of Young Gentlemen and Ladies* (1761) which was presented as a series of lectures delivered by the fictional youth Tom Telescope.[18] It is certainly true that very few new religious children's books were produced mid century, but there were older titles that continued to be reprinted and, although not apparent in the pages of the press, a growing number of overtly moralistic and religious books were published from the late 1770s onwards.[19] The decline in advertising

[16] *Newcastle Courant*, 25 November 1775.
[17] Ibid., 26 August 1775.
[18] Tom Telescope, *The Newtonian System of Philosophy adapted to the Capacities of Young Gentlemen and Ladies* (London, 1761).
[19] Patricia Demers, *From Instruction to Delight: an anthology of children's literature to 1850* (Oxford, 2004); I. Rivers, 'The First Evangelical Tract Society', *The Historical Journal*, 50:1 (March, 2007), pp. 1-22.

can not therefore be assumed to coincide with a diminishing market for children's literature. The fact that book sellers were less likely to advertise in the newspapers does, however, suggest that the cultural value placed upon children's reading material may have been changing.

Locke's *Thoughts Concerning Education*

Lawrence Stone assumed that Locke's ideas were central to eighteenth-century attitudes toward childhood.[20] Yet, it is easy to take Locke's influence upon juvenile literature for granted without acknowledging that the self-promoting claims made by authors and publishers did not necessarily mean that he would have approved of the new children's books. Even when attention is paid to such issues, Locke's ideas can be viewed with too modern an eye and historians can be highly selective in the examples they choose to demonstrate the Lockean credentials of these texts.[21] It is essential to appreciate the extent to which the delightful little books of instruction published during the 1740s strayed from Locke's advice in order to understand what they can reveal about perceptions of childhood.

Locke's educational theories were premised upon his view of human understanding, and as such formed part of a seventeenth-century debate that had both theological and political connotations. As Christians debated their free will, questions about the nature of childhood became enveloped within a heated disagreement about the efficacy of infant baptism, and crediting a child with reason raised the problem of whether they could be too young to go to hell. Locke distinguished between faith and reason, suggesting that an understanding of God came in the form of a revelation, whereas rational knowledge was arrived at by a process of deduction. Furthermore, faith engendered by divine revelation rested upon rational judgement as 'the whole Strength of the Certainty depends upon our Knowledge, that GOD revealed it'. Therefore the faithful should not put their trust in doctrine but in their own capacity for reasoning. It was from this perspective that Locke argued that rational education, which included the gaining of literacy skills, should not be conflated with religious instruction.[22]

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[20] Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, esp. pp. 410-11.

[21] For example see Gillian Brown, 'The Metamorphic Book: Children's Print Culture in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39:3 (2006), pp. 351-364; Samuel F. Pickering, Jr., *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (Knoxville, 1981); Andrew O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child* (London, 2003), p. 11.

[22] John Locke, 'Of Faith and Reason, and their distinct Provinces' in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1706), pp. 580-586; Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, pp. 241-242, 278-281; for a detailed discussion of Locke's argument see Nicholas Jolley, 'Locke on Faith and Reason' in Lex

Locke's notion of the *tabula rasa* unburdened children from the sins of their forefathers, and the concomitant idea that their natural tendencies needed to be restrained. Consequently, his educational theories are often associated with a more sympathetic approach to parenting, and tend to be linked to the promotion of a system of rewards rather than punishments. Such a view is not wholly unfounded, but Locke's ideas can easily be over-simplified to the point of distortion. He certainly refuted the idea that learning should be an irksome task that required the force of the rod to compel a child's submission to knowledge. In addition, he argued that corporal punishment was counterproductive, as it merely encouraged children to conceal punishable behaviour or made a child too timid. Yet he also suggested that parents should avoid rewarding children for educational achievements, or for undertaking a disliked task, as this would encourage acquisitiveness. It was not that Locke disapproved of rewards and punishments, only that he thought they tended to be 'ill chosen' as they should not be related to 'the Pains and Pleasures of the Body' but focused upon the rational mind. It was '*Esteem* and *Disgrace*' that were 'the most powerful Incentives.'[23]

Childhood was not a period of life to be beaten out of the young but neither was it a time when they could be pampered without long-term consequences, and Locke argued that parents who believed they could 'safely enough indulge their [child's] little Irregularities' simply accustomed children to bad habits when they were most impressionable. Then, when they 'can no longer make use of them, as Play-things ... they complain, that the Brats are untoward and perverse'. Locke thought it illogical to assume that a child would willingly accept the authority of parents who had been 'indulgent and familiar' when they were infants, but then became more severe as they grew older. Authority should be established '*as soon as* [a child] is capable of Submission', and children should be a father's subject whilst young and their friend only when reaching maturity.[24] He also likened infants to 'white Paper or Wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases'.[25] At the same time, Locke emphasised that the 'Faults of their Age, rather than of the Children themselves' should be left to 'Time and Imitation, and the riper Years to cure'. Attempting to correct such 'faults' must either fail and so undermine

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Newman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Locke's "Essay Concerning Human Understanding"* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 436-455.

[23] Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, pp. 63-68.

[24] Ibid., pp. 42-44, 54.

[25] Ibid., p. 389.

the authority of the parent or else be of sufficient force 'to restrain the natural Gaiety of that Age', which spoiled the 'Temper both of the Body and Mind.'[26]

Locke portrayed the delivery of early-years education as a serious masculine activity, even if it were made to appear to be a game, and while he advocated educational toys he did not think that less virtuous playthings should be bought for children. Instead parents should help those children who showed some initiative to make their own toys, so that they could find reward from their own efforts. 'Till then they should have none; and till then they will want none of any great artifice' as infants happily played with anything to hand that was not dangerous. An exception was made for toys that provided useful exercise and were beyond the capabilities of a child to manufacture, such as 'Tops, Gigs and Battledors [or rackets]', but playthings should have a rational purpose rather than being an indulgence.[27] Likewise, Locke advocated pleasurable elementary reading because it encouraged children to engage with the learning process by providing the opportunity to gain enjoyment from their own endeavours.[28] It is, however, important to recognise that Locke's plan of education had been 'designed for a Gentleman's Son', and he had linked the lack of suitable reading material in 1693 to the fact that parents did not teach their boys to read but put them in the hands of a pedagogue who used physical force to make them engage with the task.[29] If rationality was innate then education should begin in infancy, which moved the learning environment from the classroom to the nursery, and it was this that made child's play worthy of learned masculine attention.

When Samuel Richardson published the second part of his extremely popular novel *Pamela* in 1742 he devoted a considerable proportion of the text to an appraisal of Locke's thoughts on education, and the stance he adopted provides valuable insights into the reception of Locke's ideas during the 1740s. As the fictional Pamela mused upon the merits of Locke's advice, Richardson offered a male interpretation of a feminised perspective in which the important task of early-years education was a mother's responsibility. Although Pamela advocated Locke's plan of education, this was not without some significant qualifications.[30] Most notably

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[26] Ibid., p. 76.
[27] Ibid., pp. 233 -236.
[28] Ibid., pp. 269-279.
[29] Ibid., p. 279.
[30] Fliegelman suggests that *Pamela* simply endorsed Lockean theories using a 'sentimentalized Puritan' vocabulary, Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: the American revolution against patriarchal authority* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 27; also see Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'John Locke's Images of Childhood: Early Eighteenth-Century Response to Some Thoughts Concerning Education', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 17:2 (1983-1984), pp. 146-147.

she suggested an insistence that children should not be indulged could only ever be adhered to unilaterally, which would provoke justifiable resentment. If a child then chose not to comply with the parent's wishes a greater level of discipline would be needed to check their behaviour than Locke would allow.[31] Pamela not only adopted a more indulgent stance than Locke but also thought a system of rewards and physical punishments a necessary part of a child's education. Nonetheless, presenting his *Thoughts on Education* in the form of a novel widened access to Locke's ideas, and Richardson's book played an important role in promoting a popularised version of Lockean practice.

Richardson's selective approach to Locke's methods was mirrored in the books designed to 'delight and instruct' little masters and misses during the 1740s. For instance, John Newbery's first publication the *Little Pretty Pocket Book* (1744) was sold alongside what Gillian Brown has described as 'product tie-ins', which are said to have engaged young readers with the process of learning thereby reinforcing the Lockean ideals that were reflected in the text.[32] These toys took the form of either a ball or pincushion, depending upon the gender of the child. Both were half red and half black. Each time the child was noticeably good a pin was to be stuck into the red side, and when they were bad a pin was placed in the black side. Ten pins in the red half earned the child a penny, and if ten pins were accumulated in the black side then the child was to be whipped once for each pin. This clearly departed from Locke's underlying philosophical stance and, while it can not be assumed that these toys would have been used as Newbery intended, the popularity of this book demonstrates that delightful playthings and corporal punishment were not necessarily seen to be incompatible. The rewards and physical punishments were not, however, enacted with immediacy in order to establish a responsive aversion or attraction to particular behaviour, instead they were incrementally accumulated which made them consistent with treating children as rational.

It is important to remember that it was not necessary to adopt a Lockean perspective to conclude that children would take on information more effectively if they enjoyed their lessons. *The Child's Delight* by Benjamin Keach (first published during the 1680s and reprinted until the 1760s) had aimed to introduce children to the Christian religion alongside 'many other things, both Pleasant and Useful'.[33] Similarly, Isaac Watts' *Divine Songs* (1715)

[31] Samuel Richardson, *Pamela: or, virtue rewarded* 4 Vols. (London, 1742), iv, p. 326.
[32] Brown, 'The Metamorphic Book'.
[33] Benjamin Keach, *The Child's Delight*, 3rd edn. (London, 1704).

sought to make religious education more enjoyable and so turn a duty into a diversion. It is easy to see why Mary Jackson described these books as 'prototypes' for later juvenile literature, and yet they were not designed to encourage rational enquiry but instead presented Christian doctrine in a form that was tailored to the capacities of a child so as to make it comprehensible and consequently easier to remember.[34] The new children's books therefore marked a significant innovation, even if they strayed considerably from Locke's philosophical position as they popularised his ideas. They can not be said to reflect a greater level of parental indulgence. Nor did they indicate an unambiguous shift from a regime of harsh punishment to a system of sympathetic rewards. Nonetheless, as parents were encouraged to begin their children's rational education in infancy, early childhood was being portrayed as a developmental stage rather than a distinct period to be endured or enjoyed by irrational creatures.

The Application of Lockean Methods

The idea that it was a parent's responsibility to cultivate or mould the developing minds of their children can be viewed as highly prescriptive. In his account of 'The New World of Children', Jack Plumb argued that the values promoted through the material culture of childhood were those that parents wanted to inculcate, not a reflection of the interests of the child.[35] According to Andrew O'Malley '[c]hildren's literature became one of the crucial mechanisms for the disseminating and consolidating of middle-class ideology', and Mary Jackson goes so far as to suggest that children's books were a 'tool of conditioning' used by parents and publishers 'to program the young, to engineer conformity to the prevailing cultural values'.[36] Even if this were true, Matthew Grenby has noted that the marginalia found in children's books demonstrates that some readers were selecting text in a manner that altered its intended meaning. Grenby offers the example of a book that had claimed to be 'intellectual, agreeable and interesting' in which the prefix 'un' had been added by a reader who apparently disagreed.[37] Although such additions may not have been contemporaneous they act as a reminder that juvenile readers were not simply passive receptors of adult attitudes.

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[34] Mary V. Jackson, *Engines of Instruction, Mischief, and Magic: children's literature in England from its beginnings to 1839* (Lincoln, Nebraska 1989), pp. 1-2.
[35] J. H. Plumb, 'The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England' in Neil McKendrick, J. H. Plumb, and John Brewer (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London, 1982), pp. 286-315.
[36] Jackson, *Engines of Instruction*, p. 16; O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child*, p. 11.
[37] Matthew Orville Grenby, 'Early British Children's Books: Towards an Understanding of their Users and Usage', *Corvey Women Writers on the Web*, http://www2.shu.ac.uk/corvey; also Matthew Orville Grenby,

Susanna and John Hussey Delaval would seem to have followed Lockean principles quite closely, and the letters written by their seven children during the 1750s and 1760s offer extremely rare firsthand accounts of childhood experiences. John was the younger brother of Sir Francis Blacke Delaval of Seaton Delaval, ten miles north of Newcastle. He managed the family's business assets after the death of his father in 1752 and would inherit the Delaval seat when his brother died without issue in 1771.[38] Although their wealth set them apart from the majority of their contemporaries, the children's letters provide invaluable insights into both familial relationships and juvenile reading habits. The formal language that was often used in personal letters at this time can seem rather aloof. For instance, an undated letter from Elizabeth (born 1757), written when she was in her early teens, was addressed to her 'Mama and Papa' and contained the following:

> I am very much Flattered to think that you permit My letters to Come into your Presence it also gives me the greatest Pleasure to bring them to you because you receive them with such Condescending Goodness.
> I Remain your ever dutiful Daughter [39]

As this suggests, many of the letters written by the children were an educational exercise rather than a method of long-distance communication but this was not always the case, and the formality of style did not necessarily prevent the expression of affection. Another undated letter written by Elizabeth's older siblings, Rhoda (born 1751), Sophia (born 1755), and John (born 1756) contained three separate messages to their father on one sheet of paper. Each declared that they missed him and John, the youngest of the three, simply stated 'I long to see you'.[40] In a particularly revealing letter written in the early 1770s, when he would have been somewhere between fifteen and nineteen years of age, John junior was evidently trying to get his own way over an issue that was not directly referred to, and he was clearly turning his rational education to his advantage as he declared 'I can never enough admire your wisdom' and 'code of reason', going on to praise his parents' use 'of persuasion so paternally administered' rather than 'severe punishment'.[41] Nonetheless, his parents apparently

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'Delightful Instruction? Assessing Children's Use of Educational Books in the Long Eighteenth Century' in Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (eds.), *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: beliefs, cultures, practices* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 181-98.

[38] John Delaval was one of the candidates for the county election in Northumberland in 1774, which will be considered in Chapter Six.

[39] Letter from Elizabeth Delaval to her parents, *Delaval Family Papers*, NRO, 2/DE/39/6/9, undated.

[40] Letter from Rhoda, Sophia, and John Delaval to their father, NRO, 2DE/39/3/14, undated.

[41] Letter from John Hussey Delaval to his parents, NRO, 2DE/39/2/4, undated.

maintained a significant level of authority, as it was also at this time that John asked for permission to write just three times a week rather than every night.[42]

The Delaval children were well aware of the rationale behind the approach to parenting that was adopted within the family. As Sophia suggested, 'with such goodness as my Dear Papa and Mamma shews us every day it is out of our power to be ungrateful'.[43] Despite such claims, the children were evidently capable of misbehaving. After offending her mother, the youngest daughter Sarah (born 1763) wrote in a rather childish hand that she wished 'to have those delightful smiles again for without them no happiness ever comes near'. In an attempt to regain her mother's approval, Sarah continued 'I am very much ashamed of my behaviour today and as I deserve to be punished I will not desire to read another book till Tuesday or longer'.[44] This could be said to suggest an internalisation of discipline that appears rather repressive, but from a Lockean perspective it reflected a level of autonomous responsibility. Yet, whatever the intentions of parents, children could subvert them, and Sarah's self-denial could also be seen as a disingenuous attempt to placate her mother by offering to forego a disliked activity that she was supposed to enjoy. Her siblings, however, evidently saw reading as a pleasure. As a teenager Sophia wrote enthusiastically to her mother about the histories she was reading, in one letter going into particular detail in describing the lives of the ancient Britons at the time of the Roman invasion before concluding 'My Dear Mamma I have wrote a long letter but I hope your goodness will excuse it'.[45] At the same time her slightly younger sister Elizabeth wrote to ask 'Dear Papa & Mama' if she could borrow the first volume of Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* which her brother had just read.[46] Susanna and John Delaval clearly sought to cultivate civility in their children, and they placed considerable expectations upon their offspring, but it would be unjust to suggest that their parenting methods were focused upon their own desires rather than the interests of the child.

Those who preserved evidence of their children's early years were a self-selecting group and they were likely to be particularly doting parents. The experiences of the Deleval children may therefore have been unusual even in the wealthiest circles. Yet, when it came to attitudes towards reading, the market for children's books suggests that they were far from unique.

[42] Ibid, NRO, 2DE/39/2/5, undated.
[43] Letter from Sophia Delaval to her parents, NRO, 2DE/39/3/6, undated.
[44] Letters from Sarah Hussey Delaval to her mother, NRO, 2/DE/39/13/2, undated.
[45] Letter from Sophia Delaval to her mother, NRO, 2/DE/39/3/7, February 1771.
[46] Letter from Elizabeth Delaval to her parents, NRO, 2/DE/39/6/3, 1771.

Increasing advertising during the 1770s would seem to reflect the endorsement of a generation of younger parents who had read the first of the new-styled books when they were children, and by 1792 the book publisher James Lackington could suggest that since children had been 'pleased and entertained as well as instructed' they were learning to read at an earlier age and that this developed a 'relish for books in many [that would] last as long as life.'[47]

The Material Culture of Childhood

By the time that advertising for juvenile literature peaked during the 1770s a growing number of commercially produced goods were being designed specifically for children. This was part of a wider expansion in the market for non-essential items that Neil McKendrick has described as the birth of consumer society, and may therefore have reflected a more general shift in the spending habits of parents rather than denoting any notable change in attitudes towards childhood.[48] At the same time, children were becoming more prominent in polite society as it became fashionable for affluent families to 'take their leisure together', and, as Jack Plumb suggests, these developments need to be considered in tandem if either is to be understood.[49]

The notices placed by dancing teachers in the newspapers from Newcastle reflect this growing public visibility of families. Dancing schools for children had been advertised during the 1740s, but it was not until the 1760s that such schools began to promote balls at which their young pupils could display their talents. These events were clearly also intended as an adult diversion. For instance, in March 1770 the readers of the *Newcastle Chronicle* were told that the children taught by Mr. Banks had 'acquitted themselves with very much satisfaction and entertainment of the company'.[50] Although it tends to be assumed that childhood was emerging as an increasingly distinct life stage at this time, Peter Borsay has suggested that such public exposure placed the young under pressure to gain the social skills of an adult at an ever earlier age.[51] However, this should not be overstated. Harriett Carr, the youngest daughter of Ralph Carr, a wealthy merchant from Newcastle and the founder of the town's first bank, had been

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[47] James Lackington, *Memoirs of the First Forty-Five Years of the Life of James Lackington* (London, 1792), p. 391; cited in Pickering, *Locke and Children's Books*, pp. 390-91.
[48] Neil McKendrick, 'The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England' in Neil McKendrick, J. H. Plumb, and John Brewer (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London, 1982), pp. 9-33.
[49] Plumb, 'The New World of Children'; Peter Borsay, 'Children, Adolescents and Fashionable Urban Society in Eighteenth-Century England' in Anja Müller (ed.), *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 53-62.
[50] *Newcastle Journal*, 6 December 1760; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 6 April 1765, 10 February 1770, 3 March 1770, 5 May 1770.
[51] Borsay, 'Children, Adolescents and Fashionable Urban Society'; Plumb, 'The New World of Children'.

given dancing lessons in 1780, at the age of ten. Yet, when she was sixteen her mother, Isabella, had noted in a letter that 'Ralph [junior] and the girls are gone to the Opera with Mr. Brandling & his daughters' adding that 'Harriet has never been out without me before, and that very seldom.'[52] In another letter, written the year Harriet was born, Isabella told her husband that 'The children are exceedingly well, Ralph has now got two new teeth, tells every body you are gone to London to buy him pretty things, & says everything he hears.'[53] Young Ralph, who was at this time less than two years old, was presumably mirroring the adults around him as he coveted consumer goods from the capital, and there is a sense in which Plumb was right to suggest that products designed for children reflected the values of the parents who paid for them.[54] Jan de Vries stresses the role of the wife and mother in the changing spending habits of the family, and it was clearly not children that were being targeted when an advertisement for *The Ladies' Own Memorandum* (a Newcastle publication also printed in London) emphasised its inclusion of an engraving of 'A Lady and two Children in the most Fashionable Dress of 1770'.[55]

Parents had dressed their children in fashionable clothing earlier in the century. In 1727 Daniel Defoe complained that 'the Tye-Wig and Sword are too soon put on, and a little Master is made a Man before he is a well-grown Child', whilst little Girls 'put on womanly Airs even at ten Years of Age' and spent their time visiting and keeping company.[56] However, by 1780 fashionable clothing designed specifically for children was becoming more evident as wealthy young English boys were first dressed in skeleton suits (short jackets buttoned to high-waisted long trousers). The emergence of distinct children's attire had begun a decade or so earlier with the advent of the sailor suit and, as Philippe Ariès noted, because boys had previously progressed from asexual infant dress to scaled-down adult clothing this would seem to mark an increasing division between children and adults.[57] By 1775 a young man from Durham on tour in Europe, Robert Wharton, could write from Dijon to his mother describing the extraordinary 'custom here to dress children of six years old & upwards like grown persons. I

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[52] Letter from Isabella Carr to her husband, Carr-Ellison [Hedgeley] Mss, NRO 855/A/3/Box 6/6, 25 March 1787; Letter from Annabella Carr to her brother Ralph, NRO 855/A/3/Box 6/3, 21 December 1781; Letter from Annabella Carr to her brother John, NRO855/A/3/Box 6/3, 14 October 1780.
[53] Letter from Isabella Carr to her husband, NRO 855/A/3/Box 6/6, 11 March 1770.
[54] Plumb, 'The New World of Children'.
[55] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 1 December 1770; Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present* (Cambridge, 2008), esp. pp. 177-179.
[56] Daniel Defoe, *The Protestant Monastery: or, a complaint against the brutality of the present age* (London, 1727), pp. 17-18.
[57] Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, pp. 48-59.

have often seen a poor little girl tottering under a hoop with her head all finely frised [sic] and powdered... and a little boy with his bag and sword strutting away'.[58] While it could have been the young age of these miniature adults that had made them noteworthy, it may also be that an older man would not have been so surprised by this custom. Changing fashions in children's clothing were, however, more complex than Ariès suggested. Although he noted that long trousers were adopted by wealthier adult men at the turn of the century, he failed to acknowledge that this therefore blurred the newly emerging distinction between adult and child clothing. It was in fact the generation of little boys that had first worn skeleton suits that were responsible for changing adult fashion as they grew up. Their parents may have sought to mark them out as children by dressing them in long trousers but they evidently did not feel that such attire was unsuitable for adults.

It was as boys were first being dressed in distinct clothing that educational games appeared on the market. The earliest board games had been designed for adults, but in 1759 the first children's version, *A Journey Through Europe; or, The Play of Geography*, had been published.[59] The first jigsaw, or dissected map, was produced just three years later, and by 1775 games such as Riley's *Royal Spelling Cards* and *The Celestial Game, or, The History of the Heathen Gods and Goddesses* were being advertised as children's playthings in Newcastle's newspapers.[60] Clear parallels can be drawn between this emerging market and the shift towards more recreational children's literature, and to some extent education appears to have become a by-product of play rather than being the central purpose of the activity. Looking beyond educational playthings, change is less clearly discernable. The male-dominated images that adorned John Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* in 1744 depicted pastimes such as hide-and-seek, hopscotch, and blindman's buff, and these boys played with traditional toys; kites, marbles and tops. Forty years later, in Lady E. Fenn's *Cobwebs to Catch Flies* (1783) the little boy pictured in a toy shop was unable to decide between a gun and dog, and while these were a little more elaborate than a kite, they were still toys a grandfather in 1783, and even a grandfather in 1700, could have been familiar with from his own childhood.[61]

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[58] Letter from Robert Wharton to his mother, Wharton Papers, DUASC, GB 033 WHA/138, 18 July 1775.
[59] Jill Shefrin, "Make it a Pleasure and Not a Task': Educational Games for Children in Georgian England', *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, LX:2 (1999), pp. 251-275.
[60] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 7 January 1775, 14 January 1775.
[61] The earliest reference to a popgun cited in the OED is 1649, while toy dogs were one of the playthings offered for sale in Ben Johnson play *Bartholomew Fair, The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (London, 1641), p. 33.

In the case of girls' toys the fashion doll appears to offer an example of innovation, yet on closer inspection there was more continuity than is often assumed. The term 'doll' was initially associated with manikins designed to convey the latest styles in adult apparel but, as printed pictures of fashionable clothing became more common, these dolls were increasingly seen as children's toys.[62] In 1763 'doll' was rather ambiguously defined in J. Johnson's *Universal English Dictionary* as 'a little girl's puppet or baby'; a puppet being a miniature figure of unspecified age, while in this context a baby was 'A small image in imitation of a child which girls play with'.[63] Francis Allen offered a more specific definition in *A Complete English Dictionary* in 1765 describing a doll as 'a wooden image clothed either with the dress of a female or male, used by children as a play-thing.'[64] By 1785 Francis Grose was in no doubt that no respectable woman would adopt the attire that fashion dolls were clothed in; defining the 'Bartholemew doll' in his *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* as 'a tawdry over drest woman, like one of the children's dolls sold at Batholemew Fair'.[65] Bartholomew Fair, which had initially been a cloth fair, had long been famed for its fashion dolls. In 1641 Ben Johnson's play *Bartholomew Fair* had included a scene in which a mother was asked 'what is it you lack? ... a fine Hobby-Horse ... a Drum ... [or] a Fiddle?' for your son or 'Little Dogs, for your Daughters? or Babies, male, or female?'.[66] Given that infant clothing was not gender specific it is unlikely that these were baby dolls and, whether it was the mother or her daughters that the vendor sought to entice with these 'babies', girls would have played with such adult manikins once their clothing became outdated. Consequently, as more cheaply made and robust fashion dolls began to be produced specifically for children during the 1770s, the most significant difference may be that the dolls girls played with were more likely to be dressed in up-to-date attire.

In the hands of a child, the fashion doll can clearly be linked to the idea of cultivating civility. As early as 1590 Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* included a copy of John White's painting of a Roanoke Indian girl clutching a miniature adult manikin in fashionable Elizabethan dress, and claimed 'They are greatlye Diligted with puppetts, and babes which wear brought oute of England.'[67] The image of this

[62] Shefrin, 'Make it a Pleasure'.
[63] J. Johnson, *The New Royal and Universal English Dictionary* (London, 1763).
[64] Francis Allen, *A Complete English Dictionary* (London, 1765).
[65] Francis Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (London, 1785).
[66] Johnson, *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson*, p. 33.
[67] Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London, 1590), p. 44.

young girl represented a desire to 'civilise' her society, and this symbolism appears to prefigure Locke's *tabula rasa* whilst demonstrating that the importance of play as a form of primary socialisation had long been recognised.[68] It was Locke's suggestion that children consciously participated in this process, rather than becoming habituated through familiarity, that was innovative. Although not without precedent, the fashion dolls produced as children's playthings during the 1770s marked a significant change in attitudes. This emerging market coincided with the increasing prominence of families at public leisure venues, and as fashionable girls imitated their mothers they were apparently playing at being socialites rather than caregivers. It is, therefore, tempting to suggest that the fashion dolls reflected a shift away from the domesticity associated with dolls made to resemble babies, but the dolls' house demonstrates that this is too dichotic a distinction to make. In a European context the oldest surviving models of domestic interiors date back to the mid-sixteenth century and although some of the most extravagant of these were made for adults they were not exclusively designed for grownups. Nonetheless, like fashion dolls, they were becoming more explicitly children's playthings rather than adult toys that children played with. In 1767 Hugh Smith could suggest that many young ladies had been embarrassed by being caught playing with their younger sister's 'baby house'.[69] It was also at this time that the term 'dolls' house' replaced this older phrase, and while the earliest reference to a 'doll's house' in the OED is from Fenn's *Cobwebs to Catch Flies* (1783) it was used as early as 1764.[70] Clearly, by 1780 it was not only the fashion doll but also her luxurious home that had unambiguously joined the much older babies, puppets, and moppets (or rag dolls) in the imaginary world of child's play.

The material culture of childhood had not been revolutionised, but the consumer goods marketed at children were becoming more distinct. As Borsay has noted, in some respects 'the gap between childhood and adulthood was actually narrowing' as parents invested an increasing amount of time and money in providing their offspring with adult social skills.[71] Yet, polite sociability had always had a youthful ambience, and the presence of children at public entertainments could also be said to reflect the fact that adults were not growing out of

[68] This also demonstrates a lack of the racial distinctions that would become more evident during the eighteenth century, as there was no assumption of a natural inferiority that would inhibit the native child's ability to become more European.
[69] Hugh Smith, *Letters to Married Women* (London, 1767), p. 44.
[70] Mrs. Lovechild, *Cobwebs to Catch Flies*, 2 Vols. (London, 1783), i, p. 90; *The History of Miss Charlotte Seymour*, 2 Vols. (London, 1764), i, p. 6.
[71] Borsay, 'Children, Adolescents and Fashionable Urban Society', p. 59.

youthful pastimes when they became parents.[72] An essay that appeared in the magazine *The Bewick Museum* in 1785 complained that the middle ranks of society had 'never been so universally infected with the love of a dissipating life, till the present age' before emphasising that the profligacy of single men and women caused private misery '[b]ut the whole rising generation must be endangered, when dissipation [or wasteful consumption] is become universal among parents and the heads of families.'[73] Adult spending habits may have been central to the changes in the material culture of childhood during the 1770s, but changing attitudes towards children during the 1740s would seem to be connected to this later development. It was, after all, as the cohort who had read the first of the new-styled children's books became parents that a growing range of products were designed for children and juvenile literature became more focused upon recreation.

The Innate Qualities of Children

As the material world of childhood became more distinct, a new style of family portraiture emerged. Kate Retford notes that images of cultivated motherhood had become increasingly popular mid century, but these gave way to depictions of perfectly natural young mothers during the 1760s and 1770s.[74] Notably, it was as the children in earlier portraits became parents themselves that fashionable young mothers wanted to be portrayed enjoying an intimate and affectionate relationship with their children. This more sentimental view of childhood tends to be linked to the publication of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762). This was an educational tract presented in the form of a novel, in which Rousseau provocatively argued that although Locke was 'now most in vogue ... [i]f a child were capable of reasoning, they would stand in no need of education'.[75] According to Rousseau, parents could indulge their offspring 'in every thing dictated by their harmless natures' as it was 'an incontestable maxim that the first emotions of nature are always right'.[76]

The growing interest in natural attributes that was evident in the portraits charted by Retford would seem to reflect Rousseau's influence, but it did not necessarily equate with a shift away from Lockean principles. Contrary to common assumptions, Locke's cultivated self had not discounted innate dispositions. For Locke, ideas came not only from external 'Objects of

[72] This is an issue that will be considered in more detail in later chapters.
[73] Vicesimus Knox, *Essays Moral and Literary*, 2 Vols. (London, 1782), i, pp. 22-26; published without credit in *The Berwick Museum*, 3 Vols. (Berwick, 1785-1787), iii, p. 351.
[74] Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life*.
[75] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emilius and Sophia*, 2 Vols. (London, 1762), i, pp. 7, 100, 133, 125.
[76] Ibid., p. 100.

SENSATION' but also from internal 'Objects of *REFLECTION*', which 'every Man has wholly in himself: And though it be not Sense, as having nothing to do with External Objects; yet it is very like it, and might properly enough be call'd Internal Sense.'[77] A newborn infant's mind may have been akin to a sheet of white paper void of any characters, but each sheet apparently had its own unique qualities, and Locke argued that:

> the Child's natural Genius and Constitution ... must be consider'd in a right Education. We must not hope wholly to change their Original Tempers... to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but Labour in vain: And what is so Plaister'd on, will at best fit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the Ungracefulness of Constraint and Affectation.[78]

However, while Locke thought that civilised adults were best placed to determine and cultivate appropriate behaviour in children, Rousseau thought that adult society acted as a corrupting force. Therefore a child's 'original disposition' and the companionship of their preferably young, and so less corrupted, pedagogue provided the best guide to their education. Ideally a child should reach the age of twelve without need to distinguish their right from their left hand. For nature required 'children to be children before they are men'.[79]

Few, if any, parents would seem to have attempted to follow Rousseau's plan of education unreservedly.[80] The infamously indulgent Caroline and Henry Fox were sympathetic to some of his arguments but even here Caroline noted that 'At night we depart a little from Monsr. Rousseau's plan, for [Harry] reads fairy-tales and learns geography on the Beaumont wooden maps ... he is vastly quick at learning that or anything else.'[81] As had been the case with Locke's *Thoughts Concerning Education*, Rousseau's advice would seem to have been loosely used to justify prevailing mores rather than being systematically adopted as new practice. Nonetheless, when John Brown, the vicar of St Nicholas' parish in Newcastle, published a sermon 'On the First Principles of Education' in 1764 his main target for criticism was *Emile*, and he lamented that Rousseau was not alone in mistakenly thinking that a child's 'faults' would be naturally rectified if they were not corrupted by an improper education. Instead, he argued, it was necessary to 'shackle the Mind (if you so please to speak) with salutary Prejudices, such as may create a Conformity of Thought and Action with the established

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[77] Locke, *Human Understanding*, pp. 51-2.
[78] Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, p. 81.
[79] Rousseau, *Emilius*, pp. 136, 128.
[80] Christoph Houswitschka, 'Locke's Education or Rousseau's Freedom: Alternative Socialisation in Modern Societies' in Müller (ed.), *Fashioning Childhood*, pp. 81-88.
[81] Stella Tillyard, *Aristocrats* (London, 1999), p. 239.

Principles on which his *native* Society is built.'[82] Brown had gained notoriety as the author of *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times* (1757), a polemic rejection of the fashionable cosmopolitan habits of polite society, and his outspoken contributions to the public debate were clearly not focused upon parochial concerns. Yet, the fact that he chose to address his congregation on the principles of education suggests that he considered his criticisms of parental practice to have local relevance.

Brown, who was approaching fifty in 1764, adopted a clearly reactionary perspective as he criticised prevailing fashions. Ralph William Gray (1711-1786), who was born four years before Brown, assumed a far more progressive stance and yet he also appeared increasingly outmoded in the eyes of the younger generation during the 1760s.[83] Ralph, a JP from Northumberland, made copious entries into his notebooks for at least forty years, a period which saw the birth of his only child in 1746 (also called Ralph William Gray), the death of his wife shortly thereafter, and the birth of two grandchildren in 1779 and 1780. During the years that his son spent at Marylebone School, Eton and then Cambridge, Ralph senior made rough drafts of the letters he sent and this correspondence provides valuable insights into the attitudes of his generation. These letters were initially addressed to 'My dear little son', starting in 1754 when Ralph junior was eight years old, this changing to 'Dear son' a year later and then 'Dear Ralphy' by the time his son was fourteen.[84] Ralph's earlier correspondence had all began by thanking the boy for the several letters he had received, but by 1760 this opening had been replaced by a regularly unheeded closing request that his son would write to him. While this lack of compliance seems to have annoyed Ralph, he always couched his complaints in a manner that avoided direct criticism, asking his son to write when he had time away from his studies or to confirm the receipt of money previously sent on the grounds that it may have been lost in transit. His son's continual requests for money were also a source of tension. For instance, in May 1760, when Ralphy was fourteen, Ralph wrote 'I see that it was on the 19th of last month that I gave you a guinea & a half, so that as you say, it seems to be the spending time of the year.' Nonetheless, he sent the further half guinea.[85] Although Ralphy usually asked for money, in February 1760 a letter from Ralph senior listed items he had sent

[82] John Brown, *Sermons on Various Subjects* (London, 1764), pp. 23, 16-17.
[83] '1786. Nov. 5. Died at Backworth, Ralph William Grey [Gray], esq., a justice of the peace for Northumberland, aged 77', 'Diary Of Nicholas Brown' in John Crawford Hodgson (ed.), *Six North Country Diaries* (Durham, 1910), p. 278.
[84] Note Book 1752-55, Note Book 1759-62, Ralph William Gray Papers, NRO 753, Box G.
[85] Letter from Ralph Grey to his son at Eton, Note Book 1759-62, 27 May 1760, NRO 753, Box G.

as requested, including two plays; *The Desert Island* and *The Way to Keep Him*. He warned his son to 'stick close to y[ou]r greek and latin' as the play books were 'only for the amusement of leisure hours', but this was then struck through, which could be seen to suggest that he had on reflection decided it was unnecessary to impose such a stipulation.[86] Yet, considered alongside his other letters it appears to reflect a general reluctance to act authoritatively.

When Ralphy was six or seven years old, Ralph senior had recorded 'A scheme of Education' for his son which included a recommendation for 'what Lock says of [logic] in his essay on education'.[87] This interest in his son's tutoring initially continued after Ralphy began school. A letter written in February 1755, just before Ralphy turned nine, began 'I have received from you several letters in Latin, French and English, all very prettily wrote, & shew, I think, your improvement in all those languages.' In June he told his son that 'I wish I was at London to hear you sing y[ou]r English and French songs'.[88] Given his son's age this emphasis upon outward show rather than in-depth understanding may not have been indicative of an underlying approach to learning. More conclusive evidence of his attitudes can be found in an ambitious plan of education designed for himself that Ralph wrote just before he married in 1745. Here he suggested that 'The objects of my studies may be confin'd to these particulars', before compiling a list that included 'Physicks, Arithmetic, Merchants acc^{ts}, Morality, History, Politicks, Law, Classicks, Building, Husbandry ... Gardening, ... the care of Horses. Trade in general, Geography, Chronology, and Shorthand.'[89] The extensive range of this list suggests that he can not have intended to gain more than a superficial knowledge of any of the subjects he aimed to study. This was in keeping with the etiquette of politeness in which too much learning was as much of a *faux pas* as ignorance, and it is not surprising that thirty years later Ralph had enthused about the publication of Lord Chesterfield's *Letters*. These letters were published in 1774, but had been written to an illegitimate child born in 1732, and they were focused on the cultivation of good breeding, or social grace. Writing to Ralphy, who was touring in Europe, Ralph senior had suggested 'they would have been of use to you to have carried them with you ... they will entertain you when you arrive to England.'[90] Yet, Chesterfield's letters had been written for a child of the previous generation, and the

[86] Ibid., 14 February 1760.
[87] Note book 1752-55, undated, NRO 753, Box G.
[88] Ibid., 18 February 1755, 15 June 1755.
[89] Note Book 1744/5 -1750, 3 March 1744/5, NRO 753, Box G.
[90] Letter from Ralph Grey to his son, P(x), 11 April 1775, NRO 753, Box G.

unfavourable reception they received when they were published demonstrates the extent to which they were out of kilter with prevailing fashions. As Philip Carter suggests, there was an anti-élitist element to the criticism these letters attracted, but they were also seen to be incompatible with the 'sensibility' of the 1770s and the *Westminster Magazine* warned parents to avoid Chesterfield's advice because it 'combined politeness and insincerity'.[91]

Ralph's letters present a monologue from a parental perspective. An ability to spend money and a failure to keep in regular contact with his father are the only explicit indications of his son's attitudes. However, given that Ralphy had usually asked for money he may have been making a point when he requested the plays *The Desert Island* and *The Way to Keep Him* in 1760. The first was a love story in which a young woman stranded on a desert island, and brought up by her mother in isolation from the world, was the paradigm of virtue because of her natural innocence; and the second was a farce ridiculing fashionable couples and the contrived nature of their social relationships.[92] An interest in the natural, or unpolished, inner-self evidently predated *Emile*, but it was as Ralphy's age cohort grew up that it became the height of fashion. By 1770 the public display of emotions gained a modish popularity that was epitomised by Henry Mackenzie's (1745-1831) sentimental novel *The Man of Feeling* (1771), in which the main character's lack of worldliness made him more emotionally sensitive to the plight of others. While this can not be unambiguously linked to the influence of Rousseau, the artifice inherent in the cultivated civility of an older generation was being rejected, and Bosay has suggested that placing a greater emphasis upon the 'inner unpolished self' led to childhood being eulogised 'as the source from which this essential self flowed'.[93]

Perceptions of Childhood

As it became fashionable to display emotional sensitivity, the public profile of the family was becoming more sentimental. Fashion is, however, inherently fickle and this did not necessarily indicate a fundamental change in attitudes. For instance, a growing number of both middling and aristocratic women were extolled for their familial virtue in the obituaries published in the local newspapers during the 1760s, but the fact that such qualities were increasingly likely to be broadcast in the public press can not be said to have reflected a greater level of motherly love.[94] Neither should it be assumed that they necessarily reflected actual experience. Joanne

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[91] Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society* (Harlow, 2001), p. 80; also Paul Langford, 'The Birth of Sensibility' in his *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 461-518.
[92] Arthur Murphy, *The Desert Island* (London, 1760); Arthur Murphy, *The Way to Keep Him*, 4th ed. (London, 1761).
[93] Borsay, 'Children, Adolescents and Fashionable Urban Society', p.59.
[94] See for examples, *Newcastle Chronicle*, 12 January, 30 March 1765.

Bailey refers to an apparently favourable obituary that appeared in the *Newcastle Courant* in 1782 to an 'eminently remarkable' husband and father who was not dead and was well known locally to be a cruel and vindictive parent and spouse.[95]

Emotive reporting of accidents involving children also became commonplace in the local news columns during the 1760s. Such incidents were reported earlier, but they had been related to the extraordinary and sensational; as was the case during the course of 1750 when readers were told of a boy who had fallen down a mineshaft and survived, a small child who had been attacked by wild geese, and the gory details of a case of infanticide.[96] Fifteen years later the stories told were far more sentimental and didactic in nature. In March 1765 a girl of about seven years of age, 'belonging to Thomas Forster, a coal miner', had drowned after trying to retrieve a ball that had fallen into a river. The following month a child of three had died after falling into a small tub of water 'the quantity not so much as to cover its head', and readers were told 'Tis thought it had been playing with its shadow on the water, and having fallen with its head against the bottom, had been rendered insensible.' This was described as '*A caution to careless servants, &c*.', and in May the severe burning of a boy who had been playing with gunpowder was reported as '*A caution to school-boys*.' Reckless children could also inadvertently cause harm to others, and in November a woman fell from steps on Newcastle quayside and was drowned because a boy had run hastily down the steps after his top which 'tis thought had surprised the woman.'[97] While child's play could be dangerous so could child labour, and readers of the local news columns were also told of a boy 'belonging to' one of the keel boats, which carried coal on the Tyne, who fell overboard and could not be saved despite many witnessing the accident. A young lad, apprenticed to a barber in Gateshead, fell whilst washing some razor cloths in the river and was drowned. There was also a 'sailor boy' who fell into the Tyne whilst trying to catch apples that were floating on the surface of the water.[98] These reports offer a poignant reminder that work and childhood did not become incompatible until well into the nineteenth century. They also highlight the fact that not all children were privileged enough to participate in the increasingly commercialised material world of childhood, which raises the question of whether the changing attitudes of wealthier adults

[95] Joanne Bailey, 'Reassessing Parenting in Eighteenth-Century England' in Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster (eds.), *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 221.
[96] *Newcastle Courant*, 31 March, 8 September 1750.
[97] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 30 March, 13 April, 20 May, 9 November 1765.
[98] Ibid., 19 January, 9 February, 30 March, 9 November 1765.

were restricted to their own children rather than denoting a shift in perceptions of childhood in more general terms.

A clearer picture of how attitudes were changing can be found in the depositions relating to allegations of sexual offenses committed against children that were recorded in the Old Bailey *Proceedings*.[99] The accusers came from a relatively wide socio-economic background and their statements provide particularised detail of children's lives in the capital, but the way in which these children were perceived by adults is relevant in a wider context. The age at which a child's evidence was judged to be admissible was based upon the aptitude of the individual child, and there was consequently a high level of inconsistency. Nonetheless, children do appear to have been seen as potentially capable of giving evidence at an earlier age as the century progressed. What is most revealing is the way in which children were asked about their understanding of the oath. Although the detail given in earlier cases is not always as comprehensive as later records, it would seem that up until 1770 this was focused exclusively upon a fear of hell.[100] The case of ten-year-old Grace Pitts in 1747 has attracted the attention of historians because the council for the defence attempted to prevent her giving evidence on the basis of her age.[101] In the end Grace had been sworn in after stating that 'God Almighty will hate me if I give a false Oath'. After 1770 there were increasing references to literacy and school attendance. For instance, in 1777 Ann Mayne (aged ten) was asked if she had been 'bred up' at school before it was enquired whether she knew of heaven and hell, and her co-accuser Mary Hawkens (also aged ten) was asked how long she had attended school and if she had been taught the Lord's Prayer and the ten commandments.[102] Two years later Thomas Read (aged eleven) confirmed that he had been to school and could read and write before being asked if he knew that it was his 'duty to speak the truth', and was sworn in with no apparent reference to a belief in god.[103] In 1789 Ann Barrett (aged fourteen) was questioned about her schooling and was sworn in after suggesting that she would 'Go to the naughty man' if she told a lie.[104]

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[99] Of the 328 cases of sexual assault, excluding bigamy and brothel keeping, that were brought between 1700 and 1789, 177 involved victims that can be identified as being under the age of twenty one; either within the charges or the depositions.
[100] For example, 13 May 1730, trial of Isaac Broderick, TPOB, t17300513-27; 11 July 1750, trial of Anthony Barnes, TPOB, t17500711-33; 5 December 1750, trial of Richard Knibb, TPOB, t17501205-40.
[101] 29 April 1747, trial of John Hunter, TPOB, t17470429-28; Rebecca King, *Rape in England 1600-1800: trials, narratives and the question of consent* (Durham University M.A. thesis, 1998), p. 52.
[102] 15 October 1777, trial of Benjamin Russen, TPOB, t17771015-1.
[103] 20 October 1779, trial of Charles Atwell, TPOB, t17791020-5.
[104] 9 December 1789, trial of Thomas Cole, TPOB, t17891209-91.

The depositions also reveal changing attitudes towards the physical violence that children encountered within the home. Some of the alleged victims came from indisputably dysfunctional families, most evidently those where a father or step father was accused, but the evidence given for the prosecution generally came from individuals who considered the circumstances they described to be publically defensible or at the very least credible. Care has to be taken when considering the cases in which alleged victims claimed to be afraid to tell a guardian after the event for fear of physical punishment, as such statements were often made to explain a delay in reporting the crime. Statements from a third party are less easily dismissed. In 1719 Eliz Eyles, a servant who responded to the cries of Bridget Stevenson (aged 9), suggested she had not told the girl's parents what she had seen because 'the Child begg'd her not for fear her Friends [family] should beat her.'[105] When the parents of Margret Thomson (aged 6) were told that their daughter had been assaulted in 1734 they 'whipt her, and charged her never to go near him again'.[106] In 1745 the father of Mary Swain (age unknown) introduced an element of blame as he stated that 'I began to beat the girl, because I had bid her not to go there. She began to open her complaints, but I did not care to hear her, but beat her the more.'[107] In 1768 the mother of Elizabeth Watson (aged 12) told the court how she had threatened to cut her daughter to pieces and that 'her uncle took the whip and looked severe at her' in order to make her talk.[108] By this time parents were increasingly likely to promise that they would not beat their child if they explained what had happened. For instance, in 1769 the father of Mary Brand (aged 8) explained that he had 'spoke to her in a very soft mild manner; I said, child, somebody has been doing you an injury, do not be frightened, tell me the truth, and you may depend upon it I shall not do you any harm.'[109] Of course such statements suggest that children were being beaten on other occasions, but they did not involve an explicit recognition of this in court. Even when adults admitted to using fear to make children talk this was more likely to involve warnings of terrible consequences than the threat of physical violence. For instance, in 1771 Elizabeth Sharpe (under 10) was told 'your mammy won't get you cured, and you will die', and in 1779 Thomas Read (age 11) recounted how he was warned that he had better explain what had happened 'because I might

[105] 25 February 1719, unnamed defendant, TPOB, t17190225-48.
[106] 11 September 1734, trial of Thomas Slade, TPOB, t17340911-6.
[107] 24 April 1745, trial of John Sutton, TPOB, t17450424-43.
[108] 6 July 1768, trial of Henry Johnson, TPOB, t17680706-42.
[109] 9 September 1767, trail of Joseph Payne, TPOB, t17670909-69.

have something that might rot me all away or might swell me up as big as a tub, that I might not be able to walk.'[110]

At the same time as literacy began to take precedence over an awareness of the consequences of sin when judging a child's ability to give evidence, physical force was being disassociated from the act of awing children into submission and was becoming more exclusively a method of chastising wrongdoing. In a broader context this did not necessarily mean that children would have suffered any less. A beating must have felt the same whether it was administered to frighten a child into obedience on the grounds of their irrationality, or because they were presumed to be rational and so could be deemed capable of guilt and in need of punishment. Just as affectionate and benevolent parenting pre-dated the eighteenth century, callous and brutal parenting did not disappear. Yet, the way in which they were both justified changed substantially. Childhood was clearly being sentimentalised, but this did not reflect a rejection of a child's rationality. In fact, while it may seem counterintuitive, it was as adults became more sensitive to the emotive aspects of childhood that they were explicitly treating children as rational creatures.

A More Child-Centric Perspective

By 1780 the advertising for children's books had peaked, and juvenile literature was becoming more overtly moralistic as a growing number of religious titles were published. The expanding market for commercially-produced toys demonstrates changing attitudes at this time did not indicate a decline in indulgent parenting, but pleasure and education were becoming more distinct. In 1781 the fashionable young school master from Kent, Vicesimus Knox, complained in his influential *Liberal Education* that 'the whole business of learning to read' had been turned into a game and he was 'not quite sure, that it is right to give [a child] the notion that he has nothing to do but play.'[111] In some respects this appears to represent a revival of attitudes that had been prevalent during early decades of the century. Yet, while he criticised prevailing habits, Knox had not been born until 1751 and he was not simply promoting a return to the values of an older generation.[112]

[110] 20 October 1779, trial of Charles Atwell, TPOB, t17791020-5.
[111] Vicesimus Knox, *Liberal Education* (London, 1781), p. 20.
[112] Langford suggests that the 1780s saw a revival of mid-century values epitomised by Knox, Langford, *Polite and Commercial*, p. 88.

In his *Liberal Education* Knox focused upon school-aged children, in contrast to the educational methods described by Locke and Rousseau that were designed to be embarked upon in infancy. Although he thought that 'Education should begin in the nursery', Knox argued that 'the mother and nurse are, in the first instance, the best instructors [because] The task of teaching an infant the alphabet, is too painful for a man of a very cultivated understanding.'[113] This was not, however, a reactionary stance. To suggest a distinction between a feminised nursery and the masculine environment of the classroom had different connotations to a younger generation. Knox thought a 'sensible and well-educated mother is, in every respect, best qualified to instruct a child till he can read well enough to enter on the Latin grammar.'[114] This is an issue that will be dealt with in greater detail in the following chapter, when attention is turned to school provision, but at this juncture it is crucial to recognise that, as the girls who had grown up reading the mid-century children's books had become mothers, the feminised traits being associated with the nursery were no longer assumed to be irrational. By the time Knox published his *Liberal Education*, the content of children's books was also changing. At the same time as advertising for children's literature declined, stories that focused upon improving future prospects by means of virtuous diligence were being replaced by more child-centric tales based in a domestic setting. While this has been linked to the growing affluence of the middle ranks of society, it was as nursery education was being feminised that the stories in children's books became focused upon a child's home life.[115] It was also at this time that female authors of juvenile literature were becoming more prominent, and these women offered a genuinely feminine perspective, unlike the mediated views of Richardson's Pamela.

Revealing insight into the changing attitudes towards childhood can be found in a course of lectures on the management and education of children that were delivered in Newcastle in 1780 by Rest Knipe, the minister of the Corn Market Chapel in Sunderland. These were evidently intended to encourage 'better' parenting in future decades. They were promoted as

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[113] Knox, *Liberal Education,* pp. 16-7.
[114] Ibid., p. 17.
[115] Grenby links this to the achievement upward social mobility, suggesting that earlier in the century the often male subject matter of children's books focused upon improving socio-economic status but by 1780 the characters were already affluent, M.O. Grenby, 'Early British Children's Books'; in a similar vein, Celestina Wroth argues that as the stories were increasingly set in a domestic context, female servants were 'wilfully avoided' in the depiction of family life as young readers were encouraged to distinguish themselves from lower-status women who were often central caregivers, Celestina Wroth, 'To Root the Old Woman out of Our Minds: Women Educationists and Plebeian Culture in Late-Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Eighteenth Century Life*, 30:2 (2006), pp. 48-73.

being ‘for the Interest of the rising Generation’, and those who attended were expected bring along ‘a Junior, under 20 Years of Age’.[116] Knipe published his lectures in Edinburgh three years later, after delivering them ‘in many parts of England and Scotland’. He argued that ‘parents need not trouble themselves much to reason with their children’ during ‘the first septenary’ of life, but he did not assume that infants were imbecilic. Instead he suggested they were capable of taking advantage of indulgent adults, and he claimed to have seen ‘children who could not speak, distinguish those who were spoiling them from those who were not; scratching, fighting, and playing the tyrant over all who humoured them, without offering to lift a finger against those who did not.’[117] Consequently, ‘to leave them wholly to themselves for seven years’ would be ‘the opposite extreme of error’.[118] A general education should begin in infancy, but the ‘strong passion in many parents, to have their children very forward in learning’ was misplaced. While there was no harm in encouraging scholarship at an early age if a child displayed a natural propensity, if they did not they should not be chastised for their innate inabilities.[119] As Knox suggested, if a child could not be incentivised with praise and rewards ‘the point must for a while be given up. A more favourable season will soon arrive, under proper management’.[120]

The idea that children were rational had not been rejected, but greater emphasis was being placed upon the limits of their capacity to reason. The social artifice inherent in the mid-century notion of cultivating childhood was losing ground to a growing recognition of innate qualities and an assumption that children would come to no long-term harm if a liberal education were left until they were a little older. As a consequence, the nursery became emphatically domestic and seemingly more feminised and child-centric. Although Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have suggested that a cult of domesticity was engendered during the later decades of the century as part of an emerging middle-class culture, it is important to recognise that an idealised view of family life was not new to this period.[121] Female authors writing children’s stories set in the family home may have become more prominent, but the earlier contributions to children’s literature made by men like John Newbery were no less focused upon the promotion of a culture that was firmly rooted in the familial virtues of the

[116] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 23 September 1780.
[117] Rest Knipe, *A Course of Lectures: containing remarks upon the government and education of children* (Edinburgh, 1783), p. 16.
[118] Ibid., p. 146.
[119] Ibid., pp. 21, 144.
[120] Knox, *Liberal Education*, p. 16.
[121] L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850* (Chicago, 1987).

middle ranks of society. Nonetheless, perceptions of childhood, and the expectations placed upon parents, had clearly changed.

Three Stages of Innocence

In just three generations attitudes towards children had been wholly transformed. In 1785 a contributor to the *Monthly Review* could suggest experience had demonstrated that 'truth and nature' were more intelligible to an infant's mind than tales of 'absurd fiction with which our grandmothers used to burthen the heads, and distort the imaginations of little pupils'.[122] This change began during the 1740s as a child's capacity for reasoning became associated with the cultivation of childhood, but by 1785 it was 'truth and nature', or rationality and sentiments, that were being emphasised.

The new style of children's literature was indicative of a fundamental change in adult perceptions of childhood. Unlike elementary reading that had been designed for those with limited literacy skills of all ages, books designed specifically for the young could be divested of material deemed to be more suitable for an adult audience. This is clearly seen in William Cooke's revision of Samuel Boyse's *The New Pantheon*, which was published sometime between 1754 and 1760, and advertised in the *Newcastle Chronicle* in 1765.[123] When François Pomey's '*fabulous histories of the heathen gods and most illustrious heroes*' had been revised and corrected for the use of schools by Andrew Tooke in 1713, he had removed the scholarly and often Latin notation and replaced the 'ambiguous Expressions, and obscure Phrases' so as to render the work 'more plain and familiar'.[124] In contrast, Cooke was concerned to intersperse the text with 'such moral Reflexions, as have a Tendency to preserve the Minds of Youth from the Infection of superstitious Follies'.[125] This was a more understandable but also a more euphemistic account of the classical gods. For instance, the description of Jupiter's defiling of a series of women was changed to a story of his many wives, and the debauching of Calisto was transformed into a case of tricking her into forgoing her vows of chastity.[126] Children's literature was being sanitised, and while it could be suggested that this marked the 'invention' of childhood innocence, the need to be protected from 'inappropriate' aspects of the adult world can also be seen as a loss of incorruptibility.

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[122] Pickering, *Locke and Children's Books*, p. 91.
[123] Samuel Boyse, *The New Pantheon* 2nd edn., revised by William Cooke (Salisbury, 1760); W. W. Wroth, 'Cooke, William (1709-1780)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); *Newcastle Chronicle*, 15 June 1765.
[124] François Pomey, *The Pantheon*, revised by Andrew Tooke (London, 1713), p. ii.
[125] Boyse, *The New Pantheon*, p. viii.
[126] Pomey, *The Pantheon*, p. 15; Boyse, *The New Pantheon*, p. 36.

The change in attitudes that the new-style children's books reflected when they emerged during the 1740s was graphically illustrated by the century's most prolific pictorial social commentator, William Hogarth. In the final plate of *A Harlot's Progress* (1732), in which Moll Hackabout's mourners gathered around her coffin, Moll's young son was seated angelically centre stage seemingly unaffected by the corpse of his mother or the experiences of his life more generally. This oblivious innocence was also evident in the death scene, where the son sat at his dying mother's side apparently healthy and nonchalantly distracted by something hanging over the fire. In a similar image in the final plate of *Marriage A-la Mode*, produced a decade later, Countess Squanderfield's child was depicted with arms outstretched to give a final embrace to its dead mother whilst displaying telltale signs of syphilis. Hogarth's desire to emphasise the fact that children were aware of, and affected by, their environment is also seen in his revision of the fourth scene of *The Rake's Progress*. Initially drawn in 1734, this image was transformed in the early 1740s by the addition of a group of street urchins, corrupted by adult vices such as gambling, who dominate the foreground.[127] Hogarth's involvement in London's Foundling Hospital, which was established in 1741, may explain his new-found interest in an infant's awareness of their surroundings and the longer-term consequences of inappropriate primary socialisation. Yet, the market for children's books demonstrates that his changing attitudes were indicative of a wider cultural turn.

It was the idea that children were rational that led to the perceived loss of their oblivious incorruptibility, and it was not only the socialisation of infants that was increasingly premised upon rational principles. When Richardson's fictional mother Pamela advocated a popularised version of Lockean education in 1742, she also referred to Locke's advice against the swaddling of infants, expressing delight that her views turned out to be in keeping with the opinion of so learned a gentleman.[128] In both cases, Richardson was promoting change rather than describing established practice, and the growth in children's literature during the following decades was mirrored by the decline in swaddling. The changing practice in London's Foundling Hospital reinforces the timing of this transition. Initially the clothes provided for the infants had included 2 rowlers or swaddling bands, but just five years later this custom was discontinued when a governor of the hospital, Dr William Cadogan, published a pamphlet on the management of infants that recommended that they should be more loosely

[127] Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (London, 1989).
[128] Richardson, *Pamela*, p. 329.

dressed.[129] Although Rousseau scornfully mocked the belief that infants needed to be bound in cloth to prevent self-harm, he suggested that by 1762 'the extravagant and barborous [sic] custom' was 'daily losing ground' in England.[130] By the time that Robert Wharton wrote of the little girls and boys of Dijon dressed like fashionable adults in 1775, he could also remark on the extraordinary attire of infants whose 'poor little limbs are swaddled up and tied with bandages so that I wonder they ever have any decent shape'.[131] This young man was evidently not used to seeing children bound up in this fashion.

Male midwives were also gaining credibility as medical knowledge questioned the traditions of this ancient female art. Lisa Forman Cody suggests a change in practice appears to have occurred 'within only one generation' so that by 1760 the man-midwife had become respectable.[132] This was not simply a case of women being sidelined in the name of a male-centric form of progress. As Adrian Wilson notes, it was the women who chose to call upon the services of a man-midwife that allowed male involvement in this previously female domain.[133] There is in fact a sense in which motherhood was being bestowed with greater importance as infants became worthy of learned masculine attention. At the same time, the idea that boys could benefit from a rational education when infants had been extended to include their sisters as books for little masters and misses were published during the 1740s. Contrary to this trend, Rousseau paid considerable attention to what he considered to be fundamental differences between the sexes, arguing that girls' education should focus exclusively upon making them supportive wives. While the influence of Rousseau should not be overstated, a greater emphasis on inner qualities does appear to have extenuated gender distinctions in children, as was reflected in the emergence of skeleton suits designed for little boys. Primary socialisation was becoming more child-centric, but the idea that infants of either sex were rational was not abandoned. A younger generation were adopting a balanced approach that stressed the limits of a child's rationality but also questioned the Rousseauian notion that they had a harmless nature that could guide their development. Consequently,

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[129] Gillian Pugh, *London's Forgotten Children* (Brimscombe Port, 2007), pp. 57- 59; William Cadogan, *An Essay upon Nursing and the Management of Children* (London, [1746] 1769).
[130] Rousseau, *Emilius*, pp. 16, 60.
[131] Letter from Robert Wharton to his mother, DUSC, WHA/138, 18 July 1775; also see Chapter One, p. 36.
[132] Lisa Forman Cody, *Birthing the Nation: sex, science, and the conception of eighteenth-century Britons* (Oxford, 2005), p. 144.
[133] Adrian Wilson, 'Midwifery in the Medical Marketplace' in Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c.1450- c.1850* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 166-7.

when Knox suggested the nursery should be a female domain it was no longer assumed that this equated to an irrational sphere premised upon emotional intuition.

Attitudes towards children had clearly changed, but this was an incremental, layered development, not a transformative shift. The new style of children's books published during the 1740s reflected popular interpretations of Lockean principles that emphasised the cultivation of civility. Although children were encouraged to engage in the learning process, it was the parent's responsibility to engender appropriate behaviour. Therefore, while the notion that children were rational may have denied them an innocence of unawareness, the concept of the *tabula rasa* could still shelter the young from culpability. As the children of the 1740s grew up, this notion of cultivated childhood was tempered by a growing disenchantment with the contrived nature of their parent's politeness. The wider context in which adult attitudes were changing is considered in more detail in later chapters, but within a familial setting a concern to create successful adults by focusing upon a child's rational qualities was moderated by the generation born during the middle decades of the century as they paid more attention to the innate sensibilities of their own offspring. This more child-centric approach stressed that, although rational, children did not have the same intellectual capacity, or reasoned awareness, as adults. Consequently, by 1780 fashionable parenting was no longer focused upon engendering adult virtues. Instead, there was a growing assumption that childhood innocence needed to be sheltered to be maintained.

Chapter Two
New Generations of Pedagogues

School provision was organised on an ad hoc basis during the eighteenth century and children gained their education in a myriad of different settings within any given locality. As a consequence, the historiography tends to paint a disjointed picture as particular social groups, or forms of schooling, are considered in isolation. Nonetheless, there are discernable trends that correspond with the chronology of generational change established in Chapter One. In the case of boys' education, existing endowed grammar schools appeared to decline mid century as a growing number of schools were established on a commercial basis, but the older institutions regained a dominant position in this sector by 1780.[1] At the same time, boarding schools for better-off girls became fashionable from around 1750, before trends seemingly shifted back to home-based education during the later decades of the century.[2] Again, charitable schooling for poorer children waned as the commercial sector expanded, and was then transformed during the 1780s by the emergence of the Sunday School movement.[3] Focusing upon the methods used to teach children, rather than the type of school attended, allows links to be made between these discrete but interrelated developments.

The teaching of grammar was the most prominent indicator of changing educational practice. Grammar had been the preserve of the classical scholar, and was therefore associated with the education of older boys from the more affluent ranks of society. The increasing number of schools that offered grammar classes in English, rather than Latin, made such education more accessible and marked a significant departure from traditional methods of pedagogy. However, because there was no recognised standard for English grammar, teaching practice became embroiled in debates about the structure of the language. It was in this context that Anne Fisher, a young woman living in Newcastle, published what transpired to be a highly influential *New Grammar* in 1745. María Esther Rodríguez-Gil describes Fisher as the 'first female grammarian'. More that forty editions of her grammar were published before 1800, and only three English grammars written during the eighteenth century went on to be reprinted

[1] John Money, 'Teaching in the Market Place' in Brewer and Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), p. 337; Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford, 1989), p. 79.
[2] Deborah Simonton, 'Women and Education' in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (eds.), *Women's History: Britain, 1700-1850* (London, 2005), pp. 33-56; Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England: the experience of childhood, 1600-1914* (London, 2008), p. 222.
[3] M.G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement* (London, 1964); Deborah Simonton 'Schooling the Poor: gender and class in eighteenth-century England', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 23 (2000), pp. 183-202; Joan Simon, 'Was there a Charity School Movement? The Leicestershire Evidence' in Brian Simon (ed.), *Education in Leicestershire, 1540-1940* (Leicester, 1968), pp. 55-102.

more often; these being the grammars of Lowth (1762), Ash (1766), and Murray (1795).[4] Considering what made Fisher so innovative sheds light on the cultural setting in which she produced her grammar, and tracing her influence in the classroom brings the issue of teaching methods to the fore.

English grammar was being added to school curriculums at the same time as the market for children's literature was expanding. Yet, unlike the beguiling pre-school primers considered in Chapter One, the eighteenth-century classroom is not usually associated with either delight or instruction. Roy Porter painted a particularly bleak picture of schooling as he emphasised the role of the autodidact in transforming the intellectual knowledge base of society during the eighteenth century, but his dismissive assessment failed to recognise the impact that self-taught individuals could have upon the educational experiences of the next generation.[5] This is particularly clear in the case of Charles Hutton (1737-1823), the well-known mathematician from Newcastle, whom Porter used to demonstrate his point.[6] Hutton was without doubt a remarkable autodidact. He was, however, also a remarkable pedagogue. By the time he turned twenty in 1757 he was the master of the school he had attended in Jesmond, just outside Newcastle, and three years later he opened a 'Writing and Mathematical School' in Newcastle, at 'the Head of the Flesh Market'. Hutton also published *The School-Master's Guide: or, a complete system of practical arithmetic* in 1764, and began a course of instruction for teachers of mathematics in 1766.[7] All this before he assumed the chair of mathematics at the Royal Military Academy in London in 1773, where he took charge of educating young men who would become influential political figures.

A generational perspective highlights the cumulative effect of changing educational practice, as pupils went on to become teachers. Formative experiences in school were not the only factor shaping the attitudes of later generations, but investigating the teaching of English grammar highlights the links between the expansion of commercial schooling during the middle decades of the century, and a second wave of educational developments that coincided with the emergence of a younger generation of pedagogues who had grown up during this

[4] María Esther Rodríguez-Gil, 'Ann Fisher: First Female Grammarian', *Historical Sociolinguistics and Sociohistorical Linguistics*, 2 (2002), http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/hsl_shl/rodriguez-gil.htm; for number of editions see Ian Michael, *English Grammatical Categories and the Tradition to 1800* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 509.
[5] Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1982), pp. 173-183.
[6] Ibid., p. 175.
[7] *Newcastle Journal*, 12 April 1760, 6 June 1761; Niccolò Guicciardini, 'Hutton, Charles (1737-1823)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); Charles Hutton, *The School-Master's Guide*, 2nd edn. (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1766).

period of transition. To understand this connection, it is necessary to begin by establishing the nature of the existing provision with which the newer commercial schools were competing.

School Provision in Durham and Northumberland

A free grammar school had been established in Newcastle in 1525, along with a writing school 'erected by the Town for the Children of *Freemen*'.[8] Although not all of the grammar schools in the area were as old, by 1746 the Diocese of Durham Visitation listed fifteen masters of free grammar schools in Durham and Northumberland plus a further thirty-two schoolmasters of more elementary schools.[9] Of the seven teachers from Newcastle referred to on this list only one was named; this was Mr. Warden who was described as 'a Scotch Jacobite schoolmaster' and presumably taught at the St James charity school, which was Presbyterian.[10] The other six teachers would have been the masters of Newcastle's grammar and writing schools, and those employed in the four charity schools established by each of the parishes in the town between 1705 and 1709. The Durham Visitation did not record the small number of private schools that had begun to advertise their services in the local newspapers by 1746. Just thirty years later William Whitehead's trade directory for Newcastle and Gateshead included twenty-seven schoolmasters and one boarding school run by a Mrs Hutchinson, but again the newspaper advertisements suggest this was an underestimation, and no mention was made of the masters who were employed to teach in the charity schools of St James and the Unitarian Hanover Square Chapel.[11]

Since the Restoration the established church had unsuccessfully sought to attain a monopoly on education. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, with Anne on the throne, renewed appeals were made for an end to religious pluralism in educational provision. As a result, the Schism Bill, which barred dissenters from teaching, was eventually passed in 1714, but this Act was never enforced and was repealed in 1719. As John Sommerville points out, the debates surrounding this legislation had focused attention upon the purpose of education. The

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[8] Henry Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle, 1736), pp. 33-35.
[9] Ralph Trotter, 'Register of the Diocese of Durham Vis[itati]on Anno 1746', Durham Diocese Records, Visitations of the diocese by bishops of Durham, DUASC, DDR/EV/VIS/4/2/5.
[10] Letter from a pupil of the St James Charity School to the Stewards of the Tailors Company thanking them for a visit to the Tailors Hall, 7 May 1787, TWAS, GU.TY/52. It is unclear when this school was established but St James was probably the oldest dissenting congregation in Newcastle.
[11] William Whitehead, *The First Newcastle Directory* (Newcastle 1778; reprinted 1889); again, it is unclear when the Hanover Chapel school was established, but an advertisement seeking a new schoolmaster appeared in the *Newcastle Journal*, 21 February 1761; also see Rev. William Turner, 'Short sketch of the History of Protestant Nonconformity, & of the Society assembling in Hanover Square, Newcastle', Church of the Divine Unity, TWAS, C.NC66.

arguments proffered by high churchmen assumed that schools instilled prejudices and it was therefore important to ensure that they were controlled by the established church. More moderate Anglicans argued that parents should have the right to choose the form of education their children received. Taking this notion of religious freedom a step further, there were dissenters who argued that parents and schools should only provide children with knowledge of the general principles of Christianity, in its protestant form, and children should be left unbiased so that they could arrive at their own understanding of God once old enough to form judgments for themselves. These debates had raised the question of a distinction between education and indoctrination that was to have a profound effect on attitudes towards schooling.[12]

The contest over religious education had not just occurred in the abstract. The charity schools established in Newcastle during the first decade of the century were part of a widespread 'charity school movement' orchestrated by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), and need to be seen in the light of anxieties about alternative forms of instruction.[13] Their direct impact on educational provision should not be exaggerated. In 1736 the town's wealthier parishes, St John's and St Andrew's, provided charity-school places for a total of seventy boys. Although it is unclear how many years of schooling were received, this equated to less than twenty new boys a year if they remained in school for four years. The schools in St Nicholas' and All Saints' each taught forty boys to 'read, write, and cast Accompts'. In addition, twenty girls were taught to 'read, write, sew and knit' in St Nicholas', and a similar number were taught 'to read, knit, sew, make, and mend their own Cloaths' in All Saints'.[14] Comparable evidence from Staffordshire and Essex has led Deborah Simonton to suggest that some poor girls had access to a more academic curriculum than their more affluent contemporaries, but the standards of reading and writing attained may have been less advanced than a better-off girl could have learnt from literate parents.[15] The scale of this education was clearly very limited. By 1736 a total of 234 boys and girls from All Saints' school had completed their education, or just eight children a year in the poorest and most densely populated parish. Although all four of the schools continued to teach poor children

[12] C. John Sommerville, 'The Distinction between Indoctrination and Education in England, 1549-1719', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 44:3 (1983), pp. 401-403.
[13] Jones, *The Charity School Movement*; Simon, 'Was there a Charity School Movement?'
[14] Bourne, *History of Newcastle*, pp. 28-30, 45-46, 79, 102.
[15] Simonton, 'Schooling the Poor'.

throughout the century, the size of their intake did not increase despite an estimated doubling of Newcastle's population.[16]

Even after the repeal of the Schism Act there were attempts to prevent non-conformist schooling, but the unsuccessful prosecution of Philip Doddridge for teaching without a church licence in 1733 would seem to have been the last such case.[17] The ideological and theological struggle over education had by this time died down. SPCK stepped back from its educational crusade during the late 1720s, and this coincided with a notable decline in charitable giving in Newcastle.[18] In its first twenty years the income of All Saints' charity school came from forty gifts amounting to slightly less than £800.[19] Although there was a significant drop in the number of donations during the 1730s, the value of individual gifts initially compensated for this decline. After this point, very few donations were received and their value never matched the figures reached earlier in the century (see Table 2:1).[20] Again, in the case of St Nicholas', in addition to the initial endowment further bequests were made in 1723, 1733, and 1738 but after this no more money was given until 1774.[21] It was during these decades that the popularity of endowed grammar schools waned, and the commercial sector became more prominent. The new style of children's literature, considered in the previous chapter, was also expanding at this time. Although these books were designed for better-off children, the fact that they reflected a growing distinction between the gaining of literacy skills and religious instruction would seem to suggest that changing attitudes towards the learning process were altering educational experiences across the socio-economic spectrum.

Table 2:1. Contributions to the All Saints Charity School

Years	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s	1790s
Number of donations	9	4	1	2	2	3	2
Total Contributions	£560	£150	£20	£120	£80	£250	£100

Source: All Saints Charity School, Newcastle, List of benefactions and annual subscriptions TWAS, E.NC36/2.

[16] Bourne, *History of Newcastle*, p. 106; Joyce Ellis, 'Regional and County Centres 1700-1840' in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, 3 Vols. (Cambridge, 2000), ii, p. 679; Joyce Ellis, 'The "Black Indies" The Economic Development of Newcastle, c.1700-1840' in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle upon Tyne: a modern history*, (Chichester, 2001), p. 1.
[17] Isabel Rivers, 'Doddridge, Philip (1702-1751)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).
[18] Sommerville, 'The Distinction between Indoctrination and Education', p. 405; also see Joan Simon, 'Was there a Charity School Movement?'
[19] Bourne, *History of Newcastle*, pp. 105-6.
[20] All Saints Charity School Newcastle, List of benefactions and annual subscriptions, 1709-1817, TWAS, E.NC36/2.
[21] John Brand, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne*, 2 Vols. (London, 1789), i. pp. 274-276.

What set the new charity schools apart from previous philanthropic provision was that they catered exclusively for poor children. There had been some similar institutions before this, for instance a school was established in Stamfordham, Northumberland, to teach the children of day labourers during the mid-seventeenth century.[22] However, most charitable schools would seem to have catered for a more mixed intake. Paul Langford has argued that during the middle decades of the eighteenth century the need to compete with the newer commercial schools meant an end to the presence of 'poor boys' in the older endowed grammar schools.[23] Thomas Laqueur suggests that at a more elementary level the provision for poor children was maintained by the increased intake of subsidised students.[24] In practice, schools adopted a range of financial strategies.

Some of the older grammar schools continued to provide free places alongside fee-paying students, as was the case in the free grammar school in Wolsingham, in Weardale, where in 1770 the master was paid a salary of nineteen pounds per year to teach eight 'poor children' plus a quarterly fee from additional pupils.[25] It was common for grammar schools in larger towns to restrict free places to the son's of freemen. For instance, in Morpeth the master was paid fifty pounds per annum in 1780 to teach the children of freemen plus the fees from additional scholars; which ranged between twenty and forty shillings per pupil in 1765.[26] There were elementary schools that adopted a similar structure. When a schoolmaster was sought in Bishop Wearmouth to teach 'Reading, Writing and Arithmetic', he was to instruct six boys under twelve years of age in return for a 'good School-Room fitted up and made convenient for 40 scholars' plus 'a certain annual Sum of 1L. 12s. for teaching four boys more'.[27] It can not be assumed that free places provided the same standard of education as fee-paying students received. In 1747 a school in the parish of Whickam, in the heart of the Durham coalfield, taught thirty-six charity children but was capable of accommodating two hundred pupils, and the master was allowed to teach additional scholars for a fee. In this case no charity children were to receive more than four years of schooling and none were to 'learn

[22] George Ritschel, *An Account of Certain Charities* (Newcastle, 1713).
[23] Langford, *Polite and Commercial*, p. 83.
[24] Thomas Laqueur, 'The Cultural Origins of Popular Literacy in England 1500-1850', *Oxford Review of Education*, 2:3 (1976), p. 257.
[25] *Newcastle Courant*, 1 December 1770.
[26] Ibid., 15 July 1780, 2 February 1765.
[27] Ibid., 15 June 1765.

to write or cast accounts longer than six or eight months of that time.'[28] It was not the institution attended, or what was being taught, but the duration of schooling that marked this education as second rate.

The schools that subsidised all of their pupils rather than offering some free places appear less divisive, but in such cases the time spent at school was still determined by the parent's ability to pay. English classes were evidently more affordable than a Latin education. In Aldstone, Cumberland, in 1755 a schoolmaster was sought to teach 'Latin Scholars at 2s. 6d. and English at 1s. 6d. per Quarter' plus 'a fixed Salary' of ten pounds per year paid by the parish.[29] Given that labouring men earned somewhere between ten and twenty pence a day, schooling for less that two pence a week was relatively affordable.[30] Latin classes were not only more expensive but would have extended the number of years spent in school, making them out of the reach of many, especially if they had several school-age children. In addition, subsidised fees were not always so low; in Witton-le-Wear parents were being charged twice this amount, which would make their cost more comparable to the cheaper commercial schools.[31] Where prices were advertised, the cost of private schooling ranged between one to two pounds a year, or around five to ten shillings a quarter.[32] The size of these ventures is usually unknown, but when J Strephon advertised his school in Newcastle in 1765 he noted that he would not take on more than thirty-two scholars, which suggests some of his rivals did.[33] Strephon charged '7s. 6d. per quarter' and he would therefore have earned forty-eight pounds a year, but a leaflet produced by 'The Association Among Protestant Schoolmasters in the North of England' suggests that some private school teachers were paid considerably less. The society was established in 1774 because 'wages tended to be low', and members subscribed to a fund that provided payouts in times of need amounting to just four, six, or eight shillings a week, or

[28] Thomas Bell and Sons, untitled bundle of papers relating to Whickham charities, 1742-c1840, TWAS, DT.BEL/1/17/(1), DT.BEL/1/17/(3), DT.BEL/1/17/(4).
[29] *Newcastle Journal*, 5 April 1755.
[30] David Mitch, 'Education and Skill of the British Labour Force' in Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain: Vol. I. Industrialisation, 1700-1860* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 351; Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: economic lives in early modern Britain* (New Haven, 2000), p. 312; Laqueur, 'Popular Literacy', p. 257.
[31] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 11 May 1765.
[32] See *Newcastle Chronicle*, 11 May 1765, 16 June 1770, 20 May 1775, 10 June 1780; and *Newcastle Courant*, 3 June 1775.
[33] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 27 April 1765.

the equivalent of ten to twenty pounds per year.[34] These were evidently not well paid professionals, and the schooling they provided must have been modestly priced.

Focusing upon the more expensive end of the market, Langford suggests that the need to compete with the growing commercial sector obliged the endowed grammar schools to expand the traditional curriculum, which had been tailored towards the Classics, to include English and mathematics, history, geography, and even dancing and drawing.[35] Yet it was not only the range of subjects being taught that could be found wanting. Like many similar institutions, the free grammar school in Newcastle suffered from falling student numbers in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. This downturn in attendance coincided with the tenure of Richard Dawes (1709-1766), who was the master between 1738 and 1749. Dawes was well known for his classical scholarship and his inability to maintain discipline despite a liberal use of physical punishment. His successor, Hugh Moises, appears to have gained the respect of his students without recourse to such brutality. Moises took charge of the school at the age of twenty-seven and would reside over its revival. In keeping with Langford's claims, he extended the curriculum, sending his scholars to Charles Hutton for classes in mathematics, but it was his infectious enthusiasm for the Classics, in contrast to Dawes' pedantry, that improved the reputation of the school.[36]

Nonconformists were prominent advocates of a more scientifically-orientated education, claiming it to be superior to the traditional male curriculum offered by the ancient seats of learning from which they were excluded. Although Langford is right to warn against overestimating the significance of the dissenting academies, the first reference to the teaching of English grammar found in the local newspapers appeared in an advertisement for a 'New Academy and Boarding School' that was opened in Newcastle by the Quaker Isaac Thompson in 1735.[37] Thompson, who is better known as a printer and the owner of the *Newcastle Journal* from its commencement in 1739 until his retirement in 1775, also went on to publish some of the earlier editions of Anne Fisher's *New Grammar*. His foray into schooling was apparently short-lived, and it seems fair to say that his lasting contribution to the teaching of English was limited to his publication of Fisher's book. Thompson's academy was, nonetheless, part of a

[34] *Association among Protestant Schoolmasters in the North of England, for the Support of Their Aged Brethren, Widows, and Orphans* (Newcastle, 1774), p. 38.
[35] Langford, *Polite and Commercial*, p. 80; also Money, 'Teaching in the Market Place', p. 337.
[36] Brand, *History of Newcastle*, pp. 96-98; Rev. John Hodgson, *An Account of the Life and Writings of Richard Dawes* (Newcastle, 1828).
[37] Langford, *Polite and Commercial*, p. 80; *Newcastle Courant*, 29 March 1735.

wider trend that helped to transform educational provision. This is not to suggest that nonconformists were the driving force behind educational development. The change in focus from scholarly and religious instruction to applied learning coincided with a transformation in the apprenticeship system. As will be seen in Chapter Three, a growing numbers of youths from the middle ranks of society were going to school rather than being placed with a master, but again it can not be assumed that the popularity of the endowed grammar schools simply declined in relative terms as the commercial sector expanded to accommodate changing structures of youth employment. There was also a growing trend towards the home education of wealthier boys at this time, as the traditional methods adopted in the grammar schools fell from favour.

It was not only boys' education that was being transformed. A growing number of girls' schools were also being established during the second half of the century, but it tends to be assumed that such schooling was focused upon improving marriage prospects by cultivating social accomplishments. Even when it is acknowledged that practical skills were being added to the curriculum, these are said to have been aimed at making better wives rather than providing a more academic education.[38] Yet, Thompson's academy offered education to 'Young Gentlemen and Ladies', and his curriculum included no female-specific subjects such as needlework. As was the case in boys' education, the increasing range of subjects taught to girls was not the most significant development. Instead it was the interrelated changes in the methods of instruction that was of central importance, and it is this that provides an explanation for transformation in school provision across the social spectrum.

A Polite Provincial Grammarian

The growth in commercial schooling coincided with an expansion in the market for English grammars (see Table 2:2), and this link is key to understanding the changing nature of educational practice. Exploring the contribution to the teaching of English made by the young grammarian Anne Fisher provides an ideal case study, illuminating both the cultural and pedagogic changes that were underway. Fisher, who was the daughter of a yeoman from Oldscale in Cumberland, published her *New Grammar* in March 1745.[39] It was designed for the 'Private Instruction of YOUNG LADIES and GENTLEMEN' and for 'the Use of

[38] Simonton, 'Women and Education'.
[39] *Newcastle Journal*, 2 March 1745; Rodríguez-Gil, 'First Female Grammarian'; Peter Isaac, 'Fisher, Anne (1719-1778)', ODNB (Oxford, 2004).

PUBLICK SCHOOLS'.[40] No copies of the first print run have survived and it is unclear where it was published, but most of the subsequent editions were produced in both London and Newcastle. Just four months after publishing her grammar, at the age of twenty six, Fisher informed the readers of the *Newcastle Journal* that she was to open a school at the end of Denton Chair, in Westgate, Newcastle. She was to teach 'READING, according to the best Spelling-books and Grammars extant, WRITING, fine and plain SEWING'.[41] She advertised her school for young ladies again in 1750 before apparently giving up teaching when she married the printer Thomas Slack the following year.[42] It was only after she became Mrs. Slack that the third edition of her grammar (published in 1753) was openly credited to A. Fisher, and she continued to write educational books under her maiden name.

Table 2:2. English Grammars Published, 1701-1800

	1701-1710	1711-1720	1721-1730	1731-1740	1741-1750	1751-1760	1761-1770	1771-1780	1781-1790	1791-1800
New Titles	3	7	3	15	10	22	31	55	32	64

Source: Ian Michael, *English Grammatical Categories and the Tradition to 1800* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 277.

The 1750 and 1751 editions of *A New Grammar* were credited to 'D. Fisher and others' and advertised as 'by the author of *The Child's Christian Education*', who was Daniel Fisher. This does not seem to have reflected a desire for anonymity on Anne's behalf, although she was careful to conceal her gender, a preface to her grammar dated November 1749 was signed A. Fisher. It is not known whether Anne and Daniel were related but in 1759 the sixth edition of *The Child's Christian Education* described Daniel as '(late of Whickham) Now Master of the Grammar School in *Cockermouth*', and this link to towns so close to both Anne's place of birth and where she spent her adulthood strongly suggests a family connection.[43] It may be that they had worked collaboratively, but the linguistic style of *A New Grammar* pervades Anne's later publications and is notably different to that used by Daniel.[44] Linking Anne's grammar to Daniel's book would seem to have been a marketing strategy. *The Child's Christian Education* was published in 1743 with the express aim to ensure that the 'sacred

[40] *Newcastle Journal*, advertised as such throughout the 1750.
[41] Ibid., 29 June 1745.
[42] Ibid., 28 April 1750.
[43] *Newcastle Journal*, 5 January 1745; Daniel Fisher, *The Child's Christian Education*, 6th edn. (London, 1759); his licence to teach at the 'Free School in Cockermouth' was issued by the Church of England on 21 October 1758, *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, http://eagle.cch.kcl.ac.uk.
[44] María Esther Rodríguez-Gil, 'Anne Fisher's *A New* Grammar, or was it Daneil Fisher's work?' in Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (ed.), *Grammars, Grammarians, and Grammar Writing in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 2008), pp. 149-176.

Book may be still retained in Schools', and it was designed so that the scriptures could 'be read with as much Pleasure, and consequently, as much Improvement of their Reading, as any little Fables, or moral instructions whatever'.[45] This attempt to adapt religious teaching to the mid-century fashions in children's literature was not as successful as Anne's grammar proved to be. Nonetheless, *The Child's Christian Education* was republished in 1745, just two years after the first edition had appeared in print, and presumably this book had a large enough market to make an association with its author a valuable advertising device. It would seem that by 1753 Anne's *New Grammar* had established a reputation in its own right, and it was this that led to the decision to openly credit 'A. Fisher'.

In addition to authoring several successful books and raising a family of nine daughters, five of whom survived to adulthood, Fisher was also actively involved in the family business alongside her husband, Thomas Slack.[46] The Slacks went on to establish the *Newcastle Chronicle* in 1764, and P.M. Horsley notes that their shop, known as The Printing Press, 'became a kind of literary club'.[47] Fisher not only nurtured the poet John Cunningham but also courted useful contacts including an association with the blue stocking Elizabeth Montagu, who spent some of her time in Denton, just outside of Newcastle.[48] When Fisher's remains were laid to rest in St John's churchyard in Newcastle in 1778, this 'celebrated and venerable Lady' was remembered by a family friend in a letter of condolence to her husband, and this correspondent offers considerable insight into Fisher's reputation amongst her acquaintances. Reflecting the sensibilities of the 1770s this 'dearest' of friends wrote:

> I heartily sympathize with you, dear Sir, in the loss you have sustained of an amiable and affectionate Partner and with your Daughters, who are unhappily deprived of an indulgent Parent. I know you have a tender Heart, and will, consequently weep as a Man; but I likewise hope it will be as becomes a Christian.
>
> It is not in the lesser circle of her domestic connections, only, that Mrs. Slack will be ... lamented. In her, the literary Republic has lost one of its highest female ornaments ... Her distinguished Character will be viewed and held sacred by all the Sons and Daughters of Science; and she shall be respectfully mentioned to all succeeding Generations.[49]

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[45] Fisher, *The Child's Christian Education*, pp. iv-v.
[46] Peter Isaac, 'Fisher'.
[47] P. M. Horsley, *Eighteenth Century Newcastle* (Newcastle, 1971), p. 192.
[48] J. Hodgson, 'John Cunningham, pastoral poet, 1729–1773: recollections and some original letters', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd ser., 18 (1921), pp. 83-100.
[49] Letter to Thomas Slack from J. Teasdale of Moor End, 5 May 1778, Papers of the Hodgson Family 1773-1890, TWAS, 13/11/4 (emphasis appears original, but may have been added at a later date).

This was high praise indeed, and yet Fisher's *New Grammar* did not attract the attention of the literary critics of her day. As Carol Percy notes, this was one of the few grammars not to be critiqued in the pages of either the *Monthly Review* or the *Critical Review*.[50] This seems a surprising omission given how many times her grammar was reproduced. The fact that Fisher entered into a protracted legal case with John Entick, who had plagiarised her *Spelling Dictionary* (1774), clearly demonstrates that her books did not go unnoticed by 'learned' men.[51] The writing of grammar was, however, a male preserve and although Fisher did not advertise her gender it may have played a part in this lack of critical recognition.

Being female certainly set Fisher apart from other mid-century grammarians, but she was not the first women to challenge convention by producing an English grammar. Elizabeth Elstob (1683-1756), the daughter of a Newcastle merchant, had published *The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue* in 1715. This was the first grammar of Old English that was not written in Latin, and one of her declared aims was to explain the 'Original of our Mother Tongue' to 'others of my own Sex' by providing them with 'the Rudiments of the Language in an English Dress.'[52] It is, however, important to recognise that Elstob was connected, via her brother, to scholarly circles in Oxford, and her *Rudiments* was a learned work of Anglo-Saxon. Her grammar needs to be considered as part of an ongoing intellectual debate in which a philosophical enquiry into the nature of language had become conflated with a growing assertion that English grammar should be taught as a precursor to learning Latin. This raised the question of what form this English grammar should take if the language was not to be contorted to comply with the grammatical structure of Latin. It was in this context that Eltsob highlighted the Saxon roots of her native tongue. As Rosemary Sweet suggests, the Anglo-Saxon grammars written in Latin aimed to show that this was not a 'rude and barbarous language' but instead had an 'orderly grammatical structure'. Elstob's translation aimed to reiterate this point in a more accessible form.[53]

Elstob looked to the past as she encroached upon an élite masculine debate, so couching her unconventionality in conservative terms. Conversely, Fisher countered Latinate grammarians by writing a grammar of spoken English. Rather than resting upon historical authenticity, she

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[50] Carol Percy, 'Mid-Century Grammars and their Reception in the *Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review*' in Tieken-Boon van Ostade (ed.), *Grammars, Grammarians, and Grammar Writing*, p. 129.
[51] Alicia Rodríguez-Álvarez and María Esther Rodríguez-Gil 'John Entick's and Ann Fisher's Dictionaries: An Eighteenth-century Case of (Cons)Piracy?', *International Journal of Lexicography*, 19:3 (2006), pp. 287-319.
[52] Elizabeth Elstob, *The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue* (London, 1715), preface.
[53] Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: the Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2004), p. 201.

claimed to be innovative; suggesting that with 'Praxises and Peculiarities entirely new ... never any thing of the same Nature appearing in an English Grammar before, I run the Risk of Singularity'.[54] This was not an unfounded claim, as will be seen in due course, but what is important in this context is that producing a grammar rooted in usage necessitated normative judgement of contemporary 'correctness' without recourse to any claimed evolution of the language. Fisher aimed to eliminate 'errors' made in speech while justifying the use of 'incorrect' English on the basis of literary style, and, as Katie Wales has noted, she included some clearly northern pronunciations such as the short 'a' for blast and past.[55]

Elstob was not the only learned lady from Newcastle that Fisher could draw inspiration from. Mary Astell (1666–1731), who was also the daughter of a merchant from the town, had published her advice upon female education, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, in 1694. That Newcastle could boast such prominent female intellectuals must surely have influenced Fisher, but this should not be exaggerated. Neither Elstob nor Astell had lived in their native town as adults. More importantly, both of these women had chosen not to marry. Looking at two other learned eighteenth-century ladies, Harriet Guest suggests that it was only because Elizabeth Carter and Elizabeth Montagu were unmarried or widowed that they had the independence to become literary celebrities.[56] Astell had gone so far as to advocate academic retreats for single women as an intellectual equivalent to the Catholic convents.[57] This was in stark contrast to Fisher, a working wife and mother who adopted a pragmatic approach to learning. Fisher's stance is clearly seen in the notice she placed in the *Newcastle Journal* in 1750 in which the public were informed that she taught 'ENGLISH GRAMMAR ... betwixt the hours of Five and Eight at Night' to 'Young ladies' who were unable to 'conveniently attend on SCHOOL HOURS'. This was practical and efficient education for those with daytime responsibilities, and Fisher claimed that 'Any YOUNG LADY, of a tolerable Capacity, who can read pretty well, and write a legible Hand, may, in a few Months, be completed in this Way, at a reasonable Rate.'[58] Likewise, in the preface of her *New Grammar* it was suggested that: 'any Person of a tolerable Capacity may, in a short Time, be Learned to write ENGLISH independent

[54] Fisher, *New Grammar*, p. iv.
[55] Ian Michael, *The Teaching of English: from the sixteenth century to 1780* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 283; Katie Wales, 'North of the Trent: Images of Northern-ness and Northern English in the Eighteenth Century' in Berry and Gregory (eds.), *Creating and Consuming Culture*, p. 32.
[56] Harriet Guest, *Small Change: women, learning, patriotism, 1750-1810* (Chicago, 2000), p. 125.
[57] Mary Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (London, 1694).
[58] *Newcastle Journal*, 28 April 1750.

of the Knowledge of any other Tongue, and that as properly and correctly as if for the PRESS.'[59]

Fisher's *New Grammar* was not a highbrow contribution to the grammarians' debate. Instead it was designed for the down-to-earth environment of the classroom. It was, nonetheless, an admirable attempt to produce an accessible and practical schoolbook that gave English grammar a level of complexity without focusing upon its Saxon roots or introducing irrelevant elements of Latin structure. It is this that leads María Esther Rodríguez-Gil to suggest that Fisher was one of the first, and certainly the first woman, to depart from the 'main Latinate tradition that inspired contemporary grammarians'.[60]

A Practical and Polite English Grammar

Fisher was one of the earliest of the 'reforming grammarians' identified by Ian Michael. The reformers were most active from the mid 1730s to around 1770, and only four of these vernacular grammars had been printed prior to 1745.[61] To appreciate the unique qualities of Fisher's *New Grammar* it is necessary to understand what set the reformers apart from the Latinate grammarians and, as importantly, how her contribution differed from the vernacular grammars that she drew inspiration from. This inevitably involves some discussion of grammatical categories, but it is the cultural context in which her work sits that is of most interest here.

Michael categorises the 'reforming grammarians' as those that used vernacular terminology to describe a fourfold division of the parts of speech, as opposed to the predominant eight-part Latinate system.[62] These characteristics represented two lines of reform with no intrinsic connection, and there were eighteenth-century grammarians that adopted one without the other. The fourfold structure was first used by A. Lane in his grammar of 1700. Michael suggests that this development reflected an 'application of logic to grammar' that had been central to the debates of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as grammarians sought to define a universal grammar as part of a philosophy of language. The vernacular terminology

[59] Fisher, *A New Grammar*, 3rd edn., p. v.
[60] Rodríguez-Gil, 'First Female Grammarian', un-paginated.
[61] Michael places Fisher's grammar seventh out of twenty five 'vernacular grammars', but this is based on the second edition in 1750 and her first edition is now known to have been published in 1745, which places her fifth in his list; Michael, *Grammatical Categories*, pp. 509, 514.
[62] There was in fact considerable variation in the Latinate systems, but the most common comprised of noun, pronoun, verb, participle, adverb, conjunction, preposition, and interjection. Likewise, fourfold systems were not uniform and Michael identifies eleven variations.

was first combined with the fourfold structure in *A Grammar of the English Tongue*, generally known as the Brightland grammar, in 1711. This was a more distinct innovation that marked the emergence of the reform movement as defined by Michael. However, the rejection of Latinate terms was first advocated in 1653 by John Wallis whose main concern was to establish the peculiarities of the English language, notwithstanding the fact that he had written his *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* in Latin. Parts of the Brightland grammar 'show a strong resemblance' to that of Wallis. Other sections were a direct translation of the Port Royal grammar, or Grammaire Générale et Raisonnée, (1660). This was the most influential seventeenth-century assertion of a rational universal grammar, but Michael suggests that it was on the whole no more than 'the traditional grammar of Latin generalised enough to accommodate French'.[63] The vernacular grammars were therefore a seemingly incongruous combination of national particularism and a rational universality that was coloured by Classical traditions.

The Brightland grammar was written in English with grammatical rules drawn from 'our Tongue [without] Regard to the Properties of other Tongues'. The main body of the text only used vernacular terms for the parts of speech, such as 'name' for what we would commonly refer to as a noun. An underlying stance is reflected in the suggestion made in the accompanying notes that, in this case 'the first Formers of Grammar, either out of Affectation or Folly, corrupted the Latin word *Nomen*, into the Barbarous sound *Noun*'.[64] Although the grammar itself was expressed in an accessible form, the copious critical notes were by far the dominant part of the text and required a familiarity with Latin grammar to be understood. In addition, as Astrid Buschmann-Göbels notes, this book adopted an élitist stance and aimed to describe the language 'as it is establish'd by the general Use of the Learned'.[65] Despite this intellectual stance, concessions in presentation were made for the benefit of the young reader. Each subsection contained short headers of rhyming verse, as an aid to memory, and the chapters concluded with a checklist of questions and answers that reiterated the main points that had been covered.

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[63] Michael, *Grammatical Categories*, pp. 510-511, also, pp. 162-183 for a discussion of universal grammar; Astrid Buschmann-Göbels, '*Bellum Grammatical* (1712) – A Battle of Books and a Battle for the Market' in Tieken-Boon van Ostade (ed.), *Grammars, Grammarians, and Grammar Writing*, p. 82.
[64] *A Grammar of the English Tongue*, 2nd edn. (London, 1712), p. 62.
[65] Buschmann-Göbels, '*Bellum Grammatical*', pp. 82-85.

Fisher adopted a slightly different fourfold system to that of the Brighland grammar, but it was the format of her book that was most innovative.[66] To understand this distinction it is essential to recognise that her grammar was a commercial enterprise as well as an intellectual endeavour. When first advertised in 1745 it was said to answer 'all the purposes of Dyche's spelling book and Loughton's grammar, tho' but about half the Price.'[67] It was these books, not the Brightland grammar, that Fisher competed with. Thomas Dyche was the master of the free school at Stratford-bow, Middlesex, where an older endowed school had been incorporated into a new charity school in 1701.[68] The title page of his *Spelling Dictionary* (1723) declared an aim that 'Persons of the meanest Capacity may attain to Spell and Write *English* true and correctly.'[69] While charitable schools with a mixed intake had to cater for children who would progress to Latin, the basic schoolbooks published for the newer charity schools were designed for those who would never gain access to a Classical education. The utility of these books had apparently given them a wider audience. William Loughton's *A Practical Grammar of the English Tongue* (1734) was a more advanced schoolbook, and according to Michael's classification this was the second vernacular grammar to appear in print. Loughton ran a boarding school in Kensington where youths were 'fitted for Trade and Business'. His *Practical Grammar* was designed as 'a School-Book ... for Children of the lowest Class' and it was written as a series of questions and answers akin to religious catechisms, which was a ubiquitous feature of charity-school books.[70]

Loughton, who used the fourfold structure advanced in the Brightland grammar, offered an adequate knowledge of English. It was recommended for boys that 'require only an English Education' and 'for the Use of the Fair Sex', but he also suggested that the classical scholar could benefit from this knowledge of their native language. In his preface he complained that the grammarians who had rightly followed the wise example of Wallis in rejecting Latin terminology had nonetheless retained a Latinate structure that contorted the language, or filled their books with information that was irrelevant to an English scholar. He claimed to have discarded these critical notes, as well as Latin rules and terminology, so as to render his book

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[66] Michael, *Grammatical Categories*, pp. 255, 258.
[67] *Newcastle Journal*, 2 March 1745.
[68] Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London*, 4 Vols. (London, 1792), iii, pp. 501-502.
[69] Thomas Dyche, *The Spelling Dictionary*, 2nd edn. (London, 1725). This was not a grammar, and did not refer to the parts of speech. However, Dyche and Pardon *A New General English Dictionary* included a grammar that used the fourfold system, but not vernacular terminology, see Michael, *Grammatical Categories*, p. 511.
[70] William Loughton, *A Practical Grammar of the English Tongue*, 2nd edn. (London, 1735), advertised in the *Newcastle Courant*, 1 February 1735.

'intelligible and useful to the meanest Capacities'.[71] Without crediting her source Fisher used large parts of this book as a foundation for *A New Grammar,* producing a more in-depth but equally accessible textbook. While retaining the style of the catechism, she added explanatory notes that did not require a Classical education to be understood and introduced Latinate terms in the main body of the text alongside more descriptive English variants. In her second edition, she copied the Latin grammarians in providing exercises of inaccurate syntax to be corrected; an innovation adopted by the majority of English grammarians in the following decades.[72] Fisher sought to demonstrate that the most sophisticated aspects of language could be grasped by the scholar of English, and she produced a polite grammar that severed all explicit ties to charity-school education. Yet, while she used passages from *The Spectator* as grammatical exercises, in many ways her explicit moral stance was more reminiscent of Defoe than of the cosmopolitan artifice epitomised by Addison and Steele.

A sense of the linguistic distinction between the Brightland grammar and those of Loughton and Fisher is most clearly provided by their handling of the possessive 's'. In the Brightland grammar it was simply said to form a possessive 'quality', or adjective. Loughton also placed it in his section on qualities, but added that 'I think them the *English* Genitive Case, and the only case we have in our tongue' without giving any further explanation of the concept of cases.[73] Fisher included it in her section on names, or nouns, describing it as 'the Genitive Case, or a Possessive Name'. In her notes she pointed out that unlike most other languages 'in English we have but this one Case, we express the Circumstances, Properties, or Affections of Things to one another by the Help of little words called Prepositions', which was a great advantage as it freed the scholar from the need to learn 'twelve Cases, and five or six different Declensions.'[74]

Fisher argued that 'the parts of speech' are the same in all languages, and that 'some general Rules of Grammar are universally applied in all Tongues'. Consequently, any scholar of English would find it easier to learn another language, unlike those children who learn their mother tongue by rote or by custom.[75] Michael notes that Fisher's was the most definite statement that was made about universality by a grammarian writing a particularised grammar

[71] Ibid., preface.
[72] Michael, *Grammatical Categories,* p. 196.
[73] Loughton, *A Practical Grammar,* p. 61.
[74] Fisher, *A New Grammar,* 3rd edn., pp. 69-70. Fisher included prepositions, alongside adverbs and particles, within the overall heading of 'qualities or adjectives', pp. 74-75.
[75] Ibid., pp. i-ii.

of English, but he also suggests that 'the idea of universal grammar had lost the connection with logic which made it linguistically important', and was simply used to claim that studying one language prepared pupils to learn them all.[76] This is, however, to underestimate the significance of Fisher's stance. Her lack of philosophical coherence should not detract from the fact that her grammar accommodated a seemingly uncompromised universality alongside localised particularities. It was this that set her apart from earlier vernacular grammarians. The Brightland grammar was decidedly jingoistic. It was dedicated to Queen Anne, and suggested 'The Language of YOUR KINGDOM, Madam, is more capable of Perfection than any of those about us'. Loughton's criticism of 'the Folly and Absurdity of that common, but vulgar Notion of Learning a *little* Latin' added a nascent class dynamic that was reminiscent of Defoe's suggestion in 1727 that a tradesman 'may speak too much *Greek and Latin*'.[77] In contrast, Fisher introduced a feminine angle from a provincial perspective, producing a *New Grammar* that conflated social accomplishments with practical skills. As she suggested in *The Pleasing Instructor* (2nd edn. 1756), '*Useful* Knowledge, or what I would have comprehended by the Word Politeness, is the *grand* Mark or Summit of Education'.[78] Fisher had breached the divide between the metropolitan urbanity of coffee shop politeness and an older urban commercial culture, and her polite vernacular grammar seems to offer a precursor to the 'provincial enlightenment' of later decades.[79]

English Grammar in the Classroom

Although the size of the print runs for Fisher's grammar are not known, the number of new editions is testimony to its enduring appeal and goes some way to explaining her prominence in the advertising columns of the local newspapers. In addition, her books were initially printed by Isaac Thompson, the proprietor of the *Newcastle Journal*, and then by her husband, Thomas Slack, who established the *Newcastle Chronicle* in 1764. This clearly raised the profile of her grammar, and printers had a vested interest in encouraging improved standards of literacy, but there would be no commercial sense in repeatedly promoting a book that did not attract a significant customer base. That said, the schools advertising in Newcastle's newspapers provide more tangible evidence of Fisher's influence (see table 2:3).[80]

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[76] Michael, *Grammatical Categories*, pp. 182, 517.
[77] Loughton, *A Practical Grammar*, pp. vii; Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman*, 2 Vols. (London, 1727), ii, p. 75.
[78] Anne Fisher, *The Pleasing Instructor: or, entertaining moralist*, 2nd edn. (Newcastle, 1756), p. ii.
[79] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (London, 1997), pp. 510-11; Rosemary Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 355-74.
[80] Every fifth year was sampled between 1730 and 1785, see Introduction, p. 11.

Table 2:3. Schools Advertising Classes in English and/or Latin

Year	Schools Advertised	Reference to Curriculum	Latin	English	Latin and English	English Grammar	English Grammar and Latin
1730	2	1					
1735	3	2		1		1	
1740	6	2	3	1	1		
1745	3	1		1		1	
1750	10	5	3	3	2	2	1
1755	9	6	3	3	2	1	1
1760	10	7	2	5	2	3	1
1765	25	17	7	10	3	7	2
1770	26	21	7	12	6	10	5
1775	19	13	3	7	3	3	1
1780	18	5	5	5	4	3	2
1785	15	9	3	4	2	3	1
Total	146	89	36	52	25	34	14

Source: *Newcastle Courant* (1730-1785), *Newcastle Journal* (1740-1770), and *Newcastle Chronicle* (1765-1785).

Looking at every fifth year between 1730 and 1785, a total of the eighty-nine schools that advertised made reference to their curriculum. Fifty-two of these specifically mentioned the teaching of English, as opposed to reading and writing, of which thirty-four emphasised that it would be taught grammatically. Fourteen of these referred to an easy method of grammar or promised that it would be taught without reference to any other language, and five used the term 'new method'. Mirroring the advertisements for children's books considered in the previous chapter, English grammar began to be added to the curriculum during the 1730s and 1740s, but only became prevalent in the pages of the press between 1765 and 1770, by which time it was also likely to be taught in schools offering Latin grammar. Yet, by 1780 schools were less likely to refer to the teaching of either.[81]

The first direct reference to 'English after the new Method', which appeared in 1760, was accompanied by a ringing endorsement of the teacher, Arthur Elliot. Elliot had recently taken on the role of schoolmaster at the 'English School' in Jedburgh, and the notice placed by the Town Clerk wished it to be known that the school had been visited by the 'Magistrates and other Gentlemen in this place' who thought the children had 'made such Proficiency, in the Course of two Months' that it was proper to publicly acknowledge this achievement.[82] There may have been any number of reasons why this 'objective' assessment of Elliot's 'new method' of teaching English had been placed in the local newspaper, but regardless of the motivation it demonstrated that by 1760 practice in the classroom was a topic of public debate.

[81] See Chapter One, p. 26.
[82] *Newcastle Journal*, 27 September 1760.

Given that it was by this time fifteen years since Fisher had first published her grammar, it can not be assumed that Elliot was using her methods. In contrast, when William Tate notified the public that he was extending his 'reading school' in South Shields to teach English grammar in 1770, he paraphrased Fisher, suggesting that 'any young person of a tolerable capacity, may in a short Time, be taught to write English ... independent of the Knowledge of any other Languages'.[83] Clearly, in both of these schools, the claimed efficiency of the method used was an important selling point.

In keeping with most of the schools that advertised, neither Eliot nor Tate specified the sex of their pupils but it should not be assumed that they taught only boys. The fact that several reading and writing schools emphasised their provision of a separate room for girls suggested that many of their rivals had mixed-sex classes. There were also eight more advanced schools that referred to English lessons and clearly stated that they taught both sexes. Only one of these (advertising in 1740) explicitly excluded girls from the English classes, and none of the others included any reference to specifically female subjects.[84] Despite the lack of needlework, some mixed schools were evidently offering a distinct curriculum to girls and, surprisingly, some of these were endowed grammar schools, which questions the general assumption that these were exclusively male institutions. For instance, in 1770 Thomas Tunstall, the 'Master of the Free Grammar-school at Yarm', taught boys 'Greek, Latin and English in the most perfect and expeditious Manner', while 'Young Ladies [were to] be taught English grammatically ... in a separate apartment'.[85] This distinction was also being made on the grounds of social rank. In 1765 George Busby informed the public that he was to run evening classes at his school in Sunderland 'to teach English grammar to those Ladies and Gentlemen that cannot attend during the day'. Adapting a quote from *A New Grammar*, Busby not only indicated which form of grammar he taught but also emphasised Fisher's local influence as he suggested 'It has been experienced in this Part of the Country that, any Youth of a tolerable capacity who can read, may in half a year be taught to write English as properly and correctly as if for the press'. Five years later Busby was the schoolmaster of 'Gateshead Grammar School', where he offered English alongside the classics, teaching the former to 'young ladies' and 'Boys that are not designed for the Liberal professions'.[86]

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[83] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 1 December 1770.
[84] *Newcastle Journal*, 26 July 1740.
[85] Ibid., 24 November 1770.
[86] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 27 July 1765, 20 January 1770.

Looking at the schools run by women suggests that Fisher did indeed have considerable local influence. Surveying the advertising in Jackson's *Oxford Journal* between 1760 and 1829, Susan Skedd notes that female teachers offered a highly restricted curriculum that was limited to the practical skills of housewifery, such as needlework; few taught reading, and only one offered writing.[87] The notices placed in Newcastle's newspapers between 1730 and 1785 suggest a quite different picture. There were thirty-three advertisements from twenty-one different schools run by women during the years sampled. Of those that referred to their curriculum, twelve offered writing, nine of which also taught English grammar. The first of these was Fisher's school for young ladies, but this was not the earliest example found. In March 1742 Mrs Peacock's boarding school for young ladies taught needlework, music, dancing, reading, and English grammar.[88] A man was often employed to undertake such tuition, as was the case in Mrs. Russell's boarding school in Yarm in 1770, where girls were offered 'READING, and all sorts of NEEDLE-WORK', whilst 'English Grammar, Writing, and Arithmetic, if required, are taught by a clergy who attends the school'.[89] In contrast, in 1785, J. Wear undertook the task of teaching English grammar alongside the 3Rs in her school in Newcastle, and bought in the skills of 'an able teacher of needlework'.[90] The novelty of female involvement in education should not be overstated. The charity school in St Nicholas' in Newcastle was founded with a bequest from a Mrs. Eleanor Allen in 1708, and again Betty Bowes' of Gibside, just south of the Tyne in county Durham, funded the salary of the schoolmaster at Tanfield.[91] Nonetheless, the nature of girls' education was changing and, as Skedd suggests, a growing number of women were establishing commercial schools.

There were girls' schools that continued to offer no more than sewing skills. For instance, Mrs Hutchinson's boarding school in Newcastle was regularly advertised and never referred to any other subject. In contrast, the notices placed by Mrs Greenwell demonstrate that some long-established schools in the area were extending their curriculum. After marrying in 1765, Mrs Greenwell informed the public of her intention to continue the school that had belonged to her late aunts, in New Elvet, Durham, where 'all sorts of Needle-work are taught as usual'. In 1770 the school moved to Old Elvet, where young ladies were to be taught all sorts of

[87] Susan Skedd, 'Women Teachers and the Expansion of Girls' Schooling in England, c.1760-1829' in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (eds.), *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1997), pp. 101-125.
[88] *Newcastle Courant*, 27 March 1742.
[89] *Newcastle Journal*, 9 February 1765; *Newcastle Courant*, 31 March 1770.
[90] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 12 March 1785.
[91] Adrian Green, 'The Material and Print Culture of Betty Bowes' in Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 75.

needlework, dancing, writing, arithmetic, music, and French. Then, in June 1775, she advertised for 'a middle-aged MAN to teach English grammar'.[92] Mrs Greenwell presumably felt obliged to move with the times, but stipulating a middle-aged man suggested a conservative approach and it may be that she thought an older man would be more likely to teach a rudimentary vernacular grammar to girls. Conversely, in the case of boys' education, adopting a conservative stance was to adhere to a more traditional Latinate English grammar, and the notice advertising for a new master at the grammar school at Wolsingham near Bishop Auckland in 1770, not only specified that the candidate was to be 'well qualified in Latin and Greek' but also that 'a middle aged man will be most agreeable'.[93]

It should be remembered that it was generally when schools sought to inform the public of a change in their circumstances that they advertised, and so long-established schools that maintained traditional methods and never moved were unlikely to appear in the newspaper columns. This makes the quantifiable evidence offered by these advertisements problematic, but they clearly demonstrate that English grammar was being added to the curriculum in a range of different schools. Although Fisher's was not the only grammar being used, her influence was palpable, and not only in the pages of the local press. In 1757 a list of books donated to Bampton grammar school included seven 'English textbooks' by 'Ann Fisher'.[94] The geographic reach of her book was certainly wide ranging. *A New Grammar* was regularly republished in London and advertised in the capital's newspapers. Pirated copies were printed in several provincial towns, and the *Barbados Mercury* recommended 'the careful perusal of Fisher's English Grammar' in 1784.[95] In the preface to her *Spelling Dictionary* (1774), Fisher claimed that 'all the best English school masters in the kingdom consider mine as the quickest and most effectual mode of inculcating the knowledge of the English language'.[96] In truth, the more modest claim made in an appendix to the fifteenth edition of her grammar, published almost two decades after her death, may have had more justification. Here it was suggested that 'No additional Praxis of bad Spelling will be necessary to those who have learned English in the modern Way, practiced in the northern Counties'.[97]

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[92] *Newcastle Courant*, 2 March 1765, 24 February 1770, 3 June 1775.
[93] Ibid., 1 December 1770.
[94] Rodríguez-Gil, 'First Female Grammarian', un-paginated.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Anne Fisher, *An Accurate New Spelling Dictionary*, 6th edn. (London, 1788), p. iv.
[97] Anne Fisher, *A Practical New Grammar*, 15th edn. (London, 1795), p. 182.

Education Made Easy

The introduction of English to the curriculum was linked to a shift in teaching methods, and this is central to the educational developments that were underway. In *The Pleasing Instructor* (2nd edn. 1756) Fisher complained that most English grammars were 'so *dependent* upon the *Latin*' that they were '*only* Translations of them', and the '*superfluous* Cases, Genders, Moods, Tenses, &C' simply added '*needless* Perplexities'. For '*any* schoolmaster to teach, or pretend *much* Advantage therefrom' reflected either ignorance or intellectual vanity.[98] Her criticism was not premised on a philosophy of language but pedagogic practice, a point explicitly made in 'AN ADDRESS TO SCHOOL-MASTERS &C.', which she included in *The New English Tutor* (1762):

> I am conscious that in addressing such a Body of Men, I am dictating to many of a greater Genius and Learning than myself; yet such, perhaps, may be too learned for the Purpose, *i.e.* may have studied Letters more than Nature, the Language more than the human Mind; know better what is to be inculcated, than what is practicable, or how to inculcate it[99]

Fisher singled out the work of 'Mr. Ward of York' for particular criticism in 1771, after he had publically slighted her. She claimed his grammar focused upon errors that only a Latin speaker would introduce into English, rather than correcting those prevalent in common speech.[100] Her detractor, William Ward, was evidently set in his ways. He had been master of the Free Grammar School in Beverly for more then thirty years when he published *A Grammar of the English Language* in 1767, and he thought English grammars that departed from the Latin form 'may perhaps seem more concise' but no advantage could be gained from them that would be 'equivalent to the inconvenience of a new plan and new terms, to those that have been accustomed to the old.'[101] Although Fisher focused her criticism on the form of grammar that Ward chose to write, this was inextricably linked to his method of teaching. Producing an English grammar that mirrored the grammatical structure of Latin was clearly designed to make the learning process less taxing, by introducing pupils to the concepts of grammar in their own language. However, designing it to comply with the grammatical form of a language that a scholar would encounter on progressing beyond an English education presented de-contextualised information to be adsorbed by pupils, even if it was recognised that their memory would be aided by a level of comprehension. Ward therefore argued that the

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[98] Fisher, *The Pleasing Instructor*, p. vii.
[99] Anne Fisher, *The New English Tutor* (London, 1762).
[100] Anne Fisher, *A New English Exercise Book* (Newcastle, 1770).
[101] William Ward, *A Grammar of the English Language* (York, 1767), preface; William Ward, *An Essay on Grammar* (London, 1765), p. xiv.

scholar must 'submit' to the task of memorising grammar no matter how 'irksome'.[102] It was such attitudes that made grammar so tedious a task that it entailed the use of the rod to force a child's submission to knowledge. For Fisher, it was not 'the unmeaning Repetition of Rules' but 'Application and Practice' that made them familiar.[103] To assume that children were capable of grasping the ground rules of grammar and applying them required a different form of pedagogy and, like Locke, Fisher thought that it was 'a *manifest* Absurdity to maintain or imagine that any one can be *awed* into a *Love* of Learning and Virtue.'[104]

Fisher's stance on education was most explicitly stated in *The Pleasing Instructor; or Entertaining Moralist*. This was a compilation of essays culled from lifestyle magazines, including the *Spectator*, *Guardian*, *Rambler* and *Tatler*, with Fisher's 'Thoughts on Education, by way of an Introduction'. The title itself was an unambiguous declaration of her intent, and when this book was advertised in her husband's newspaper in 1765 the reader was informed that 'Morality here appears gay and smiling, steals insensibly into our good Graces, and makes the most lasting impressions, being divested of that unpleasing Formality with which she is too often disguised by partial or mistaken Pedants.'[105] In her 'Thoughts on Education' she argued that, no matter how learned, an ostentatious teacher was incapable of 'Watching and assisting the *Openings* of little Minds, enlarging their *Ideas*, sowing the Seeds of *Goodness*, or weeding out *Enormities*', because they lacked 'the *necessary* Discernment to *deduce* the Actions of Men to their *minutest* [sic] Sources, or to *infer* Consequences from their Manners or Actions.'[106] '*Different* Passions and Dispositions require *different* Management and Application', it was therefore impossible to 'lay down Rules' applicable to all children and it was incumbent upon 'Tutors or Governesses' to be sensitive to the personal qualities of their pupils.[107] The Rousseauian tone of these observations is particularly noteworthy given that Fisher was writing at least four years before the publication of *Emile*. However, her interest in the disposition of children was decidedly Lockean in intent. Education needed to be intelligible and rewarding in order to engage a child in the learning process, because it was only if a pupil could be enticed to actively participate that a teacher was able to lead them to knowledge and virtue. Fisher's approach to teaching made grammar a subject suitable for

[102] Ward, *A Grammar of the English Language*, preface.
[103] Fisher, *The New English Tutor*, p. vi.
[104] Fisher, *The Pleasing Instructor*, p. ii.
[105] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 5 Jan 1765.
[106] Fisher, *The Pleasing Instructor*, p. v.
[107] Ibid, p. i.

'young ladies' but her interest in girls' education should not overshadow her aim to produce a polite and practical grammar for children, taught at home or in the classroom, regardless of gender. Nor should it be assumed that a rejection of pedantry was simply anti-élitist rhetoric. The rise in private tutors for wealthier boys during the middle decades of the century reflected a preference for individualised education suited to the disposition of the child, and this needs to be seen as part of the same shift in attitudes towards educational methods.

Fisher claimed that because her approach made the learning process easier, it was less time consuming and consequently less expensive. This was a regularly repeated assertion as teachers of English grammar advertised their services. It was also made by William Hutton, Newcastle's eminent mathematician, who advocated teaching the single entry method of bookkeeping to provide the first principles before moving on to the Italian double entry method. This would prevent so many boys labouring in vain to grasp the more complex Italian system through imitation without any understanding of the process. He claimed 'This method is so easy, that it may also be taught in a few weeks time to young ladies as well as young gentlemen.'[108] As Michèle Cohen has argued, in the case of English boys learning French, there had been an emphasis on 'constant practice' earlier in the century, but by 1770 this was increasingly seen to be too time-consuming and grammar offered 'an attractive shortcut'.[109] Although no doubt apocryphal, a letter that appeared in the magazine *The Berwick Museum* in 1787 pointed to the proficiency of the pupils in a local school, claiming that they were able to read Latin with ease at the age of seven or eight years and could also demonstrate high level of competency in English. The anonymous author declared '[h]ow different the present method of teaching, (especially in polite towns) to that sing-song monitoring (like the droning of a bagpipe) formally used? nor, indeed, entirely eradicated in the remote corners of the island.'[110] In contrast, a contribution to the London periodical *The Lounger* in 1785 sarcastically praised the 'the highly improved system of Education which we have invented, so much simpler and more concise than that which the ignorance of our forefathers led them to adopt'. Just as 'some venders [sic] of little books of Arithmetic, Mathematics, and Astronomy, have advertised of their performances – it is Education "made easy to the meanest capacities".'[111]

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[108] Hutton, *The School-Master's Guide*, p.152.
[109] Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: national identity and language in the eighteenth century* (London, 1996), pp. 84-5.
[110] *The Berwick Museum*, 3 Vols. (Berwick, 1785-1787), i, p. 596.
[111] No. 67, Saturday, 13 May 1786, *The Lounger*, 3rd edn., 3 Vols. (London, 1787), ii, p. 301.

This 'improved' system of education was not only easier, or more accessible, from the pupil's point of view. The availability of English grammars in the form of textbooks that did not require a Classical education to be understood, meant that pedagogues from a wider social background could use these books as a teacher's manual and so offer more advanced schooling. This must have played a large part in the growth in the commercial sector. For some this devalued learning. In his course of lectures on education, delivered in Newcastle in 1785, Rest Knipe complained that parents did not 'seek the best, but the cheapest teachers'.[112] Yet, competition was not simply driving down standards. John Scott, a schoolmaster from South Shields, suggested in 1774 that those who had 'taken upon themselves the painful task of teaching children to spell and read' had, in addition, to take the 'reproaches of parents on account of the slow proficiency of their children.'[113] As this suggests, commercial success was dependent upon satisfying the customer and it therefore has to be asked, as Thomas Laqueur notes, what would have motivated parents to pay for education in the lowest priced schools if such provision was really as substandard as is often assumed?[114] 'Education made easy' was both a criticism and an advertising pitch, but this was not simply a question of dumbing down. The new methods that were being adopted were more practical and effective than the pedantry of an older generation.

A Practical Academic Education

By 1770 vernacular grammars were losing ground in the marketplace, and the later decades of the century tend to be associated with both the renewed popularity of the endowed grammar schools and a return to more traditional education for boys. Turning to consider developments in this sector demonstrates that the declining popularity of the vernacular grammars did not mark the revival of older forms of instruction. William Lily's *Short Introduction to Latin Grammar* had formed the mainstay of a Classical education for generations of grammar school scholars. It was authorised for use in the newly emerging endowed grammar schools by Henry VIII during the 1540s, and remained the only officially sanctioned grammar. It explained the rudiments of Latin grammar in English, using Latin examples to demonstrate the grammatical rules it described. It retained a virtually unaltered form until 1758, when a substantial revision was produced by Eton School, entitled *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue, For the Use of*

[112] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 23 September 1780; *Knipe, A Course of Lectures*, pp. 197-8.
[113] John Scott, schoolmaster at South Shields, *The School Boy's Sure Guide; or, spelling and reading made agreeable and easy* (Edinburgh, 1774), p. iii.
[114] Thomas Laqueur, 'Working-Class Demand and the Growth of English Elementary Education, 1750-1850' in Laurence Stone (ed.), *Schooling and Society* (Baltimore, 1976), p. 195.

Youth. As Nancy Mace suggests, the text was greatly condensed and impenetrable explanations were cut. In addition, whole sections designed to be committed to memory by the scholar were omitted altogether.[115] This was Latin grammar 'made easy'.

It was presumably the new edition of Lilly's grammar that would have been used in the early 1760s by the young Etonian, Ralphy Gray. The letters Ralphy's father sent to him while he was away at school were considered in Chapter One, but are worth returning to here as they provide valuable insights into the teaching of grammar.[116] Although different, experiences in the élite grammar schools were not entirely distinct from educational practice in the northern counties. In March 1762 Ralph senior wrote to his 'Dear Son' Ralphy informing him that Mr. Allcock's boy was to join him at the school, and that 'I desire thou will cultivate an acquaintance with his son ... he is about y[ou]r age & having almost gone through Mr. Moises school at Newcastle I guess he will be placed in the fifth form.'[117] More significantly in this context, 'A scheme of Education' that Ralph senior had written for his son in the early 1750s, in which he advocated 'what Lock says of [logic]', had recommended three English grammars by 'Loughton, Fish, and Brightland'.[118] Given that no trace of a grammarian named Fish has been found, and Ralph senior was capable of misspelling a name as well known as Locke, it can be assumed that he was referring to Fisher; and placing her alongside Loughton and Brightland adds weight to this conclusion. As was seen in the previous chapter, Ralph senior placed greater emphasis upon polite learning than academic rigour, and he was apparently less interested in whether these books were written by a scholar, a tradesman, or a polite young lady, than the fact that they advanced a vernacular language structure that was easier for his son to understand than the available Latinate grammars. Nonetheless, Ralphy apparently progressed to Greenwood's *English Grammar* (1711) before moving on to tackle the Eton version of Lilly's grammar, as Ralph senior had included a reminder to purchase a copy of this book for his son in a list of things to be done while in London in 1757.[119] Greenwood's grammar used an eight-fold division of speech and, although he did not distort English so as to comply with Latin structures, this was evidently intended as an introduction to grammar for the classical scholar, and Greenwood resorted to Latin examples to describe the more complex

[115] Nancy A Mace, 'The History of the Grammar Patent from 1620 to 1800 and the Forms of Lily's Latin Grammar', *Papers for the Bibliographical Society of America*, 100 (2006), p. 216.
[116] See Chapter One, pp. 42-44.
[117] Letter from Ralph Grey to his son at Eton, 2 March 1762, Note Book 1762, NRO 753, Box G.
[118] Note book 1752-55, undated, NRO 753, Box G.
[119] 18 Oct 1757, Misc. Papers, P(vii), NRO 753, Box G.

elements of language.[120] It would seem that, whatever the intentions of the grammarians, consumers were more interested in utility than esoteric arguments about the nature of language.

It was while Ralphy was at Eton that a new type of English grammar appeared in print that was to mark the demise of the vernacular grammars. The first of these was *Grammatical Institutes*, which was written by the Baptist John Ash for his young daughter, and was privately printed in 1760 before being published in 1766 as *The Easiest Introduction to Dr. Lowth's English Grammar, designed for the use of children under ten years of age*. Robert Lowth, who would become the bishop of London in 1777, published his *Short Introduction to English Grammar* in 1762. These were two of the three grammars published during the second half of the eighteenth century that would spawn more editions than Fisher's, and thirty-four thousand copies of Lowth's grammar had been printed by 1781.[121] In reference to the approach adopted by Ash, Ian Michael cites Oliver Goldsmith, who argued that an English grammar could be written without 'adhering so closely to the Latin as has hitherto been thought necessary' or 'dissent[ing] so far from the standard language as to discard those grammatical terms borrowed from it'.[122] Lowth also advanced a Latinate English grammar that adopted this middle ground position. He claimed his method placed ease and clarity above exactness, making it accessible to even the 'lowest class' of children. Yet despite extolling the simplicity of English, which demonstrated its antiquity, he produced an English grammar for the classroom that required an introductory text. While arguing that pupils should be introduced to grammar in a language they were already familiar with, he lamented that more of 'our schools' had not adopted this approach, which would prevent the need for 'so much labour of the memory, with so little assistance of the understanding.'[123] While two-thirds of the English grammars published during the 1740s and 1750s had advocated the reduced system of parts of speech, this stance became increasingly unpopular after Lowth and others published Latinate English grammars that did not rigidly adhere to Latin form.[124] For Michael,

[120] Anita Auer, 'The Treatment of the Subjunctive in Eighteenth-century Grammars of English', *Sylvain Auroux History of the Language Sciences*, p. 878, http://faculty.ed.uiuc.edu/westbury/paradigm/vol2/Auer.rtf
[121] Scott Mandelbrote, 'Robert Lowth, (1710-1787)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).
[122] Michael, *Grammatical Categories*, pp. 502-503.
[123] Robert Lowth, *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (London, 1762), pp. xiv, xiii.
[124] Michael, *Grammatical Categories*, pp. 277-278.

the protest against the use of Latin grammatical categories had been 'absorbed into the fabric of [Latinate] English grammar and sterilised by acceptance'.[125]

Fisher's decision to alter the title of her book to *A Practical New Grammar* in 1762 would seem to have been a direct response to competition from Lowth.[126] It also explains why her grammar was being linked to the northern counties during the later 1760s and 1770s, reflecting a desire to distinguish it from newer grammars rather than indicating the geographic limits of her influence. For instance, when J. Strephon moved his school in Newcastle from The Side to the Back-Row in 1765, he informed the public that he was to teach the English language grammatically in 'all its parts, according to the modern and practical Method that has been taught here.'[127] While Fisher's market share may have been diminished during the 1760s, it was only after the publication of Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* in 1795 that her *New Grammar* finally lost its saleability.[128] Murray combined Lowth's grammatical form with a more accessible style to produce his *English Grammar*, which became the set text in nineteenth-century schools across Britain and America. Fisher's grammar may not have survived into the nineteenth century, but she had made an important contribution to a process of standardisation as the 'correct' usage of English was contested during the eighteenth century. This is generally seen to have been a highly prescriptive development.[129] Yet, the debates that transformed English grammar were not restricted to an élite few, influences did not flow in expected directions, and the contest was decided by those that bought into the various sides of the argument.

The Product of a Practical Education

When Fisher died in 1778 a new generation of teachers were emerging who were the products of the more practical education that she had helped to establish, and these young men and women were transforming schooling for a second time. One of the most explicit articulations of the shifting approach to pedagogy was made by the fashionable young grammar school teacher Vicesimus Knox, whose attitudes towards a mother's role in pre-school learning were

[125] Ibid., p. 504.
[126] Anne Fisher, *A Practical New Grammar* (Newcastle, 1762).
[127] *Newcastle Journal* and *Chronicle*, 27 April 1765.
[128] Lindley Murray, *English Grammar* (York, 1795).
[129] For a particularly scathing critique see David Borkowski, 'Class(ifying) Language: The War of the Word', *Rhetoric Review*, 21:4 (2002), pp. 357-383.

considered in Chapter One.[130] His *Liberal Education* (1781) was '*a practical treatise on the methods of acquiring useful and polite learning*'.[131] Knox thought that:

> Religion, learning and virtue have sometimes worn a forbidding aspect ... [while] Elegant and ornamental accomplishments have also sometimes lost their value, because they have been unaccompanied with solid qualities. The union of polite learning with useful and solid attainments, will add a lustre and value to both; and it is the scope of the following Treatise to promote their coalition.[132]

In some respects this echoed the sentiments of Fisher. However, for Knox useful knowledge was not applied but academic, as the former 'only tends to qualify for a particular sphere of action' while the later improved 'the powers of understanding for their own sake'.[133] Although his *Liberal Education* can be linked to a renewed esteem for classical learning, Knox repeated many of the criticisms that had long been made about practice in 'traditional' grammar schools. He thought English grammar should be part of every gentleman's education, and lamented that it was 'neglected in the most approved schools.'[134] He also suggested that 'HUMANITY is shocked at the degree of severity which has been often used in Schools'. This was 'not only to be reprobated for its cruelty, but likewise for its inutility in promoting the purposes of education'. Corporal punishment was an inappropriate method of ensuring diligence in a scholar and, while it should be used in moderation in the case of 'the delinquent' in order to prevent the 'repetition of his crime', Knox concluded that 'more evil has resulted from the too liberal than from the too sparing use of the rod'.[135] The balanced approach adopted by Knox is most clearly seen in his stance on teaching grammar. To study English, he suggested Lowth's as the 'obvious' choice but, as some parts of this grammar were 'unavoidably complex' for children, that of Ash could be used as an introduction. In the case of Latin he thought the popularity of the Eton edition of Lily's grammar was understandable but misplaced, and he recommended the most recent of the older editions. This was because he considered the tasks to be fundamentally different. When studying English boys 'must compose in it as soon as they are capable of invention', whereas a scholar of Latin learns to repeat his grammar over two or three years before coming to understand 'the reason of the rules'.[136]

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[130] See Chapter One, p. 48-49.
[131] Langford, *Polite and Commercial*, p. 88; Fletcher argues that élite grammar schools maintained a traditional system throughout the century, Fletcher, *Growing up in England*, pp. 196-219.
[132] Vicesimus Knox, *Liberal Education* (London, 1781), p. 13.
[133] Ibid., p.8.
[134] Ibid., p. 130.
[135] Ibid., pp. 282-285.
[136] Ibid., pp. 132, 135, 46.

While Knox argued boys were better educated in a grammar school, he thought girls ought to be taught at home, but this did not reflect a desire to reverse the educational developments of the previous decades. Instead, he argued that girls should learn English and French in the same systematic way as their brothers, and suggested that there was no reason why those who showed an aptitude for language should not also be taught Latin and Greek.[137] This implicitly suggested that there was also no reason why grammar should not be taught by a female. Many younger women now had the necessary skills, as is clearly seen in the following notice placed in the *Newcastle Chronicle* in 1770:

> A YOUNG WOMAN, about Twenty-one Years of Age, who can be well recommended, would be glad to be employed as a Teacher in Writing-school, or a private Family. She would have no Objection to teaching the Children of a few Families in a Neighbourhood, on such certain Conditions as should be agreed upon, providing she could have board in a reputable Family.
>
> She has been taught English in the new Method of English Grammar, by an eminent Teacher. She would undertake to teach Writing, if required so far as necessary in writing English Exercises. Dresden frames, Tamboards; with all other Branches of Needle Work. [138]

The negative accounts of governesses and girls' schools such as that offered by Mary Wollstonecraft, who considered her own education to have been worthless, may have been true in some cases, but historians are often too ready to generalise from such bleak claims.[139] Some élite girls were evidently better educated than is often implied. For instance, in the case of the Delaval children, whose correspondence was considered in Chapter One, the boys were sent away to boarding school while the girls remained at home, but this did not mean that their education was neglected.[140] In an undated letter, written in a very childish hand, Sarah Hussy Delaval (born in 1763) informed her Mama and Papa that she had began 'to learn my verbs'.[141] Referring to the daughters of the wealthy Newcastle merchant Ralph Carr, who were born in the 1760s and early 1770s, Bob Purdue notes that the education of young ladies at this time is often dismissed as mere 'finish' without looking in more detail at actual experiences. While the curriculum may not appear particularly academic to a modern eye it should not be

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[137] Ibid., p. 233.
[138] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 21 April 1770.
[139] Mary Wollstonecraft, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (London, 1787), p. 72; Fletcher suggests that eighteenth-century 'girls were not seen as having minds', and that it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that they were freed from the 'tyranny' of needlework and rote learning, Fletcher, *Growing up in England*, pp. 220-222. In contrast, Stone notes that in 1753 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu favourably contrasted the education available to her grandchildren to that offered in her day, and also points out that by the 1770s the number of novels written for and by women soared. Yet he makes no direct link between the grandchildren of the 1750s and their adult status 1770, Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p. 355.
[140] See Chapter One, pp. 33-35.
[141] Undated letter from Sarah Hussy Delaval to her parents, NRO 2/DE/39/13/1

assumed that they were therefore badly educated; an intelligent girl with a good governess could have more intellectual freedom than her schooled brothers.[142] However, it was only because of the educational developments in the middle decades of the century that there were a growing number of women who possessed the skills necessary to be a 'good governess'.[143]

These developments were also affecting schooling for the poor. As Mary Martin suggests, female teachers played a central role in the revival of charitable schooling as the Sunday School movement transformed educational provision for the lowest ranks of society.[144] There were also clearly links between the increasing emphasis upon memorising instruction in the case of Latin grammar and the revival of religious education. According to Knox, religious instruction 'contribute[d] to preserve [a child's] innocence' and he advocated the use of catechisms in grammar schools, suggesting that because religion was more 'an object of sentiment or feeling, than of the understanding, especially at a childish age' attention should be paid to inspiring the heart, not filling the intellect with doctrine.[145] Mirroring the balanced approach to education promoted by Knox, the emerging Sunday Schools offered practical schooling that drew upon traditional methods and more modern practice. In Newcastle it was the younger generation that were at the forefront of change. At the age of twenty four, having encountered a Sunday School in Manchester, the minister at the Hanover Square Chapel, Reverend William Turner, circulated a paper on the subject 'among the younger members of the congregation' who then formed into distinct associations divided by gender to establish Newcastle's first Sunday Schools in 1784.[146] Turner also noted that the schools were funded through annual contributions of five shillings 'by most of the young persons, and by some others' in his congregation.[147] Following this example, Sunday Schools were established in the

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[142] A.W. Purdue, *Merchants and Gentry in North-East England, 1650-1830: the Carrs and the Ellisons* (Sunderland, 1999), p. 193.

[143] As Carol Percy suggests, by the turn of the century English grammar had become a standard subject for girls to learn and women to teach, and it was also at this time that a generation of female grammar writers emerged, Carol Percy, 'Learning and Virtue: English Grammar and the Eighteenth-century Girls' School' in Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (eds.), *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: beliefs, cultures, practices* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 77-98.

[144] Mary Clare Martin, 'Marketing Religious Identity: Female Educators, Methodist Culture, and Eighteenth-Century Childhood' in Ibid., pp. 57-76.

[145] Knox, *Liberal Education*, pp. 317-319.

[146] Rev. William Turner jun., 'Sunday Schools Recommended in a sermon preached before the Associated Dissenting Minsters in the Northern Counties', preached in Morpeth on 13 June 1786, Popular Education 1700-1870, DUASC, ASCRef n1 UNI, p. 44; Turner, 'Short sketch of the History of Protestant Nonconformity', TWAS, C.NC66.

[147] Turner, 'Short sketch of the History of Protestant Nonconformity', TWAS, C.NC66. In contrast, Ditchfield suggests that such schools were a response to declining congregations, and an attempt to engage with the younger

parishes of All Saints and St John's in 1785. Within a year more than two hundred boys and girls were being taught in five schools in All Saints.[148] This was provision on an unprecedented scale, but it was dwarfed by the Methodist school established in 1790. Reverend Charles Atmore (1759–1826) was the driving force behind this school. According to John Vickers, he was 'one of the younger and more progressive ministers' within the Methodist circuits. Four weeks after the school opened almost eight hundred children were being taught, divided into thirty-two classes. Within months attendance had risen to more that twelve hundred.[149] This was not simply religious indoctrination. As Roger Schofield notes, there were significant advances in adult literacy during the early decades of the nineteenth century that can be directly linked to the emergence of Sunday Schools during the 1780s.[150]

Turner and Atmore were part of a younger generation who had grown up during a period of educational transition, as was Knox and the young female teacher of English grammar who advertised her services in the *Newcastle Chronicle* in 1770. In some respects this generation of pedagogues can be said to have been reinvigorating more traditional forms of education, but in the hands of these young men and women such educational developments can not be seen as a return to the attitudes of their grandparents.

The Transformation of Schooling

Schooling became decidedly more commercial during the 1750s and 1760s, and in the process the teaching of English grammar had become commonplace. This was not a uniform transition but an accumulation of *ad hoc* developments, as teachers sought to make a living and parents demanded value for money. Before Fisher provided an alternative, those who wanted an English grammar that did not require an understanding of Latin had apparently bought Dyche's charity-school book as an introduction to Loughton's adequate tradesman's grammar. By 1780 they were likely to buy Ash's grammar, which was written for his daughter, as an introduction to Lowth's learned Latinate English. Fisher bridged this gap with a polite grammar that was presented in an easy to use format, but disassociated from 'second-rate'

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generation, GM. Ditchfield, 'English Rational Dissent and Sunday Schools' in Stephen Orchard and John H. Y. Brigg (eds.), *The Sunday School Movement*, (2007), pp. 23-4.

[148] Turner, 'Sunday Schools Recommended', DUASC, ASCRef n1 UNI, p. 54.

[149] William Wood Stamp, *The Orphan-House of Wesley with Notices of Early Methodism in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Its Vicinity* (Newcastle, 1863), pp. 148-9.

[150] Roger Schofield, 'Dimensions of Illiteracy, 1750-1850', *Explorations in Economic History*, 10:4 (1973), p. 437; Thomas Laqueur, 'Literacy and Social Mobility in the Industrial Revolution in England', *Past & Present*, 64 (1974), pp. 96-107; Lawrence Stone, 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900', *Past & Present*, 42 (1969), pp. 69-139.

education for the lower ranks. Vernacular grammars had promoted English particularism in the form of straightforward jingoism, tory intransigency, or reactionary anti-élite rhetoric, but Fisher introduced a progressive tone to the debate surrounding English grammar and her contribution was to have a significant influence.

Fisher assumed that the ground rules of grammar were universal, and that education should be open to both sexes, but her cosmopolitan inclusiveness did not equate to a denial of difference. This is most clearly seen in her attitudes towards the education of girls. An exercise of 'bad English', or syntax errors to be corrected, that was included in her *New English Exercise Book* in 1770 reveals her views in the form of a letter from a 'young Lady', who was sixteen years of age, to her brother, who was two years younger. After chastising him for questioning her academic abilities, this young lady asked:

> Did Miss Carter fall short of any of her Brothers in Learning? Or does Madam Dacier's Works, Mrs Cockburn's, Lady M. W. Montague's, or Mrs Maccauly's, proclaim any of that incorrigible Ignorance the gentlemen lays to our Charge? Gives us but your Opportunities, and then find Fault with the silly creatures, if there are not a Coxcomb for every Coquette, and a Blockhead for every pretty Dunce.[151]

However, the letter concluded by pointing out that tasks this young lady gained pleasure and satisfaction from, such as embroidery, would probably be thought of as beneath her if she spent her time studying the classics. From this perspective she suggested, 'I begin to be of Opinion, that if the Women was to be universally learned, the Gentlemen must be taught domestic Management.' Her brother should be content to treat her with respect because she enjoyed embroidering his waistcoat, not in spite of this fact.[152] Women were, when compared to men, like the English language was to Latin, different but of equal status.

As Ian Michael concluded, the modification of structure in English grammar during the eighteenth century was 'not the product (even indirectly) of philosophy but of unpretentious experience in the classroom.' Yet, in emphasising the gap between the grammars and the 'intellectual movements of the time' he fails to acknowledge that teachers were focused upon methods of instruction rather than the philosophy of language.[153] It can not be assumed that this equated to a lack of intellectual rigour. Fisher certainly advocated a pragmatic form of pedagogy, but this was not without intellectual justifications. The philosophical quest for

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[151] Fisher, *A New English Exercise Book*, pp. 55-56.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Michael, *Grammatical Categories*, pp. 517-518.

universal grammar may have been sidelined, but learning English systematically rather than by rote or by custom had transformed the nature of education. In a national context, the apparent disjuncture between expanding school provision during the second half of the eighteenth century and stagnating male literacy levels could be said to question the standards of the education on offer, but the fact that illiteracy rates were not falling is not to say that standards of literacy were not improving. It is also important to recognise that there was an incremental decline in levels of female illiteracy during the second half of the century.[154] In a local context, Rab Houston points out that there were high levels of illiteracy in comparison to other parts of England during the seventeenth century, but by 1800 the area was one of the most literate.[155] Although the ability to sign a marriage register is not indicative of a knowledge of grammar, Houston's figures do suggest that changes in educational practice were perhaps more marked where Fisher's influence was greatest. Nonetheless, the developments charted here correspond with widespread changes in the provision of schooling as the commercial sector expanded during the second half of the century. Local experiences were clearly shaped by particular circumstances, but they also reflected and helped to shape national trends.

The growth in privately-run schools mirrored the mid-century emergence of the new-style children's literature considered in Chapter One, and the downturn in advertising for such books during the later 1770s coincided with the emergence of a new generation of teachers who had grown up during these years. This reinforces the conclusion that the 1740s saw a perception of young children as imbecilic creatures give way to the idea that they were rational, and that a generation later greater attention was being focused upon the limits of their rationality. It should not be assumed that prior to the 1740s all school children had suffered at the hands of a pedant who thought the 3Rs consisted of religion, rote leaning, and the rod, but the idea that children should be instructed did shape educational experiences in the early decades of the century. As it became more common to presume that children were rational participants in the learning process, vernacular grammars gained a prominent position in the market place, and those who promoted this new stance during the 1740s and 1750s inevitably emphasised the contrast between their methods and the traditional approach. A generation

[154] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 176-177.
[155] R. A. Houston, 'The Development of Literacy: Northern England, 1640-1750', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 35:2 (1982), p. 199. Schofield suggests that by 1830s the northernmost counties were second only to London when it came to male literacy figures, Schofield, 'Dimensions of Illiteracy', p. 444.

later, a younger cohort of reformers saw no need to challenge a form of schooling that was no longer the dominant model. Instead they focused upon the negative aspects of education ‘made easy’, and promoted a more balanced approach that combined active learning with abstract instruction. Although those who made public comment aimed to shape opinion, not to provide an objective description of schooling, the shifting nature of the debates demonstrates that by 1780 educational practice was being transformed for a second time.

Section Two: Youth

Chapter Three
A 'Modern' Apprenticeship

The expansion of school provision considered in the previous chapter coincided with a transformation in youth employment practices. The 1563 Statute of Artificers and Apprentices had codified the structures of a juvenile socialisation process, rooted in the patriarchal household family, in which the years between childhood and adult status were spent living with a master as an indentured employee for up to ten years.[1] Any person above the age of ten could be apprenticed to husbandry, even though they were not technically old enough to enter into a legal covenant, whereas apprenticeships in trade or domestic service began around the age of fourteen for males and twelve for females.[2] Although youths often earned little or even no money, an apprentice indenture was a legally-constituted contract that placed obligations of care and instruction upon the employer. During the second half of the eighteenth century this patriarchal training system was substantially restructured. Investigating this transition builds upon the picture of society presented in Section One by illuminating economic factors that were interacting with the cultural shifts evidenced in changing attitudes towards parenting and educational practice.

It is important to remember that not all juvenile employees had undertaken an apprenticeship during the seventeenth century. As both Chris Brooks and Joanna Innes have noted, the term 'apprentice' was often used ambiguously to denote young workers more generally, and it was not uncommon for youths to be employed in low-skilled jobs on short-term contracts and paid weekly wages. Yet, as Innes suggests, the 1700s may not have witnessed 'a wholesale denigration of a system that had kept young people under quasi parental discipline until their early twenties', but as the century progressed 'fewer children's experience approximated to this domestic ideal'.[3] While M. J. Walker concludes that the value of all apprenticeships declined over the course of the eighteenth century, and apprentices were increasingly seen as objects of charity, Brooks highlights the fact that in some cases the premiums paid became

[1] For an overview of the emergence of these structures during the preceding centuries see P.J.P. Goldberg, *Medieval England* (London, 2004), pp. 59-68.
[2] *The Infants Lawyer* (London, 1726), p. 256.
[3] Christopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800' in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People* (London, 1994), pp. 52-83; Joanna Innes 'Origins of the Factory Acts: the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, 1802' in Norma Landau (ed.), *Law, Crime and English Society, 1660-1830* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 234-5.

prohibitively expensive for the lower middling sort, which made apprenticeships the preserve of the 'moderately well-to-do' and the parish poor.[4]

As Brooks points out, securing a good apprenticeship had been an important aspect of parental responsibility for a wide section of society. Such parents were not only buying occupational training, a master or mistress was to be trusted with the upbringing of their adolescent offspring.[5] It was not only parents that had a vested interest in ensuring this process functioned effectively. During the seventeenth century urban areas had relied upon the influx of predominantly young economic migrants. Apprenticeship therefore provided institutional structures to ensure the intergenerational transfer of cultural values, maintaining a social order based upon the patriarchal household but regulated through civic structures within boundaries established by statute. As the nature of apprenticeship changed during the eighteenth century, the legislative regulation of juvenile workers was shifting away from what Brooks has described as an inclusive objective of 'moulding the next generation' towards the imposition of a value system upon 'socially inferior employees'.[6]

Reflecting the changing nature of apprenticeship, Philip Rawlings highlights a mid-century shift in crime reporting that saw the failings of the criminal justice system rather than the masters of apprentices blamed for the inadequate disciplining of those guilty of delinquent behaviour.[7] Again, Peter Rushton notes a sharp decline during the 1750s in the number of Quarter Session cases in Newcastle relating to disputes involving apprentices, as the 'mutually supportive social and judicial framework' of the apprentice system was being undermined.[8] Peter King suggests it was not until the 1780s that attitudes towards juvenile delinquency changed, pointing to 'an unprecedented' rise in the number of youths appearing in the legal records.[9] However, Paul Griffiths links this to social and economic shifts that began during the 1750s, suggesting that, in combination with population expansion, these developments resulted in a reconfiguring of the regulatory mechanisms that were deployed over the

[4] Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort'; also M. J. Walker, *The Extent of the Guild Control of Trade in England, C. 1660-182* (Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis, 1985).
[5] Christopher Brooks, *Law, Politics and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 376; also Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort', p. 74.
[6] Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort', pp. 82-3; also Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914* (London, 1996), pp. 241-247.
[7] Philip Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices* (London, 1992), p. 25.
[8] Peter Rushton, 'The Matter in Variance: Adolescents and Domestic Conflict in the Pre-Industrial Economy of Northeast England, 1600-1800', *Journal of Social History*, 25:1 (1991), pp. 92, 102.
[9] Peter King, *Crime and Law in England, 1750-1840* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 113.

following decades. Griffiths points to a 'near synchronicity of such far-reaching changes' but it is necessary to focus attention upon the precise chronology of change to unravel the nuanced nature of the transition that was underway.[10]

Keith Snell also pinpoints a period of transition in apprenticeships in the southern counties beginning around 1750 and intensifying by 1780, but he suggests that the continuing strength of the guilds in Newcastle may indicate that traditional youth employment structures were more enduring in northern England.[11] There were thirty-seven guilds active in the town throughout the century.[12] In contrast, only two of Exeter's thirteen guilds had survived into the eighteenth century, and in Bristol numbers fell from twenty four to just eight over the course of the 1700s.[13] Yet, as Jane Humphries suggests, it should not be assumed that there was a direct correlation between the strength of the guilds and the health of the apprenticeship system.[14] There had always been youths employed outside of the guild structures, and trade apprenticeships did not necessarily decline in the absence of company regulation. The survival of the guilds in Newcastle may therefore have been unusual, but the information relating to apprenticeship found in their company books provides evidence of wider-reaching changes in youth employment patterns that would have gone unrecorded in towns where the guild structures had not remained in place.

There were several factors that could be said to have contributed to the durability of the guilds in Newcastle. Both time-served apprentices and the sons of existing company members were entitled to join a trade guild, and could also become members of the Freemen's Guild which gave them the right to vote in parliamentary elections. In both cases, freeman status could be taken up without becoming a member of a trade guild, and the only political advantages gained through company membership related to local political offices, which were in any case

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[10] Paul Griffiths, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Time' in Pamela Cox and Heather Shore (eds.), *Becoming Delinquent: British and European Youth, 1650-1950* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 24, 31.
[11] K. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660–1900* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 267.
[12] According to Mackenzie, 'The Free Incorporated Companies of Newcastle consist of the Twelve Mysteries, and the Fifteen Bye-trades; besides Ten Companies, not privileged to assist in the elections of mayors, &c. Nine Companies are extinct, respecting which little but the names are known', Eneas Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, including the Borough of Gateshead* (1827), p. 663. Wilson cites slightly different figures, Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 298-299.
[13] Walker, *The Extent of the Guild Control*, p. 123.
[14] Jane Humphries, 'English Apprenticeship: A Neglected Factor in the First Industrial Revolution' in Paul A. David and Mark Thomas (eds.), *The Economic Future in Historical Perspective* (Oxford, 2003), p. 78, fn. 14.

tightly controlled by an élite oligarchy.[15] Company members could also, in effect, grant a franchise by taking on an apprentice, and while Walker attributes economic causes to a general decline in apprenticeships in Newcastle during the 1730s, it possibly had more to do with a Common Council Order made on 14 December 1731 that sought to prevent the practice of apprentices being 'bound only to obtain their freedom of the corporation' without actually undertaking an apprenticeship.[16] In addition to this political dimension, the value of the monopoly enjoyed by the company of Hostmen, who controlled the coal trade on the Tyne, provided a considerable incentive to maintain the guild structures. It is not therefore surprising that Hostmen played a prominent part in local politics. At a more practical level, as Rebecca King suggests, the resilience of the guilds would seem to have been most dependent upon their adaptability.[17] So, while their survival tends to be linked to economic conservatism, it actually reflected their ability to move with the times. It is this that makes their records particularly useful in this context, as it is possible to chart the chronology of the adjustments made to the regulation of apprenticeships as company rules were restructured to accommodate changing employment practices. Concentrating upon trade guilds inevitably leads to a male-centric picture of youths, and this chapter will essentially be the story of the boys that grew up to become men during the second half of the eighteenth century. Yet, there is an implicit sense in which these shifts affected both sexes, and the concomitant story of the girls that grew into women is not entirely overlooked.

Structural Adjustments

Rebecca King has written at length about the high level of social management that continued to be undertaken within the company structures in Newcastle's guilds during the first half of the eighteenth century.[18] In the decades following 1750, there was a gradual undermining of the social replication that had been an inherent element of the apprenticeship system. Those apprenticed to a trade had traditionally been taken on one at a time, and only when they reached a level of competence and experience in the later years of their term would a new

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[15] John Collier, *An Essay on Charter* (Newcastle, 1777), pp. 83-4; John Robert Boyle and Frederick Walter Dendy (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers Newcastle upon Tyne*, 2 Vols., Surtees Society, Vol. 2, no. 101 (Durham, 1899), p. 382.
[16] 14 December 1731, Calendar of Common Council Book Newcastle 1718-1743, TWAS 589/13, p. 275.
[17] Rebecca Frances King, *Aspects of Sociability in the North East of England 1600-1750* (Durham University Ph.D. thesis, 2001).
[18] Rebecca Frances King 'The Sociability of the Trade Guilds of Newcastle and Durham, 1660-1750: The Urban Renaissance Revisited' in Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 57-71.

novice have been bound. Once completed, such apprenticeships had established an entitlement to practise a trade as a journeyman or, if finances allowed, to join the guild and set oneself up as a craftsman. The open nature of this structure was evidently in decline. In some of Newcastle's guilds apprenticeship numbers were falling and company membership became predominantly based upon the hereditary rights of the sons of existing members. For instance, the Hostmen apprenticed more youths between 1700 and 1710 than were enrolled during the final five decades of the century.[19] Others maintained a fairly stable intake, or numbers even expanded slightly, as was the case in the Housecarpenters and Shipwrights. Even in these cases, apprenticeships declined in relative terms, given that the population of the town doubled during the century. Looking at the changing nature of these apprenticeships exposes underlying economic developments that coincided with the expansion of commercial schooling considered in Chapter Two.

The contravention of employment rules was a perennial problem and an extensive range of fines were used to deter such breaches, but the extent to which these penalties were enforced did not necessarily correlate with actual changes in practice. When the number of fines imposed by company officials was low it is not always possible to gauge whether this reflected greater adherence or the tacit acceptance that rules were being broken. Concomitantly, high levels of fines could indicate a retrenchment during economic downturns, rather than a growing disregard for the regulations. Walker goes so far as to suggest that in the case of Newcastle's Barber Surgeons it became an institutionalised procedure to pay fines, almost as a form of company tax.[20] In contrast, the introduction, repealing, and re-writing of company rules provide clearer insights into changing attitudes.

In 1750 the Shipwrights had introduced a new fine in an attempt to prevent both the sons of 'free brothers' and apprentices who had completed their term from trading outside of the company structures, complaining that many had 'of late neglected to apply'.[21] The following year the rules that limited the number of apprentices any master could bind were amended to allow two youths to be trained in tandem.[22] While official apprentice numbers increased as a result of this change in the regulations, in 1757 fines were introduced to deter masters from

[19] Frederick Walter Dendy (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, Surtees Society, no. 105 (Durham, 1901).
[20] Walker, *The Extent of the Guild Control*, pp. 297-8.
[21] 17 April 1750, D.J. Rowe (ed.), *The Records of the Company of Shipwrights of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1622-1967*, 2 Vols., Surtees Society, Vol. 1, no. 181 (Gateshead, 1970), p. 34.
[22] This extended concessions made to 'Master Builders' in 1748, 27 December 1751, Ibid., p. 34.

employing un-apprenticed labour. Six months later a petition requesting the right to employ non-company workers on temporary contracts was granted on the grounds that increasing military activity necessitated a rapid expansion in capacity in order to prevent work being taken to other ports.[23] In 1766 a less accommodating stance was adopted when officials complained that several free brothers had taken on apprentices without enrolling them in the company books, and given that the existing fines were not acting as a deterrent, the punishments were made more stringent.[24] Members evidently continued to flout the regulations, and in 1778 it was ordered that these rules should 'from henceforth [be] strictly adhered to'.[25]

The Merchant Adventures also restructured employment regulations during the 1750s, reducing the term of an apprenticeship from ten to eight years in 1752 and extending this to existing apprentices in an apparently successful attempt to improve retention figures.[26] In 1766 sanctions were introduced to curtail the growing number of free brothers' sons who were setting up in trade without taking up their membership. At the same time the company removed the restriction on the number of apprentices a master could take on, and although these decisions were not explicitly linked it seems likely that this was aimed at encouraging younger merchants to take up their company freedom.[27] Just five years later the Merchant Adventurers repealed a series of regulations including those 'restraining from employing any but freemen's sons and apprentices', 'prohibiting any brother to keep two shops', and the rules which restricted freemen from taking on apprentices from 'Tynedale, base born, crooked, lame &c.'[28]

Again, in the case of the Cordwainers, employment restrictions were being loosened, which effectively devalued guild apprenticeships for those that had intended to seek paid employment as a qualified journeyman whilst increasing job opportunities for low-skilled and lower status young workers. In 1755 guild officials had placed a notice in the *Newcastle Journal* complaining that journeymen were making shoes without the knowledge of their

[23] 30 June 1757, 27 December 1757, Ibid., pp. 35-8.
[24] 1 April 1766, Ibid., p. 40.
[25] 28 December 1778, Ibid., p. 42.
[26] 21 Dec 1752, John Robert Boyle and Frederick Walter Dendy (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers Newcastle upon Tyne*, 2 Vols., Surtees Society, Vol. 1, no. 93 (Durham, 1895), p. 262; also see Vol. 2., where the indenture records demonstrate that seven apprentices that had been indentured during the 1740s had been crossed out of the company book on the grounds of absence from their master, whereas none were thereafter.
[27] 3 July 1766, Boyle and Dendy (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers*, i, pp. 13, 80.
[28] *Ibid*, p. 263.

masters, and offering a reward for any information on this illicit trade.[29] By 1773 the Cordwainers revoked the rules which had obliged company stewards to prevent those who had not served an apprenticeship in the town from acting as shoe repairers.[30] Just three years later the company regulations relating to the employment of journeyman were set aside; including the need for employees to have served an apprenticeship.[31] It was also at this time that the rule which required masters to be trading shopkeepers before they could apprentice lads was repealed.[32] At least some masters were evidently becoming owners and employers, as opposed to working craftsmen who were passing down their skills to a younger generation.

There were no female apprentices recorded in the guild records but there were some notices placed in the newspapers that offered girls an apprenticeship in millinery and mantua-making, both trades that had become associated with female workers long before 1750.[33] Girls must also have been employed in the less traditional occupations where new practices did not have to contend with guild regulations; for instance, the three perfume dealers, four confectionary dealers, three pastry schools, and two toy shops that were listed in Whitehead's *Newcastle Directory* (1778) were all owned by women.[34] In addition, as education for young females was changing during the second half of the century, teaching was not the only vocational opportunity gained by improved literacy and numeracy. When Laidlers Factory, at Benton-Bridge near Newcastle advertised for an apprentice book-keeper in 1761 the notice sought 'A FRIENDLESS GIRL, of an honest, good nature, steady Disposition, who has been well brought up, writes a good Hand, and understands Accompts'.[35] While this could be seen as an improvement in the opportunities available to young females, it could also be argued that it was in effect devaluing skills that had previously been restricted to males with a middling level of education. This notice may not be indicative of a general shift in employment practice, but in a wider context it seems likely that a growing number of lower status girls would have been employed as the availability of low-skilled jobs expanded.[36]

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[29] *Newcastle Journal*, 1 November 1755.
[30] 6 June 1773, Rules and Orders of the Cordwainers Company, TWAS, GU/CW/18/2.
[31] Rules 22, 23, 24, 10 June 1776, Ibid.
[32] Rule 64, 20 August 1776, Ibid.
[33] For instance, *Newcastle Journal*, 2 June 1750, *Newcastle Chronicle*, 6 April 1765.
[34] William Whitehead, *The First Newcastle Directory* (Newcastle 1778; reprinted 1889).
[35] *Newcastle Journal*, 15 August 1761.
[36] Looking at employment practice in the early nineteenth century, Mood has noted the relatively low levels of female employment in the north-eastern counties, Jonathan William Mood, *Employment, Politics and Working-Class Women in North East England, c.1790-1914* (Durham University Ph.D. thesis, 2006), esp. pp. ix, 4.

A transformation in employment practice that began during the 1750s had accelerated over the following decades, and a generation later the traditional apprentice had all but disappeared. Apprenticeships continued to be advertised in the local newspapers, but the nature of this employment had changed. Advertisers began to emphasise the fact that youths would be 'properly trained' and that a premium (or indenture fee) would be required, suggesting these were no longer routinely expected.[37] More significantly, when William Dixon advertised for an apprentice for his newly established merchant business in 1775, he noted that the youth would be 'entitled to his Freedom after his Servitude' and would be 'taken on modern Terms'.[38]

Relinquishing Social Control

To understand what set a modern apprenticeship apart from the more traditional method of youth training, it is necessary to recognise that an apprentice indenture was not simply an employment contract. In addition to stipulating that a master was to provide training and accommodation, these documents included clauses prohibiting an apprentice from absenting himself from his master's house without permission, or engaging in activities such as frequenting ale houses, gambling, and fornication. In Newcastle, Common Council orders had placed additional social constraints on apprentices and these could be extremely exacting. For instance, a 'bye-law' from 1603 not only stated that they were forbidden to 'daunce, dice, carde, mum, or use any musick either by nyght or by day in the streetes' but also that they were not to:

> weare any velvat or lace on their apparell, neither any silke garters, silke or velvet girdles, silke pointes, worsted or Jersey stockings, shoe strings of sylk, pumpes, pantofles, or corke shoes, hats lyned with velvet, nor double cypress hat-bands, or silke strings, nor clokes and daggers, neither any ruffled bands but falling bands, plaine without laice, stiche or any kind of sowen work, neither shall they weare their haire longe nor locks at their ears like ruffians.[39]

Evidently such regulation would not have been necessary if apprentices had not been transgressing the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, which suggests that at least some masters were failing to maintain an adequate level of patriarchal authority over their households. Public intervention in such cases was central to the socialisation process that was embedded within the apprenticeship system. This can be seen to have directly challenged a

[37] For example, *Newcastle Chronicle*, 22 December 1770, 15 January 1780.
[38] Ibid., 16 December 1775.
[39] Cited in Mackenzie, *Historical Account of Newcastle*, p. 666.

master's independent status as the head of his household, but it also lent him a quasi-legal authority. At the same time it allowed a master to disassociate himself from the constraints placed upon an apprentice and justify their imposition on the grounds of legal compulsion, which may have made household management less prone to conflict.

It was not only the Common Council that sought to police a master's regulation of his apprentice's social life. Company rules added a complementary layer of restrictions. As early as 1554 Newcastle's Merchant Adventurers had not only emphasised their role in the 'education and bringing up of apprentices' but also stressed the responsibility for the regulation of their 'lewde libertye'.[40] This clearly played a part in the decision made in 1655 to prohibit the company's apprentices from trading in 'cloath and lead'. This new regulation had augmented existing company rules that forbade trading in certain goods, whilst restricting apprentices to joint stock trading with their masters; and it was said to be necessary because:

> apprentices of late, not regardinge the orders of this Company, have not only traded for greater somes of money than allowed by the acts of this Company, and, to be feared, not in joynt stocke with their masters, ... [and] by the profit thereof, makinge an ill use of it, grow haughty and insolent in their cariages, vayne and ridiculous in their apparell ...[41]

Such measures may not always have been effectual but they provide an expression of intent, and the Merchant Adventures evidently continued to maintain a significant amount of control over their apprentices in 1750, when a notice was placed in the *Newcastle Journal* which read:

> As an Agreement is entered into by a set of young Gentlemen, Apprentices of Merchants in this Town, to hold a Monthly Assembly; and as, by ancient Custom of the Place, the Apprentices are debarred the Privileges of appearing in the publick Assemblies: It is humbly presumed, that, as Dancing is highly conducive to Health, that several Masters will grant them such Liberty as the nature of the Thing requires. Young Ladies, who don't chose to be seen in the Public Assemblies, will be joyfully received in this present one.[42]

These young men were clearly trying to force the hand of their employers by publically stating their intentions and impertinently emphasising the health benefits of the activity. Despite the polite nature of their notice, this suggests a somewhat confrontational stance. It was just two years later that the company reduced the term of an apprenticeship, and so it would seem that the self-determination of these apprentices resulted in the decision to release them early from their indentures rather than trying to impose company regulations. It was as the 1750s youths grew up and became the parents and employers of the rising generation that apprenticeships

[40] 14 November 1554, Boyle and Dendy (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers*, i, p. 20.
[41] 26 October 1655, Ibid., p. 8.
[42] *Newcastle Journal*, 27 January 1750.

were totally transformed, and when the Merchant Adventurers fundamentally restructured their juvenile employment practices in 1771 they also repealed all of the acts restricting 'apprentices trading &c. and about their apparel'.[43]

It was not only in Newcastle that masters were relinquishing their social responsibilities. Both Joan Lane and Keith Snell suggest that by 1780 apprentices appear to have been maintaining a closer relationship with their parents.[44] The plot of Arthur Murphy's farce, *The Apprentice*, suggests that parents had been taking greater responsibility for their offspring's behaviour for some time. The play was first performed in London in 1756 at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, and was showing at the New Theatre in Newcastle in 1760. The main character was a wayward apprentice named Dick, who was bound to a friend of his father. When he returned to his master's house after a period of unauthorised absence it was his father that challenged him for an explanation. Eventually, after Dick made some insincere promises to be more dutiful, his admonishment was concluded with a final stamp of his father's authority: 'and mind me young Man, - let me see no more Play-Books, and let me never find that you wear a lac'd Waistcoat – you Scoundrel; what right have you to wear a lac'd Waistcoat? – I never wore a Lac'd Waistcoat! – never wore one till I was Forty'.[45] It may be that fathers had always intervened at times of serious transgression but, as Chris Brooks notes, a greater number of apprentices in Newcastle were being recruited from within the town during the eighteenth century which, along with improving transport links, must have made such involvement more feasible.[46] Brooks also suggests that from the middle decades of the century onwards more youths appear to have been apprenticed to their fathers.[47]

By 1780 a growing number of apprentices were 'living-out', rather than moving into their master's home.[48] Again there are earlier examples of such employment practices; Brooks cites the case of a lawsuit from 1725 where it had been agreed that a small weekly wage would be paid to the father of an apprentice who would in return provide food, clothing and lodging for his son.[49] In the case of Newcastle's Merchant Adventurers the first apprentice recorded in the company books for which 'Meat, Drink, Washing and Lodgings' were not to be provided

[43] 6 May 1771, Boyle and Dendy (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers*, i, p. 263.
[44] Lane, *Apprenticeship*, p. 101; Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, pp. 257-261.
[45] Arthur Murphy, *The Apprentice* (London, 1756), pp. 10-13; *Newcastle Courant*, 5 July 1760.
[46] Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort', p. 64.
[47] Christopher Brooks, *Lawyers, Litigation and English Society since 1450* (London, 1998), p. 159.
[48] Ibid., p. 162; Lane, *Apprenticeship*, p. 101; Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, pp. 257-261.
[49] Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort', p. 68.

appears to be Robert Lynn, who was indentured in 1768, and this arrangement became increasingly common thereafter.[50] Remaining in the parental home may have made apprenticeships more affordable. For instance, no fee was paid and no accommodation provided when Joseph Dixon, the son of a Newcastle innkeeper, was apprenticed to a Merchant Adventurer in October 1783. This was not simply a case of local lads staying at home rather than moving in with their masters, and 'living out' may not have significantly reduced the expense of an apprenticeship. William Smart from Alnwick and George Losh from Cumbria were also entered into the company books in October 1783, and while the former paid one hundred and five pounds, the latter gave no fee but was to find his own board and lodgings for the whole term which was estimated at eighty pounds.[51]

Inevitably as masters increased the size of their juvenile workforce, absorbing them into the household became a less practicable proposition. On a national level, as parishes in London began to apprentice poor children long distances from their families during the 1760s, a process that accelerated in the 1780s, the nascent factory system was leading to the emergence of dormitories for pauper apprentices.[52] In Newcastle no evidence of this practice has been found, and Joanna Innes notes that the London parishes sent few children so far north.[53] There was evidently some large-scale employment of poor children. A local pin factory advertised in 1785 for '50 GIRLS and BOYS, from 8 to 12 Years old, for Pinheaders and Stickers', and a decade later this factory was employing children from the workhouse.[54] Even if large-scale apprenticing was not common in the town, taking on only a few additional juvenile workers would radically alter the social dynamics of the household if these youths were to live with their master.

It had not been uncommon for lower status juvenile employees on short-term contracts to live out. In addition, as early as 1717, Newcastle's Shipwrights had complained that apprentices were not spending their entire term in their master's house.[55] Yet, contemporaries evidently thought a significant change had occurred. In a satirical portrayal of Newcastle published in 1785, 'Old Titus' suggested that 'Proud Pompo, will no reason give, To servants – turn'd

[50] 15 August 1768, Merchant Adventurers Company Book, TWAS, GU/MA/2/2, p. 81.
[51] 2 October 1783, Ibid., p. 116.
[52] Lane, *Apprenticeship*, pp. 174-5.
[53] Innes, 'Origins of the Factory Acts', pp. 235-6.
[54] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 15 January 1785; Frederick Morton Eden, *The State of the Poor*, 3 Vols. (London, 1797), ii, p. 551.
[55] Rowe (ed.), *The Records of the Company of Shipwrights*, i, p. 47.

away; With him – they must no longer live, Is all, he'll deign to say'.[56] This was not simply a case of master distancing themselves from socially inferior apprentices. It was as the youths of the 1750s had become parents that childhood had been sentimentalised, and by the time their children were reaching the age of apprenticeship attitudes towards family life had been transformed. The notion of the patriarchal household was being rejected by both employers and the parents of employees, and it is crucial to recognise that masters were also often parents themselves.

Growing Autonomy

Peter King cautions against the assumption that living out significantly altered the degree of independence enjoyed by apprentices.[57] As he points out, both Daniel Defoe (c.1660-1731) and Francis Place (1771-1854) suggested that live-in apprentices were quite capable of acting independently. How much credence can be given to the autobiography of Francis Place is, however, debatable. He adopted a highly cavalier approach to describing how his father had shown callous disregard when arbitrarily choosing the master he was to be apprenticed to, and then portrayed this master as an ineffectual old man that was so dependent upon the labour of his apprentice that Place was able to act as he pleased.[58] Although polemic in intent, Defoe's account seems more credible. In *The Great Law of Subordination Consider'd* (1727) he complained that the traditional apprenticeship had been transformed as premiums had risen exponentially. He suggested that within living memory apprentices had resided in servitude in their masters house, but now they were of the 'same Class' as their master and were brought into a house as gentlemen rather than indentured workers. '[T]hese Youths should be called Lodgers, not Apprentices or Servants'; they were no longer subject to the discipline of their master's house and often kept late hours and came home in drink without being challenged. 'This unsufferable [sic] *Liberty*, is not so much granted by the Master, as it is assumed by the Apprentices'.[59] Mirroring Defoe's complaints, in 1705 it was noted in the Newcastle Hostmen's company books:

> That at present sundry Apprentices complained upon for their disorderly lives, useing [sic] unlawfull [sic] Games and absenting themselves at night from their Masters houses, All which is humbly conceived, deserves the Company's consideration in order that the many good Acts and Orders made herein may be putt [sic] in Execution ag[ains]t them.[60]

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[56] Titus, *Caps Well Fit* (Newcastle, 1785), p. 90.
[57] King, *Crime and Law in England*, p. 95.
[58] Mary Thale (ed.), *The Autobiography of Francis Place, 1771-1854* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 72-74.
[59] Daniel Defoe, *The Great Law of Subordination Consider'd* (London, 1724), pp. 10-13.
[60] 13 Feb 1705-6, Dendy (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen*, p. 168.

Nonetheless, King fails to acknowledge that, if granted as an indulgence, greater levels of self-determination could be used as a tool of control but if apprentices were no longer living-in then their masters could not police the boundaries of their behaviour with the threat of losing social privileges.

This is not to say that apprentices no longer considered themselves to be restrained by the terms of their indentures. The memoirs of the Newcastle engraver, Thomas Bewick (1753-1828), were coloured by early-nineteenth century mores, but they were less lurid in style than those of Place and are therefore more informative. Bewick was born near to Eltringham in Northumberland. He was apprenticed in Newcastle in 1767 and claimed that while 'an inmate in my master's house ... I had no acquaintances at least none to be very intimate with'. He noted that, once 'the time had arrived when [he] was to cater for [him]self upon four shillings and sixpence per week', he had moved in with an Aunt (the widow of a freeman) before finding private lodgings in the town. At this time he 'got into a knowledge of the misguided ways which too many fellows pursued', and he suggested that his advice against such behaviour was laughed at and he was called 'the old man'. Despite such independence, and his claimed self-restraint, Bewick still considered himself to be bound in a subordinate position. With reference to the completion of his seven-year term in October 1774 he wrote 'for the first time in my life, I felt myself at liberty'.[61]

The 'misguided ways' of young fellows were not new to this period, but youths were gaining an increasing level of personal freedom that may explain the changing sexual practices which were evidenced in rising illegitimacy rates, growing numbers of pre-nuptial pregnancies, and the general fall in the age of first marriage. Looking at the sometimes explicit memoirs of John Cannon, who was born during the 1680s, Tim Hitchcock suggests that the non-penetrative sexual activity of Cannon's youth would have been common practice but by the end of the eighteenth century penetrative sex had become the norm amongst this age group.[62] Hitchcock focuses upon the availability of medical, prescriptive, and pornographic literature that informed attitudes towards sex, but the fact that masters were no longer policing the private lives of their juvenile workforce was surely a significant factor. Although apprentices were in theory prohibited from marriage, Chris Brooks has suggested that it was becoming more

[61] Thomas and Jane Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick* (Newcastle, 1862), pp. 62, 76, 80.
[62] Tim Hitchcock, 'Redefining Sex in Eighteenth-Century England', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (1996), pp. 72-90.

common.[63] As early as 1734, Newcastle's Hostmen had resolved that the company should no longer debar apprentices from marrying, and only stop them from embarking upon an apprenticeship if they were already married.[64] By 1788 the Barber Surgeons had introduced a forty shilling fine 'forfeited if he married to be paid before he can be admitted'.[65] In a national context, it was during the 1750s that population figures began rise, a trend that accelerated over the following decades. The Cambridge group link this to improving economic conditions that removed the need to prudently delay matrimony.[66] Yet, at the same time as youths were gaining more social freedom, the shift towards paying them as employees rather than training them as apprentices also gave them greater financial independence. As Josiah Wedgwood reminded the *Young Inhabitants of the Pottery* in 1783 'a married man can maintain a wife and four or five children, with no more than you do or may earn who have only yourself to provide for.'[67] The changing nature of youth employment practices therefore removed the need to delay marriage until an adult wage could be earned, but it also reflected a deskilling of large sections of the adult workforce.

Freedom from the constraints that had traditionally been placed upon apprentices was apparently becoming an expectation, rather than a privilege or a transgressive act. Keith Snell highlights a shift away from the passivity of earlier indentures, as a growing number of youths were described as acting for themselves rather than being bound out by their father.[68] This can also be seen in the case of Newcastle's Merchant Adventurers. When Robert Lynn was indentured in 1768, his father was to find his accommodation, but by 1783 George Losh was 'to find himself with Board Washing and Lodging the whole term'.[69] Again the roots of this shift can be traced back to the 1750s. In 1757 John Brown, the moralist and social commentator from Newcastle, complained that in deciding upon a trade a youth's 'Inclination is consulted *too* much, when they are allowed to make a Choice for themselves, while their

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[63] Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort', p. 68.
[64] 4 December 1734, Dendy (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen*, pp. 192-193; for earlier stance on marriage, see ruling from 1697, p. 154.
[65] Orders relating to Apprentices 1788, Barber Surgeons Wax and Tallow Chandlers and Periwig Makers, TWAS, GU/BS/6.
[66] The Cambridge Group estimates suggest that the average age at first marriage had remained stable during the seventeenth century, fluctuating between twenty-seven to twenty-eight years for men and twenty-five to twenty-six years for women, but that it had fallen by around two years during the 1700s, E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen, and R. S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 134-5.
[67] Josiah Wedgwood, *An Address to the Young Inhabitants of the Pottery* (Newcastle under Lyme, 1783), p. 14.
[68] Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, p. 261.
[69] 2 October 1783, Merchant Adventurers Company Book, TWAS, GU/MA/2/2, p. 116.

unformed Opinions are swayed by the first glaring Object that catches their Imagination.'[70] Brown may have exaggerated the levels of parental indulgence, but his comments were echoed in the available advice literature. Just ten years earlier R Campbell's '*compendious view of all the trades, professions, arts*' practised in London could include a complaint that in most cases a youth's trade was chosen on a whim based upon the pride, avarice, or caprice of the parents and no account was taken of the child's natural talents.[71] When Joseph Collyer published a similar directory in 1761, in which he concurred with Campbell's concern that youths were placed in unsuitable trades, he emphasised the need to avoid mistaking a child's fancy and whim for natural genius.[72]

The letters that Hannah Shrive wrote in 1749 from South Shields to her nephew James Snowden in Oxford provide a rare glimpse into the deliberations made prior to the binding of a youth, and in this case the apprentice's ability was certainly taken into account but his inclination would seem to have been the deciding factor. In July Hannah passed on the thanks of her sister with regard to the 'kind offer to hir [sic] boy, but as he has not the capacity for literature must be put to some Mechanick he is now fifteen and inclines most to be a boat builder.' Two months later Hannah again referred to the advice James offered on the apprenticing of his cousin, noting that Dicke was not fit for an attorney or surgeon as he had never learned Latin. In addition she pointed out that Dicke 'reads English badly and is as dull at writing and arithmetic you can scarce conceive what a dull boy he is'. Hannah suggested that he would be best put to a saddler, cheese monger or tallow chandler 'but he would think of nothing but a shipscarpenter or boat builder'.[73]

It can not be assumed that apprentices had previously remained in a state of docile subordination as authority over them was passed from parent to master. Keith Wrightson has suggested that involvement in such decisions had been part of a 'process of maturation leading to adult autonomy' that was characteristic of well managed adolescence.[74] Even in less stable households relationships were negotiated and, despite the notion of patriarchal authority, the

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[70] John Brown, *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times,* enlarged 6th edn., 2 Vols. (London, 1757), ii, p. 62.
[71] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), p. 2.
[72] Joseph Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory, and the Youth's Guide* (London, 1761), pp. 16-17.
[73] Letters from Hannah Shrive to her nephew, the Revd. James Snowdon, at Merton College, Oxford, 25 July 1749 and 8 September 1749, Blackett (Wylam) MSS, Shrive Correspondence, NRO, ZBK/C/1/A/1/20, ZBK/C/1/A/1/21.
[74] Keith Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England' in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds.), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 17.

outcome was not predicable. As Paul Griffiths notes, being bound out as an apprentice was never a passive process. Adult prescription shaped the experience of youths, but they responded in various ways to the 'pressures of the socialisation process' and could be 'obedient, indifferent, meek, sometimes keen or mutinous'.[75] However, as the structures of the apprenticeship system were undergoing a significant transformation the terms of such negotiations were being substantially redrawn.

Dealing with Delinquency

While badly behaved children cause private misery, unruly youths present a nuisance beyond the confines of the household and the prevention of such outdoor misrule was a large part of the raison d'être when the Elizabethan apprenticeship statue was passed in 1563. When the Bailiff's Court in Berwick-on-Tweed raised concern about such behaviour in 1595, they clearly distinguished between a parent's responsibility for their children and the public nature of controlling youths, noting:

> We fynde and presente a greate faulte, that children are suff[e]red to Rune abroade & make cryinges & misrule in the streets in the eveninges yt is a thinge not comelye nor lawfull in this place. It were good that the parentes were generallye warned hereof that they may restrain the same. Alsoe there are sundrye youths in the towne & others yt will come abroade on the nighte tyme & make a great revel & misrule vpp & downe the towne, & playe many badd & lewde partes, it were good they were watched & taken & strictlye punished, for it is againste the orders & statutes of the towne.[76]

Paul Griffiths suggests that the masterless youth was perceived to have stepped outside the expected boundaries of the socialisation process because they were not under the control of an older householder. Youths, especially young women, living in their own lodgings and by their 'own hands' were seen to be transgressing social norms and could be forced into service.[77] Even if such regulation was only targeted at those youths that displayed anti-social behaviour and independent young females whose potential indiscretions were liable to burden the parish, it provided a domestic method of social control in which responsibility for the policing of juveniles was placed in the hands of the regulated employer. Masters could also be compelled to take such an apprentice or juvenile servant into their care, and augmenting these powers in 1703 it was made a statutory obligation to take parish apprentices onboard civil ships. Masters were given rights to the wages of these youths until they turned eighteen, the age at which they

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[75] Paul Griffiths, 'Masterless Young People in Norwich, 1560-1645' in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds.), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 149.
[76] Berwick-on-Tweed Record Office/C1/1: Bailiffs' Court Book, 1568-1601, October, 1595; thanks are due to Leona Skelton for this quote.
[77] Griffiths, 'Masterless Young People', pp. 147, 173.

could volunteer or be impressed into Her Majesty's service. An amendment to this legislation in 1705 specified that these apprentices could be bound over at the age of ten but that no master was obliged to take a boy under thirteen, or any that did not appear to have the health and strength to qualify them for the work.[78] Half a century later these traditional methods of dealing with the delinquent and the destitute were seen to be increasingly ineffectual and new strategies were being adopted. While this was in part a reflection of changing employment structures, there were other factors at play that helped to shape these economic developments.

The potentially disruptive consequences of underemployment amongst youths were an ongoing concern, but anxieties were exacerbated as peace in Europe returned some 70,000 servicemen to swell the ranks of the urban mob in 1749. Roland Pietsch suggests that the vast majority of those onboard a warship were under the age of twenty six, estimating that between five and ten per cent of the crew would have been servants or apprentices under eighteen years of age (the official age limit for military service).[79] The ages of the deserters reported in Newcastle's newspapers concur with the suggestion that a large proportion of servicemen were twenty five or younger, although a significant number were in their late twenties (see Table 3:1). This large-scale demobbing clearly increased the numbers of underemployed youths.

Table 3:1. Age of Deserters Reported in Newcastle's Newspapers

Year	16-17	18-20	21-25	26-30	Over 30	No age	Total
1745				2			2
1750							
1755		4	9	5	1	3*	22
1760	1	3	7	12	5	5	33
1765		3	5	2			10
1770		3	4	2		1	10
1775		2	2	2		2	8
1780		1	4	5	2	10	22
1785	1	3	2				6
Total	2	19	33	30	8	21	

* including one absconded apprentice who had also absconded from service

Source: *Newcastle Courant* (1730-1785), *Newcastle Journal* (1740-1770), and *Newcastle Chronicle* (1765-1785).

Although contemporary social commentators were reluctant to link demobbing to the perceived crime wave in the capital in the early 1750s, the influx of ex-servicemen was clearly

[78] 2&3 Ann. 6 (1703) and 4 Ann. c. 19 (1705), John Dudley and T Cunningham, *The Law of a Justice of Peace and Parish Office*, 4 Vols. (London, 1769), i, pp. 95-97, 100.

[79] Roland Pietsch, 'Ships' Boys and Youth Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Navy Recruits of the London Marine Society', *The Northern Mariner*, 14:4 (2004), http://www.cnrs-scrn.org, pp. 21,12.

related to the increasing number of convictions.[80] John Beattie has argued that it was the desire to police the metropolitan population that drove legislative initiatives during the century, as these crimes were often more violent and more widely reported.[81] Yet, Nicholas Rogers notes anxieties about the insubordination of the mob at this time were not restricted to London's environs, and he points to the turnpike riots in the West Country and keelmen strikes on the Tyne to demonstrate this.[82] Newcastle's keelmen, who transported coal downstream to sea-going vessels, had a relatively large presence in the town; numbering somewhere around 1,600 as early as 1712.[83] Joyce Ellis has suggested that this was an age-specific occupation and the predominantly young workforce was a regular target of the press gangs.[84] Demobbing must therefore have swelled their ranks, and added to local anxieties about social order. On 4 May 1750 Ralph Jackson, an apprentice in the town, noted in his diary that he had walked out to visit an acquaintance and had been prevented from returning home until after supper because 'we heard that the Keelmen was risen'.[85] The following day a notice appeared in the *Newcastle Journal* raising concern about the 'great Numbers of idle and disorderly Persons' with no visible means of supporting themselves who were 'loitering about the Streets of this Town', going on to assure the readers that such persons would be whipped and then returned to their parish of settlement.[86] Again reflecting a localised experience of issues with a national relevance, just months after the passing of the Gin Act in 1751, the Common Council in Newcastle banned 'The custom of giving and allowing drink twice a day to the apprentices of mechanic tradesmen ... which is reckoned as part of and lessens their wages [it] being looked upon as very prejudicial to the health of young apprentices and teaches them the habit of drinking'.[87]

Henry Fielding's *Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers* (1751) both encapsulated and exacerbated a general concern about rising levels of crime and disorder in London, and Uwe Böker argues that he clearly demonstrated a concern about juvenile

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[80] John M. Beattie, 'London Crime and the Making of the "bloody code" 1689-1718' in Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn, and Robert Brink Shoemaker (eds.), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive* (Stroud, 1992), pp.49-76; Nicholas Rogers, 'Confronting the Crime Wave: the debate over social reform and regulation, 1749-1753' in Ibid., pp. 78-79, 83-4.
[81] Beattie, 'London Crime'.
[82] Rogers, 'Confronting the Crime Wave', p. 87.
[83] J. M. Fewster, 'The Keelmen of Tyneside in the Eighteenth Century', *Durham University Journal*, 19:1 (1957), p. 28.
[84] Ellis, 'A Dynamic Society', p. 210.
[85] 4 May 1750, Ralph Jackson Diaries, Books A-U (1749-1790), TA, U/WJ/A.
[86] *Newcastle Journal*, 5 May 1750.
[87] 20 June 1751, Calendar of Common Council Book Newcastle 1743-1766, TWAS 589/13, p. 185.

delinquents.[88] Fielding certainly included apprentices and young servants along with labourers and mechanics as potential criminals, but he did not treat them as a distinct group. Instead, he categorised the mob as a single cohort unified by a shared lack of independent status. Just seven years later his brother, Sir John Fielding, would place youths centre stage in his analysis of the problem. In reference to his late brother's plan for policing the metropolis, John Fielding described 'the great Gang of Robbers' which had infested the streets in 1753 and the 'Gangs of House-breakers, Lead-stealers, &c. which consisted chiefly of young Fellows who were Thieves from their Cradles, and were at this Time about eighteen or nineteen Years of Age, and very numerous.'[89] He went on to claim that the session papers for 1755 and 1756 demonstrated that 'Gangs of friendless Boys, from 14 to 18 Years of Age, were transported, indeed, I may say by wholesale, for picking of Pockets and pilfering from Shops.' In addition, the navy had been supplied with 'near four hundred young Recruits' as the 'Streets were cleared from Swarms of Boys whose situation made them Thieves from Necessity'.[90] These delinquents were clearly too young to be connected to the demobbing of 1749 and their numerical presence appears to reflect demographic trends, as the effects of the mortality crises of earlier decades led to a sharp increase in the proportion of youths in society during the 1750s.[91] It would seem that from a metropolitan perspective the traditional employment structures were proving incapable of accommodating this cohort.

Despite the scale of the enforced removals, John Fielding suggested that 'The problem had seemed insuperable, until Heaven inspired the Thought of their Preservation by sending them to Sea by public Subscription'. This solution was facilitated by Jonas Hanway's Marine Society (established in 1756), but without the outbreak of the Seven Year War the effectiveness of the scheme would have been significantly diminished. Fielding claimed that by 1758 'no less than 2405 Boys' had been clothed and 'sent on Board his Majesty's Ships' as servants or apprentices and a further '3072 young Fellows' had been similarly clothed to enable them to 'go on Board the Fleet' as servicemen.[92] By 1762 these figures had risen to

[88] Uwe Böker, 'Childhood and Juvenile Delinquency in Eighteenth-Century *Newgate Calanders*' in Anja Müller (ed.), *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 137.
[89] Sir John Fielding, *An Account of the Origin and Effects of a Police set on foot by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle in the year 1753* (London, 1758), p. 17.
[90] Ibid., pp. 43, 22.
[91] See Introduction, p. 20.
[92] Fielding, *An Account of the Origin and Effects of a Police set on foot by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle*, pp. 19, 23.

4787 and 5451.[93] The need to attract subscriptions for the scheme may provide an explanation for John Fielding's specific references to juvenile delinquents in 1758, and his assertion that they acted out of necessity certainly implied a desire to elicit sympathy. Yet, the numbers involved in the scheme suggests that his decision to single out youths as the source of the social order problems was a question of focus rather than embellishment.

The Marine Society had not been presented as a compulsory method of dealing with the destitute and wayward. This was charitable support framed as an opportunity, and the society's promotional literature advertised for 'Boys of a daring Temper whose genius leads them to try their fortune at Sea' and 'those who are of too volatile a disposition for their trade, or too bold to live on shore with sober masters'.[94] In addition to free clothing these boys were offered a yearly allowance of forty shillings, and Hanway claimed that vagrants and petty criminals 'recommended' by magistrates were far outnumbered by volunteers.[95] Exactly how much choice such boys could be said to have had is highly debateable, but the need to attract potential subscribers led to poor youths being singled out as a specific social problem. At the same time, the scheme was said to offer a positive solution that used a financial incentive rather than the threat of punishment to encourage compliance with social expectation, and this philanthropic initiative clearly helped to shape the transformation in employment practices that was occurring.

In *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith claimed that an apprentice 'is likely to be idle, and almost always is so'. Harry Henrick suggests that Smith linked this to the decline in live-in service, but he actually argued that youths would be more motivated if they were employed and paid like journeymen.[96] There had been youths that had sought paid employment rather than becoming an apprentice throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but to promote this as a way to solve the problem of an idle youth was offering a new solution to an old problem rather than calling for a re-introduction of lapsed custom. This casts a revealing light upon the guilds in Newcastle that were relaxing their regulations and employing greater numbers of low-skilled, lower-status 'apprentices'. As masters relinquished their quasi-

[93] Jonas Hanway, *Observations on the Causes of the Dissoluteness which Reigns among the Lower Classes of the People* (London, 1772), pp. 9-10.
[94] Marine Society, *The Bye-Laws, and Regulations, of the Marine Society* (London, 1772), p. 44.
[95] *Ibid*., pp. 42-3.
[96] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 2 Vols. (London, 1776), i, p. 152; Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth: Age Class and Male Youth Problem, 1820-1920* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 15-16; also Griffiths, 'Masterless Young People', p. 176.

parental role, offering poorer youths paid employment could be seen as a socially beneficial act that encouraged a self-interested diligence, but this should not be overstated. It was the changing responsibilities of masters that made large-scale apprenticing a feasible option. It is also important to recognise that it was when the Marine Society suspended its activities after 1762, as the cessation of warfare made it impossible to find sufficient masters, that parishes in London first began to apprentice poor children long distances from the capital; a practice that Hanway advocated in 1772.[97] When it came to the employment of poorer youths the chronology of change revolved around concerns about social order that were directly related to demographic trends and the level of military activity overseas, but these developments were intermeshed with the experiences of youths from the middle ranks of society as apprenticeship was dissociated from the patriarchal authority of the master's household and became a more straightforward form of employment.

Divisive Employment Regulation

The increasing socio-economic distinctions in the apprentice system were most clearly seen in the legislative changes during this period. The first of these was the 1746 Regulation of Apprentices Act. Joan Lane's summary of this Act suggests that in cases where a premium of five pounds or less was paid both apprentices and their masters gained the right to take complaints before two justices, but that this excluded many apprenticed to a trade who would have paid higher indenture fees.[98] Yet, prior to 1746 both masters and apprentices could turn to the 1563 Statue, which had given them the right to take their complaint to a justice, mayor or other head officer, and if it could not be resolved then it could be sent to court. The 1746 Act simply added weight to the magistrates' jurisdiction in cases where the premium was less than five pounds. Parties could be summoned to appear before two justices who were given the power to impose a period of incarceration upon a wayward apprentice, or release an apprentice from his indenture if the terms were breached by his master.[99] If a premium of more than five pounds was paid the only recourse was to the earlier act and justices would have to send a case to court if the parties could not be persuaded to come to an agreement. While the elements of compulsion within the 1563 statute may have been predominantly targeted at the lower ranks of society, the 1746 legislation was explicitly divisive.

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[97] Hanway, *Observations,* p. 19; Innes, 'Origins of the Factory Acts', p. 236.
[98] Lane, *Apprenticeship,* pp. 4-5.
[99] Dudley, *The Law of a Justice of Peace*, p. 60; Gentleman of the Middle Temple, *The Universal Parish-Officer* (London, 1759), pp. 10-11; Sir. John Fielding, *Extracts from such of the Penal Laws, as particularly relate to the peace and good order of this metropolis* (London, 1768), p. 115.

The 1766 Regulation of Apprentices Act is also indicative of a growing emphasis upon the policing of poorer youths. The act reinforced the sanctions imposed upon those that left their service, specifying the length of time an absconder owed to their master based upon the duration of any absence. Sentences of incarceration for up to three months could be imposed on any returned apprentice refusing to undertake the additional period of servitude.[100] Lane links this legislation to a significant increase in the numbers of absconding apprentices during the Seven Year War, suggesting that military service offered an escape route from harsh masters. Even if this was so, the law was not in fact passed until three years after the war had ended. While Lane uses the notices relating to runaways that were placed in provincial newspapers to justify her claim, the numbers of absconding apprentices reported in Newcastle's newspapers were not indicative of a large-scale problem (see Table 3:2).[101] Roland Pietsch also concludes that apprentices were running away to sea, pointing to the fact that in May 1757 the Marine Society introduced a requirement that 'a reputable person' must confirm that any prospective volunteer was not an apprentice before he could sign up, but this may have reflected a desire to prevent the scheme from being discredited by the suggestion that it could exacerbate a perennial problem.[102]

Table 3:2. Absconding Apprentices Reported in Newcastle's Newspapers

Year	under 15	15-17	18-20	Over 21	No age	Total
1730					1	1
1735						
1740		1				1
1745		1		1	1	3
1750		1			4	5
1755	2	2	3			7
1760	1	5	4	1	2	13
1765		3			4	7
1770	1	3	3	2	2	11
1775	1	3	4		2	10
1780	1	8	8	4	10	31
1785	1		5	1	1	8

Based upon number of apprentices, rather than number of notices.
Source: *Newcastle Courant* (1730-1785), *Newcastle Journal* (1740-1770), and *Newcastle Chronicle* (1765-1785).

Mirroring the male dominance of the guild records, there was only one female apprentice among the absconders reported in the local newspapers. It may be that their vulnerability deterred young females from running away. Yet some evidently did. The diary of the

[100] Dudley, *The Law of a Justice of Peace*, pp. 109-110; Gentleman of the Middle Temple, *The New Universal Parish Officer* (London, 1771), p. 13.
[101] Lane, *Apprenticeship*, pp. 4-5.
[102] Pietsch, 'Ships' Boys and Youth Culture'; Roland Pietsch, *Ships' Boys and Charity in the Mid-Eighteenth Century: The London Marine Society, 1756-1772* (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 2003).

Newcastle apprentice, Ralph Jackson, will be considered in detail in the following chapter but his references to Jenny, the live-in servant employed by his master, provides one such example. Ralph made his first reference to Jenny's unhappy disposition in February 1750, when he noted that she had been 'in a very bad humor'.[103] Two months later he wrote 'My Master and Jenny fell out and She said She would Jump out of the window so we sat up to watech her till one o'Clock and then retired to bed.'[104] Shortly after this, Ralph noted 'Jenny took the pet [huff] so I followed her till she came home.'[105] Then, one Sunday morning in September 1750 Ralph had been called downstairs by his master and wrote 'when I had got into the Kitching, I saw My Master Struckling with Jenny to get a String from about her neck ... My Master thought She was going to Strangle herself, but I cut it with My Knife'[106] By November, Ralph dismissively noted that 'Jenny took some of her mad fits, & we retired to bed at Ten.'[107] In August the following year Jenny had taken 'the Pett and ran away' and Ralph had been sent after her, but having following her for 'ab[ou]t 3 Miles upon the Moor' he returned home and was sent to tell 'Jenny's Father she was not for lying at our house'.[108] Ralph's master evidently relented, and Jenny continued to take 'Huffish fits' and run away.[109] Jenny's behaviour was possibly extreme, but the years between childhood and adult status tend to be tempestuous and the traditional apprenticeship system could clearly place an onerous level of responsibility upon a master. It therefore seems likely that a decline in live-in apprenticeships would have altered attitudes towards the enforced return of runaways.

The preamble to the 1766 Apprentice Act stated that the legislation was necessary because a growing number of apprentices were being taken on at a very young age and once old enough to be of use to their master they were running away.[110] The age at which a child could be apprenticed had indeed fallen. The 1563 Statute allowed for children of ten to be apprenticed to husbandry, and this had been extended to pauper apprenticeships in the merchant fleet in 1703, but in 1767 parish obligations to poor children stipulated that they were to be apprenticed from six years of age.[111] Yet, the 1766 Act was not limited to traditional

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[103] 25 February 1750, Ralph Jackson Diaries, Books A-U (1749-1790), TA, U/WJ/A.
[104] 9 April 1750, Ibid.
[105] 19 April 1750, Ibid.
[106] 23 September 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/B.
[107] 13 November 1750, Ibid.
[108] 31 August 1751, RJD, TA, U/WJ/C.
[109] 29 February 1752, Ibid.
[110] Dudley, *The Law of a Justice of Peace*, pp. 109-110; Gentleman of the Middle Temple, *The New Universal Parish Officer*, p. 13.
[111] 7 Geo. 3. c. 21, Dudley, *The Law of a Justice of Peace*, p. 112.

apprenticeships but applied to all juveniles employees contracted for a year or more, which demonstrates that this legislation was not only focused upon the long-term retention of pauper apprentices. The increase in low-skilled work in urban areas may have provided more opportunities for runaways to find alternative employment, but the fact that patriarchal authority was being undermined by changing employment structures would seem to be more significant. As masters were losing their quasi-parental role, more stringent legislation strengthened their position as employers.

Apprentice regulations had always provided a level of judicial control over delinquent youths, but as masters relinquished their social responsibilities the constraints imposed upon apprentices by the criminal justice system came to the fore. Although legislation was focused more directly upon the control of poorer youths, it is important to remember that not all delinquents were poor. A rather revealing letter that Hannah Shrive sent in 1765 to her nephew, now Rev. James Snowdon of Ponteland, began:

> You wou[l]d think it very odd we should appoint so many times to visit our friends & never perform, but the reason [is that] our unhappy nephew has been so ill tempered for some time that we could not think of leaving my sister who is Greatly distressed ab[ou]t him, but we hope we shall now be able to bring him a little reason soon by letting him know he is not out of the reach of y^{e} Law.[112]

Hannah gave no indication of the age of this boy, and as legal ages of responsibility varied according to the case in hand, her unruly nephew could have been a child of almost ten years but was more likely an adolescent about to turn fourteen or a youth about to reach twenty one. The gender balance of Hannah's household may explain such desperate measures, as she was a spinster who lived with her two widowed sisters and their children in what had been her parents' house. In previous centuries a master would have been found to take this disruptive offspring in hand, but increasingly by 1765 alternative forms of control were required.

Policy in Action

The notebook of the JP Edmund Tew (1700–1770), Rector of Boldon in County Durham, documented the cases he dealt with between 1750 and 1764, and provides rare details of the judicial processes below the level of the courts. The evidence of fractious working arrangements that he recorded can not be seen as indicative of general experiences, but the way in which the legal system was used by both masters and apprentices reveals invaluable

[112] Letter from Hannah Shrive, at Lay Gate, to her nephew, the Revd. Dr Snowdon, at Ponteland, 23 August 1765, NRO, ZBK/C/1/A/1/70.

insights. There were just over fourteen hundred entries in his notebook and one hundred and six of these referred to disagreements between masters and their apprentices, whilst a further six involved non-apprenticed employment disputes involving youths (see Table 3:3).[113]

Table 3:3.
Employment Disputes involving Juveniles in Edmund Tew's Justicing Notebooks

Category of Dispute	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	totals
Total number of entries	57	34	22	59	73	71	129	76	129	177	96	171	186	128	1,408
Apprentice/master disputes	4	4	3	7	12	4	15	6	10	13	5	10	8	5	106*
Total number of complaint from masters	4	1	1	5	5	2	6	1	5	4	4	3	3	3	47
Disobedience	1									2			1	1	5
Absconders	3	1	1	5	5	2	6	1	5	2	4	3	2	2	42
Total number of complaint from apprentice		3	2	2	7	2	9	5	5	8	1	7	5	1	57
Violence/ abuse		1	1	1	5	2	3		3	5	1	3	1		26
Withheld wages		1		1			1	4	1	3					11
Turned away			1		1		1						1		4
Neglect		1			1		1	1	1			2	3	1	11
Multiple complaints							3					2			5
Non-apprenticed juvenile employment disputes						1				1	1		1	1	1

* includes one unspecified reason for terminating an indenture, and one death of master.

Source: Figures based upon data taken from Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton (eds.), *The Justicing Notebook (1750-64) of Edmund Tew, Rector of Boldon*, Surtees Society, no. 205 (Woodbridge, 2000).

Tew's workload grew incrementally and, as Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton note, he drew complainants from a wide area, which suggests that he was perhaps seen to be more approachable than other JPs. If this were the case, it may be why more apprentices challenged the behaviour of their masters than the other way around. It should, however, be remembered that traditional masters had an inherent authority that meant they were in less need of outside assistance. Notably, Tew did not refer to the parents of any apprentices involved in a dispute with their master, although in one of the cases relating to a non-apprenticed youth he 'Granted special warrant to Peter Wanless of Monk Wearmouth farmer for £2 10s 0d wages due to his son Peter from Mrs Ann Robinson of the Shoreside widow and shopkeeper.'[114]

[113] Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton (eds.), *The Justicing Notebook (1750-64) of Edmund Tew, Rector of Boldon*, Surtees Society, no. 205 (Woodbridge, 2000).
[114] 11 January 1763, Ibid., p. 166.

When it came to the cases brought by apprentices, almost half related to violence and abuse. While most of these were described as beating and bruising, some involved the use of a weapon; as in 1761 when Tew 'Parted' William Taylor from his master who had been accused of 'cruelly burning and striking [him] with a poker.'[115] It was not only male employees that were subject to such treatment. Although the same gender bias is evident as elsewhere, and all of the apprentices Tew dealt with were male, four of the non-apprenticed employment disputes involved young females. In one of these 'Elisabeth wife of Thomas Clark of Simyside farmer' was charged with 'bruising an hired girl aged 14 called Margret Robson on her head and face against iron etc.'[116] Very few apprentices were concerned about a lack of training, and tellingly as many complained that wages had been withheld, as those that accused their master of physical neglect such as failing to provide sufficient victuals. The three additional cases relating to young female workers also involved the withholding of wages and here Tew included a negative value judgement, describing them as either 'a bad girl' or 'an idle girl', despite deciding in their favour.[117] Without these comments there would be no indication of the age of the employee, which demonstrates that many of the complaints regarding unpaid wages may have related to juvenile workers of both sexes who were not apprentices. This would mean an even greater proportion of Tew's workload involved youth employment disputes than the figures suggest.

The vast majority of the complaints against apprentices were for absenteeism. Masters had clearly sought legal redress for such a misdemeanour before the passing of the 1766 Act, but this apparently approachable JP did not attract a significantly large number of these cases and there is no evidence of an increase during the Seven Year War. Although the law was weighted in favour of the master, complaints made against an apprentice were not always upheld. When John Philip was accused of leaving his service 'before his time' in 1754, Tew ordered his master to pay the charges and released the apprentice from his indenture. Tew often seemed sympathetic to the plight of apprentices, but this was not always so. In June 1757 a special warrant was granted 'against Robert Bingham of Sunderland master and mariner for refusing to maintain his apprentice Thomas Masslett who has broke his leg, and to pay £2 15s 0d due to him for wages', and Tew noted that 'Robert Bingham paid charges, wages and for his apprentice's board.' Just five months later, he 'Commited Thomas Maslet to the House of

[115] 9 February 1761, Ibid., p. 135.
[116] 18 June 1764, Ibid., pp. 196-7.
[117] 29 August 1755, 13 October 1762, 27 November 1760, Ibid., pp. 60, 162, 133.

Correction for running away from his master Robert Bingham of Sunderland'.[118] Having a neglectful employer who failed to pay wages due evidently did not excuse an apprentice who left his service. Likewise, being bound to a master who was a drunkard was not sufficient grounds for complaint. In 1756 Tew dismissed a case brought against 'Thomas Atkinson of Sunderland master and mariner for abusing and beating John Briggs his apprentice' despite noting that 'Thomas Atkinson is a drunken fellow and when so a mad fellow.'[119] For Tew, who had been a youth during the reign of Queen Anne, the authority of the patriarchal master apparently afforded considerable personal autonomy when it came to jurisdiction over his household.

Although the outcome of cases was not always recorded, Tew often used his powers to release an apprentice or commit them to the house of correction, and he also sent cases that must have involved apprenticeships with a premium of more than five pounds to be heard in court. For instance, three months after Henry Dixon was returned to his master after 'deserting his services' in April 1761, a general warrant was issued against his master for cruelly kicking and laming him, and the master was bound over 'to appear at the next general quarter sessions at Durham for the above offence'.[120] Sometimes cases were decided by default, as in 1755 when Tew granted a special warrant 'against John Brown of Westo blacksmith for not allowing sufficient victuals and cloaths to his apprentice John Islander' and noted that 'The master discharged him rather than appear.'[121] At other times Tew was seemingly being used as an arbitration service, as an apprentice or master brought a complaint that was 'agreed' and then the opposite party brought a counter charge a few months later to redress the advantage gained by the first decision.[122] Apprentices may have been able to turn to the law for assistance, but they were evidently disadvantaged by their subordinate status.

In one of the handful of cases involving the wayward behaviour of apprentices, the master of George Johnson and Michael Cheriton accused them of 'being drunk and abusing the family'. This not only suggests that such youths were not necessarily considered to be part of their master's 'family' but also highlights the fact that two unruly juveniles acting in tandem may have been more disruptive than a single apprentice would have been. It was not always the

[118] 15 June 1757, 2 November 1757, Ibid., pp. 76, 87.
[119] 30 May 1759, 27 April 1761, Ibid., pp. 106, 138.
[120] 20 April 1761, 22 July 1762, Ibid., pp. 137, 156.
[121] 2 November 1757, 6 August 1755, Ibid., pp. 87, 58.
[122] 16 June 1758, 12 February 1759, 2 May 1760, 12 June 1760, Ibid., pp. 91, 101, 120, 125.

apprentice that was in the wrong when disputes arose between a master's relations and his juvenile employees. In 1754 William Todd junior of Monk Wearmouth was accused of 'assaulting and giving a black eye to Richard Young apprentice to his father'. Again, in 1760 Tew 'Wrote to Mr Wilkinson Shoreside about his sons cruelly using his apprentice Wanless by biting his toes etc.'[123] These cases demonstrate the extent to which taking an apprentice into one's household opened a master's domestic life to public scrutiny. This suggests that to some extent the traditional apprentice system acted to regulate the behaviour of householders as well as apprentices.

Focusing upon dysfunctional employment relationships can paint a rather bleak picture. The relationship between a master and apprentice was not always antagonistic, and there is even some evidence of this in Tew's notebook. In one instance an apprentice's master brought a case against a third party for mistreating his boy, and in another a master seemingly assisted his apprentice to resist arrest.[124] The disputes recorded by Tew can not therefore be seen as representative of the average experience. They are, however, indicative of the authority a master enjoyed over his apprentices more generally, and the cases involving more than one apprentice offer particularly valuable insights in this context. If apprenticed youths were working in larger numbers then they could act collectively, thereby changing the dynamics of the relationship between the master and his apprentices. For instance, in 1752 Tew wrote a letter 'to Mr Thomas Ayres shipbuilder in Sunderland upon 8 of his apprentices complaining of want of victuals etc.' Strength of numbers allowed some to act quite boldly, and in July 1760 he 'Wrote to Mr Thomas Dixon about the complaint of ten apprentices for wages due in their absence in Christmas Holydays, and judged the complaint unreasonable.' A month later he granted a general warrant 'against Andrew Hedley and 5 more apprentices to William Todd of the Shore ship-builder for refusing to work, except at tyde hours' and noted in the margin 'Bound all over ... in £10 penalty.'[125] Employing youths in larger numbers destabilised the power balance in the master/apprentice relationship, and this was surely central to the shift in practice that saw the patriarchal authority of a householder replaced by the legal authority of an employer.

[123] 24 July 1754, 26 July 1754, 26 May 1760. Ibid., pp. 49, 50, 122.
[124] 15 April 1754, 14 October 1756, Ibid., pp. 47, 70.
[125] 4 June 1752, 26 July 1760, 18 August 1760, Ibid., pp. 41, 127, 129.

Stratified Socialisation

The responsibility for the behaviour of youths was moving away from the regulated patriarchal household that had been the linchpin of the apprentice system. This development was in part a consequence of responses to anxieties about social order problems during the 1750s, as demographic trends combined with geo-politics to increase the visibility of underemployed youths. It can also be linked to changing attitudes towards family life within the middle ranks of society. As fewer middling youths embarked upon live-in apprenticeships, juvenile employment lost its association with the social replication of cultural mores. In many respects these were discrete issues with independent trajectories, but the guild records from Newcastle demonstrate the way in which these two factors became interwoven as an increasing number of youths were taken on as low-skilled and low-status 'apprentices'. Hugh Cunningham concluded that, in the eyes of their social superiors, poor children were assumed to be 'different' to their wealthier counterparts and their childhood was seen as 'a time for inurement into habits of labour'.[126] While there may be some justification for this claim, the virtues of diligence and industry were also promoted in a middling context, and Samuel Pickering has described the children's book publisher John Newbery as an apologist for 'middle-class commercial activity'.[127] Nonetheless, the demise of the traditional apprenticeship ruptured the connection between poor apprentices and their wealthier age-cohorts, which gave the shifts in employment practices a distinctly class-based subtext.[128]

It is important to recognise that it was not only apprenticeship legislation, but employment law more generally, that was premised upon patriarchal authority. As Chris Brooks points out, masters could be held responsible for the actions of their servants, as well as their apprentices, and were equally obliged to extend their paternal protection to such employees; albeit live-in servants were at an even greater disadvantage than traditional apprentice when it came to seeking legal redress. The master's responsibility also encompassed his spouse and biological family, and reached beyond the physical space of the household to include non-resident employees and wider kinship networks. Consequently, several overlapping hierarchical

[126] Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (London, 1995), p. 3.
[127] Samuel F. Pickering, Jr., *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (Knoxville, 1981), p. 13.
[128] Sheila McIsaac Cooper, 'Service to Servitude? The Decline and Demise of Life-Cycle Service in England', *History of the Family*, 10 (2005), pp. 367-386.

relationships coexisted under the metaphoric roof of the patriarch.[129] Within this social structure, apprentices for whom servitude was a life-stage status had been subordinated by the same control mechanisms as those for whom low-status employment was a life-long occupation. This allowed patronising paternalism or heavy-handed patriarchy to be used to treat the poor like juveniles regardless of their age. As wealthier parents were assuming greater responsibility for their own teenage children, it became impossible to use the same cultural tools to sustain paternal and social authority. Consequently, a relaxation of the rules for better-off apprentices coincided with an apparent hardening of the structures of governance for poor youths. The traditional apprenticeship structures had always included an element of compulsion that provided a socially regulated domestic solution to the interlinked problems of underemployed youths and juvenile delinquency. Although compulsory apprenticeship continued to be used as a method of dealing with the destitute, the patriarchal authority of the householder was losing its effectiveness as a source of social control for the wayward. It was this that resulted in the criminalisation of juvenile delinquents as the judicial system stepped into the breach.

The chronology of change in juvenile employment can clearly be linked to the generational transition considered in the previous chapters, and turning to look at youth culture will bring these connections to the fore. At this stage it is possible to conclude that it was as the children of the 1740s became youths that attitudes towards the role of masters were changing. This cultural turn combined with demographic trends and geo-political events during the 1750s in a manner that was to transform the apprentice system over the following decades. By the time that the youths of the 1750s became parents of adolescent children during the 1770s and 1780s, the 'modern' apprenticeship had emerged. These developments may not have been experienced in the same way in all locations, but the guild records from Newcastle reflected a nationwide decline in traditional apprenticeships that altered both intergenerational and socio-economic relationships profoundly.

[129] For an account of the relationships within an early-modern household see Christopher Brooks, 'The Household and its Members' in his *Law, Politics and Society*, pp. 352-384; for an accessible overview of the notion of rank in the eighteenth century, see David Cannadine, 'The Eighteenth Century: Class without Class struggle' in his *Class in Britain* (London, 2000), pp. 24-55.

Chapter Four
The Hubris of Youth

As was seen in the previous chapter, fewer youths from the middle ranks of society were being apprenticed during the second half of the eighteenth century. At the same time the quasi-parental master became more of an employer, and the policing of poorer youths was transferred to the criminal justice system. This left middling youths without a civic form of social regulation, as responsibility for their behaviour shifted from the legislated patriarchal household to the private family home. In trying to understand the nature of the eighteenth-century family, historians have focused upon spousal relationships and concepts of childhood, but it was also as middling parents were adjusting to their new role as guardians of their own teenage children that a growing emphasis was placed upon the importance of the nuclear family. Exploring the interpersonal aspects of the developments uncovered in Chapter Three reveals the links between cultural and structural change. Again, the evidence presents a somewhat male-centric picture, but as the investigation turns towards adult society in the following chapter it will become apparent that the issues considered here were not gender specific.

Youths are a particularly useful gauge of cultural mores. They try the patience of their elders, testing and transforming the boundaries of adult authority, and the consternation they provoke highlights the social norms they are seen to transgress. However, concentrating upon adult attitudes presents a mediated picture of young people's experiences. In order to focus attention towards the perceptions of youths, rather than the adult world that they unsettle, this investigation centres upon an adolescent named Ralph Jackson. Ralph, whose account of the unhappy young servant Jenny was considered in the previous chapter, kept a daily record of his life from the age of twelve; beginning in 1749 when he embarked upon a seven year apprenticeship in Newcastle.[1] He was the second son of a moderately well-to-do family from Richmond in the county of York. The specific details of his life reflect his relatively privileged social status, but his experiences provide more general insights into the nature of apprenticeships, and the copious and often mundane entries in his journal paint a vivid picture of growing up in Newcastle during the 1750s.

Ralph expressed a growing sense of autonomy in the pages of his journal. This can be seen as an integral part of negotiating this transitional phase of life, but for Ralph's age cohort this

[1] Ralph Jackson Diaries, Books A-U (1749-1790), TA, U/WJ; also see Chapter Three, p. 114.

ubiquitous feature of adolescence coincided with a period of social change that was inextricably enmeshed with their personal experience. The youths of the 1750s were more numerous than their predecessors and were placing strain upon the traditional juvenile employment structures. In addition, this age cohort had been children at a time when adult attitudes towards childhood were being radically transformed. Consequently, the particularised details of Ralph's life assume a wider significance as they reveal an individual's account of a generational experience. It is therefore instructive to look at his journal in some detail before placing the events he recounted into a broader context and considering the way in which his generation changed the nature of social relationships.

Life as an Apprentice

Ralph Jackson was apprenticed to William Jefferson, a Newcastle Hostman, on 22 November 1749 for a premium of seventy pounds.[2] Hostmen were essentially middlemen. They facilitated trade between local business and non-resident merchants, and in Newcastle they enjoyed a monopoly on the loading of coal on the banks of the Tyne, making them one of the wealthiest of the guilds in the town. Jefferson was the son of 'a gentleman' from Croft, only a few miles from Ralph's family home in Richmond, which suggests that Ralph's parents had used local contacts to secure a good apprenticeship for their son. The company regulations stipulated that an apprentice had to be at least fifteen years old but Ralph signed his indenture a few weeks before his thirteenth birthday, after having lived with his prospective master for the previous month.[3] Although he was not enrolled in the company books until 22 May 1751, he completed his seven year term in late 1756, just before turning twenty.[4] After serving his apprenticeship, Ralph became a freeman of Newcastle, and would vote in the 1774 election, but he never became a member of the company. Instead he returned to north Yorkshire to assist in the management of his uncle's estate, which he went on to inherit in November 1759.[5]

Ralph began his journal as he prepared to leave Richmond in late October 1749 and he continued to make daily entries until his death in 1790, with only one long-term interval between the ages of sixteen and nineteen.[6] Diaries are not necessarily intended as a private

[2] RJD, TA, U/WJ/A; Apprentice Index, TWAS.
[3] The age of apprenticeship was put up from fourteen to fifteen years on 15 June 1716, Frederick Walter Dendy (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, Surtees Society, no. 105 (Durham, 1901), p. 178.
[4] 22 May 1751, RJD, TA, U/WJ/C, 9 December 1756, RJD, TA, U/WJ/F.
[5] 23 November 1759, RJD, TA, U/WJ/H.
[6] From August 1753 to March 1756.

memoir, and it is important to recognise the potential for fabrication, embellishment, and biased emphasis. However, in this case the 'problematic' nature of the evidence provides considerable insights into the author's changing relationship with his intended audience.

The first words Ralph wrote were:

> My father told me when I began to keep this Journal –
>
> > Let not that Day pass by
> > whose low descending Sun,
> > Views from thy hand
> > No noble action done.

Despite such laudable aims, in the first few months of his apprenticeship Ralph made more references to playing cards than any other activity. During this time he only mentioned attending church once on Sunday 12 November, when he went 'in the afternoon to hear the Sermon preiched [sic] for the Charity boys'. After spending Christmas with his parents, Ralph returned to Newcastle in late January 1750. In the following weeks he made far fewer references to cards and recorded regular Sunday attendance at church, beginning 28 January 1750 with the claim 'Went to Church both fornoon and afternoon, & as soon as I came home retired to My Chamber & got begun to read the Practice of Piety ...'.[7] It would seem that unbeknown to Ralph his father had encouraged him to keep a journal so as to monitor his progress, and after his first visit home he was clearly tailoring his entries for the benefit of his parents. Yet, as the years went by he expressed an increasing self-determination, implying that his journal was either less likely to be scrutinised or he was less concerned about the consequences of disclosure. Either way, he was evidently gaining a greater degree of independence from his parents, culminating in his decision to stop keeping his journal at the age of sixteen. In order to understand the circumstances in which Ralph made this decision it is necessary to get a sense of how he had spent his time during the preceding years.

None of the residents in Ralph's new household were related to each other. His master, William Jefferson, had been apprenticed in 1722 so would have been in his forties when he took on Ralph. His previous apprentice had just completed, or was about to complete, his seven year term.[8] Jefferson was either a bachelor, or widower with no children, and in addition to Ralph his household included old George, his servant, and Jenny the domestic. Jefferson's

[7] 28 January 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/A.
[8] Jefferson's previous apprentice was entered into the company books on 14 July 1743, but like Ralph he may have been apprenticed earlier than this; see Dendy (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen*, p. 296.

nephew Billy Hudspeth, who was around Ralph's age, also spent a lot of time at his uncle's house. Billy's mother, who lived nearby, was seemingly a widow. Ralph appears to have been welcomed into his new home with kindness, and he initially spent his evenings in the company of his master. He had been in Newcastle for nearly six months before he referred to being out after dark, walking on 'the Key', or quayside, before returning home for his supper, after which his master 'told some merry Stories' before they retired to bed at ten.[9] It was almost two years before he made the first of very few references to his master being angry with him, and the only time he noted any physical chastisement was 14 February 1752 when he wrote 'In the morning when I went down stairs my Master was beating the dog for Tearing the Magazene and he hit me two or three slaps for lyeing it there but he ask'd me pardon after he had done it and I went to M^{r} Akenhead shop to buy another'.[10]

It is not easy to gauge how much time Ralph spent working in the earlier years of his apprenticeship, as he did not always distinguish between work and leisure. When he referred to being onboard a ship or a keelboat, or more often when he went to the staiths where the coal was loaded, he did not indicate whether he considered this to be work. He ran a lot of errands, delivered and collected letters, and was often sent in search of someone with whom his master wished to do business. During the keelmen strikes of early 1750 he was sent to make a 'copy of a piece of paper that was put up at the Broadchair gate' and another 'that was at All Saints Church', but he had been apprenticed for six moths before he mentioned going to 'the Office', where he had copied out a bill.[11] Occasionally he referred to accompanying one of his master's employees, for instance on 3 March 1750 he had gone to 'Mr Fettersons office to get a bill Changed' before going with 'Tho^{s}. Retley to Pay the Men'. As the years passed he incrementally gained a greater level of responsibility in his master's business. After serving two and a half years of his apprenticeship, Ralph was given 'a Key and possession of one side of the Desk in the Office'. Then, in September 1752, when he was a few months away from turning sixteen, he was left in charge of the business when his master went away for a few days.[12]

In many ways Ralph's life as an apprentice appears to have reflected the ideal type, demonstrating that in some cases this tried and tested method of raising the younger

[9] 15 March 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/A.
[10] 14 September 1751, 14 February 1752, RJD, TA, U/WJ/C.
[11] 25 March, 22 April, 19 April 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/A.
[12] 11 May, 24 Sept 1752, RJD, TA, U/WJ/D.

generation remained firmly in place in 1750. Yet, the fact that his father had encouraged him to keep his journal would seem to indicate a growing parental involvement in the lives of apprentices. Ralph regularly corresponded with his parents and siblings, and returned home for a month or more every Christmas. He also retuned to Richmond on two occasions when his sister, Hannah, was extremely ill and expected to die.[13] As was suggested in the previous chapter, continued parental contact may not have been exceptional in earlier centuries but improving communication networks and the decline in long-distance apprenticeship for better-off youths certainly made this easier. Nonetheless, in his day-to-day life it was Ralph's master who took responsibility for his upbringing.

Juvenile Pastimes

Ralph did not tend to reflect at all on the activities he recorded, but this was not simply a workman's journal. Far more space was devoted to recounting his pastimes than was used in describing his working day, and it is here that he gives a clearer sense of his experience of growing up during the early 1750s. Considering how Ralph spent his leisure time also sheds a revealing light upon the nature of the social relationship between apprentices and their masters. Given that he was tailoring his journal for parental scrutiny, it is difficult to gauge how genuine some of his earlier claims were. For instance, on returning to Newcastle after his first Christmas holiday, Ralph noted that he had asked his master for a book to read and was given 'the Compleate Traidman'. He may have been referring to Defoe's *Complete English Tradesman* or possibly the anonymous *The Compleat Tradesman*, which provided instruction '*in all things absolutely necessary to be known by all those who would thrive in the world*'.[14] Either way, two days later he suggested this book was called the 'Complete Gentleman'.[15] It was not long before such claims disappeared, and while he may have still been reading books, Ralph certainly became less inclined to mention them. Over the coming years he made increasing reference to 'the newspaper' and 'the magazine', and by the time he was sixteen reading had become an important part of his life; but, as will be seen in due course, the books he read in 1753 were clearly not chosen to impress his parents.

Initially his master's nephew, Billy Hudspeth, had been Ralph's only companion, and the two boys had spent a good deal of time together. Besides cards, indoor activities included

[13] 9 March 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/A; 23 March 1753, RJD, TA, U/WJ/E.
[14] N. H. *The Compleat Tradesman* (London, 1720).
[15] 1 March 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/A.

baggamond, dice, and Jeckers (later written as Checkers), and on 31 October each year they played a game akin to apple bobbing called 'apple & candle'. As an increasing amount of his leisure time was spent outdoors Ralph's social circle widened. He often walked with friends before supper, or in the summer months played at Burn Ball, which was akin to basketball, 'Shittle cock', 'horse shoes', and 'spell & Nor', in which a stick was used to flick a ball into the air before attempting to strike it. He also occasionally went fishing or netting larks, and as he got older he went shooting; firing a gun for the first time in October 1752 when he was fifteen.[16] Music also became an important pastime for Ralph, who was given a German flute as a gift from a family friend during a trip home over Christmas 1751. This was obviously a coveted item, as he noted when he had allowed his master's nephew to borrow it until Billy was bought one of his own.[17] Ralph often visited Billy's house, where they drank tea with his mother and sisters. As he got older he occasionally took tea as a guest elsewhere, but he rarely referred to drinking it with visitors to his master's house. His first reference to drinking coffee was in March 1752, when he would have been fifteen, and had asked for permission 'to go Tinmouth with Billy Hudspeth & Billy Kent were we got Coffee'.[18] Coffee drinking remained an unusual activity; it was rarely served in a domestic setting, and was more likely to be consumed in a homosocial context. However, on at least one occasion he drank coffee whilst visiting Billy's mother.[19]

In addition to his more routine pastimes there was no shortage of events to occupy a young lad. During his first year in Newcastle these were more limited; going to see prisoners taken to court, soldiers exercise, or a house on fire. He witnessed the recovery of the body after a boy drowned, watched the 'Fitters men dance', went to hear the new organ at St John's church played for the first time, and in October he went to the fair with a friend of his master.[20] There was only one exception to this otherwise free entertainment during 1750 when his master had 'treated [him] to the Play'.[21] In contrast, Billy was regularly taken by his uncle to the races or the theatre. Even when there would have been no cost to his master in money or lost working time, Ralph could be excluded; as was the case in August 1750 when he had 'asked My Master to go out with Billy & Young M^{r} Harle with the Greyhound but he would not let me so

[16] 20 October 1752, RJD, TA, U/WJ/D.
[17] 2 May 1752, Ibid.
[18] 1 March 1752, Ibid.
[19] 4 July 1753, RJD, TA, U/WJ/E.
[20] 28 April, 9 May 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/A; 16 September, 19 October 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/B.
[21] 22 June 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/A.

I walked about the Key'.[22] By the time he was fourteen Ralph was being granted a little more liberty, but he was still obliged to ask for permission to do anything out of the ordinary. For instance, in May 1751 he wrote 'my Master let me go to see the Horse rase'.[23] That summer he was taken to the theatre on two occasions, once by his cousin Deighton, and in October Billy had 'treated [him] to the Concert'.[24] Evidently, despite his increased freedom, a lack of funds continued to restrict his access to such events. He rarely referred to buying anything, and initially this was only ever after he had been sent money as a gift from his parents. By June 1752 he was sending monthly accounts to his father, which suggests he had regular cash at this point but that his father was monitoring his spending habits.[25]

Race week marked the high point of Ralph's year in 1752. On 19 June he had taken 'a walk into the High Town and heard the Tall Man play upon the French Horn' and the next day he went with Billy 'to see the Sussex Boy, [who] was 7 Foot and two Inches high'.[26] Two days later he went to see 'the Gentlemen come from the Races', and the following morning he went in search of Mr. Allen, the family friend who had given him his German flute. Mr. Allen, who was in town for race week, had dinned with Ralph and his master, along with other guests including his master's brother who was visiting with his family. After this Mr. Allen had lent Ralph his horse so that he could go to the races with his master's entourage. This had been an unusual day and Ralph's excitement was palpable. The entry in his journal implied that he would not have been given this opportunity without the kind gesture from a friend of his parents, and when the party returned he 'got [his] Supper in the Kitchin, but all the People suped in the Parlour that did at Noon save Mr Allen'. After eating, Ralph went to Billy's house and sat with the servant 'while [Billy and his mother] were at our house'. Then, suggesting a distinction based upon age rather than family ties or socio-economic rank, the following evening Ralph had gone to the theatre with his master's extended family and, while the others took a box, Ralph and Billy 'went upon the Stage'; and Ralph noted that 'Billy & me came home behind the Coatch that Mr Jefferson & rest was in.'[27] It may be that Ralph was taken to see the play out of kindness, but it could also have been that he was simply seen as a useful companion for Billy. Once race week was over, things returned to normal. For instance,

[22] 23 August 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/B.
[23] 1 May 1751, RJD, TA, U/WJ/C.
[24] 1 May, 8 July, 17 October 1751, Ibid.
[25] See RJD, TA, U/WJ/E.
[26] 19, 20 June 1752, RJD, TA, U/WJ/D.
[27] 22, 24 June 1752, Ibid.

on 20 July Billy was taken to see a play whilst Ralph 'retired into the Office ... [and] read in the Magazine for the month of June'. These events must have drawn Ralph's attention to the constructed nature of his position within the household. The presence of Mr Allen, who had come to the house as a social equal of the master but a guest of the apprentice, had clearly highlighted his liminal status as neither a relative nor a servant.

Just weeks after Mr Allen's visit, Ralph was fitted for new breeches and a coat and 'went w[i]th Billy Tindell to speak for a wigg'.[28] He had rarely referred to getting new clothes, and when he had these had been acquired whilst staying with his family over Christmas, or sent from Richmond by post. Ralph's impatience whilst waiting for his orders to be made up suggests that these were not work-a-day items, and demonstrates just how keen he was to get his hands on clothes he had chosen for himself. It may be that attending the races had made him more self-conscious about his appearance, and it is possible that Mr. Allen had a hand in securing his access to the funds for this apparel. Yet regardless of his motivation, or how he paid for the autonomy he gained by purchasing his own clothes, this fifteen-year-old youth was beginning to express his individuality.

A Growing Independence

Ralph also began to develop a more independent interest in God during the summer of 1752. It was just two days before he went to the races on Mr. Allen's horse that he first mentioned going to more than one church, noting that 'I went to All S^{ts}. Church and after dinner I took a walk w[i]th Billy Henderson to Newgate came down as far as S^{t}. Nicholas Church and heard a Sermon there.'[29] Billy Henderson, who was also an apprentice Hostman, was to become Ralph's closest friend and over the coming year Billy Hudspeth was increasingly referred to as 'my masters nephew' or 'master Billy'.[30] On 25 July, within weeks of buying his new clothes, Ralph had gone to 'old Mr Akenheads Shop for a Psalm Book ... but they had only an old fashioned one'. The next day Ralph's master had 'bid me Read a Sermon to him which was one of Clarks Sermons'.[31] This was highly unusual. Ralph had never mentioned any form of religious instruction from his master. It is not possible to identify this text, or to determine his master's motivation, but the events that unfolded the following spring suggest that Ralph's

[28] 8 July 1752, Ibid.
[29] 21 June 1752, Ibid.
[30] William Henderson was the son of a hostman, and was apprenticed to the hostman Ralph Sowerby on 20 November 1749, Dendy (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen*.
[31] 25, 26 July 1752, RJD, TA, U/WJ/D.

growing independence of thought may have been provoking disapproval and the reading was possibly designed to put him on the 'right' path.

Ralph was almost half way through the terms of his indenture when he returned to Newcastle after his Christmas holidays in early February 1753, and this period marked a clear turning point in his life. Ralph's father had been away in London at the beginning of December, and rather than travelling straight to Richmond Ralph had spent the first week of his holiday visiting friends and family in Darlington. As he recounted his social engagements, his journal entries suggest a certain freedom from the patriarchal control of both his master and his father. This contrasted sharply with the lacklustre approach he took to recording the time he spent in Richmond, when he even failed to make an entry on some days. The first Sunday after he returned to Newcastle Ralph had attended church 'both forenoon and afternoon', after which he wrote 'I went into my Chamber and read in the New Testament'.[32] He also noted that he had read 'in the Bible' on Saturday evening. These claims were reminiscent of the entries he made in early 1750 after returning from his first Christmas at home. It would seem that Ralph's father had expressed his disapproval of a son whom he had not seen for a year, but it can not be assumed that Ralph's references to reading religious texts reflected a desire to placate his father. He was now sixteen years of age and becoming less inclined to submit to patriarchal authority.

Just weeks after Ralph got back to Newcastle a parcel arrived from Richmond, which contained a book entitled 'Telemachus'.[33] Ralph's parents had not made a habit of sending him reading material, and they could not have made their intentions more explicit than by choosing François Fénelon's *The Adventures of Telemachus, the Son of Ulysses* (1699), which was described in the preface to the 1742 edition as 'the most proper book that ever was written to form the minds and hearts of Youth'.[34] Fénelon had been royal tutor to the Duke of Burgundy, the eldest grandson of Louis XIV and heir to the French throne.[35] *Telemachus* was written for his tutee, and Fénelon combined Christian morals with classical influences in order

[32] 11 February 1753, RJD, TA, U/WJ/E.
[33] 21 Feb 1753, Ibid.
[34] François Fénelon, *The Adventures of Telemachus, the Son of Ulysses*, 2 Vols. (London, 1742), i, preface.
[35] *Telemachus* was published without Fénelon's permission, and the political overtones of the text led to it being read as a thinly veiled critique of Louis XIV for which Fénelon was banished from the French Court. Historians and political scientists have focused upon the political influence of this book, but Ruth Bottigheimer describes it as the 'most frequently published children's book in the eighteenth century', suggesting that its importance as part of the emerging genre of juvenile literature is largely overlooked, Ruth B. Bottigheimer, 'Fairy Tales, *Telemachus*, and *Young Misses Magazines*: Moderns, Ancients, Gender, and Eighteenth-Century Children's Book Publishing', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 28:3 (2003), p. 172.

to describe the travails of this youth as he made the transition to adulthood, covering the period between Books V and XV of Homer's *Odyssey*. According to Patrick Riley the story was designed to promote the notions of 'simplicity, labor, the virtues of agriculture, the absence of luxury and splendor, and the elevation of peace over war and aggrandizement'.[36] Telemachus was accompanied on his adventures by the goddess of wisdom disguised as 'old Mentor' but, as Gilbert Highet notes, 'her presence [was] much more constant and obtrusive than in the *Odyssey*'.[37] Fénelon's portrayal of the mentor is credited as the etymological source of our contemporary usage of the term, and Riley concludes that it was not Telemachus but his mentor who was the true hero of the text.[38] Graham Allen goes a step further with his suggestion that the mentor transcended the boundaries of the character, becoming the essence of the novel, which allowed the reader to become the hero as the book took on a heuristic form.[39] For Highet, 'The real fault of *Telemachus* is that it is too obvious, and too gentlemanly, and too sweetly equable ... Fénelon [did] not introduce passion and ... seldom (except in bad characters) allow[ed] the emotions to be roused.'[40] To send this book to a sixteen-year-old son who was living away from home was evidently an attempt to maintain some level of parental control over his behaviour. Despite his growing sense of independence, Ralph claimed to read *Telemachus* almost daily over the course of the next two weeks, completing the first ten of the twenty-four books by 5 March. He had never recorded his reading progress in this way before and it seems unlikely that this was a fabrication designed to deceive his father, as he then stopped reading the book and it was more than a month before he returned to this text; but more of this later.

The day after he was sent *Telemachus*, Ralph wrote 'this day my Mas[te]r was very angry at me because Mr Jn Campion told him that my Fa[the]r was saying at Staiths that he feared I show'd little improvement at Newcastle'.[41] He rarely noted his master's displeasure and had never described him as *very* angry before. Ralph had evidently not impressed his father during the holidays and now his master was also displeased with his 'progress'. Ralph apparently turned to the church for solace. The following Sunday, instead of his usual 'went to Church

[36] Patrick Riley (ed.), *François Fénelon, Telemachus, Son of Ulysses* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. xvi-xvii, xx.
[37] Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman influences on western literature,* (Oxford, [1949] 1985), p. 338.
[38] Riley, *François Fénelon*, pp. xx; also OED.
[39] Graham Allen, 'Godwin, Fénelon, and the Disappearing Teacher', *History of European Ideas,* 33:1 (2007), pp. 9-24.
[40] Highet, *The Classical Tradition*, p. 339.
[41] 22 February 1753, RJD, TA, U/WJ/E.

both forenoon and afternoon' Ralph made the first of many references to the content of the service; 'In the forenoon I went to our Church, in the afternoon I went to Sandgate Chapell & I heard an excellent Sermon preached by M[r] Wilson of Gateshead taken out of the 42 Chapter of Genisis'.[42] Less than two weeks later Ralph recorded his first non-Sunday attendance and, over the coming months, religion was to take up an increasing amount of space in the pages of his journal.[43]

In late March Ralph's religiosity was elevated to new heights when the severe illness of his sister Hannah caused him to rush back to Richmond. He found Hannah very weak and 'quite resigned and willing to die'.[44] Ralph had spent several days at his sister's bedside in prayer with his family before Hannah recovered, and he returned to Newcastle with a notably increased level of religious zeal. He started to refer to private devotions, and then on 17 April he began his day by doing his 'Duty to God' and writing in his journal before beginning to read *The Whole Duty of Man* (first published in 1659).[45] Later the same day he claimed to have 'read in the whole Duty of Man as I walked', and he returned to this book daily. On 23 April he wrote 'I sat down against a hedgside and read in my whole Duty of Man' and later that night 'I read the above book'. The following day he attended church twice although it was not a Sunday. Then, on 29 April he 'went to the Garthheads & heard M[r] Jn Wesley preach'; returning to his room afterwards to pray before going to meet Billy Henderson with whom he 'walked a good while', after which they 'settled a Friendship to each other'. Church became a twice daily occurrence, and on 7 May he wrote 'I came down the Key again & look'd too much upon the vanities of the world.'

Ralph's reading of *The Whole Duty of Man* raises the problematic nature of his religious convictions. While his spiritual awakening appeared to reflect his growing sense of individuality, this book advocated submission to a hierarchical structure based upon a patriarchal authority bestowed by God. The Christian obligation to obey his mother and father may be why it was also during April that Ralph began to refer to *Telemachus* again, reading books twelve to eighteen over the course of the month. However, after hearing Wesley preach it appears that he discarded this book without ever finishing it, and instead 'begun D[r] Hamonds

[42] 25 February 1753, Ibid.
[43] 7 March 1753, Ibid.
[44] 23 March 1753, Ibid.
[45] Richard Allestree, *The Whole Duty of Man* (London, 1703).

Historical Naration of the Whole Bible viz. the Old & New Testaments.'[46] While he generally recorded no judgment of his reading material, he would describe *Telemachus* as 'that bad book' just before sending it back to his parents in early June.[47]

Religious Awakening and Youthful Rebellion

On Thursday 10 May, a little less than two weeks after he heard Wesley preach, Ralph had 'got up early and read in the History of the Bible', and called on Billy Henderson to collect 'some magazines I lent him' before going to church. He had then walked with another friend, attended to some business, and 'read in the whole duty in Lionell Trotters newsroom' prior to attending church for the second time. After this he went 'to George's & read part of a sermon that [was] preached in St. Nicholas Church concerning the Infirmary' before he 'went down Sandgate & found J[oh]n Scafe'. He had walked with Scafe and 'talked about the Scriptures & other sorts of divinity', after which Ralph had gone 'into All S[ain]ts Churchyard with him & he fetched a book, he read to me & told me some secrets I came in & retired a very little after Ten.'[48] Ralph's new found piety was clearly also a social activity and the amount of time that he devoted to his religious duties was inevitably to lead him into conflict with his master.

Ralph began to spend large amounts of time at the house of Thomas Scafe and his wife, presumably relatives of, and possibly the parents of, John Scafe. Here he read 'old books' including a book of discourses by 'John Downame' which he described as 'a large Book & seems to be of about 131 years standing'. This must have been the discourses of practical divinity *A Guide to Godlyness* (1622) written by the nonconformist preacher John Downham (1571–1652).[49] Scafe was also lending Ralph religious texts, including Anthony Horneck's (1641–1697) *The Crucified Jesus*.[50] Billy Henderson often accompanied him to these prayer meetings and the two youths would also read to each other; as he noted on 21 May 'we read two sermons in a field his was concerning the innocency [sic] of little Children and mine was recommending Religion'. It was at this time that Ralph started to stay in his room for hours after he awoke engaged in more private introspective reading, and he regularly spent solitary time there during the day. Ralph also made his first references to doing 'business' for himself at this time. Although this appears to have been predominantly a novel way to describe letter

[46] 1 May 1753, RJD, TA, U/WJ/E; J. Hamond, *An Historical Narration of the Whole Bible* (London, [1727] 1749).
[47] 4, 6 June 1753, Ibid.
[48] 10 May 1753, Ibid.
[49] 29 July 1753, Ibid.
[50] For the first reference to this, see 13 May 1753, Ibid.

writing and keeping his journal, his own affairs seem to have taken up an increasing amount of his time. For instance, on 11 May he had retired to his room after dinner and 'did business for myself with a little for my Master'.[51]

Religion was evidently affecting other aspects of Ralph's life. On 27 June he had met with Mr Deighton, possibly the cousin who had taken him to the theatre during his second summer in Newcastle. Ralph had felt obliged to drink 'two glasses of Cyder against the checks of my own Conscience to the contrary', going to church afterwards where he 'received a great deal of comfort'. The next day he had gone to the house of 'Thos. Scafe' where he was 'instructed a little for receiving the Sacriment'; and the following afternoon he 'went to three stationers shops before I got Robert Nelson Esquire's Preparation for the Sacrament'. Robert Nelson had been a prominent nonjuror whose writings had a seminal influence upon the young John Wesley during his time at Oxford.[52] Ralph's master clearly did not approve. On Sunday 8 July Ralph wrote 'I went out of our pew & to one nearer to the Choir beside M^{rs} Scafe and there received the blessed Sacriment', but the following Sunday he noted 'sat in the Pew my Master frequents for he told me'.

In early August Ralph failed to make an entry in his journal for two weeks.[53] He had occasionally summarised a few days after the event, and even skipped short periods during his holidays, but this was unique. When his entries resumed on 15 August he suggested that a 'want of opportunity or negligence hindered me from noting my particular Actions in this Book'. This was the day that his father arrived in Newcastle. It was two and a half years since Ralph's father had been in town, and he had never stayed at his master's house before.[54] Ralph gave no indication of what his father said to him, he simply wrote 'I came home I sat with my Father & Master' and when his father left two days later he noted 'I was called on early and I went into the room where my Father lay, I stayed some time'. Ralph's attendance at church became more spasmodic during the following days, but his interest in religion was no less keen. On Sunday 26 August he had stayed in his room until church, and after dinner he went to Mr. Scafe's house. After this he attended church again where 'M^{r} Ellison preached from the 20th Chapter & 12th Verse of St. John's Revelation', and Ralph uncharacteristically engaged with the content of this sermon as he wrote of the dead being judged 'according to their

[51] 11 May 1753; also see 2, 6, 10, 30 April 1753, Ibid.
[52] Henry D. Rack, 'Wesley, John (1703-1791)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).
[53] Between 1 and 14 August 1753, RJD, TA, U/WJ/E.
[54] His Father's last visit to town had been during February 1751.

works'. Then in the evening he returned to Scafe's house where a sermon was read. Three days later he stopped keeping his journal (apart from one entry) until nine months before the completion of his apprenticeship in December 1756.[55]

Ralph's journal had been started under the direction of his father. While later entries reflected a growing sense of independence, the fact that he continued to record the events of each day demonstrated a certain level of submission to paternal authority. To stop marked a strident self-determination. This presents a striking contrast to the more discursive diaries kept by 'persons of intense Protestant piety' during the seventeenth century, which tend to be linked to an increasingly internalised self-identity.[56] For Ralph it was his literary silence that was an expression of his autonomous self, and this was both an essential aspect of growing up and a spiritual awakening. Although rebellious in nature, his piety was clearly heartfelt. When he resumed his entries in 1756 Ralph was still visiting Scafe's house, but he recorded a more rounded life, combining the polite sociability that had filled his journal during the summer of 1752 with the more serious and devout elements of the young man he had become the following year.

The Subversion of Authority

Traditional notions of parental authority were clearly challenged by the flamboyant proselytising of the Methodists. As T. H. Breen and Timothy Hall point out, during Reverend George Whitefield's 'celebrated evangelical tour' of the colonies during the 1740s this itinerate English preacher, and his followers, 'celebrated the predominance of young people among the converts, urging children whose parents remained unconverted to "go to Heaven without them!".'[57] Again, in his *Instructions for Children* (published in Newcastle in 1746) Wesley had suggested 'If your Father or Mother give you every Thing that you like, they are the worst Enemies you have', just as those that taught 'their Children Lying, Pride, or Revenge, they offer their Sons and their Daughters unto Devils.'[58]

The implications of such an explicit questioning of parental authority are evident in the comments made in 1863 by William Stamp in his history of early Methodism in Newcastle. Stamp noted that during the 1740s one of Wesley's first converts in the area, Robert Fairlamb,

[55] 1 March 1756, RJD, TA, U/WJ/E, 9 December 1756, RJD, TA, U/WJ/F.
[56] Michael Mascuch, *The Origins of the Individualist Self: autobiography and self-identity in England, 1591-1791* (Cambridge, 1997).
[57] T. H. Breen and Timothy Hall, 'Structuring Provincial Imagination: The Rhetoric and Experience of Social Change in Eighteenth-Century New England', *The American Historical Review*, 103:5 (1998), p. 1428.
[58] John Wesley, *Instructions for Children* (Newcastle, 1746), pp. 14-5, 27.

was just seventeen years old. This youth's convictions were severely tested by his ungodly father, as 'he was threatened, flogged, and at last driven from the parental roof.'[59] This generational division was also evident in the journal of Faith Hopwood, who was born in York on 31 January 1751. Faith began her diary at the age of thirteen, although there were initially only sporadic entries. Anthony Fletcher uses one of these to suggest continuity in religious practice, pointing out that Faith's father read religious books to her on Saturdays as part of the family's preparations for Sunday worship. In focusing upon her childhood experiences, Fletcher overlooks the fact that by the time she was twenty-four Faith would record that an aunt had 'cautioned my Father and Mother respecting my being likely to injure the family with my strange religious notions being Methodistical'.[60] Again, Mary Clare Martin refers to the case of Mary Bonsanquet (1739-1815), who wrote in her autobiography of a conversion experience at the age of eight. By the time she was twenty-one, her Methodism 'led to conflict with her parents' and she was asked to leave the family home lest she should lead her younger brother astray.[61] These were not isolated cases. As Bruce Hindmarsh points out, there were large numbers of *Evangelical Conversion Narratives* printed at this time and 'most of the subjects were converted as young people.'[62]

While focusing upon the way in which the demonic possession of youths during the seventeenth century resulted in a subversion of the hierarchy of age, J. A. Sharpe points to a similarity between descriptions of possessed youths who breached the boundaries of 'normal' behaviour and Wesley's accounts of the 'ecstatic conversions' in early Methodism.[63] It was in the late 1750s that Wesley first referred to this contagious religious apoplexy, describing apparent seizure and trances usually affecting youths and children. These included a fifteen-year-old girl who wept for the world because it was on the brink of destruction, and 'children' who after dramatic conversions 'besought both Men and Women to help them in praising God.' The subversion of authority inherent in these events would seem to be confirmed by

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[59] William Wood Stamp, *The Orphan-House of Wesley with Notices of Early Methodism in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Its Vicinity* (Newcastle, 1863), pp. 5-6.
[60] 2 July 1775, Edwin Gray (ed.), *Papers and Diaries of a York Family 1764-1839* (London, 1927), p. 27; Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England: the experience of childhood, 1600-1914* (London, 2008), p. 137.
[61] Mary Clare Martin, 'Marketing Religious Identity: Female Educators, Methodist Culture, and Eighteenth-Century Childhood' in Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (eds.), *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: beliefs, cultures, practices* (Farnham, 2009), p. 64.
[62] D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: spiritual autobiography in early modern England* (Oxford, 2005), p. 324.
[63] J. A. Sharpe, 'Disruption in the Well-Ordered Household: Age, Authority, and Possessed Young People' in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds.), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 206.

Wesley's suggestion that 'few ancient People ... and Scarce any of the Rich' were affected in this manner.[64] Wesley's tireless enthusiasm and increasing celebrity gave him an extensive audience. He had been on a 'northern tour' when Ralph heard him preach in Newcastle. In a little over a month he had travelled from Bristol up the west side of the country into Scotland and returned on the east coast, preaching incessantly as he passed through towns. The Sunday Ralph had stood amongst his open-air congregation, Wesley wrote in his journal of being 'extremely weary' having preached four times the previous day and twice in Sunderland that morning. Nonetheless, he claimed that his 'strength soon returned, so that the whole congregation near the Keelmen's Hospital, could distinctly hear the entire sermon. And great was the Lord in the midst of us.'[65] Whatever his sermon had contained, Wesley had a profound effect upon at least one of those present, as his words had given Ralph Jackson the spiritual strength to discard *Telemachus*; the book his father had sent as a mentor.

It was, however, the printed word that finally persuaded Ralph to disobey his father's instructions and stop keeping a journal. Just three days after his father visited Newcastle in the summer of 1753, Ralph bought *The New Whole Duty of Man*, a revised edition of Allestree's book that was first published in 1741.[66] Ralph had by this time read the original edition more than twice over, but it was almost a century old and the anonymous author of the new edition suggested that 'not only the words but the manner of expression' was off-putting to a mid-eighteenth-century audience.[67] Although historians tend to emphasise the secular nature of the new style of children's literature, like other books designed for a youthful audience at this time the *New Whole Duty of Man* aimed to inculcate understanding rather than simply forming habit.[68] While the original *Whole Duty* had focused exclusively upon the moral duties of a Christian, the author of the new edition argued that in an age when the credenda of the Church was being 'attacked and condemned' there was a need to include the articles as well as the practice of the faith as this would allow the reader to understand the root of their duties.[69] The newer version would seem to have been more in tune with modern tastes as *The New Whole Duty* had reached its eleventh edition by 1753 and continued to be reprinted more regularly than the original.

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[64] John Wesley, *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, from 17 June 1758 to 5 May 1760 (Bristol, 1764), pp. 41-45.
[65] From 2 November 1751 to 28 October 1754, Ibid, p. 55.
[66] 18 August 1753, RJD, TA, U/WJ/E.
[67] *The New Whole Duty of Man* (London, 1741), p. i.
[68] See Chapter One.
[69] *The New Whole Duty*, p. vi.

A superficial reading can lead to the conclusion that both versions of *The Whole Duty of Man* described a conventional patriarchal authority that flowed from God through a clear hierarchy of the monarch, church men, and fathers. Yet there were fundamental differences that reflected the political contexts in which these books were written. The original edition described the duty to obey as inalienable. No act of wickedness carried out by a monarch could free a subject from their obligation to obey. Even if the monarch's commands were not in keeping with the commands of God, a king was owed passive obedience. A refusal to act against God was justified, but to act against the king was not. It was suggested that there was no need to consider the duties a king owed to his people as it was 'useless' for his subjects to know of these responsibilities, for unlike the monarch they could not be expected to understand them and only God could judge a king's actions.[70] The *New Whole Duty* also suggested that the king could only be punished by God, and concurred that all men ordained by God should be given due respect for their position regardless of their conduct as an individual. Yet, rather than simply focusing upon duties an equal emphasis was placed upon rights. Just as the king enjoyed the right to be obeyed, subjects had the right to be protected and cared for by the monarch, for he was obliged by his duty to God to act for the benefit of his people. This clearly rejected the position of both Jacobites and non-jurors, by challenging the concept of a social structure based upon inalienable patriarchal authority.

It was not only the obedience owed to the monarch that *The New Whole Duty* described as conditional. In the original version Allestree had argued that a child's submission to their parents' wishes was an obligation in all matters unless they were contrary to God's command, and even then passive obedience should be shown to the most uncaring of parents. Particular attention was paid to the question of marriage, and Allestree suggested that children were their parents' goods or possessions and so marriage without their consent was a form of theft.[71] In contrast the newer book suggested that 'children must endeavour to obtain the consent of their parents'. Disobedience could, however, be justified as parents were not incapable of doing their children injury; and while they may be their parents' 'subjects' children were not their 'slaves'. Moreover, parental authority was seemingly secularised as the reader was advised that God did not forbid taking a parent to court if want and necessity made it unavoidable.[72] Within days of buying this book Ralph Jackson had stopped keeping his journal, and this

[70] Allestree, *The Whole Duty*, p. 107.
[71] Ibid., pp. 111-113.
[72] *The New Whole Duty*, p. 190.

reinterpretation of the divinely bestowed social hierarchy clearly gave him ample justification to disobey his father without challenging his obedience to God. The idea that children should only endeavour to gain their parents' approval of a marriage partner had, as will be seen, a timely relevance. What is most striking in this context is that the heightened individualism that is associated with the eighteenth-century is usually linked to a secularisation of society, and the idea that the opportunities for 'self-definition' became more material rather than focused upon the soul. Yet, Ralph and the many young evangelicals of his generation demonstrate that self-realisation could still be a very spiritual journey.

The Undermining of Authority

The re-evaluating of parental authority in *The New Whole Duty of Man* came just six years before the passing of Hardwick's Marriage Act in 1753. This legislation made it a requirement to gain a father's consent to marry, and Lawrence Stone used the speeches made in opposition to its passing as evidence of a shift away from patriarchal control towards emotionally-based marriage contracts and more egalitarian family life.[73] The nature of marriage negotiations may have been changing, but this was more subtle than Stone suggested. Although arranged marriages did not necessarily discount an offspring's wishes, and it can not be assumed that this custom precludes spousal affection, the *New Whole Duty* reversed the power balance within the family by suggesting that children should take the opinions of their parents into account when choosing a spouse, rather than the other way around. It is erroneous to directly link this to emotionally-based marriages. Just as a parent's motivations could be predominantly focused upon financial suitability or personal compatibility, individuals are equally capable of marrying for material gain or for companionship. Nevertheless, young people were apparently acting more autonomously.

William Blackstone was surely right to argue, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765), that the passing of the Marriage Act was solely aimed at preventing clandestine marriages involving the offspring of the wealthiest members of society. Even so, the desire to reaffirm the dominant position of the male head of a household was not limited to such a narrow social strata.[74] Sir John Barnard's *A Present for an Apprentice* (1740) had included a section on choosing a wife, whilst noting this was not a subject of relevance to so young an

[73] For a critique of Stone's analysis see David Lemmings, 'Marriage and the Law in the Eighteenth Century: Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), pp 339-360.
[74] William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 Vols. (Oxford, 1765-69), i, pp. 437-8.

audience because young men should never marry until their wealth was secure. Apprentices were warned against being beguiled by female servants living in their master's house, for if they were to succumb to temptation then they could be threatened with disclosure and so forced into a clandestine marriage that would be their 'utter Undoing'. Barnard suggested that if they found themselves in this position 'your Friends, and the World will forgive you anything, rather than you should shipwreck your Fortune, before you are out of the Harbour.'[75] Despite such advice, it was becoming more common for youths to marry before completing their apprenticeship.[76] This can be linked to the fact that a growing number of youths who would have entered into a traditional apprenticeship without compulsion were being offered paid employment instead. As the case of Ralph Jackson demonstrates, a lack of money could be more constraining than the limits placed upon an apprentice's social freedom. More than this, as parents became exclusively responsible for their older offspring, patriarchal authority was losing the legal weight that the apprentice system had given it.

In 1765 Blackstone suggested 'Our laws ... have in one instance made a wise provision for breeding up the rising generation', that being the statutes that allow for the offspring of 'the poor and laborious part of the community' to be 'taken out of the hands of their parents' and apprenticed so that they may advantage the commonwealth. In contrast, wealthier parents were 'left at their own option, whether they will breed up their children to be ornaments or disgraces to their families'. Blackstone also argued that although fathers were legally required to maintain their offspring, they were 'only obliged to find them with necessaries ... For the policy of our laws ... did not mean to compel a father to maintain his idle and lazy children in ease and indolence'.[77] It was no longer idle apprentices that were raising social concern but lazy children, and it was not masters that were at fault but parents. In 1771, the dissenting minister Job Orton complained that 'there are too many instances of young persons, who are unnaturally indolent. They love sleep and inactivity, and ... If they do go from home, they saunter along, as if their limbs would not carry them'; an image succinctly captured in a print published just six years later (see Figure 4:1). Like Blackstone, Orton concluded that 'This unhappy disposition in Youth is often owing to the foolish indulgence of their parents'.[78]

[75] Sir John Barnard, *A Present for an Apprentice* (London, 1740), pp. 62-9, 30-31.
[76] See Chapter Three, p. 104-105.
[77] Blackstone, *Commentaries*, pp. 439, 437.
[78] Job Orton, *Discourses to the Aged* (Shrewsbury, 1771), pp. 4-5.

Figure 4:1. A Sauntering Youth, 1776

BM Satires undescribed, AN167660001, © Trustees of the British Museum

At the same time, aging parents were depicted as shocked by the appearance of offspring who had adopted urbane habits without the traditional restrictions that an apprenticeship would have afforded (see Figures 4:2 and 4:3), and Newcastle's bards gave poetic colour to these national images with titles such as *The Prodigal Daughter* or *The Weeping Mother's Garland*. In the absence of the civic structures of the apprentice system, prescriptive literature applied social pressure in an attempt to 'improve' parenting. Consequently, the promotion of impossibly exacting standards for parents to follow, combined with an increasing emphasis upon their failings, undermined parental authority as they assumed greater responsibility for their teenage children. This was especially so given that the growth in juvenile literature made it ever-more likely that such prescription would be aimed specifically at youths themselves. For instance, when John Trusler published a collection of Hogarth's works with an 'explanation' of their content, under the title *Hogarth Moralized* (1768), he described it as 'Calculated to improve the Minds of YOUTH' and he repeatedly reminded the reader that 'the ruin of children is, often, owing to the indiscretion of their parents'.[79]

[79] John Trusler, *Hogarth Moralized* (London, 1768), p. 18.

Figure 4:2.
WELLADAY! is this my SON TOM!, 1774

BM Satires 4536 © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 4:3.
Be not amaz'd Dear MOTHER, 1774

BM Satires 4537 © Trustees of the British Museum

Education over Experience

It was not only the moralists and satirists that were undermining parental authority. The transformation of youth employment practices occurred in tandem with an expansion in school provision. Both schooling and the books read by juveniles had always had the potential to present information that was beyond the experience of the adults they lived amongst, and could even provide justification to contradict them. However, new teaching methods focused upon the inculcating of understanding rather than imparting information to be learned by rote. The idea that learning by example and repetitive imitation could be by-passed if the theory and method was understood questioned the entire raison d'être of the traditional apprenticeship, and at the same time contributed to a general decline in respect for their elders amongst the rising generations.

Although schools provision increased as apprenticeships for middling youths declined, it should not be assumed that juveniles were either being apprenticed or attending school. It had been expected that an apprenticeship would be delayed until the required education was

completed, and in 1744 Newcastle Hostman Salkeld Robinson had been fined 20s. for allowing his apprentice Thos. Cockerell to go 'to school for nine months after he was bound' as he did 'not do his master such service as is required by the said fraternity'.[80] As education for older children became more focused upon practical subjects, it could increasingly been seen as part of an apprentice's training rather than a form of absenteeism, and the number of evening classes advertised in Newcastle's newspapers suggests that working youths were increasingly likely to be attending school. Ralph Jackson had enrolled in a 'writing and Erithmetick school' just days after his arrival in Newcastle in late 1749. Although it is not clear how regularly he attended school in the early stages of his apprenticeship, by 1751 he was going to school most weekdays either in the morning, afternoon or evening. His attendance became more spasmodic over time, but he continued to refer to school until late 1752 when he would have been almost sixteen years old. Significantly, Billy Hudspeth, the nephew of Ralph's master, had not been apprenticed and attended a local school instead. The presence of youths that were related to a master must have become more common within households like Ralph's, as a growing number of Newcastle's freemen took up their company membership as a hereditary right rather than being apprenticed. This meant that live-in apprentices would have to share a domestic space with youths that were family members rather than employees. Clearly this increased the potential for domestic strife if the children of masters were given greater privileges than apprentices, and this must surely have accelerated the decline in live-in apprenticeships.

Increasing the number of years spent at school did not necessarily prolong the period spent in the family home under direct parental authority. Some may have bought a house because it was close to a good school, and this was seen as a selling point in 1730 when the readers of the *Newcastle Courant* were told that there was a house to be let at Haydon-Bridge 'where there is the convenience of a free Grammar School'.[81] It seems more likely that children who lived outside of towns would have been sent to stay with friends or family if a school was not within walking distance, and some were evidently staying in boarding houses. In 1775 Mrs. Robb informed 'PARENTS' that her board and lodgings for young ladies and gentlemen was 'very convenient' because it was near to either 'Dancing or Grammar schools'.[82] There were of course also boarding schools, where pupils moved into premises dominated by their own

[80] 23 August 1744, Dendy (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen*, p. 201.
[81] *Newcastle Courant*, 10 January 1730.
[82] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 6 May 1775.

age group. Wherever they lived, the expansion in school provision meant that more youths were spending time in a child-centric environment at a later age than would have been the case earlier in the century.

Although school could only provide theoretical knowledge, youths clearly did not consider themselves handicapped by a lack of practical experience. A notice that appeared in the *Newcastle Journal* in 1755, that purported to be from 'A Right ingenious young Man', used thirty-four lines of text to describe his skills and it would seem he could do everything any employer could want and far more. Whether this was a genuine advertisement or satirical in intent, it suggests that the younger sorts were assuming ability without hands-on training.[83] By 1768 Thomas Mortimer (1730–1810), a writer on trade and finance, complained that the 'rising generation ... are now as bold arrogant and assuring at sixteen, – as if they had knowledge and experience of forty years'.[84] It was not only in the growing number of private schools and academies that the prevailing methods of education were contributing to a decline in adult authority. The majority of the most exclusive public schools had to contend with rioting schoolboys during the 1770s and 1780s. Winchester, for example, would face disturbances in 1770, 1774 and 1778. When the students' preferred candidate for the post of school master at Harrow in 1771 was told he had been unsuccessful solely because of his age (twenty-four), the pupils forcibly asserted their opinion on the matter. In addition to causing a significant amount of damage to property the older boys drew up a petition that Christopher Tyerman describes as 'A splendid example of adolescent self-importance and outrage'.[85] One of these outraged youths, Thomas Grimston, gave his own account of the affair in a letter to his father on 4 October. While admitting that 'we carried our resentment as far as we thought necessary, which I am affraid [sic] you will think a great deal too far', he complained that 'The only objection the Governors had against Mr. Parr was his Age, which will appear one of the foolishest objections, to every man of sence [sic] ...' .[86]

As Ralph Jackson's experience demonstrated, it was not only secular knowledge that youths felt they could perfect without experience. In his *Letters to a Young Clergyman*, written during the 1770s, the dissenting minister Job Orton (1717–1783) suggested that 'in this age' young

[83] *Newcastle Journal*, 2 August 1755.
[84] Thomas Mortimer, *The National Debt no National Grievance* (London, 1768), p. 79.
[85] Christopher Tyerman, *A History of Harrow School 1324-1991* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 120-122.
[86] Mallard Edward Ingram, *Leaves from a Family Tree: being the correspondence of an East Riding family* (Hull, 1951), pp. 90-93.

men rejected 'the advice of their seniors; though delivered, not only tenderly, but respectfully.' The young were wiser and had 'better ideas of divinity, especially, than those who have grown grey in study and in the ministry.'[87] Consequently, Orton thought that young clergy were better placed to instruct the youth, yet he still cautioned that 'No study at the University' could teach experiential knowledge or an acquaintance with human nature.[88] This point was also made by Reverend John Clubbe (*c.*1703–1773), the satirist and Church of England clergyman, in his *Letter of Free Advice to a Young Clergyman* (1765), in which he suggested that preferment could come too early in life as the necessary knowledge of mankind could not 'be acquired but by slow and gradual Observation'.[89]

Clearly, the ebullient self-confidence of youth was not new to the later eighteenth century. At the beginning of the 1720s the dissenting minister Isaac Watts (1674–1748) had complained:

> So wanton and licentious a spirit has possessed some of the youth of our nation, that they never think they have freed themselves from the prejudices of their education, till they have thrown off almost all the yokes of restraint that are laid upon them by God or man.[90]

However, when an anonymous 'old' contributor to Henry Mackenzie's periodical *The Lounger* raised a similar complaint about the youths of the 1780s there was no suggestion that the rising generation felt a need to unshackle themselves from their education. Instead it was said to be at least partially to blame for their hubris as it was claimed:

> We have boys discoursing politics, arguing metaphysics, and supporting infidelity, at an age little beyond that when they used to be playing at taw and leap-frog ... In vice, as in self-importance, they contrive to get beyond "the ignorant present time".[91]

In his satirical account of Newcastle, *Caps Well Fit* (1785), 'Old Titus' offered the following words on the subject:

> George, just arriv'd complete from School, Each classic author read; Soon as he meets the World's vague rules, He finds, a want of Head! More Knowledge, yet, must be obtain'd, He can't without dispense; Another book must be explain'd, The book of Common Sense. If 'tis the Social Stage, you mean? Then, George! take my advice; Or all the learning you have seen, Will never make you wise: Experience is the Test! you'll find, To square your actions clever; First know thyself, - and then mankind, Or act the *fool* for ever.[92]

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[87] January 1779, Job Orton, *Letters to a Young Clergyman* (Shrewsbury, 1791), pp. 147-8.
[88] December 1771, Ibid., pp. 5-6.
[89] John Clubbe, *A Letter of Free Advice to a Young Clergyman* (Ipswich, 1765), p. 6.
[90] *The Works of the Late Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts,* 6 Vols. (London, 1753), iv, p. 396.
[91] No. 51, 21 January 1786, *The Lounger*, 3rd edn., 3 Vols. (London, 1787), ii, p. 149.
[92] Titus, *Caps Well Fit* (Newcastle, 1785), pp. 89-90.

The idea that education could render age and experience moribund gave youthful self-confidence an added level of haughtiness at the same time as it devalued the traditional apprentice system. It was in this context that the role of parents was placed under the spotlight by social commentators who would in previous centuries have criticised masters for failing to regulate the behaviour of insolent youths.

Families in the Limelight

Intergenerational relationships were being renegotiated as responsibility for the behaviour of youths from the middle ranks of society was shifting from the civic sphere to the private realm of the family. The repertoires of the theatres in Newcastle illuminate the interpersonal aspects of the changes that were underway, as familial discord was staged for comic effect and playwrights used artistic licence to give the privacy of the family home a public presence. Briefly looking at some of the plays being performed therefore reinforces the precise timing of this transition whilst illuminating adult attitudes towards youthful impudence.

When Ralph Jackson had been 'treated' with a trip to the theatre during his first summer in Newcastle in 1750, his master had taken him to see Henry Fielding's (1707–1754) *The Intriguing Chamber-maid* (1734). Juvenile indiscretion, assisted by an impertinent servant, was used as the main prop for the storyline but the central theme of the play was the condemnation of élite young men of fashion that exploited the folly of an aspirational merchant's son who acted lavishly to impress his social superiors.[93] In the end the young man was saved from the consequences of his actions by the return of his father. This notion of youths going off the rails without the watchful eye of their parents was also used by Hogarth in both the *Rake's* and *Harlot's Progress*, which first appeared in the late 1720s and early 1730s. Like Fielding, Hogarth implied that the young people in question were at least in part led astray by unscrupulous associates.

By 1747 David Garrick's (1717–1779) *Miss in her Teens* was more clearly focused upon the self-confidence of the rising generation, yet even here the absence of paternal authority was part of the plotline. Garrick's play, which was performed at the New Theatre in Newcastle in 1760, revolved around the assertive self-determination of a sixteen-year-old whose guardian, an elderly aunt, aimed to have her married off to a wealthy man in his sixties. The young Miss in question used the term 'heigho' to avoid answering questions and thought things to be

[93] 22 June 1750, RJD, TA, U/WJ/A; Henry Fielding, *The Intriguing Chamber-Maid* (Cork, 1765).

'pure' if they were to her approval. She had three young suitors that her aunt was unaware of, and rather than being guided by unprincipled companions, she took control of the situation, playing one character off against the other to remove the obstacles to getting her own way.[94] While the threat of female sexual power was a traditional theme, the title of this play left the audience in no doubt that it was the wiliness beyond her years that made this Miss a subject worthy of topical comment.

The growing assertiveness of the younger generation was even more evident in Arthur Murphy's (1727–1805) play *The Apprentice*, published in 1756, which was also showing in Newcastle in 1760. Murphy gave the wayward apprentice Dick a considerable degree of autonomy in the presence of both his master, with whom he lived, and his father, whose authority was brought to bear when the youth transgressed the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, as was noted in Chapter Three.[95] In previous times it would have been the master who wielded patriarchal control over his household, and although this was a work of fiction it corresponded with the experiences of the young diarist Ralph Jackson. However, while Ralph had struggled to reconcile his desire to obey his parents with his new-found religious conviction, the fictional Dick showed his father little respect, calling him 'an old Prig' and 'old Square-toes'. Despite all attempts to check this young man's behaviour he was not shown the error of his ways by the adults around him but discovered his own limitations after running away with his master's daughter. Having realised that he was incapable of supporting his beloved, he made a bargain with his father and master, agreeing to obediently complete his apprenticeship after which he would be granted permission to marry his sweetheart.[96] For both the fictional apprentice Dick and the young Ralph Jackson, the patriarchal authority of their master and their father had become conditional.

The decline in patriarchal authority was also placed centre stage by Samuel Foote (1721-1777) in *The Minor*, which was published in 1760 and performed that year in Newcastle. The play began with a conversation between Sir William Wealthy and his younger brother Richard, a merchant in the city, that highlighted the way in which the link between age and social rank was being undermined by changing practice. The two men were discussing the education of Sir William's son, and the dialogue is worth repeating in some detail. Richard Wealthy (the

[94] David Garrick, *Miss in her Teens* (London, 1747); performed in Newcastle in 1760, *Newcastle Courant*, 6 September 1760.
[95] See Chapter Three, p. 101.
[96] Murphy, *The Apprentice*, pp. 8, 10; performed in Newcastle in 1760, *Newcastle Courant*, 5 July 1760.

merchant) questioned the value of the grand tour, suggesting that his nephew had 'return'd with a cargo of whores, cooks, valets de chambre, and fiddlesticks'. Berating his older brother he said of the young gentleman:

> he has run the gauntlet thro' a public school; where, at sixteen, he had practis'd more vices than he would otherwise have heard of at sixty ... indeed, you then remov'd him to the university; where, lest his morals should be mended, and his understanding improv'd, you fairly set him free from the restraint of the one, and the drudgery of the other, by the priviledg'd distinction of a silk grown and a velvet cap.

It was claimed a 'city-education' would have prevented 'all these Evils', which caused Sir Wealthy to respond:

> Why truly brother, had you stuck to your old civic vices, [of] hypocrisy, couzenage [sic], and avarice, I don't know whether I might not have committed George to your care; but, you cockneys now beat us suburbians at our own weapons. What, old boy, times are chang'd since the date of thy indentures; when, the sleek, crop-ear'd 'prentice us'd to dangle after his mistress, with the great guilt Bible under his arm, to St. Bride's, on a Sunday.[97]

Turning to consider how to check the behaviour of the ill-educated George, Richard Wealthy advocated severing his inheritance. This had been his response when his own daughter had refused to marry a chosen suitor. As Sir Wealthy pointed out, his brother's actions had not had the desired effect but had simply led to the estrangement of this wayward daughter. It was therefore decided that a plot should be hatched to deceive Sir Wealthy's son, engineering a situation designed to make the youth aware of his fallibility without realising that his father was involved in any way. Clearly, neither of these brothers had sufficient patriarchal authority to control their children and, like Murphy's *Apprentice*, Foote's play revolved around the notion that attempting to force a youth's compliance was futile as they acted upon their own judgement, not the advice of their elders.

By 1768 Isaac Bickerstaff (1733- c.1808) gave his youths an even more self-confident stance in *A School for Fathers*, showing in Newcastle in 1770. The main character, Colonel Oldboy, considered his son a 'prig' whose 'chamber' had become like 'a perfumer's shop'. The son harboured a similar level of contempt for Oldboy, and this young man's assuredness left no room for any sense that his age might diminish his social standing. Oldboy complained that he 'had the impudence to tell me ... at my own table, that I did not know how to behave myself'. On another occasion Oldboy threatened to 'knock him down' for his insolence, and the son

[97] Samuel Foote, *The Minor* (London, 1760), pp. 12 -14; performed in Newcastle in 1760, *Newcastle Courant*, 20 September 1760.

compounded his annoyance by suggesting that this was behaviour he was unaccustomed to and if his father did not desist then he would have to quit his house. This caused Colonel Oldboy to retort 'Am I not your father, Sir, and have I not the right to talk to you as I like?' Evidently, the son did not think that his father's authority was determined by their biological relationship, or his age. Oldboy faired no better with his daughter. For instance, when she asked if her father thought mathematics an odd distraction for a young lady, he replied 'You a brain for mathematics indeed! We shall have women wanting to head our regiments to-morrow or next-day'; to which she retorted 'Well, papa, and suppose we did. I believe in the battle of the sexes, you men would hardly get the better of us.'[98]

These theatrical characterisations can not be seen to directly reflect reality, but such satire aimed to resonate with an audience by parodying contemporary experience. The letters written by one young lady during the early 1780s demonstrate that fact could make for the plotline of a farce. Annabella (1763-1822) was the eldest child of Ralph and Isabella Carr. Her father had been an apprentice to a Merchant Adventurer in Newcastle during the 1720s, and had turned a comfortable inheritance into a sizable fortune before choosing to send his own sons away to school rather than having them apprenticed. At seventeen Annabella was in regular contact with her brother John, who was just a year younger than herself. In contrast, her parents were constantly disappointed by their son's failure to write. Annabella evidently attempted to keep much of her correspondence out of her father's sight, ending one letter with 'Papa is coming to spy what I am about'. Another letter began 'My father got home the other day & says I must not send this, till we hear from you'. Presumably this letter was eventually sent, and two months later Annabella told John 'It is with the greatest pleasure I sit down to write upon my Fathers receiving your long and comfortable letter'. She went on to remind her brother how much her parents fretted when he failed to write and pointed out that their anxiety had been heightened by his failure to acknowledge the money they had sent. However, an undated letter from Annabella expressed her feeling more clearly:

> Your letter my Dr. Brother gave me great pleasure, & I have <u>stole</u> a Frank to answer it immediately ... My Father tho' he saw your last letter to me (which I could not prevent) expects one to him from you every Post.

She asked John to keep her secret, and beseeched him to write to their father. 'You have no idea, how much uneasiness it creates, his not hearing from you, <u>to us all</u>'. After pointing out

[98] Bickerstaff, Isaac, *Lionel and Clarissa: or, a school for fathers* (London, 1770), pp. 2-8; performed in Newcastle in 1770, *Newcastle Journal*, 29 December 1770.

how cheap and easy it would be to 'writing sooner, & oftener, than he could possibly expect', she noted 'I wonder that you do not comply with this peculiar humour ... frequently rung in our ears, from Morn. till night, when he has been disappointed.'[99] The long-suffering Annabella was still making the same complaints in a letter written in the late 1790s, but this time to her younger brother Ralph. By now the children were grown adults and their father was in his eighties. Ralph was in Venice with Harriet (their younger sister) and Annabella asked him to send more regular news to his parents, as 'I am really quite tired of hearing the subject daily discussed after dinner, it even supersedes Politics'.[100]

Few experienced such a significant transformation in their wealth within one generation as the Carrs. Yet, sizeable numbers of households from a relatively wide socio-economic background must have contained fathers that had gone through a live-in apprenticeship and sons that did not. While there may be nothing exceptional about families developing fault lines across the generations, this shift in parental responsibility changed the nature of such disputes. The 1750s were clearly a key period of change. While Fielding's play could still attract an audience during the earlier part of the decade, by 1760 the more up-to-date satires gave youths far more autonomy. When Bickerstaff wrote his *School for Fathers* in 1768, it was clearly no longer necessary to contrive the absence of the patriarch to paint a plausible picture of youthful autonomy.

A Generational Perspective

Ten years before Ralph Jackson was born, the sexagenarian Daniel Defoe had complained that 'young People look upon their Elders, as upon a different Species, an inferior Class of People: They ascribe no Merit to the Virtue and experience of Old Age, but assume to themselves the Preference in all things.'[101] It was not only youths but also youthful parents that were seen to be at fault, and Defoe accused the latter of failing to instil their infants with a respect for the authority of age, warning them that they would reap the consequences in the years to come.[102] As a growing proportion of this generation of 'young people' became parents, attitudes towards family life were changing. Fashionable parenting became focused upon the rational capacity of children and the need to cultivate civility, and an emphasis was placed upon

[99] Letters from Annabella Carr to her brother John, NRO855/A/3/Box 6/3, 14 October 1780, November 1781, 6 January 1782, undated.
[100] Letter from Annabella Carr to her brother Ralph, NRO855/A/3/Box 6/1/11, 11 April [late 1790s].
[101] Daniel Defoe, *The Protestant Monastery: or, a complaint against the brutality of the present age* (London, 1727), p. 20.
[102] Ibid., p.23.

inculcating understanding rather than instilling habit. By the time that Ralph's generation were youths this was beginning to change the nature of schooling and apprenticeship, which was inadvertently undermining adult authority. This acted to intensify concerns about inappropriate primary socialisation, as an ever greater number of fathers and mothers from the middle ranks of society were going to have to live with, often quite literally, the consequences of their early-years parenting. This cultural turn became part of a wider social transition during the 1750s, as demographic trends, geo-political events, and economic developments became enmeshed, acting to mutually reinforce the changing nature of juvenile socialisation. For Ralph's age cohort this occurred as they made the formative journey from childhood to adult status, giving their experience of youth transition a generational significance that would have a lasting effect upon society.

While apprenticeship began to change during the 1750s, it was as Ralph's generation became parents that the guild system in Newcastle was radically transformed.[103] It was also the youths of the 1750s who were to provoke disapproval by socialising with their own children as it became fashionable for families to attend leisure venues together during the later 1760s.[104] By the time they had teenage children to contend with, this generation were not criticised for giving them too much autonomy, as their own parents had been, but for leading their offspring astray. As 'old' Titus noted in his commentary on life in Newcastle, when casting an eye upon society during the early 1780s one could 'See crowds of Parents, floundering on, Through Folly's bubbling streams; Whilst Children marking what they've done, Pursue the like Extremes.'[105]

This placed ever more social pressure upon the nuclear family to live up to public expectations. The comments made by Vicesimus Knox in 1782 clearly demonstrated the extent to which the ideal type had shifted from the patriarchal master to the affectionate father, as he warned against adopting too severe an approach to parenting. For 'The son, arrived at years of maturity, who is treated harshly at home, will seldom spend his evenings by the fire-side'; and 'as the misconduct of daughters is more fatal to family peace... particular care should be taken to render them attached to the comforts of the family circle.'[106] The idealisation of family life that elevated the domestic role of women during the 1780s and

[103] See Chapter Three.
[104] See Chapter One, pp. 35, 39-40.
[105] Titus, *Caps Well Fit*, p. 115.
[106] Vicesimus Knox, *Essays Moral and Literary*, 2 Vols. (London, 1782), i, p. 84.

1790s, which Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have associated with the formation of the middle class, was not simply a question of increasing socio-economic distinction.[107] Nor can it be satisfactorily explained as a gender issue, or a consequence of the sentimentalising of childhood, without the recognition that it was intimately connected to a desire to regulate the behaviour of youths who were no longer subject to the statutory control of the apprenticeship system.

[107] L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850* (Chicago, 1987).

Section Three: Adulthood

Chapter Five
Cuisine, Coiffure, and the Fashioning of Distinctions

Having established the generational contours of a transformation in attitudes towards childhood and the interrelated changes in youth culture, shifting the focus of the investigation to consider the adult world reveals the socio-political nature of this transition. Novel rifts were developing within society during the 1760s and 1770s between a younger cohort and their middle-aged and elderly contemporaries, which brought the distinctiveness of these life stages to greater prominence. In Chapter Six attention will be turned to the contested election that took place in Newcastle in 1774, looking at age-based divisions in the political arena. First, exploring fashionable cuisine and coiffure exposes the cultural articulation of this generational rift. While they have an inherent value to the social historian, eating habits and hairstyles are particularly pertinent to an investigation of the 1770s because of their association with the 'macaroni' (see Figure 5:1.). This appellation was clearly connected to food but, as the Newcastle ballad singer John Vint noted in 1775, the macaroni could be recognised by his 'tiny hat and tortur'd hair', and wherever they appeared their headwear loomed large.[1]

Figure 5.1 Pantheon Macaroni, 1773

BM Satires 5221 © Trustees of the British Museum

[1] John Vint, *The British Muse* (Newcastle, 1775), p. 168.

The term ‘macaroni’ was initially used during the mid 1760s to describe élite young men of fashion. As its usage became more widespread, these semi-mythical characters gained an iconic status. ‘Genuine’ macaronis were somewhat elusive creatures. The *Newcastle Journal* reported the appearance of one at Whitehaven assembly rooms during the general election of 1780, and the newsworthy nature of the sighting suggests they were not common in the provinces.[2] This was likely to have been Frederick Howard (1748–1825), the fifth earl of Carlisle, who had undertaken a grand tour during the late 1760s along with the exemplary macaroni Charles James Fox (see Figure 5:2.). As Shearer West suggests, there was only ever a tiny group of élite young men with sufficient wealth and leisure time to actually live up to the stereotype, but characterisations of the macaroni were a rhetorical tool, or a trope, rather than a representation of an actual social cohort.[3] As such, they provide invaluable insights into the cultural mores of the 1770s.

Figure 5:2. The Young Cub, 1773

BM Satires 4810 © Trustees of the British Museum

[2] *Newcastle Journal*, 29 July 1780.
[3] Shearer West, ‘The Darly Macaroni Prints and the Politics of ‘Private Man”, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 25 (2001), p. 173

The key ingredients needed to follow Ewan Clark's satirical recipe to make a macaroni (published in Whitehaven in 1779) were a shallow nature and a flamboyant appearance. The weight of the horse-hair pony tail and the cut of the coat and trousers could be described in some detail, but when it came to 'The inward *Contents* of this gold-lettered beau' Clark had 'search'd, but in vain, To find worth in his heart, or a wit in his brain.'.[4] This was a common accusation, and the often quoted report printed in the *Oxford Magazine* in 1770 provides the quintessential description of these modish creatures:

> There is indeed a kind of animal, neither male nor female, a thing of the neuter gender, lately started up amongst us. It is called a Macaroni. It talks without meaning, it smiles without pleasantry, it eats without appetite, it rides without exercise, it wenches without passion.[5]

The macaroni's hollow character appears incongruous with the sentimentality of the 1760s and 1770s, as exemplified by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) and personified by Henry Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771).[6] Yet, despite the evident distinctions, these trends bore significant similarities. There is nothing controversial in the claim that affected emotional outpourings of fashionable feelings lacked authenticity in just the same way as the more overt artifice of the macaroni. To suggest that macaronis displayed innate qualities more usually associated with *The Man of Feeling* may be more contentious, but to recognise this is key to understanding these much maligned characters. Both trends proved ephemeral, abruptly disappearing during the 1780s, and can therefore be linked to a generational cohort. Consequently, investigating the macaroni phenomenon allows the disenchantment with polite artifice that is associated with this period to be seen as part of a wider cultural turn in which authenticity was a central issue.

Despite the obvious association with Italian cuisine, macaronis were derided as Francophiles, which demonstrates a conflation within the popular imagination of French fashions and cosmopolitan habits that were in fact pan-European in nature. Such continental tastes had been linked to affectation and effeminacy throughout the century, and both Philip Carter and Dror Wahrman have concluded that macaronis were simply up-dated fops.[7] They certainly shared many characteristics with their foppish forbearers, but it was not only the new nomenclature

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[4] Ewan Clark, *Miscellaneous Poems* (Whitehaven, 1779), pp. 53-4.
[5] *Oxford Magazine*, June 1770, cited as usage of 'macaroni' in OED.
[6] See Chapter One, pp. 40-44.
[7] Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society* (Harlow, 2001), esp. p. 151; Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: identity and culture in eighteenth-century England* (London, 2004), pp. 60-63.

that distinguished them from earlier manifestations of the beau. Paul Langford perceptively notes the generational significance of the macaroni, suggesting that their intention had been to 'offend the sober, stuffy, insularity which seemed to be the essence of their fathers' patriotism'.[8] Considering the role they played in the renegotiation of intergenerational relationships provides a perspective on these eye-catching beaux that reveals their unique qualities.

The symbolism that underpinned the headdress of the macaroni is of central importance, but to fully grasp the significance of their headwear requires an understanding of the eating habits they were being associated with. Consequently, trends in cookery writing are considered in order to uncover attitudes towards fashionable food, before looking at a range of sources to give context to the macaroni's coiffure. In both cases localised evidence is viewed as part of a broader national picture and, although focused upon the macaroni phenomenon, the investigation is not confined to the 1770s. Instead, the chapter traces the generational contours of adult fashions, providing a complementary perspective on the social change so far considered. This allows adult attitudes towards cultivated civility and endogenous qualities to be seen in a new light, and at the same time placing the macaroni in his cultural context brings class and gender relationships to the fore, as the generational dynamic is viewed through the eyes of the grown-ups.

The Flavour of Progress

During the eighteenth century there was a shift away from compendiums of household recipes that included domestic medicines to books that dealt exclusively with the preparation of food.[9] Initially these cookbooks were written by men who managed the kitchens in élite households. They were based upon the culinary repertoire of fashionable French cooks, and were decidedly international in flavour. However, during the middle decades of the century the market came to be dominated by women writing for a wider audience.[10] The most popular title of the century was *The Art of Cookery*, by the self-styled lady Hannah Glasse (1708-1770), which was first published in London in 1747 and repeatedly reprinted thereafter. Glasse was part of the same generation of female authors as Anne Fisher, the grammarian considered in Chapter

[8] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford, 1989), p. 576.
[9] Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, 'Recipe Collections and Medical Knowledge' in Mark S. R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c.1450- c.1850* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 133-152.
[10] For a detailed account of this development see Gilly Lehmann, *The British Housewife: Cookery Books, Cooking and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Totnes, 2003).

Two, and like Fisher the contribution she made to her genre would prove to be highly influential.

Anyone who has rummaged through family papers from this period is likely to have come across manuscript copies of recipes, and such personalised collections were evidently not usurped by the increasing number of printed cookery books. Yet, at the same time as women were rejecting traditional practice in the nursery, cookery writers were advising them to adopt new habits in the kitchen.[11] James McWilliams goes so far as to suggest that the cookbooks printed in London played a significant role in *A Revolution in Eating* habits in colonial America.[12] In England, unlike the colonies, provincial publishers were producing books to rival those printed in the capital, and Newcastle was one of the most prominent centres for these publications.[13] It should not therefore be assumed that culinary fashions reflected an unambiguous emulation of the urbane habits associated with London. Nonetheless, when Glasse published her *Art of Cookery*, the capital was clearly seen as the conduit for cosmopolitan tastes said to be emanating from the continent.

Glasse may have claimed genteel status but she was in fact the illegitimate daughter of Isaac Allgood and his mistress Hannah Reynolds. Although born in London, and living there when her book was published, she had spent most of her childhood in the Allgood's family home in Northumberland. Her father's only legitimate child, Lancelot, became the MP for the county and was knighted in 1760. Despite such connections, Hannah's book was not written for pleasure or accolades but to make a profit, and its success grossed a considerable amount of money. Yet, she clearly lived beyond her means and after being declared bankrupt in 1754 she was briefly incarcerated for debt in 1757.[14] Her *Art of Cookery* was designed 'to improve the Servant, and save the Ladies a great deal of Trouble'. The preface was aimed at the employer, and Glasse was careful to disassociate herself from the kitchen staff as she suggested that 'If I have not wrote in the high, polite Stile [sic], I hope I shall be forgiven; for my intention is to instruct the lower Sort, and therefore must treat them in their own Way.' The manner of expression used by the 'great Cooks' was said to leave 'poor Girls ... at a Loss to know what they mean', and in any case their books contained an expensive 'Jumble of Things as would quite spoil a good Dish'. This was contrasted to her more prudent recipes, but to some extent

[11] See Chapter One, esp. pp. 52-53.
[12] James E. McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating: how the quest for food shaped America* (New York, 2005).
[13] Lehmann, *The British Housewife*, p. 107.
[14] For a brief biography see Ibid., pp. 108-110.

this was a rhetorical claim. Her cookery was clearly designed for the aspiring middling sort, not the frugal table.[15]

This was not the first accessible cookbook written by a woman. For example, Eliza Smith's *The Compleat Housewife* was first published in 1727. For Smith, dressed food was a sign of civility, but this notion of progress was moderated by a disapproval of what she saw as degenerative foreign influences. It was argued that the art of cookery had developed according to the diversity of the nations, and had in England 'arrived at its greatest Height and Perfection'.[16] The 'new upstart' dishes invented by fashionable Francophile cooks were 'only the Sallies of a capricious Appetite' that debauched rather than improved this art. In order to counteract this, Smith offered direction 'for Dressing after the best, most natural, and wholesome Manner, such Provisions as are the Product of our own Country, and in such a Manner as is most agreeable to English Palates'.[17] A growing range of imported foodstuffs were recorded in the Newcastle port books during the course of the century, and it could be argued that it was this increased availability of foreign produce that provoked such patriotic responses.[18] For instance, when in 1730 the *Newcastle Courant* carried a notice offering Danzig sturgeon, it was followed the next week by another offering 'Right good North Sea Codd'.[19] Given that local cod was readily available, would have had an established market, and therefore did not need to be advertised, this can only have been a reactionary quip. However, despite her jingoistic rhetoric, Smith had not shied away from using foreign produce. In addition to predictable European ingredients such as French brandy and Seville oranges, she had used both Jamaican and Indian pepper in her recipes.[20]

It was not in fact ingredients but the way in which dressed dishes were prepared that was being associated with a place of origin by the fashionable Francophile cooks; and, unlike Smith, Glasse presented a range of dishes linked to a specific place. Although her *Art of Cookery* has gained recognition as the first English cookbook to include a recipe for Indian curry, these dishes were predominantly European. In a significant departure from Francophile fashions, her book also contained some regional English foods, including what appears to be

[15] Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery* (London, 1747), pp. i-ii.
[16] Eliza Smith, *The Compleat Housewife* (London, 1728), preface.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Judith Welford, *Functional Goods and Fancies: the production and consumption of consumer goods in Northumberland, Newcastle upon Tyne and Durham c. 1680-1780* (Durham University Ph.D. thesis, 2010), pp. 185-188.
[19] *Newcastle Courant*, 31 January, 7 February 1730.
[20] Smith, *The Compleat Housewife*.

the first printed recipe for Yorkshire pudding. The main distinction between the more traditional English fare, such as roast beef or venison pie, and that offered in the more cosmopolitan cookbooks was the use of 'French sauces', but it is the cultural connotations that were bestowed upon fashionable eating habits, not the form of food that was being eaten, that is of interest here. The declining popularity of Smith's book provides a useful chronology for the changing tastes that Glasse tapped into with such commercial success. Thirteen editions of *The Compleat Housewife* were printed in the twenty years prior the publication of *The Art of Cookery* in 1747, but only five appeared in the following two decades before a failed attempt to update the recipes marked its final demise in 1773. This was of course the heyday of the macaroni.

The success Glasse enjoyed could be said to reflect an emulation of French tastes that were filtering down through the social strata as the middling sort imitated the 'great cooks'. Yet in her preface Glasse complained 'So much is the blind folly of this age' that some people 'would rather be imposed on by a French *booby*, than give encouragement to a good English cook.' Her criticism was not focused upon the French *per se*, but the extravagance of French cooks that worked in England and the élite men who encouraged this folly by footing the bill. She claimed that 'A Frenchman, in his own Country, would dress a fine Dinner of twenty Dishes, and all genteel and pretty, for the Expence [sic] he will put an English Lord to for dressing' but one.[21] While assuming that she would not 'gain the Esteem' of such gentlemen, Glasse declared that she only sought the approval of her female readers. This was not only a condemnation of aristocratic extravagance but also implied that women, unlike men, understood how to judge good food and prudent housekeeping.

An alternative version of *The Art of Cookery* by John Thacker, which was printed in Newcastle in 1758, provides a contrasting perspective that allows the stance adopted by Glasse to be seen in context. Thacker was 'Cook to the Honourable and Reverend the DEAN and CHAPTER in DURHAM', and one of the few male cooks to publish a recipe book during the middle decades of the century. Given that he used the same title as Glasse, his book can be seen as a direct challenge to his more successful rival, but there were older cookery books that bore the same name so the link may not have been intentional. Like Glasse, Thacker offered recipes for elegant cosmopolitan food and yet suggested that existing cookery books were

[21] Glasse, *The Art of Cookery*, p. ii.

'stuff'd with ... Dishes a-la-mode de France, as they call them; in which the Mixture of Spices is so great, and the Expence [sic] so extravagant, that it frightens most People from using them'. However, he adopted a more jingoistic rhetoric and, echoing the sentiments of Smith, he warned his readers that if they attempted to follow such recipes then 'instead of Meals that are healthful, and agreeable to the Palate, they will find a Hotch potch, destructive to an English Constitution.' Thacker claimed that he had never 'met with a Foreigner who had so sound and good a Way of working as an old English Cook', but he also suggested that the French names given to dressed dishes were on the whole 'invented by the English ... to excite Curiosity, and make them by that Artifice better liked.' Presumably *old* English cooks were not responsible for this deception. [22] Despite such attitudes, Thacker did not wish to be seen as 'an Enemy to made Dishes, or ignorant in making them', so he had 'where Occasion offers ... dissected the French Dishes, and given their Names in English, as well as French.' Rather surprisingly he went on to give a French name to every recipe in his book. Again somewhat paradoxically, he claimed his *Art of Cookery* was 'design'd for the Good of my Country, to which I am a hearty Well-wisher', but it was clearly not written for a national audience. He complained that other books of this kind fell 'far short of being generally useful, especially in these Northern Parts, where the Seasons occasion such Alterations in the Bills of Fare for each Month, from those calculated for the Southern Parts'. This provides a practical explanation for the decline in recipe books organised around seasonal availability, as they were marketed to an ever-wider colonial audience, and Thacker's localised stance was evidently out of kilter with prevailing trends.[23]

Thacker's book was a seemingly incongruous amalgam of ideological perspectives that presented a cosmopolitan élitism with a distinctly reactionary flavour. He apparently saw no contradiction in his locally-rooted national pride, a disapproval of metropolitan habits that feigned foreignness, and an intellectual snobbery that was based upon pan-European ideals. In contrast, Glasse produced a polite *Art of Cookery* that embraced culinary innovation and extended the parameters of Francophile fashion. Clearly, parallels can be drawn between the culinary art of Glasse and Anne Fisher's polite vernacular grammar. Both of these women were transgressing gender roles as they redefined politeness on less élitist terms.

[22] John Thacker, *The Art of Cookery* (Newcastle, 1758), p. 3.
[23] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

A Culinary Critique

A second rival cookbook published in Newcastle during the 1750s illuminates the generational transition that Glasse and her culinary art reflected. Ann Cook's *Professed Cookery* was not only a cookbook, but also a scathing critique of '*The Art of Cookery*, by a Lady' and a polemic condemnation of the social change it represented. Cook had been employed in a private family before marrying an innkeeper from Hexham, and by 1755 she was running a cookery school in Newcastle.[24] Her exact age is uncertain, but she was old enough to have adult children when she opened her school.[25] There are three surviving editions of her book. The first two were published in Newcastle in 1754 and 1755. Although it is not clear when she moved to London, the third undated edition was printed in the capital and sold from her lodgings in Fuller's Rents, Holborn; the parish in which Hannah Glasse had been baptised.[26]

Cook described herself as 'born in a homely Cottage', and her recipes lacked the international flavour of other mid-century books.[27] Nonetheless, she considered her cookery to be suitable for a refined audience, and she had placed a notice in the *Newcastle Courant* in 1755 to inform the public that she 'propose[d] to have a cold Table decorated in the most curious and elegant Manner, on Thursday first, in the Assembly-Room, where it may be seen between the hours of eleven and two o'Clock' at a cost of 2s. and 6d. for those who wished to dine, and just 6d. for spectators.[28] Glasse was not named directly by Cook, but the target of her venomous criticism was unequivocal. The introduction of her cookbook was written in a doggerel form, and combined personal antipathy with a general condemnation of 'the Lady's' culinary skills. She then devoted sixty-eight pages to 'An Essay on the Lady's Art of Cookery', in which she undertook a stringent critique of specific recipes suggested by Glasse, claiming they were wasteful of the cook's time and the householder's money, made for less palatable food, were pernicious to health, and simply wrong. Then, seemingly without irony, Cook concluded this lengthy essay by noting that 'finding her Treatise hugely abounding with such Inconsistencies and nauseous Instructions, I shall not give my Readers any further Trouble with them in my Book.'

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[24] *Newcastle Courant*, 19 July 1755.
[25] In an autobiographical narrative appended to her book, Cook refers to the age of one of her daughters, who was seventeen in 1745, Ann Cook, *Professed Cookery* (Newcastle, 1755), p. 287.
[26] M. H. Dodds, 'The Rival Cooks: Hannah Glasse and Ann Cook', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., 15 (1938), p. 44.
[27] Cook, *Professed Cookery*, p. vii.
[28] *Newcastle Courant*, 19 July 1755.

A narrative tale entitled 'A Plan of Housekeeping' was appended to the second and third editions, and it is here that the cause of Cook's personal animosity is explained, although some knowledge of the individuals involved would have been necessary to realise this fact. The key characters were indentified by Madelene Hope Dodds in 1937, who suggested it was a lucky coincidence that extracts of Cook's book were published whilst she was working on the Allgood's pedigree, otherwise these details may never have come to light.[29] The 'Plan' gave a disjointed and confusing account of Cook's working life and the calamities that beset her at the hands of a tyrant named 'Esquire Flash' who was in real life Lancelot Allgood, the half brother of Glasse. If the account given by Cook is taken as accurate, some wine from the Allgood's cellar was served to VIP guests staying at the inn run by Cook and her husband. A disagreement over payment for this wine escalated into a long-term feud between socially unequal combatants. Cook claimed to have suffered more than a decade of unwarranted harassment from her wealthy neighbour, whose attempts to discredit her had included an accusation of Jacobite sympathies during the '45 and culminated in debtors' prison for her husband. The extent to which Cook felt disempowered by the social status of her villainous adversary explains both the intensity of her attack upon *The Art of Cookery*, and her vitriolic condemnation of the unscrupulous behaviour of her supposed superiors. Yet, despite her boldness, this disrespect was couched in considerable levels of deference. Woven into her autobiographical saga was a rather longwinded and clichéd story of how the harmonious order of a hierarchical society relied upon the moral integrity of all parties and for each to know their place and perform their duties.

Cook argued that 'Ladies' had no right to meddle in the cook's art, and in defending her knowledge from this onslaught she not only used age to lend weight to her position but also linked youth and inexperience to the habits of the metropolis. In her 'Plan' she recounted how, when serving as a housekeeper, she had been sent to a neighbouring house to instruct a younger cook. The younger woman had been trained in London, and her young mistress was married straight out of boarding school and unable to give 'proper instruction'. In contrast, Cook was employed by an older woman who knew the daily expenses of her house and would not be imposed upon by extravagant staff. Cook was asked 'to shew her [fellow servant] how much more is required of the Country Cooks, than there is of the City Cooks, and ... to give her wholesome Cookery advice.' On arrival at her neighbour's house these cooks discussed

[29] Dodds, 'The Rival Cooks', p. 49.

their art in private, just as statesmen had private interviews to discuss politics or merchants to discuss commerce, the inference being that this was privileged knowledge that should be maintained as a mystery to be passed down to younger generations.[30] Cook, who claimed to have never spent more than ten days outside of the counties of Durham and Northumberland, dispelled the ignorance of her metropolitan associate and graciously accepted the thanks she received, noting that 'as I am the elder Sister, I must except [sic] of the Compliment you make'.[31]

In contrast to this professed elder sister, Glasse was not a cook and claimed no experience in the field. Ann Cook sarcastically suggested that this 'Famous Artist' might have as easily become an architect, and 'Laid Plans for Houses, set forth Rules and Lines,/ And bid the Ploughman build up her Designs./ Delude illit'rate Men as well as Maids,/ To profess'd Builders and Masters of Trades'.[32] Yet, the success enjoyed by Glasse suggested that the skills Cook had gained spending years by the kitchen fire, to the cost of her 'Health, Strength and Resolution', were losing their value.[33] As Glasse claimed, with the aid of her book 'every Servant who can but read will be capable of making a tollerable [sic] good Cook'.[34] This was central to the developments in cookery writing. The authors of older cookbooks had assumed that the reader would have a considerable amount of cookery skills, and the recipes were simply to add to their existing repertoire. During the second half of the century they were increasingly being written in a manner that could be understood by a novice.[35] This was part of a general trend that saw a growing amount of printed material designed for the instruction of youths. As was suggested in Chapter Four, such books allowed younger readers to gain skills without being reliant upon the experience of those around them, and this undermined the authority of the older generations.[36] It was in this context that Cook berated Glasse because she aimed to instruct 'the ignorant', accusing her of veiling her own lack of knowledge behind an expectation that experienced cooks would disapprove of her book.[37]

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[30] Cook, *Professed Cookery*, pp. 193, 197-198.
[31] Ibid., p. 203.
[32] Ibid., p. vii.
[33] Ibid., pp. vii, ix.
[34] Glasse, *The Art of Cookery*, p. i.
[35] Sandra Sherman, 'The Whole Art and Mystery of Cooking: What Cookbooks Taught Readers in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 28:1 (2004), pp. 115-135.
[36] See Chapter Four, pp. 142-146.
[37] Cook, *Professed Cookery*, p. 39.

Cook thought that the amateur status of this 'lady' was her greatest fault, but it was because she claimed no expertise that Glasse could dispel the notion of privileged knowledge, and this paved the way for her most innovative act. As Cook suggested, Glasse had 'artfully abused the *French* Cooks, and as cunningly recommended their Cookery for her own'. While Cook could justifiably accuse Glasse of building 'her Monument of Fame upon the Ruins she makes of the French Cooks Characters', this was not simply a hypocritical use of unacknowledged sources.[38] Glasse had not condemned élite Francophile cookbooks as a debasement of traditional skills. Instead she aimed to improve upon them, and by staking a claim to repackaged cosmopolitan recipes she offered her readers a home-baked culinary art that was as cultured as French cuisine. This simultaneously challenged the élite monopoly on taste and an older generation's reactionary protectionism.

Home-Baked Luxury

Mirroring Anne Fisher's contribution to the grammarians' debates, Glasse had disassociated domestic practice from the rejection of social change. Over the following decades English recipes were transformed as part of a developing art rather than being seen as a store of knowledge to be passed down and imitated. For instance, in 1767 a book entitled *The Modern Art of Cookery Improved* was the first to suggest serving roast beef with Yorkshire pudding.[39] This cultural turn was evidently not confined to the kitchen, and it was not only women who were undermining the cosmopolitanism of fashionable tastes. In 1754 the Society of the Arts, Manufactures and Commerce was established with the expressed aim 'to invent British luxuries and to discover new uses for indigenous and colonial raw materials'. Maxine Berg suggests that a growing emphasis was placed upon import substitution, as advocates of a new 'wholesome' domestic luxury increasingly challenged the idea of an imported 'civilising' luxury.[40] This coincided with the transformation of juvenile employment structures considered in Section Two, and the breakdown of the traditional concept of passing down privileged knowledge facilitated innovation in the workplace at the same time as changing adult fashions provided an incentive for such innovation. Culinary trends illuminate the wider geo-political and socio-economic dimensions of these developments.

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[38] Ibid., pp. 36-39.
[39] Ann Shackleford, *The Modern Art of Cookery Improved* (London, 1767); also Lehmann, *The British Housewife*.
[40] Maxine Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 182:1 (2004), p. 131.

The nascent class dynamic inherent in the idea of home-backed luxury was succinctly expressed in an anonymous letter printed in *The Connoisseur* in 1754. The author claimed that it was no longer the cost of food that distinguished the élite from the commercial ranks of society, but the types of food that they ate. Demonstrating that the association between macaroni and the habits of the rich pre-dated the 1770s, it was said that 'My Lord, or Sir John, after having whiled away an hour or two at the Parliament-house, drive to the *Star and Garter* to regale on Macaroni, or piddle with an Ortolan'. This was contrasted to aldermen, and their social cohorts, who required a more substantial diet than the meagre men of quality; therefore 'the merchant, who has plodded all the morning in the Alley, sits down to a Turtle-Feast at the *Crown* or the *King's Arms*, and crams himself with Calipash and Calipee.'[41] While the reliability of these comments may be questionable, socially aspiring men of business did apparently pay considerable amounts of money to eat turtle at these establishments. On a trip to London in 1764, Ralph Jackson, whose diary was considered in Chapter Four, 'sat down to a Turtle at the King's Arms Tavern on Cornhill' with six friends and 'treated the Company', which cost him £3. 13s. 6d.[42]

Focusing upon the consumption of colonial foodstuffs, Troy Bickham links the trends in fashionable eating habits to geo-political events, concluding that the introduction of non-European recipes in English cookbooks reflected a growing 'popular British awareness of the empire' during the Seven Year War, and that North American dishes only appeared after 1776.[43] Bickham is surely right to suggest that the imperial politics of the period was interwoven with culinary trends, but Glasse had included Indian curry in the first edition of her book in 1747, and a short appendix was added in 1755 offering recipes for Indian pickle and the dressing of turtles the West Indian way. A much larger appendix appeared in 1758, which included Carolina rice pudding and Carolina snowballs. At the same time, the recipe for Indian pickle was modified and re-titled 'Paco-Lilla, or India pickle, the same as the Mangos come over in.' These additions coincided with a change of ownership, as Glasse had been forced to sell the copyright of her book when she was declared bankrupt in 1755. She can not therefore be credited with making this shift towards more empire-related dishes that were being

[41] Thursday 6 June 1754, George Colman, *The Connoisseur*, *2* Vols. (London, 1755-1756), i, p. 111.
[42] 7 December, 1764, Ralph Jackson Diaries, Books A-U (1749-1790), TA, U/WJ/K.
[43] Troy Bickham, 'Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Past and Present*, 198 (2008), pp. 106-108.

associated with the commercial classes. Nonetheless she had given rise to an 'indigenous' art of cookery.

In 1769 a new cookery writer entered the market and challenged the dominance that Glasse and her *Art of Cookery* had come to enjoy. Elizabeth Raffald was born in Doncaster in 1733.[44] Her book, *The Experienced English House-Keeper*, was first published in Manchester and included a London stockist on its cover.[45] It was designed 'for the use and ease of ladies, house-keepers, cooks, &c.' and was written in 'as plain a Style as possible' as 'an Instructor to the young and ignorant'. Raffald would have been starting out in service as Glasse had published *The Art of Cookery*, and this experienced cook felt no reason to challenge habits that had been questioned a generation earlier. Instead of positively comparing her recipes to excessively expensive Francophile cuisine, she declared that 'I am not afraid of being called extravagant, if my Reader does not think I have erred on the frugal Hand.'[46] When her book was advertised in the *Newcastle Courant* in 1775, it was claimed that Raffald included 'Directions to set out a Table in the most elegant Manner and in the modern Taste', and her confectionary in particular was as elaborately dressed as the coiffure of a macaroni.[47] Readers were instructed in the art of spinning sugar to make 'Gold and Silver Web for covering of Sweetmeats', and all sorts of 'Transparent Puddings, Trifles [and] Whips' including a 'Fish Pond' made of clear jelly with blancmange fish. While Glasse had anglicised cosmopolitan politeness, Raffald offered an unambiguously English extravagance that was reliant upon colonial produce. Again mirroring the trends in English grammar, this reflected a more self-confident particularity.

Mary Smith's *The Complete House-keeper, and Professed Cook*, which was published in Newcastle in 1772, was not dissimilar to Raffald's contribution to the culinary arts, and included equally elaborate deserts and table decorations, some of which were clearly adaptations of Raffald's recipes.[48] Smith had been employed as house keeper for twenty-three years, and argued that 'no person can pretend to a Knowledge of the Art of Cookery, without having actually served and directed in the Capacity of a Cook, &c.' Yet, in her preface she emphasised that her recipes should be adapted to suit particular tastes, and within the text she

[44] Nancy Cox, 'Raffald , Elizabeth (*bap.* 1733, *d.* 1781)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).
[45] Elizabeth Raffald, *The Experienced English House-Keeper* (Manchester, 1769).
[46] Ibid., p. ii.
[47] *Newcastle Courant*, 13 May 1775.
[48] Mary Smith, *The Complete House-Keeper, and Professed Cook* (Newcastle, 1772).

noted that ingredients should be chosen according to the preferences of the family. Fashionable cookery was no longer an external art to be imitated, nor was it a question of import substitution, instead it was a distinctly indigenous skill that could be improved upon by provincial female authors and their readers.

The Ingredients for a Macaroni

Criticism of continental tastes had reflected a rejection of social change, but by the time that the macaronis emerged English cookery was associated with fashionable innovation. To deride the macaronis' Francophile habits was not therefore an unambiguous critique of luxury. Instead, it indicated a disproval of the form of luxury that these characters were said to indulge in. Yet, this distinction was also being made during the 1750s and can not on its own explain the emergence of the macaroni. Food trends had already become embroiled in a nascent class discourse that was altering attitudes towards the continental fashions of the élite, and there must have been other factors at play.

By 1770 most English cookbooks included recipes for pasta dishes referred to as macaroni, albeit that they often used less extravagant ingredients than their French counterparts. English cookery could even be promoted alongside French cuisine, as it was in 1767 when B. Clermont's translation of Menon's *Les Soupers de la Cour* was published as *The Professed Cook: or the modern art of cookery, pastry, and confectionary ... Consisting of the most approved methods in the French as well as English cookery.*[49] It is worth noting, however, that Clermont had included a far larger number of references to macaroni than were to be found in English cookbooks, and most of these related to 'macaroni-drops' or small almond biscuits otherwise known as macarons, or French macaroons. It may even be that the vacuous macaronis gained their appellation from an association with these insubstantial dainty morsels, but reference to a pasta dish was equally fitting for creatures said to lack manly vigour.

A telling criticism was voiced in a letter from an 'OLD FELLOW' that appeared in the *London Magazine* in 1773. While expressing his preference for 'old things' particularly 'old fashions and customs', he lamented that 'Times, Sir, are changed... an English kitchen used to be the palace of Plenty, Jollity, and Good-eating [but now] tables groan with the luxuries of France and India.' People were said to have forgotten 'that good-eating and good porter are the two great supporters of Magna Charta and the British constitution', and that 'we open our hearts

[49] B. Clermont, *The Professed Cook: or the Modern Art of Cookery* (London, 1769).

and our mouths to new fashions in cookery, which will one day lead us into ruin.' It was claimed that 'Our nobles absolutely subsist upon maccaroni [sic] and negus [wine and sweetened hot water], and our very aldermen have almost forgot the use of barons [two sirloins of beef attached by the backbone] and custards.' Consequently the 'breed of Britain' was no longer broad shouldered and brawny armed, but had 'diminished and dwindled into pigmies and maccaronies; creatures that are timid, tasteless, tawdry, without feeling, sentiment, or honour ... Such are our present nobility, our gentry; and such soon will be our very commonality.' All this was because 'we live upon *pap* [weaning food], and our drink is tea and capillaire [syrup flavoured with orange flowers]'.[50] Despite his disapproval of foreign tastes, this 'old fellow' was evidently equally concerned about the juvenile nature of current fashions as he complained that the present generation consumed infant food and watered-down wine, or non-alcoholic drinks.

It was this that lay at the heart of the macaroni phenomenon. Fashionable continental tastes and imported luxuries had been depicted as effeminate throughout the century and, as Phillip Carter suggests, this was linked to the issue of masculine authenticity. Yet, focusing upon gender can obscure the fact that the 'milk-drinking macaroni' appears to be an age-based jib as much as it was an accusation of effeminacy.[51] For instance, the suggestion made in *The Westminster Magazine* in 1773 that the 'smooth-chinned, hair-brain'd Maccaronies [sic]' lacked 'the vigour to experience the joys of womankind' was surely intended to imply a want of masculine vitality on the grounds of immaturity.[52] In many respects, the derogatory use of 'smooth chinned' seems somewhat bizarre, given that the beard was notably absent from eighteenth-century society. Beards had fallen from fashion during the decades following the Restoration and did not return to favour until Victoria had ascended to the throne. Rosenthal suggests that this universal lack of facial hair may be unique in British history.[53] The importance of the beard in the fashioning of masculinity in the periods preceding and immediately following the long century of shaven faces highlights the significance of this notable but understudied feature of eighteenth-century life.[54] Looking at masculinity and 'The

[50] 1 January 1773, *The London Magazine. Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, Vol. 43 (London, 1747-1783), pp. 17-18.
[51] Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 151.
[52] Ibid., p. 146.
[53] Angela Rosenthal, 'Raising Hair', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), p. 2.
[54] Christopher Oldstone-Moore, 'The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain', *Victorian Studies*, 48.1 (2005), pp. 7-34; Will Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54:1 (2001), pp. 155-187.

Renaissance Beard', Will Fisher points out that medical texts had often directly linked the growth of facial hair to the production of semen, and beardless youths were therefore seen to be physically 'less than a man'.[55] In other words masculinity was something that was gained with maturity, not an inherent attribute. It could therefore be suggested that the absence of beards in the eighteenth century reflected a eulogising of youth, but the scornful remarks aimed at the macaroni only make sense if 'smooth chins' were considered to be distinct from shaven faces. The latter must be seen in the light of an underlying desire to project an enlightened civility that emulated the classical past. In contrast, a smooth chin demonstrated immaturity. Macaronis were not 'real' men, but over-grown boys.

Many of the attributes that are equated with the female sex are also traits of youth, and such links were more pronounced during the early-modern period, when even the attire of male infants gave childhood an effeminate appearance that emphasised the distinction between men and boys. It was because of this conflation that cosmopolitan fashions were linked to effeminacy, reflecting the predilection of the young to instigate new trends, and the fact that both youth and novel consumption patterns were seen to lack the masculine authenticity that was a product of maturity and its attendant attributes of tradition and experience. However, during the lifetime of the macaroni young boys began to be dressed in gender-specific clothing, and as the association between youth and femininity changed, the fashionable beau was increasingly likely to be described as being of neuter gender.[56] Possibly the first use of the term in this context was by 'Mr Town' of the *Connoisseur* in 1755, who wrote of 'equivocal half-men ... neuter somethings between male and female'. As Harriet Guest notes, although this may appear to be focused upon adult gender roles, these traits were perceived as signs of infantilism.[57] Mr Town suggested that:

> These tender dear creatures are generally bred up immediately under the wing of their mamas ... [and] While other lads are flogged into five declensions, and at length lashed through a whole school, these pretty masters are kept at home ... In consequence of which, when other young fellows begin to appear like men, these dainty creatures come into the world, with all the accomplishments of a lady's woman.[58]

By the time that the macaroni emerged it was not only boys who were educated at home that were escaping the traditional grammar master. The changing educational practice that coincided with the growth in commercial schooling during the 1750s and 1760s, in

[55] Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard', pp. 173, 177.
[56] See Chapter One, p. 36.
[57] Harriet Guest, *Small Change: women, learning, patriotism, 1750-1810* (Chicago, 2000), p. 29
[58] 24 April 1755, Colman, *The Connoisseur*, i, p. 338.

combination with the transformation in apprenticeship and the undermining of patriarchal authority, meant that an increasing number of youths from a wider socio-economic background had not been socialised in the customary manner and were failing to mature into 'real men'.[59] Although the characterisations of macaronis reflected an ongoing renegotiation of socio-economic and gender relations, it was the role they played in the transformation of age relations that distinguished them from earlier manifestations of the beau.

The macaronis' outlandish headwear was the most blatant indication of their immaturity, but the cultural connotations of this highly visible motif are not as apparent as its physical appearance. The eighteenth-century fashion for false hair can be said to epitomise the effeminate cosmopolitan artifice associated with polite society, but the periwig can also be linked to the public uniformity of masculine civility, in contrast to individualised natural hair that was associated with femininity; and, although overlooked by historians, also with childhood. Amelia Rauser suggests that the macaronis' notable singularity seems at odds with the masculine uniformity of their 'defining oversized wig', concluding that these characterisations played 'a multifaceted role', symbolising the ability of Britons to rival the cosmopolitan 'sophistication and politeness' of the continent while, at the same time, their individuality reinforced the independence upon which manly British virtues rested.[60] Rauser is right to stress the endogenous aspects of the macaroni, but to grasp his authentic masculine qualities it is crucial to recognise that, contrary to general assumptions, these semi-mythical creatures wore 'tortur'd hair', not wigs. Their ponytails set them apart from wig-wearing men, and this placed them at the centre of a debate in which the experience of age stood on one side of the social divide, and the innate qualities of youth on the other. To fully appreciate macaronis as contemporaries would have seen them, it is therefore necessary to place their elaborately styled hair under the spotlight.

From Periwigs to Ponytails

To give context to the dressed hair of the androgynous macaroni, it is essential to understand what wig-wearing signified. Charles II tended to be credited with establishing the popularity of the periwig, or peruke, when he brought the styles of the French court to England in 1660. Yet, while the returning court entourage may well have brought this fashion to England,

[59] See Chapters Two, Three and Four.
[60] Amelia Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), pp. 103, 107, 114; also Guest, *Small Change*, p. 32; Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England* (London, 1993), p. 107.

Charles had a full head of his own hair at this time, and only chose to don a wig three years later. In his diary, Samuel Pepys noted that by November 1663 the king's striking black locks had turned conspicuously grey, and implied it was this that motivated his decision to wear a wig.[61] False hair was not simply a method of disguising the aging process, wigs also demonstrated financial status and cosmopolitan taste. They were initially made to resemble the natural in a perfected form, somewhat akin to seventeenth-century still art, and they would seem to have been indicative of a desire to civilise nature. This is not to deny that for some men the cumbersome full-bottom wig worn at this time was no more than an impractical and frivolous fashion statement, and religious zealots denounced them as an expression of un-godly vanity. James G. McLaren suggests that 'older and more serious' men resisted the trend for a decade or so;[62] by which time, wigs had come to signify participation in the civic sphere and they were seen as a social necessity rather than a luxury by a growing number of men.

During the early Hanoverian period the ostentatious full-bottomed wigs worn by wealthier men were gradually replaced by less extravagant designs. The greater variation in styles allowed an ever-more diverse range of distinctions to be made, and specific wigs were increasingly associated with particular social groups and professions. Shifts in the headwear adopted by the judiciary offer considerable insights into the timing of this transition and the way in which the symbolic meaning of the wig was being transformed. Legal dress had evolved over time, becoming traditional through practice rather than being prescribed. Seventeenth-century judges had covered their heads with a coif, a white silk cap, over which they wore a black skull cap and a four-cornered hat.[63] W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley notes that older judges continued to wear these head coverings after 1660, but the younger members of the judiciary followed fashion and their coif and skull cap were reduced to symbolic circles of cloth worn on the back of natural-looking full-bottomed wigs (see Figure 5:3).[64] It was only when hair powder became fashionable during the first decade of the eighteenth century that judges began to acquire an image more recognisable to a modern eye, but at this time their wigs still had no specific significance. McLaren notes that during the 1720s 'a few junior barristers' had discarded their full-bottomed wigs and that by 1730 the fashion for smaller

[61] Monday 2 November 1663, Baron Richard Griffin Braybrooke (ed), *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys*, deciphered by John A. Smith, 2 Vols. (London, 1825), i, p. 258.
[62] James G. McLaren, 'A Brief History of Wigs in the Legal Profession', *International Journal of the Legal Profession*, 6: 2 (1999), p. 243.
[63] Ibid., p. 242; W.N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Legal Dress in Europe* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 60-62.
[64] Ibid., p. 66.

styles had taken hold among younger members of the Bar. Older and more conservative men in the court room continued to wear the outdated style but in the longer-term it was only retained by the judiciary. When physicians began to adopt the large 'physical wig' during the 1750s, full-bottomed perukes had become firmly associated with 'legal and ecclesiastical dignitaries';[65] by which time a wig that had been linked to frivolous French tastes and the feigning of youth had been restyled to suggest a receding hairline as it became a symbol of English authority (see Figure 5:4).

Figure 5:3.
1st Baron Jeffreys of Wem (1645-1689), c. 1684

by Robert White, line engraving, NPG D29878

Figure 5:4.
Sir John Willes (1685-1761), 1744

by Thomas Hudson, oil on canvas, NPG 484

Parisians were still seen as the *avant-garde* by those that wished to keep up with the latest trends, while jingoistic prejudices were voiced by those that disapproved of the new styles that were said to be emanating from across the Channel. In his historical account of the trades in London and Westminster, published in 1747, R. Campbell could complain that to be successful London's wigmakers were obliged to imitate fickle Paris fashions.[66] Yet by 1770

[65] Ibid., p. 91; McLaren, 'A Brief History of Wigs, p. 243.
[66] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), pp. 203-4.

the wig as a generic type was increasingly likely to be associated with traditional English tastes in contrast to the French fashion for dressed hair (see Figures 5:5 and 5:6).

Figure 5:5. A French Hairdresser, 1771

BM Satires 4767 © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5:6. English Barber, 1777

BM Satires 5463 © Trustees of the British Museum

Changing fashions in male coiffure were intimately connected to trends in female hairstyles. In contrast to the civic identity associated with the wig, the natural hair worn by women was seen to be an expression of the private individual. However, during the 1740s women began to wear false curls, or hair extensions, which obscured the gendered distinction between artificial and natural coiffure.[67] This can clearly be seen in the images of women depicted by William Hogarth. In his earlier works their hair was either tightly bound and partially covered or entirely concealed by a bonnet, and the exposure of their locks was generally linked to the dishevelment of a sexual encounter. In contrast, hairdressing was a central feature of *The Toilette*, Scene Four of *Marriage à la Mode* (1743), in which Countess Squanderfield entertained guests in her bedroom. Here the intimacy of lovers was openly displayed, and the

[67] James Stewart, *Plocacosmos: or the whole art of hair dressing* (London, 1782), p. 242.

private nature of women's hair was compromised by being dressed for public show. A generation later satirical images of women's hair reached heights that dwarfed the macaroni's, and fashionable hairstyles were getting notably bigger at the same time as English culinary art became unambiguously extravagant (see Figure 5:7). The women of the 1740s had civilised their natural hair, and by doing so lent the public realm a sociable femininity. In contrast, their daughters demonstrated a notable singularity that re-personalised their natural hair without discarding the public civility it was now associated with.

Figure 5:7. Ridiculous Taste, 1776

BM Satires 4629 © Trustees of the British Museum

Numerous hairdressing manuals were printed explaining how to create the elaborately elevated styles of the 1770s, which were formed around a shaped cushion and adorned with false curls. Most of these books covered both male and female styles, and often provided a mail order service for all of the hair extensions and styling products needed to follow their instructions. In 1782 James Stewart's *Plocacosmos: or the whole art of hair dressing* advocated relatively modest styles for men, in comparison to the spectacular hair sculptures he

designed for women.[68] A decade earlier, in *A Treatise on the Hair* (1770), David Ritchie had recommended the use of towers and toupees, false curls, clubs and hair to put up in a bag or queue, or in other words all of the accoutrements necessary to dress the hair of a macaroni.[69] The extravagant styles espoused may not have been for everyday wear, but *The Mountains of Hair's Garland* (published in Newcastle in 1775) complained that not only 'miller's, baker's and shop-keeper's wives', but even farmers wanted their hair to be 'dressed a yard high' to keep up their pride.[70]

Marcia Pointon contrasts the 'natural-looking' hair of women depicted in portraiture at this time to the dressed hair worn by an increasing number of male sitters, which she perceives to have been styled to look artificial.[71] However, while Ritchie suggested that 'men should dress suitable to their various ranks in life ... for the hair whether natural or artificial, may be dress'd to produce in us different ideas of the qualities of men', he had explained how to make the various types of 'additional hair' for gentlemen 'dress in imitation of the natural'.[72] The clear dichotomy that the wig created between male and female coiffure had been undermined as the women of the 1740s cultivated civility by dressing their hair, but trend setters of the 1760s and 1770s emphasised the natural quality of their dressed hair and it was men who were breaching gender divides by adopting an individualised appearance.

The Rise of the Hairdresser

In 1765, the London wigmakers' petitioned George III, complaining that men were wearing their own hair and employing foreigners to cut and dress it. The young king, who had succeeded his grandfather in 1760 at the age of twenty-two, was said to be influencing this fashion, and the wigmakers hoped to persuade him to adopt a wig in order to reinvigorate their trade.[73] It tends to be assumed that this was a short-term trend and that the wig had regained its popularity by 1770, before falling from fashion in the last decade of the century.[74] Marcia Pointon is one of the few historians to suggest that the growing prevalence of natural hair during the 1760s was more enduring, but she nonetheless concludes that wigs remained in

[68] Ibid.
[69] David Ritchie, *A Treatise on the Hair* (London, 1770), p. 80.
[70] *The Mountains of Hair's Garland* (Newcastle, 1775).
[71] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, pp. 121, 128.
[72] Ritchie, *A Treatise*, pp. 78, 80.
[73] *The Annual Register, 1765* (London, 1766), p. 64.
[74] John Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Hair* (London, 1971), p. 57; Langford, *Polite and Commercial*, p. 477.

widespread use and retained the same symbolic meaning throughout the century.[75] In contrast, Lynn Festa argues that the growing prevalence of natural hair can be linked to the popularity of ideas espoused by Rousseau, and that the wig 'increasingly serve[d] as a symbol of an earlier social order that ha[d] been or w[ould] be supplanted'.[76]

Looking beyond portraiture, newspaper advertising columns provide valuable insight into the rise of the hairdresser. It was during the 1750s that notices from hair-cutters began to appear in the newspapers printed in Newcastle, which suggests that the new king was following fashion rather than setting a trend in 1765. For instance, in 1755 the wigmaker and hair-cutter James Scott notified the readers of the *Newcastle Courant* that he was to set up in business in the town after spending two years training in Paris. In the same year, Fredrick Tate, who was based in London, was travelling with one of his French hair-cutters during the parliamentary recess, and would be in Newcastle until the end of the races. He made all sorts of wigs and cut and dressed both ladies' and gentlemen's hair in the 'newest and genteelest Taste'.[77] The range of goods and services being advertised in provincial newspapers was rapidly expanding at this time, which makes it difficult to determine if an upsurge in advertising was actually indicative of a change in practice.

The London newspapers carried a greater level of advertising earlier in the century, making any change easier to detect. Here the first advertisements found were from the hair-cutter Tobias Sedgwick, who offered his services as early as 1698.[78] Of the small group of gentlemen's hair-cutters that placed notices in the London press prior to 1750, most could boast a link to Sedgwick or one of his two apprentices, Bat Pidgeon and Thomas Goodwin; both of whom had continued to cut hair throughout the 1740s.[79] Although small in number, the existence of these hair-cutters questions the pervasiveness of wig wearing but it may be that, despite the general assumption, not all wig wearers were actually hairless under their perukes. Mirroring the advertising in Newcastle's newspapers, it was during the 1750s that a new generation of metropolitan hair-cutters began to offer to dress rather than cut hair.[80] Unlike

[75] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, pp. 128, 114.
[76] Lynn Festa, 'Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 29:2 (2005), pp. 74, 79, 82.
[77] *Newcastle Courant*, 27 September, 31 May 1755.
[78] *Flying Post or The Post Master* (London), Thursday 2 June 1698, Issue 478; *Post Boy* (London), Thursday, 14 January 1714, Issue 2916.
[79] *London Evening Post* (London), Tuesday 20 February 1750, Issue 3483; *General Advertiser* (London), Wednesday 28 March 1750, Issue 4815.
[80] For the earliest example found, see *Public Advertiser* (London), Saturday 27 December 1755, Issue 6598.

their predecessors, they often combined their business with wig making, which suggests that they were offering a service that employed different skills to those used by the traditional haircutter.

This merging of the trades of wig making and hairdressing is also apparent in the descriptions of the barber offered in R. Campbell's *The London Tradesman* (1747) and Joseph Collyer's *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory* (1761). Campbell suggested that barbers had offered teeth pulling and bloodletting but that by 1747 many focused exclusively upon shaving and wig making, and he predicted that the link to surgeons would soon become nothing more than a memory.[81] The London Company of Barber-Surgeons had formally separated in 1745, which corresponds with, and no doubt influenced, Campbell's assessment of the trade. Barbers continued to be linked to minor surgical procedures during the 1770s, as can be seen in the print depicting an 'English Barber', where the words 'bleeding and teeth drawn' appear above the shop door (see Figure 5:6), but this may have been no more than artistic licence used to suggest the traditional, or outdated, nature of the trade. Joseph Collyer made no such connection in 1761. The business of a barber was simply to shave and make wigs, but he noted that some now also curled and cut hair which placed them in competition with hair-cutters. Collyer left no doubt which he thought the more honourable trade as he suggested that the boy intended as an apprentice to a barber 'ought to be genteel, active, and obliging; to have a sweet breath, and a light hand', whereas to be a hair-cutter a boy needed 'a compliant and insinuating' manner and it was lamented that 'to the dishonour of [the] nation' the highest paid hair-cutters were generally Frenchmen.[82]

Further evidence of the decline in wig wearing can be found in the notices placed in the Newcastle newspapers that gave descriptions of deserters and bound employees who had absconded.[83] Unfortunately, the number of notices placed before 1755 was too small to offer any insights into the reach of the wig prior to this date. Later notices do, however, provide evidence of a change in practice during the 1760s that appears to give justification to the complaints of the London wigmakers. This was most notable in the case of deserters. In 1760 one-third of the thirty deserters wore a wig, but after this date all but one was described as

[81] Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, pp. 203-205.
[82] Joseph Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory, and the Youth's Guide* (London, 1761), pp. 59, 129.
[83] Every fifth year was sampled between 1730 and 1785, consulting the *Newcastle Journal*, *Courant* and *Chronicle*.

wearing their own hair, and this was one of the few deserters over the age of thirty.[84] There were also too few notices relating to runaway apprentices prior to 1760 to offer any insight into changing fashions during the 1750s, and later notices offer only limited insights. Out of a total of eighty-four youths that were sought, only five were described as wearing a wig. It could be argued that such youths were simply too young to have adopted a peruke; but, at the age of twelve the Newcastle apprentice Ralph Jackson, whose diary was discussed in Chapter Four, wore a wig, and had 'Bargained with the Barber ... & got shaved' just days after moving in with his master in October 1749.[85] It may be that wealthier apprentices, like Ralph, were both more likely to wear a wig and less likely to abscond than their poorer counterparts. Yet, a distinction was being made in later notices between absconding apprentices that 'wore a curl' and those that had hair 'which naturally curls'.[86] Ralph had sporadically referred to having his head shaved during his apprenticeship, and a surviving account book detailing his expenses between 1759 and 1766 records his regular purchasing of new wigs, but in 1786 he made a passing comment about having his hair dressed over his 'wig' or toupee.[87] This makes it impossible to determine when he stopped wearing entirely detachable hair, but he had clearly done so. Attitudes towards wig wearing were evidently changing.

Although there were only fourteen descriptions of adult servants that had absconded, all of those reported before 1765 wore wigs, but by 1780 none did. Tellingly, in 1775, when a notice was placed by a prospective employer seeking 'A BOY of fourteen to sixteen years of age, who [could] take care of horses, and drive a chaise occasionally', it was stipulated that 'He must have his own hair.'[88] Again, a 'middle-aged' butler was sought in 1765 who could shave and dress wigs, but after this date if such personal care was part of a male servant's job specification it was the ability to dress hair not a wig that was wanted.[89] A century after the peruke rose to prominence as a fashionable item of male apparel, real hair had seemingly enjoyed a sustained revival across the social spectrum.

The peruke may have been losing its popularity, but this is not to say that all men had discarded the wig. The wigmakers trade had clearly survived the rise of the hairdresser. As

[84] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 5 February 1780.
[85] 21 October 1749, RJD, TA, U/WJ/A; also 16 May 1752, RJD, TA, U/WJ/D, for a specific reference to having his head shaved.
[86] For example see *Newcastle Chronicle*, 17 February 1770; *Newcastle Courant*, 24 June 1780.
[87] Cash Book 1759-1766, RJD, TA, U/WJ/Cashbook; and 7 November 1786, RJD, TA, U/WJ/T.
[88] *Newcastle Courant*, 6 May 1775.
[89] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 21 December 1765, 29 April 1775; *Newcastle Courant*, 13 May 1780, 17 September 1785.

late as 1784 William Whitehead's *Newcastle and Gateshead Directory* included forty-one wigmakers and only five hairdressers. Strikingly, by 1795 this ratio had been reversed, and William Hilton's *Directory* for the town listed only two wigmakers and thirty nine hairdressers. Given the connection between the two trades, it can be assumed that at least some wigmakers would have also dressed hair, and in fact fourteen of the hairdressers listed by Hilton had been described as wigmakers a decade earlier.[90] Nonetheless, this appears to contradict the evidence drawn from the advertising columns of the local newspapers. It is, however, important to recognise the extent to which appearances can be deceptive. Just as hair could be sculptured into inauthentic forms, wigs could be made to resemble these reputedly natural styles. For instance, in 1770 the London wigmaker 'Courtier' had advertised 'WIGS to imitate NATURE',[91] and fifteen years later he claimed that 'Wigs [were] being universally complained of ... [as] they neither fit well, sit easy, nor appear elegant'. To rectify this fault he was offering a new type of wig for men that was both 'a perfect imitation of nature' and required 'little or no dressing'.[92] More traditional perukes were still being offered for sale, but fashionable men, whether they were sporting dressed hair or a wig, apparently aimed for a natural appearance. Nor was it only men that were feigning 'natural' dressed hair. As James Stewart explained in 1782, 'The French tete is worn by ladies who have no hair at all, or will not have any of it used; therefore this may be called a direct wig.'[93] Again these wigs were promoted as natural looking. In 1756 Edward Evans had notified the readers of the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* that he had 'invented an intire new Method of making Lady's Tetes in so complete a Manner, as not in any Ways to be discerned from their own natural Hair.' They could be dressed in either the French or English fashion without obliging women to 'sit so many hours to have their Hair Cut and Dressed'.[94]

It would seem that the market for partial wigs, hair extensions, and more natural-looking full wigs that aimed to imitate dressed hair, had helped to keep the wig trade buoyant alongside the diminishing but persistent trade in more traditional styles. It was when the macaroni faded from view, and hair extensions fell from fashion, that the wigmakers' trade finally waned. By 1788, the hairdresser Alexander Steward published *The Art of Hair Dressing* as two distinct

[90] William Whitehead, *The Newcastle and Gateshead Directory* (Newcastle, 1782-4); William Hilton, *The Newcastle and Gateshead Directory* (Newcastle, 1795).
[91] *Public Advertiser* (London), Thursday 4 January 1770, Issue 10972, and repeated throughout the year.
[92] *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* (London), Tuesday 8 March 1785, Issue 1362.
[93] Stewart, *Plocacosmos*, p. 300.
[94] *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* (London), Saturday 10 April 1756, Issue 4561.

books dealing with male and female styles, and while cushions were still used to shape women's coiffures he made no reference to 'additional hair' for either sex.[95] Then, in 1791 the crop appeared in print (see Figure 5:8).

Figure 5:8. A Crop, 1791

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The introduction of hair powder tax in 1795 is often linked to the demise of the wig, but it was in fact hair extensions that were most dependent upon powder, as it was used to blend false locks into real hair.[96] Those who wore a full wig could avoid paying the tax just as easily as those with entirely natural hair (see Figure 5:9). Nonetheless, after almost half a century of waning popularity the wig had descended into terminal decline. In 1834 James Planché could claim that 'the wig ... has been gradually dispensed with, and a solitary pigtail is now and then seen reclining on an elderly gentleman's shoulder, as if only to remind us "That such things

[95] Alexander Stewart, *The Art of Hair Dressing, or, the gentleman's director* (London, 1788), and *The Art of Hair Dressing, or, the ladies director* (London, 1788).

[96] As John Barrell notes, it was not just the imposed cost that deterred people from wearing powder. Neither was it simply a case of rejecting French fashions. Paying the guinea became associated with supporting Pitt's unpopular military strategy and, as its main constituent was flour, it was also being condemned as immoral given the severe food scarcity faced in 1795, John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: invasions of privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 207-209.

were, And were most dear to us".'[97] An object that had appeared so central to the presentation of self during the early eighteenth century was no longer a constituent of identity but was instead described as reclining upon the wearer in a manner that suggested it possessed a life of its own.

Figure 5:9. Leaving off the Powder, 1795

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A Lecture on Heads

False hair may have remained popular until the final decade of the eighteenth century, but the symbolic meaning of the wig was already being transformed by the time that the macaroni emerged. Two highly acclaimed comic lectures written by George Alexander Stevens provide considerable insight into contemporary attitudes as more natural-looking coiffure gained popularity during the 1760s.[98] *The Celebrated Lecture on Heads* was first performed in London in 1764, and appeared in print the following year. When showing at the Turks Head theatre in Newcastle during July and August of 1765, it was described in the *Newcastle Journal* as 'a dissection of fashions' in which various heads were dressed from a 'library of

[97] James Robinson Planché, *History of British Costume* (London, 1834), p. 315.
[98] George Alexander Stevens, *The Celebrated Lecture on Heads* (London, 1765), and *An Essay on Satirical Entertainments. To which is added, Steven's New Lecture upon Heads* (London, 1772).

wigs'.[99] *The Lecture* was also serialised in both the *Newcastle Journal* and *Newcastle Chronicle* later that year, demonstrating that the comments Stevens made were as relevant to northern audiences as they were to metropolitan theatre-goers.[100] In 1775 Stevens exhibited his heads in Durham and Northumberland, as part of a national tour; by which time he would have been performing *The New Lecture on Heads* (1772), which had been written to reflect changing fashions.[101] The success of this theatrical show, which was said to have earned Stevens £10,000 by 1784, is clearly indicative of the author's ability to capture the mood of his audiences.[102]

The premise of this show may seem to suggest that wigs were regarded as expressive of a wide variety of personalities but Stevens in fact ridiculed this notion, and the opening gambit to the original lecture demonstrated his general tone. The first heads were those of Alexander the Great and a quack doctor sporting a 'physical wig'. The madness of the first 'made him a conqueror', while the 'folly of the town dubb'd [the second] a doctor'; one celebrated by 'half the great writers of the age' despite being no more than 'a murderer and madman', the other given credibility by newspaper accounts 'of cures never performed, and copies of affidavits never sworn to'.[103] Then, as he placed a lawyer's tie-wig upon a bare-headed block, Stevens declared 'Behold how naked, how simple a thing Nature is! But, behold, how luxurious is Art! What importance is now seated on these brows! What reverence the features demand!'[104] The wig was nothing but art with no substance; it did not make a good doctor or an impressive lawyer. These remarks were retained in *The New Lecture* but they were relegated to a later section of the show, and Stevens began with the suggestion that 'Wigs, as well as books, are furniture for the head, and both are equally voluminous'. Demonstrating that social artifice was still the main target of his humour, he went on to ridicule the new fashion for carved wooden books that allowed the owner to 'make a parade of much learning, by the meer [sic] assistance of his timber merchant.'[105]

In the earlier show Stevens had included the nascent macaroni 'Sir Languish Lisping', who was described as one of those 'creatures' that 'seldom make any other use of their heads than

[99] *Newcastle Journal*, 27 July 1765.
[100] Serialised during September and October 1765.
[101] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 23 December 1775.
[102] James Sambrook, 'Stevens, George Alexander (1710?–1784)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).
[103] Stevens, *The Lecture on Heads*, pp. 1-2.
[104] Ibid., pp. 2-3.
[105] Stevens, *The New Lecture on Heads*, p. 18.

to have their hair or wigs dressed upon them,' and who copied 'the manners of ladies so closely that grammarians are at a loss, whether to rank them with the masculine or feminine, and therefore put them with the Doubtful Gender.'[106] It is impossible to tell whether Steven meant to imply that some of these creatures wore a full wig as opposed to hair pieces but there was no such ambiguity by 1772 when Sir Languish had been replaced by a whole host of characters that could be described as macaronis, which may be why Stevens chose not to use the term. The first head he described in this updated lecture was that of Sir Dimple Daisy, 'one of the INSIPIDS' that were to be met with 'at all public places', and it was the dress of his hair not his wig that was commented upon as Stevens claimed that 'these delicate *Insensibles*' were 'polished too high to have any passions'.[107] Again it was not the wig of his next head that Stevens derided but his hair extensions, and focusing upon the size of the pony tails or 'sheeps [sic] tails' currently in fashion he claimed that some 'self-moving machines' were being invented 'on the purpose to lighten the heads of our modern fine gentlemen.'[108]

In the earlier lecture 'the Tea-Table critic; or master among the maids' was a youth described as 'his mama's darling', who had not been sent to school for fear that he should 'get a nasty custom of holding down his head', and had 'died of a fit of despair' when his lap-dog was accidently poisoned with cosmetic cream he had been preparing for his mother.[109] By 1772, this age cohort had become young men, and Stevens conflated this character with elements of Sir Languish to create Master Jackey [sic], a 'mama's darling' who was an example of those creatures of '*doubtful* gender' that 'aim so much to imitate the ladies, that they are almost womanish'. Master Jackey was contrasted to 'Diana the huntress', and it was suggested that 'If men are thus daring enough to invade the ladies province, and assume such female appearances, why may not the ladies justly make reprisals, and take up that manliness, these beings have thrown off.'[110] This serves to remind us that there were female macaronis who, like their wealthy male contemporaries, were not constrained by an older generation's expectations of appropriate gender roles (see Figure 5:10).

[106] Stevens, *The Lecture on Heads*, p. 4.
[107] Stevens, *The New Lecture on Heads*, p. 19.
[108] Ibid., p. 20.
[109] Stevens, *The Lecture on Heads*, p. 14.
[110] Stevens, *The New Lecture on Heads*, pp. 21-22.

Figure 5:10. The Female Turf Macaroni, 1771

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The text accompanying the image of a young women driving a coach, entitled 'Old Fashion'd Rules' (Figure 5:11), made the generational distinction patently clear:

Talk not to me Sir of yr old Fashion'd rules,
E'en laugh'd at by Children, the Joke of the Schools:
They might do for yr meek minded Matrons of old,
Who knew no use of Spirit but their Servants to scold.
But for me Z------ds & Blood am not I fit to command,
I can swear Sir, & What's more drive four Horses in Hand.

Figure 5:11. Old Fashion'd Rules, 1781

BM Satires 5936 © Trustees of the British Museum

Stevens argued that despite the prints and paragraphs that derided 'the modern head dresses of our fine women' it was impossible not to admire them, and asked 'Can our sex boast such grandeur'.[111] This ironic praise was used to emphasise the folly of men who imitated female fashions, and Stevens declared that '*Nature* has nothing to do with such manoeuvres'.[112] It was this that singled the macaroni out from earlier manifestations of the beau. The fop and the macaroni may have had much in common, but the unreserved artifice of the fop had been taken for granted and there had been no perceived need to refute any natural traits. It was the artifice of the wig that had been targeted by Stevens in the early 1760s, but a decade later élite young men were making natural hair equally contrived even if it was an innate attribute.

A Symbolic Transformation

As the division between wigs and natural hair became less distinct in practice it was increasingly reinforced within the public discourse. Satirists focused upon the feminine nature of hairdressing, depicting it as a self-indulgent procedure and an intimate, even sensual, affair (see Figure 5:12). The experience may not always have been entirely pleasurable but it required a chaperone nonetheless (see Figure 5:13).

Figure 5:12. A Hint to a Husband, 1776

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Figure 5:13. Hairdressing, 1787

BM Satires 7246 © Trustees of the British Museum

[111] Ibid., p. 51.
[112] Ibid., p. 52.

The portrayal of a personal and private service was not entirely unfounded. Clients were often attended in their own home. In 1780, the Newcastle hairdresser J. Roberts could combine his business with an employment agency for domestic servants, whilst also offering training in hairdressing to prospective butlers and maids who wished to improve their job prospects.[113] Vicesimus Knox complained that when getting their hair dressed people lavished away the time 'on literary trash' or 'vile translations of foolish French novels'. In contrast, barber-wigmaker's shops were masculine social environments where newspapers were read and politics was discussed (see Figures 5:14 and 5:15).[114]

Figure 5:14. Intelligence on the Change of the Ministry, 1783

BM Satires 6348 © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5:15.Quidnunc, or the Upholsterer Shaving, 1772

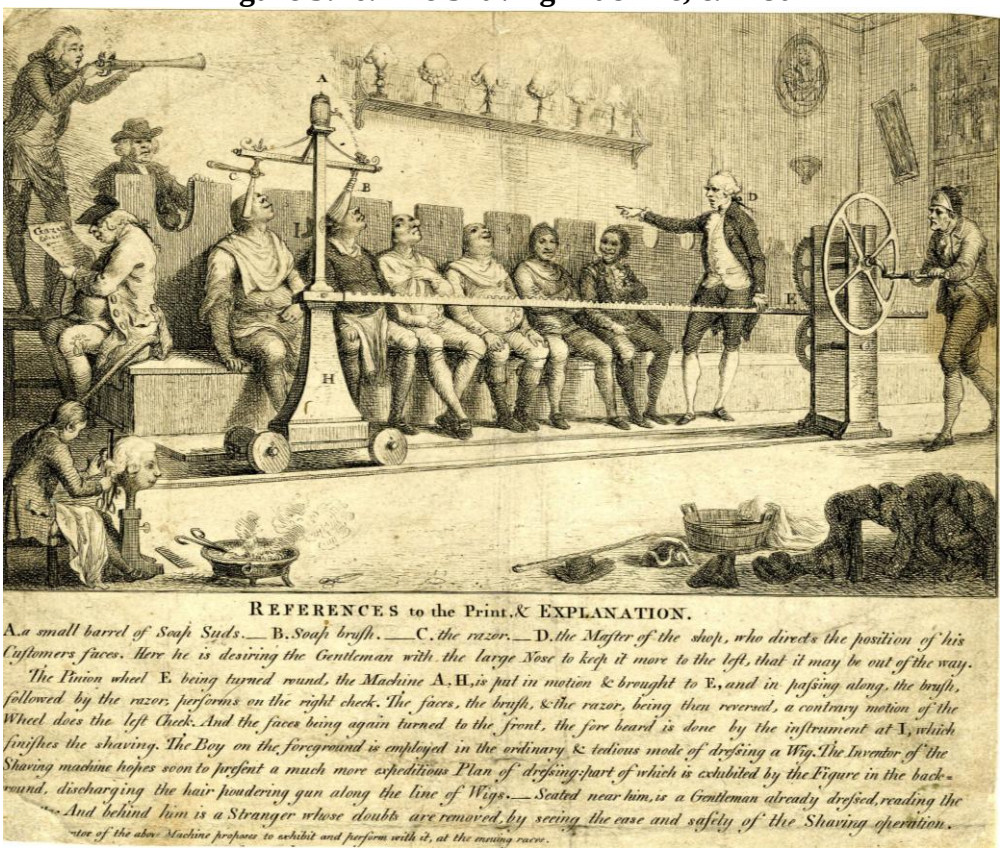
BM Satires 4937 © Trustees of the British Museum

Unlike dressed hair, wigs were practical. They did not require the wearer to accompany them to the barber's to be spruced up, although they could be attended to by an apprentice while their owner was being shaved. Even then, barbers were portrayed as paying scant regard to

[113] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 8 July, 26 August 1780.
[114] Vicesimus Knox, *Essays Moral and Literary*, 2 Vols. (London, 1782), i, p. 293; also Don Herzog, 'The Trouble with Hairdressers', *Representations*, 53 (1996), pp. 21-43.

their customers. This lampooning of the impersonal nature of the wig was taken to its extreme in the depiction of 'the newly-invented shaving machine', where the automated service required customers to contort their natural features, such as height or size of nose, to suit the needs of the apparatus (see Figure 5:16). Here the wig clearly symbolised the repression of individuality in favour of a public persona.

Figure 5:16. The Shaving Machine, c. 1780



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This is not to suggest that the inauthentic nature of the wig had previously been overlooked. Mid-century portraiture that depicted men divested of their wigs reflected a desire to give the private individual a public face, as seen in Hogarth's self portrait from 1745 (see figure 5:17.). This presentation of the authentic individual that resided behind a public persona can also be seen in the case of male portrait busts, which began to be used as an alternative to portraiture during the 1720s and became fashionably prevalent by the middle decades of the century.[115]Although some men were depicted wearing a wig, the material and cultural form of the medium was also used to lend the bald head of the private individual a public civility. However, Malcolm Baker notes that an increasing number of busts were carved with short-

[115] Malcolm Baker, "No cap or wig but a thin hair upon it': Hair and the Male Portrait Bust in England around 1750', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:1 (2004), p. 63.

cropped natural hair during the 1750s.[116] While Baker suggests that hair, or a lack of it, signified a range of qualities connected to civic virtue and antiquarian learning, he also notes that it was used to distinguish youth from maturity.[117] If the short-cropped coiffure given to busts of young men is seen to have represented un-dressed hair this distinction becomes actual rather than allegorical. Such natural hair was inherently more authentic than the bald head of a wig-wearer, albeit that this was rooted in innate traits rather than the maturity that more traditional masculine authenticity had been dependent upon.

Figure 5:17. Hogarth Self Portrait, 1749

Paulson 1965/70 181.IV © Trustees of the British Museum

The distinction that was emerging between the younger men who wore their own hair and older traditionalists who continued to wear a wig is most clearly seen in changing attitudes towards the embarrassing exposure of a shaven head. In contrast to the carefully posed intimacy of his self portrait, Hogarth had used public de-wigging to denote a loss of civic virtue, connecting it to debauchery and debtors' prison. Yet by 1770 such exposure was more likely to be used to humorously ridicule the fogram; a term coined at this time to describe an

[116] Ibid., 74.
[117] Ibid., pp. 70-1.

outdated older generation, giving us the derivative ‘old fogy’. For instance, when Tobias Smollett described the bungling but affable Mathew Bramble losing his periwig as his coach overturned, a connection was clearly being made between deeply unfashionable older men and wig wearing.[118] Such distinctions may have been no more than an optical illusion, given the prevalence of natural-looking false hair, but it could nonetheless be exploited for comic effect (see Figure 5:18).

Figure 5:18. The Optical Contrast, 1772

BM Satires 4703 © Trustees of the British Museum

Wigs were being linked to an antiquated artifice. Yet, dressed hair was no less contrived, and as the generation that rejected the wig during the 1750s were starting to get thin on top, new hairdressing techniques offered the opportunity to retain this affected youthful authenticity. Just three years before publishing his *Treatise on the Hair* in 1770, the hairdresser David Ritchie had advertised ‘a new method of gentlemen’s false locks, or towers, for those that are bald, or whose hair is thin’, and he claimed that these hairpieces appeared ‘more natural, and [were] easier fixed than any yet made.’[119] This may explain why additional hair for men became popular during the 1770s, which would mirror the emergence of the wig a century earlier when a method of disguising the aging process was adopted as a fashion statement by those too young to be suffering from any age-based deficit of hair. Both would seem to have involved an adulation of youth that suggests a generation that were setting themselves apart

[118] Tobias George Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, 3 Vols. 2nd edn. (London, 1771), i, pp. 166-167.
[119] See *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (London), Monday 12 January 1767, Issue 11811.

from their older contemporaries. That said, while the perukes of the 1660s and the additional hair of the 1770s aimed to look 'natural', the Restoration wigs had signified the civilisation of nature whereas dressed hair was said to lend civility a natural countenance.

Amelia Rauser suggests that the final demise of the wig during the 1790s indicated that 'an old acceptance of artifice as a necessary part of public life was giving way to a new fear of deceptiveness, corruption, and arbitrariness of manners'.[120] Yet concerns about the potentially deceptive use of social props such as the wig were just as prevalent earlier in the century. John Brewer insightfully captures such attitudes in the comparison he makes between the rake and the fop; the former a malevolent aristocratic type that disguised immoral intentions behind a veneer of politeness, and the later being subsumed by an outer appearance that defined the whole man.[121] In contrast, the macaroni's dressed hair was ridiculed as a public display of self obsession and, despite his highly contrived nature, the satirical images implied that an outward-facing performance could not hide or mould the inner self, but instead accentuated innate qualities (see Figure 5:19).

Figure 5:19. Handsomer Folks, 1775

BM Satires 4542 © Trustees of the British Museum

[120] Rauser, 'Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni', pp. 104-5.
[121] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (London, 1997), p. 112.

In the wake of the macaroni's demise, concern about social deceit became more prominent within the satirical prints. However, this was not centred upon the use of contrived social props but the projection of dishonest 'natural' qualities, and attention had become firmly fixed upon female artifice and deception (see Figure 5:20). By the time that the fashionable young men of the 1790s adopted the crop, wigs were no longer seen as an open display of a masculine public persona but as a deceitful expression of the private feminine individual.

Figure 5:20. Six Stages of Mending a Face, 1792

BM Satires 8174 © Trustees of the British Museum

A Youthful Authenticity

Changing tastes in cuisine and coiffure reflected different expressions of the same generational shifts in attitudes. In both cases it was during the 1740s that women had breached the boundaries of polite society. As Hannah Glasse gave continental tastes a contrived home-baked flavour and hairdressing lent natural female hair a public quality, an innate or domestic element had been added to cosmopolitanism, and the externality of polite etiquette was therefore undermined. This reinterpretation of what it was to be polite echoed the attitudes towards children considered in Chapter One, and in both cases emphasis was placed upon cultivating civility. It was the boys who had grown up during the 1740s and 1750s that rejected the wig as they became young men. This was generation that questioned their parents' politeness and adopted a more sentimental view of childhood as they became parents themselves. Despite this refocusing of social mores, as inherent attributes were given priority

over objectively defined values, this cohort did not discard social affectation. This is most apparent in the fashionably overt display of emotional sensitivity, which can clearly be linked to the emergence of extravagant English cuisine, both being highly contrived presentations of endogenous qualities. Macaronis have been assumed to be incongruous with this trend, and yet their flamboyant hairstyles were no less innate and their social artifice was in many respects no more pronounced.

Dror Wahrman suggests that the middle decades of the century saw the relatively fluid distinctions of class, race, and gender blurred by social practice prior to their rigid re-imposition in the wake of the cultural shock of the American Declaration of Independence. Wahrman links this to the emergence of a subjective individualism that signified the birth of the *Modern Self*.[122] While it may be the case that the fashionable singularity of the 1770s coincided with the growing crisis in the American colonies, focusing upon the generational contours of society demonstrates that attitudes were already changing by 1776, and the seeds of change had been planted a generation earlier. Individualism was becoming more pronounced but, however tempting, it can not be assumed that the elaborately extended hairstyles of the 1770s reflected an inner conflict between the affectation of a socially orientated projection of identity and the expression of an innate self. Subjective and objective perspectives are co-dependent. As Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood suggest, 'the idea of the rational individual is an impossible abstraction from social life'.[123] In choosing to wear a wig, false locks, or their own hair, an individual's preferences were shaped by an inextricably interwoven perception of personal taste and the social connotations they bestowed upon the choice that they made. Dressed hair was clearly being linked to innate qualities but, as Lynn Festa points out, the decline of the wig reflected a widespread trend, and as such it transcended individual choice.[124]

The characterisations of the macaroni did, however, reflect a significant change in attitudes. English particularism had been associated with a rejection of social innovation, but during the middle decades of the century the parents of the macaroni generation reinterpreted cosmopolitanism and it was claimed that indigenous forms of politeness could be just as rational, civilised, and progressive as the continental version associated with the wealthiest

[122] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, pp. 244-261, esp. pp. 246-247.
[123] Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods* (London, 1996), pp. viii.
[124] Festa, 'Personal Effects', p. 75.

sectors of society. While this cohort bestowed endogenous traits with a contrived quality, their children grew up assuming that inherent attributes were innovative and they did not perceive a need to disassociate such traits from the reactionary connotations that they had earlier in the century. Authentic singularity could therefore be linked to a youthful progressive outlook rather than being associated with custom and tradition. It is in this context that the foreignness of the macaroni was emphasised. Domestic politeness had been inherently less cosmopolitan than the élite continental form, whereas continental tastes made élite singularity inherently less authentic than the domestic version. Consequently, the macaroni's 'natural' hair lent him a youthful authenticity in comparison to the antiquated artifice of the older generations, but at the same time his effeminate Francophile tendencies, alongside his vacuous narcissism, questioned just how much substance this authenticity could be said to have in comparison to a more manly English version. The macaroni and his elaborate hair bring the question of masculine authenticity to the fore, but this emphasis upon endogenous qualities was not gender-specific. As Harriet Guest notes, women's participation in polite society mid-century had been seen as a civilising influence, but during the 1770s 'civilised progress' became associated with 'imperial decline', and élite women were satirised for their lack of 'domestic virtue'.[125] Guest argues that the notion of 'public patriotism' was increasingly seen to be 'devoid of sentimental local emotion', in contrast to a more 'modern patriotism' that reflected a domestic sensibility.[126] It is in this light that the fashion for unashamedly extravagant English culinary art must be seen.

In 1773, an 'old Fellow' could still associate a sirloin of beef with customary practice, as he assumed an intransigent jingoistic stance and condemned the juvenile tastes of the younger generations. By the time that the young Prince of Wales (born 1762) joined the Sublime Society of Beef Steaks in 1785, the eating of roast beef was no longer being linked to the rejection of change but to political reformers. For instance, in the satirical print *The Constitutional Society*, the political activist and inn keeper Sam House served up a sirloin as he played host to some fellow travellers, and again in *Robin Hood's Victory over Pam*, Charles James Fox was shown astride a bovine mount inscribed 'John Bull' whilst jousting with the King's new favourite Pitt the Younger (see Figure 5:21). By this time Fox tended to be depicted with undressed hair and stubble on his face, whereas a decade earlier he had been the quintessential smooth-chinned macaroni. The public persona of politicians can not be

[125] Guest, *Small Change*, pp. 219, 209.
[126] Ibid., pp. 192, 204.

assumed to reflect the private life of the individuals involved, but the changing image of Fox was indicative of significant political developments. The wider connotations of Fox's transformation will be considered in the following chapter, but what is important in this context is that, as the macaroni faded from view, authenticity had become a resolutely dynamic attribute.

Figure 5:21. Robin Hood's Victory over Pam, 1784

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For the parents and grandparents of the macaroni generation politeness was premised upon universal values, but it was also an expression of self-determination that indicated a rejection of the constraints of custom and tradition. For the young adults of the 1770s, self-determination was expressed through a singularity that reflected their disenchantment with this cultivated civility, and this added a new dimension to intergenerational relationships, as it could no longer be assumed that it was the young with their newfangled habits that were deviating from the 'natural' order of things.

Chapter Six
Political Generations

The 1770s were not only notable for big hair and extravagant food. This was also a decade of particularly turbulent domestic politics played out against the backdrop of growing unrest in the American colonies. The same generational rift that shaped the debates surrounding eating habits and hairstyles was evident within the political sphere, and focusing upon the parliamentary elections of 1774 brings this age-based tension into sharp focus. In Newcastle this was the first contested election there had been in three decades. It followed in the wake of a high profile confrontation between the civic authorities and the freemen. Few have concurred with Lewis Namier's appraisal of the politics in the town as essentially parochial, but the nature and derivation of the popular tumult has remained contested.[1] Re-examining the election from an intergenerational perspective adds a new dimension to these debates.

Newcastle was a freemen borough, and so all those entitled to take up membership of an incorporated trade had the right to vote. Consequently, by eighteenth-century standards, the town had a relatively large and socially diverse electorate.[2] More significantly, information about age-based voting patterns can be obtained by linking the poll book to guild records. Although this procedure is not without its limitations, it does provide insight into politics at the grassroots. This makes it possible to determine the extent to which the propaganda and political street theatre in 1774 reflected behaviour at the hustings. Then, after looking at the links between the borough and county election, turning attention to the events of the following decade demonstrates the longer-term significance of the generational tensions evident in 1774. Before this, briefly considering the politics of the period from a national perspective gives context to the events that unfolded in Newcastle.

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[1] Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 2nd edn. (London, 1957); John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1976); James E. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism* (Cambridge, 1990); Thomas R. Knox, 'Wilkism and the Newcastle election of 1774', *Durham University Journal*, 72 (1979), pp. 23-37; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People* (Cambridge, 1995); H.T. Dickinson, *Radical Politics in the North-East of England in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Durham, 1979).

[2] Two thousand one hundred and sixty-four voters from thirty companies participated in the 1774 election, *The Poll at the Election of Members of Parliament for the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle, 1774).

Political Instability

The political arena had been transformed during the 1760s as a complex set of factors converged. After four decades of Whig hegemony, the accession of George III had reordered the political environment in Westminster as the young king sought to assert his authority. The Tories were no longer political outcasts and, although few were actually appointed to government positions, this contributed to the increasing factionalism amongst the Whigs. At the same time, the peace deal brokered after the Seven Year War had redrawn the imperial landscape, extending territorial jurisdiction and raising questions about governance in terms of both structure and cost. The tensions that arose as parliament sought to extract taxes from the American colonists, to pay for policies that they had no say in, were to have momentous consequences. John Brewer suggests it was because of 'contamination from the American debate' that more equal representation became a central issue in domestic politics.[3] Yet this is to underestimate the extent to which the events on both sides of the Atlantic were part of a 'British problem'. Attempting to rule disparate polities inevitably created a situation whereby the political rhetoric tailored for a specific context was variously interpreted by geographically dispersed British communities as local, national, and imperial debates were conflated within the political discourse.

The maverick antics of John Wilkes, and the support he gained from the American colonists, highlights the fact that 'contamination' or influence flowed in both directions across the Atlantic. Wilkes had become a *cause célèbre* when he was expelled from parliament in 1764, charged with seditious libel, and fled to France. On his return in late 1768 he was elected as MP for Middlesex. This election result was overturned and Wilkes went on to win three consecutive by-elections only to have the seat granted to his opponent in April 1769. Although his political motivations were questionable, Wilkes became a figurehead for a miscellaneous assortment of malcontents. However, by the end of the 1760s an opposition Whig faction had emerged under the leadership of Rockingham. Brewer links this to the re-emergence of ideologically-focused party politics, and as the Rockinghamites solicited public support they clearly lent extra-parliamentary politics a centrality that it had lacked in earlier decades when a coalition of opposition to court policies had formed a lose grouping of country interests.[4]

[3] Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics*, p. 260.
[4] Ibid.

These events coincided with the cultural change that has been explored in the previous chapters and, although overlooked in the historiography, age mattered in a political context. In November 1775 a paragraph was placed in the *Newcastle Chronicle* that at first glance appears to offer a trivial addition to the general knowledge of the reader. It was simply stated that:

> A Correspondent desires we would insert the following view of the respective ages of all of the crowned heads in Europe. King of Great Britain, 37 years. France 23. Spain 59. Portugal 61. Prussia 65. Naples and Sicily, 23. Poland, 43. Sweden, 29. Denmark, 26. Sardinia, 49. Emperor of Germany, 34. Empress Q. of Hungary, 58. Russia, 46. The Pope, 58. Grand Signior, 52. – Ages of the heirs apparent – Prince of Wales, 13 years. Grand D. of Russia, 21. P. Royal of Spain, 27. Prussia, 31. Denmark, 7. Infanto of Portugal, 41.[5]

To a contemporary eye these facts were far from inconsequential. In 1774 'an old Member of Parliament' had asked 'Is there any man in his senses, who can seriously imagine we shall remain in peace for five years? Three young monarchs upon the principal thrones of Europe: two old ones looking with hatred and revenge against us.'[6] This distinction between youthful ambition and resentful old age was particularly poignant in 1774. The French monarchy had just skipped a generation as Louis XVI succeeded his grandfather at the age of twenty, as had been the case fourteen years earlier when the British crown passed from George II to his grandson George III.

Tom Paine (1737–1809) had railed against the absurdity of a youth of this age being given the power to command his subjects, but when it came to colonial independence he took a notably different stance.[7] In his *Common Sense* (1776) he likened the colonies to 'a youth who is nearly out of time', or about to complete their apprenticeship, and assumed this metaphoric youth was quite capable of acting autonomously.[8] Paine was not alone in making such analogies; the adult/child relationship was an important factor in the vocabulary used to discuss the transatlantic dispute between Britain and her colonies. This language was steeped in the republican discourse of the seventeenth century, but it took on a new significance as attitudes towards patriarchal authority in the family home and workplace were being transformed by changing practice.[9] Jonas Hanway's (1712–1786) less infamous *Common Sense* (1775) had warned the colonial rebels that 'our affection for you is so warm; our

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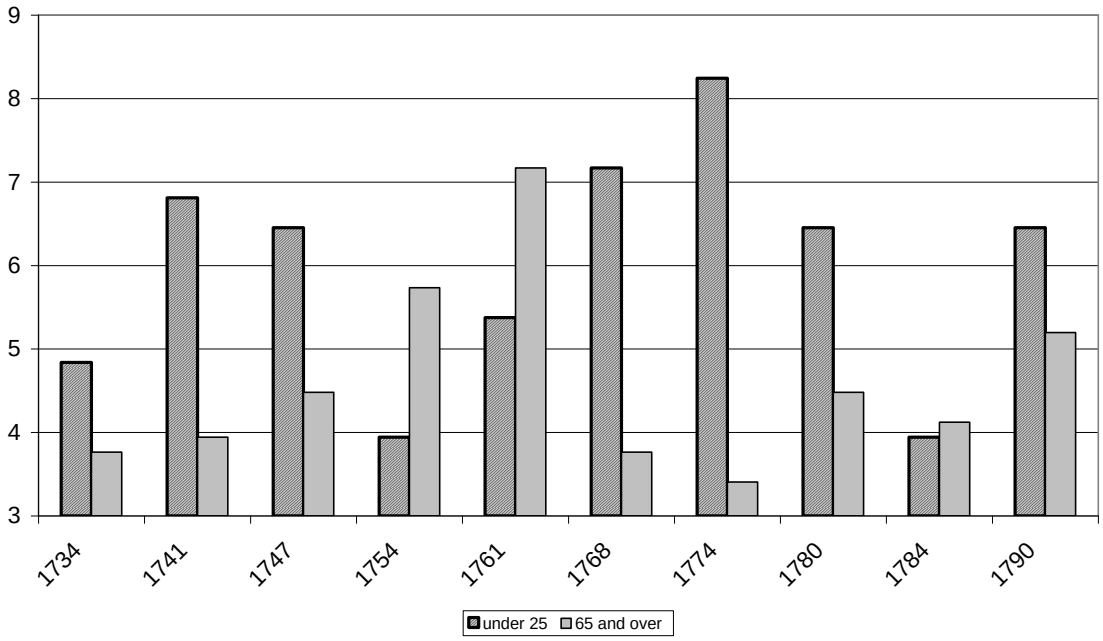
[5] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 11 November 1775.
[6] Arthur Lee, *An Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain ... By an old Member of Parliament* (London, 1774), p. 20.
[7] Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (Newcastle, 1776), p. 26.
[8] Ibid., p. 28.
[9] See Sections One and Two.

ambition so true; our honour so deeply concerned; we must be friends; or be forced to treat you as a fond parent would do wicked children!'[10]. In contrast, in a speech made in parliament in February 1775, Wilkes (1725–1797) suggested that the colonial population were 'forward and angry enough to *wish* to throw off the supremacy of the mother country' and added that 'I never saw a forward child mended by whipping'.[11] Such comments had as much relevance in a domestic and familial setting as they did in an imperial context. It is some time since Jay Fliegelman considered this discourse in the light of the revolutionary generation in the colonies, yet this interplay between personal and political relationships on this side of the Atlantic has not been investigated.[12]

It was not only in an allegorical sense that youth was asserting a political presence. There was a conspicuous increase in the number of young men in parliament during this period, an increase that was mirrored by a decline in venerably old members (see Figure 6:1).

Figure 6:1. The percentage of MPs under 25 and over 64, as returned at each election



Source: Figures based upon data taken from G. P. Judd, *Members of Parliament, 1734-1832* (Hamden, 1955), p. 82.

A total of forty men under the age of twenty five gained a seat in 1768, and just six years later a second wave of forty six youthful MPs were elected, further swelling the ranks of this new generation of politicians. The most prominent of the new intake was the quintessential

[10] Jonas Hanway, *Common Sense* (London, 1775), p. 12.
[11] *The Speeches of John Wilkes*, 2 Vols. (London 1777), i, p. 25.
[12] Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: the American revolution against patriarchal authority* (Cambridge, 1982).

macaroni Charles James Fox. Although the age qualification for an MP was technically twenty one, Fox was just nineteen years old when he entered the House in 1768. This young man grew up at a time when it was fashionable to actively encourage children to develop a degree of quasi-autonomy at an early age. It is true that the lavish 'indulgence' of his parents had long been a matter of public comment, and Fox may therefore offer an extreme exemplar. Nonetheless, such parental habits took on a political significance as his generational cohort entered the adult world.

This was not the first time that a youthful intake had made their presence felt in parliament. The opposition grouping that coalesced around Richard Temple, the first Viscount Cobham (1675–1749), who were active between 1734 and 1747, were derided as 'Cobham's Cubs' or the 'boy patriots'. A contribution to *The Newcastle General Magazine* in 1747 had argued that 'The Grand Council of a Kingdom should be compos'd of grave Alderman, of good natural Capacities, Knowledge, and Experience in publick Affairs'; and asked how could it be 'consistent with the Honour and good Policy of a Kingdom, or with the Dignity of a Senate, or of Patriot Seniors, to admit of ignorant jejune Pupils, to vote with them in making Laws, ... before they have well learn'd how to manage their Horses, Dogs, Hawks, and Fishing Tackle?' In order to reiterate this point the reader was reminded that a century earlier 'many honest Men' had sat in the long Parliament, but they had been 'over powered by a few designing Knaves, joined by many young Members that were their Dupes, and voted in every Thing, as they dictated to them; as will ever be the Case if allowed to sit in the Senate.'[13] Unlike Cobham's Cubs, the macaronis of the 1770s did not lend themselves to such accusations. A lack of maturity appeared to be no barrier to adult autonomy, and Fox was not depicted as a lackey by his detractors, but as a self-interested political chameleon and frivolous narcissist. It was said in the *Newcastle Chronicle* in March 1774 that this 'Young Cub' or 'foppish boy' had studied little but 'dress' and yet 'having by his connections, not his abilities, wriggled himself into high places, hath the vanity and the presumption to think himself able to steer the state'.[14] Ambition and a desire for self-determination may mean that youth is always a volatile feature of political life, and there were of course important issues at play that can not be reduced to a generational division, but the way in which changing attitudes towards age interacted with these more clearly political issues was to have decisive consequences.

[13] *The Newcastle General Magazine* (Newcastle, 1747), p. 163.
[14] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 12 March 1774.

The Election in Newcastle

As the 1774 parliamentary election campaign reverberated upon the banks of the Tyne, the Newcastle *Freemen's Magazine* carried a letter that expressed disapproval of the political faction that divided the town. This correspondent did not focus upon ideological or party divisions but expressed a desire to encourage unity across age groups. Readers were reminded that 'The old may inform the young, and the young animate the old, even those who are most retired from the scene of business may be useful in this cause to those who are in it'.[15] While the generational tensions of the 1770s were national in scope, this emphasis upon age had distinct local significance. The sitting MPs in 1774 were Sir Walter Blackett and Mathew Ridley. They were sixty-seven and sixty-three years old, and had been in joint tenure since 1747, when an informal truce had been agreed between the Tory supporters of Blackett and the Whigs that favoured Ridley. When the election was called in 1774 Ridley declared his intention to stand down on health grounds, and the first contested election for a generation ensued.

Blackett aimed to retain his seat and was joined by Mathew Ridley's son, Mathew White Ridley, who was twenty-nine years old and described by his detractors as his father's mouthpiece. The local press dubbed this pair the 'magistrates' candidates', reflecting the contemporary inter-changeability of the terms magistrate and aldermen. The week before Blackett and Ridley junior declared their intention to stand, the local press carried a notice from the Constitutional Club of Newcastle and Sunderland stating that members would not give their support to those who refused to press for parliamentary reform. This, as will become clear, ruled out the 'official' candidates.[16] The following week, the stewards from twenty of the town's guilds publically demanded that a meeting of the burgesses be called to nominate candidates.[17] This signalled a challenge to the aldermen's authority, as such a meeting would not have been necessary had the freemen been willing to acquiesce to the magistrates' choice. The civic authorities refused the right to use the Guild Hall, and the burgesses' meeting was held in the Barber-Surgeon's Hall instead. Two reform candidates were nominated, Constantine Phipps (born 1744) and Thomas Delaval (born 1735). Phipps would become the second Baron Mulgrave on the death of his father in 1775 and, although only thirty, he had already made a name for himself as a military man and an explorer. Delaval, who was almost

[15] *The Freemen's Magazine* (Newcastle, 1774), p. 104.
[16] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 25 July 1774.
[17] Ibid., 2 July 1774.

forty, was a younger brother of Sir Francis Blake Delaval and had worked as a merchant in Hamburg before retuning to Northumberland to help develop the family fortunes.[18] The reformers were to lose the election, securing around half the number of votes given to the 'official' candidates, but the contest heightened pre-existing divisions within the town.

During the campaign an anonymously published account of *The Contest* described Walter Blackett as '[i]n the decline of life', and suggested he was 'the paralytical head of a tottering party, whose strength and interest expires with his life'.[19] It was said that by 'joining his son with Sir Walter', Ridley senior had shown himself a 'temporary Whig; or else worse – a man of no principles at all.'[20] The desire to usher in his son 'under the wing of his former foe' suggested that he had 'outwitted himself; either from the over-cautious wariness incident to old age' or his knowledge of Blackett's superior wealth. Either way, Ridley senior had failed to 'consider Sir Walter was old – no longer able to gallant in as usual, nor attract the notice of the ladies with the healthy glow of an agreeable person', in addition 'multitudes of his old friends [were] dead'.[21] *The Contest* had been written by James Murray, who was born north of the border and had been expelled from the Church of Scotland whilst preaching in Alnwick, before taking up residency as the independent minister of High Bridge Chapel, Newcastle, in 1764 when he was just thirty-two year old.[22] Murray was also the editor of *The Freemen's Magazine*, in which he declared an intention to give both sides of the political debate, and suggested that '[n]o person who is not the leader of a company of offenders, shall meet with the smallest discomposure ... But such as are grown old and hackneyed in the practice of public corruption, even their grey-hairs shall not screen them from the just censure they deserve'. This warning was not aimed solely at Blackett. Murray went on to promise that 'The infirmities of magistrates [aldermen] shall remain untouched, unless by prostituting their office by neglect of their duty, they expose themselves.'[23] Evidently Murray considered age a useful political weapon.

For radicals like Murray, the political agitation of 1774 was assumed to have begun five years earlier when 627 freemen of the town had put their names to an extremely bold assertion of

[18] Thomas was also the younger brother of John Hussey Delaval, whose Lockean parenting methods were considered in Chapter One, pp. 33-35.
[19] *The Contest* (Newcastle, 1774), p. 2.
[20] Ibid., p. 15.
[21] Ibid., pp. 13-14.
[22] P.M. Ashraf, *The Life and Times of Thomas Spence* (Newcastle, 1983), p. 34.
[23] *The Freemen's Magazine*, pp. vii.

their rights in the form of a set of instructions to their MPs. These related to the Middlesex election, and the controversy surrounding Wilkes' failure to secure a seat in parliament, and made mostly constitutional points of national significance.[24] Blackett and Ridley senior had issued a joint response claiming that such instruction would compromise their duty as independent MPs to act upon their uninfluenced judgement. The aldermen in Newcastle had been asked to add their names to the instructions and, according to a contributor to the *Freemen's Magazine*, all had refused. However, it was claimed that two dissenting voices had conceded that the instructions were just but, pleading their youth and the censure they would receive from their elder brethren, both had declined to sign.[25] The political agitation continued over the coming years. Subscriptions were raised in aid of Wilkes in four coffee shops in Newcastle and petitions in support of his cause were sent from Newcastle, Morpeth, Durham, and Northumberland. Then, in 1771 local matters took centre stage as a dispute over the enclosure of sections of the town moor galvanised opposition to the political oligarchy that dominated the civic authorities in Newcastle. The enclosures were said to be infringing upon the rights of the freemen, and the disgruntled burgesses hired the radical lawyer John Glynn, serjeant-at-law and council to Wilkes, to fight their case. The freemen eventually secured a legal victory on 10 August 1773, with an act of parliament confirming these rights in June 1774 just weeks before the election was called. It was during this dispute that the Constitutional Club of Durham, Newcastle and Northumberland had been formed, and its correspondence with the Society for the Supporters of the Bill of Rights had given the town moor case national notoriety.[26] When the first anniversary of the victory was celebrated, a paragraph in the *Newcastle Chronicle* claimed that 'the sons of the Tyne on this occasion set an example to the metropolis itself'.[27]

As Nicola Jones notes, the majority of those involved in the Bill of Rights Society were professionals in their thirties, and much of their wider support was drawn from a younger cohort.[28] This courting of the rising generation must have intensified their youthful self-confidence. For instance, in 1776, at the age of thirty-six, John Cartwright advocated lowering the voting age to eighteen on the basis that a man of that age was 'a sufficient judge between palpable right and wrong; and every way capable of nominating for himself a proper

[24] For a copy of the instructions see Ibid., pp. 1-5.
[25] Ibid., pp. 6-8.
[26] Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, p. 344.
[27] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 20 August 1774.
[28] Nicola Jones, 'Society of Gentlemen Supporters of the Bill of Rights (*act.* 1769-1775)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2009).

representative'.[29] Youth was evidently not seen to be a political handicap within the ranks of the reformers in Newcastle. The meetings of the Constitutional Club, which had initially rotated between Durham, Newcastle, and Morpeth, were chaired by a young man named George Grieve, who was not yet twenty-five years old. Grieve (1748–1809) was the son of an Alnwick attorney. He was also a dining companion of Wilkes, and an active member of the Bill of Rights Society. He participated in the drafting of the Society's programme in 1771, and had stood as a patriot candidate for the position of sheriff of London.[30] It was through his connections that the services of Serjeant Glynn had been secured by the town moor committee in Newcastle. Thomas Knox argues that Grieve played a leading role in the formation of the Constitutional Club in Newcastle, whereas Kathleen Wilson argues that in this respect his importance has been 'greatly exaggerated'.[31] Either way, this young man became a prominent political figure in the town.

When the election was called in late June 1774, the Constitutional Club of Newcastle and Sunderland resolved to withhold support from candidates who refused their instruction to press for reform.[32] This The fact neither Durham nor Northumberland were referred to appears to mark a shift away from a broad-based country opposition that was associated with the Wilkite movement, as both James Bradley and John Brewer have suggested, and points to the emergence of a more distinctly urban radicalism that set Newcastle and Sunderland apart from their respective counties.[33] The radical nature of the reformers in 1774 should not, however, be overstated. Both of the reform candidates in Newcastle were after all closely related to members of the political establishment, and in at least some cases their canvassing for support relied on traditional methods. When Ralph Jackson, whose teenage diary was considered in Chapter Four, travelled to Newcastle to vote for the 'honourable Mr. Phipps', he did so after Phipps had flattered his ego by dining at his house. Notably, he gave his second vote to the other reformer, Delaval, at the behest of his older brother.[34] Ralph may have questioned the authority of his father and master during the 1750s, and voted against the establishment in

[29] John Cartwright, *Take your Choice!* (London, 1776), pp. 62-3.
[30] Thomas R. Knox, 'Greive [Grieve], George (1748-1809)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); Knox, 'Wilkism', pp. 26, 30.
[31] Ibid; Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, p. 334, fn.87.
[32] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 25 June 1774.
[33] Although Knox has drawn a link between voting for the reformers and the signing of a Wilkite petition, Bradley suggests a far stronger correlation between voting patterns in the Newcastle election and the signing of the anti-war petition in 1775, Knox, 'Wilkism', p.30; Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism*, p. 261; also Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics*, p. 261.
[34] 2 September 1774, Ralph Jackson Diaries, Books A-U (1749-1790), TA, U/WJ/O; 12 October 1774, RJD, TA, U/WJ/P.

1774, but he still demonstrated a considerable level of deference. When looking back on the events in *An Impartial History of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (1801) John Baillie, who would have been in his early thirties in 1774, did not refer to political reform at all. Instead, he suggested that it had been 'the general wish that [Blackett] should decline the contest, and resign representation into younger and more vigorous hands.'[35] This comment from Baillie was not as flippant as it may appear. A cultural divide had emerged between a younger cohort and their older contemporaries that gave his claim distinctly political overtones.

Popular Politics and High-Spirited Youth

The intransigent stance taken by the old guard had given the electoral contest in Newcastle an explicitly generational dynamic. In addition, eighteenth century elections could be raucous affairs and the more rumbustious aspects of campaigning had a particular appeal to the youthful elements of society, which must have given them a conspicuous presence in the electoral street theatre in 1774. The political ballads printed in Newcastle give voice to this electioneering cacophony, offering a soundscape that the sources usually fail to evoke. If the lyrical newscasts by rival bards are to be believed, the canvassers were both greeted and goaded with song and the streets of Newcastle rang out with political discord. The issue of age was certainly audible. *The TRUTH of the MATTER* made reference to radical votes bought with 'snaps [gingerbread] and candy', and an election song that sarcastically praised Blackett was entitled *The Youths Delight*. Similarly, *The Time-Server's Garland* mockingly advocated deference, linking such attitudes to the old and outmoded as the self-proclaimed elderly songster advised against political self-determination.[36] Clearly, despite the light-hearted nature of these songs, they were being used to make serious political statements.

The Burgesses' SONG, which was first sung at 'the Constitutional Club in Sunderland', railed against those who suggested 'That we're the earth's base scum,/And passive meek obedience/ Would best such folks become', before ending with the rousing thought that 'scum, when the pots are boiling, boys, /Will ever be at top.'[37] *A New Election SONG* retorted with the opening lines: 'Come forward from your lurking holes,/Ye patriotic boys,/And shew the vigour of your Souls,/In something more than noise.' Yet, while condemning the political racket of the

[35] John Baillie, *An Impartial History of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Newcastle, 1801), pp. 180-181.
[36] *Two Famous Candidates, The TRUTH of the MATTER, The YOUTH's DELIGHT*, Bodleian Ballads Catalogue: Harding B 29(15), (33), (31); *The Time-Server's Garland* (Newcastle, c. 1770), p. 3.
[37] *The Burgesses' SONG*, Bodleian Ballads Catalogue: Harding B 29(24).

reformers, and at the same time contributing to the tumult, this song went on to encourage the 'Ladies' who 'Unite their pretty voices,/ And squeal as loud as they can squall,/ In favour of our choices.'[38]

Although absent from most of the political literature, women made a regular appearance in this lyrical contest. In *A SONG* 'By a LADY' a female interlocutor was used to amplify the claimed emasculation of freemen who relinquished their liberty by voting for Blackett, but in most cases it was assumed that female participants in the pageantry placed style above substance.[39] References to the amount of attention the candidates received from 'the ladies' highlights the frivolity of popular politics, and the discordant street theatre can not be assumed to reflect a radicalisation of the participants. However, mirroring the shifting allegiances in the Constitutional Club, a rather acerbic song from the Durham Muse implied that an ideological division was emerging, as an old-style country independence was replaced by a newer Whig opposition. While shunning party politics, this songster claimed that the reformers had previously paid to have *Wilkes' Riggle* performed in the local taverns. This was an extremely bawdy song that thinly veiled its message behind a tale of seduction, suggesting Wilkes may dupe the electorate like any other politician but at least he did so in an entertaining manner.[40] Yet, protested the muse, these same reformers now complained when national politics was denigrated.[41]

Some of those involved in the political spectacle clearly had radical intent. The young Thomas Spence (1750–1814) produced much of the propaganda during the town moor case, and it was at this time that he began to develop his ideas on land reform.[42] In 1775, at the age of twenty five, Spence was expelled from the Newcastle Philosophic Society after publishing a lecture he had given entitled 'Property in Land Every Man's Right' in the form of a 'half-penny ballad'.[43] In his memoirs, Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) noted that after his expulsion Spence had organised a debating club of young men who met in the evening in his school on Broad Garth in Newcastle. These meetings evidently got quite heated, and Bewick recalled how on one occasion a disagreement between himself and Spence over land reform had been settled

[38] *A New Election SONG*, Bodleian Ballads Catalogue: Harding B 29(1).
[39] *A SONG*, Bodleian Ballads Catalogue: Harding B 29(10).
[40] *Wilkes' Riggle* in Ashraf, *Thomas Spence*, pp. 108-109.
[41] Durham Muse, *A NEW SONG*, Bodleian Ballads Catalogue: Harding B 29(20).
[42] Ashraf, *Thomas Spence*, p. 34.
[43] Walter Scott, *The Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1887), p. 299.

with cudgels.[44] The politicisation of such hot-headed young men added to the hubris of youth at a time when cultural shifts were already bolstering youthful self-confidence. As was noted in Chapter Three, on completing his apprenticeship in October 1774, Bewick described himself as 'at liberty' for the first time in his life.[45] This milestone in his passage to adulthood occurred as the election in Newcastle was taking place. For this young man, and his generational cohort, personal life trajectories coincided with political events to give their youthful desire for self-determination a heightened potency.

Looking back to the days of his youth with a nostalgic air, Bewick recalled how 'the streets of Newcastle were long greatly enlivened' with the singing of ballads. 'What a cheerful, lively time this appeared to me and many others!' Although Bewick considered giving voice to youthful high spirits to be an innocuous sport, he went on to note that 'when public matters cast a surly gloom over the character of the whole country; these singing days, instead of being regulated by the magistrates, were, in their wisdom, totally put an end to.'[46] This was in reference to the Common Council order, passed in November 1781, banning singing clubs. When this was reported in the *Newcastle Courant* it was suggested that these clubs were 'managed and conducted by evil-minded, dissolute, and disorderly pretences' that had 'seduced and drawn into their infamous associations a number of Apprentices, Journeymen, Shopkeepers, Servants, Gentlemen's Servants, and other unwary Young Men, to their great loss and discredit.'[47]

It was not only the authorities that expressed concern about the conduct of those engaged in popular politics in the town. A contribution to *The Freemen's Magazine* in 1774 complained that the 'present race of patriots' were 'a burlesque upon the name of freedom. Their manner of supporting the constitution of *England* by eating and drinking, and wasting their time, and their money' would make them slaves to their own appetites, and offered a stark contrast to the sober religious patriots of the previous century.[48] As the reformers were derided for bribing voters with gingerbread and candy, the juvenile nature of the political cacophony only added to such anxieties and further exacerbated generational tensions.

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[44] Thomas and Jane Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick* (Newcastle, 1862), pp. 72-3.
[45] Ibid., p. 80.
[46] Ibid., p. 60.
[47] Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 195; Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, p. 360, fn. 137.
[48] *The Freemen's Magazine*, p. 32.

The Electorate

Propaganda and pageantry were open to all and may not have reflected the opinions of the voter. However, D.L. Storker has raised the possibility that age played a part in determining voting patterns in the town. Basing his assessment upon admissions to the Freemen's Guild, Storker suggested that the those enfranchised after the previous election in 1769 accounted for forty-one per cent of the reformers vote, and only thirty-three per cent of the magistrates vote; arguing that, although not conclusive, this was indicative of a division between 'political generations'.[49] As a psephologist, Storker was interested in identifying first time voters, but given the last contested election in Newcastle had been in 1741, only those in their mid-fifties and older had any experience of exercising their franchise. In addition, the generational rift in society was not between those in their early twenties and older adults. Focusing upon those admitted to the Freemen's Guild before and after 1760 isolates those under forty from the rest of the electorate, and this was the age cohort that were prominent in the reform movement more generally.

Unfortunately, matching the register of freemen to the entries in the poll book is beset with problems that make it impossible to ascertain reliable figures for the voting behaviour of the entire electorate. Most significantly, the freemen's registers for the years 1721 to 1755 have not survived. This in itself is not an insurmountable problem. It can quite reasonably be assumed that those voters missing from the registers must have been admitted to the guild during the period for which the records have been lost. Yet, even when voters can be found in the registers, admission to the Freeman's Guild is not always indicative of the age of a guildsman. In some cases membership may not have been taken up immediately. In addition, companies granted honorary membership and, as Brooks notes, paying to become a member became more common during the century.[50] Further to this, large numbers of voters were enfranchised in the run up to the election, and although these could be excluded this would remove the youngest voters from the calculations.[51] Matching the freemen registers to other company records, especially apprentice indentures, goes some way to mitigate these problems but this is only possible where sufficiently comprehensive company records survive.

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[49] D.L. Storker, *Elections and Voting Behaviour: A Study of Elections in Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland, 1760-1832* (Manchester University Ph.D. thesis, 1980), p. 208.
[50] Christopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800' in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People* (London, 1994), p. 65.
[51] For the scale of enfranchisement in the run up to election see Knox, 'Wilkism', p. 28.

Determining the age of voters is further complicated by the common practice of naming sons after their fathers, and this affects some companies more than others. In the case of the Slaters there were only twenty-two voters and nearly thirty per cent of these could not be identified because of name duplication. This figure could be even higher given that some cases may not have come to light because of the gap in the freemen registers. Consequently, although those that can be identified as having been admitted after 1760 cast six of the seven votes given to the two reformers and only six of the thirteen votes given to the two magistrates' candidates, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusion from this evidence.[52] Voting behaviour in some companies also limits the evidence that can be drawn from their records. The Merchant Adventurers and Hostmen were the most powerful of the guilds in Newcastle, and dominated local political offices. In both cases, the overwhelming majority of the company voted for the sitting MP Blackett and his electoral partner Ridley; freemen having the option to vote for two candidates. Although the nine Hostmen who voted for the reformers were predominantly younger men, the fourteen Merchant Adventures who backed this pair equated to only seven per cent of the company voters, and age was not a particularly significant factor.[53] The two guilds selected for closer consideration, the Shipwrights and Housecarpenters, have been chosen because they present a split vote, have relatively comprehensive company records and, although still significant, only twelve and fifteen per cent of the voters could not be identified because of name duplication. In both cases, only two voters were enfranchised during 1774, in comparison to the twenty Merchant Adventurers and Hostmen who were admitted to the freemen's guild in the month prior to the election.

A total of one hundred and forty-one Shipwrights voted and, mirroring the result of the election, the reformers Phipps and Delaval gained only half the number of votes given to the magistrates' candidates (see Table 6:1). All of those who were not included in the surviving registers of freemen have been assumed to have been admitted between 1721 and 1755. However, of these fifty-seven voters, only eleven could not be directly identified through other guild records or linked to either their sons or apprentices to confirm their age. Fifty-four per

[52] Figures based upon data taken from *The Poll at the Election*; L.H. Blair (ed.), *The Register of Freemen of Newcastle upon Tyne: from the Corporation Guild and Admission Books chiefly of the Eighteenth Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee (Newcastle, 1926).
[53] Figures based upon data taken from *The Poll at the Election*; Blair (ed.), *The Register of Freemen of Newcastle upon Tyne*; John Robert Boyle and Frederick Walter Dendy (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers Newcastle upon Tyne*, 2 Vols., Surtees Society, Vol. 2., no. 101 (Durham, 1899); Frederick Walter Dendy (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, Surtees Society, no. 105 (Durham, 1901).

cent of the identified voters were admitted before 1760 and this cohort gave the magistrates' candidates two and a half times as many votes as they gave to the reformers. In contrast, those admitted between 1760 and 1774 equated to only forty per cent of the total company votes but provided nearly fifty per cent of the reformers' support.

Table 6:1. The Shipwright Vote

	All Voters			Pre 1760 Admissions			Post 1759 Admissions		
Candidates	Total voters	Proportion of total voters	Unidentified due to name duplication	Admitted before 1760	Proportion of voters	Proportion of identified voters	Admitted after 1759	Proportion of voters	Proportion of identified voters
Blackett & Ridley	85	60.3%	13	43	50%	60%	29	34%	40%
Ridley	1	0.7%					1		
Blackett & Phipps	6	4.2%	1	4			1		
Ridley & Phipps	8	5.7%		3			5		
Phipps & Delaval	41	29.1%	4	17	41%	46%	20	49%	54%
Total	141		18	67	47%	54%	56	40%	45%

Figures based upon data taken from *The Poll at the Election of Members of Parliament* (Newcastle, 1774); L.H. Blair (ed.), *The Register of Freemen of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee (Newcastle, 1926); John Robert Boyle and Frederick Walter Dendy (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers Newcastle upon Tyne*, 2 Vols., Surtees Society, Vol. 2., no. 101 (Durham, 1899).

The Housecarpenters' vote was more evenly split between the reformers and the magistrates' candidates (see Table 6:2). In this case, just six of those not included in the freemen's register have not been identified by other means. Those admitted after 1759 equated to forty-six per cent of the total number of voters, and fifty-five per cent of those identified. The reformers gained more than sixty per cent of their support from this younger age group, who gave them almost twice as many votes as they cast for Blackett and Ridley; whereas those admitted before 1760 gave the magistrates' candidates a third more votes than they did the reformers.

Table 6:2. The Housecarpenter Vote

	All Voters			Pre 1760 Admissions			Post 1759 Admissions		
Candidates	Total voters	Proportion of total voters	Unidentified due to name duplication	Admitted before 1760	Proportion of voters	Proportion of identified voters	Admitted after 1759	Proportion of voters	Proportion of identified voters
Blackett & Ridley	35	46%	7	16	46%	57%	12	34%	43%
Ridley	1	1%	1						
Blackett	1	1%		1					
Blackett & Phipps	1	1%					1		
Ridley & Phipps	4	5%	2				2		
Phipps & Delaval	34	45%	2	12	35%	37%	20	59%	62%
Total	76		12	29	38%	45%	35	46%	55%

Figures based upon data taken from *The Poll at the Election of Members of Parliament* (Newcastle, 1774); L.H. Blair (ed.), *The Register of Freemen of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee (Newcastle, 1926); Housecarpenters Apprentice Admissions, TWAS, GU/HMT/7.

Although using only the Freemen's Guild records provides less reliable data, age-based voting patterns can also be found in other companies. For instance, almost sixty per cent of the Cordwainers who voted appear to have been admitted before 1760, and twice as many of this older cohort voted for the magistrates' candidates as backed the reformers. In contrast, almost sixty per cent of the reformers' vote came from the younger age group, despite the fact that they accounted for only forty per cent of the total company vote. The Joiners provide an example of one the few companies where Phipps and Delaval gained more support than Blackett and Ridley, securing fifty-four per cent of the ninety-one company votes compared to the thirty-eight per cent given to the magistrates' candidates. Focusing on these voters, half were admitted before 1760 and this cohort gave twice as many votes to Blackett and Ridley as they gave to Phipps and Delaval. Concomitantly, the younger group of voters accounted for sixty-three per cent of the reformers' support.[54]

The age structure of the guilds may have been a significant factor. As was seen in Chapter Three, in some companies there had been a rapid decline in the numbers of apprentices that were bound as membership was increasingly based upon hereditary rights, as was the case in both the Merchant Adventurers and the Hostmen, and this must have been reflected in the average age of company members. In addition, Peter Razzell has calculated that the average duration of membership of the Merchant Adventurers was extended by nine and a half years during the century.[55] Razzell suggests this is indicative of a significant increase in life expectancy. However, if fewer young men were joining the company, the younger age group would have declined in relative terms. Consequently, early deaths, which would have noticeably reduced the average life expectancy of members, would have been statistically less likely as the century progressed. Either way, the age profile of the company was getting older. In contrast, the more politically divided Shipwrights and Housecarpenters apprenticed far more boys in the years following 1750 (see Table 6:3), and even here between forty-five and fifty-five per cent of the identified voters were over forty. There was clearly a socio-economic factor at play, and the most restrictive guilds tended to be the wealthier companies where indenture fees were in any case prohibitively expensive for large sections of the community.

[54] Figures based upon data taken from *The Poll at the Election*; Blair (ed.), *The Register of Freemen of Newcastle upon Tyne*.
[55] Peter Ernest Razzell, 'The Conundrum of Eighteenth-Century English Population Growth', *Social History of Medicine*, 11 (1998), p. 498.

Nonetheless, because the more open guilds would have had a younger age structure these two issues could become conflated.

Table 6:3. Apprentice Indentures

Date of indenture	Merchant Adventurers	Shipwrights	Housecarpenters
1700-09	69	78	54
1710-19	59	86	60
1720-29	66	30	57
1730-39	42	28	35
1740-49	63	41	41
1750-59	25	76	27
after 1759 and old enough to vote in 1774	5	63	48

Figures based upon data taken from John Robert Boyle and Frederick Walter Dendy (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers Newcastle upon Tyne*, 2 Vols., Surtees Society, Vol. 2., no. 101 (Durham, 1899); D.J. Rowe (ed.), *The Records of the Company of Shipwrights of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1622-1967*, 2 Vols., Surtees Society, Vol. 2., no. 184 (Gateshead, 1971); Housecarpenters Apprentice Admissions, TWAS GU/HMT/7.

It may also be that those admitted through patrimony were subject to greater levels of paternal influence. There were certainly numerous cases of sons voting alongside their fathers. Significantly, this was more common among the supporters of the magistrates' candidates. In those cases identified where families were politically divided by generational fault lines, it appears that it was always the younger men that voted for the reformers. For instance, the shipwright Robert Wallis voted for Blackett and Ridley, as did his eldest son who was enfranchised in 1755, but his three younger offspring all backed the reform candidates. Again, the joiner John Eden voted for the magistrates' candidates, whereas his two sons both voted for Phipps and Delaval.[56]

The age-based tension in Newcastle was evidently embedded within specific localised circumstances, but it is important to recognise that the electorate were not all residents of the town. Thomas Knox has calculated that in 1774 almost forty-five per cent of voters were non-residents, mostly living in the surrounding counties of Northumberland and Durham, and other commercial ports in England.[57] The extent of this 'outside interference' in the contest should not be exaggerated. In the case of the shipwrights, only forty-one per cent of the voters came from within the town, but a further thirty-three per cent of the company vote came from those living in the immediate vicinity of the Tyne between Newcastle and the coast (see Table 6:4).

[56] Based upon data taken from *The Poll at the Election*; Blair (ed.), *The Register of Freemen of Newcastle upon Tyne*.

[57] Thomas R. Knox, 'Bowes and Liberty: The Newcastle By-Election of 1777', *Durham University Journal* 77 (1984-5), p. 159.

Table 6:4. Shipwrights Living in Newcastle and its Environs

Date of Admission	Voters living in Newcastle	Voters living on the banks of the Tyne
pre-1760 admission	32	16
post-1760 admission	20	24
age unidentified	6	7
Total	58	47

Figures based upon data taken from *The Poll, &c.* (Newcastle, 1774).

Notably more of the older shipwrights lived in Newcastle than in the outlying areas, and three times as many of these older Newcastle residents voted for the magistrates' candidates as those that cast their votes for the reformers. Less predictably, almost two-thirds of the younger Shipwrights in the town also backed Blackett and Ridley. It was in the outlying areas that the reformers gained most of their support, and this clearly came from a younger cohort (see Table 6:5). These figures are too small to be statistically significant, and there is too high a proportion unidentified, or for whom no location was given, to draw any definite conclusions. Nonetheless, it seems that younger company members living away from the oligarchic control of the civic authorities in Newcastle were less restrained by the possible consequences of voting against the political establishment in the town, and the freedom from such constraints may be why they had established their businesses elsewhere on the Tyne.

Table 6:5. Votes cast by Shipwrights Living in Newcastle and its Environs

Date of Admission	Voters living in Newcastle		Voters living on the banks of the Tyne	
	For both Blackett and Ridley	For both Phipps and Delaval	For both Blackett and Ridley	For both Phipps and Delaval
pre-1760 admission	21	7	10	4
post-1760 admission	9	5	11	12
age unidentified	3		4	2
Total	36	12	25	18

Figures based upon data taken from *The Poll, &c.* (Newcastle, 1774).

The geographic spread of the Housecarpenters was somewhat different. Here sixty-five per cent of the identified voters lived in the town. A further eight per cent were based on the banks of the Tyne, and a similar number lived in the wider region. In this case the voters in Newcastle were evenly split between the two age groups and, as their voting behaviour mirrored the company vote as a whole, it would therefore seem that location did not significantly affect voting behaviour. That said, none of the voters living away from the Tyne in the counties of Durham and Northumberland voted for the reformers, which was also the case in the Shipwrights' vote. In both companies London was the only location outside of the

region from which any notable numbers of voters travelled in. Combining the two companies' votes, a total of nineteen Londoners participated in Newcastle's election and there was a slight bias towards younger voters who backed the reformers, but these figures are again too small to be statistically significant. It is, however, worth noting that the only familial discord found in the votes from London followed the pattern in Newcastle, and while the shipwright John Letteney voted for Blackett and Ridley his son William, also living in the capital, voted for Phipps and Delaval.

There were numerous older voters who supported the reformers, and younger men that backed the political establishment, but it was clearly the case that those in their twenties and thirties were more likely to support Phipps and Delaval. Younger voters may always be more volatile than mature members of the electorate, and yet the context in which the contest was played out gave this generational distinction increased significance. Age had become part of the propagandists' armoury as the electorate were fought over, and the association that was being made between youthfulness and reform was evidently more than rhetoric.

The County Contest

It was not only in the borough election that youth became associated with a rejection of the status quo. The age-based tensions in Newcastle were also evident in the county election in Northumberland. Although distinct, there were direct links between these contests, and there were also some striking similarities. The sitting MPs for Northumberland had both announced their decisions to stand down due to ill health in 1774, at the ages of fifty-five and seventy-one.[58] Lord Percy (1712-1786) nominated his twenty-four year old son, Algernon Percy, and he also supported John Hussey Delaval (1728-1808), who was the older brother of Thomas Delaval, the reform candidate in Newcastle. The young son of Lord Percy would go on to gain a seat, but at the age of forty-six Delaval lost to a man ten years his junior, Sir William Middleton (1738-1795). The age of the forth candidate, William Fenwick, is uncertain but he had been accused of 'exposing himself in his old age'.[59]

As had been the case with Mathew White Ridley in Newcastle, Algernon Percy was discredited by the claim that he was an instrument of his father's political interests. In 'An Occasional Address to the Electors of Britain, and particularly of Northumberland' it was

[58] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 11 June, 16 July 1774.
[59] *A Complete Collection of all the Papers which have appeared from the Different Parties in the Present Contest for Members for the County of Northumberland* (Newcastle, 1774), p. 17.

argued that the sons of lords were not fit to be members of the Commons. A 'flow of wealth' may occasionally lend members of the nobility 'a short-lived independence', but it was said that 'there comes another generation, squanders his father's riches, and overturns that independence' and the reader was reminded that 'We have some living instances of this fatal truth.'[60] In a similar vein, an article that appeared in *The Gentlemen's Magazine* (Newcastle 1774) advised voters to 'Reject young men; no confidence is to be placed in them' as they were debauched and their expensive lifestyles, combined with a lack of financial independence, left them open to corruption.[61] Although not credited, this was a verbatim copy of the introduction to Jean Paul Marat's *Chains of Slavery* (1774), a polemic tract against the arbitrary rule of princes and their placemen. Marat (1743-1793) had been born in Switzerland, and was a member of the National Convention when France was declared a Republic in September 1792, but he had intermittently lived in Newcastle during the early 1770s.[62] Copies of his book can be found in the archives of several of the town's guilds, and on 8 October 1774 the *Newcastle Courant* carried a letter which expressed concerned shock when referring to a shoemaker who had a copy of *Chains of Slavery* open on his stall. This serves as a reminder that there were serious political issues being raised as age was evoked for propaganda purposes, and while generational tensions were used to galvanise opposition to the old guard in Newcastle, the issue of social rank could cut across age-based divisions within society. Yet, as will become clear, age could also bridge socio-economic distinctions.

In Northumberland the challenge to the old guard evidently came from within the ranks of the élite. While the grey-haired 'magistrates' in Newcastle had refused the right to use the Guild Hall to select the opposition candidates, in the county election the High Sherriff, Sir William Loraine, Bart., called and chaired the meeting in the Town Hall in Morpeth 'to consider the proper persons to represent the said county in parliament at the next general election'.[63] After this meeting Loraine, who was just twenty-four years old, issued a notice declaring that four candidates had put in nominations and that, as a show of hands 'had appeared in favour of *Sir William Middleton*, Bart. and *William Fenwick*, Esq.', they were duly nominated as the

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 75-6.
[61] *The Gentlemen's Magazine* (Newcastle 1774), pp. 95-100; Jean Paul Marat, *Chains of Slavery* (London, 1774), pp. viii-ix.
[62] See Rachel Hammersley, 'Jean-Paul Marat's *The Chains of Slavery in Britain and France*, 1774-1833' *Historical Journal*, 48:3 (2005), pp. 641-60.
[63] The notice appeared in the local press and was reprinted in *A Complete Collection of all the Papers ... in the Present Contest for Members for the County of Northumberland*, p. 1.

county's candidates for the forthcoming election.[64] However, a second notice appeared that afternoon informing the public that Lord Percy had reiterated his support for his son and John Hussey Delaval and that 'The *Freeholders* are now called upon to assert their own independency'.[65]

Several accounts of the county meeting appeared in print during the early stages of the campaign, and here the direct links to the contest in Newcastle are clearly seen. A detailed version of events retold by a supporter of Middleton and Fenwick began by recounting the cases made by the four contenders. 'Mr Ridley' spoke for Algernon Percy, who was abroad, and this appears to have been either the former MP for Newcastle or his son. The other magistrates' candidate in Newcastle, Sir Walter Blackett, had then offered some words in favour of Percy and John Hussey Delaval. It was said that 'No other gentleman seemed then inclined to speak, and the High Sheriff was proceeding to put the candidates in nomination, when Mr. *George Greive* got up and addressed the sheriff'. The reader was told how Grieve had challenged the fitness of John Hussey Delaval and Percy to stand, in what was described as a strong-headed and effective condemnation of his social superiors that lasted more than half an hour. Delaval was singled out for particular criticism because he had tried to dissuade his younger brother from standing in Newcastle in support of the 'oppressed and injured freemen'. Delaval was given the opportunity to defend himself against the charges made, before a show of hands demonstrated resounding support for Middleton and Fenwick. After this, Delaval had raised objections due to the number of people present that were not freeholders, and stated the decision should be taken to a poll. 'Mr. G. Greive then very properly called him to order' and the Sheriff declared in favour of Middleton and Fenwick. Again it was Grieve who was said to have drawn the proceedings to a close, stating 'he hoped that in one point at least they should be unanimous; and therefore moved the thanks of the meeting to their worthy and excellent High Sheriff, which was seconded by Mr. Brandling, and accordingly unanimously approved of. The meeting then broke up.'[66]

A rival account of this meeting began by describing how the town hall had been besieged by people making it unsafe for anyone not 'endowed with strong and active faculties'. Having waited for the throng to pass, the anonymous author of this published letter found himself unable to gain access, the venue having been packed out by 'postillions and footmen' who had

[64] Ibid., pp.5-6.
[65] Ibid., p. 6.
[66] Ibid., pp. 6-12.

made bolder and more successful attempts to gain entry than their masters. Access was eventually gained with the help of 'a stout tenant' whom he met at the door, but only 'after having turned out half a dozen boys that stood in [their] way.' The author claimed 'I saw a great many more [boys] within my reach; but as my department was, not to see that the meeting should be properly composed, I contented myself with what I had done'. Again, it was suggested that when Mr. Ridley spoke on behalf of Percy he was inaudible because 'above 50 mischievous boys, who had taken possession of the stair-case, made such a prodigious noise'. Although this letter contradicted many of the claims made by the supporters of Middleton and Fenwick, nothing was said that challenged the suggestion that Grieve had had played a prominent role in the meeting, instead it was lamented that this gifted young man wasted his talents on 'wrong-headed schemes'. It was claimed that the venerable gentlemen of the county had been unable to gain access to the meeting, so they had taken up residency in a nearby inn where they declared their approval of Lord Percy's candidates. Therefore those with 'strong and active faculties' that had packed out the town hall could not claim to express 'the sense of the county'.[67]

It was suggested by another contributor to the debate that even making 'ample allowance for the warmth of youth, and the violence of a new attachment', the High Sherriff's only defence could be his ignorance of his duties as chair of the meeting.[68] In contrast, Loraine's supporters described him as an 'excellent young man' claiming that 'No county meeting could be better conducted'.[69] One thing that all sides could agree on was that two men under the age of twenty-five had dominated the proceedings, and despite their social differences they had found common ground in their political cause. To what extent a younger cohort had packed out the meeting is more contestable, but however much truth there was in such claims they were being made because a generational tension existed that could be tapped into as part of the war of words.

The End of an Era

Inevitably the passing of time transforms the generational dynamic of a society, as the natural consequences of the life cycle take their toll on an older cohort and the rising youth gradually mature. This is clearly seen in Newcastle during the decade following the 1774 election, and turning to briefly consider what had changed in these years allows this generational handover

[67] Ibid., pp. 15-20.
[68] Ibid., p. 53.
[69] Ibid., p. 65.

to be seen as an integral part of the politics of the day. It was just two months after the election that Blackett's age had led to speculation about the possibility of a by-election. The *Newcastle Chronicle* satirically reported that one of his supporters had offered a wager of five guineas, betting that he would survive the next seven years.[70] Blackett in fact died in February 1777. Although a snap election caught the reformers unprepared, the magistrates' comfortable majority disappeared. With Grieve as his electoral aid, Andrew Robinson Bowes (1747–1810) stood against John Trevelyan (1735-1828), Blackett's nephew and heir, and the reformers came within one hundred votes of victory. Like Wilkes, Bowes' involvement in the reform movement appears to have been somewhat unprincipled, and he turned out to be a rather unsavoury character. He had married Mary Eleanor Bowes, countess of Strathmore (1749–1800), the month before the election was called. In the years to come his attempts to take control of her considerable fortune would involve extreme cruelty, her abduction, his imprisonment, and eventual divorce. Nonetheless, in 1777 he championed the burgesses' cause, spent lavishly as he courted their favour, and promised to stand again at the next election.[71] He went on to win the 1780 election, but just four years later a lack of support led to him to withdraw from the electoral contest the day voting was to have begun. Consequently, the remaining two candidates were elected unopposed in 1784, and a decade of political competition in Newcastle came to an end.

This was not simply a short and turbulent hiatus in an otherwise stable social order. Much had changed in the intervening years. As Kathleen Wilson suggests, death and retirements diminished the old guard and the political oligarchy began to 'make some concessions to the freemen's cause' as a younger generation took a less traditionalist stance.[72] The loss of aldermen like William Pearth and Jonathan Sorbie, who were both admitted to the Merchant Adventures by patrimony in 1726, left the older men that remained in office increasingly marginalised by a younger cohort. The new boys included Charles Atkinson, Hugh Hornby and Francis Forster. Atkinson had been admitted to the Merchant Adventures by patrimony during late 1750s, whereas Hornby and Forster had been apprenticed to the company a decade earlier. It was as this age-group became more visible within the company during the 1770s that social and trade regulations were being relaxed.[73] Wilson suggests that Forster had sided with

[70] Knox, 'Bowes and Liberty', p. 149.
[71] Thomas R. Knox, 'Peace for Ages to Come: The Newcastle Elections of 1780 and 1784', *Durham University Journal* 84 (1992), p. 3.
[72] Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, p. 365.
[73] See Chapter Three, pp. 97, 100-101.

the old guard in opposing the Wilkite petitioning in 1769, but had changed his stance by 1779 when he emerged as 'a firm supporter of radical and anti-war politics'.[74] Yet Forster was one of the younger aldermen that James Murray claimed to have judged the instructions sent to the town's MPs in 1769 to be just, but had declined to sign on account of his age and the disproval this would evoke among the older town officials.[75] It was not only the younger cohort of aldermen that were acting more independently as the 1770s progressed. Wilson may overstate the 'formal swing' of Ridley to the Rockingham Whigs in 1782, but he did establish a reputation for political independence; and, as Wilson suggests, he showed a 'willingness to accommodate the local radical cause by allowing freemen access to the corporation records and papers relating to their properties and privileges'.[76] However, the transformation of his local standing had begun some years earlier and notably, when Bowes successfully challenged Blackett's nephew in 1780, no opposition candidate stood against Ridley. As James Bradley points out, Ridley 'had moved against the government over its American policy' as early as 1778.[77] This was the year that his father died. Clearly, political events had been extremely turbulent during these years and it would be inappropriate to suggest that the removal of paternal influence was the only factors effecting such political positioning, but the death of Ridley senior was surely significant.

No less significantly, when Bowes declined the poll in 1784 his opponent was Charles Brandling (1733-1802). Brandling had been at the Northumberland county meeting in 1774 with Grieve and Lorraine, and had seconded Grieve's motion to congratulate the High Sherriff for his chairing of the proceedings. In many ways Brandling appeared to fudge a compromise on the question of instruction in 1784, accepting direction on issues of local importance and promising to consider the advice of constituents before using his own judgement in matters of national concern. In contrast, Bowes responded by arguing that he placed 'no such trust' in himself, and that his '*Individual* opinion shall never have equal weight with that of the collective body.'[78] In ultimately deciding not to defend his seat it would seem that it was Bowes that was out of kilter with political opinions. The old political hierarchy were no longer in charge, and as a consequence the 'individual opinion' of the town's MPs and the views of the 'collective body' were no longer seen to be so divergent. More than this, the idea that

[74] Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, p. 364.
[75] *The Freemen's Magazine*, pp. vii.
[76] Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, pp. 364, 372.
[77] Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism*, p. 267.
[78] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 17 April 1784.

individuality should be subordinate to a collective opinion was becoming an out-dated concept.[79]

The reformers had also lost two of their main protagonists. Murray had died in 1782, and Grieve had left for the continent two years earlier. Grieve travelled on to America with a letter of introduction from Benjamin Franklin addressed to George Washington. He returned to France in 1783, becoming a member of the Jacobin Club and an associate of Marat, but his connections to Newcastle appear to have come to an end.[80] As the old guard had been replaced, political faction had lost its generational dynamic and as a consequence popular politics had lost much of its potency. By the end of the decade, Thomas Spence would leave the town and head for London in the hope of finding a more receptive audience for his radical political ideas than could be found on the banks of the Tyne.[81]

A New Political Landscape

The political culture in Newcastle had been transformed in the decade following the 1774 election, but it was not only localised circumstances that had shaped this transition. The American declaration of independence had restructured the political landscape, strained cultural ties, and questioned the concept of shared British characteristics. This has been linked to a reimagining of British identities, as a defensive unity strengthened national affiliations and so weakened particularised local loyalties.[82] It can not, however, be assumed that changing geo-social relationships were simply the result of a defensive response to exogenous events, or that national unity equated to cultural homogeneity. Considering the divergent fortunes of the two pro-reformer newspapers in Newcastle provides a provincial perspective that emphasises

[79] See conclusion to Chapter Five.
[80] Knox, 'Greive [Grieve], George (1748–1809)'.
[81] Ashraf, *Thomas Spence*, p. 41.
[82] Linda Colley has influentially claimed that the British coalesced around their mutual commercial interests and shared commitment to Protestantism, and that this strengthening sense of national identity superseded local and regional attachments as it was 'superimposed over an array of internal differences', Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837* (London, 2005), p. 6; Kathleen Wilson argues that, amidst the revolutionary crisis, English liberty became linked to unquestioning support of the structures of state, Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, pp. 279-280. Although Dror Wahrman emphasises a shift towards an individualised sense of self in relation to the categories of race, class and gender, he argues that the concept of the nation 'did not follow the innatist, essentialising route of other categories' and instead the 'citizens of the world' and their cosmopolitan denial of difference continued to hold sway, Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: identity and culture in eighteenth-century England* (London, 2004), pp. 279-80. However, both Rosemary Sweet and John Brewer have persuasively questioned this notion of British cultural homogeneity, Rosemary Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 355-74; John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (London, 1997).

the significance of ongoing cultural developments, and at the same time helps to explain the nature of the political shifts that occurred.

Isaac Thompson, the proprietor of the *Newcastle Journal*, established his newspaper in 1739 with financial support from fellow Quakers. His aim was to disseminate national news and 'elevate the parochial minds of readers'.[83] Thomas Slack had worked for Thompson before launching his paper, the *Newcastle Chronicle*, in 1764 after an acrimonious ending to his employment.[84] Both of these men were part of an older generation. Thompson had retired in January 1775, and died a year later at the age of seventy two.[85] Slack's death was announced in January 1784 at the age of sixty-six, after a long and severe illness.[86] The *Chronicle* was 'sold' the week following Slack's death to twenty-four year old Solomon Hodgson, an employee of Slack who had presumably been in charge during his illness.[87] Shortly thereafter Hodgson married his old employer's daughter, Sarah Slack, who took charge of the newspaper after the death of her husband at the turn of the century. The *Journal* transferred into the hands of 'T. Robson & Co' after Thompson's retirement. Writing to his son in April 1775, Ralph William Grey, whose letters were considered in Section One, claimed that 'Thompson gave over his journal, and it was taken up by two persons who had formerly been his journeymen; but common report says that George Grieve is the undertaker of it; and it continues every week to bespatter the Duke [Lord Percy] and Sir John [John Hussey Delaval] with opprobrious language and observations.'[88] Lending credibility to this rumour, Robson advertised the sale of the *Journal* on 8 January 1780, at around the time that Grieve left England. While the *Chronicle* had flourished, the *Journal* gradually declined after Thompson's retirement. As early as 1777 Robson had tried changing the day of publication to avoid direct competition with his rival, but by the early 1780s advertising was dwindling; for instance on 19 April 1783 only four notices appeared. The paper limped on until 1789, but regular editions appear to have stopped some years earlier.

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[83] Helen Berry, 'Promoting Taste in the Provincial Press: National and Local Culture in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle upon Tyne', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 1 (Spring 2002), p. 5.
[84] Richard Welford, *Early Newcastle Typography* (Newcastle, 1907), p. 35.
[85] John Sykes, *Local Records; or, Historical Register of Remarkable Events which have occurred in Northumberland and Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Berwick-upon-Tweed* (Newcastle, 1866), p. 304; *Newcastle Journal*, 14 January 1775.
[86] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 17 January 1784.
[87] Ibid., 21 February 1784.
[88] Ralph William Grey's letter to his son, 7 April 1775, P(x), NRO 753, Box G; also see Chapter One, pp. 42-44; and Chapter Two, pp. 81-82.

The demise of the *Journal* could be said to reflect the fact that the paper had backed a political cause that had run out of steam, but the *Chronicle* had been no less explicit in its support of the reformers. The *Journal* had, however, been considerably more London centric during the 1774 campaign than the *Chronicle*. Most notably, the majority of the letters carried on the back pages of the *Journal* were from correspondents living in the capital, and tended to assume a national perspective. For instance, on 9 July one letter was addressed 'to the people of England', and another from 'A Friend to his Country' was addressed 'To the manufactures of Great Britain'. On 6 August a note from the editor informed his readers that the previous day's post from London had not arrived, and tellingly the letters sections was taken up by an extremely long 'Extract from Lord Chesterfield's Letters'.[89] Even when local pride was evoked it was couched in a cosmopolitan language or given an imperial context, as was the case on 16 July when an unsigned letter suggested that the 'noble spirit' of the free burgesses of Newcastle should set 'a glorious example to Sons of Liberty throughout the British Empire'. In contrast, the *Chronicle* suggested that 'the eyes of all England look up for a precedent, to the *honest* independent *Sons of the Tyne*'.[90] On a superficial level the message appears to be the same, but an emphasis was placed upon independence rather than liberty and the terminology implied a level of provincial self-confidence that was clearly lacking in the *Journal*. The *Chronicle* carried a far larger number of locally generated contributions to the debate, yet the stance adopted was neither parochial, nor reactionary.

The owner of the *Chronicle*, Thomas Slack, was married to the grammarian and author of educational books Anne Fisher (see Chapter Two), and his editorial stance was in keeping with his wife's approach to nurturing autonomy in the rising generations. Rather than peddling one side of the argument as his rivals had done, Slack explicitly claimed to be giving individuals the knowledge necessary to adopt their own opinion. The following text appeared as the first item of local news on 2 July 1774:

> As a violent spirit of electioneering is now broke out in this town: and tho' we mean to do justice to all parties, and maintain our impartiality agreeable to our motto, we find it will be impossible to point out the truth, or even please either party, without being thought to exaggerate on one side, or extenuate on the other. – We have, therefore, adopted the method of numbering each paragraph we receive of that kind, as E.1, E.2, &c. by which means the opposite party may easily point out to the public, and detect what exceeds the truth.

[89] See Chapter One, pp. 43-44.
[90] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 16 July 1774.

Although the numbering of election paragraphs did not prevent Slack from producing partisan news, this approach had given an impression of reporting views, rather than promoting opinion.

The sense of self-determination that the Slacks helped to engender was not only changing relationships between a younger generation and their elders, but was altering the relationship between the provinces and the capital. This cultural shift was already underway in 1774 but the events of the following decade acted as a catalyst, as provincial communities sought to influence national policies through their participation in the widespread petitioning and sending of loyal addresses. Jeremy Black points to the increasing coverage of news from other regions in the provincial press during this period, citing an example from the *Leeds Mercury* 31 October 1775 which reported, 'under the Leeds by-line, an account of a general meeting in Newcastle concerning the American crisis.'[91] There had been coverage of other regions in Newcastle's columns of local news before 1774, but the volume of such items increased exponentially as provincial communities voiced political opinions. A paragraph that appeared in the *Chronicle* in the midst of the first of Wyvill's reform movements illustrates the extent to which the provinces were debating national issues. The reader was told that an acerbic essay entitled THE ALARM had first appeared in the *London Gazette* before being reprinted by the *Leeds Intelligencer* from where it was copied by the *Newcastle Courant*. Slack had then offered an extract from the *Yorkshire Courant* as a rebuttal of this essay.[92] On 23 September 1775 the *Newcastle Courant* reported that news of Manchester's loyal address, which had been 'inserted in our last', appeared in Tuesday's *London Gazette*; this not only demonstrated that London's papers were covering national issues that were emanating from the provinces, but also that the provinces were getting the news first by bypassing London in their coverage of other regions. It is also important to recognise that, although national in their scope and implications, the loyal addresses and petitions for parliamentary reform did not represent unambiguously collective acts. Within the context of national movements participants were asserting discrete local perspectives. For instance, in February 1780 the petition that emanated from Northumberland offered a more meek and polite appeal than had been adopted in Newcastle, and was excused on the grounds that as others had already proffered an opinion 'it

[91] Jeremy Black, *The English Press, 1621-1861* (Stroud, 2001), p. 138.
[92] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 12 February 1780.

would not be improper' to do likewise.[93] Again, the loyal addresses sent in March 1784 were notably different in tone, as local opinions were asserted as part of a declaration of support.[94]

As a cultural turn that was visible in coiffure and cuisine had made its way into the political arena, the cosmopolitanism of earlier decades had been replaced by a decidedly more pluralistic perspective. Kathleen Wilson has suggested that 'the urban upper and middle classes' in the provinces used their links to the metropolis to bestow national signifiers with local resonance, and so local identities were strengthened as they performed a subsidiary role in the creation of 'the accessible "universal" identity [which was] cultivated by the newspapers'.[95] Yet, as John Brewer suggests, men like Thomas Bewick, who was a friend of Solomon and Sarah Hodgson, may have 'desired the cultural authority ... of gentlemen, [but they] ... did not wish to emulate ... rather they wanted to change the criteria for gentility itself.'[96] For this generation their local uniqueness was neither superseded by, nor subordinate to, national affiliations but part of a progressive British identity.

A New Political Generation

Pre-existing generational tensions had become conflated with political events in Newcastle during the 1774 election, and although the contest was focused upon the question of political representation, this was intimately connected to youthful expressions of self-determination. This could appear to be a frivolous interpretation of the political events of the period, but to argue that the tumult involved a generational division is not to say that it lacked serious intent. Evidently, the pageantry of the political street theatre encouraged the exuberance of hot-headed youths, and it can not be assumed that all of the participants were expressing a sincere interest in political matters. However, the reform candidates clearly received a greater level of support from voters in their twenties and thirties, a cohort that had been youths during the 1750s and 1760s. In a personal context, these youths had gained a greater level of autonomy than their predecessors, and as the relationship between Britain and her American colonies deteriorated this spilled into the political arena.

[93] Ibid., 26 February 1780.
[94] See contributions from Newcastle and Durham *Ibid.*, 6 March 1784.
[95] Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, pp. 437, 41.
[96] Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 510-11.

It is impossible to separate the desire for a greater level of autonomy amongst the younger generations from the debates surrounding the colonial unrest across the Atlantic. It was not only the colonists that saw centralist policies and universal concepts as overbearing, domineering, and an unwarranted constraint upon individual freedoms. Younger adults, like the colonists, felt infantilised by the assumption that Westminster could act in their best interests without consultation. As was seen in Section One, this generation had been actively encouraged to assume a level of self-governance as opposed to passively absorbing instruction from their elders; and, because age and rank were conflated, this undermining of patriarchal authority extended to their social superiors. Consequently, the arguments used to justify government policies in the colonies had incendiary implications in the domestic arena, as did the colonists' rallying cry of 'no tax without representation'.

It could also be argued that ideological distinctions became more evident because of this generational dynamic. The notion that self-determination involved breaking away from the particularism and factionalism of the seventeenth century had continued to shape attitudes during the 1740s and 1750s, but by 1770 a younger generation assumed that individuality secured autonomy from the overbearing cultivated civility advocated by their elders.[97] Authenticity, and the singularity or distinction inherent in this concept, had become a youthful and consequently a progressive attribute. To encourage political factionalism could therefore be radical rather than reactionary. Changing attitudes towards cosmopolitan politeness were also affecting the politics of place, and the extravagant expression of endogenous qualities in fashionable food during the 1770s was mirrored by a growing provincial self-confidence in the political arena. The excesses of the macaroni decade were, however, short lived, and events in America provided the most conspicuous indication that the unbridled individualism of the 1770s had perhaps gone too far. Yet, the changing attitudes towards juvenile delinquency considered in Chapter Three demonstrate that the American Declaration of Independence was not the only factor driving social change. Intergenerational relations, anxieties about social order, and geo-political events mutually reinforced cultural change as a pluralistic national unity took precedence over an older civic patriotism that adhered to a set of externalised universal values.

[97] See Chapter Five, pp. 192-195.

This also had significant implications in a socio-economic context, and the provincial self-confidence evident within the pages of the *Newcastle Chronicle* was accompanied by a definite sense of class consciousness. This is most clearly seen in a letter from 'A POOR BURGESS' that appeared on 30 July 1774 and claimed 'Our Class' form the majority and so have the opportunity to preserve the 'noble right of *choosing* our representatives'. As this suggests, the re-emergence of political faction in Newcastle did not reflect a return to an exclusive contest in which the electorate were invited to support competing groupings of élite interests. Instead, the 'ordinary' freemen expected to be represented. That said, there was still an assumption that the élite should be in positions of power. It was simply that they should be more sensitive to the interests of other sectors of society. In a national context, the transformation of Charles James Fox's public image is the most visible indication of this more pluralistic perspective. According to John Brewer, Fox swapped his continental high fashion for a 'blue coat and buff breeches that expressed solidarity with the American rebels' but, as Brewer notes, he was in fact depicted in various plebeian guises as he was accused of transgressing the distinctions between social ranks.[98] Yet, Fox was part of a younger generation whose emphasis upon their innate qualities lent itself to this political shift towards pluralism and, although dramatic in appearance, shedding his macaroni image was not as fundamental a transformation as might be assumed.

A new generation of politicians were transforming the political landscape during the 1780s. When Rockingham died prematurely in 1782, at the age of fifty-two, the Rockinghamite whigs, who were already a relatively young cohort, gained a markedly younger profile. By the time that Charles Grey (1764-1845) entered parliament at the age of twenty-two in 1786, as MP for the county of Northumberland, Fox could take on the mantle of an elder statesman. Grey, who would eventually succeed in his desire to reform the British parliamentary system after more than forty years of perseverance, was descended from a long-established Northumbrian family. In earlier decades he could have been expected to become a Tory backbencher. Instead this young man, who had grown up during the decade of the macaroni, associated himself with Fox and used his maiden speech to condemn the government's commercial treaty with France and the prime minister responsible for this treachery. It was in this context that roast beef began to gain its association with Fox and the Whig opposition (see Figure 6:2).

[98] John Brewer, *The Common People and Politics 1750s-1790s* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 31.

**Figure 6:2. The Commercial Treaty;
or John Bull changing beef and pudding for frogs and soup maigre!, 1786**

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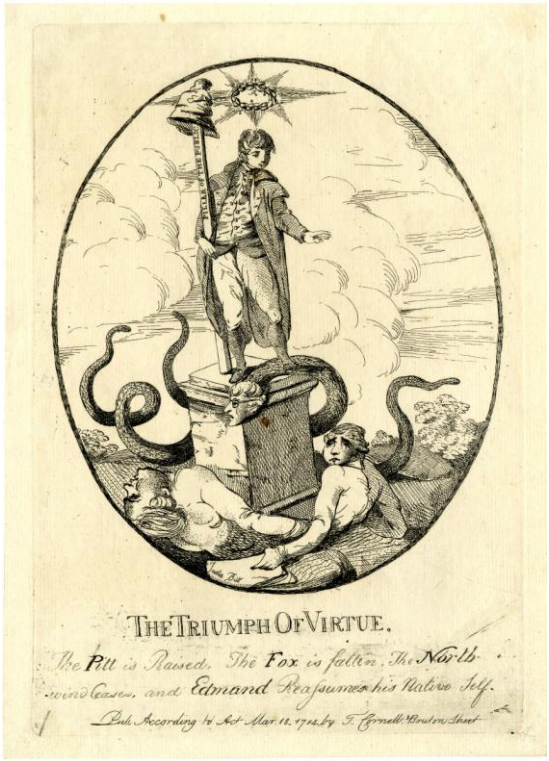
The prime minister in question was Pitt the Younger (1759–1806) who had entered parliament in 1781 at the age of twenty-one. Having declined the king's first request to form a government, Pitt took office in late 1783 heading a cabinet of peers and so assuming the government's only voice in the commons. This precocious young man was hailed as a 'triumph of virtue' by some, and his age could be seen as either his greatest asset or his predominant flaw (see Figures 6:3 and 6:4). As *The Public Advertiser* noted in May 1784, 'The Youth of Mr. Pitt is the only *Crime* (if virtuous Youth be a Crime) which his Enemies have hitherto attached to him.'[99]

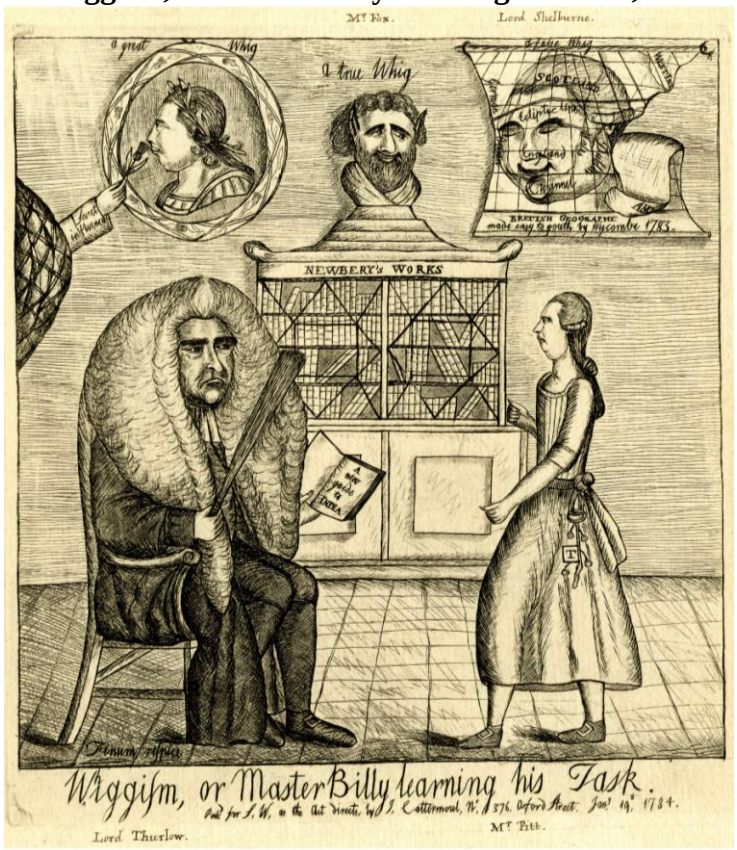
[99] *Public Advertiser* (London), Friday 21 May 1784; Issue 15596.

Figure 6:3.The Triumph of Virtue, 1784



BM Satires 6454 © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 6:4.
Whiggism, or Master Billy learning his Task, 1784



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In *Whiggism, or Master Billy learning his Task* (Figure 6:4), Pitt's detractors sought to emphasise his lack of political autonomy, depicting him in asexual infant clothing to hammer home his juvenile nature. In contrast, Fox, the erstwhile macaroni, had sprouted facial hair, so demonstrating a manly authenticity that was now associated with a progressive British outlook. The wall map, in which Shelburne's face was used to depict the British Isles, was entitled 'British Geography made easy to youth', and along with the bookcase of 'Newbery's Works' this not only emphasised Pitt's immaturity but at the same time pointed to the trappings of childhood that had helped to shape the attitudes of the younger generations. The influence exerted by Thurlow, Pitt's chancellor, is explicit as he delivered his lesson with his birch in hand, and the tartan-clad arm seen holding a thistle to the nose of George III casts the long shadow of Lord Bute across the image. Yet, while Pitt may have been satirised as dependent upon the old guard, it was suggested in *The Newcastle Magazine* in 1785 that 'His very youth, or inexperience, which seemed the only impediment to his official capacity, operated by a strange caprice of the human mind in his favour.'[100]

A political culture that had been formed in the early decades of the century was fading away, as those able to remember these times reached the end of their lives, and a new generation of politicians were beginning to take centre stage in the political arena. In Newcastle, an aging oligarchy amplified this generational divide, as localised circumstances became embroiled with matters of national and imperial significance that were themselves inextricably linked to inter-personal politics in both the workplace and the family home. It was because these issues had become enmeshed that the period was so politically turbulent.

[100] *The Newcastle Magazine* (Newcastle, 1785), pp. 360, 362.

Conclusion
Mapping the Contours of Generational Change

Mapping the generational contours of the eighteenth century does not present an orderly picture of cultural change but a cluttered array of crossing points as various causal factors interweave to produce a rich and vibrant social fabric. While concentrating upon a specific locality has brought the fine detail into view, tracing particular threads inevitably reveals a partial picture, and shining a light on society from a different angle would have brought other strands of the cultural narrative into sharper focus. Nonetheless, a pattern of change is discernable that is neither parochial in nature nor localised in scope, but instead is indicative of profound social and cultural transition in a national, and ultimately imperial, context. Drawing together the arguments advanced in each chapter outlines the nature of these changes whilst emphasising the links between childhood experiences, the hubris of youth, and adult attitudes.

Local circumstances gave age relations a particular resonance in the political arena in Newcastle during 1774, and it is here that the investigation began. It was initially assumed that the generational tension evident in the political propaganda would reflect a conflict between the rising youth and adult society. On closer inspection, it transpired that the younger cohort included a far larger age range, the oldest of whom would have been in their late thirties. Tracing the lives of this age group in order to understand what set them apart from older adults led back to the 1740s and suggested that the roots of the generational discord in 1774 might be found in the nursery. As the investigation widened to encompass the volatile years of adolescence, it became more apparent that changing attitudes towards children were only part of the picture, and that aspects of social change can not be understood in isolation. Childhood does, however, offer a useful starting point when surveying the generational rhythms of society.

The new style of children's literature that emerged at the beginning of the 1740s was premised upon the idea that rational education should begin in infancy, and was designed to make learning to read a pleasurable activity so as to engage young readers in the learning process. Although these books are often linked to a more sympathetic approach towards children, the idea that infants were irrational creatures had not been synonymous with parental indifference, and to expect rational behaviour from very young offspring was not inherently compassionate. It was not how kindly children were treated but how parents justified this treatment that was changing, as a belief that infants were imbecilic and needed to be cajoled or awed into

submission lost ground to an assumption that they had a rational capacity that could be cultivated. The changing perceptions of childhood were also evident in the classroom, as an increasing number of commercial schools were opened during the middle decades of the century. These private ventures promoted practical, rational education, and their commercial success rested on the claim that applied learning was not only more useful than esoteric intellectual endeavour but also easier, and therefore more cost-effective, because children understood their lessons rather than having to remember de-contextualised information. This change in teaching methods was central to the introduction of English grammar to the curriculum. Vernacular grammars began to encroach upon the market for English translations of Latin grammar during the 1740s. A generation later the teaching of English had become commonplace, but the polite form of the language that had emerged mid century now had to compete with a more learned, and seemingly more self-confident, Latinate English. At the same time, the cultivated childhood of the 1740s was giving way to a more sentimental view of children that recognised the limits of their rational capacity, and greater emphasis was being placed upon their innate qualities.

The growth in commercial schooling coincided with the decline in traditional apprenticeships, and both reflected a move away from learning premised upon observation and repetitive imitation. Moreover, the youths of the 1750s and 1760s had grown up as greater significance was being placed upon the importance of primary socialisation, which was altering attitudes towards familial relationships. As better-off parents were becoming more involved in the upbringing of their older children, masters and mistresses were relinquishing their quasi-parental authority over apprentices and assuming responsibility for their own teenage offspring. By the time that the mid-century youths became the parents of the rising generation, live-in apprenticeships were becoming a thing of the past. The traditional apprenticeship structures had lent legal weight to adult authority within the patriarchal household, whereas fashionable parenting within the family home promoted a degree of youthful autonomy as even young children were encouraged to develop a level of self-governance. Satirists depicted the parents of the 1750s and 1760s as ineffectually using subterfuge rather than direct confutation to control ever more self-confident youths, and critics complained that juveniles were being given too much freedom. Once these youths were parents themselves, they were accused of encouraging the immoderate behaviour of their children by setting a bad example,

and because prescriptive literature was increasingly likely to be aimed at a juvenile audience such criticism acted to further undermine adult authority.

It was not just the lives of better-off apprentices that were being transformed as masters stepped away from their traditional responsibilities. A growing number of low-status trade apprentices were taken on as non-resident employees rather than live-in trainees, which gave these youths greater social and financial independence. Changing attitudes towards the nuclear family in fashionable households was not the only factor driving this economic development, but it helped to facilitate innovation in the workplace as juvenile employment was disassociated from the notion of social replication and became an exclusively economic relationship. Without the legally-sanctioned patriarchal authority of masters, and the domestically-administered regulation of youths that this employment structure had provided, other means were needed to ensure both social order and the diligence of this youthful workforce. This is clearly seen in the *Address to the Young Inhabitants of the Pottery* that Josiah Wedgwood published after a wave of rioting in 1783. He declared his intention to 'address myself particularly to you, because when you are placed in these unhappy circumstances, seeing those who have fed and protected you from your infancy very forward in promoting such disorders, it is not to be wondered that you should approve of their actions'. While focusing his attention upon those 'who are approaching manhood, and who by your future behaviour must stamp the character of the potters of the rising generation', Wedgwood used financial incentives and rational arguments in an attempt to persuade these youths to conform to public expectations. He explained the economic circumstances that were causing rising prices, and the negative consequences of the riots, before finishing with the optimistic assertion that 'I place my hopes, with some degree of confidence, in the rising generation, being persuaded that they will, by their better conduct, make atonement for this unhappy, this unwise, slip of their fathers.'[101] Parents may have been setting a bad example but, unlike the regulated master, they were not held personally responsible for these youths, instead when such persuasion failed it was the juveniles themselves that were targeted as the criminal justice system stepped into the gap left by the demise of traditional apprenticeships. There was evidently a growing sense that youths from across the social spectrum acted autonomously.

[101] Josiah Wedgwood, *An Address to the Young Inhabitants of the Pottery* (Newcastle under Lyme, 1783), pp. 3-4, 20-21, 23.

Apprenticeship had played an important role in both shaping and reinforcing the links between age and social status, but low-skilled work was losing its connection to life-cycle employment and becoming more firmly associated with a social cohort for whom it was a permanent position. By the time that the 'modern' apprenticeship emerged, a more clearly articulated and seemingly impenetrable distinction in social rank was being made that reflected the growing emphasis upon innate qualities evident in changing attitudes towards parental practice. In 1782 Vicesimus Knox could argue that 'the good of the community requires, that there should be grosser understandings to fill the illiberal and the servile stations in society' and it was appropriate that 'those could be selected for the work, whose minds Nature has rendered less capable of ornament.'[102] This is not to suggest that socio-economic distinctions necessarily became more pronounced, but the way they were perceived was changing. Rank had been an accumulative process of status acquisition, albeit some were better positioned to climb the social ladder, but it was increasingly seen as inherent.

II.

It was not only rank but also gender that had been conflated with age. During the earlier decades of the century masculinity was assumed to be an adult attribute. This was not simply because prepubescent boys lacked the necessary physical traits to be classed as men. The social standing associated with the adult independence of a householder was a male preserve. In contrast to this public male status, domesticity was linked to the dependent position of women, and this effeminate private sphere encompassed children. Paradoxically, the cosmopolitanism of politeness was also linked to effeminacy, in contrast to a masculine authenticity that was rooted in tradition and custom, and therefore dependent upon age and experience. Yet, because early-eighteenth-century politeness was focused upon the creation of a public sociable space unencumbered by private prejudices, and therefore uninterested in personal circumstances, it assumed a homo-social masculinity despite its connection to a cosmopolitan effeminacy. This not only complicated the relationships between age, rank, and gender, but also confounded the various definitions of domestic, as an antonym to public, foreign, and untamed, which added a geo-social dimension to this network of overlapping social categories.

[102] Vicesimus Knox, *Essays Moral and Literary*, 2 Vols. (London, 1782), i, p. 10.

Although politeness was an inclusive cosmopolitan concept, its intrinsic artifice was used to demonstrate a self-determined rejection of the constraints of tradition, and as such it was inherently open to adaptation. This became increasingly apparent during the 1740s as a more confident cultivated female politeness was expressed by fashionable women who dressed their hair for public display. At the same time, Hannah Glasse gave cosmopolitan food a contrived home-baked flavour and Anne Fisher published her polite *New English Grammar*. Like English cookbooks, the vernacular grammars that emerged at the beginning of the eighteenth century reflected a reactionary particularism that indicated an opposition to the centralising cosmopolitanism that was associated with the Whig élite. By breaching gender divides, the women of the 1740s had severed this link, and at the same time introduced an element of domesticity to polite society that undermined the integral externality of cosmopolitanism. For Fisher's generation, cultivated civility was a form of self-expression and, placing pragmatism above philosophical coherence, they saw no contradiction in assuming an ability to redefine cosmopolitan mores on their own terms. Although these developments feminised polite society, this was not only a gender issue. A domestic version of politeness was also more accessible in a socio-economic context and, as home-baked cosmopolitanism gained a more commercial flavour during the 1750s and 1760s, politeness became an increasingly contested concept.

It was as 'private' or 'domestic' femininity gained a 'public' civility during the 1740s that the boundaries of polite society were extended to include children, and the popularisation of Lockean parenting methods needs to be seen in this light. As the women of the 1740s blurred the distinction between the private individuality of domestic life and the public uniformity of the civic sphere, their male counterparts were simultaneously breaching this gendered divide by becoming more involved in infant care. In many respects crediting infants with the capacity to reason made the nursery a more masculine, or 'public' environment, and both the emergence of male midwives and the decline in the practice of swaddling infants can also be seen as male intervention in a female domain. Yet, in practice it tended to be women who were responsible for infant care, and as young children became worthy of learned masculine attention, attitudes towards the role of mothers were changing. As a consequence, assumptions about the educational needs of girls were being transformed at the same time as pedantry in the classroom was shunned, and schooling became less male-centric as a consequence. As the young women who had benefited from these educational developments entered the adult

world, female teachers and authors became more prominent in a national context. Mirroring these developments, as early as 1760, female midwives in Newcastle were being trained by medical men rather than learning from older women, albeit they were not taught to the same standard as their male contemporaries. By 1785 Nicholas Weatherby and Francis Humble, who both worked at the lying-in hospital in Newcastle, were offering training as a 'full Midwife' to women providing they were 'properly educated, to be capable of receiving the necessary Instruction'.[103] The assumption that infants of both sexes were rational had not only transformed childhood experiences, but had also notably altered the position of women in society.

By the time that the children of the 1740s and 1750s reached adulthood, mid-century domestic cosmopolitanism had lost its raison d'être. This generation had grown up assuming that the domestic individual was part of polite society, and they saw no need to challenge the conventions that their parents had breached. Instead, this cohort placed greater emphasis upon innate qualities, and as perfectly natural young mothers began to appear in portraiture it also became fashionable to stress both the natural quality of dressed hair and the indigenous nature of fashionable food. Despite this emphasis upon endogenous attributes, the fashions of the 1760s and 1770s were in many respects no less contrived than the cosmopolitanism of previous generations. Yet, even the highly affected outer shell of the smooth-chinned macaronis could not hide their inner qualities no matter how inane. The satirical exaggeration of the macaronis' contradictory nature illuminated the cultural mores of their generation. In previous times their singularity would have suggested a reactionary masculine authenticity entirely at odds with the effeminacy of their progressive cosmopolitan tastes. Yet, for the macaronis' generation authenticity was a youthful attribute, rather than being linked to tradition. Concomitantly, the innovation that was integral to the concept of politeness was no longer seen to be reliant upon exogenous influences. Men could therefore adopt a youthful progressive stance that was emphatically indigenous and more 'authentically' manly than the effeminate macaronis, and while their natural hair and smooth chin lent them a youthful authenticity, their continental tastes became more exclusively associated with the élite.

[103] William Smith repeatedly advertised his course of lectures on midwifery, charging women three pounds and three shillings and men five pounds and five shillings, for which men were given additional instruction in 'the Bones, Muscles and Arteries', *Newcastle Journal*, 19 January 1760, 28 February 1761, 16 June 1770; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 16 February 1765. In 1762 the committee of the lying-in hospital in Newcastle debated the possibility of admitting female pupils to their midwifery courses, Lying in Hospital, Minutes. 11 Aug 1762, TWAS HO/PM/1/1; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 4 June, 10 September 1785.

Philip Carter is right to point to the importance of changing attitudes towards masculine authenticity, but gender issues are mutually-referential and can not be considered from just a male perspective.[104] Focusing upon the position of women in society, Harriet Guest links the 1770s to a shift away from civic patriotism, which was increasingly seen as libertine enthusiasm in comparison to a 'feminised' domestic sensibility.[105] Guest nonetheless concludes that in many respects women became adjuncts to a male-centric patriotic debate in which they were no more than 'trophies or emblems of an idea of the nation'.[106] Again, this underestimates the interdependent nature of gender relations. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall place greater emphasis on the role that women played in the changes that were underway but, as the discourse of the middle class became firmly domestic, it was not just motherhood that was eulogised.[107] This was a domesticity that incorporated the private, indigenous, and civilised aspects of the concept, and therefore accommodated feminine, masculine, and youthful qualities. While Anne Fisher's generation had focused upon redefining the cosmopolitanism of politeness, their children expressed an unambiguously endogenous civility. For this cohort, particularity had lost its association with reactionary tendencies, and polite society was a pluralistic mosaic rather than a cosmopolitan melting pot. Distinct social groups could therefore vie to be first amongst equals rather than contesting the middle ground.

III

Changing attitudes towards the conflated definitions of domestic were also transforming geo-social and geo-political relationships. There was clearly a heightened awareness of Britain's imperial status during the second half of the eighteenth century, but the re-imagining of national identities at this time can not be reduced to a jingoistic celebration of imperial success in the wake of the Seven Year War, followed by a defensive response to the events in the colonies and the ensuing war with the French. Nor can it be assumed that this national identity was a unified concept premised upon a universality that superseded more localised geo-social affiliations.[108] As Adrian Green and Anthony Pollard note, there is a growing body of

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[104] Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society* (Harlow, 2001).
[105] Harriet Guest, *Small Change: women, learning, patriotism, 1750-1810* (Chicago, 2000), p. 203.
[106] Ibid., p. 49.
[107] L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850* (Chicago, 1987).
[108] This unity tends to be associated with Protestantism, commercial and/or military interests, or as Anthony Smith suggests, a British 'ethnie' from which the British nation-state was formed during the eighteenth century, providing a blueprint for nineteenth-century nationalism, Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837* (London, 2005), p. 144; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 279-280; Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 115.

evidence that suggests the strengthening of national bonds is as likely to intensify a sense of local and regional identities.[109] This is not just because more spatially-immediate and particularised attachments act to mediate between the individual and nation. It was the context in which they were articulated that altered the relationship between local and national affiliations. During the middle decades of the eighteenth century, provincial communities had actively participated in the imagining of a universalised idea of the nation, contesting its definition and shaping its form as they reinterpreted cosmopolitan politeness. The generation that grew up during these decades re-imagined what nationhood involved, expressing a particularised identity premised upon endogenous qualities, rather than a cosmopolitan adherence to externalised rational values.[110]

Markers of locality were being redefined and, as Green suggests, a polite lack of interest in the vulgar was replaced by a fashionable interest in the rustic. Therefore, somewhat incongruously, the hardening of attitudes towards the urban poor coincided with a romanticising of their rural counterparts.[111] John Brewer notes the growth in domestic travel books at this time that encouraged a fashionable interest in local heritage, and links this to a strengthening of the connections between local and national sentiments.[112] Similarly, Rosemary Sweet points to a rejection of pedantry as a less élitist stance was adopted by a new generation of antiquarians.[113] This interest in heritage and the natural environment should not be seen as a reactionary stance. As authenticity became a youthful innate attribute, the local could be seen as progressive and inherited traits were no longer a barrier to innovation but were instead the foundation upon which it rested. Consequently, as Sweet suggests, provincial

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[109] Adrian Green and Anthony Pollard, 'Introduction' in Adrian Green and Anthony Pollard (eds.), *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300-2000* (Woodbridge, 2007), esp. pp. 7-9.

[110] As Oliver Zimmer suggests, both voluntarist and organic boundary mechanisms are used to create geo-social identities from the available cultural capital, and can be applied to the same symbolic resource. More than this, these boundary mechanisms can be used to engender either homogenous or pluralistic affiliations whether the emphasis is placed upon civic or innate national identities. The nation can therefore become a local metaphor, Oliver Zimmer, 'Boundary Mechanisms and Symbolic Resources: Towards a Process-Oriented Approach to National Identity', *Nations and Nationalism*, 9:2 (2003), pp. 173-193; Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill, 1997).

[111] Adrian Green, 'Confining the Vernacular: the Seventeenth-Century Origins of a Mode of Study', *Vernacular Architecture*, 38 (2007), p. 1-7.

[112] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (London, 1997), pp. 619- 659.

[113] Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: the Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2004), see esp. pp. 312-313.

communities began to measure themselves against a less civilised past rather than a more cosmopolitan metropolis.[114]

Imperial rivalry was central to the forging of British identities, but it was ongoing cultural change that shaped the responses to geo-political events. For the adults of the 1740s and 1750s, individual freedoms were maximised by breaking with the tradition and custom of the past, and embracing an externalised and openly contrived identity. For the youths of the 1750s and 1760s it was the stifling constraints of cosmopolitan politeness that they were breaking away from. While their parents had adjusted the existing structures of polite society in order to express self-determination, as this generation entered the adult world it was their singularity that was the root to maximising their autonomy. It was in this context that age became a weapon in the political armoury as the electoral contest was played out in Newcastle during 1774. The authority of age had atrophied along with the patriarchal social structures of the seventeenth-century household, and age relations were in the process of being renegotiated. The intransigence of the old guard in Newcastle exacerbated generational divisions, and the youthful ebullience of the rising generation was heightened as interpersonal tensions spilled into the political arena.[115] This is not to suggest that the generational dynamic was the predominant cause of political faction in Newcastle. In many respects, events in America politicised a generational fault line that had already emerged in a social setting, as the ripples of the imperial crisis were felt on the banks of the Tyne. Yet, generational tensions also played a part in shaping this political landscape as a familial discourse of patriarchy and youthful autonomy conflated social and political relationships. The essence of the discord in 1774 was encapsulated by James Murray in *The Contest* as he declared 'posterity has a claim, which the present generation have no right to sport with'.[116]

IV.

The seemingly timeless quality of generational change was highlighted by the relatively youthful Vicesimus Knox in 1782, as he pondered 'On the Means of Rendering Old Age Honourable and Comfortable'. He complained that old men condemned 'every thing ...

[114] Rosemary Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 355-74.
[115] As Bourdieu suggests in a twentieth-century context, 'modal ages' place limits on aspiration, individuals only rising when 'their time has come', but when this sense of set limits is lost conflicts arise and 'what is at stake is the transmission of power and privileges between the generations', Pierre Bourdieu, "Youth' Is Just a Word' in his *Sociology in Question* (London, 1990), p. 101.
[116] *The Contest* (Newcastle, 1774), p. 9.

produced in the present times' extolling 'the fashions, and diversions, the dress, the manners, the learning, the taste, that prevailed in the days of [their] youth.' To an old man these appeared 'superior to those of the present times, solely because his powers of perception were then more lively and acute; the very reason why the present appears with such irresistible charms in the eyes of his grandson.'[117] Despite the cyclical nature of generational transition, in a second essay, 'On the Fear of Growing Old', Knox pointed to a notable shift in attitudes as he lamented that 'the empty votary of fashion' had led to a situation where middle age was 'loathed as if it were the age of decrepitude', and 'old' was being redefined as 'from threescore and ten it shrinks to thirty'. He even suggested that 'many fashionable beauties have expressed a devout wish, that they might not survive their thirtieth birth-day.'[118] Given that Knox had turned thirty the year that these essays were published, his comments can be seen to reflect his own anxieties about ageing. He certainly wanted to believe that old age was not inevitably wretched. Older men deserved to be derided if they decorated 'their walking skeletons with every cosmetic art, and haunt[ed] every scene of vice and vanity, with all the wantonness of a strippling [sic] of eighteen!'; but there could be 'a natural dignity, authority, and beauty, in old age honourably supported'.[119] Although pertinent to his own circumstances, Knox was not simply venting private concerns but reflecting upon social mores.

As Anja Müller suggests, complaints about the feigning of youth were common throughout the century, but condemnation of those that failed to grow old gracefully became more prominent and far harsher during the later decades of the century.[120] It was not only the severity of this censure that was changing. Although there were superficial similarities in such criticism, it was no longer those who hung on to a polite progressive youthfulness that were targeted, but those who adopted an old fashioned artifice that was unable to conceal the innate or natural qualities of old age. Susannah Ottaway concludes that, despite considerable continuity in attitudes towards the aged, there was a growing assumption that to be old was to be dependent, and that this 'pointed the way towards our modern conception of old age, [and] its attendant problems'.[121] This may overstate the linear nature of change, but it is certainly the case that during the first half of the century the woes of the elderly were likely to be blamed upon 'the

[117] Knox, *Essays*, p. 181.
[118] Ibid., pp. 337-338.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Anja Müller, 'Fashioning Age and Identity: Childhood and the Stages of Life in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals' in Anja Müller (ed.), *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 100.
[121] Susannah R. Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 13; also see Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History* (Oxford, 2000).

evils of the younger generation', whereas in later decades emphasis was placed upon the need for older people to be self-sufficient and to avoid being overbearing.[122] While this suggests a relatively constant level of antagonism between the generations, shifting the focus of blame from the young to their elders is indicative of a significant relocation of cultural capital from those who possessed the authority of age to those that held the key to the future.

In 1780 the author of an anonymous pamphlet published in Newcastle complained that:

> A Flippancy of Heart glares full on us, through every Class. How few, especially among the younger Sort, have any just Reflection on – what they are – what their Situation here, as moral Agents – or what their Prospects beyond Death .... But – How shall Religion be propagated? Shall Parents teach their Children, Masters their Servants – and the Old instil it in the Young? In this Scheme, Success might have been expected, in the Simplicity of patriarchal Ages; but as the World now goes, he who looks with half an eye, may see the Fate both of its Theory and Practice, if left to this.[123]

Not everyone took such a pessimistic perspective. The young Reverend William Turner, whose father and namesake was a dissenting minster in Wakefield, had attended the Warrington Academy between 1777 and 1781 before taking up his ministry in Newcastle and establishing the town's first Sunday School at the age of twenty-four. Turner junior also played a central role in establishing Newcastle's Literary and Philosophical Society in 1793, and would become a key figure in the town as the age of nineteenth-century provincialism dawned.[124] Given that ill-discipline would play a part in the closure of Warrington, the most prominent of the dissenting academies, in 1783, it may not be surprising that Turner senior chose to address the younger members of his own congregation at a time when his son would presumably have been at home for Christmas.[125] His new-year sermons in 1777 and 1778 covered 'The Importance of Good Principles to the Young', and recommended careful attention to the word of God as 'the best security against moral pollution'.[126] He suggested any sober youth that chose not to follow 'the herd' but to serve the Lord would be scorned for such obsolete sentiments that were 'fit only for days of old'. Turner senior challenged his young listeners to 'dare to assert and support the liberty of your own better judgements', and ended with a clarion call that inverted the hierarchical status of age; 'Yes, ye dear hopes of the rising generation! excel us, your predecessors, in wisdom, virtue, piety, and honour, as much as you can. We will not envy you; we will rejoice and glory in you; we will bless God for your

[122] Susannah R. Ottaway, *Intergenerational Relations in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2008), p. ix.
[123] *An Address to English Protestants, of every class, and denomination* (Newcastle, 1780), pp. 11, 21.
[124] R. K. Webb, 'Turner, William (1761-1859)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004).
[125] On the demise of Warrington see Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford, 1989), p. 85.
[126] William Turner, *Sermons on Various Subjects*, (London, 1793), p. 3.

excellencies.'[127] Such advice from his father may go a long way to explaining why it was that Turner junior was such a confident and dynamic young man, a trait he shared with many of his age cohort.

As Paul Langford suggests, the emergence of 'sensibility' during the 1760s and 1770s had a seminal influence upon the rising youth, and '[w]hen this generation reached positions of power or influence in the following decades, there were to be far reaching ramifications.'[128] However, young men like Knox and Turner did not patiently wait their turn. Instead they took the initiative and began to assume positions of influence based upon, rather than despite, their youthful status. Age relations had been transformed, and so had eighteenth-century society.

V.

As historians have turned their attention to the construction of cultures, many previously accepted structural truths have been dismantled. While such revision was clearly needed, this inevitably lent cultural history a critical perspective that tends towards presenting a fragmented and often contradictory picture of particularised experiences. Attempts to build a new historical narrative out of this cultural rubble have proved far harder than the demolition of faltering concepts.[129] Mapping the contours of generational change offers a solution to this problem, by providing a chronological structure without imposing a hierarchy of causation. Age relations did not dictate events, but neither were they an inert reflection of other factors. They therefore provide a new way of looking at familiar issues whilst introducing an overlooked dynamic that alters the object of study.

It is the ongoing nature of generational change that led to the decision to focus upon a specific moment in time, and placing this moment in its wider cultural context presents a methodological form that allows society to be seen as an unconstrained network of connections, or a rhizome, rather than confining the research within a preconceived framework.[130] It is true that a focus point not only restricts the scope of the investigation to manageable proportions, but also presents a picture in which all of the cultural threads lead away from the centre. Yet, each of these threads pass through other nodules in the rhizome,

[127] Ibid., pp. 37, 48.
[128] Langford, *Polite and Commercial*, p. 464.
[129] Dror Wahrman, 'Change and the Corporeal in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Gender History: Or, Can Cultural History Be Rigorous?', *Gender & History*, 20:3 (2008), pp. 584-602.
[130] The biological term rhizome relates to plants that grow from nodules on a non-centralised root system, and was introduced into the social sciences by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus* (Minneapolis, 1987).

and any of these can provide a complementary focus point that adds detail without obscuring the bigger picture. Consequently, although centred upon the politicisation of age during the 1770s, this investigation has encompassed a diverse range of interconnected issues. It is because age transgresses the distinctions between other social categories that investigating the rising generations allows society to be seen as a dynamic and indivisible conflation of social relationships, as opposed to isolating aspects of experience to be studied as discrete phenomena. This has revealed the way in which cultural change was dependent upon a whole host of factors, and to remove any from the equation would have significantly altered the pattern of change. As Nick Bingham and Nigel Thrift suggests '[a] giant in a story is not a bigger character than the dwarf, it just does different things.'[131] This approach therefore allows the often marginalised voices within the historiography to be heard, which demonstrates that social influences do not always flow in expected direction and outcomes are not predicable.

Although the focus of this investigation has emphasised the significance of primary socialisation, giving youth transition a central position in the research makes it possible to see the way in which attitudes are shaped by the ongoing interaction between age groups rather than developing in a predictable linear fashion. Changing perceptions of childhood during the 1740s were central to the events of 1774, but the links are too complex to assume a direct cause and effect. It was the sociability of polite society that was altering familial relationships, as domesticity was civilised by its inclusion in cosmopolitan politeness and, concomitantly, the masculine civic sphere was lent a feminised refinement. Without this reinterpretation of politeness the change in attitudes towards family life would not have occurred in the same manner, and the demographic trends and geo-political machinations of the 1750s and 1760s would not have transformed apprenticeship structures in the way that they did. Similarly, it was the way cultural, political, and economic developments interacted with the changing age structure of society during the 1750s that made the high mortality levels of earlier decades so significant to population growth during the second half of the century; as changing youth employment structures led to greater levels of social freedom and financial independence at an earlier age than would previously have been the case. The contours of generational change hold the key to understanding such connections because they map the social terrain, rather than elevating the significance of a particular causal factor and presenting a demarcated path from start point to destination.

[131] Nick Bingham and Nigel Thrift, 'Some New Instructions For Travellers: The geographic space of Bruno Latour and Michel Serres' in Mike Craig and Nigel Thrift (eds.), *Thinking Space* (London, 2000), p. 286.

Viewing England from the banks of the Tyne has allowed the particular to be seen as part of a wider canvas, whilst also emphasising endogenous developments that provide a corrective counterbalance to the prominence given to geo-political events. A provincial vantage point has also revealed the way attitudes towards place were inextricably enmeshed with the concepts of age, rank, and gender. This has helped to uncover the manner in which the relationships between these markers of identity were transformed by the piecemeal cultural change that rippled through society as the children of the 1740s grew up. By the time these children reached adulthood, the authority and status of age and experience had been rendered moribund, as had the cultivated politeness of their parents' generation. Particularism had been disassociated from custom and tradition, and local affiliations were no longer assumed to be reactionary. Instead, youthful singularity was seen as a progressive expression of self-determination. It was this that made age so potent a political weapon during the 1774 election in Newcastle. The cultural change of the 1760s and 1770s did not, however, reflect the actions of a single 'revolutionary' generation. This cohort had been brought up to act more autonomously. Nor can it be assumed to reflect linear progress. It is political circumstances in their widest sense that determine whether collective or individualistic expressions of social identity provide the most effective way to maximise personal autonomy. Ronald Inglehart's exploration of a generational shift towards individualism in the later twentieth century, which is linked to the demise of modernity, demonstrates that this is not a one-way development.[132]

The social fabric of the late eighteenth century was not constructed out of new material. There was no dramatic rupture that saw modernity rise phoenix-like from the ashes of the past. Instead, conflated social factors had been reordered into a new constellation that was no more complex and no less contradictory or compromised, but connected by a different set of relationships that gave each of them new meaning. The social change set in motion by the parents of the 1740s was a generational step no less significant than the one taken by their children, but it can not be seen as a start point. Likewise, the events of the 1770s were only one of an infinite number of moments that could be said to be more 'modern' than the past.

[132] Ronald Inglehart, 'The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies', *The American Political Science Review*, 65:4 (1971), pp. 991-1017.

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