

Discourses of Distance: Conceptions of Geographic and Cultural Space in the British Atlantic,
1607-1776

By

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Michael Duane Jeter-Boldt

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Chairperson Prof. Katherine R.P. Clark

Prof. Jonathan C.D. Clark

Prof. Luis Corteguera

Prof. Jennifer Weber

Prof. Geraldo Sousa (Dept. of English)

Date Defended: October 31, 2016

The Dissertation Committee for Michael Duane Jeter-Boldt
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

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Chairperson Katherine R.P. Clark

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Abstract

This study examines travelers' perceptions of distance as they moved about the British Atlantic World in the period from the founding of the first English settlement in North America at Jamestown in 1607 to the American Declaration of Independence in 1776. Distance here is understood to encompass the familiar expressions (physical space, time between locations) and alternate conceptions, including the sense of distance created by differing cultural markers and levels of economic development. Perceptions of distance arising from attributional factors illuminate how observers, using England broadly and London specifically as cultural benchmarks, understood the place of the various components of the First British Empire and an emerging trans-Atlantic imperial British national identity. Travelers' experiences confirm the existence of internal peripheries within the Atlantic Archipelago, conforming to the so-called "Celtic fringe" that includes the Scottish Highlands, Ireland, Welsh uplands, and Cornwall. Across the Atlantic, observers understood attributional distance, perceptible from the late seventeenth century, between Britain's North American colonies and the metropole made retention of these colonies in the imperial framework increasingly challenging. Most surprisingly, I argue that in the late eighteenth century, travelers' perceived the Caribbean colonies, long denigrated in the historiography as degenerate and displaying no signs of British social norms, as the most physically proximate to Britain due to the Caribbean colonists' ability to replicate British norms and customs.

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Additionally, I must thank the faculty and staff of the Department of History at the University of Kansas and the family of Rebecca Robinson. Through their generosity in endowing the Rebecca Robinson Award for Graduate Research Travel, I was able to undertake research at the British Library and the National Archives in London. The Hall Center for the Humanities provided funding for that research trip through the Andrew Debicki International Travel Scholarship in the Humanities. Unfortunately, due to changes to the focus and scope of the dissertation made after I had completed my overseas research, much of the material I gathered did

not find a place in this final version. I hope that should time permit at some point in the future, I am able to take this project in its original direction of examining the state's role in infrastructure development and utilize the research those organizations so generously funded.

Personally, I must thank all of my supervisors at U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. Over the past three and a half years, they have been remarkably accommodating of my need to take time off to work on this dissertation, visit the library, or travel to Lawrence to meet with my advisor. My parents also deserve thanks for never stifling my love of history, even when that meant I came home from the school library in elementary school with the same World War Two books over and over. Although too young to fully comprehend all of what a dissertation entails, I must thank my daughter Siobhan for understanding why there have been so many weekends Daddy could not play. Finally, I owe the most profound thanks and debt to my wonderful wife Katie. She has lived with this dissertation as long as I have, supporting me emotionally and financially along the way. Even though I have probably spent as much time with this dissertation as I have with her over the past few years, she still loves me. For that, no amount of thanks will ever be sufficient.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	ix
Introduction.....	1
Plan of the Work	6
Travel Narratives	9
Distance	15
Physical Distance	17
Time Distance	24
Attributional Distance.....	30
Historical Distance.....	33
Chapter 1: The Atlantic Archipelago	36
Attributional Distance.....	38
Religion.....	38
Building.....	51
Social.....	72
Food	95
Dress	106
Speech.....	114
Order and Power	131
Historical Distance.....	139

Agriculture	139
Manufacturing.....	148
Conclusion	162
Chapter 2: North America.....	165
Attributional Distance.....	171
Religion.....	172
Order and Power	185
Independence	201
Social.....	211
Building.....	232
Food	262
Dress	268
Speech.....	274
Historical Distance.....	278
Agriculture	278
Manufacturing.....	290
Conclusion	301
Chapter 3: The Caribbean.....	304
Slavery	310
Attributional Distance.....	314
Religion.....	314
Building.....	319
Social.....	338

Food	353
Dress	360
Order and Power	365
Historical Distance.....	369
Agriculture	369
Manufacturing.....	376
Conclusion	378
Conclusion	381
Bibliography	388
Primary Sources	388
Secondary Sources	496
Appendix One: Publishing Trends.....	527
Appendix Two: Distances.....	528

List of Figures

Figure 1 - Travel Narratives Published by Decade.....	527
Figure 2 - Physical and Time Distances of Voyages to the Caribbean.....	528
Figure 3 - Physical and Time Distances of Voyages to North America.....	529

Introduction

When we came down the Hill, the Strength of the Wind was no felt so much, and, consequently, not the Cold. The first Town we came to is as perfectly *Scots*, as if you were 100 Miles North of *Edinburgh*; nor is there the least Appearance of any Thing *English*, either in Customs, Habits, Usages of the People, or in their Way of Living, Eating, Dress, or Behaviour; any more than if they had never heard of an *English* Nation; nor was there an *Englishman* to be seen, or an *English* Family to be found among them.¹

When Daniel Defoe entered Scotland on his celebrated journey throughout the British Isles, he immediately noticed the cultural differences between England and Scotland. Despite the countries sharing a monarch for over one hundred years and a parliament for nearly twenty, these differences persisted in a way England's most prolific writer found noteworthy. That commentators, travelers, and other observers of Scottish affairs continued to note differences between England and Scotland in the eighteenth century is not revelatory, but Defoe's observation stands apart from these other accounts through its linkage of cultural differences with an altered sense of geography. It suggested the potential for alternate conceptions of distance to change perceptions of physical distance. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travelers' accounts of parts of the English/British Empire reshaped the mental maps of readers based, in part, on the travelers' recognition of similarities and differences between the visited location and a sense of the metropolitan norm.

¹ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of Whatever Is Curious and Worth Observation, Viz. I. A Description of the Principal Cities and Towns, Their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. II. The Customs, Manners, Speech, as Also the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the People. III. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade, and Manufactures. IV. The Sea Ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. V. The Publick Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With Useful Observations upon the Whole. Particularly Fitted for the Reading of such as Desire to Travel over the Island. By a Gentleman.*, vol. 3, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed, and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill. W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar. R. Francklin, under Tom's Coffee-house, Covent-Garden; S. Chapman, at the Angel in Pall-Mall. R. Stagg, in Westminster-Hall, and J. Graves, in St. James's-Street, 1724), 6. The pagination in volume 3 restarts when Defoe begins discussing Scotland. To differentiate those pages which are in the Scottish section, they will be marked by (Scottish section) after the page number in all future citations.

Defoe's contention that perceptions of cultural attributes could conceptually alter a location's place in the world first drew me to a consideration of distance in travel narratives. Living near the Missouri-Kansas state line, it seemed impossible to me that the mere act of crossing a border and advancing a short distance into a new region could produce the sensation of transportation to a location many, if not hundreds or thousands, miles away. However, despite past frictions between the states, they share many cultural similarities. In the Atlantic Archipelago² in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the historical legacies of four independent states ensured a wide variety of cultural differentiation even as political unification and a growing sense of "Britishness," to borrow Linda Colley's term,³ created the conditions for travelers like Defoe to traverse a few yards but feel miles away.

When presenting an early draft of this introduction and parts of the chapter on the Caribbean at the Western Conference of British Studies' conference in 2013, one audience member asked why I discussed my subject in terms of distance instead of difference.⁴ Certainly, discussing cultural differences and similarities in the Atlantic Archipelago and wider First British Empire has

² For a justification of the use of this term instead of "the British Isles," see J. G. A. Pocock, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject," *The Journal of Modern History* 47, no. 4 (1975): 606–7. I am aware that by focusing on perceived similarities/differences between travelers' observations of parts of the Atlantic Archipelago and the metropole, I am essentially rejecting the very type of history Pocock was advocating. However, to the degree my consideration of the Atlantic Archipelago serves mainly as a baseline for a consideration of the wider British Atlantic and the emergence, or rejection, of an imperial sense of Britishness, a focus on regionalism in the Archipelago does not undermine the larger cross-cultural and Atlantic dimensions of this work. For additional commentary on "the New British history" and "the Atlantic Archipelago," see J. G. A. Pocock, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject: Reply," *The Journal of Modern History* 47, no. 4 (1975): 626–28; J. G. A. Pocock, "The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject," *The American Historical Review* 87, no. 2 (1982): 311–36, doi:10.2307/1870122; J. G. A. Pocock, "The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999): 490–500, doi:10.2307/2650377.

³ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 1–9.

⁴ Michael Jeter-Boldt, "'So Many Remote counties: Distance and Perceptions of Britain's Caribbean Colonies, 1607-1825'" (Western Conference on British Studies Annual Conference, Kansas City, MO, 2013).

played a prominent role in works like Colley's *Britons*, Michael Hechter's *Internal Colonialism*,⁵ Thomas William Heyck's *The Peoples of the British Isles*,⁶ Richard Dunn's *Sugar and Slaves*,⁷ and David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed*,⁸ among others. This is not to say that historians, including Colley and Hechter, have ignored the problems distance posed to the state in an era before technological innovation drastically reduced transportation and communication times.⁹ Rather, by focusing on physical distance, which is to say the amount of space between points A and B, these studies overlook the ways alternate conceptions of distance based on travelers' observations of cultural differences and similarities modified perceptions of physical distance, with consequences for how they and their readers thought about nation and empire.

My conviction that alternate conceptions of distance, such as those hinted at by Defoe, allowed for a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between core and periphery stems from my earlier work on the development of state-sponsored infrastructure improvement in the

⁵ Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

⁶ Thomas William Heyck, *The Peoples of the British Isles: A New History, From 1688 to 1870*, vol. 2, 3 vols. (Chicago: Lyceum Books, Inc., 2002).

⁷ Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*, (Chapel Hill, Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1972).

⁸ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁹ For one particularly striking argument for the role of distance in history, see Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968); For some commentary on the problems associated with physical distance in the First British Empire, see Colley, *Britons*, 12 who argues distance led to relative autonomy for the peripheral regions of the Atlantic archipelago; Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, 119 echoes Colley's conclusion, noting Scottish autonomy persisted even after the Union of 1707; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783*, 1st Harvard University paperback (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990), 176–78 argues distance directly influenced the outcome of the American War for Independence, first by shaping the way colonial administration functioned and then by imposing insurmountable strains on Britain's logistics during the prosecution of the war; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised (New York: Verso, 1991), 52 cites distance as an important factor in the development of largely autonomous government structures in the New World, capable of serving independent states.

Scottish Highlands at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Undertaken in the name of speeding the flow of information for economic benefit related to the fisheries, an important secondary motivation, stretching back to earlier infrastructure projects developed in the aftermath of the 1715 Jacobite Rising, involved the dissemination of information as a means of effecting cultural assimilation to ensure stability and security. State planners thus echoed Defoe's conflation of physical and attributional distance and betrayed the notion that perceptions of internal peripheries based on cultural difference had the potential to prove problematic for the creation of a truly national identity capable of holding the state, and potentially the Empire, together.

Applied to the Atlantic World, travelers' discourses of distance in its many forms reveal internal peripheries like the Scottish Highlands, non-integrated space like Ireland, the drift towards independence of the North American colonies, and the surprising "Britishness" and loyalty of the Caribbean. This line of examination is one not present in the existing historiography of the rise and partial collapse of the First British Empire. Careful investigation of nearly one thousand travel narratives published between 1607 and 1776 reveals how observers perceived distance through attributional markers like religious practice, architectural styles, social customs, sartorial choices, patterns of speech, dietary customs, structures of order and power, agricultural practices, and the development of manufacturing. While consideration of commentary on distance within the Atlantic Archipelago largely confirms Colley's findings that the eighteenth century witnessed the development of a unifying sense of "Britishness," it also integrates Ireland into her schema to a degree her study argues should not be possible.

¹⁰ Michael Jeter-Boldt, "'The Greatest Improvement of Any Country': Economic Development in Ullapool and the Highlands, 1786-1835" (Master's, University of Missouri - Columbia, 2006), <https://mospace.umsystem.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10355/4627/research.pdf?sequence=3>.

Examination of the two major overseas portions of the First British Empire, the Caribbean and North American colonies, through the lens of distance, particularly the alternate conceptions of distance hinted at by Defoe, yields surprising results. I argue that while travelers observed growing similarities between the American colonies and the metropole from the late seventeenth century to about 1760, these perceived parallels masked growing divisions between the societies that resulted in revolution. Although commonplace after 1760, some observers began describing the distance, both physical and conceptual, between the Atlantic Archipelago and colonial North America as an insurmountable obstacle to their continued political association as early as the late seventeenth century, long before the crises of the mid-eighteenth century.

Whereas the likenesses between colonial North American society and metropolitan society has attracted the attention of historians,¹¹ the similarity of the climate and social structures between the two regions created an expectation of this result not present in the Caribbean. In the Caribbean, the tropical climate, plantation system, unfamiliar native flora and fauna, and omnipresence of slavery led historians to conclude settler society bore little, if any, resemblance to metropolitan norms.¹² Yet this conclusion is not supported by travelers' observations. I contend that contrary to expectations, travelers regarded Caribbean society as the most proximate part of the Empire outside England itself. In other words, at precisely the moment Colley contends the Scots were finally embracing their place within a unified British state and the American colonies were violently repudiating theirs, travelers rejected the physical distance separating the Caribbean colonies from the metropole and celebrated their embrace of Britishness.

¹¹ See, for example, Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America*, The Penguin History of the United States 1 (New York: Penguin, 2001), 302–4; T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹² The classic example of this is Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*; An example of an attempt to correct Dunn's interpretation is Natalie Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Plan of the Work

I divide the dissertation into three geographic sections corresponding to the three major territorial divisions of the First British Empire. The first section focuses on the Atlantic Archipelago and provides a baseline for travelers' observations before considering those who ventured further afield. In the second section, I turn to England/Britain's North American colonies. While I pay some attention to Britain's Canadian possessions, the available sources dictate greater consideration for those colonies that eventually became the United States. The third and final section examines travelers' reactions to the Caribbean, the region at the greatest physical distance from the metropole but often perceived to be attributionally closer.

Travelers in the Atlantic Archipelago almost all used London as their frame of reference and the city featured prominently in many accounts. As they moved about the islands, travelers found attributional and historical markers to delineate internal peripheries, mostly in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Travelers found far more evidence of cultural distance from London at the physical margins of the Atlantic Archipelago, closely aligning the internal peripheries with those areas least likely to embrace the emerging Britishness Colley describes, at least before the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Within England, where travelers observed a sense of distance from the metropole, they based their assessments primarily on appraisals of architectural and religious non-conformity. While observers described other instances of attributional difference from the metropole within England, they treated them as isolated phenomenon rather than part of larger patterns capable of delineating a region as an internal periphery. Outside England, travelers to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland perceived the greatest distance in domestic architecture of towns and villages rather than the houses of the gentry or nobility. In Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, observations on each

region's dress, language, religion, and social customs also reinforced the physical distance between core and periphery. However, while travelers observed a reduction in attributional distance in the eighteenth century as the various parts of the Atlantic Archipelago coalesced around a British norm, Ireland remained physically and attributionally distant.

In the second section, I discuss how travelers to the North American colonies observed increasing attributional similarity with the metropole as the colonies matured. Architecturally, after early focus on shelter for survival's sake, colonists created dwellings and towns using styles, techniques, and materials familiar to them from their metropolitan home regions. As colonial society developed and became more prosperous, travelers noted increasing consumption of British goods, especially clothing. By the mid-eighteenth century, many travelers concluded that American society, at least the visible aspects of it, approximated the metropolitan norm.

Paradoxically, rather than reducing the perceived distance between colony and metropole, the attributional similarity of the colonies highlighted the growing political divide between them and Britain for many travelers. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, travelers commented on the independent spirit of many Americans, and the sense that this undermined the proper exercise of order and power in the colonies. Particularly troubling to these travelers was the apparent union of several dissenting religious traditions and governance in the New England colonies. Several authors, aware of this background and noting the increasing prosperity of the colonies, began predicting, as early as the early eighteenth century, the eventual independence of the American colonies. After the conclusion of the Seven Years War, at a time when many authors viewed the colonies as attributionally indistinguishable from Britain, many of these same authors also believed victory assured the end of the colonies' dependence on Britain.

Unlike their fellow colonists to the north, the Caribbean colonies remained loyal to the metropole throughout the eighteenth century. The third section explores travelers' perceptions of the Caribbean colonies, the most physically distant British possessions not administered by a merchant company. Although the colonies were physically distant, climatologically different from Britain, and distinguished by high proportions of slaves to white inhabitants, travelers found them surprisingly near to the British norm. According to many travelers, the Caribbean colonists were willing to sacrifice comfort to live in houses and towns that conformed (as much as possible) to British architectural norms. Similarly, travelers observed that colonists made every effort to maintain a traditional British diet. Although many travelers stated the climate forced some sartorial concessions from the colonists, their observations stressed attempts at continuity. Overall, despite physical reminders of the colonies' distance from Britain, observers like Sir William Young concluded they were simply like "so many remote counties."¹³

Britain's territorial extent expanded greatly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, injecting issues related to distance into the governance of the empire. Physical and time distance hampered communications with the imperial periphery, whether that periphery lay in northern Scotland, western Ireland, or on the far side of the Atlantic. As communications improved, particularly in the eighteenth century, additional contact with the peripheral regions led to increased attributional conformity, contributing to the development of a British national consciousness, at least in the Atlantic Archipelago. Across the Atlantic, although both the Caribbean and North American colonies showed attributional progress towards the metropolitan norm, travelers to North America increasingly highlighted persistent attributional distance to

¹³ Sir William Young, *Considerations Which May Tend to Promote the Settlement of Our New West-India Colonies, by Encouraging Individuals to Embark in the Undertaking*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for James Robson, 1764), 2–3.

bolster concerns of the colonies' eventual independence. While travelers to the North American colonies worried about their independence, travelers to the Caribbean found, in the most physically distant colonies from the metropole, loyal societies that embraced "Britishness" more than any area outside the metropole.

Travel Narratives

Many types of source material reflect distance. Maps, particularly those with distance scales, provide a quick visual representation of physical distance. Timetables, whether for stage, train, or ship, afford advance knowledge of the time distance between locations. In the eighteenth century, a burgeoning interest in geography and geographical textbooks, especially for children's education, provided another source for understanding physical and time distance. Although it is possible to discern power relationships in maps, and conceptions of the "other" in geographic textbooks, these sources are primarily useful for their insights into contemporary perceptions of physical and time distance, not conceptions of attributional and historical distance.¹⁴

Travel narratives, as source material, overcome the deficiencies of sources like maps, timetables, geographic textbooks, and "descriptions" (the account of a single location, generally a particular city). The movement of the author from one location to the next in a travel narrative implies physical and time distance, providing a sense of distance even when the traveler does not disclose his/her route or the time expended on the journey. But a travel narrative also affords the author a chance to record impressions of the locations visited, often framed through references to the author's point of origin. These impressions, perhaps recorded at the time but generally

¹⁴ For a discussion of the power relationships embodied in maps, see J.W. Crampton, "Maps as Social Constructions: Power, Communication and Visualization," *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 2 (June 2001): 235–52; One particularly illuminating study of the growth of eighteenth-century geography textbooks and children's interactions with them is Johanna M. Smith, "Constructing the Nation: Eighteenth-Century Geographies for Children," *Mosaic (Winnipeg)* 34, no. 2 (June 2001): 133.

reworked at the conclusion of the voyage, create attributional and historical distance based upon how the traveler chose to represent any observed similarities and differences.

It is not simply the marriage of expressions of physical and time distance with attributional and historical that makes travel narratives the best source material for this investigation. The sheer number of travel narratives published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contributes to their usefulness, with multiple accounts of the regions in question allowing for the elimination of outlying perspectives. As Figure 1 (Appendix 1) shows, production of travel narratives steadily increased throughout the period in question, with significant expansion after about 1700 in all three regions, although accounts of North America and the Atlantic Archipelago were consistently more numerous than accounts of the Caribbean. Between 1607 and 1776, publishers and authors printed approximately 815 travel narratives describing the Atlantic Archipelago, North America, and the Caribbean.

That figure is likely lower than it might be, because scholars' definition of what constitutes a travel narrative is very fluid. For the purposes of this study, I maintain that fluidity, never settling on a fixed definition of a travel narrative. In general, those works I consider travel narratives contain a description of at least two locations and observations related to the people in one or more of the locations described. Crucially, travel, real or implied, by the author is not necessary. While this may appear paradoxical, before the eighteenth century few authors presented accounts of their travels in the first person, or even in a narrative. Far more common were encyclopedic collections of descriptions, often imitating Camden's *Britannia* that first appeared (in Latin) at the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁵

¹⁵ Camden's influence extends to modern scholarship, with numerous studies examining his work and its contemporary impact. For a few examples from different periods, see Rudolf B. Gottfried, "The Early Development of the Section on Ireland in Camden's *Britannia*," *ELH* 10, no. 2 (1943): 117–30; William Rockett, "Historical Topography and British History in Camden's *Britannia*," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Reforme* 14,

Defining travel narratives so that they do not need to be autobiographical or embody motion through the areas described places this work in opposition to most scholarship on the issue. For many critics, one of the key distinctions between travel narratives and other literary forms such as the encyclopedia and guidebook is the use of the first-person or autobiographical voice.¹⁶ Paul Fussell, for example, suggests the main point of a guidebook is to provide objective and practical information about a location, while a travel narrative provides this information and the author's personal opinions about a location or journey.¹⁷ For Fussell and William Boring, who believe travel narratives should present an argument and/or moral pedagogy, the use of the first-person reinforces the author's credibility, the sense that they actually visited the places they purport to describe.¹⁸

Problematically, most travel narratives did not adopt this literary structure until the eighteenth century. Before this point, most authors, even those who had demonstrably visited the locations described, presented the results of their travels in encyclopedic or guidebook form, while simultaneously stripping the work of references to their personal journey. Barbara Shapiro argues these older works follow the chorographic tradition established in England by Camden, a tradition regarded as a companion of history and one of the chief genres capable of presenting “matters of

no. 1 (1990): 71–80; William Rockett, “The Structural Plan of Camden’s Britannia,” *Sixteenth Century Journal: Journal of Early Modern Studies* 26, no. 4 (1995): 829–41, doi:10.2307/2543789; Angus Vine, “Copiousness, Conjecture and Collaboration in William Camden’s Britannia,” *Renaissance Studies: Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 2 (2014): 225–241, doi:10.1111/rest.12051; Stuart Morrison, “Viewing the Changing ‘Shape or Pourtraicture of Britain’ in William Camden’s Britannia, 1586-1610,” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 18, no. 1 2 (2015).

¹⁶ Indeed, Dinah Birch, ed., “Travel Writing,” *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), <http://www.oxfordreference.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780192806871.001.0001/acref-9780192806871-e-7593> argues that a “straightforward definition [of travel writing] would identify travel texts as first-person accounts by authors who have experienced the events they describe.”

¹⁷ Fussell is quoted in Sharon Rogers Brown, *American Travel Narratives as a Literary Genre from 1542 to 1832: The Art of a Perpetual Journey* (Lewiston N.Y: E. Mellen Press, 1993), 12.

¹⁸ Fussell and Boring are both quoted in *ibid.*, 12–13.

fact.”¹⁹ Writing in this fashion helped to emphasize the factual and practical knowledge gained from travel, and highlighted travelers’ ability to observe the world around them in accordance with the instructions for travelers set out in such books as Robert Boyle’s *General heads for the natural history of a country great or small drawn out for the use of travellers and navigators*.²⁰ As Matthias Buschmeier argues, the rupture between travel literature as Fussell and Boring conceive it and the more objective genres of geography, statistics, and chorography only occurred in the eighteenth century, despite both traditions remaining interested in portraying the world as the traveler viewed it in the immediate instant.²¹

Even with the emergence of more literary travel narratives in the eighteenth century and the rise of the first person account, many eighteenth-century travel narratives retain a certain chorographical quality. Defoe’s *Tour*, for example, describes his supposed physical journey around England, Wales, and Scotland, but slips out of the first person into lengthy descriptions of various towns and noble houses that often differ little (if at all) from accounts of the same locations in seventeenth century guidebooks or encyclopedic accounts. Defoe’s *Tour* also illustrates the tension between travel literature and the novel: once uncoupled from “objective” geography and statistics, travel literature straddles the line between “inventory and invention,” to borrow Jean Vivies’s phrase.²² While a fictional travel narrative like *Robinson Crusoe* clearly exemplifies invention, the

¹⁹ Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 63–66.

²⁰ Robert Boyle, *General Heads for the Natural History of a Country Great or Small Drawn out for the Use of Travellers and Navigators / Imparted by ... Robert Boyle ...; to Which Is Added, Other Directions for Navigators, Etc. with Particular Observations of the Most Noted Countries in the World; by Another Hand.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for John Taylor ... and S. Hedford, 1692).

²¹ Matthias Buschmeier, “Fantasies of Immediacy, Or, the Boundaries of the Book in Eighteenth Century Travel Narratives,” *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, no. 57–58 (2010), doi:10.7202/1006513ar.

²² Jean Vivies, *English Travel Narratives in the Eighteenth Century: Exploring Genres*, trans. Claire Davison, *Studies in Early Modern English Literature* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 29; For additional studies of the relationship between travel literature and novels, see Percy G Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the*

constructed journeys of the *Tour* filled with inventories of real observations inhabits a fine middle ground. For Barbara Shapiro, this middle ground, where the third-person chorographic blends with the first-person narrative of a journey, shows the continuity between eighteenth-century travel accounts and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chorographical texts like Camden's *Britannia*.²³

Because critics like Fussell and Boring emphasize the autobiographical dimension of travel narratives, they overlook older travel narratives in the chorographical tradition. Many other scholars date the emergence of travel narratives to the eighteenth century.²⁴ By noting the crossover between chorography and travel narratives, Shapiro and Percy Adams backdate the development of travel narratives to the late sixteenth century, if not earlier.²⁵ Adoption of a similar perspective in this work leads me to consider a travel narrative to be any work, written in the first or third person, structured as a narrative or encyclopedic entries, that describes at least two locations. Additionally, I embrace Adams's conclusion that travel narratives are "not just an objective report, a description, of places and people seen, of inns visited, food eaten; much more often [they are] a subjective interpretation – 'observation' is a favorite term – of scenes and of political, religious, and social events or situations."²⁶ By adopting such a definition, I am able to

Novel (Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 1983); J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction*, 1st ed (New York: Norton, 1990), 351–54.

²³ Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 63–65, 70–76.

²⁴ James D. Hart and Phillip W. Leininger, eds., *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) neglects a discussion of travel narratives altogether; Myra Jehlen, "The Literature of Colonization," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature Volume 1: 1590-1820*, by Sacvan Bercovitch, vol. 1, 8 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) only considers travel narratives after 1760; Prof. Alain Bony, in the prefatory essay to Vivies, *English Travel Narratives in the Eighteenth Century*, 3 argues Addison's travel narrative of 1705 opens an epoch of travel narratives; Susan Lamb, *Bringing Travel Home to England: Tourism, Gender, and Imaginative Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009) does not provide a date for the emergence of travel literature as a genre, but only discusses the eighteenth century.

²⁵ Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 66–67 discusses Camden and Stowe, both active in the late sixteenth century, as early British chorographers; Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, 49 dates the emergence of travel literature to the early sixteenth century as Europeans sought to learn more about the "New World."

²⁶ Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, 280.

consider works as different in form as Camden's *Britannia* (chorographic, encyclopedic) and Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (autobiographical, narrative), to take examples from the general chronological boundaries of this study. Furthermore, as Shapiro argues, the chorographies of the seventeenth century continued into the eighteenth as natural histories and/or “present state” accounts.²⁷ Typically lacking an autobiographic component, these works nevertheless often contain descriptions of the people of a region, in addition to information about the travel required to get there. Additionally, the list of topics Boyle recommended for study and the typical observations in chorographic works correspond nicely with the attributes that produced altered perceptions of distance, reinforcing their validity for this study.

Without a firm conception of what constitutes a travel narrative, library catalogues lack a unified subject category to encapsulate such works. To find sources for this work, I relied on several bibliographies of travel narratives. The most valuable were *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel* compiled by Edward Cox in the 1930s and 1940s and the recent *Global Odyssey*.²⁸ Additionally, I used subject searches in WorldCat, Early English Books Online, and Eighteenth Century Collections Online to uncover any additional works the printed bibliographies may have overlooked. Due to the definitional issues discussed above regarding the genre of travel literature, the only way to ensure the works listed in my bibliography were truly travel narratives was to examine them personally. In order to make my task more manageable, and to most

²⁷ Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 68.

²⁸ Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel: Including Tours, Descriptions, Towns, Histories and Antiquities, Surveys, Ancient and Present State, Gardening, Etc.*, vol. 2, 3 vols., University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature 10 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1935); Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel: Including Tours, Descriptions, Towns, Histories and Antiquities, Surveys, Ancient and Present State, Gardening, Etc.*, vol. 3, 3 vols., University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature 12 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1949); Melissa S Van Vuuren and Angela Courtney, *Global Odyssey: A Bibliography of Travel Literature before 1940* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 2006). Additional bibliographies and reference works are listed in the bibliography.

accurately represent the authors/travelers' impressions, I limited myself to first editions (where possible), published works, and works in English. While there are undoubtedly some sources I missed, I made every effort possible to consider every traveler's account of the Atlantic Archipelago and Britain's colonies in North America and the Caribbean.

Distance

Distance and measurement are inextricably intertwined. Distance is an expression of measurement, which is, as Ken Alder argues,

...the language of commerce, industry, and daily life. Measures are the language we use when we want to know how many, how often, how fast; whenever we want to buy or sell with exactitude. Measures are the standards against which we strike agreements and quantify our differences. Measures are the numbers we trust. Yet like most of those things we trust, we take measurement for granted. Indeed, measurement is so ubiquitous as to be invisible. Measurement is so ordinary, so 'settled' that many people understandably consider it banal.²⁹

As anyone who has ever conducted business abroad knows, the banality of measurement quickly disappears when one attempts to determine how a quantity of a good, measured in different units, compares to a more familiar quantity. For example, a liter of petrol in one country may seem reasonably priced, until one performs all of the necessary conversions (liters to gallons, euros to dollars), at which point any appearance of "fair price" flies out the window. Far from such mundane issues, differing standards of measurement have practical, real world consequences.³⁰

Over time, mathematicians and others sought solutions to the problems associated with different standards of measurement. Beginning with the Egyptian and Sumerian cubit, measurement evolved to the metric system, supposedly a purely rational system.³¹ In many

²⁹ Ken Alder, *The Measure of the World*, ed. Robert Kearns, Dibner Library Lecture (Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution Libraries, 2003), 12.

³⁰ See, for example, Andrew Pollack, "Missing What Didn't Add Up, NASA Subtracted an Orbiter," *New York Times*, October 1, 1999, sec. A which documents the catastrophic results of computational errors derived from using both metric and standard units on the same project.

³¹ For a history of the cubit and efforts before the development of the metric system to replace it with a more rational standard, see Alex Hebra, *Measure for Measure: The Story of Imperial, Metric, and Other Units*

countries, political considerations thwarted the hopes of the creators of the metric system. As a result, there is still an interesting admixture of measurement units across the globe. Nowhere is this more evident than in Britain, which preserved pre-1800 systems of distance measurement (feet, miles) but adopted the metric system for weights (grams, liters).

If there is not one global, unified standard for measurement, with all the potential for inconvenient results that comes with such a situation, why do humans insist on attaching measurements to things? The philosopher A. Cornelius Benjamin took up this question in 1933. His impression of the scientific community's answer was that "we measure because quantitative concepts give us an insight into the character of the world which could not possibly be gained by purely qualitative notions. Quantity is, in fact, fundamentally more rational than quality."³² Replacing a sensory expression with a quantitative measurement seems more real, more logical, and presumably carries a greater weight when arguing the truth of a matter. The presence of a numerical weight generates a sense of trust and exactitude, a sense of knowledge about an object unobtainable just from the exertion of the senses.

Measurement is thus an epistemological process, constructing knowledge about the world around us. As it generally has its roots in science, we expect measurement to be objective and rational. One of the reasons that distance measurement often fails to live up to the objective standards we wish it to is because humans are involved. As Alan Henrikson argues, "The *phenomenology* of distance, that is, the knowing and experiencing of distance, is at once a matter of reality and of ideas and images. Objective distances and subjective distances are different

(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 23–25; For a discussion of the impetus behind the metric system, see Robert Tavernor, *Smoot's Ear: The Measure of Humanity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 12.

³² A. Cornelius Benjamin, "The Logic of Measurement," *The Journal of Philosophy* 30, no. 26 (December 21, 1933): 702, doi:10.2307/2015740.

definitionally. In the mind, however, where the phenomenon of distance is apprehended, they merge.”³³ In other words, while our GPS units may tell us that route Y is longer objectively, subjectively we see route X as longer because more difficult terrain requires more concentration and thus produces greater exhaustion and a “feeling” of distance. Given such human projections onto the concept of distance, it is easy to see how objectivity begins to break down.

Without objectivity, distance becomes an expression of perception. Although there are many perceptions of distance, physical distance and distance expressed as time are the most foundational. Only physical and time distances can be used to fix a location spatially. Other conceptions of distance, such as attributional (distance based on cultural similarity/dissimilarity) and historical (distance based on the relative development of different regions), modify an individual’s cognitive map, reordering the spaces of the world and consequently adjusting the perception of physical and time distance. Thus, to understand the role of attributional and historical distance in the British Atlantic, it is first necessary to see how travelers understood the physical distances and time necessary to complete their journeys.

Physical Distance

Physical distance is perhaps the most easily understood type of distance with which we are concerned. Although not without its problematic aspects, as partially outlined above, it remains a straightforward concept. Simply stated, physical distance is the distance from one place to another, expressed in a numerical value of a certain unit of length. Because this work is concerned with the British Atlantic, the units of length most commonly seen are the foot, the yard, the mile, and the league.

³³ Alan K. Henrikson, “Distance and Foreign Policy: A Political Geography Approach,” *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale de Science Politique* 23, no. 4 (October 1, 2002): 443.

Even within the British Empire, unified under a central administration in London, differences in measurement persisted throughout the period in question. Just as some countries have adopted the metric system for measurement, and others have clung to the imperial system,³⁴ when England and Scotland united to form Great Britain in 1707 they retained their respective standards of measurement. A necessary measure to preserve distances expressed in land deeds, the settlement created the bizarre situation whereby until the Imperial Weights and Measures Act passed in 1824, over one hundred years after the Union, a mile in England and Wales was 5,280 feet, a mile in Scotland was defined as 5,952 English feet, and in Ireland a mile was an incredible 6,720 English feet, 1,440 feet longer than in England.³⁵ While these differences can pose difficulties for the modern historian of distance, it is clear from the documentary record that they were just as likely to inspire confusion amongst contemporary travelers.

For example, when the poet John Taylor reached Scotland in the early seventeenth century, the difference between English and Scottish measurements struck him as a source of confusion for travelers. Interestingly, his impression seems to have been more of a hunch than a statement of fact, suggesting travelers may have been unaware of potential regional differences in measurement: “my first nights Lodging in *Scotland* was at a place called Mophot [Moffat], which they say is thirty miles from *Carlile* [Carlisle], but I suppose them to be longer then forty of such

³⁴ Hebra, *Measure for Measure*, ix lists the United States, Yemen, Burma/Myanmar, and Brunei as the countries that had not adopted the metric system; Ken Alder, *The Measure of All Things: The Seven-Year Odyssey and Hidden Error That Transformed the World* (New York: The Free Press, 2002), 326 states the United States, Burma/Myanmar, and Liberia had not adopted the metric system. I can find no reason for the discrepancy between these two lists. Unfortunately, the Bureau International des Poids et Mesures (BIPM), which governs the International System of Units (SI), does not provide a list of nations which have adopted the metric system on its organizational website (www.bipm.org).

³⁵ Ronald Edward Zupko, *British Weights & Measures: A History from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 141. The Welsh mile was the same as the English mile. The difference in length for the Scottish mile is partially explained by a difference in the basic unit of measurement - the inch. A Scottish inch prior to 1824 was 1.0054054 English inches. However, this accounts for only an extra 28.5 feet per Scottish mile, leaving roughly 643 feet unexplainable except by reference to regional variation.

miles as are betwixt *London* and *S. Albanes*, (but indeed the Scots doe allow almost as large measure of their miles, as they doe of their drinke, for an English Gallon either of Ale or Wine, is but their quart, and one Scottish mile now and then may well stand for a mile and a halfe or two English).”³⁶ In this instance, Taylor is both correct and incorrect. While the Scots mile was longer than the English (5952 feet compared to 5280 feet), it was not nearly one and a half or two times the length of its English counterpart.³⁷ Taylor is, however, largely correct about the relationship between the liquid measurements of the Scots and English. English gallons of wine contained 231 cubic inches of liquid, while a gallon of beer or ale was 282 cubic inches. A Scottish quart contained 206.808 English cubic inches of liquid, making Taylor’s assertion nearly correct.³⁸

Confusion about the differences between Scottish and English distances caused travelers to assume similar differences held even in those areas of the Atlantic Archipelago using the same standards of measurement. For example, when John Taylor ventured into Wales thirty-five years after his trip to Scotland referenced above, he concluded that Welsh miles were not the same as those in England:

Thus having travelled from *Aberconwy* to *Beumorris* and to *Bangor*, Tuesday 3. *August*, which in all they are pleased to call 14 miles, but most of the Welsh miles are large *London* measure, not anyone of them but hath a hand bredth or small cante³⁹ at each end, by which means, what they want in broadness, they have it in length; besides the ascending and descending almost impassable mountains, and Break-neck stony ways, doth make such Travellers as my selfe, judge that they were no Misers in measuring their miles; besides, the land is courser then it is in most parts about *London*,

³⁶ John Taylor, *The Pennyles Pilgrimage, or The Money-Lesse Perambulation, of Iohn Taylor, Alias the Kings Majesties Water-Poet How He Trauailed on Foot from London to Edenborough in Scotland, Not Carrying Any Money to or Fro, Neither Begging, Borrowing, or Asking Meate, Drinke or Lodging. With His Description of His Entertainment in All Places of His Journey, and a True Report of the Vnmatchable Hunting in the Brea of Marre and Badenoch in Scotland. With Other Obseruations, Some Serious and Worthy of Memory, and Some Merry and Not Hurtfull to Be Remembred. Lastly That (Which Is Rare in a Trauailer) All Is True.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by Edw: All-de, at the charges of the author, 1618), Unnumbered page 23.

³⁷ Zupko, *British Weights & Measures*, 143.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 149–51.

³⁹ “Cante, N.,” *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed September 17, 2016, <http://www.oed.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/Entry/27278> In this context, almost certainly referring to “a segment.”

which makes them to afford the larger measure: for course Broad-cloath is not at the rate of Velvet or Satten.⁴⁰

As a result, the distances he reported in the work consistently underestimated the actual distance between places by an average of twenty-six percent.⁴¹ In this case, awareness of regional differences (perhaps based on his earlier journey to Scotland) in measuring practices influenced the perception of distance where there was no basis in reality for assuming a different unit of measurement.

Despite instances of confusion as travelers crossed regional borders, travelers in the Atlantic Archipelago could be relatively sure of the length of their journey, expressed in either physical units or time, before the journey even began. The development of a connected road network in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries facilitated travel but also made the route between locations regular and predictable. While weather could influence the time between cities, the resulting delays rarely exceeded a day or two.⁴²

⁴⁰ John Taylor, *A Short Relation of a Long Journey, Made Round or Ovall by Encompassing the Principallitie of Wales, from London, through and by the Counties of Middlesex and Buckingham, Berks, Oxonia, Warwick, Stafford, Chester, Flint, Denbigh, Anglesey, Carnarvan, Merioneth, Cardigan, Pembroke, Caermarden, Glamorgan, Monmouth, Gloucester, &c.*, Early English Books Online (London, 1653), 13.

⁴¹ This was calculated by comparing the distance between locations which Taylor gives in the work with the walking distance as calculated by Google Maps. Of course, it is impossible to know how similar the modern route is to the one Taylor would have taken, but as many modern roads tend to follow routes long established, the degree of error is unlikely to be dramatic.

⁴² Particularly before the efforts of engineers like Thomas Telford and John Loudon McAdam in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries improved road surfaces and drainage. For an account of Telford's life, see Roland Paxton, "Telford, Thomas (1757-1834)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/27107> who describes Telford as one of the most prominent civil engineers of the early nineteenth century. His work was primarily tied to the British Fisheries Society and their quest to build new towns linked by improved communications throughout the Scottish Highlands. To this end, not only did he assist in the development of several towns, he was also the chief engineer for the Caledonian Canal and the Highland Roads and Bridges Commission. However, Telford's roads relied on extensive (and costly) preparations and construction, ultimately making his construction methods less favorable than those championed by McAdam. For more on Telford, the British Fisheries Society, and the Highland Roads and Bridges Commission, see Jeter-Boldt, "The Greatest Improvement of Any Country"; For more on McAdam, see Brenda J. Buchanan, "McAdam, John Loudon (1756-1836)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/17325> who describes McAdam as "The first systematic builder and administrator of roads in Britain since Roman times." Whereas Telford divided his attention between roads, bridges, ports, and canals, McAdam focused solely on road improvement and development. His roads relied on a much simpler foundation of well-drained soil topped with

Efforts to develop the road network in the Atlantic Archipelago and foreknowledge of travel distances went hand-in-hand. With the development of an integrated road network radiating out from London, authors and geographers began publishing road books to guide travelers and merchants. These road books described the roads leading out of London first, and then listed major cross streets second.⁴³ The road books typically provided a map of the route to the traveler and occasionally added details about interesting places along the way.⁴⁴ Many also contained distance charts, showing the distance to various cities from London. By prioritizing London as the starting location for all maps and distance charts, road books conditioned travelers and observers to see London as the center of the nation and the starting point for all measurements, whether physical or attributional.⁴⁵

crushed gravel than Telford's more elaborate stone base. In the long-run, McAdam's design proved to be more cost-effective, and entered into the common terminology as macadamized roads (later known as tarmacadam or tarmac after tar was added to reduce the dust early cars generated).

⁴³ See, for example John Ogilby, *Britannia, Volume the First, Or, An Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales by a Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Roads Thereof, Actually Admeasured and Delineated in a Century of Whole-Sheet Copper-Sculps: Accomodated with the Ichnography of the Several Cities and Capital Towns, and Completed by an Accurate Account of the More Remarkable Passages of Antiquity: Together with a Novel Discourse of the Present State / by John Ogilby ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by the author, 1675). Ogilby actually provides a lengthy textual description of London before beginning his description of the roads emanating from the city; Thomas Kitchin, *Kitchin's Post-Chaise Companion, through England and Wales; Containing All the Ancient and New Additional Roads, with Every Topographical Detail Relating Therto. By Thomas Kitchin, for the Use of Travellers, on One Hundred and Three Copper Plates.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for John Bowles, at No ..., in Cornhill; Carington Bowles, at No 69, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and Robert Sayer, at No 53, in Fleet-Street, 1767); Laurence Worms, "Kitchin, Thomas (1719-1784)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/37637> describes Kitchin by his prolific work, which included several important maps of Scotland and numerous atlases and road maps covering England and Wales. He was an apprentice of Emanuel Bowen and in that capacity worked alongside Thomas Jefferys, another prominent geographer and engraver of the late eighteenth century.

⁴⁴ Brian Findlay, "Road Book," ed. Michael F. Suarez, S.J. Woudhuysen, and H.R. Woudhuysen, *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), <http://www.oxfordreference.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606536.001.0001/acref-9780198606536-e-4140> argues that the addition of details of interest to the traveler did not begin until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁵ Daniel Paterson, *A New and Accurate Description of All the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in Great Britain. ... By Daniel Paterson, ...*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for T. Carnan, 1771) displays all of these characteristics. Paterson provided brief notations for points of interest along the route (typically notable houses). He listed distances between landmarks in one column while a running total of the distance from London (or the city of origin for cross-streets) appeared in another. Although Paterson delineated routes in Scotland,

Like travelers to those areas of the Atlantic Archipelago not typically covered by the road books, those who ventured across the Atlantic rarely knew the physical distance they covered.⁴⁶ Only a small fraction of the English/British authors who described West Indian locations chose to record information about their journey to the islands, and not all of those works provide the necessary information for a modern reader to discern the route and distance involved. Of this already small number, only five authors provided a figure for the physical distance of the journey, and one of those authors (N. N.) described the distances involved for Spanish ships on the most common route from Spain to the Caribbean, suggesting that he used source material other than first-hand experience. As Figure 2 (Appendix Two) shows, three of the other four authors who provided an account of the physical distance underestimated the actual distance involved by over ten percent.

One of the limiting factors in accurately appreciating the distance (physical or time) involved in the journey from Europe to the Caribbean was undoubtedly the difficulty crews and passengers faced in working out their longitudinal position before the development of an instrument capable of accurately measuring east-west position. In the 1735 work *A Voyage to*

he dodged the thorny issue of the mileage by measuring all distances from Edinburgh rather than London, although the mileages do appear to be in English units rather than Scottish. Elizabeth Baigent, "Paterson, Daniel (1738-1825)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/21528> notes Paterson was an army officer; indeed, most of his geographic works were published while he was an assistant to the quartermaster-general at the Horse Guards, London. Although he became lieutenant-governor of Quebec in 1812, a position he maintained until his death, there is no evidence he ever traveled to Canada, although he may have spent time in Grenada at some point.

⁴⁶ At least one author explicitly compared the difficulty reaching the more distant parts of the Atlantic Archipelago (the Highlands) to crossing the Atlantic. See Edward Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London; Containing the Description of a Capital Town in That Northern Country; with An Account of Some Uncommon Customs of the Inhabitants: Likewise An Account of the Highlands, with the Customs and Manners of the Highlanders. To Which Is Added, A Letter Relating to the Military Ways among the Mountains, Began in the Year 1726. The Whole Interspers'd with Facts and Circumstances Intirely New to the Generality of People in England, and Little Known in the Southern Parts of Scotland. In Two Volumes. ...*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for S. Birt, in Ave-Maria-Lane, 1754), 5.

Guinea, Brasil and the West-Indies, John Atkins⁴⁷ described the difficulties mariners faced, noting they were forced to rely on charts of the sun's rising and setting at various principal ports and imprecise watches to estimate their east/west position.⁴⁸ As ships may not have departed from one of the places for which they possessed a chart of the precise times of dawn and dusk, this method of calculating longitude offered approximate positions at best. In turn, this may explain some of the difficulty the authors faced in estimating the physical distance their voyage had covered. The authors probably had an idea of the distance the voyage planned to cover before setting out, but the influence of the winds and currents would obviously alter this to some degree. Without an accurate way to determine east-west movement, however, the authors could only guess, based on the time elapsed, to what degree their planned voyage changed.

Despite more recorded voyages to the North American colonies during the period covered by this work, a similarly small proportion of works recorded the author's estimation of the physical distance involved in the journey. However, unlike observations of the physical distance covered to reach the Caribbean, travelers to North America had an accurate sense of the distance involved, with only one of the six observers documented in Figure 3 (Appendix Two) erring by more than five percent, and that voyage was not a trans-Atlantic trip but a coastal voyage from Plymouth to

⁴⁷ J Watt, "Atkins, John (Bap. 1685, D. 1757)," ed. H.C.G. Matthew, Brian Harrison, and Lawrence Goldman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/840> describes Atkins as a prominent naval surgeon whose career never matched his abilities. He was also the first to describe several tropical diseases, became an early proponent of the modern triage system, and became an abolitionist following his voyage to Africa.

⁴⁸ John Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies; in His Majesty's Ships, the Swallow and Weymouth. Describing the Several Islands and Settlements, Viz-Madeira, the Canaries, Cape de Verd, Sierraleon, Sesthos, Cape Apollonia, Cabo Corso, and Others on the Guinea Coast; Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c. in the West-Indies. The Colour, Diet, Languages, Habits, Manners, Customs, and Religions of the Respective Natives, and Inhabitants. With Remarks on the Gold, Ivory, and Slave-Trade; and on the Winds, Tides and Currents of the Several Coasts*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler, 1735), 203–4; For a quick summary of the problem of longitude and its solution, see Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance*, 12–13.

Jamestown. Unfortunately, none of the authors recorded the basis for their reported distance, making the source of their accuracy impossible to determine.

Travelers who did not record the distance of their voyage often did report their ports of embarkation and arrival. This information allows for a rough determination of the typical distance involved in travel to the Caribbean or North America. On average, as Figure 2 shows, travelers to the Caribbean covered about 3,600 miles. Most of the routes represented in the chart involved journeying south, with possible stops in Madeira or the Canaries, before seeking the trade winds to the west. Because the trade winds were too far south to assist with the voyage to North America, the routes from the Atlantic Archipelago tended to be more direct. As Figure 3 shows, the more direct routes to the North American colonies resulted in a voyage that was, on average, about 700 miles shorter than the corresponding trip to the Caribbean.

Time Distance

Given the practical difficulties associated with measuring physical distance at sea in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most travelers privileged perceptions of time distance over physical. Although outside factors like weather and technological advances could alter the physical distance between places, the application of these factors caused far greater fluctuations in time distance. Even so, travelers found it easy to record the passing of days, leading time distance to be a more reliable reflection of a voyage's duration in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Whereas physical distance is rather fixed, changing only due to alterations in the route or the precision of the instruments employed in measuring distance, time distance is heavily relative, depending upon a number of variables, such as method of transportation, weather, even the physical characteristics of the individual traveler. Additionally, to a greater degree than physical distance, time distance is capable of modification based on the perceptions of the observer.

While I describe time distance second, it is most likely the first expression of distance humankind adopted. As Iain Morley argues, in prehistoric societies it was far more important to know if a source of food or water was within a day's journey than the number of feet (or the equivalent prehistoric unit) crossed to get there. Even today, in situations where distance is commonly expressed in standardized divisions, many people imitate their ancestors by reflexively converting this information into an expression of the time needed to cover that distance.⁴⁹ As technology has advanced, conceptions of near and far based on time distance have changed, particularly where rapid transport made long-distance journeys possible. Few people, for example, when asked how long a flight from New York to London is, would respond with a mileage. Rather, the typical response is of the number of hours in the air, because it gives a better impression of the investment necessary to reach one point from another.

Because technology reduces the amount of time between two places while the physical distance between them remains constant, it produces a phenomenon human geographers refer to as time-space compression. According to Barney Warf, "By accelerating the velocities of people, goods and information, the world is made to feel smaller even as social interactions are stretched over larger physical distances. The word 'compression' is, therefore, misleading: time-space compression in fact is an *expansion* in the spatial extent and range of social activities."⁵⁰ While most authors point to the development of the steam engine, deployed in railroads and steamships, as the starting point for rapid time-space compression, others note the development of improved

⁴⁹ Iain Morley, "Conceptualising Quantification before Settlement: Activities and Issues Underlying the Conception and Use of Measurement," in *The Archaeology of Measurement*, ed. Iain Morley and Colin Renfrew (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 11.

⁵⁰ Barney Warf, "Teaching Time-Space Compression," *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 35, no. 2 (May 2011): 145; For more on the subject of time-space compression, see Barney Warf, "Excavating the Prehistory of Time-Space Compression," *The Geographical Review* 101, no. 3 (2011): 435–46; For a historical work that addresses this theme, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1986).

roads and stagecoach services in the eighteenth century caused the first significant declines in travel times between cities.⁵¹ Even with the development of turnpike and other improved roads, weather could influence the time between cities, offsetting some of the time gains. Thus, for most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the time distance required to traverse the roads of the Atlantic Archipelago remained a highly subjective measurement. The method of transportation greatly influenced the amount of time taken, as did the condition of the road.

Just as the time distance of a road journey varied based on the mode of transportation utilized, the route, and the condition of the road, numerous variables influenced the time distance of voyages across the Atlantic. Throughout the period in question, time distance varied based on the route chosen, the type of ship employed, and the time of year the author sailed. However, unlike land transportation, there was no technological development in sailing capable of producing any sense of time-space compression.⁵² As Figures 2 and 3 show, average speeds of voyages to the Caribbean or North America remained relatively constant throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While the Caribbean data shows some increase in speed towards the latter half of the eighteenth century, the small sample size does not allow for the identification of a trend rather than a coincidental cluster of voyages positively influenced by one or more of the variables identified above.

Regardless of whether a traveler's destination was the Caribbean or North America, the travel narratives consistently describe a long voyage. On average, journeys to the North American colonies required about sixty-one days. William Penn, proprietor of the Pennsylvania colony, in recounting the sailing duration of twenty-four ships to Pennsylvania in the course of one year

⁵¹ Warf, "Excavating the Prehistory of Time-Space Compression," 439.

⁵² For a discussion of technological innovation in sailing ships, see Howard Irving Chapelle, *The Search for Speed under Sail, 1700-1855*, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 1967).

(which year he does not specify) in the seventeenth century, recorded that nineteen of the twenty-four completed the voyage in six to nine weeks, suggesting an average of sixty-one days is relatively accurate.⁵³ This was almost three weeks longer than the forty-three day average for voyages to the Caribbean, despite the fact that the physical distance covered was, on average, seven hundred miles less.

The predominant routes to the Caribbean and the resulting differences in the prevailing wind and water currents explains the higher average speed of ships traveling to the Caribbean, and consequently the shorter travel time despite the longer physical distance. As Charles Leslie observed on his voyage to the Caribbean, the most common route involved sailing south to Madeira to get “the Trade Winds, which carried us with an easy Quickness, at the Rate of two Leagues, or six Knots, an Hour.”⁵⁴ On the more direct route between Britain and the North American colonies preferred by mariners, there were no trade winds to aid the voyage. In fact, as the anonymous author of the 1648 tract *A perfect description of Virginia* noted, the westward journey to North America took much longer than the return voyage home because “the Winds commonly serving more constantly, being Westerly homeward, the Easterly outward bound.”⁵⁵ Thus although the

⁵³ William Penn, *A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania and Its Improvements for the Satisfaction of Those That Are Adventurers, and Enclined to Be So.*, Early English Books Online (London, 1685), 19.

⁵⁴ Charles Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica. Wherein the Antient and Present State of the Colony, Its Importance to Great Britain, Laws, Trade, Manners and Religion, Together with the Most Remarkable and Curious Animals, Plants, Trees, &c. Are Described: With a Particular Account of the Sacrifices, Libations, &c. At This Day in Use among the Negroes*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Edinburgh: Printed by R. Fleming, for A. Kincaid, 1739), 6. Leslie’s account of Jamaica is one of the most cited eighteenth-century works covering the island, yet little is known about the author. Cambridge University Press, in the frontmatter accompanying their 2015 reprinting of the second edition, also notes that little is known about the author. He has no entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. All that we know about his life is contained within his book, and that provides little information beyond the fact that his family had a commercial interest in Jamaica.

⁵⁵ Wind directions are given in the directions they originate from, not the direction they are blowing in, which explains the apparent reversal in the author’s statement. In the North Atlantic, and most of North America, the predominant winds originate in the west. Anon., *A Perfect Description of Virginia: Being, a Full and True Relation of the Present State of the Plantation, Their Health, Peace, and Plenty: The Number of People, with Their Abundance of Cattell, Fowl, Fish, &c. with Severall Sorts of Rich and Good Commodities, Which May There Be Had, Either Naturally, or by Art and Labour. Which We Are Fain to Procure from Spain, France, Denmark,*

direct route from the Atlantic Archipelago was shorter in terms of physical distance, the choices of those plying the oceans increased the time distance of the journey.

Some authors recognized that this was an issue for prospective colonists. Former Virginian planter William Bullock, writing in 1649, sagely suggested that “the best and cheapest way” for travelers planning a voyage to Virginia, was to find a ship that was going “above 200 leagues out of the way, hauling over to the *Azores* or *Western* Islands, for the advantage of the wind.”⁵⁶ However, if a traveler was unable to find a ship using this route, Bullock suggested the traveler might also attempt to join one of the vessels engaged in fishing the Grand Banks off the coast of Newfoundland, which typically sailed in March to take advantage of easterly winds in the North Atlantic.⁵⁷ Although impossible to generalize from one author’s account, Bullock’s suggestions

Swedeland, Germany, Poland, Yea, from the East-Indies. There Having Been Nothing Related of the True Estate of This Plantation These 25 Years. Being Sent from Virginia, at the Request of a Gentleman of Worthy Note, Who Desired to Know the True State of Virginia as It Now Stands. Also, a Narration of the Countrey, within a Few Dayes Journey of Virginia, West and by South, Where People Come to Trade: Being Related to the Governour, Sir William Berckley, Who Is to Go Himselfe to Discover It with 30 Horse, and 50 Foot, and Other Things Needfull for His Enterprize. With the Manner How the Emperor Nichotawance Came to Sir William Berckley, Attended with Five Petty Kings, to Doe Homage, and Bring Tribute to King Charles. With His Solemne Protestation, That the Sun and Moon Should Lose Their Lights before He (or His People in That Country) Should Prove Disloyall, but Ever to Keepe Faith and Allegiance to King Charles., Early English Books Online (London: Prind [sic] for Richard Wodenoth, at the Star under Peters Church in Cornhill, 1648), 5; See also William Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America. ... By William Douglass, M.D. ...*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Boston, N.E.: Printed and sold by Rogers and Fowle in Queen-Street, 1749), 220–21 who argues that the wind and the common swell of the ocean, both moving west to east, made the journey from Europe to the New World much longer than the return trip.

⁵⁶ William Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined, and Left to Publick View, to Be Considered by All Iudicious and Honest Men under Which Title Is Comprehended the Degrees from 34 to 39, Wherein Lyes the Rich and Healthfull Countries of Roanock, the Now Plantations of Virginia and Mary-Land ... / by William Bullock, Gent.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by John Hammond, 1649), 48; Peter Thompson, “William Bullock’s ‘Strange Adventure’: A Plan to Transform Seventeenth-Century Virginia,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 61, no. 1 (January 1, 2004): 107–8, doi:10.2307/3491677 notes that very little is known about Bullock’s life, although he appears to have lost several thousand pounds attempting to expand his father’s estate in Virginia during the 1640s. His writings appear designed to encourage reformation of Virginia’s governance and economy, although from internal evidence Bullock appears to have composed it after his return to London sometime about 1649.

⁵⁷ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 51.

imply that the duration of the voyage might have disincentivized some travelers and prospective colonists.

For those authors who took a broader view of the situation, the duration of the voyage was not a large issue. As Robert Johnson argued in 1609, “the voyage is not long nor tedious, give [five] weekes at ease will send us thither, whereas five months suffice not to some other places where we trade.”⁵⁸ Although Johnson seems to have overestimated the ease of travel to the North American colonies, his recognition of the altered perception of distance created by a truly global trading network provides an important explanation for why many travelers neglected to describe the distances involved in journeys to North America and the Caribbean. Other authors eschewed the global perspective for a consideration of the rewards the voyage would bring. The Baron de Lahontan argued that “I am surpris’d to find that a Voyage to the New World is so formidable to those who are oblig’d to undertake it; for I solemnly protest that ’tis far from being what the World commonly takes it for. ’Tis true, the Passage is in some measure long; but then the hopes of

⁵⁸ Robert Johnson, *Noua Britannia Offring Most Excellent Fruites by Planting in Virginia. Exciting All such as Be Well Affected to Further the Same.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed [by John Windet] for Samuel Macham, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Bul-head, 1609), unnumbered; William Castell and Benjamin Rudyerd, *A Short Discoverie of the Coasts and Continent of America, from the Equinoctiall Northward, and the Adjacent Isles by William Castell ... ; Whereunto Is Prefixed the Authors Petition to This Present Parliament for the Propagation of the Gospell in America, Attested by Many Eminent English and Scottish Divines ... ; Together with Sir Benjamin Rudyers Speech in Parliament, 21 Jan. Concerning America.*, Early English Books Online (London, 1644), 6; David R Ransome, “Castell, William (D. 1645),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/4866> describes Castell as a Church of England clergyman, although he seems to have inclined towards Puritanism in the 1630s. His work on the coasts of North America was only one pamphlet he published in the 1640s dealing with North America, although it does not appear he ever personally visited the continent. David L Smith, “Rudyerd, Sir Benjamin (1572-1658),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/24256> describes Rudyerd as a poet and politician, although it is primarily his political achievements for which he is remembered. Although a member of the Long Parliament, he was a strong supporter of peace between Parliament and King, and was one of those delegated to negotiate with the King at Newport. He was amongst those imprisoned by Colonel Pride, which hastened his departure from Parliament. Like his co-author Castell, there is no evidence he ever personally visited North America.

viewing an unknown Country, atones for the tediousness of the Voyage.”⁵⁹ Lahontan suggested the travelers’ likely experiences in North America would modify their perception of distance between Europe and North America. While he seemed to refer to those obliged to undertake the voyage, rather than those who did it by choice, this does not negate the overall implication of his assertion: Time distance, while influenced by external variables such as technology and weather, is and was susceptible to perceptual modification based on the frame of reference chosen by the observer.

Attributional Distance

Although there are many perceptions of distance, physical distance and time distance are the most foundational. Only physical and time distances fix a location spatially. Other conceptions of distance, such as attributional and historical, modify an individual’s cognitive map, reordering the spaces of the world and consequently adjusting the perception of physical and time distance. Of the two types of distance, attributional distance, or the perception of distance based upon the discernment of similarities and differences in cultural characteristics between two societies, is more prevalent in the literature and exerted a more powerful influence in an era of imperial expansion when territorial acquisitions necessitated accommodation of new cultural legacies.

⁵⁹ Louis Armand de Lom d’Arce Lahontan Baron de, *New Voyages to North-America. Containing An Account of the Several Nations of That Vast Continent; Their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Navigation upon the Lakes and Rivers; the Several Attempts of the English and French to Disposses One Another; with the Reasons of the Miscarriage of the Former; and the Various Adventures between the French, and the Iroquese Confederates of England, from 1683 to 1694. A Geographical Description of Canada, and a Natural History of the Country, with Remarks upon Their Government, and the Interest of the English and French in Their Commerce. Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the Savages, Giving a Full View of the Religion and Strange Opinions of Those People: With an Account of the Authors Retreat to Portugal and Denmark and His Remarks on Those Courts. To Which Is Added, A Dictionary of the Algonkine Language, Which Is Generally Spoke in North-America. Illustrated with Twenty Three Mapps and Cutts. Written in French By the Baron Lahontan, Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony at Placentia in Newfoundland, Now in England. Done into English. In Two Volumes. A Great Part of Which Never Printed in the Original.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for H. Bonwicke in St. Paul’s Church-Yard; T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, B. Tooke, in Fleetstreet; and S. Manship in Cornhill, 1703), 1.

The concept of attributional distance arose from geographical inquiry into foreign policy.

In an article entitled “Distance and Foreign Policy,” Alan Henrikson states:

it is not a misuse of the word, and is in fact common, for foreign policy makers to speak of attributional affinities and disaffinities, and the relationships based on these, in terms of ‘distance.’ In this case, the relationship to geography becomes more remote, but it is still present. To some extent, countries are arrayed in the geographical ‘mental maps’ of policy planners and strategists, in an extended spatial sense, according to how ‘close’ or ‘far away’ they are from the policy-makers’ country in terms of ideology, type of government, party affiliation, economic system, human rights record, and many other such qualities, or attributes.⁶⁰

By looking at modified perceptions of distance based on the apparent similarities between nations, Henrikson provided an explanation for geopolitical decisions, particularly alliances, that lacked geographic motivations. In other words, attributional distance can explain the alliance between two nations who do not both share borders with a common enemy or threat. Replacing Henrikson’s political attributes with a wider variety of cultural markers allows for the application of the concept both between nations and within them, illuminating perceptions of internal peripheries and the relationship between the imperial core and colonial periphery. In this dissertation, I am concerned with how travelers betrayed metropolitan (English) attitudes towards Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the North American colonies, and the Caribbean colonies.

Attributional distance has applications outside foreign policy. Behavioral researchers have found that humans unconsciously modify their perception of the physical distance between places based on their conception of the desirability of the destination, a phenomenon known to psychologists as the *positivity-closeness* hypothesis.⁶¹ Applied to travelers, such research suggests

⁶⁰ Henrikson, “Distance and Foreign Policy,” 457.

⁶¹ Adam L. Alter and Emily Balcetis, “Fondness Makes the Distance Grow Shorter: Desired Locations Seem Closer Because They Seem More Vivid,” *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 47, no. 1 (January 2011): 17, 19, doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2010.07.018; See also Kentaro Fujita et al., “Spatial Distance and Mental Construal of Social Events,” *Psychological Science* 17, no. 4 (April 1, 2006): 281, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01698.x, who argue studies show spatial and temporal distance lead to increased psychological distance; Marlene D. Henderson et al., “Transcending the ‘Here’: The Effect of Spatial Distance on Social Judgment.,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 91, no. 5 (November 2006): 854, doi:http://dx.doi.org/www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/10.1037/0022-3514.91.5.845, who argue individuals rely on knowledge of general trends and characteristics when thinking about spatially distance events.

locations that showed similarities with the author's frame of reference, typically the metropole, would appear closer than the physical and time distance between the locations would suggest. Conversely, visited locations that lacked attributes comparable to the metropolitan norm appeared distant.

What attributes should be considered? The attributes Henrikson describes, such as ideology, party affiliation, and human rights record, are anachronistic for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and would provide little illumination of distances within the First British Empire anyway. A thorough study of travel narratives from the period revealed several common attributes, like those identified by David Hackett Fischer as "folkways" in *Albion's Seed*, although not all "folkways" appear as points of observation in the travel narratives of the time. Of those folkways/attributes Fischer lists, the following are the most relevant:

- *Speech ways*, conventional patterns of written and spoken language: pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax and grammar.
- *Building ways*, prevailing forms of vernacular architecture and high architecture, which tend to be related to one another.
- *Religious ways*, patterns of religious worship, theology, ecclesiology and church architecture.
- *Food ways*, patterns of diet, nutrition, cooking, eating, feasting and fasting.
- *Dress ways*, customs of dress, demeanor, and personal adornment.
- *Social ways*, conventional patterns of migration, settlement, association and affiliation.
- *Order ways*, ideas of order, ordering institutions, forms of disorder, and treatment of the disorderly.
- *Power ways*, attitudes towards authority and power; patterns of political participation.⁶²

While Fischer traces the continuation of these "folkways" from their regional origins in England, he does not consider the broader perceptions of linkages between the wider Atlantic Archipelago and the North American colonies. Also missing from his work is an examination of these attributes in Britain's other American colonies in the Caribbean.

Observers, no matter which part of Britain's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century empire they considered, encountered these attributes in different ways. Travelers found it possible to

⁶² Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 8–9.

observe a colony or region's architecture without interrupting their journey or engaging with the local populace. Easy observation of architecture meant it was the most likely to appear in an author's observations. The populace's dress provided another easy source of visual observation and comparison, although fewer authors devoted significant space to describing regional or colonial costume.

Other attributes, like religion, order/power, and social, required greater interaction (or the appearance of it) with the population of the region under observation. As such, authors only remarked on these characteristics when their itinerary allowed them more than a brief impression of a location. However, these characteristics typically produced the greatest sense of distance in all non-metropolitan regions except the Caribbean. Travelers imagined the Irish Sea as a much larger barrier than it really was when confronted with the dominant Catholicism of Ireland. In North America, the unity of religion and governance in New England, particularly in the seventeenth century, highlighted for travelers the divergence of core and periphery, particularly after the conflicts of the mid-seventeenth century. Regardless of the attribute or attributes travelers chose to describe in a narrative of their journeys, engagement with them forced, at a minimum, an implied consideration of the real and perceived distance between core and periphery.

Historical Distance

Historical distance is a type of time distance, but it functions very differently and relies upon other perceptions by the observer. It goes beyond the simple expression of how long a journey took. Rather, historical distance expresses the perception the traveler has of going back in time.

That is to say, it is a cultural judgment, expressing a perception that a certain area or group of people is “behind the times.”⁶³

The type of historical distance normally associated with historiography, a sufficient perspective on the past, is unrelated to the project at hand except through shared terminology. While some travelers referenced past events in their writings, most brought with them perspectives dealing with best practices in many pursuits, and were often not afraid to share their opinions. As England’s manufacturing base expanded and diversified in the eighteenth century, travelers began to note the spread of new businesses and technologies. The adoption of new agricultural practices in one region, for example, often led travelers to express a sense of stepping back in time as they moved on to a region that still practiced older forms of agriculture. Observers made similar comments about the spread and pervasiveness of manufacturing. The combined effect was to modify perceptions of physical and time distance via observations of economic development. Historical distance thus comprehends observations of an economic and technological nature (agriculture, manufacturing, infrastructure) that create a perception of moving through time, rather than with time.

Regardless of the attributional markers and indicators of development travelers chose to describe in their narratives, most sought to understand how a particular region fit into a trans-Atlantic perception of British national identity. Although few authors directly suggested the

⁶³ This is not the typical approach to historical distance amongst historians. For most historians, the question of historical distance is one of perspective. Mark Salber Phillips, “Distance and Historical Representation,” *History Workshop Journal*, no. 57 (2004): 128 describes this as “emotional identification and detachment,” which resulted in an emphasis on detachment/distance in older historical writing but has transitioned towards “closer emotional and ideological identification” with the subjects of microhistories and the histories of previously marginalized groups. According to Phillips’ formulation, the project of history, as it is often seen in the West, relies upon the author’s perspective on the given subject, which is simultaneously personal and objective. Proper perspective requires distance, otherwise it is simply memory that lacks the objective component necessary in historiographical writing; See also Jaap Den Hollander, Herman Paul, and Rik Peters, *History and Theory* 50, no. 4 (December 1, 2011). The entire issue is devoted to the topic of historical distance within the history profession, including the historical development of the concept, its present contours, and likely future.

incompatibility of a group with this emerging sense of Britishness, travelers' commentary reveal those attributes associated with an overarching conception of what it meant to be British. Because England broadly, and London specifically, typically served as the reference points for travelers throughout the First British Empire, I begin with a discussion of travelers' commentary on the Atlantic Archipelago in order to establish a baseline before considering the application of perceptions of distance to Britain's overseas territories.

Chapter 1: The Atlantic Archipelago

Defoe's remarks upon entering Scotland, a description which inspired this dissertation, suggested not only the ability of perceived cultural differences to modify perceptions of physical or time distance, but also that a broadly construed idea of England provided the essential basis for such modifications. As they ventured throughout the Atlantic Archipelago, travelers measured distance from English norms, typically represented by a broad conception of English values or specific reference to London, regardless of whether the traveler in question was English. Because most observers, as in Defoe's *Tour*, used England and its metropolitan heart as the basis for comparisons, their perceptions reveal which regions merited inclusion in the increasingly prevalent concept of a British nation. Where travelers observed significant intersections of physical distance and attributional difference from the metropolitan norm, their portrayals removed those regions to a virtual colonial zone at the periphery of the archipelago.

Observers' conception of whether a region belonged to the core or the periphery provides an alternate viewpoint on the developing concept of Britishness. Whereas studies of the development of British national identity like Linda Colley's *Britons* focus on the self-perceptions of residents of England, Scotland, and Wales, reliance on self-identification obscures the ways in which metropolitan attitudes towards peripheral regions rejected inclusion and perpetuated the view that certain regions, like the Scottish Highlands and Ireland, were essentially foreign lands despite increasing evidence of adjustment to metropolitan norms.¹ Colley, for example, concentrates on the development of British self-identity, revealed through shared Protestantism,

¹ John R. Ziegler, "Irish Mantles, English Nationalism: Apparel and National Identity in Early Modern English and Irish Texts," *Journal for Modern Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 76–77, doi:<http://dx.doi.org/www2.lib.ku.edu/10.1353/jem.2013.0001> argues the proximity of areas like Ireland and the Highlands that did not conform to English norms created special anxieties for English authors of the period who were very concerned with the creation of a national identity. While Ziegler is concerned only with Ireland, many of his points regarding dress, language, and even hairstyle are applicable in the Scottish case as well.

trade, expanding print culture, and urbanization, concluding an island-wide sense of nationhood developed by the point the American colonies rejected their place in the new British nation, despite some persistent regional differences.² Considering persistent regionalism through the travel narratives of metropolitan observers reveals the maintenance of the essentially colonial attitudes towards the periphery described by Michael Hechter.³ Seen in this light, the Highlands and Ireland become almost analogous to the American colonies, although both areas lacked the resources to enforce their perceived separation in the way the American colonies ultimately did.

Travelers' accounts betray a startling difference between the ultimate source of attributional and historical distance in the Atlantic Archipelago and Britain's overseas colonies. In both the Caribbean and North America, observers' perception of attributional and/or historical distance stemmed from their sense of the degree to which the colonists successfully replicated England in the New World. Observers frequently ameliorated the effects of colonial differences from metropolitan norms by blaming the environment or practical adaptations to colonial realities, but rarely blamed any innate defect in the colonists themselves. By contrast, in the Atlantic Archipelago outside England, observers located the source of attributional differences within the population under observation, typically rejecting possible environmental influences. Observers treated places in England like the colonies, blaming external forces like the War of the Three Kingdoms for modifications to perceptions of attributional or historical distance, especially when observers could tie the decline of once-prosperous cities and regions to the conflict. In the more geographically remote parts of the archipelago, like Ireland and Scotland, travelers, especially those from England, perceived the origin of distance as the people themselves. Perception of

² Colley, *Britons*, 369, 13–17.

³ Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*.

distance based on the remnants of cultural practices inherited from a time before England became the proprietor of these areas provoked a reaction in many authors which concluded with a call to make the areas more English.

In the eighteenth century, observers noted the influence of prolonged exposure to English cultural practices on the residents of these peripheral regions. Attributional categories like dress, agriculture, and manufacturing, capable of undergoing relatively rapid change, provoked a reassessment of the peripheral regions as they began to exhibit features that appeared similar to metropolitan norms. Other areas, like the built environment and speech patterns, evolved more slowly and tended to preserve a sense of distance for a longer period. Unlike in North America or the Caribbean, within the Atlantic Archipelago travelers more clearly identified metropolitan England as the reference point for measuring perceptions of distance. While many travelers to the colonies certainly implied, and occasionally stated, that England and London formed their reference points, travelers throughout the Atlantic Archipelago made it explicit.

Attributional Distance

Religion

Despite religious divisions so deep that they played a significant role in the outbreak of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms,⁴ few travelers described religious differences within the Atlantic Archipelago. Such omissions are consistent with Colley's thesis, which rests on a shared Protestant experience. As she argues at the outset of *Britons*,

In these circumstances of regular *and violent* contact with peoples who could so easily be seen as representing the Other, Protestantism was able to become a unifying and distinguishing bond as never before. More than anything else, it was this shared religious allegiance combined with recurrent wars that permitted a sense of British national identity to emerge alongside of, and not necessarily in competition with older, more organic attachments to England, Wales or Scotland, or to county or village. Protestantism was the dominant component of British religious life.

⁴ Derek Hirst, *England in Conflict, 1603-1660: Kingdom, Community, Commonwealth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 194–96.

Protestantism coloured the way that Britons approached and interpreted their material life. Protestantism determined how most Britons viewed their politics. And an uncompromising Protestantism was the foundation on which their state was explicitly and unapologetically based.⁵

For Colley, and many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travelers, the internal divisions within British Protestantism were less important than the antagonism between Protestant and Catholic.⁶ However, outside those areas with strong Protestant majorities, perceived religious differences, particularly local attachment to Catholicism, reminded travelers of the physical distance between their location and the civil and religious centers of England. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, observers used Ireland's Catholic character to reinforce the island's political separation from the British body politic, in language similar to that employed against the dissenting culture of New England. While Lowland Scottish Presbyterianism caused some travelers concern, particularly in the seventeenth century, Highland Catholicism (or paganism in some travelers' eyes) posed the greatest threat to internal stability, particularly in the period before the 1745 Jacobite Rising.⁷ Outside those peripheral regions, denominational differences went largely unnoticed, except the few locations where travelers found large populations of dissenters or populations characterized by heightened religious fervor.

Few travelers noted confessional differences in England. Of the few who did, Daniel Defoe (himself an English Presbyterian) engaged in the only extended discussions of dissenter

⁵ Colley, *Britons*, 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 18–19; Adam Sills, "Mr. Bunyan's Neighborhood and the Geography of Dissent," *English Literary History* 70, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 70 argues the detailed survey of Dissenting congregations the Hanoverian regime carried out around 1715 legitimated Dissent by quantifying it and plotting its geographical disbursement; J.R.H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, 3rd ed. (London: A. & C. Black, 1973), 277–78 cites the gratitude of the Whig government for the role nonconformists and dissenters played in the defense of England in 1715 for increasing toleration over the next half-century; Jim Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800*, British Isles Series 2 (London: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), 20 argues contemporaries consistently overestimated the number of Dissenters in the Archipelago, suggesting the lack of commentary by many travelers reflects the absence of large numbers of Dissenters more than it does a lack of notoriety.

⁷ J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 273; See also Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800*, 188.

populations, which he observed in Suffolk, Somerset, and Devon.⁸ While in Devonshire Defoe commented that “This Town as most of the Towns of *Devonshire* are, is full of Dissenters, and a very large Meeting-house they have here; how they act here with Respect to the great Dispute about the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, which has caus’d such a Breach among those People at *Excester*, and other Parts of the County, I cannot give any account.”⁹ Although Defoe’s comment painted all Devon with a broad brush belied by his observations in other towns, the presence of such large concentrations in the southwestern-most counties of England, already physically remote from London, highlighted the divide between core and periphery. Suffolk, while not so remote from London as Devon and Somerset, shared a predominantly rural character that contrasted sharply with the urbanism of London. Interestingly, Adam Sills argues “Dissenting populations were urban

⁸ For Devon, see: Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of Whatever Is Curious and Worth Observation, Viz. I. A Description of the Principal Cities and Towns, Their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. II. The Customs, Manners, Speech, as Also the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the People. III. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade, and Manufactures. IV. The Sea Ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. V. The Publick Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With Useful Observations upon the Whole. Particularly Fitted for the Reading of such as Desire to Travel over the Island. By a Gentleman.*, vol. 2, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed, and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill. W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar. R. Francklin, under Tom’s Coffee-house, Covent-Garden; S. Chapman, at the Angel in Pall-Mall. R. Stagg, in Westminster-Hall, and J. Graves, in St. James’s-Street, 1724), 11 (Letter 1); For Suffolk, see: Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of Whatever Is Curious and Worth Observation, Viz. I. A Description of the Principal Cities and Towns, Their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. II. The Customs, Manners, Speech, as Also the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the People. III. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade, and Manufactures. IV. The Sea Ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. V. The Publick Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With Useful Observations upon the Whole. Particularly Fitted for the Reading of such as Desire to Travel over the Island. By a Gentleman.*, vol. 1, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed, and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill. W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar. R. Francklin, under Tom’s Coffee-house, Covent-Garden; S. Chapman, at the Angel in Pall-Mall. R. Stagg, in Westminster-Hall, and J. Graves, in St. James’s-Street, 1724), 66 (Letter 1); For Somerset, see: Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:21 (Letter 1); For some modern analysis of the geographic spread of dissent in England, see Sills, “Mr. Bunyan’s Neighborhood,” 68. Drawing upon Michael Watts’ *The Dissenters*, Sills identifies large concentrations of Presbyterians in Somerset and Devon, amongst other “industrial centers of the north and west,” like Lancashire, Cheshire, Dorset, and Northumberland. Michael Mullett, “Radical Sects and Dissenting Churches, 1600-1750,” in *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present*, by Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Sheils (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1994), 209 also notes large populations of Dissenters in Somerset and Devon, particularly Exeter.

⁹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 91 (Letter 3).

on the whole, living primarily in cities, boroughs, or market towns, while numbers in rural areas tended to remain low since many were dependent on the Anglican gentry for their economic livelihood.”¹⁰ Rather than seeing a rural essence as the common factor between Devon, Somerset, and Suffolk, Sills argues the local weakness of the Church of England encouraged the development and spread of dissenting communities.¹¹ The geographical concentration of Independents, Congregationalists, Particular Baptists, and General Baptists around London reflected both this weakness and the outcomes of the crises of the mid-seventeenth century.¹²

Whereas most travelers ignored dissenting populations within England, Catholics throughout the Atlantic Archipelago attracted attention. The vast numbers¹³ in Lancashire who practiced that faith struck the writer and spy John Macky¹⁴ as he traveled the county: “...there is not any thing remarkable in *Lancashire*, but good Neighbourhood and Plenty; and more of the

¹⁰ Sills, “Mr. Bunyan’s Neighborhood,” 68.

¹¹ Ibid., 68–69; See also Ian Green, “Anglicanism in Stuart and Hanoverian England,” in *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present*, by Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Sheils (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1994), 184–85, who argued that the Church of England was increasingly “hampered by an antiquated parish system and a shifting population” that left it vulnerable to denominational challengers.

¹² Sills, “Mr. Bunyan’s Neighborhood,” 69. Of the major dissenting groups in England, only the Quakers appear to have enjoyed relatively wide diffusion across the archipelago. See also Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832*, 210 who argues “The geographical pattern of establishment, dissent and rival ethnic groups was far more complex in the colonies than in England,” suggesting the type of geographical concentration observed amongst Presbyterians, Baptists, and other Dissenting groups was far more common in England than the wider diffusion of the Quakers. For a relatively succinct description of these various factions and the differences between them, see Mullett, “Radical Sects and Dissenting Churches, 1600-1750,” 193–98.

¹³ Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800*, 189 suggests that contemporaries overestimated the number of Catholics in England, Wales, and Scotland, just as they had with Dissenters. He estimates there were approximately 80,000 Catholics in those three areas in 1700, and about 110,000 in 1778. W. J. Sheils, “Catholicism from the Reformation to the Relief Acts,” in *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present*, by Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Sheils (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1994), 248 estimates the true number of Catholics was even lower, with between 60,000 and 70,000 in 1700 and only about 80,000 in 1778.

¹⁴ J.D. Alsop, “Macky, John (D. 1726),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/17632> held a number of appointments with the Post Office in southeastern England, including the packet boat from Dover to Calais. This provided him with the opportunity to conduct anti-Jacobite espionage from approximately 1692 to 1713. After this career ended, he took to travel writing, eventually composing tours through England, Scotland, and the Netherlands, although he failed to complete a promised volume on Ireland.

*Roman-Catholick Religion in this County, than in any three others [combined] in England.*¹⁵ Aside from Lancashire, recent scholarship has revealed a large Catholic population, composed of large numbers of Irish Catholics, in eighteenth-century London.¹⁶ While Catholics attracted attention from English travelers, foreign travelers describing England to audiences at home occasionally wondered about the true depth of the gulf between English Catholicism and Protestantism. Christian Erndl, for example, saw the entirety of the Church of England to be essentially the same as the Catholic faith: “Of the State of the Church in *England*, this is observable, that at first appearance you can scarce distinguish their Conformity from that of the *Roman-Catholicks*, or be much instructed by the Worship that the Bishops and Canons seem chiefly to Understand.”¹⁷ While foreigners like Erndl struggled to differentiate Anglicans and Catholics, Macky’s observation suggests that those more familiar with England saw clear differences between the two religions. Whereas Erndl’s viewpoint lessened the distinction between religions and thus the perceived distance between regions with differing religious majorities or even large minority populations, Macky’s observations emphasized the peripheral nature of Lancashire by stressing that the region’s Catholicism represented the only point of interest for a metropolitan observer.

¹⁵ John Macky, *A Journey through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad. Vol. II*, vol. 2, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Pemberton, at the Buck and Sun against St. Dunstan’s Church in Fleetstreet, 1722), 153; Indeed, Lisa McClain, “Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559-1625,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 381–99 makes frequent reference to sources from Lancashire for her analysis of alternative spaces used for worship and religious identification.

¹⁶ John Bergin, “Irish Catholics and Their Networks in Eighteenth-Century London,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 39, no. 1 (January 2015): 66–102, doi:10.1215/00982601-2834106.

¹⁷ Christian Heinrich Erndl, *The Relation of a Journey into England and Holland, in the Years, 1706, and 1707. By a Saxon Physician, in a Letter to His Friend at Dresden, Wherein Are Contain’d Many Remarkable Passages and Curious Observations in Anatomy, Surgery, Physick, and Philosophy. By Ch. Ed. Physician in Ordinary to the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, &c. Translated from the Latin.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed and sold by John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1711), 44.

Like London, commerce and the shipping industry in Liverpool played a key role in attracting Catholics, particularly Irish Catholics, to Lancashire.¹⁸ While many other attributional markers contributed to the perception of extreme distance between Ireland and England, almost to the point of Ireland being an overseas colony, none revealed a consistent perception of distance like religion.¹⁹ For authors throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the prevalence of Catholicism in Ireland served as a constant reminder of the distance between the two societies and a source of anxiety about the possibility of exerting control over Ireland. Indeed, Linda Colley cites the Catholic character of Ireland and the antipathy many of its residents felt towards a Protestant government in London for her decision to not include Ireland in *Britons*.²⁰ Her contention that the Irish had no interest in participating in the construction of the British state for religious reasons echoes the comments of numerous contemporary authors and travelers. The anonymous author of *A brief character of Ireland*, for example, argued shortly after the Battle of the Boyne in 1691 that the Irish were “Blindly obedient *Children* they are to the Pope of *Rome* their *Holy Father*, and to the Church of *Rome* their *Gawdy-Mother*; yet so grosly ignorant in all Matters of Religion, that the History of *Tom Thumb* being read to them, has passed currant for the Legend of one of their famous Saints, and believed to be as true as Gospel.”²¹ Fifty years later another anonymous author made a similar observation, noting, “it is certain, their Priests have a

¹⁸ Bergin, “Irish Catholics and Their Networks in Eighteenth-Century London,” 89 notes concentrations of Irish Catholics could be found throughout England, often tied to English Catholic families with connections to Ireland.

¹⁹ Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800*, 26–27 reminds us to not overlook the significant Presbyterian population in Ulster, which he argues often exhibited greater differences with Anglicans than Presbyterian groups in England.

²⁰ Colley, *Britons*, 8.

²¹ Anon, *A Brief Character of Ireland with Some Observations of the Customs &c. of the Meaner Sort of the Natural Inhabitants of That Kingdom.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for W.C. and are to be sold by R. Taylor, 1692), 57.

very despotick Power over them; and, if ill inclined, might be dangerous in a Kingdom were their Numbers so far exceed those of the Religion by Law established.”²² Although authors participated in a common trope by linking Catholics with Papal control, in the context of a travel narrative the emphasis on foreign control reinforced the sense of distance created by the divide between Protestant and Catholic.

The tension between Protestant England and Catholic Ireland has been a defining feature of the relationship between those nations since the Reformation. What is surprising, however, is the lack of attention most travelers paid to this. Aside from the two anonymous authors previously quoted, only two others considered the issue, both simply noting that the majority of the people were Catholics and often largely ignorant of most matters of faith.²³ Familiarity with the issue explains the lack of commentary, with religious difference being one of the attributes of Ireland travelers expected to encounter.

Whereas Catholicism dominated discussions of Ireland’s confessional state amongst those who chose to reflect on the issue, travelers to Wales focused on poverty and the distance between churches. Although noted by several authors, an accurate picture of the prevalence of this opinion is difficult to determine given the likelihood that later authors took much of their information from

²² Anon, *A Tour through Ireland. In Several Entertaining Letters. Wherein the Present State of That Kingdom Is Consider’d; and the Most Noted Cities, Towns, Seats, Rivers, Buildings, &c. Are Described. Interspersed with Observations on the Manners, Customs, Antiquities, Curiosities, and Natural History of That Country. To Which Is Prefix’d, a Description of the Road from London to Holy-Head. By Two English Gentlemen.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick Lane, 1748), 163.

²³ Sir William Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland with the Establishment for That Kingdom When the Late Duke of Ormond Was Lord Lieutenant ... : To Which Is Added Verbum Sapienti, Or, An Account of the Wealth and Expences of England, and the Method of Raising Taxes in the Most Equal Manner ... / by Sir William Petty ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for D. Brown and W. Rogers, 1691), 93; Laurence Echard, *An Exact Description of Ireland Chorographically Surveying All Its Provinces & Counties ... : With an Index of All the Provinces, Counties, Baronies, Cities, Towns, Forts, Castles, Rivers, Lakes, Havens, Bays, Mountains, Promontories, &c., in Such a Manner as May Serve for a Geographical Dictionary for Ireland ... : Done according to the Latest Surveys, and Agreeing with All the New Maps / by Laurence Eachard ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Tho. Salusbury, 1691), 20–21.

the first, the poet John Taylor. Traveling through Wales in 1653, Taylor suggested that unlike in England, “There is no such zeale in many places and Parishes in *Wales*; for they have neither Service, Prayer, Sermon, Minister, or Preacher, nor any Church door opened at all, so that people do exercise and edifie in the Church-Yard, at the lawfull and laudable Games of Trap, Catt, Stool-ball, Racket, &c. on Sundayes.”²⁴ Taylor described Welsh religion in terms that emphasized historical distance rather than attributional distance. Simply put, Taylor contended that while the Welsh people may have wished for greater opportunities to express their religious devotion, the lack of clerical provision in the country prohibited the type of religious communities found in England.

While travelers described a Welsh church struggling with limited resources, those who journeyed into Scotland viewed a thriving Presbyterian Kirk. Although the Kirk offered a clear point of distinction with England and the Church of England, for most authors who recognized a sense of distance between England and Scotland based on religion, the fervor of Scottish devotees better illustrated the confessional divide between these regions than doctrinal differences. Numerous authors observed what they perceived as characteristic Scottish strictness in their observance of various religious tenets, particularly when compared to the English, and hinted that such practices harkened to a time when across the Archipelago religion produced more strident feelings, with disastrous results. The writer and spy John Macky, immediately upon entering

²⁴ Taylor, *A Short Relation of a Long Journey*, 27; See also William Richards, *Wallography, Or, The Britton Describ'd Being a Pleasant Relation of a Journey into Wales ... : And Also Many Choice Observables ... of That Countrey and People / by W.R., a Mighty Lover of Welch Travels.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Obadiah Blagrave, 1682), 103; Anon, *The Comical Pilgrim; Or, Travels of a Cynick Philosopher, Thro' the Most Wicked Parts of the World, Namely, England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and Holland. with His Merry Observations on the English Stage, Gaming-Houses, Poets, Beaux, Women, Courtiers, Politicians, and Plotters. Welsh Clergy, Gentry, and Customs. Scotch Manners, Religion, and Lawyers. Irish Ceremonies in Their Marriages, Christenings, and Burials. And Dutch Government, Polity, and Trade. Being a General Satyr on the Vices and Follies of the Age.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for S. Briscoe, at the Bell Savage, Ludgate-Hill, and the Sun against John's Coffee-House Swithin's-Alley, Cornhill, 1722), 45 which largely reprint, with a few additions, Taylor's observation.

Scotland, noted that “Certainly no Nation on Earth observes the Sabbath with that Strictness of Devotion and Resignation to the Will of God: They all pray in their Families before they go to Church, and between Sermons they fast; after Sermon every Body retires to his own Home, and reads some Book of Devotion till Supper, (which is generally very good on *Sundays*); after which they sing Psalms till they go to Bed.”²⁵ This strictness persisted into the latter half of the eighteenth century, when Samuel Johnson observed its remnants but also its abandonment as religious observation in Scotland declined:

The change of religion in Scotland, eager and vehement as it was, raised an epidemical enthusiasm, compounded of sullen scrupulousness and warlike ferocity, which, in a people whom idleness resigned to their own thoughts, and who, conversing only with each other, suffered no dilution of their zeal from the gradual influx of new opinions, was long transmitted in its full strength from the old to the young, but by trade and intercourse with England, is now visibly abating, and giving way too fast to their laxity of practice and indifference of opinion, in which men, not sufficiently instructed to find the middle point, too easily shelter themselves from rigour and constraint.²⁶

Johnson’s comments pointed to the role cultural interaction played in reducing differences and thus the perceived distance between core and periphery. Increased commercial contact and the beginnings of Romantic travel to the Highlands encouraged cultural exchange in way that did not occur in other British dominions.

Religious fervor distinguished Scotland from England, but despite observers’ impression, Scotland did not exhibit the level of religious diversity found in England. According to T.C. Smout, at least in the eighteenth century, “Neither Episcopalians nor Roman Catholics made much

²⁵ John Macky, *A Journey through Scotland. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad. Being the Third Volume, Which Compleats Great Britain. By the Author of the Journey Thro’ England.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: printed for J. Pemberton, at the Buck and Sun, and J. Hooke, at the Flower-de-Luce, both against St. Dunstan’s Church in Fleet-Street, 1723), 3–4.

²⁶ Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell in the Strand, 1775), 8; See also Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 223–24; Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland along with the Army under the Command of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. Wherein the Proceedings of the Army, And The Ppy Suppression of the Rebellion In the Year 1746. Are Particularly Described. AS Also, The Natural History and Antiquities of the Several Places Passed Through. Together with The Manners and Customs of the Different People, Especially of the Highlanders. By a Volunteer. Comprised in Several Letters to a Friend in London.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for T. Osborne, in Gray’s-Inn, 1747), 182.

headway or enjoyed much popular support,” and Methodists fared only slightly better, particularly in the lead-up to the “Cambuslang wark.”²⁷ What diversity did exist, Smout suggests, resulted from the divisions within the Scottish Kirk itself, leading to the mid-century creation of the Old and New Licht Burghers and the Old and New Licht Anti-Burghers.²⁸ But these statements applied to the “civilized” Lowlands; in the Highlands, travelers found a more complicated religious settlement that reinforced conceptions of the region’s remote and untamed character. Travelers who dared to venture to the most remote areas of Scotland, particularly in the early eighteenth century, described the remnants of extreme superstition with possible roots in Catholicism. When the minister and author John Brand²⁹ visited the Orkneys in 1701, he found what could only be “the sour dregs of Pagan and Popish Superstition and Idolatry, yea and many of them such as the Charms practiced by them to be the meer and woful effects of pure Devilry, and not the product of Natures Operation.”³⁰ Thomas Morer believed after his journey through the Highlands that a

²⁷ T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (Bungay, Suffolk, UK: Richard Clay (The Chaucer Press) and William Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1969), 216–17. Part of the broader movement known as the First Great Awakening, the Cambuslang wark was a large gathering of religious revivalists. It culminated with an estimated 30,000 turning out to hear a sermon by the English Methodist George Whiteside. Smout characterized the wark’s impact as “ephemeral.”

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 217.

²⁹ Patrick Cadell, “Brand, John (1669-1738),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/3253> describes Brand as a Church of Scotland minister who, despite prestigious offers of a position at Elgin and the chair of Hebrew at Aberdeen, elected to remain the minister of Bo’ness for his entire life. Because he was not married for the early part of his ministry, he was often sent as a visiting minister to other parts of Scotland. These visitations included a journey to Orkney and Shetland in 1700, which formed the basis for his most enduring literary work.

³⁰ John Brand, *A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland-Firth & Caithness, Wherein, After a Short Journal of the Author’s Voyage Thither, These Northern Places Are First More Generally Described; Then a Particular View Is given of the Several Isles Thereto Belonging; Together with an Account of What Is Most Rare and Remarkable Therein: With the Author’s Observes Thereupon.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Edinburgh: Printed by George Mosman, 1701), 55; See also James Wallace, *A Description of the Isles of Orkney; by Master James Wallace, Late Minister of Kirkwall, Published after His Death by His Son. To Which Is Added, An Essay Concerning the Thule of the Ancients*, Early English Books Online (Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid, 1693), 33; Anon, *A Voyage to Shetland, the Orkneys, and the Western Isles of Scotland. Giving an Account, of the Laws, Customs, Antiquities, Natural Curiosities, Fisheries, &c. of These Places; Particularly the Herring-Fisheries, with the Present Methods of Catching, Curing, Packing, &c. The Singular Sincerity, Honesty, and Temperance of the Inhabitants, Their Religious Ceremonies, Superstitions, Charms, Apparitions; and That Amazing Faculty of the Second-Sight, so Frequent among Them, by Which Future Events Are with Certainly Foretold.*, Eighteenth Century

similar description applied to the entire region.³¹ Already physically distant and requiring a large investment of time to reach, such descriptions of the Highlands and Islands emphasized their remoteness through commentary that portrayed religion in the region as a blend of paganism and outmoded Christianity. While such religious distance inspired missionary activity aimed at encouraging orthodoxy, this introduced an element of the colonial into perceptions of the Highlands and Islands by asserting the need for English missionaries to bring civilization to the barbarous North. Despite observers' calls for missionary activity to reduce paganism and Catholicism, T.C. Smout argues the same physical distance that daunted many travelers prevented effectual missionary activity.³²

Outside the Highlands, observers formed a more muddled impression of Scottish religion. In Edinburgh, for instance, travelers observed an often thriving coexistence between Presbyterians and adherents of the Church of England.³³ These observations are consistent with T.C. Smout's conclusion that while the Act of Union of 1707 established a permanent confessional divide

Collections Online (London: Printed for C. Corbet, in Fleet-street, 1751), 3; For more on Wallace's life, see Anita McConnell, "Wallace, James (1642-1688)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/28534> who describes Wallace as a Church of Scotland minister who answered a call for ministers in Orkney in 1672, where he remained for the remainder of his life. He collaborated with Sir Robert Sibbald on Sibbald's description of Scotland, and these observations were later collected and published by his son following his death in 1688.

³¹ Thomas Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland. Being a Description of the Nature of That Kingdom, and What the Constitution of It Is in Church and State. Wherein Also Some Notice Is Taken of Their Chief Cities and Royal Boroughs. With an Appendix, I. About Their King's Supremacy. II. The Difference of the Scotch and English Liturgy. III. The Revenue and Expence on the Civil and Military List, according to a Late Establishment.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for Tho. Newborough, at the Golden Ball in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1702), 6–7.

³² Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*, 312 notes some pockets of Presbyterianism, Catholicism, and Anglicanism in the Highlands, but argues that most Highlanders rarely saw either minister or church, resulting in individual religious practices that often bordered on the pagan.

³³ Anon, *A Trip Lately to Scotland. With a True Character of the Country and People: Also Reflections on Their Proceedings to Disturb the Present Reign: To Which Are Added Several Remarks, on the Late Barbarous Execution of Capt. Green, Mr. Madder, Mr. Simpson, and Several Others. With an Elegy on Their (Unmerited) Deaths*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed, and sold by S. Malthus in London-House-Yard, 1705), 6–7; Defoe, *Tour, 1724*, 3:43–44 (Scottish section).

between Scotland and England by confirming the Kirk as the official church of Scotland, over the next century the two churches drew together “in the subtler (but nonetheless real and vital) spheres of social outlook and position.”³⁴ Such coexistence also occurred outside the capital, as Defoe noted while in Angus: “that North by *Tay*, there are far more [of] the Episcopal Perswasion than are to be found in the South; and the farther North, the more so, as we shall see in its Order.”³⁵ However, despite the gradual drawing together of the Kirk and Church of England,³⁶ their theology and church governance remained distinct, causing travelers to continue to conceive of areas with large numbers of Anglicans as closer to England than those with large numbers attracted to the Kirk or Catholicism.

Where some travelers identified distinct geographic areas dominated by adherents of the Kirk or members of the Church of England with little coexistence outside larger urban areas like Edinburgh, Samuel Johnson observed an apparent class divide. While traveling in the Western Islands, he observed: “The religion of the Islands is that of the Kirk of *Scotland*. The gentlemen with whom I conversed are all inclined to the *English* liturgy; but they are obliged to maintain the established Minister, and the country is too poor to afford payments to another, who must live wholly on the contribution of his audience.”³⁷ Johnson contrasted the Presbyterianism of the common residents with the Anglicanism of the elites, arguing that only the structure of church finance in the Highlands prevented these relatively poor gentlemen from attracting an Anglican

³⁴ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*, 213; See also the summary of the Kirk in the eighteenth century in James K. Cameron, “The Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Disruption,” in *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present*, by Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Sheils (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1994), 145–50.

³⁵ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:178 (Scottish section).

³⁶ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*, 214 notes much of the change came after 1750, which he attributes to the impact of the Enlightenment and a shift amongst ministers in the Kirk to behaving more like polite gentlemen.

³⁷ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 241–42.

minister. Not only did Johnson's observation reveal a class split amongst religious adherents in the Western Isles, it also revealed the penetration of sanctioned religion over the previous half century. An area once considered overrun with Catholicism and superstition, like Orkney, now appeared, at least to Johnson, as Presbyterian as any other area of Scotland with at least a minority in favor of Anglicanism.³⁸ Even if the majority of the populace embraced a Presbyterianism at odds with the established religion in England, Johnson's observations about the increasing cultural similarity of the Highlands with the remainder of the Archipelago suggests that divisions within Protestantism mattered less than antagonism between Protestant and Catholic as the populace moved towards an inclusive ideal of "Britishness" in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Thus, Johnson argued the casting off superstition and Catholicism in favor of Protestantism reflected the benefits of cultural and commercial interaction between the Highlands and the metropole and the gradual elimination of the distance between the societies.

Religious differences remained viable markers of attributional distance into the eighteenth century, as travelers' observations in Ireland showed. However, as Johnson saw as he traveled into Scotland, the religious fervor of the seventeenth century, which helped spawn the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, diminished as travel linked geographically distant parts of the Atlantic Archipelago and promoted the movement of ideas. Even anti-Catholicism, at least towards those within the nation's borders, appeared to be waning and largely ceased after the Gordon Riots in 1780.³⁹ Thus, travelers' observations show that, despite the events of the seventeenth century, religious differences did not create perceptions of distance within the Atlantic Archipelago capable of preventing the development of a shared sense of Britishness, except for Ireland. Elsewhere,

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 245.

³⁹ Colley, *Britons*, 22–23.

observers found a growing Protestant consensus largely outweighed doctrinal differences, resulting in commentary on religious matters in only a few of the travel narratives covering all or a part of the Atlantic Archipelago (minus Ireland) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Building

The use of London as a starting point for road routes and mileages in nearly every road book leaves little doubt about the central place the city held in the Atlantic Archipelago.⁴⁰ For travelers fanning out to the far corners of the islands, England generally and London specifically provided clear reference points for attributional comparisons.⁴¹ Architecture offered observers a highly visible representations of this.⁴² When authors described the architecture or building materials of a town, city, or collection of houses that differed from London and its environs, their commentary reinforced the physical distance between that location and the metropole.

Beyond the architectural styles employed in London, observers focused on the building materials used. Particularly after the rebuilding of the city following the Great Fire of 1666,

⁴⁰ E. A. Wrigley, "A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650-1750," *Past & Present*, no. 37 (1967): 49 provides further confirmation of this point, using population statistics and migration patterns to argue that at least one sixth of the adult population of England "had at some stage in their lives had direct experience of life in the great city."

⁴¹ London also dominates the work of modern architectural historians, including Simon Thurley, *The Building of England: How the History of England Has Shaped Our Buildings* (London: William Collins, 2013); Hubert Pragnell, *Britain: A Guide to Architectural Styles from 1066 to the Present Day* (London: Ellipsis, 1995); Hubert Pragnell, *Architectural Britain: From the Saxon Period to the Present Day* (London: National Trust Books, 2007); David Watkin, *English Architecture*, Revised, Thames & Hudson World of Art (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001); For one argument that the modern historiography of British towns is, in fact, dominated by studies of English towns that are then generalized to describe the entire Archipelago, see Charles McKean, "Was There a British Georgian Town? A Comparison between Selected Scottish Burghs and English Towns," *Historical Research* 86, no. 232 (May 1, 2013): 253, doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12013.

⁴² Daniel Maudlin, "The Legend of Brigadoon: Architecture, Identity and Choice in the Scottish Highlands," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 20, no. 2 (2009): 50 argues that "Despite the physical and documentary evidence, the British Atlantic is not a familiar perspective in architectural history. Yet, the principal movement within this British Atlantic World was an outward ripple from London and the English Home Counties - the center of eighteenth-century British politics, economics and culture - to a federation of subnational groups spread throughout Britain and the British Atlantic." While Maudlin does not discuss the rate at which architectural trends spread from the metropole, comments from travelers suggest minor delays in adoption were understandable, but prolonged adherence to old practices and styles created a clear perspective of distance.

commentators viewed the use of brick or stone as the primary visual markers of a region's improvement. However, to say travelers used London as the architectural exemplar as they described the built environment throughout the Atlantic Archipelago does not deny the capital had its critics, especially before the fire of 1666. The writer John Evelyn⁴³ criticized the age of the buildings and their seemingly haphazard construction. Describing the city in 1659, he observed, "I find, as you told me, my *Lord, London* to be a Town so nobly Situated, and upon such a River, as *Europe* certainly shews not a more usefull and agreeable; but withall this, a *City* consisting of a wooden, northern, and inartificiall congestion of Houses; some of the principall streets so narrow, as there is nothing more deformed, and unlike, than the prospect of it at a distance, and its *asymmetrie* within the Walls."⁴⁴ He also complained about the smoke, the ugly and non-uniform wooden buildings, and the large number of ale houses in the city.⁴⁵ Post-fire rebuilding efforts

⁴³ Douglas D.C. Chambers, "Evelyn, John (1620-1706)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/8996> notes Evelyn's fame stemmed from his Grand Tour, often considered one of the finest examples of the Tour, and his *Diary*, which he began around age 11. His description of England Chambers characterizes as a Royalist tract, and notes Evelyn was particularly critical of "The corruption of public and private life, especially at court."

⁴⁴ John Evelyn, *A Character of England as It Was Lately Presented in a Letter to a Noble Man of France.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Jo. Crooke, 1659), 9; See also Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Written by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine Tongue, and Then Translated by Him into English: Containing His Ten Yeeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Divided into III Parts. The I. Part. Containeth a Journall through All the Said Twelve Dominions: Shewing Particularly the Number of Miles, the Soyle of the Country, the Situation of Cities, the Descriptions of Them, with All Monuments in Each Place Worth Seeing, as Also the Rates of Hiring Coaches or Horses from Place to Place, with Each Daies Expences for Diet, Horse-Meate, and the Like. The II. Part. Containeth the Rebellion of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and the Appeasing Thereof: Written Also in Forme of a Journall. The III. Part. Containeth a Discourse upon Severall Heads, through All the Said Severall Dominions*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by Iohn Beale, dwelling in Aldersgate street, 1617), 69; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:110–11; Edward H Thompson, "Moryson, Fynes (1565/6-1630)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/view/article/19385> describes Moryson as a noted traveler, who spent most of the 1590s traveling throughout continental Europe and Scotland. He published his travels in a three volume work, of which the third volume is a discourse on the value of travel and helpful hints to prospective travelers.

⁴⁵ Evelyn, *A Character of England as It Was Lately Presented in a Letter to a Noble Man of France.*, 27–28.

replaced the dominant combustible wooden structures with much more durable brick and stone.⁴⁶ As Daniel Defoe⁴⁷ noted, “the Buildings of this great City are chiefly of Brick, as many ways found to be the safest, the cheapest, and the most commodious of all other Materials; by safe, I mean from Fire, and as by Act of Parliament, every Builder is bound to have a Partition Wall of Brick also, one Brick and Half thick between every House, it is found to be, indeed, very helpful in case of Fire.”⁴⁸ Thus, from 1666 the use of brick and other non-combustible materials quickly became a point of comparison for travelers throughout the Atlantic Archipelago and travelers to the New World as well. Observers praised cities that redeveloped with brick and/or stone, like

⁴⁶ Pragnell, *Britain: A Guide to Architectural Styles*, 85 notes a law passed by Richard I in 1189 after another destructive London fire required residents to construct “stone party walls of at least three feet in thickness,” although this regulation and other prohibitions against wooden construction were only enforced after the 1666 fire. Thurley, *The Building of England*, 200–203, 272 argues brick was a common building material in larger cities and those where there were no convenient stone deposits as early as the 1400s. However, Thurley does not address the costs associated with the use of brick versus wood. Nor did Thurley discuss efforts to replace older wooden structures with brick. By the late seventeenth century, Thurley notes brick production was largely standardized, along with many of the other building material industries, contributing to a boom in housing construction. Pragnell, *Architectural Britain*, 107 reprints Pragnell’s 1995 conclusions.

⁴⁷ Paula R. Backscheider, “Defoe, Daniel (1660?-1731),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/7421> provides a thorough overview of this well-known author, equally famous for his novels as he is for his *Tour of Great Britain* that provided the inspiration for this work.

⁴⁸ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:148; See also William King, *A Journey to London in the Year 1698 after the Ingenuous Method of That Made by Dr. Martin Lyster to Paris in the Same Year, &c. / Written Originally in French by Monsieur Sorbiere and Newly Translated into English.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed and sold by A. Baldwin, 1698), 3; Hugh de Quehen, “King, William (1663-1712),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/15604> describes King as a lawyer who spent much of his time writing, often satiric pieces attacking prominent authors. His most frequent target was Hans Sloane, secretary of the Royal Society. As indicated in the title, King’s *Journey to London* parodied Lister’s *Journey to Paris*. Pragnell, *Britain: A Guide to Architectural Styles*, 95 argues brick became the dominant building material of the Tudor period and remained in favor, as Defoe suggests, because it was significantly cheaper than stone.

Northampton,⁴⁹ Stafford,⁵⁰ Derby,⁵¹ Nottingham,⁵² Liverpool,⁵³ and Newcastle.⁵⁴ In contrast, travelers denigrated Chester⁵⁵ and Coventry⁵⁶ for maintaining a high proportion of wooden

⁴⁹ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 8; Resta Patching, *Four Topographical Letters, Written in July 1755, Upon a Journey Thro' Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, &c. From a Gentleman of London, to His Brother and Sister in Town: Giving a Description Of the Country Thro' Which He Pass'd; with Observations On Every Thing That Occurred to Him, Either Curious or Remarkable.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by I. Thompson and Company; and sold by E. Comyns and H. Cooke, at the Royal Exchange, 1757), 4; Thomas Quincey, *A Short Tour in the Midland Counties of England; Performed in the Summer of 1772. Together with an Account of a Similar Excursion, Undertaken September 1774.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed by M. Lewis, for the Author; and sold by J. Bew, at No. 28. Paternoster Row, 1775), 71; For modern commentary on Northampton, see Pragnell, *Britain: A Guide to Architectural Styles*, 118. Pragnell simply notes that St. John's church was likely inspired by Indigo Jones's original St. Paul's and represents one of the few ways to get a sense of what St. Paul's looked like before Wren's construction. Pragnell, *Architectural Britain*, 141.

⁵⁰ Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 18; James Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome's Three Years Travels over England, Scotland and Wales. Giving a True and Exact Description of All the Chiefest Cities, Towns and Corporations; Together with the Antiquities, of Divers Other Places, with the Most Famous Cathedrals, and Other Eminent Structures; of Several Remarkable Caves and Wells, with Many Other Divertive Passages Never before Published.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Abel Roper, at the Black-Boy, Rich. Basset, at the Miter, in Fleet-street; and Will. Turner, at the Angel at Lincolns-Inn Back-Gate, 1700), 96.

⁵¹ Quincey, *A Short Tour in the Midland Counties of England*, 59; For modern commentary on Derby, see Pragnell, *Britain: A Guide to Architectural Styles*, 183 who notes Derby Cathedral shares a Baroque interior with St. Martin-in-the-Fields; Pragnell, *Architectural Britain*, 186.

⁵² James Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Rogers's Three Years Travels over England and Wales Giving a True and Exact Description of All the Chiefest Cities, Towns and Corporations in England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Twede: Together with the Antiquities, and Places of Admiration, Cathedrals, Churches of Note in Any City, Town or Place in Each County, the Gentleman above-Mentioned Having Made It His Whole Business (during the Aforesaid Time) to Compleat the Same in His Travelling, : To Which Is Annexed a New Map of England and Wales, with the Adjacent Parts, Containing All the Cities and Market Towns Bound in Just before the Title.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed and sold by J. Moxon and B. Beardwell, 1694), 85; Quincey, *A Short Tour in the Midland Counties of England*, 61; Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome's Three Years Travels*, 80.

⁵³ Samuel Derrick, *Letters Written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, the Lake of Killarney, Dublin, Tunbridge-Wells, and Bath. By Samuel Derrick, Esq; Master of the Ceremonies at Bath. ...*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Dublin: Printed for G. Faulkner, J. Hoey, sen. P. Wilson, W. Sleater, J. Hoey, jun. J. Mitchell, J. Williams, and W. Colles, 1767), 11–12; George Beaumont, *A New Tour Thro' England, Perform'd in the Summers of 1765, 1766, and 1767, by George Beaumont, Esq; and Capt. Henry Disney. Describing Whatever Is Curious, in the Several Counties, Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, and Villages of Note, in the Kingdom: Including All the Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parochial Churches; Palaces Antient and Modern; Seats of the Nobility and Gentry; Remains of British, Roman and Saxon Antiquities, Worthy the Inspection of Gentlemen or Others, Who Travel for Amusement, Instruction, or Business. With a New Map of England, by Kitchen, Accurately Engraved, and Finely Coloured. With the Exact Distances by the Mile-Stones.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for Thomas Palmer, Bookseller, near Grey's Inn, 1768), 58; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:205; R.D.E. Eagles, "Derrick, Samuel (1724-1769)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/7536> describes Derrick as a failed actor originally from Ireland who nevertheless earned a living as the author of several works and eventually the master of ceremonies at Bath and Tunbridge Wells. Although acquainted with both Johnson and Boswell, neither seem to have thought highly of him. For some modern appreciations of Liverpool's architecture, see Pragnell, *Britain: A Guide to*

buildings. The continued use of wood created perceptual distance from London and other cities and towns that had adopted the newer building standards. Because travelers observed distance based on the use of building materials throughout England, it is not possible to identify any areas that might represent an internal periphery based on the geographic concentration of towns that retained significant numbers of wooden buildings.

Building materials offered a rather objective point of comparison for travelers,⁵⁷ but other observations were necessarily subjective. Use of the term “well-built” often meant a town’s overall appearance imitated metropolitan norms. Reflecting the subjective nature of such descriptions, few travelers adhered to a firm list of characteristics that determined whether a town qualified as “well-built.” The architectural historian Charles McKean contends a typical “list” of projects for an improving town would include cleaning, paving, and lighting the streets, and standardization of

Architectural Styles, 216 who argues Liverpool’s mid-eighteenth century Town Hall is one of the finer examples of the Palladian style; Thurley, *The Building of England*, 341–42; Pragnell, *Architectural Britain*, 213.

⁵⁴ Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 43; Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome’s Three Years Travels*, 171.

⁵⁵ William Smith, *The Vale-Royall of England, Or, The County Palatine of Chester Illustrated Wherein Is Contained a Geographical and Historical Description of That Famous County, ... Adorned with Maps and Prospects, and the Coats of Arms Belonging to Every Individual Family of the Whole County / Performed by William Smith, and William Webb ; Published by Mr. Daniel King ; to Which Is Annexed, an Exact Chronology of All Its Rulers and Governors Both in Church and State from the Time of the Foundation of the Stately City of Chester to This Very Day ; ... Also, an Excellent Discourse of the Island of Man ...*, ed. William Webb et al., Early English Books Online (London: Printed by John Streater ... : and are to be sold by the several booksellers of London, 1656), 40; Beaumont, *A New Tour Thro’ England*, 13; For a modern interpretation of Chester, see Pragnell, *Britain: A Guide to Architectural Styles*, 216 who mentions Chester, along with Liverpool, as one of the old cities to receive large amounts of new brick terraces and row houses in the late eighteenth century; Pragnell, *Architectural Britain*, 213.

⁵⁶ Patching, *Four Topographical Letters*, 64; Beaumont, *A New Tour Thro’ England*, 117; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:126 (Letter 4). Defoe clearly links Coventry with old London, saying: “the City may be taken for the very Picture of the City of London on the South Side of Cheapside before the great Fire; the Timber-built Houses, projecting forwards and towards one another, till in the narrow Streets they were ready to touch one another at the Top.”

⁵⁷ Bruce Walker, “Getting Your Hands Dirty: A Reappraisal of Scottish Building Materials, Construction and Conservation Techniques,” *Architectural Heritage* 17, no. 1 (July 2006): 43 argues that while there is a significant body of scholarship on English building materials, such studies are almost non-existent for Scotland (and presumably Ireland).

the appearance of the town's buildings, including the elimination of thatch roofs, attempted uniformity in building materials, and removal of building projections that interfered with regular alignment or altered the perceived scale of the buildings.⁵⁸ For example, contemporary observers frequently discussed the width of, and material used to construct, a town's streets.⁵⁹ John Macky described Exeter as having "Four very good Streets, which meet in the Centre of the City" that contributed to the impression Exeter was "by much a finer City than either *Canterbury*, *Rochester*, *Winchester*, or *Salisbury*."⁶⁰ Others, like the clergyman and travel writer James Brome,⁶¹ based their assessment on a general sense of a city rather than any specific factor. Regarding Norwich he wrote: "This is one of the most Renowned Cities in our *British* Island, for whether we consider the Wealth of the Citizens, the number of Inhabitants, the great confluence of Foreigners, the stately Structures, and beautiful Churches, the obliging deportment of the Gentry, and the laudable Industry of the Commonalty, they do all concur to illustrate and dignifie it."⁶² No matter the underlying rationale, cities and towns regarded as "well-built" recalled positive descriptions of the metropole, creating an impression of proximity to metropolitan London. Nearly every county in

⁵⁸ McKean, "Was There a British Georgian Town?" 262; B. Harris, "The Enlightenment, Towns and Urban Society in Scotland, c.1760-1820," *The English Historical Review* CXXVI, no. 522 (October 1, 2011): 1102, doi:10.1093/ehr/ce259 offered a very similar list of improvements and suggested that many architectural and/or urban historians see this process of urban rationalization as part of a wider embrace of Enlightenment values.

⁵⁹ McKean, "Was There a British Georgian Town?" 256 states "the gracious streets and squares of London, Bath and Bristol [set] the standard for improved towns" throughout the Atlantic Archipelago, even in places like Scotland where wide streets and squares were almost unheard of.

⁶⁰ Macky, *A Journey through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad. Vol. II*, 2:52; Somewhat ironically, Pragnell, *Britain: A Guide to Architectural Styles*, 37–40 focuses on Exeter Cathedral, a fine example of Gothic architecture constructed well before our period, rather than the developments contemporaries regarded so highly; Pragnell, *Architectural Britain*, 48–52.

⁶¹ Anita McConnell and Vivienne Larminie, "Brome, James (1651/2-1719)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/3502> note Brome was a fiercely anti-Catholic Church of England minister and author. McConnell and Larminie charge that Brome's travel narrative was likely based on secondary sources, because there is little evidence he visited most of the places he describes, with the exception of Cambridge.

⁶² Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome's Three Years Travels*, 136.

England contained at least one city or town regarded as “well-built,” including the most geographically remote counties from London. The overall effect condensed England geographically, allowing the observer to see reflections of London throughout the kingdom. As with observations of building materials, this geographic spread also prevents the identification of areas with particularly high concentrations of towns described as “well-built.”

At the opposite end of the spectrum, observers derided cities and towns perceived to be “ancient,” “irregularly-built,” or “mean.” As with the cities and towns described as “well-built,” there is no apparent pattern behind these labels. In fact, many counties, such as Cumberland, Northumberland, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, contained both cities and towns described as “well-built” alongside those seen as “irregularly-built.” Observers typically described smaller cities and towns in physically remote areas as “irregularly-built” or “mean,” but observers also applied these descriptions to some prominent towns and cities. For instance, travelers consistently criticized the covered walks on the front of most buildings in Chester. George Beaumont described them:

The Houses are, generally speaking, distinguished from all the Buildings in Britain; they are for the most Part of Timber, very large and spacious, but are built with Galleries, Piazzas, or covered Walks before them, in which the People who walk are so hid, that to look up or down the Streets one sees no Body stirring, except with Horses, carts, &c. and yet they may be said to be full of People. By the same Means also the Shops are as it were hid, little or no Part of them being to be seen, unless one is under those Rows, or just opposite to a House. This was formerly reckoned the Glory and Beauty of Chester, but now its Disgrace and Deformity; for to obtain this Convenience of walking dry from one End of the Street to the other when it rains, the Houses are lessened, whose Fronts would otherwise come out into the Streets as far as those Galleries; also the Shops are dark and close, and many Ways incommodious; yet with all this Inconveniency and Disadvantage 'tis a very handsome city; and in those Streets where the Rows do not cloud the Buildings, there are very large and well built Houses.⁶³

The location of the covered walks made Chester’s perceived deficiency readily apparent, and the use of outdated building materials simply confirmed the impression for many travelers. Yet other

⁶³ Beaumont, *A New Tour Thro’ England*, 13–14.

cities and towns spurred observers to pen similar descriptions for less apparent reasons. Beaumont and John Macky described Cambridge as “irregularly built”⁶⁴ without providing much explanation, while the satirist Edward Ward⁶⁵ insisted its buildings did not fit the town’s reputation.⁶⁶ Regardless of an author’s rationale for describing a city or town in negative terms, such descriptions highlighted the provincial nature and location of the town, often reinforcing differences observable in other attributional categories and further emphasizing the distance of the town from London.

Travelers in England primarily described the built environment of cities and towns, rarely commenting on rural houses or the houses of commoners. One exception is Defoe’s famous description of the dwellings of the miners in Derbyshire, which he characterized as little more than a modestly improved cave.⁶⁷ Defoe’s description created an extreme example of attributional distance. Describing life literally lived in a hole in the ground called to mind descriptions of primitive dwellings from other epochs or certainly other parts of the globe. However, Defoe’s description was one of very few to discuss the dwellings of common people outside England’s cities and towns.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 9; John Macky, *A Journey through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad*, vol. 1, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for John Hooke, at the Flower-de-Luce, and T. Caldecott, at the Sun, both against St. Dunstan’s Church in Fleetstreet, 1714), 95. Macky actually uses the phrase “ill built” instead of “irregularly built.”

⁶⁵ For a description of Ward’s life, see James Sambrook, “Ward, Edward [Ned] (1667-1731),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28682>; Peter Heaney, ed., “Ward, Edward, 1667-1731,” *Literature Online Biography*, 1995, http://gateway.proquest.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&res_id=xri:lion&rft_id=xri:lion:ft:ref:BIO002195:0, summarized in note 64 of the Caribbean chapter.

⁶⁶ Edward Ward, *Step to Stir-Bitch-Fair with Remarks upon the University of Cambridge.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed and sold by J. How, 1700), 13; Unsurprisingly, later architectural critics, like Pragnell, *Britain: A Guide to Architectural Styles*, 101, 127–28, 159 tend to have much more favorable impressions of Cambridge; Pragnell, *Architectural Britain*, 144–45.

⁶⁷ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:46–47.

Travelers described Welsh towns in terms comparable to those used for English towns. Some, like Flint, the anonymous author of *A tour through Ireland* described as “mean.”⁶⁸ Others received the far more flattering “well-built” designation, like Caernarfon⁶⁹. Unlike in England, where designations of “well-built” or “irregularly-built” followed no discernible geographic pattern, observers tended to describe Welsh towns physically closer to London as “well-built,” like Defoe’s description of Denbigh.⁷⁰ In these instances, physical proximity created the conditions necessary for apparent attributional proximity.

Although travelers described Welsh towns in terms comparable to those used for English towns, observers utilized harsher language to describe rural Wales than they had for rural England. Authors who described Welsh houses, and there were admittedly only a small number, emphasized their poor construction, layout, and bare habitability. WR said that “The *Tenements* they live in are sutable to the *Guests* that possess them; for as these seem to be *Dirt* moulded into *Men*,”⁷¹ and “they are usually very *Humble* Cottages, and low in stature, so that a Man may ride upon the Ridge, and yet have his Legs hang in the Dirt; those that are so magnificent as to be *crested* with a Chimney, are mightily valu’d, as most *Cocking* Fabricks.”⁷² About twenty years later, EB claimed:

Their Houses generally consist but of one Room, but that plentifully stock’d with Inhabitants; for besides the Proprietors, their Children, and Servants, you shall have two, or three Swine, and Black Cattle (White they are never without) under the same Roof, and hard to say, which are the greater Brutes.

These Houses have holes dug in their Sides, that serve ‘em for a double purpose, both to let in Light, and to let out Smoke; they represent both Windows and Chimneys: For shou’d a Man have a Chimney perching on the top of his Thatch’d Mansion there, he wou’d stand in great danger of being prickt down for High Sheriff.

⁶⁸ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 37.

⁶⁹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:93 (Letter 3).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:98 (Letter 3). Defoe observed that Denbigh “is the County Town, and is a large populous Place, which carries something in its Countenance of its Neighbourhood to England.”

⁷¹ Richards, *Wallography*, 103.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 110; Anon, *The Comical Pilgrim*, 47 reprints this section from *Wallography*.

Cow-dung is their principal Fiering; and the neater sort use Swine's dung instead of Soap.⁷³

While neither of these authors is entirely trustworthy given the anti-Welsh sentiment in their works, their descriptions resemble descriptions of houses elsewhere in the peripheral regions of the Atlantic Archipelago. This similarity suggests that when it came to describing rural housing in Wales, they needed little embellishment.

Descriptions of Scotland followed the pattern established in Wales. While some Scottish towns and cities might evoke positive comparisons to English standards, most authors perceived Scottish towns as “mean.” Economic benefits of the Union did not reach most Scottish towns until at least the 1730s,⁷⁴ and the improving impetus to create Scottish Georgian towns, often “modelled on London, [and] entirely alien to Scots urban traditions,” did not begin until about 1760.⁷⁵ Thus, accounts of the Scottish built environment before the mid-eighteenth century reflected an environment relatively untouched by English styles and norms, ensuring many travelers observed dissimilarities with what they recalled from the metropole.

Certainly before the mid-eighteenth century, and likely after that point, the Scottish built environment presented travelers with a stark contrast to English norms right from the moment a

⁷³ E. B., *A Trip to North-Wales: Being a Description of That Country and People*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London, 1701), 3.

⁷⁴ Bob Harris, “Cultural Change in Provincial Scottish Towns, C. 1700–1820,” *The Historical Journal* 54, no. 1 (March 2011): 113, doi:10.1017/S0018246X10000476; Harris, “The Enlightenment, Towns and Urban Society in Scotland, c.1760-1820,” 1101, 1111 argues urban growth in Scotland was confined, before 1750, to the major cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee, although some manufacturing centers in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Angus, and Fife experienced rapid growth beginning in the 1740s. Page 1111 restates the economic argument from “Cultural Change.”

⁷⁵ McKean, “Was There a British Georgian Town?” 254, 266. McKean argues that before about 1760, Scottish towns made urban improvements only when commerce or efficiency dictated it, and almost never invested in civic buildings. While Scottish urban renewal projects may have gained pace in the 1760s, the overall urban population of Scotland remained low. Following the work of Ian Whyte, Harris, “The Enlightenment, Towns and Urban Society in Scotland, c.1760-1820,” 1100 notes that only about 27% of the Scottish population in the 1790s lived in towns with more than 500 residents. He also contends (on pages 1103-4) commerce and other practical concerns were the main impetus for urban renewal projects, although he does suggest that both the English and Scottish efforts at urban renovation were part of larger, European-wide trend that began with the Dutch in the seventeenth century.

traveler crossed the border. As Defoe's comment that opened the dissertation shows, Scottish architecture differed substantially from English styles only a few miles away, creating the impression that the traveler had ventured much farther into Scotland than was really the case.⁷⁶ If any cross-border architectural sharing had taken place, Defoe suggested the only flow was the adoption south of the border of Scottish styles like outside staircases, effectively removing parts of northern England and perceptually transplanting them into Scotland.⁷⁷

Given the overall differences the Scottish built environment presented to English travelers, it is fair to wonder if observers compared Scottish towns to each other or to English towns to determine which merited the designation of "well-built." English towns almost certainly formed the reference points for authors like Defoe and Macky who had also traveled through England.⁷⁸ In other cases, like Inverness,⁷⁹ the claimed influence of English settlers pushed authors to see the town as closer to English norms, despite its geographic distance from England. Towns as far afield

⁷⁶ For example, Miles Glendinning, Randal MacInnes, and Aonghus MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture: From the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996) make no mention of brick construction in Scotland until late in the nineteenth century, while stone and timber construction remained prevalent throughout the period in question. Another example is found in Matthew Davis, "Some Northern European Comparisons for Scottish Renaissance Tall-Houses," *Architectural Heritage* 18, no. 1 (July 2007): 1, who argues that Scottish architecture, particularly when applied to the houses of the gentry, followed a European model while the English developed a much more distinct characteristic country house. Walker, "Getting Your Hands Dirty," 46 notes that the Scots used timber and all forms of masonry before the nineteenth century, but timber was the most common material before the economic situation of the country improved in the wake of the 1707 Union.

⁷⁷ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:6 (Scottish section). Defoe argued that "you have in England abundance of Scotsmen, Scots Customs, Words, Habits, and Usages, even more than becomes them; nay, even the Buildings in the Towns, and in the Villages, imitate the Scots almost all over Northumberland; witness their building the Houses with the Stairs (to the second Floor) going up on the Outside of the House, so that one Family may live below, and another above, without going in at the same Door; which is the Scots Way of Living, and which we see in Alnwick and Warkworth, and several other Towns."

⁷⁸ Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 1–2. His observations make this point very clear, noting that Kircudbright "consists of a tolerable Street, the Houses all built with Stone, but not at all after the Manner of England." Interestingly, he also remarks that the town's situation "is a perfect Amphitheatre, like the Town of Trent on the Confines of Italy," reinforcing ideas of the foreignness of the town to his English readers.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 123; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:200 (Scottish section); Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 165 disagreed with Macky and Defoe, calling Inverness "but a small dirty poor Place, although the Capital of the Highlands."; Only seven years later, Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London*, 35 disagreed with the Volunteer, echoing Defoe and Macky in claiming that Inverness appeared to be the most English town in Scotland.

as Lerwick in Shetland⁸⁰ authors also described as “well-built,” creating a sense of attributional closeness to the metropolitan norm.⁸¹ On the other hand, Stranraer,⁸² Peebles,⁸³ and Eyemouth⁸⁴ travelers regarded as “miserable” or “indifferently built.”⁸⁵ Overall, travelers observed far more “well-built” towns in the Lowlands than they did in the Highlands,⁸⁶ reinforcing other perceptions of distance that also drew a distinction between those two regions.

⁸⁰ Brand, *A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland-Firth & Caithness*, 87; Anon, *A True and Exact Description of the Island of Shetland, Containing an Account of Its Situation, Trade, Produce, and Inhabitants. Together with an Account of the Great White Herring Fishery of That Place, and the Methods the Dutch Use in Catching, Curing, and Disposing of the Herrings They Catch There; and the Prodigious Advantage Britain May Receive from Thence. With Many Other Curious Particulars.*, 2nd ed., Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed and sold by T. James at the Royal Exchange; M. Cooper, in Pater-noster Row; J. Robinson, in Ludgate-street; A. Dod, without Temple-bar; and J. Barnes, at Charing-cross, 1753), 4. Although neither author specifically uses the phrase “well built,” both note that the majority of the houses were constructed with stone and inhabited by merchants and “People of good Fashion,” to use the anonymous author’s words.

⁸¹ Glendinning, MacInnes, and MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture*, 136–37 note Scotland began developing “planned” villages as early as the seventeenth century, a process that accelerated in the eighteenth century. However, neither Lerwick nor Inverness fit in this category.

⁸² Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 328.

⁸³ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:110. He did admit that the “high Street has some good Houses on it.”; See also Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 18. Macky described the buildings as “tolerable,” hardly an endorsement of their quality.

⁸⁴ Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 54 wrote that “We had here plenty of Claret, and very cheap; but the Cookery was so nasty, as also the Women, and the Towns so stinking, human Excrements lying every where in the Streets, that it requires great Caution to tread out of them; the Houses and Inhabitants so miserable, that ‘twas with Sorrow I beheld them.”

⁸⁵ Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 81–82 also listed the towns of Burntisland, Kinghorn, and Dysart in Fife as “decayed.” Of Dysart he said: “Dyzart, the next Royal Borough, each about a Mile’s distance from one another, hath been by its Buildings a celebrated Town, but now like Pisa in Italy: The Structures remain, but hardly a Glass Window, or any Furniture in any of the Houses, and so on to all the Royal Boroughs on that Coast to the Mouth of the Firth”; Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 4 also denigrated Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and Cowpar. Both Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 322; and Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:76 describe Ayr as decayed; Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 49–50 thought that Elgin had decayed as well.

⁸⁶ Dumfries: Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 8–9; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:55; Kelso: Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 22; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:115; Dunbar: Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 55; Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome’s Three Years Travels*, 195; Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 26; Haddington: *ibid.*, 36–37; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:18; Musselburgh: Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 43; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:26; Dalkeith: Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 51; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:125; Lithgow: Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 202; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:108; Falkland: Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 166; Alloa: Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:169; Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 183–84; Stirling: *ibid.*, 187–89; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:97; Perth: Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 145; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:163–65; Dundee: Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 95–96; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:176–78; Aberdeen: Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 104, 106, 111–12; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:182, 185–86; Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 133–34; Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 25–26; Elgin: Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 122–23.

While descriptions of Scottish towns generally followed the Welsh pattern, Wales lacked a city like Edinburgh capable of generating direct comparisons with London. When comparing Edinburgh to London, observers recorded many favorable impressions, despite noting consistent reminders that London's grandeur exceeded Edinburgh's. The imposing height of the houses and buildings lining the Royal Mile received comment from nearly every traveler who passed through the city. While many travelers considered them an indictment against a favorable comparison with London,⁸⁷ others recognized that the impressive architecture of Edinburgh elevated the city above every other English city except London.⁸⁸ The chief complaint most travelers had against Edinburgh, however, did not reflect the architectural disparity between that city and London. Rather, they criticized those who first planted the city in a location that minimized its trade due to

⁸⁷ Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland*, 72. Morer criticized the older houses along the Royal Mile because the stairs for the upper floors, often rented to separate tenants, were outside the house and impeded the flow of traffic along the street. Overall, however, his description of Edinburgh was very positive; E. B., *A Description of Scotland, and Its Inhabitants*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed in the year 1705, and sold by most booksellers in London and Westminster, 1705), 4 critiques the city for the crowding he claims exists within these homes and the horrible sanitation practices which resulted; Mary Ann Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour: By a Lady.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for Fielding and Walker, No. 20, Pater-Noster Row, 1775), 8–10. She claimed that “On entering Edinburgh, the metropolis of Scotland, the very capital in which once resided her kings; an Englishwoman is rather struck with disgust, than pleasure - for the streets are narrow, except a very few of the principal ones; and, from the stupendous height of the houses, dark and gloomy”; Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 94–95 also expressed concern about the sanitation practices in the city; For modern commentary on Edinburgh's architecture, see Glendinning, MacInnes, and MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture*, 62–64 who argue that Edinburgh's distinctive high, narrow houses reflected trends in the Baltic and Netherlands. While such linkages would strengthen perceptions of distance, none of the contemporary travelers discussed here made such connections.

⁸⁸ Taylor, *The Pennyles Pilgrimage*, unnumbered; See also Moryson, *An Itinerary*, 69, 273. Moryson does note that most of the buildings lining the Royal Mile had wooden balconies on some of the upper floors which detracted from their beauty. He also acknowledged that once one got away from the Royal Mile, the quality of the houses decreased significantly; Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland*, 71; Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 82–84; Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome's Three Years Travels*, 196, 200; Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 64–73; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:29–34 (Scottish section); Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London*, 20; Walker, “Getting Your Hands Dirty,” 48–52 provides a thorough description of these tall buildings, including a discussion of their construction using techniques and even materials (primarily timber) from Scandinavia and the Baltic; McKean, “Was There a British Georgian Town?,” 262 also notes the European model for Edinburgh's dense, tall buildings, and argues that Edinburgh's New Town represented a clear repudiation of that European tradition in favor of English standards.

a lack of easy access to navigable water.⁸⁹ Although clearly not London's equal, Edinburgh came closer than nearly any other city in the Atlantic Archipelago.

Descriptions of Edinburgh split fairly evenly between those who praised the city and those who criticized it and argued it failed to equal London's splendor. Eighteenth-century travelers expressed fewer reservations about Glasgow, consistently praising the appearance of its built environment. Mary Ann Hanway, who had criticized Edinburgh for its narrow streets and the gloom created by the tall buildings, viewed Glasgow in a completely different light:

The place of date shews you that I write this at Glasgow, being on a tour of Inverary; this town (Glasgow) is a very good one, and ought to figure considerably in the history of *modern Scotland*; the houses are well built, and the streets broad and well paved. There is an air of *metropolitan dignity* in it, (notwithstanding the cold look of the stone houses) which entitle it to a much greater share of the traveler's admiration, than even the capital of the country; for Edinburgh is not only dirty, dismal, and irregular, in many parts, but seems more contracted, and is built upon a less liberal scale – Glasgow, hath also the great advantage of superior architectural uniformity; insomuch that, if a few unequal, petty cots were pulled down, and others corresponding with the modern plan substituted in their stead, there would not, perhaps, be in any part of Britain (Bath excepted) a more spacious, or a better arrangement of buildings – It is, by far, the greatest commercial town in the kingdom, and that very mercantile spirit, produces those effects in the appearance of the people, which commerce never fails to bestow, - industry, content, and opulence; whilst in Edinburgh, there is a poverty, and a sort of northern misery in the very features of the commonalty – *here*, on the contrary they appear happy, and debonair.⁹⁰

Hanway's remarks reflected a Glasgow in the midst of transformation, moving away from colonial trading port towards the center of Scottish industrialism. The influx of capital likely contributed to the sense of grandeur she experienced, but authors like James Brome, John Macky, and Daniel Defoe had been praising Glasgow in similar terms for the past seventy-five years.⁹¹ Even more

⁸⁹ Taylor, *The Pennyles Pilgrimage*, unnumbered; Pragnell, *Britain: A Guide to Architectural Styles*, 211–12 points out the development of Edinburgh's New Town began in 1767. Built to the north of the city as the travelers discussed here would have known it, the New Town partially alleviated the perceived defect of the city being too distant from the Firth of Forth. For more on Edinburgh's New Town, see Glendinging, MacInnes, and MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture*, 169–76.

⁹⁰ Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour: By a Lady.*, 15–17.

⁹¹ Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome's Three Years Travels*, 200; Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 295; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:83–84 (Scottish section); See also Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London*, 28–29.

than Edinburgh, Glasgow demonstrated the ability of refinement embodied in architecture to create perceptual linkages with the metropolis irrespective of the physical distance separating the two cities.

Descriptions of the built environment in Scotland broke along the Highland Line. Lowland towns, including Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrews,⁹² and numerous others, generated positive comparisons to English norms despite distinctly Scottish architecture. When travelers ventured into the Highlands, however, their descriptions of the built environment emphasized the poor quality of the buildings, particularly the houses of the common people.⁹³ Thomas Morer described them, using imagery similar to that deployed by WR and EB in Wales, as:

The *Vulgar Houses*, and what are seen in the Villages, are low and feeble. Their Walls are made of a few Stones jumbled together without Mortar to cement 'em: On which they set up pieces of Wood meeting at the top, Ridge-fashion, but so order'd, that there is neither Sightliness nor Strength, and it does not cost much more time to Erect such a Cottage, than to pull it down. They cover these Houses with *Turff* of an inch thick, and in the shape of larger Tiles which they fasten with Wooden Pins, and renew as often as there is occasion; and that is very frequently done. 'Tis rare to find *Chimneys* in these places; a small Vent in the Roof sufficing to convey the Smoak away. So that considering the Humility of those Roofs, and the Gross Nature of the Fuel, we may easily guess what a smother it makes, and what little Comfort there is in sitting at one of their Fires.⁹⁴

⁹² Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 83–85; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:152, 160; Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 6, 9, 11 was not so kind, painting a picture of a city decayed from its former glory.

⁹³ Glendinning, MacInnes, and MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture*, 135 argue the patterns of urban housing in the eighteenth century also showed differences with England. Whereas urban housing in London and England tended towards rows of narrow, deep houses, Edinburgh and Scotland developed wide but shallow houses.

⁹⁴ Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland*, 18–19; Walker, “Getting Your Hands Dirty,” 48 does not discuss houses during the period Morer is describing, but does note that the only surviving dwellings belonging to the laboring class date from the nineteenth century and beyond, suggesting a level of impermanence in Morer’s time that conforms to his description. Walker later (p. 60) notes thatch and/or turf was the most common roofing material in Scotland until the mid-nineteenth century, confirming another part of Morer’s description. Maudlin, “The Legend of Brigadoon,” 45 argues the “indigenous blackhouse” described by Morer survived in some locations until the twentieth century, but were being replaced by English-style farmhouses and cottages as early as the eighteenth century as they came to be seen as symbols of the Highlands’ backwardness.

Noted author Samuel Johnson⁹⁵ opined that the houses were “miserable cabins, which afford them little more than shelter from the storms.”⁹⁶ As simplistic as the houses may have been, as Daniel Maudlin argues, replacing them “represented a clear change in cultural practice: a building tradition based upon a direct response to the Highland environment was superseded by a house type, construction methods, materials, and building skills imported from the Lowlands.”⁹⁷ For travelers, these replacement houses offered several visual clues tying them to architectural styles common in the Lowlands and farther south, including stone walls laid in regular courses, slate roofs, chimneys, and symmetrical placement of windows and doors.⁹⁸ The similarities authors noted between commoners’ houses in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales emphasized the shared experience of the periphery. Given most of its domestic architecture, Scotland remained a nation apart in public perception long after it shared a monarch with its southern neighbor.

Ireland followed the Scottish and Welsh pattern. Travelers consistently found themselves taken aback by its rough and ready houses. Although the overblown language of some of the descriptions might render them suspect, architectural historian Maurice Craig supports their accuracy, arguing that while the eighteenth century saw an explosion of brick construction in Ireland, “This did not, as yet, include the vernacular dwellings of the peasantry, which at this stage

⁹⁵ For one account of Johnson’s life and works, see Pat Rogers, “Johnson, Samuel (1709-1784),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/14918>.

⁹⁶ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 234. Johnson’s description of the typical “Highland Hut” (pp. 66-67) was little better, contending that they had to “be placed where the wind cannot act upon it with violence, because it has no cement; and where the water will run easily away, because it has no floor but the naked ground.”; Maudlin, “The Legend of Brigadoon,” 46 provides an excellent description of these houses, which he portrays much more favorably than contemporary observers like Morer and Johnson.

⁹⁷ Maudlin, “The Legend of Brigadoon,” 48.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

were still impermanent structures of timber or of sods.”⁹⁹ Traveling in 1699, the satirist Edward Ward described entering some Irish “*Dwellings or Cabans*” as

hazardous almost, as *Orpheus* his descent into *Hell*, where there might be indeed a greater *Fire*, but not more *Smoak*, which thick *Cloud* in the midst of the Room did so *blind me*, and *conceal the House*, that I could scarce remember any thing, but my sore *Eyes*, when I came out *again*....

As for the outward *Structure*, and *English Cow house* hath more *Architecture* far; nay, my *Lord Mayor's Dog-kennel* is a *Palace* compared to them: and for *sweetness*, I have heard many affirm, that the foulest Corner about the *Bear-garden* is *Musk* and *Amber* to their *sweetest Rooms*.

The *Walls* are made of meer *Mud*, mixed with a little wet *Straw*, the *Covering* is *Thatch*; the *Floor Earth*; which, by reason of the constant *Rains*, is generally so damp, that they may be said to live over a *Bog*; and the *Thatch* so ill thrashed, that (by the sprouting of the left *Corn*, which often springs up green) it may be added, they live under a *Meadow*; or (as a Person of Honour said of the like place, to which he most aptly compared the *Long, long Parliament*) they have green *Ears* over their *Heads*, and a false *Ground* under their *Feet*.

The *Beds* are upon such a firm *Foundation*, that nothing but an *Earthquake* can move them; Instead of *Feathers* or *Flocks*, they use *Rushes* or *Straw*, which serves them without changing, till cast *Horse-litter* is a fragrant *Nosegay* to it, and *Jacob's* sweet Lodging on the *fresh Grass*, compared to it, is like the *Pleasure* of the *Marriage-Bed*.

Sheets they never provide, and to tell the *naked Truth*, unless they can purchase a poor *Cadow*, which is not often, they *ligg* together like *Adam* and *Eve* before the *Fall*, not a *Rag* to cover them, but themselves: Which may be one reason why they so multiply; for being necessitated to keep together for warmth, they ingender as thick as *Fly-blows*, each little *Hutt* being as full of *Children*, as a *Country-Burrough* in a well stock'd *Warren* is of *Rabbits*.

They seldom have any *Partitions* or several *Rooms*, but sleep in common with their *Swine* and *Poultry*: and for second or third *Story* you may look long enough e're you find any. *Windows* would discover their *Poverty* and *Sluttery* too much, and a *Chimney* is reckoned as *superfluous* as a *Steeple* at a new fangled *Conventicle*: The *Door* which perhaps is as irregular and multiform as a new made *breach* in a *Wall*, serving both to let in the *Light*, and let out the *Smoak*; so that you may guess their *Abodes* are pleasant and airy as a *Dungeon*, and unless they be compared to one another, each of them may very properly be called *None-such*.¹⁰⁰

Despite the extreme nature of some of Ward's claims, later observers confirmed many of the details and indicated the living situation of the peasantry had hardly improved. For example, seventy years

⁹⁹ Maurice Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland: From the Earliest Times to 1880* (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd., 1982), 177.

¹⁰⁰ Edward Ward, *A Trip to Ireland Being a Description of the Country, People and Manner: As Also Some Select Observations on Dublin.*, Early English Books Online (London, 1699), 5; Ward appears to copy Anon, *A Brief Character of Ireland*, 10–13; See also Anon, *The Present State of Ireland Together with Some Remarques upon the Antient State Thereof: Likewise a Description of the Chief Towns: With a Map of the Kingdome.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by M.D. for Chr. Wilkinson and T. Burrell, 1673), 102–3 who also describes a country overrun with “Nasty-Smoaky-Cabbins.”

after Ward's observations, John Bush saw Irish houses as "despicable huts, or cabbins" lining the approaches to every significant city or town, and constructed mostly of clay and straw.¹⁰¹ Like travelers in Scotland, travelers in Ireland clearly saw the housing of the average person as something inferior to the English norm.¹⁰² Unlike Scotland and Wales, the relative absence of towns in Ireland, or at least towns that travelers took the time to discuss, created the impression that this type of housing dominated the landscape outside a select few large cities and towns.

While the housing of the poor in Ireland generated almost universal condemnation, the nation's principal city, Dublin, received praise from many quarters. In this respect, perceptions of Dublin resembled those of Edinburgh. Although Dublin lacked a street like the Royal Mile,¹⁰³ it contained enough imposing edifices leading travelers to positive comparisons with London. Although Dublin fell short,¹⁰⁴ it remained one of the few Irish cities travelers regarded favorably. Ironically for descriptions of the built environment, many travelers regarded the areas without buildings, such as the Deer-Park and St Stephen's Green, as the most similar to London. The

¹⁰¹ John Bush, *Hibernia Curiosa. A Letter from a Gentleman in Dublin, to His Friend at Dover in Kent. Giving a General View of the Manners, Customs, Dispositions, &c. of the Inhabitants of Ireland. With Occasional Observations on the State of Trade and Agriculture in That Kingdom. And Including an Account of Some of Its Most Remarkable Natural Curiosities, such as Salmon-Leaps, Water-Falls, Cascades, Glynnis, Lakes, &c. With a More Particular Description of the Giant's Causeway in the North; and the Celebrated Lake of Kilarney in the South of Ireland; Taken from an Attentive Survey and Examination of the Originals. Collected in a Tour Through the Kingdom in the Year 1764: And Ornamented with Plans of the Principal Originals, Engraved from Drawings Taken on the Spot.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for W. Flexney, opposite Gray's-Inn-Gate' Holbourn, 1769), 56; See also Richard Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for the author; and sold by J. Robson, in New Bond-Street; J. Walter, at Charing-Cross; G. Robinson, in Paternoster-Row; and G. Kearsly, in Fleet-Street, 1776), 29–30.

¹⁰² Interestingly, Davis, "Some Northern European Comparisons for Scottish Renaissance Tall-Houses," 5, argues that by the seventeenth century, the homes of the Irish gentry tended to follow the pattern established in England.

¹⁰³ Ward, *A Trip to Ireland*, 11 described the buildings in Dublin in a way reminiscent of Edinburgh, noting the height of the buildings but suggesting that the Irish were too poor to furnish more than one floor.

¹⁰⁴ Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 151 argues Dublin emerged from the Middle Ages (which he characterizes as lasting until the early seventeenth century) "looking very unlike our idea of a capital city."

naturalist Edward Lloyd¹⁰⁵ described both in 1732: “The *Deer-Park* is much larger than *Hide-Park*, is walled in with Stone, wherein is a Ring as in *Hide-Park*, were the Nobility in their Coaches resort to as the Quality do in London.... *St. Stephen’s Green* is a Mile about, is in a manner a Square, the Walks being wide and smooth; in good Weather the Quality of both Sexes make a gay Appearance, resembling the *English Quality* in the Mall in *St. James’s Park*.”¹⁰⁶ While the travel writer Richard Twiss¹⁰⁷ and John Bush in the later eighteenth century refrained from making direct comparisons with London, despite a few negative comments, the overall tenor of their descriptions reinforced the impression that Dublin approached London’s standard.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Brynley F. Roberts, “Lhuyd, Edward (1659/60?-1709),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/16633> was the illegitimate son of gentry parents who adopted the Welsh spelling of his surname (Lhuyd or Lhwyd) about 1688. He was associated with the Oxford Philosophical Society, the Ashmolean, and its head Robert Plot while at Oxford. He published works on a variety of subjects, including linguistics, natural history, antiquities, and contributions to works on botany and biology. His work revising the Welsh sections of Camden’s *Britannia* for Gibson’s edition led to his own work on the linguistic and natural history of the “Celtic” parts of the Atlantic Archipelago, including Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall.

¹⁰⁶ Edward Lloyd, *A Description of the City of Dublin in Ireland. Wherein, besides Taking Notice of Every Thing Remarkable in the City, and the Grandeur of the Court. Is Represented the Happy Situation of Ireland for Commerce. The Richness and Fertility of the Soil, Producing Plentiful Growth of Valuable Commodities Manufactured. The Genius and Bravery of the Irish, Establishing Their Reputation in Foreign Countries. The Cause of the Present Mean Circumstances of the Inhabitants, as Movingly Touched by the Speaker of the House of Commons, on Presenting to the Lord Lieutenant the Last Money Bills. Proper to Be Perused by the People of England. As Sacred History Requires to Do as We Would Be Done By, and to Love Thy Neighbour as Thy Self. By a Citizen of London, Who Liv’d Twenty Years in Ireland, and Made the Collection of News Published by Authority; Has Travelled Most Parts of the Kingdon, and Is Lately Returned from Dublin. Who Is Preparing for the Press, Reasons for Encouraging the People of Ireland in the Most Extensive Manner, as Being the True Interest of the Subjects of England so to Do.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed, and sold by the author, 1732), 25. The Deer-Park appears to be modern Phoenix Park.

¹⁰⁷ Katherine Turner, “Twiss, Richard (1747-1821),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/27918> describes Twiss as the eldest child of a reasonably wealthy English merchant resident in the Netherlands. He spent several years in the 1760s traveling around continental Europe, although he also spent some time in Scotland. After a period in England, he toured the Iberian peninsula in 1772 and 1773, before embarking on a tour of Ireland in 1775. He was a member of the Royal Society from 1774 to 1794.

¹⁰⁸ Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 11, 12, 21, 22, 27; Bush, *Hibernia Curiosa*, 11–15, 24. Their primary concerns centered on the quality of the street paving and the layout of some of the newer streets. For a modern perspective, see Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 148 who argues that both the Old English and many of the Irish sought to imitate the latest English fashions in architecture, just as they did in other areas like dress and diet.

Outside of Dublin, travelers found few towns worthy of positive comparison to London or other English cities. According to the physician and natural historian Gerard Boate¹⁰⁹ in 1652, only

Drogheda, Kilkenny, and Bandonbridge are passable and worthy of some regard both for bigness and handsomeness: But Colrain, Knockfergus, Belfast, Dundalk, Wexford, Youghall, and Kinsale are of small moment, the best of all these being hardly comparable to any of those fair Market-townes, which are to be found in almost all parts of England. And as for Cassel, Rosse, Lismore, Clonmell, and Kilmallock in Munster; Sleigo and Atlone in Connaught; Molingar, Trimme, Kils, Navan, Aboy, Nace, Carlo, Arklo, and Wicklo in Leinster; Carlingford, Ardee, and Down in Ulster, all of them walled Townes, they are scarce worth the mentioning, because there are few Market Townes in England, even of the meanest, which are not as good or better, than the best of them all.¹¹⁰

While later travelers had a more favorable view of the largest towns and cities, Boate's observations dominated perceptions well into the eighteenth century. Maurice Craig provides at least one possible explanation for this continuity, noting that most Irish towns relied upon wooden construction until about the mid-seventeenth century, at which point brick and stone construction began to replace the more vulnerable wood buildings.¹¹¹ Boate's description thus held until other

¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth Baigent, "Boate, Gerard (1604-1650)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/2740> notes Boate was born in the Netherlands and only emigrated to England in 1630 after finishing medical training at the University of Leiden. Baigent suggests Boate rose to prominence through his association with the Boyle family and Samuel Hartlib, who helped Boate explore his interests in philosophy and natural history. Baigent also argues Boate's natural history of Ireland was based on information from his brother, who traveled the country as a physician for eight years, and Sir William Parsons and other prominent Anglo-Irish families driven from the island by the Civil War. Although Boate arrived in Ireland as physician to the army in late 1649, he died almost immediately without leaving Dublin. He appears to have completed the natural history before embarking for the island.

¹¹⁰ Gerard Boate, *Irelands Naturall History Being a True and Ample Description of Its Situation, Greatness, Shape, and Nature : Of Its Hills, Woods, Heaths, Bogs ... : With Its Heads or Promontories, Harbours, Roades and Bayes ... : And Lastly, of the Nature and Temperature of Its Air and Season, and Vvhat Diseases It Is Free from or Subject unto ... / Written by Gerard Boate ... ; and Now Published by Samuell Hartlib, Esq. ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for John Wright, 1652), 9–10; Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 145 suggests Boate's architectural descriptions are not entirely trustworthy, noting that Boate stated it was common practice in Ireland to line stone walls with a layer of brick. According to Craig, there is no evidence of this practice until at least 1660.

¹¹¹ Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 111; For additional discussion of the use of brick, particularly in Dublin, see *ibid.*, 178.

travelers described cities like Belfast,¹¹² Cork,¹¹³ Kilkenny,¹¹⁴ Limerick,¹¹⁵ Waterford,¹¹⁶ and Wexford¹¹⁷ in ways that at the very least did not contribute to a sense of attributional distance.¹¹⁸ Coupled with the descriptions of the horrendous cabins of the common Irish, the impression of Ireland beyond the Pale resembled perceptions of the wild American frontier beyond the coastal settlements.

The built environment created perceptions of regional differences within England, distancing some areas from the metropole while moving others closer. The relative permanence of most structures created the perception that these differences were static. Outside of England, the apparently fixed nature of architectural styles and building practices meant that regions with perceived deficiencies, such as nearly all of Ireland, Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland,

¹¹² Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 78 described Belfast as “regularly built, and the streets are broad and strait.”

¹¹³ Edward Lloyd, *A Description of the Flourishing City of Corke. The Second City in the Kingdom of Ireland; but the First Sea-Port for Trade. Sacred History Requires to Do as We Wou'd Be Done By, and to Love Thy Neighbour as Thy Self. Most Humbly Inscrib'd to the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, Merchants &c. in the City of Corke, and Province of Munster. By Edward Lloyd, Citizen of London. Author of the Description of Dublin.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Corke: Printed by Andrew Welsh, for Edward Lloyd, 1732), 5–6 claimed that not only had the city been rebuilt in a manner befitting the second city of the nation, but that “the Ground-Rent of Houses, is dearer than in London, or any City in England” ; While Bush, *Hibernia Curiosa*, 53; and Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 135 largely agreed with Lloyd on the quality of Cork; Derrick, *Letters Written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, the Lake of Killarney, Dublin, Tunbridge-Wells, and Bath*, 34, 44 and; Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 56, 84–89 were less sure, although their criticisms focused mainly on the quality of the streets. The anonymous author, for example, claimed the “Place they call the Mall, where the People of Fashion walk to and fro, as they do in the Mall of St. James’s Park; but, I’ll assure you, there is no Comparison, for this Mall is paved with hard Pebble-stones, little better than the common Streets, which are ill paved.”

¹¹⁴ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 182; Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 140.

¹¹⁵ Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 112.

¹¹⁶ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 160–61; Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 141.

¹¹⁷ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 170–71 states that “the old Buildings are composed of Stone, with a reddish Cast, something like those of Chester.”

¹¹⁸ Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 200 argues Ireland saw the development of rational towns as early as the seventeenth century. However, while the layout may have suggested attributional similarity with English ideals, Craig notes that very few of these towns exhibit notable architectural works.

observers viewed as distant from the English norm. In those few instances where travelers did not observe a sense of distance, they often explained any improvements by referencing the influence of contact with the English.

Few travelers appeared interested in the structural factors behind building practices on the periphery. As a result, while authors regarded English influence as a positive in some areas, authors rarely considered the impact of English policy on the economic fortunes of other areas. As a result, travelers described inadequate housing in terms that appeared to blame the local population for their predicament. The fact that most of these areas were geographically on the periphery created a reinforcing loop that emphasized their distance from London. Combined with other factors which confirmed this sense of difference and the occasional political or military conflict between these regions and the center, it is not surprising to find authors arguing for aggressive policies to bring these areas more in line with English norms.

Social

Travelers journeying around the Atlantic Archipelago observed regional social norms, customs, and traditions as they witnessed festivals, races, everyday interactions between people, and the reception afforded them. While travelers struggled to develop full understanding of a region's social interactions during a short visit, even brief encounters allowed travelers to observe customs unfamiliar to them. When customs appeared to be at odds with perceptions of the metropolitan norm, observers tended to emphasize the peripheral character of the region.

Whereas London typically served as the reference point for travelers examining other attributes, commentators on social norms and customs based their assessments on an idealized sense of typical English characteristics. These included an overall sense of civility, kindness, and generally estimable women. Richard Blome, perhaps borrowing French views, described the

civility of the English as “courteous, pleasant and bountiful.”¹¹⁹ The anonymous author of *The geography of England* referenced the kindness of the English when he described their “cheerful Steadiness of Countenance, equally removed from the Levity of some, and the Heaviness of other Nations. In like manner, their Tempers seem to be a golden Medium between the Extremities observed in the Inhabitants of other Countries, being neither too warm nor too cold; slow in establishing Friendships, but very tenacious of them when once fixed. As to *Good-Nature*, it is so eminently peculiar to the *English* Nation, that a noble Author has observed, that none of their Neighbours have yet had any Occasion for a Word to express such an Overflowing of the Heart.”¹²⁰

As for the women, Samuel Clarke opined that they were “the most beautiful in the world, without the help of any adulterate Sophistications. In a compleat woman, say the *Italians* should bee the parts of a *Dutch* woman from the girdle downward, the parts of a *French* woman from the girdle to the shoulders, over which must bee placed an *English* face. As their persons, so their priviledges are greater here than in any other Nation, they being no so servilely submiss as the *French*: nor so

¹¹⁹ Richard Blome, *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World, Taken from the Notes & Workes of the Famous Monsieur Sanson, Geographer to the French King, and Other Eminent Travellers and Authors to Which Are Added the Commodities, Coyns, Weights, and Measures of the Chief Places of Traffick in the World, Compared with Those of England, (or London) as to the Trade Thereof: Also, a Treatise of Travel, and Another of Traffick, Wherein, the Matter of Trade Is Briefly Handled: The Whole Illustrated with a Variety of Useful and Delightful Mapps and Figures*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by T.N. for R. Blome ... and for convenience are also sold by Nath. Brooks ... Edw. Brewster ... and Tho. Basset, 1670), 100; Richard Blome, *Britannia, Or, A Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Isles and Territories Thereto Belonging and for the Better Perfecting of the Said Work, There Is Added an Alphabetical Table of the Names, Titles, and Seats of the Nobility and Gentry That Each County of England and Wales Is, or Lately Was, Enobled with : Illustrated with a Map of Each County of England, besides Several General Ones ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by Tho. Roycroft for the undertaker, Richard Blome, 1673), 4.

¹²⁰ Anon, *The Geography of England: Done in the Manner of Gordon's Geographical Grammar, Each County Being Consider'd under the Following Heads: Viz. The Name, Situation, Air, Soil, Commodities, Rivers, Chief Towns, Noblemen's Seats, Curiosities Natural and Artificial, Remarkable Persons, Various Particulars. To Each County Is Prefix'd A Compleat Mapp from the Latest and Best Observations, Shewing the Chief Towns, Parks, Rivers and Roads, Both Direct and Across. Also A Separate Mapp of England, of the Roads, Of the Channel, and a Plan of London. Likewise, By Way of Introduction, A Clear and Distinct View of Our Constitution, And Every Branch of the Legislature.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for R. Dodsley, at Trully's Head in Pall Mall, 1744), 17–18.

jealously guarded as the *Italians*.”¹²¹ These characteristics evoked a sense of openness and hospitality potentially familiar to anyone who had traveled and relied on strangers.¹²² While certainly not unique to England, they formed a basis of comparison as travelers ventured forth into the other component parts of the Atlantic Archipelago.

When travelers measured the residents of London against the idealized portrait of English social behavior, most found the city performed poorly. Several travelers, like the writer John Evelyn, found the residents of the city cruel, based in part children pelting his carriage with objects as it passed.¹²³ Others, such as James Murray, noted the physical deficiencies of the residents while arguing generalizations were impossible:

¹²¹ Samuel Clarke, *A Geographical Description of All the Countries in the Known Vworld as Also of the Greatest and Famousest Cities and Fabricks Which Have Been, or Are Now Remaining: Together with the Greatest Rivers, the Strangest Fountains, the Various Minerals, Stones, Trees ... Which Are to Be Found in Every Country: Unto Which Is Added, a Description of the Rarest Beasts, Fowls ... Which Are Least Known amongst Us / Collected out of the Most Approved Authors ... by Sa. Clarke ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by R.I. for Thomas Newberry, 1657), 89–90.

¹²² For other positive accounts of the English as a whole, see: Edward Leigh, *England Described: Or The Several Counties & Shires Thereof Briefly Handled. Some Things Also Premised, to Set Forth the Glory of This Nation.* / By Edward Leigh Esquire, Mr of Arts of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford., Early English Books Online (London: Printed by A.M. for Henry Marsh at the signe of the Princes-Arms in Chancery-lane, near Fleetstreet, 1659), 3; Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia, Or, The Present State of England Together with Divers Reflections upon the Antient State Thereof / by Edward Chamberlaine ...*, 2nd ed., Early English Books Online (London: Printed by T.N. for J. Martyn, 1669), 28–29; Macky, *A Journey through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad. Vol. II*, 2: xv; Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 10, although the circumstances of the Volunteer’s journey and the reference to “true Lovers of their King and Country” suggests that his impression may only cover a portion of the populace.

¹²³ Evelyn, *A Character of England as It Was Lately Presented in a Letter to a Noble Man of France.*, 8–9; See also Pierre-Francois Guyot Desfontaines, *Remarks on the Letters, Concerning the English and French. Describing the Character and Customs of the English and French Nations. Also upon the Essay on Travelling. By Gentlemen of the English and French Nations. With a Complete Index. Translated from the French.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed and sold by Tho. Edlin, at the Prince’s-Arms, over-against Exeter-Exchange; and N. Prevost, at the Sign of the Ship, over-against Southampton-Street, in the Strand, 1726), 8–9; Anon, *A Trip from St. James’s to the Royal-Exchange. With Remarks Serious and Diverting, on the Manners, Customs, and Amusements of the Inhabitants of London and Westminster. An Account of a City Entertainment in Christmas Holidays, with Lively Conversation There. Wrangle between a Barrister at Law and a Foot-Soldier on the First Day of Term. Description of an Infant-Office, for Letting out Children to Beggars. Proceedings of a Society of Affidavit-Men, Watch-Takers, &c The Management of Undertakers for Funerals; with Their Method of Getting Intelligence. Observations on the Behaviour of Maid-Servants, and Characters of Several. Cavalcade from Newgate to Tyburn, with the Behaviour of Jailors and Prisoners. Modern Conversation at Coffee-Houses and Ordinaries. Ludgate, and Its Inmates Describ’d. The Peculiar Talent of the City-Beaus, for Disputation. On the Antiquity of Lace Russles. On Constitution-Hill, St. James’s-Park, and the Company There. Remarks on News-Writers, and Their Works; with a Sure Method of Promoting the Sale of Pamphlets. &c. &c. &c.*, Eighteenth Century Collections

When a stranger comes into such a city as London, he will naturally consider the characters of the inhabitants; but if he was as wise as *Solomon*, he could not describe the character of the *Londonians*. They are not of one, but a thousand characters. Some are civil and kind; some are rude and uncivil; - others are haughty, and some are humble. – London is an abridgment of the world – whatever is said of the world, may be said of it. – I wish there was no reason to say, that it lies in wickedness.

Those that are born in London, are generally weak and puny, and those who come to reside in it, grow every day weaker than they were when they came to it. – It is the same in all large towns.¹²⁴

Perhaps Murray's description offered the most positive assessment of London. As a representative example of either the world or large towns and cities the world over, London appeared familiar to travelers, regardless of its deficiencies when measured against the general English character. Yet these observations created the impression residents of London resided in a country apart from the very nation of which the city was the capital.

To find travelers who regarded the ever-swelling city of London as a poor exemplar of the nation's character is not surprising. For the most part, travelers observed the characteristics associated with England broadly in counties with a more rural character. Cheshire provides one example, where William Smith observed that "The people of the Countrey, are of nature very gentle and courteous, ready to help and further one another; and that is to be seen chiefly in the Harvest time; how careful are they of one another?"¹²⁵ Other counties noted for their kindness

Online (London: Printed for Edward Withers, at the Seven Stars, opposite Chancery-Lane in Fleet-Street; M. Cooper, in Pater-Noster-Row; and J. Jolliffe, in St. James's-Street, 1744), 1–2.

¹²⁴ James Murray, *The Travels of the Imagination; a True Journey from Newcastle to London, in a Stage-Coach. With Observations upon the Metropolis. By J. M.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry, 1773), 97–98.

¹²⁵ Smith, *The Vale-Royall of England*, 19.

included Cornwall,¹²⁶ Dorset,¹²⁷ Hampshire,¹²⁸ Lancashire,¹²⁹ Leicestershire,¹³⁰ and Surrey.¹³¹ As with many of the other attributional markers noted by travelers during their journeys, there is no apparent pattern or geographic concentration to observations of kindness.

Just as there was no geographic concentration of observations of kindness, there was also no geographic concentration of reports of cruelty or rudeness. Defoe's implication of Cornish residents based on their treatment of sailors who had shipwrecked on the rocky Cornish coast comprised one of the most famous examples of this accusation:

Nor is it seldom that the voracious Country People scuffle and fight about the Right to what they find, and that in a desperate manner, so that this Part of *Cornwall* may truly be said to be inhabited by a fierce and ravenous People; for they are so greedy, and eager for the Prey, that they are charg'd with strange, bloody, and cruel Dealings, even sometimes with one another; but especially with poor distress'd Seamen when they come on Shore by force of a Tempest, and seek help for their Lives, and where they find the Rocks themselves not more merciless than the People who range about them for their Prey.¹³²

Although Defoe's accusations contrasted sharply with the general character of England other observers portrayed, other sources failed to verify its veracity. Furthermore, other towns and counties not at the geographic extremity of England also received the label of cruelty, including

¹²⁶ John Taylor, *John Taylors Vvandering, to See the Vvonders of the Vvest. How He Travelled Neere 600. Miles, from London to the Mount in Cornwall, and beyond the Mount, to the Lands End, and Home Againe. Dedicated to All His Loving Friends, and Free Minded Benefactors. In These Dangerous Dayes for Rich Men, and Miserable Times for the Poore Servants of the Late King, (Whereof I Was One, 45. Yeers to His Royall Father and Himself) I Thought It Needful to Take Some Course to Make Use of Some Friends, and Devise a Painfull Way for My Subsistence; Which Was the Journey I Have Past, and This Booke Heere Present; for Which Purpose I Gave out Many of These Following Bills, to Which Neere 3000. Gentlemen and Others, Have Kindly Subscribed, to Give Me a Reasonable Reward.*, Early English Books Online (London, 1649), 10; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 101 (Letter 3).

¹²⁷ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 74 (Letter 3).

¹²⁸ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 21.

¹²⁹ Derrick, *Letters Written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, the Lake of Killarney, Dublin, Tunbridge-Wells, and Bath*, 15.

¹³⁰ John Taylor, *Part of This Summers Travels, or News from Hell, Hull, and Hallifax, from York, Linne, Leicester, Chester, Coventry, Lichfield, Nottingham, and the Divells Ars a Peake With Many Pleasant Passages, Worthy Your Observation and Reading. By Iohn Taylor.*, Early English Books Online (London: Imprinted by I[ohn] O[kes], 1639), 5–6.

¹³¹ Macky, *A Journey through England*, 1:39.

¹³² Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 120 (Letter 3).

Harwich in Essex,¹³³ Kent,¹³⁴ and Beverley in York.¹³⁵ Given the tendency of authors to compare the residents of Cornwall to the Welsh, Scottish, or Irish, their supposed cruelty is best understood in relation to descriptions of those areas, which tended to highlight the social effects of life on the periphery.

While descriptions of kindness or the absence of notations of cruelty could signal a region's adherence to English social norms, many authors identified such areas by describing an abundance of "persons of quality" in the area. Travelers noted concentrations of "persons of quality" in counties across the length and breadth of England, from Devon to Northumberland and all points in between.¹³⁶ Of Ludlow in Shropshire, for example, the author known as "Countryman" said "This Town is an excellent Place for the educating the Children of *Welch* Gentry; and the Town abounds more than any other perhaps in *England* of the same Size, with good Company, who live in a very handsome Manner, independent of Trade. The Natives in general are generous, and maintain the true *Salopian* Character; I mean Hospitality and Civility to Strangers, not much corrupted or heated with Party Rage."¹³⁷ Defoe characterized Ipswich in Suffolk in similar terms,

¹³³ Ibid., 49 (Letter 1).

¹³⁴ Evelyn, *A Character of England as It Was Lately Presented in a Letter to a Noble Man of France.*, 5.

¹³⁵ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:171.

¹³⁶ Cheshire: Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:111 (Letter 4); Devon: George Bickham, *The British Monarchy: Or, a New Chorographical Description of All the Dominions Subject to the King of Great Britain. ... To Which Are Added Full and Exact Lists of the Navy, the Army, the Officers of State, ... The Whole Illustrated with Suitable Maps and Tables; ... Engrav'd by George Bickham.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Publish'd according to Act of Parliament October 1st 1743, and sold by G. Bickham, 1743), 45; Dorset: *ibid.*, 47–48; Essex: Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 4 (Letter 1); Hampshire: *ibid.*, 25 (Letter 3); Kent: *ibid.*, 36–37 (Letter 1), 3, 55–57 (Letter 2); Middlesex: Macky, *A Journey through England*, 1:42; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:3 (Letter 3); Nottingham: Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:14, 23; Somerset: Bickham, *The British Monarchy*, 1743, 50; Sussex: *ibid.*, 67; Wiltshire: Macky, *A Journey through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad. Vol. II*, 2:41; York: Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:158.

¹³⁷ Countryman, *A Journey to Llandrindod Wells, in Radnorshire. With a Particular Description of Those Wells, the Places Adjacent, the Humours of the Company There, &c. Being a Faithful Narrative of Every Occurrence Worth Notice, That Happened in a Journey to and from Those Wells. To Which Is Added, Observations and Informations to Those Who Intend Visiting Llandrindod. And to Which Is Prefix'd, The Parson's Tale, a Poem. By a Countryman.*, 2nd ed., Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for the author, and sold by M.

noting “There is a great deal of very good Company in this Town; and tho’ there are not so many of the Gentry here as at *Bury*, yet there are more here than in any other Town in the County; and I observ’d particularly, that the Company you meet with here, are generally Persons well informed of the World, and who have something very Solid and Entertaining in their Society: This may happen, perhaps, by their frequent conversing with those who have been abroad, and by their having a Remnant of Gentlemen and Masters of Ships among them, who have seen more of the World than the People of an Inland Town are likely to have seen.”¹³⁸ Importantly, using “persons of quality” as a type of shorthand for adherence to English social norms emphasized the importance still attached to rank. Although travelers in England occasionally discussed the lower orders, in practice most narratives devoted considerable space to discussions of the habits, houses, and dress of the gentry and nobility. Only once travelers ventured beyond England, into Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, did their narratives contain significant detail about the characteristics of the general population. Within England, therefore, most observers believed the characteristics of the gentry and above *were* the characteristics of England.

Where neither observations of kindness nor persons of quality indicated similarity, perceived positive traits of local women could fill the gap. In Cumberland, the topographer William Hutchinson¹³⁹ remarked, “The women of this country are remarkably beautiful; - the bold unintelligent stare, the fluttering inconsistent pertness, and lispng nonsense, so characteristic of

Cooper, in Pater-Noster Row; Mr Wilson, and Mr. P. Brown, Booksellers, in Bristol; Mr. B. Haslewood in Bridgnorth, Salop; and by all other booksellers in town and country, 1746), 13.

¹³⁸ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 66–67 (Letter 1).

¹³⁹ C.M. Fraser, “Hutchinson, William (1732-1814),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/14291> portrays Hutchinson as the son of a prominent Durham attorney. He began writing stories and plays about 1772, but quickly turned to descriptions of the northern counties. He appears to have made a deal with Thomas Pennant to avoid competition in the publication of descriptions of the northern counties.

the sex in southern counties, are here totally neglected, for intelligent looks cloathed in modesty, and politeness united with simplicity of manners.”¹⁴⁰ Hutchinson’s opinion contrasted with that of Defoe, who observed that Essex women engaged in “excellent Conversation, and a great deal of it, and that without the Mixture of Assemblies, Gaming Houses, and Publick Foundations of Vice and Debauchery.”¹⁴¹ Travelers in Dorset,¹⁴² Kent,¹⁴³ and Lancashire¹⁴⁴ also recorded favorable impressions of English women, although only in Kent had travelers also recorded a notation of cruelty or similarly negative impression of the people. The positive views of women reinforced ideas of “persons of quality” while also extending the attributional effects down the social ladder and across a greater geographic area.

Outside London, travelers rarely recorded observing poverty in the English towns and cities they visited. Conversely, observers also exhibited a similar reluctance to describe industriousness or commercial acumen. When travelers did record such observations, they covered predictable locations. For example, largely rural and geographically distant (from London) Northumberland contained a populace that Brome described as “generally Fierce and Hardy, participating in some measure of the nature of the Soil; and as they are Stout, so it seems they are long liv’d.”¹⁴⁵ Many of the same characteristics applied to Derbyshire¹⁴⁶ and Devon.¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, the commercial activity of the principal ports like Bristol led authors such as Macky to exclaim that

¹⁴⁰ William Hutchinson, *An Excursion to the Lakes, in Westmoreland and Cumberland, August 1773.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Wilkie, No. 71, in St Paul’s Church-Yard; and W. Goldsmith, No. 24, Pater-Noster-Row, 1774), 101–2.

¹⁴¹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 4 (Letter 1).

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 74 (Letter 3).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 55 (Letter 2).

¹⁴⁴ Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 26.

¹⁴⁵ Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome’s Three Years Travels*, 174.

¹⁴⁶ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:42, 51–52.

¹⁴⁷ Bickham, *The British Monarchy*, 1743, 45.

“Instead of that Politeness and Gaiety which you see at *Bath*, here is nothing but Hurry, Carts driving along with Merchandizes, and People running about with cloudy Looks, and busy Faces.”¹⁴⁸ Travelers observed similar scenes in Liverpool¹⁴⁹ and Great Yarmouth.¹⁵⁰ Although the pace of life generated by the commercial ports lessened the traditional English attributes of politeness and kindness, the air of business and commercialism that permeated London linked these port cities to the capital even as their supposedly English character faded. While observers described the major port cities in ways that preserved perceptual linkages with London, the type of rural poverty and simplicity observed in Northumberland created a sense of distance by appearing to preclude the possibility of finding concentrations of “persons of quality.” For those rural counties where observers failed to find kindness or women worthy of description, an abundance of “persons of quality” preserved the sense the counties belonged to the metropolitan core, rather than the periphery.

When travelers entered Wales, they typically encountered social characteristics that fell into one of two categories. Either the people exhibited signs of English influence or they remained barbarous in the eyes of travelers. Unsurprisingly, observers noticed signs of English influence, which always generated positive commentary, in those counties geographically close to England, such as Flintshire,¹⁵¹ Denbighshire,¹⁵² and Radnorshire.¹⁵³ Although observers described English

¹⁴⁸ Macky, *A Journey through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad. Vol. II*, 2:133.

¹⁴⁹ Derrick, *Letters Written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, the Lake of Killarney, Dublin, Tunbridge-Wells, and Bath*, 14–15.

¹⁵⁰ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 102 (Letter 1).

¹⁵¹ Joseph Cradock, *Letters from Snowdon: Descriptive of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Wales. Containing the Antiquities, History, and State of the Country: With the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Ridley, in St. James’s-Street; and W. Harris, No 70, St. Paul’s Church-Yard, 1770), 13–14.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁵³ Countryman, *A Journey to Llandrindod Wells*, 19.

influence in more remote counties like Pembrokeshire¹⁵⁴ and Carmarthenshire, these areas benefitted, as Defoe noted, from their commercial connections. Describing the people of Carmarthenshire, Defoe said that “We found the People of this County more civiliz’d and more courteous, than in the more Mountainous Parts, where the Disposition of the Inhabitants seems to be rough, like the Country: But here as they seem to Converse with the rest of the World, by their Commerce, so they are more conversible than their Neighbours.”¹⁵⁵ Perceptions of civilized behavior in counties like Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire removed them from the “Welsh” zone and relocated them to an area perceived as English or close to it.

Although some observers saw English influences at work in Wales, others, particularly those who visited the more geographically remote and topographically challenging parts of Wales, characterized the Welsh as barbarous. Joseph Cradock observed a similar dichotomy in Flintshire: “The inhabitants of the mountainous country still retain the ancient British language and customs, unadulterated with any foreign tongue. So great is the difference between the inhabitants of the mountains and the vales, that they would be taken to be natives of different countries and climates. Different not only in their manners and customs, but even in their very complexion and persons.”¹⁵⁶ While Cradock and Defoe showed awareness of the distinction between the residents of the more mountainous parts of Wales and those that lived elsewhere, other authors, particularly those who wrote in the late seventeenth century and earliest part of the eighteenth century, denigrated the entire country as barbarous. WR, for example, wrote:

As for the *Inhabitants*, they are a pretty sort of Creatures, which when we saw, we were so far from *stroaking* them with the *Palms* of Love, that we were almost ready to *buffet* them with the *Fist* of Indignation. They are a *rude* People, and want much *Instruction*. For when we consider the *soil* from whence they *sprang*, and the *Deserts* and Mountains wherein they *wander*, we cannot but think that

¹⁵⁴ Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome’s Three Years Travels*, 25.

¹⁵⁵ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:84–85 (Letter 3).

¹⁵⁶ Cradock, *Letters from Snowdon*, 14.

greater pains should be taken in cultivating and manuring, in disciplining and taming them, in regard 'tis harder for a *Bearward* to teach civility to the *Beasts* of *Africa*, than to those that come from a more *mannerly* Country: - We do not say that when they are in their Countrey they do (like Bears and Foxes) live in Woods and Forests, (for I presume they have more *Sun* than *Shade*, and so more *Fire* than *Wood*) but if we agree with *Geographers*, and are of an opinion that they are Inhabitants of a *Wilderness*, and are *Landlords* of a Common, as I and every body else are owners of the Air, we must beg their pardon for our conceit. We have been inform'd that they were dug from a *Quarry*, and that they dwell in a *Stony* Land; so that if we compare this Kingdom to a *Man*; (as some do *Italy* to a Man's *Leg*) they inhabit the very *Testicles* of the Nation. And I pray what are those but the vilest of Creatures that breed as well in the *Privities* of the *greater* British World, as those that are hatched in the *Pudenda* of the lesser? But whether Welch-men are the *Aborigines* of their Countrey, as Crablice are the *Autochthones* of theirs, and proceed only (like them) from the *excrements* of their Soil, we shall not here dispute. They are of a *Boorish* behavior, of a *Savage* Physiognomy; the *shabbiness* of their Bodies, and the *Baoticalness* of their Souls, and that, which cannot any otherwise be exprest, the *Welchness* of both, will fright a Man as fast from them, as the *odness* of their Persons invites one to behold them. Some of them are such *rude* and *ingidested* Lumps, so far from being *Men*, that they can scarce be advanc'd into *Living* Creatures; nay they are such unmanageable *Materials* that they can scarce be hewn into the shape of *Blocks*; much Labour and Art is requir'd therefore to make them *Statues*.¹⁵⁷

Authors like WR failed to acknowledge those areas of Wales that had some similarity to England. Additionally, allusions to Italy and Greece emphasized the foreign nature of Wales to his more educated audience. Although authors like Defoe and Cradock in the eighteenth century presented portraits of Wales with complimentary passages, the frequent reprinting of this passage from *Wallography* undercut their descriptions and preserved a sense of distance between the residents of Wales and England.

Like Wales, observers of seventeenth-century Ireland also described the population as barbarous. Although more positive accounts of Ireland emerged in the eighteenth century, the geopolitical situation in Ireland in the seventeenth century likely accounts for these early impressions and the shift during the relatively peaceful eighteenth century. One of the earliest accounts of the Irish, written in 1610 by the soldier and author Barnabe Rich,¹⁵⁸ described the Irish as “rude,

¹⁵⁷ Richards, *Wallography*, 80–82. His characterization continues through page 85, with additional commentary on Welsh learning on page 95; Anon, *The Comical Pilgrim*, 39–41, 44 reprint the sections from *Wallography*; E. B., *A Trip to North-Wales*, 3, 6 is similar to *Wallography* in its overall dismissal of the Welsh, although the language is much less graphic.

¹⁵⁸ Willy Maley, “Rich, Barnaby (1542-1617),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/23481> notes Rich's life is only lightly documented. He was probably from Essex, and certainly took part in expeditions to Ulster commanded by the first and second Earls of Essex in 1573 and 1599. He appears to have also fought in France and the Low Countries,

uncleanlie, and uncivill, so they are very cruell, bludie minded, apt and ready to commit any kind of mischief. I do not impute this so much to their natural inclination, as I do to their education, that are trained up in Treason, in Rebellion, in Theft, in Robery, in Superstition, in Idolatry, and nuzeled from their Cradles in the very puddle of Popery.”¹⁵⁹ Attitudes remained the same in the late seventeenth century, although authors like the natural philosopher Sir William Petty¹⁶⁰ attributed any “Treachery, Falseness, and Thievery” by the Irish to the impoverished state of much of the

but is remembered most for his prolific writings, which include at least 26 tracts and treatises in approximately the last forty years of his life. Maley argues that Rich’s literary and historical insights have been underappreciated by historians and likely reflect the critiques of Rich’s contemporaries, arguing instead that more attention should be paid to Rich’s changing attitudes towards Ireland (movement from attacking the wild Irish to attacking the wild English) and appreciation for the civility of Dublin out of line with other English observers of the time.

¹⁵⁹ Barnabe Rich, *A Nevv Description of Ireland Vvherein Is Described the Disposition of the Irish Whereunto They Are Inclined. No Lesse Admirable to Be Perused Then Credible to Be Beleued: Neither Vnprofitable nor Vnpleasant to Bee Read and Vnderstood, by Those Worthy Cittizens of London That Be Now Vndertakers in Ireland: By Barnabe Rich, Gent.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by William Jaggard for Thomas Adams, 1610), 15; See also Thomas Gainsford, *The Glory of England, or A True Description of Many Excellent Prerogatiues and Remarkeable Blessings, Whereby She Triumpheth Ouer All the Nations of the World Vvith a Iustifiable Comparision Betweene the Eminent Kingdomes of the Earth, and Herselfe: Plainely Manifesting the Defects of Them All in Regard of Her Sufficiencie and Fulnesse of Happinesse. By T.G.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by Edward Griffin for Th: Norton and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls-Church-yard at the signe of the Kings-head, 1618), 148–50; William Camden, *Britain, or A Chorographicall Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Ilands Adioyning, out of the Depth of Antiquitie Beautified Vvith Mappes of the Severall Shires of England: Vvritten First in Latine by William Camden Clarenceux K. of A. Translated Newly into English by Philémon Holland Doctour in Physick: Finally, Revised, Amended, and Enlarged with Sundry Additions by the Said Author.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by F. Kingston, R. Young, and I. Legatt, 1637), 142–47; G. N., *A Geographical Description of the Kingdom of Ireland according to the 5 Provinces and 32 Counties: Together with the Stations, Creeks and Harbours Belonging Thereto: Fit for Gentlemen, Souldiers, and Sea-Men to Acquaint Themselves Withall: As Also Declaring the Right and Titles of the Kings of England unto That Kingdom: Likewise Setting down a Brief Relation of the Former Rebellions and of Their Suppression: Especially That in Q. Elizabeths Time by Tyrone: Whence Many Matters Worth Observing May Be Collected as Usefull for This Present Service*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by I.R. for Godfrey Emerson, and are to be sold at his shop, at the sign of the swan in Little-Britain, 1642), 25–26; Boate, *Irelands Naturall History*, 5; Anon, *The Present State of Ireland*, 120–21; Anon, *A Brief Character of Ireland*, 15–19; Ward, *A Trip to Ireland*, 6; For details of the life of the soldier and historian Thomas Gainsford, see S. A. Baron, “Gainsford, Thomas (Bap. 1566, D. 1624),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/10284>.

¹⁶⁰ Toby Barnard, “Petty, Sir William (1623-1687),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/22069> portrays Petty as opportunistic, particularly in matters of religion. Abandoned in Normandy after an accident on his ship at the age of 14, he attended a Jesuit college. Intending to study medicine and avoid the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, he traveled throughout Europe with stops in Paris and Leiden. He returned to Oxford in 1646, where his uncertain religious and political leanings made it possible for him to thrive after the purge of Royalists following Parliament’s victory. In the 1650s, he served as physician to the army in Ireland, as well as surveyor of forfeited estates. After the Restoration, he rose to prominence in the Irish Parliament and maintained substantial land holdings in that country. Supported by the eventual James II, he wrote numerous works on the politics and economy of Ireland.

country.¹⁶¹ While the geopolitical situation in Ireland surrounding these accounts likely explains some of the characterization of the Irish, the realities of the colonial projects in North America likely played a role as well. Although none of the authors who described the Irish as barbarous recorded visits to America, they were almost certainly aware of the struggles of those colonies and their conflicts with the native inhabitants of the land. Viewing Ireland as a colonial project, and many of these authors suggest a viewpoint or actions that embrace that model, violent conflict with American natives might have provided a model for understanding the social interactions behind conflict in Ireland.¹⁶²

By the mid-eighteenth century observers began publishing descriptions of Ireland with many positive characterizations of the Irish. Some authors, like John Bush, explicitly attacked the older descriptions:

Upon my word, Sir, the inhabitants, in general, of this kingdom are very far from being what they have too often and unjustly been represented by those of our country who never saw them, a nation of wild Irish: since I have been in Ireland, I have traversed from north to south and from west to east the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster and Munster, and generally found them civil and obliging, even amongst the very lowest class of the natives. Miserable and oppressed, as by far too many of them are, an Englishman will find as much civility, in general, as amongst the same class in his own country; and, for a small pecuniary consideration, will exert themselves to please you as much as any people, perhaps, in the king's dominions. Poverty and oppression will naturally make mankind sour, rude and unsociable, and eradicate, or, at least, suppress all the more amiable principles and passions of humanity. But it should seem unfair and ungenerous to judge of, or decide against the natural disposition of a man reduced by indigence and oppression almost to desperation. For a peasant of Ireland to be civil and obliging is a work of supererogation.¹⁶³

Bush's observations on poverty as the ultimate source of perceptions about the Irish recalled the conclusions of the natural philosopher Sir William Petty, but his commentary is more consistent

¹⁶¹ Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 98–101.

¹⁶² Among others, Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) argues the British practiced colonialism and racism in Ireland before utilizing what they learned in America. Looking only at authors' perceptions, however, it is possible that the language used to describe the Irish by authors who had never been to the New World was still colored by recorded impressions of Native Americans.

¹⁶³ Bush, *Hibernia Curiosa*, 32–33. Bush does admit (pp. 34-36) that the inhabitants of Connaught might retain some elements of the old impressions, but this he blames on “tyrannic landlords.”

with numerous mid-eighteenth-century accounts.¹⁶⁴ These accounts emphasized the civility of the Irish while either ignoring or confronting their supposedly barbarous past. Although authors like Bush refrained from equating the Irish with the English, eighteenth-century portrayals emphasized a type of attributional kinship with the English completely absent from seventeenth-century accounts.

Despite eighteenth-century observers' positive remarks on the character of the Irish as a whole, descriptions of the principal Irish cities provide the clearest examples of perceived similarities between the English and Irish. In Dublin, for example, Bush argued, "Their dress, fashions and diversions are taken from them; and whoever shall carry over any species of popular entertainment from London, will be sure to meet with encouragement, if he has but the good fortune to be singular in his profession."¹⁶⁵ Dublin's interest in all things English eventually led, Bush claimed, to many Dublin residents claiming, "their gentility as much exceeds that of London as their language."¹⁶⁶ Travelers observed similar affinities in Waterford¹⁶⁷ and Wexford,¹⁶⁸ although in each of those cities the large number of English immigrants seemed to explain the similarities. In Cork, the emphasis on commercial activity and prominence of the merchant community in the city reminded many authors of the commercial spirit found in the chief English

¹⁶⁴ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 82; James Eyre Weeks, *A New Geography of Ireland. The Third Edition, with Many Material Additions and Alterations, Not in Any Former Impression. By James Eyre Weeks, Gent.*, 3rd ed., Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Dublin: Printed by James Hoey, in Skinner-Row, 1752), 69; Paul Hiffernan, *The Hiberniad*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Dublin, 1754), 22, 24, 32; Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 8–9, 31–33, 48–51.

¹⁶⁵ Bush, *Hibernia Curiosa*, 18.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 44; See also Lloyd, *A Description of the City of Dublin*, 5, 16–17, 23. While Lloyd does not claim that the residents of Dublin saw themselves as superior to those of London, he does state that many in Dublin made a concerted effort to adopt English customs.

¹⁶⁷ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 161–62.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 168–69.

ports like Bristol and Liverpool.¹⁶⁹ Accounts that emphasized the apparent Englishness of the residents of Irish cities in the eighteenth century reinforced the dwindling perception of distance between the two societies. Given the relative calm that characterized eighteenth-century Ireland, the shift in attitudes away from seeing the Irish as barbarous is best explained by the lack of armed resistance to English rule like what had occurred in the 1640s and 1690s.

Geopolitical factors influenced perceptions of regions other than Ireland. In the Scottish Highlands, the ignorance of seventeenth-century observers, very few of whom actually ventured into the Highlands, bred negative perceptions that crystallized with Highland opposition to the Union and Hanoverian Succession. However, while the relatively conflict-free eighteenth century allowed for the publication of positive portrayals of the Irish, English conflict with Scottish Highlanders in the first half of the century, exemplified by the two Jacobite Risings in 1715 and 1745, helped perpetuate perceptions of Highland social norms as barbarous. Only in the aftermath of Culloden did a reappraisal of the Highlanders appear in travelers' accounts, although many of these contained allusions to the older attitudes.

Reference to eighteenth-century points of conflict explains the endurance of negative attitudes towards the Highlanders, but does little to explain the origin of these attitudes. Unfortunately, even the earliest seventeenth-century sources contain remarkably uniform descriptions, suggesting older origins for stereotypes of the Highlanders. The historian William Camden,¹⁷⁰ in his celebrated *Britannia*, published in English in 1610 and 1637 but dating to the late sixteenth century, described the Highlanders as:

¹⁶⁹ Lloyd, *A Description of the Flourishing City of Corke*, 5; Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 61; Derrick, *Letters Written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, the Lake of Killarney, Dublin, Tunbridge-Wells, and Bath*, 35.

¹⁷⁰ Wyman H. Herendeen, "Camden, William (1551-1623)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/4431> describes Camden's complicated relationship with Oxford, but also provides significant detail regarding the production of Camden's most famous work, *Britannia*. This was based on personal observation, study, collaboration (including

There inhabite these regions a kinde of people, rude, warlike, readie to fight, querulous, and mischievous: they bee commonly tearmed *High-landmen*, who being indeed the right progenie of the ancient Scots, speak Irish, & call themselves *Albinich*; their bodies be firmly made and well compact, able withal and strong, nimble of foot, high minded, inbred and nuzzeled in warlike exercises, or robberies rather, and upon a deadly feud and hatred most forward and desperate to take revenge. They goe attired Irish-like, in stript or streaked mantles of divers colours, wearing thicke and long glibbes of haire, living by hunting, fishing, fowling, and stealing. In the warre their armour is an head-peece of Morion or iron, and a habergeon or coast of maile: their weapons bee bowes, barbed or hooked arrows, and broad backe-swordes: and being divided by certaine families or kinreds, which they terme *Clannes*, they commit such cruell outrages, what with robbing, spoiling, and killing, that their savage crueltie hath forced a law to bee enacted, whereby it is lawfull, That if any person out of any one Clanne or kinred of theirs hath trespassed ought and done harme, whosoever of that Clanne or linage chance to bee taken, he shall either make amends for the harmes, or else suffer death for it; when as the whole Clan commonly beareth feud for any hurt received by any one member thereof, by execution of laws, order of justice, or otherwise.¹⁷¹

Inflammatory in its own right, Camden's account echoed other contemporary descriptions and influenced portrayals of the Highlanders for at least the next century. Other seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century accounts also contained lengthy descriptions of the Highlanders' supposed barbarity, often overshadowing any description of the Lowlanders they offered.¹⁷² Some authors

with geographers like Gerardus Mercator), and research into available primary sources. Originally published in 1586 in Latin, an additional five editions were printed before an English translation appeared in 1610. Although Camden was involved with the production of the English translation, it is not faithful to the original, and Herendeen argues most scholars consider it inferior to Gibson's 1695 edition. The popularity of the work was such that new editions continued to appear into the early nineteenth century.

¹⁷¹ Camden, *Britain*, 1637, 39–40.

¹⁷² Clarke, *A Geographical Description of All the Countries in the Known Vworld*, 106; Blome, *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World*, 126–27; Blome, *Britannia*, 291–92; Richard Franck, *Northern Memoirs, Calculated for the Meridian of Scotland Wherein Most or All of the Cities, Citadels, Seaports, Castles, Forts, Fortresses, Rivers and Rivulets Are Compendiously Described: Together with Choice Collections of Various Discoveries, Remarkable Observations, Theological Notions ...: To Which Is Added the Contemplative & Practical Angler ... / Writ in the Year 1658, but Not till Now Made Publick, by Richard Franck ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for the author, to be sold by Henry Mortclock, 1694), 85–87; Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome's Three Years Travels*, 183–84; Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 127; For information on the life of travel writer Richard Franck, see David Allan, "Franck, Richard (c.1624-c.1708)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/10079>. Little is known about Franck, but he appears to have served with Parliamentary forces in Scotland, which provided him the opportunity to explore the country. These explorations resulted in his description of the country, which was likely composed about 1658 but not published until the 1690s. Allan argues that Franck's portrayal of Scotland anticipates Pennant and Johnson in many important ways, including his perception of the country's natural beauty and architectural heritage.

eschewed the distinction between Lowland and Highland altogether, preferring to denigrate all Scots regardless of which part of Scotland they lived in.¹⁷³

Resistance to the Union of 1707 and the Hanoverian Succession, expressed in the Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745, ensured perceptions of the Scots, particularly the Highlanders, continued to reflect an impression of barbarism. In the immediate aftermath of the 1745 Rising, the anonymous author of *Remarks on the people and government of Scotland* wrote:

When the *Highlanders* walk'd the streets here, every body must be sensible that there was more staring at them than ever was seen at the *Morocco* ambassador's attendance, or even at the *Indian* chiefs, who some people would have passed on us for kings. The amazement expressed by our mob [in London] was not greater than the surprize of these poor creatures; and if we though their dress and language barbarous, they had just the same opinion of our manners; nor will I pretend to decide which was most in the right.

That the *Highlands of Scotland* are wild and uncultivated is a fact not to be disputed or denied, and whoever has travelled into *Wales* will not be much amazed that there are hills at one end of the island as well as the other. That the people too differ much in their manners and customs from those about *London*, will not appear miraculous to any man who has seen *Cornwall*, the sea-coast of *Lincolnshire*, or any other distant county in *England*. But though it be true that there is nothing strange in their country's being unlike this, or in the inhabitants differing from us, yet methinks it is pretty strange, that lying at so small a distance we should be so little acquainted as to wherein this difference consists.

After this description of the country, it cannot be expected that you should find its inhabitants either very wealthy, or extremely polite, and yet it may be truly affirmed, that they are not indigent to the degree of beggars, or despicably rude. On the sea-coast, and in the neighbourhood of their little ports, you see something like industry, and the people don't make a much worse figure than they do in *North Wales*.

¹⁷³ Sir Anthony Weldon, *A Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland*. By James Howel, *Gent.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for J.S., 1649), 3; Thomas Kirke, *A Modern Account of Scotland Being an Exact Description of the Country, and a True Character of the People and Their Manners / Written from Thence by an English Gentleman.*, Early English Books Online (London, 1679), 1–3; Edward Ward, *A Journey to Scotland Giving a Character of That Country, the People and Their Manners. By an English Gentleman. With a Letter from an Officer There, and a Poem on the Same Subject.*, Early English Books Online (London, 1699), 3–4; Anon, *A Trip Lately to Scotland*, 8–11; E. B., *A Description of Scotland, and Its Inhabitants*, 2–3; Joseph Marshall and Sean Kelsey, “Weldon, Sir Anthony (Bap. 1583, D. 1648),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/view/article/28988> make a convincing case in their biography of Weldon that despite frequent attribution, he was not the author of the work referenced here, although no one has ever discovered the true author. For the curious case of Thomas Kirke, see Clare Jackson, “Kirke, Thomas (1650-1706),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/15666> who argues that Kirke produced two radically different depictions of Scotland after a lengthy tour of that country in 1677. The published version, cited here, was a wholly negative portrayal of the country and its inhabitants. The second, a detailed topographical journal, was posthumously published as an appendix to the diary of his antiquary friend Ralph Thoresby.

But in the inland parts, and even on the coast where there is no considerable trade, dwell the very *Highlanders* we have to do with, and these are distinguished from the rest of the people of *Scotland*, not so much by their dress, as by their manner of living, which is to this hour in a kind of vassalage, under their chiefs, and therefore these people are generally known in *North-Britain* by the name of the *Clans*.¹⁷⁴

Drawing on older traditions, the author's comparison of captured Highlanders paraded through London to the arrival of foreigners from Morocco or Native Americans emphasized the physical distance between London and the Highlands while suggesting this distance resulted in the barbarity of the Highlands.¹⁷⁵ Reflecting greater awareness and revealing the genesis of changing perceptions towards the Highlands, his commentary as a whole actually began the process of dismantling the previously established perception of social distance between the English and the Highlanders prevalent since the seventeenth century.

The reappraisal of the Highlanders gained strength over the next twenty years. By the 1770s authors such as Mary Ann Hanway viewed the Scots as something of a reclamation project: "I must own before I came to Scotland, I had, from wrong representations, conceived a very different character than what they deserve. I sincerely wish I had a pen equal to the task of justifying them and their country from those illiberal aspersions under which they have too long laboured, from a set of men, whose prejudices are such, that they think wisdom and worth confined to one spot only, and that spot without doubt, they think *their own*."¹⁷⁶ Referencing the perceptual divide between core and periphery, Hanway's account lacks the perception of barbarism so prevalent in earlier commentaries, despite not declaring the Highlander the equal of the average Englishman. Without

¹⁷⁴ Anon, *Remarks on the People and Government of Scotland. Particularly the Highlanders; Their Original Customs, Manners, &c. With a Genuine Account of the Highland Regiment That Was Decoyed to London.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Edinburgh: Printed for the author, 1747), 1–4.

¹⁷⁵ Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London*, while arguing against any innate defects on the part of the Highlanders, argues many English "use them more like Negroes than Natives of Britain."

¹⁷⁶ Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour: By a Lady.*, 138.

the charge of barbarism, it became possible to see the Highlanders as part of a larger national identity, even if they retained distinctive cultural markers.

While Samuel Johnson agreed with Hanway's assertions, he criticized her failure to engage the historical context. Only in the thirty years since the 1745 Rising, Johnson noted, had the Highlanders lost the traits that made them appear barbarous, suggesting older authors may not have been casting "illiberal aspersions" on the Scots:

There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which has operated in the Highlands, by the last conquest, and the subsequent laws. We came thither too late to see what we expected, a people of peculiar appearance, and a system of antiquated life. The clans retain little now of their original character, their ferocity of temper is softened, their military ardour is extinguished, their dignity of independence is depressed, their contempt of government subdued, and their reverence for their chiefs abated. Of what they had before the late conquest of their country, there remain only their language and their poverty. Their language is attacked on every side. Schools are erected, in which *English* only is taught, and there were lately some who thought it reasonable to refuse them a version of the holy scriptures, that they might have no monument of their mother-tongue.

That their poverty is gradually abated, cannot be mentioned among the displeasing consequences of subjection. They are now acquainted with money, and the possibility of gain will by degrees make them industrious. Such is the effect of the late regulations, that a longer journey than to the Highlands must be taken by him whose curiosity pants for savage virtues and barbarous grandeur.¹⁷⁷

Johnson's closing comments again suggest correlation between perceptions of barbarism and distance. With the Highlands pacified through military force and "civilization" introduced to the region, observers had to go farther afield to find barbarism. Johnson's statement implied a sense that barbarism could not exist within a certain distance of the "modern" metropole, and emphasized the degree to which previous authors who identified the Highlands and barbarous portrayed them as distant and foreign.

Furthermore, Johnson argued the force employed to crush the 1745 Rising and to subsequently pacify the Highlands responded to the lack of governmental influence in the region which gave rise to the barbarism previous authors described. He argued:

¹⁷⁷ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 127–29.

Mountainous regions are sometimes so remote from the seat of government, and so difficult of access, that they are very little under the influence of the sovereign, or within the reach of national justice. Law is nothing without power; and the sentence of a district court could not be easily executed, nor perhaps very safely promulgated, among men ignorantly proud and habitually violent, unconnected with the general system, and accustomed to reverence only their own lords. It has therefore been necessary to erect many particular jurisdictions, and commit the punishment of crimes, and the decision of right to the proprietors of the country who could enforce their own decrees. It immediately appears that such judges will be often ignorant, and often partial; but in the immaturity of political establishments no better expedient could be found. As government advances towards perfection, provincial judicature is perhaps in every empire gradually abolished.

Those who had thus the dispensation of law, were by consequence themselves lawless. Their vassals had no shelter from outrages and oppressions; but were condemned to endure, without resistance, the caprices of wantonness, and the rage of cruelty.¹⁷⁸

Johnson's entire commentary on the source of the Highlander's apparent barbarity is worth examination, but in essence it combines the time distance that results from topographical impediments to movement with the physical distance from the source of power, as outlined in the passage above.¹⁷⁹ In other words, Johnson argued perceptions of attributional dissimilarity reflected and amplified existing weaknesses rooted in distance in the ability of the metropole to control territory.

Throughout the period in question, observers believed Inverness, often regarded as the capital of the Highlands, offered a small island of English civility in a sea of Highland barbarism. Yet, occasionally the barbarism crept in, exemplified in the account of the "Volunteer:" "You'll see in a warm Morning, the River Edges lin'd with these Sort of Women that are Maid-servants, and frequently as many Soldiers admiring their Legs and Thighs, and particularly their Motion in treading, which always put me in mind of the Negroes dancing."¹⁸⁰ The Volunteer's comments

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 100–101.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 22, 45, 56–57, 60, 92–129, 201, 229–33, 276, 304–5, 376, 380.

¹⁸⁰ Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 166; See also Alexander Doriack Chancel, *A New Journey over Europe; from France Thro' Savoy, Switzerland, Germany, Flanders, Holland, Denmark, Swedland, Muscovy, Poland, Hungary, Styria, Carinthia, the Venetian Territories, Italy, Naples, Sicily, Genoa, Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, and Ireland. With Several Observations on the Laws, Religion, and Government, &c. of Each. Together With an Account of the Births and Marriages of All the Kings and Princes of Europe from the Year 1650. By a Late Traveller A. D. Chancel, M.A.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for John Harding at the Blew-Anchor and Bible on the Pavement in St. Martin's-Lane, 1714),

introduced a unique racial dimension into social observation not present elsewhere. Although other authors drew comparisons between a location and a foreign example, the chosen foreign locations were almost exclusively European locations that suggested foreignness but not the connotations of inferiority associated with certain racial groups. In this case, the Volunteer linked the lower class women (Maid-servants), almost certainly drawn from the native Scottish population, with African slaves, highlighting the supposed barbarity and inferiority of this group.

While authors like the Volunteer emphasized the negative social characteristics of the native Scottish inhabitants of Inverness, others, like Defoe, praised the civility that resulted from decades of English influence. Defoe claimed the conflicts of the seventeenth century led to a population of English ex-soldiers in Inverness, whose influence resulted in “much of the *English* Way of Living among them, as well as in their Manner of Dress and Customs, as also their Eating and Drinking, and even of their Dressing and Cookery, which we found here much more agreeable to *English* Stomachs than in other Parts of *Scotland*; all which, and several other Usages and Customs, they retain from the settling of Three Regiments of *English* Soldiers here, after they were disbanded, and who had, at least many of them, their Wives and Children with them.”¹⁸¹ Missing from Defoe’s account are charges of barbarity or the racial overtones of the Volunteer’s description. Instead, Defoe portrayed Inverness as a sort of model English village, incongruously located in the Scottish Highlands.

Complicated attitudes regarding the supposed barbarity or civility of the Scots existed in other parts of the kingdom in addition to Inverness. Some authors regarded the inhabitants of the

218–19, although Chancel’s description seems to be the typical description of all Highlanders, but offered in the context of first observing them in Inverness.

¹⁸¹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:197 (Scottish section). Defoe’s reference is to some of Cromwell’s troops who settled in the area; See also Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 54; Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 123.

Orkneys as barbarous,¹⁸² while others saw the residents of both the Orkneys and Shetland as civil and hospitable.¹⁸³ Aside from those two counties, the greatest confusion came from the area bordering the Highlands. Some border counties, like Perthshire¹⁸⁴ and Nairn,¹⁸⁵ authors noted for their supposed barbarity. Others, like Aberdeenshire,¹⁸⁶ Angus,¹⁸⁷ and Stirlingshire,¹⁸⁸ received comments on their civility. Interestingly, authors also remarked on the barbarity of the southwestern-most counties of Scotland as well, noting these traits in Argyll,¹⁸⁹ Dumfriesshire,¹⁹⁰ and Kirkcudbrightshire.¹⁹¹ While the proximity to the Highlands explains the apparent blurring in perceptions of barbarity in places like Perthshire, only the geographic remoteness of these southwestern counties and their position off the normal routes from England to the major Scottish cities explains the presence of the perception of barbarity within their borders. The lack of regular contact, these authors suggest, failed to erase the barbarous instincts of inhabitants conditioned by historical border conflicts with the English.

¹⁸² Blome, *Britannia*, 317.

¹⁸³ Orkneys: Wallace, *A Description of the Isles of Orkney*, 29; Brand, *A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland-Firth & Caithness*, 16; Shetland: *ibid.*, 66–67; Anon, *A True and Exact Description of the Island of Shetland*, 11, 18.

¹⁸⁴ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:218, 220 (Scottish section), although Defoe does suggest on page 220 that the barbarism of the inhabitants of Perthshire appears to be less than it was in Camden's time.

¹⁸⁵ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 51.

¹⁸⁶ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:188 (Scottish section).

¹⁸⁷ Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 101–2; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:177, 179–80 (Scottish section). Defoe does note that the hospitality of the commoners in Angus was lessened because they were English. He notes that their resentment stemmed from the Union, not the 1715 Jacobite Rising.

¹⁸⁸ Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 198 praises the music and the way the younger gentry imitate French customs.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 304; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:225 (Scottish section).

¹⁹⁰ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:58 (Scottish section).

¹⁹¹ Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 4.

When authors could not find other social traits to express the similarity of a region's cultural characteristics to metropolitan norms, they turned to descriptions of Scottish women. Mary Ann Hanway reflected this pattern with her comments on the women of the Highlands:

The Highland ladies are, as with us, some very pretty, others not: They have strong passions; among which are, pride of ancestry, and a scrupulous care not to degenerate by mixing with plebian blood. There are many ladies here, who would rather prefer marrying a *Chieftain*, and live secluded from the world on six hundred a year, than join themselves to a Lowlander, whose progenitors were born a few hundred years later, with treble that sum. I don't think the *gentlemen* are such dupes to this foible; for, having most of them travelled, they know the worth of gold, and prize it accordingly; by consequence, would have no objection to a rich *citizen's* daughter with a plumb. It was not long since a gentleman of this country married in London, and brought down here a broker's daughter, who gives herself more airs than a Duchess. This family-pride excepted, they are a very agreeable set of people, good-natured, sensible, and polite: they love dancing to excess, and are the best country-dancers I ever saw, and *keep it up* (as the phrase is) for hours together, with a life, vivacity and spirit, of which you can have no conception. In many houses, they still retain the ancient custom of the pipers playing all the time the company are at dinner, on his *horrid bagpipes*; this is to me more dreadful, than the grunting of pigs.¹⁹²

Although the invocation of bagpipes preserved some distinction between the English and the Highlanders, Hanway's overall impression of Highland women negated many perceived differences between the societies. Travelers also reported favorable impressions of Scottish women in Shetland,¹⁹³ the Western Isles,¹⁹⁴ Kincardine,¹⁹⁵ and Edinburgh.¹⁹⁶ The geographic dispersal of these impressions served as an important corrective to accounts that portrayed all Scots as barbarous or uncouth, although they likely failed to overcome the perceptions created by the more negative descriptions of particular areas, like the Highlands.

Unlike nearly every other attributional marker, perceptions of proper society and customs did not take London as the norm. Rather, travelers relied upon an idealized sense of what it meant

¹⁹² Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour: By a Lady.*, 130–32.

¹⁹³ Anon, *A True and Exact Description of the Island of Shetland*, 22.

¹⁹⁴ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 241.

¹⁹⁵ Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 104.

¹⁹⁶ Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 95–96; Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour: By a Lady.*, 13.

to be English, allowing for greater expressions of regionalism within England than perhaps any other category. Yet this idealized sense of Englishness also created the conditions whereby perceptions of the other component parts of the Atlantic Archipelago were far more negative than in nearly any other category. Although some authors distinguished between certain regions within these component parts, examination of perceptions of social conditions revealed far fewer qualifiers and instances of positive interaction than in other categories.

This is rather surprising given the relative speed with which social conventions could change, particularly relative to other attributes like architectural style. By the mid-eighteenth century, observers reported changes in many areas previously perceived as the most distant from metropolitan norms. In Ireland, for example, accounts that described the Irish as barbarous largely faded after 1750. Similarly, Samuel Johnson observed the changes sweeping over the Highlands in the aftermath of the 1745 Rising. Although military force imposed these changes rather than the changes resulting from organic processes as in Ireland, the end result supports the development of a sense of national identity largely encompassing the entirety of the Atlantic Archipelago. However, before this national identity developed, from the early seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, travelers perceived a clear social periphery within the Atlantic Archipelago, almost exactly corresponding to the more mountainous fringes plus Ireland.

Food

In an age before refrigeration and fast, reliable transport, the necessity of eating locally-produced food created the conditions for regional variety amongst dishes. Yet few travelers described regional variety based on food consumption. The lack of dramatic climatic differences across the Atlantic Archipelago contributed to a corresponding lack of dietary diversity. As a

result, observers noticed greater culinary differences between social classes than they did between regions.

Historians have only recently paid serious attention to regional food culture and its connection to social forms, as evidenced by the many broad histories of the Atlantic Archipelago that give only cursory accounts of food habits or none at all. In part, this reticence to discuss food may reflect, as Joan Thirsk argues, the difficulty historians have generalizing from food consumption, an essentially individual act that does not necessarily reflect the ebb and flow of larger trends.¹⁹⁷ Although David Hackett Fischer links culinary traditions in America to British antecedents, his discussion of culinary practices in the Atlantic Archipelago is superficial at best, and does not offer the same level of detail as some of his other discussions, or even his discussion of food in America.¹⁹⁸ Colley and Hechter do not discuss the issue of food or diet at all, other than a brief digression by Hechter suggesting the need to secure the food supply formed England's primary motivation for incorporating Wales.¹⁹⁹ The few general studies of the Atlantic Archipelago in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that do discuss food tend to focus on Ireland, particularly the rapid expansion of the potato in that country.²⁰⁰

Because general histories provided few details on early modern British food culture, over the past twenty years several specialized histories filled the void. As L.A. Clarkson and E.

¹⁹⁷ Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 329.

¹⁹⁸ Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 134–39, 349–54, 538–44, 727–31 although the only substantial discussions of traditions in Britain are found on page 138 (preference for frying in southern and western England, boiling in the north, and baking in East Anglia) and pages 727–31 which discusses the continued preference for “poor” foodstuffs (potatoes, oats, whiskey) amongst those settlers from Scotland, Ireland, and the Borders.

¹⁹⁹ Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, 69–70.

²⁰⁰ David Dickson, “The Place of Dublin in the Eighteenth-Century Irish Economy,” in *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850*, by T.M. Devine and David Dickson (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1983), 186–87; L.M. Cullen, “Incomes, Social Classes and Economic Growth in Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1900,” in *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850*, by T.M. Devine and David Dickson (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1983), 252–53; Heyck, *The Peoples of the British Isles: A New History, From 1688 to 1870*, 2:164–65.

Margaret Crawford succinctly expressed the situation at the outset of their history of Irish food culture, they attempted to reincorporate food and diet into Irish historical studies, particularly social and economic histories, outside the periods of famine.²⁰¹ Other historians echo their concerns and objectives, and broaden the scope of their inquiry to touch on all parts of the Atlantic Archipelago. One particularly good example is Stephen Mennell, whose *All Manners of Food* provided a comparative history of British and French food culture over the past several hundred years.²⁰² Paul Lloyd expands on the social and cultural dimensions of Mennell's work to show how food as an object of consumption and an opportunity for sociability allowed individuals to create and project a self-image.²⁰³ Lloyd, more than Mennell, largely ignores the actual contents of early modern tables in favor of the social constructions patterns of food consumption enabled. Other historians like Joan Thirsk,²⁰⁴ L.A. Clarkson, and E. Margaret Crawford,²⁰⁵ focus on recovering, to the extent possible, the contents of early modern tables.

Whatever the preoccupations of food historians, most travelers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries paid greater attention to the contents of their meal than to the social rituals of dining. In this sense, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travelers represent the founders of one strand of food history culminating in works like those produced by Thirsk, Clarkson, and Crawford. Travelers largely agreed that the typical English plate contained a high proportion of meat prepared simply, producing food best described as "bland." The large amounts of meat

²⁰¹ L.A. Clarkson and E. Margaret Crawford, *Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland, 1500-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2.

²⁰² Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

²⁰³ Paul S. Lloyd, *Food and Identity in England, 1540-1640: Eating to Impress* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

²⁰⁴ Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*.

²⁰⁵ Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*.

supposedly consumed by the average English person appears as a common feature of numerous seventeenth-century descriptions of England. For example, Samuel Clarke observed in 1657 that,

The Diet of *England* is for the most part flesh: In *London* alone there are slain and uttered, no fewer than sixty seven thousand and five hundred beefes, and six hundred seventy five thousand sheep, besides Calves, Lambs, Swine, and Poultry, in a year: I believe now farre more: The *Spanish Gondemor* when hee was here, having often seen our Shambles, said that there was more flesh here eaten in a month, than in all *Spain* in a year.²⁰⁶

In addition to the prevalence of meat on the English plate, many observers commented on the simple preparations and bland flavors favored by English cooks. John Macky in 1722 described the English diet as:

... more substantial, tho' plain, than any Nation whatsoever. They do not so much affects Soups, Ragous, and Fricassees as the *French*; but from the Baronet down to the Yeoman, you have always two substantial Dishes, one boiled, and the other roasted; and what *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, said of *Leaden-Hall* Market in *London*, That there was more Meat sold in it in one Week, than in all *Spain* in a Year, I believe to be perfectly true; for there are few Tradesmen in *London*, but have a hot Joint every day.²⁰⁷

Macky echoed Clarke's comments from the 1650s, although in Macky's retelling of the Spanish ambassador's comment, the amount of time taken for the London meat-market to equal the Spanish nation shrunk from one month to one week. Yet while Macky also noted the high proportion of meat in the diet, he also pointed to the apparently limited methods of preparation available to English cooks. Stephen Mennell offers three possible explanations for the relative blandness of the English diet when compared to the French, ultimately rejecting the influence of Puritanism and the role of the court in favor of a greater respect for rustic simplicity in England and the self-sufficiency of relying on the comestibles produced on the local estate.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Clarke, *A Geographical Description of All the Countries in the Known Vworld*, 90; See also Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia*, 21–24; King, *A Journey to London*, 29–34; Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 237 argues that beef consumption grew steadily after roughly 1650, particularly as it became easier to import cattle from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

²⁰⁷ Macky, *A Journey through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad. Vol. II*, 2:238–39; See also Anon, *The Geography of England*, 19.

²⁰⁸ Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 103–33. In particular, Mennell cites the tendency for the nobility in England (p. 131) to spend most of the year on their estates, which created a culture of living off the produce of the

While Clarke, Macky, and other travelers used patterns of meat consumption and bland preparations to create a nation-wide portrait of English food culture, a few observers described regional variations apparently at odds with metropolitan norms.²⁰⁹ The unknown author of *A description of the diocese of Norwich* contended the “Commonalty” of Norfolk in 1735 dined “much upon Puddings and Dumplings, which has produc’d the Proverb of *Norfolk Dumplings*, as the eating of Beans so much in *Leicestershire* has proverbially nick-named the People *Leicestershire Bean-Bellies*.”²¹⁰ The author’s lack of commentary on meat, particularly when set against the numerous descriptions of London’s voracious appetite for meat, emphasized the different county dietary habits. Similarly, the Volunteer argued in his description of Durham that the quality of food improved after passing through rural Yorkshire.²¹¹ While these descriptions differentiate rural (or at least non-urban) areas from the metropole, they represent the rural norm in eighteenth-century England, and help correct the generalized portrait of English cuisine derived from Clarke and Macky.²¹² Regarding typical rural cooking patterns, Stephen Mennell concludes that “The eighteenth century is the age of what we now think of as English country cooking at its best,” a style of food preparation that emphasized pies and puddings and paid scant attention to

land and discouraged dietary diversity; Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 195 argues the idea of self-sufficiency was prevalent in England in the sixteenth century, but had largely disappeared by the mid-eighteenth.

²⁰⁹ Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 196 argues for a strong tradition of local and regional diversity. Thirsk also notes London may not have been as exceptional as is often assumed, because data indicates many coastal ports had access to comparable varieties of food and foreign imports.

²¹⁰ Gentleman of the Inner-Temple, *A Description of the Diocese of Norwich: Or, the Present State of Norfolk and Suffolk. Giving An Account of the Situation, Extent, Trade, and Customs, of the City of Norwich in Particular. And of The Several Market-Towns in Those Two Counties. According to Alphabetical Order. By a Gentleman of the Inner-Temple, and a Native of the Diocese of Norwich.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for T. Cooper, at the Globe in Paternoster-Row, 1735), 5.

²¹¹ Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 45.

²¹² Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 198–206 provides a regional tour of the English diet, with particular emphasis on Cornwall, Lincolnshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, Northumberland, the Midlands, the South, and a typical port town.

French or urban culinary developments like sauces.²¹³ Interestingly, the instructions for many of these dishes came from cookery books written by women and aimed at relatively well-off women in charge of their own kitchens, with a resultant emphasis on simplicity and economy.²¹⁴ Although residents of the metropole likely prized these characteristics as well, observers noted them more frequently outside the metropole and other urban areas.

Insufficient information exists to form conclusions about Welsh food culture and its perceived relationship with English standards, despite Wales being predominantly rural and thus presumably possessing a food culture similar to rural areas in England. The only two accounts that give an extended description of the Welsh diet are unreliable satirical works designed to provoke amusement at the expense of the Welsh. EB's *A trip to north-Wales*, for example, features a description of Welsh food that claimed "Their Beasts are all small, except their Women, and their Lice" and continued by suggesting that "They want not store of Mutton, that is tollerably sweet, for Meat so lean: But Goats Flesh (as more suitable to their own Rank Constitution) has the preference; this (forsooth) they call *Rock-Venison*."²¹⁵ By emphasizing the Welsh preference for goat over the English dietary staple of mutton, EB reminded his readers of the physical and attributional distance between the two societies. Likely an exaggeration, EB's commentary nevertheless fit the larger pattern of English travelers mocking Wales and "typical" characteristics of the Welsh. In such situations, the truthfulness of an assertion mattered less than the perceptual pattern the author wished it to serve.

For travelers to Ireland, two distinguishing features of Irish food culture stood out. The first had very little to do with the food itself. Rather, several travelers noted the low cost of

²¹³ Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 94–95.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 95–96.

²¹⁵ E. B., *A Trip to North-Wales*, 2 see also p. 6. Slightly more generous is Richards, *Wallography*, 91.

provisions compared to England in both rural and urban areas of Ireland. John Bush, recounting a visit to Dublin about 1769, noted “The provisions of this city are generally good, and at a reasonable expence; - Their liquors especially; - you have the best of spirits at half the price they generally go at in London.”²¹⁶ Richard Twiss recounted being struck by “The cheapness of the necessaries of life in these parts”²¹⁷ during a trip through Fermanagh in 1775. In each case, the low cost of provisions helped reduce the sense of distance between London and Ireland. If, as those who described the food in London suggested, it represented one of the greatest markets for food in the world, finding foods cheaper in Ireland suggested a similar abundance.

Yet an examination of the food actually purchased and consumed revealed, as a second distinguishing feature, the relatively plebian nature of that food. Clarkson and Crawford argued that the deep stratifications in Irish society created the paradox whereby a predominantly pastoral country, that produced large quantities of meat in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, provided little meat to the vast population of rural poor, who chiefly subsisted on cereals, legumes, milk, small animals, and offal.²¹⁸ While they observed an increasing pace of change following the mid-seventeenth century revolts, English colonization efforts, and economic development, travelers’ writings present a portrait of little change over the entirety of the period in question.²¹⁹ In 1673’s *The present state of Ireland*, a section called “Dyets” contained a description of Irish food culture:

The Common sort of People in *Ireland* do feed generally upon Milk, Butter, Curds and Whey, New bread made of Oat meal, Beans, Barley and Pease, and sometimes of Wheat upon Festivals, their bread being baked every day against the fire. Most of their Drink is Butter-milk and Whey; They feed much also upon Parsnips, Potatoes, and Watercresses, and in those Countreys bordering on the Sea, upon Sea weeds, as Dullusek, Slugane, but seldome eat Flesh. The middle sort of the *Irish* Gentry differ not much from the same kind of Dyets, save only that they oftner feed upon Flesh, eat

²¹⁶ Bush, *Hibernia Curiosa*, 26.

²¹⁷ Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 99.

²¹⁸ Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 25.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

better Bread, and drink Beer more frequently. They are all of them (when opportunity offers it self) too much inclined to drink Beer and *Usquebagh* to an excess.²²⁰

The author's commentary, although written a century before Bush and Twiss remarked on the low prices in Ireland, illustrated the differences between Irish and English food purchases. In fact, as the earlier discussion of contemporary views of English food culture showed, this Irish table would have appeared foreign, certainly lacking the proportion of meat that drew the attention of Spanish dignitaries and English authors alike.

One hundred years later, the travel writer Richard Twiss confirmed the details observed by authors as far back as 1673 still applied on his travels in 1775. Twiss's major new observation of Irish food culture concerned the growing centrality of the potato. For the poor, Twiss suggested, it was "on these potatoes, and milk, the common Irish subsist all the year round, without tasting bread or meat, except perhaps at Christmas once or twice."²²¹ According to Twiss, the diet of the Irish gentry varied slightly, but still featured the potato:

As to the customs peculiar to the Irish gentry, I know of only three:

The first is that of having constantly boiled eggs for breakfast with their tea (the Scotch eat marmalade and sweetmeats to their bread and butter.)

The second is the universal use of potatoes, which form a standing dish at every meal; these are eaten by way of bread, even the ladies indelicately placing them on the table-cloth, on the side of their plate, after peeling them.²²²

According to data cited by Clarkson and Crawford, Twiss largely misrepresented the eighteenth-century diet of the Irish gentry and aristocracy. While the Irish may have spent more on meat and

²²⁰ "Usquebagh [Usquebaugh]" is the Gaelic term for whiskey. Anon, *The Present State of Ireland*, 151; See also Echard, *An Exact Description of Ireland Chorographically Surveying All Its Provinces & Counties*, 17–18; Anon, *A Brief Character of Ireland*, 26–31; Ward, *A Trip to Ireland*, 7–8.

²²¹ Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 30.

²²² *Ibid.*, 36–37; Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 47–48 draw upon this passage and other contemporary accounts for their discussion of potato consumption amongst Ireland's gentry and aristocracy. Their conclusion is that while potatoes were a staple of the Irish diet at every level, the upper classes also dined on a wide variety of root vegetables but spent most of their non-meat and grain dietary budget on salads and herbs.

cereals than their English counterparts, Clarkson and Crawford conclude, “the eating patterns among the higher social groups in the two kingdoms had much in common.”²²³ Nevertheless, travelers like Twiss who emphasized the potato’s supposed centrality in the Irish diet at nearly all class levels created a perceived point of difference between Irish and English cuisine. In the case of the potato, its supposed ubiquity transcended status as a curiosity used to mark difference with England to become a symbol of Ireland, often with pejorative connotations.

If consumption of the potato distinguished Irish cuisine, eating oats set Scotland apart from England.²²⁴ Unlike many other attributional factors, however, food did not lead observers to perceive a division between the Highlands and Lowlands. Travelers to Scotland noticed few changes in dietary patterns over the course of the period in question. Thomas Morer described the typical Scottish use of oats in 1702: “Their *Bread*, for the most part, is of *Oat-Meal*, which if thin and well baked upon broad Irons or Stones for that purpose, is palatable enough, and often brought to Gentlemens Tables. But the Vulgar are not so curious, for they only water the Meal into a convenient consistence, and then making ‘em into thin Cakes, called *Bannocks*, they set ‘em before the Fire to be hardened or toasted for their use.”²²⁵ As with Twiss’s account of Irish food culture, Morer’s cuts across class lines to emphasize the centrality of oat products in the Scottish diet.²²⁶ Despite some references to meat consumption,²²⁷ travelers consistently downplayed the place of

²²³ Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 35–37 contend that the gentry in Ireland, like those in England, had diets that featured relatively large quantities of beef and mutton.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 41 note the consumption of oats amongst the poor in Ireland as well, although travelers preferred to emphasize the potato as a mark of poverty instead. Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 231 notes oats were the predominate grain for bread-making in the north, parts of Wales, and the southwest, although some other rural counties also had large populations that used oats.

²²⁵ Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland*, 15.

²²⁶ For additional commentary on the consumption of oats, see Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 116.

²²⁷ Kirke, *A Modern Account of Scotland*, 1679, 14; Ward, *A Journey to Scotland Giving a Character of That Country*, 10; Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland*, 16.

meat in the Scottish diet. As a result, as in Ireland, Scottish dietary patterns appeared distant from English norms.

Whereas oats appeared to dominate the Scottish diet, observers found something different in the more remote areas of Scotland, particularly the western Highlands and the islands off the coast. There meat played a slightly larger role in the diet, in part because the lack of markets necessitated that everyone provide for their own family.²²⁸ Where this necessity prevailed, the results could be surprisingly positive, as Samuel Johnson argued:

But as here is nothing to be bought, every family must kill its own meat, and roast part of it somewhat sooner than Apicius would prescribe. Every kind of flesh is undoubtedly excelled by the variety and emulation of English markets; but that which is not best may be yet very free from bad, and he that shall complain of his fare in the *Hebrides*, has improved his delicacy more than his manhood.²²⁹

Although Johnson's comparison clearly favored London, his commentary also linked the two areas through the common dietary medium of meat. Driven by necessity to rely more on meat than the products of fields, residents of the Hebrides, at least in Johnson's eyes, appeared closer to London than some Lowlanders.

Travelers and observers found other characteristics of the Highland diet besides meat capable of drawing the Highlands and Islands closer to London. Johnson recognized this, also noting, "A dinner in the Western Islands differs very little from a dinner in *England*, except that in the place of tarts, there are always set different preparations of milk. This part of their diet will

²²⁸ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 121, 234; See also Anon, *A History of the Whole Realm of Scotland, Civil, Natural, and Ecclesiastical: Comprehending an Account of All Its Kings, and Remarkable Events, with a Description of Its Situation, Commodities, Distances of Towns, &c. Also, Of Cities, Royal Boroughs, Abbeys, Palaces, Forts, Castles, Towns, Roads and Rivers; Together With a List of the Shires, Synods, Presbyteries, Parishes, Royal Family, Nobility, Officers of State, Court of Session, Admiralty, &c. &c. And Likewise, A Description of the Orkneys, and the Other Isles, with the Genealogy of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans. With a Variety of Other Curious and Interesting Particulars, Proper to Be Known and Perused by Every Scotsman.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Edinburgh: Printed by John Wood and Company, 1760), 56–57.

²²⁹ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 121–22.

admit some improvement.”²³⁰ Although Johnson argued the Highland diet needed improvement, others argued that this simplistic diet better encouraged proper living than the typical Londoner’s diet. The anonymous author of *A voyage to Shetland*, for example, argued that “Nature has so adjusted their Bodies that you hardly ever see one of either Sex that is not tall, erect, and in an uninterrupted Course, to this, their Simplicity of Diet does not a little contribute, for as the Taste for high and luxurious Sauces is unknown to them, their Digestion wants none of the foreign Aids of Coffee, Tea, or spirituous Liquors to assist it.”²³¹ By contending the Highlanders rejected sauces and other intensive preparations in favor of simplicity, this author linked the Highland diet to the type of rural simplicity observed throughout England (but not in London). The author’s comments also suggested a sort of blandness comparable to that described by Macky and generalized to characterize all English cuisine. In this way, Johnson and the author expanded the ways in which the diet of the Highlands and Islands showed cultural linkages with metropolitan standards.

Compared to observations of religion, the built environment, or social customs and manners, perceptions of dietary patterns only minimally reinforced conceptions of the periphery. Areas where observers typically experienced the greatest sense of attributional distance in other categories, like the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland beyond the Pale, produced few descriptions of regional cuisine. The only exceptions to this conclusion are observations regarding the dominance of the potato in Ireland and the oat in Lowland Scotland. Likely a response to local conditions, neither exerted the distancing effect observable with other forms of cultural distance, like religion. In the case of Lowland Scotland, oats comprised an important component of the diet elsewhere in the Atlantic Archipelago, even if travelers failed to highlight this.²³² In the Irish case,

²³⁰ Ibid., 125.

²³¹ Anon, *A Voyage to Shetland, the Orkneys, and the Western Isles of Scotland*, 20.

²³² Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 231.

while the ubiquity of the potato in the Irish diet set the island apart, consumption of potatoes created only a modest signifier of Ireland's incompatibility with developing notions of Britishness, far less important than questions of religion or acceptance of imperial structures of order and power. Given the lack of commentary on the dominance of particular ingredients elsewhere in the Archipelago, one can assume travelers were accustomed to noticing regional differences based on preparation, but numerous travelers attested to the prevailing simplicity of food preparation throughout the Atlantic Archipelago.

Dress

While travelers described many attributional factors, only patterns of dress and the built environment allowed the observer to reach conclusions following a quick visual inspection. Although observers frequently commented on the built environment of nearly all corners of the Atlantic Archipelago, patterns of dress rarely attracted observers' attention, with the notable exceptions of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands. In part, the lack of commentary by most observers reflects the limited sartorial choices available to most households.

Whereas contemporary observers offered few descriptions of sartorial patterns in the Atlantic Archipelago, recently historians, interested in clothing choice and its relationship to perceptions of self, began producing surveys of the topic. In addition to exploring the relationship between clothing and identity, some historians tackle the lack of contemporary accounts of clothing choices. For example, C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington argue English fashion in the eighteenth century "present[s] in graphic form a picture of gradual adaptation instead of abrupt revolution" also characterized by "a domestic struggle towards closer social fusion" that produced a degree of uniformity in clothing choices.²³³ Accepting their analysis, sartorial differences within

²³³ C. Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Dufour Editions, 1957), 13; Dion Clayton Calthorp, *English Costume, 1066-1820* (London: A. & C.

England appeared to be virtually nonexistent to travelers, negating the rationale for descriptions of dress.

Illustrating the lack of contemporary commentary on patterns of dress, no traveler between 1607 and 1776 described regional variations in clothing patterns within England. Indeed, only two commentators remarked on broad characteristics of English dress, and both attributed the dominant trends to outside influences, particularly the French. John Macky, for instance, said that “The Dress of the *English* is like the *French*, but no so gaudy; they generally go plain, but in the best Cloths and Stuffs, and wear the best Linnen of any Nation in the World; not but they waer Embroideries and Lace on their Cloaths on solemn Days, but they do not make it their daily wear as the *French* do.”²³⁴ Macky offered only a broad and vague description of English fashion, clearly assuming his audience knew the typical characteristics of both English and French dress of the period.²³⁵ That Macky offered no additional comments on dress on the remainder of his journey suggests that, broadly speaking, English dress did not differ across regional boundaries.

As with descriptions of food, travelers produced no reliable descriptions of Welsh dress. The scurrilous *Wallography* contained a satirical account from which later descriptions liberally borrowed. The author described Welsh attire as: “The *Materials* of his Apparel are usually a well

Black, 1963), 330–31 support the Cunningtons’ conclusion that sartorial change in England was a very gradual process. Calthrop argues individuals in the reign of James I would not be surprised to pass on the street people still wearing styles of clothing associated with the reigns of previous monarchs, perhaps as far back as Henry VIII.

²³⁴ Macky, *A Journey through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad. Vol. II*, 2:238; See also Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia*, 24–26.

²³⁵ Menell, *All Manners of Food*, 129 supports this assumption. In attempting to draw parallels between the diffusion of new patterns in diet and clothing, he argues that “In matters of dress, what was distinctive about England was that by the eighteenth century, the following of fashion extended much further down the social scale than in other countries. Foreign visitors remarked, and the art of the period confirms, that servants and even labourers wore a conscious imitation of the dress of their immediate superiors.” He also suggests that by this period, the average speed of diffusion of a new fashion out of London to most of the country and social scale was at most a decade. Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century*, 13–14 emphasize the interconnectedness of the English and French fashions from this period.

shagg'd *Freiz*, so that we cannot call it *sleepy*, being fleec'd with a *Nap* like any Sheep-skin: It affords excellent *harbour* to the Vermin of his Body, which whether it be stockt with store of *Joicements* of them, he commonly signifies by the *Symbol* of a shrug."²³⁶ The author's description contrasted sharply with the elegance of the clothing Macky described as the typical English dress, but the overall tone of *Wallography*, with its ridiculous assertions and generally dismissive attitude towards the people it purported to describe, lessened the true impact. Frequent repetition of satirical accounts could produce the perception of distance even where none existed, playing in to larger stereotypes of Welsh inferiority and divergence from metropolitan norms.²³⁷

While travelers recorded few impressions of English and Welsh sartorial patterns, they found many items worthy of description in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands. Observers of seventeenth-century Ireland, like GN, argued Irish dress at all levels of society highlighted the differences between that island and England. Echoing a common charge, GN argued the native Irish corrupted English transplants to Ireland, with the appearance of English settlers at all social levels offering easy visual proof of this degradation:

Concerning the apparel of the Irish it is after a slovenly manner, and the very English, there are much infected with this nasty filthinesse, especially lowzie beds, and foule linen, except where the chiefe English live, as in Dublin, Wateford, and Kinsale, which in some measure retaine the English neatnesse; but for the meere wilde Irish it may be said of them as of the Germans, that they wander slovenly and naked, and lodge in the same room with their cattle.

Among them the better sort used to weare close breeches and stockings of the same, of red or some light colour, so straight that the unseemly parts of the body were exposed to view.

They used likewise a loose Coat and a three covered Mantle of coarse cloth, with a cap of Thrums.

²³⁶ Richards, *Wallography*, 86–87; Anon, *The Comical Pilgrim*, 41 reprints the description from *Wallography* exactly; See also E. B., *A Trip to North-Wales*, 4.

²³⁷ David Hey, ed., "Dress, Regional Styles of," *The Oxford Companion to Family and Local History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxfordreference.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199532988.001.0001/acref-9780199532988-e-601> argues there are no alternate descriptions of Welsh dress because travelers throughout the eighteenth century failed to observe any patterns of dress that could be considered a national costume. Ideas of Welsh national costume or traditional style of dress only emerged in the midst of the Romantic period.

Their linen is coarse and slovenly, they seldome cast off a shirt until it be rotten, and are coloured with Saffron to avoid Lice which are incident to those people...²³⁸

GN's contention that the Irish corrupted English settlers to the point many abandoned English sartorial standards emphasized the supposed barbarity of the island and the need for caution while attempting to spread civilization. This imagery helped to portray Ireland in colonial terms, a process aided by some of GN's other descriptive devices. For example, by linking the "wilde Irish" to Germans, GN's account relocated Ireland from a short journey across the Irish Sea to the middle of the European continent, a much farther place when considered from the perspective of either physical or time distance. While Europe broadly or Germany specifically did not need colonization, the process of colonization typically occurred in territories much farther from the metropole than a short trip across the Irish Sea suggested. Additionally, GN's contention that the "wilde Irish" were often naked or left their intimate areas exposed recalled typical descriptions of African slaves or Native Americans in the colonies. Implied connections between the Irish and subjugated peoples in colonial territories increased the perceived distance between England and Ireland while also introducing a racial component into the equation capable of justifying the subservient position of most Irish to the English.²³⁹

Over the course of the seventeenth century, travelers' opinions of Irish dress changed with the perceived success of the plantation system. During the height of Irish resistance at mid-century,

²³⁸ G. N., *A Geographical Description of the Kingdom of Ireland*, 27; See also Anon, *The Present State of Ireland*, 152–53; Ward, *A Trip to Ireland*, 6; Anon, *A Brief Character of Ireland*, 19–22; For more on the mantle, see Ziegler, "Irish Mantles, English Nationalism: Apparel and National Identity in Early Modern English and Irish Texts," 74 who describes it as "a heavy, thick woolen garment that extended between knee- and ankle-length. Sleeveless and relatively shapeless, it would have been placed over the shoulders and wrapped around the body, and it could be pulled up to cover the head as well." This describes a garment very similar to what travelers identified as the traditional apparel of the Scottish Highlanders.

²³⁹ Ziegler, "Irish Mantles, English Nationalism: Apparel and National Identity in Early Modern English and Irish Texts," 74 argues English concerns about Irish difference in the absence of easily visible markers of identity drove campaigns against the Irish language and sartorial traditions, particularly the mantle. Ziegler states "The mantle simultaneously offered a way to keep the Irish separate by marking them as visibly different from the English and functioned as a symbol of the very difference that English expansionism sought to eliminate."

observers emphasized the barbarity of the Irish as exemplified by their dress, among other attributes. As resistance appeared to fade before the disturbances of the 1690s, observers described Irish fashion in terms approaching English norms. Both the natural philosopher Sir William Petty and the historian Laurence Echard²⁴⁰ described the adoption of woolen jackets of contemporary English styles, although both noted the Irish jacket tended to contain more wool than a comparable English product.²⁴¹ Although such descriptions preserved a sense of distance by noting the different methods and result quality of production, observations which linked emerging Irish sartorial patterns with English norms demonstrated the progression of English-driven “civilization” over the preceding fifty years.

Outside the major Irish cities, travelers reported a decline in assimilation in the eighteenth century. As late as 1776, for example, Richard Twiss claimed the poorer Irish seldom wore shoes and stockings and “seem to form a distinct race from the rest of mankind; their poverty is much greater than that of the Spanish, Portuguese, or even Scotch peasants; notwithstanding which they appear to exist contentedly.”²⁴² As with GN’s earlier comparison between the clothing of the Irish poor and poorer Germans, Twiss’s linkage of poor Irish dress to the impoverished of Spain, Portugal, and Scotland removed Ireland from its true position on the map near England to a

²⁴⁰ R.T. Ridley, “Echard, Laurence (Bap. 1672, D. 1730),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/8442> describes Echard as a prolific writer, noting that he published seven works between 1691 and 1695 while at Cambridge to obtain his MA. After leaving Cambridge, he became a priest in the Church of England, but continued to write historical and geographical works for the remainder of his life.

²⁴¹ Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 98; Echard, *An Exact Description of Ireland Chorographically Surveying All Its Provinces & Counties*, 18–19; Rosalind Mitchison, “Ireland and Scotland: The Seventeenth-Century Legacies Compared,” in *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850*, by T.M. Devine and David Dickson (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1983), 8–9 offers one possible explanation for the tendency of the Irish to include more wool in their suits: the Woollen Act of 1699. This prohibited the exportation of wool from Ireland and discouraged the development of a woolen industry capable of producing for export. Yet the Irish diet meant there were an abundance of sheep in Ireland, explaining the cheap prices of wool and likely surpluses that allowed manufacturers to include more of the material in their products.

²⁴² Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 30.

continental setting. Twiss's observation also drew attention to the class divisions and rural/urban divide in Irish society. These divisions appeared in descriptions of Irish cities, where observers found populations increasingly concerned with fashion and movement toward English norms. Even when critics lampooned this newfound obsession with fashion as in *A humorous description* in 1734,²⁴³ shared emphases on fashion in London and Dublin helped reduce the sense of distance created by the Irish Sea and other attributes, such as religion.

Comparable to the urban/rural divide apparent in descriptions of Ireland, accounts of Scottish dress confirmed the familiar Lowland/Highland divide. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travelers to the Lowlands observed sartorial patterns familiar to them from their travels in England generally and the metropolis specifically. Although some travelers observed the use of "plaids" in the Lowlands, observers primarily linked this style of dress to the Highlands. As with descriptions of Highland houses, social customs, and religion, observers regarded the use of plaids as a clear point of departure from English norms.²⁴⁴ Following the 1745 Jacobite Rising, travelers found the Highlands undergoing rapid alterations as many people embraced attributes perceived to represent emerging "Britishness." In the Lowlands, most observers emphasized the ubiquity of English clothing to illustrate this assimilation. Observers like Thomas Morer echoed commentators on Ireland who attributed discordant patterns to class differences:

Their *Habit* is mostly *English*, saving that the meaner sort of Men wear *Bonnets* instead of *Hats*, and *Pladds* instead of *Cloaks*: And those *Pladds* the Women also use in their ordinary Dress when they go abroad, either to Market or Church. They cover Head and Body with 'em, and are so

²⁴³ Author of *A description of a Sunday in Dublin, A Humorous Description of the Manners and Fashions of the Inhabitants of the City of Dublin: In a Letter from a Gentleman to His Friend in Drogheda. By the Author of A Description of a Sunday in Dublin.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Dublin, 1734), 5.

²⁴⁴ Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 195 makes it clear that plaid is not synonymous with tartan. He contends tartan is probably derived from a French term, but the actual weaving process likely originated in either France or Flanders. Plaids could be made from tartan, while trews (combination breeches and stockings) almost certainly were.

contrived as to be at once both a *Scarf* and *Hood*. The Quality go thus Attired when they would be disguised, and is a Morning-Dress good enough when some hasty business calls them forth, or when the Weather disheartens 'em to Trick themselves better.²⁴⁵

Morer argued only those without means to afford English-style apparel continued wearing the plaid by the early eighteenth century.²⁴⁶

While Lowland dress demonstrated English influence in the region and thus confirmed perceptions derived from the region's geographical proximity to England, travelers who ventured into the Highlands consistently described the sense of distance the use of plaids occasioned until their prohibition in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite Rising.²⁴⁷ They also stressed the lack of footwear in the Highlands and the difference this represented with metropolitan norms.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland*, 13; See also Kirke, *A Modern Account of Scotland*, 1679, 11; Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 274.

²⁴⁶ Morer's conclusion seems supported by: Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour: By a Lady.*, 9–10; Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 95; See also Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, 192 who argues that "Before 1745, the Highlanders and all their customs were disowned and despised by every articulate Scotchman." While not every resident of the Lowlands could be described as "articulate," as we have seen elsewhere, Lowlanders of all social ranks had adopted many features of English society by the eighteenth century.

²⁴⁷ Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, 197 notes the "Disarming Act" submitted to Parliament after the 1715 Jacobite Rising also included a proposal to ban traditional Highland dress, but it was dropped from the final version of the government's response.

²⁴⁸ See, for example: Kirke, *A Modern Account of Scotland*, 1679, 11; Martin Martin, *A Late Voyage to St. Kilda, the Remotest of All the Hebrides, or the Western Isles of Scotland with a History of the Island, Natural Moral, and Topographical: Wherein Is an Account of Their Customes Religion, Fish, Fowl, &c. : As Also a Relation of a Late Impostor There, Pretended to Be Sent by St. John Baptist / by M. Martin, Gent.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for D. Brown and T. Goodwin, 1698), 109–11; Ward, *A Journey to Scotland Giving a Character of That Country*, 8; Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland*, 7–9; Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 126–27, 194; Alexander Buchan, *A Description of St. Kilda, the Most Remote Western Isle of Scotland. Giving an Account of Its Situation, Extent, Soil, Product, Bay, and Adjacent Islands or Rocks. The Ancient and Modern Government, Religion, and Customs of the Inhabitants; and Other Curiosities of Art and Nature. Also Their Late Reformation.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, and sold at their printing-house, in the Fish-Market, 1727), 18–19; Anon, *Remarks on the People and Government of Scotland*, 19–20; Anon, *A Voyage to Shetland, the Orkneys, and the Western Isles of Scotland*, 62–63; Anon, *A History of the Whole Realm of Scotland*, 57–58; Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour: By a Lady.*, 133–34; Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 55–56, 110; For an account of the life of the traveler and author Martin Martin, see Domhnall Uilleam Stiubhart, "Martin, Martin (D. 1718)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/18201>. Originally from Skye, Martin explored the Western Isles at the behest of noted geographers and antiquaries like Hans Sloane and Robert Sibbald. For an account of the "traditional" Highland dress, see Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, 194–95. Trevor-Roper begins with the sixteenth-century evidence, which shows "that the ordinary dress of the Highlanders was a long 'Irish' shirt (in Gaelic *leine*), which the higher classes - as in Ireland - dyed with saffron (*leni-croich*); a tunic or

However, after the imposition of the law governing traditional dress (amongst other things) in the Highlands, this sense of sartorial distance fell away. Samuel Johnson provided the best account of the change, one worth quoting at length:

In the islands the plaid is rarely worn. The law by which the Highlanders have been obliged to change the form of their dress, has, in all the places that we have visited, been universally obeyed. I have seen only one gentleman completely clothed in the ancient habit, and by him it was worn only occasionally and wantonly. The common people do not think themselves under any legal necessity of having coats; for they say that the law against plaids was made by Lord Hardwicke, and was in force only for his life: but the same poverty that made it then difficult for them to change their clothing, hinders them now from changing it again.

The filibeg,²⁴⁹ or lower garment, is still very common, and the bonnet almost universal; but their attire is such as produces, in a sufficient degree, the effect intended by the law, of abolishing the dissimilitude of appearance between the Highlanders and the other inhabitants of Britain; and, if dress be supposed to have much influence, facilitates their coalition with their fellow-subjects.²⁵⁰

Not only did Johnson note how Highlanders' adoption of English sartorial patterns provided a visual representation of their adoption of a British identity, he also pointed to the intriguing possibility of government policy as a tool to affect such alteration.²⁵¹ While a coercive law, its implementation and the effects described by Johnson point to a future where British governmental policy could attempt to affect similar changes through investment and engagement rather than

failuin; and a cloak or plaid, which the higher classes had woven in many colours or stripes, but which in general was of a russet or brown effect, as protective colouring in the heather. In addition, the Highlanders wore shoes with a single sole (the higher classes might wear buskins) and flat soft caps, generally blue." Later, he describes some sixteenth century modifications: "First, the long shirt was gradually disused. Secondly, the trows [a combination of breeches and stockings] gained in popularity among the upper classes. Finally, for ordinary purposes, the plaid was converted, from a loose cloak, into part of the normal dress by being belted round the waist."

²⁴⁹ "Filibeg, N.," *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, December 2015), <http://www.oed.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/Entry/70178?redirectedFrom=filibeg> defines the filibeg simply as "a kilt."; Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, 198–99 dates the invention of the kilt to 1727–28, and attributes its invention to Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman engaged in producing charcoal in Glengarry. The kilt was intended to produce a greater range of movement for the workmen he employed.

²⁵⁰ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 113–14.

²⁵¹ Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, 205–6 notes that ironically, the British government was responsible for the preservation of elements of the traditional Highland dress by allowing Scottish regiments, such as the Black Watch, to wear elements, like the kilt, as part of their uniform.

punitive action.²⁵² Given the period in which Johnson wrote, the outcome of this law is even more striking given the deteriorating unity between Britain and her North American colonies. There, sartorial similarity and lack of observable attributional distance could not contribute to the preservation of a sense of unity.

Perceptions of sartorial patterns, like those of the built environment, relied on visual observation by the traveler, not necessarily deep engagement with the local populace. However, unlike the built environment, fashion could, and did, change rapidly to accommodate new trends and styles. Improving transportation connections throughout the Atlantic Archipelago over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries allowed greater penetration of metropolitan ideas regarding fashion into other regions. Combined with the increasing industrialization of the textile industry, particularly in the eighteenth century, the greater availability at lower prices of mass-produced textiles contributed to a developing sartorial uniformity that eroded regional and national differences. Thus, by the 1770s, patterns of dress in the Atlantic Archipelago served as visual confirmation of the spread of a sense of Britishness and the reduction of the perceived distance between core and periphery.

Speech

Finding travelers who remarked on the linguistic variations within the Atlantic Archipelago is not surprising, particularly when those linguistic differences appeared in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the mountainous areas of Wales, or Ireland beyond the limits of the Pale.²⁵³

²⁵² Indeed, *ibid.*, 202 embraces this position. He argues that Highland society and customs was already in decline by 1745 due to “The pressure of Lowland ‘improvement,’” and “the building of roads and the penetration of commerce.”

²⁵³ Arthur Hughes and Peter Trudgill, *English Accents and Dialects: An Introduction to Social and Regional Varieties of English in the British Isles*, 3rd ed. (London: Arnold, 1996), 68–119 identify thirteen regional accents and/or dialects in modern Britain, many of which existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Failure to speak English in a fashion recognizable to a metropolitan ear confirmed the perceived barbarity of a region and reinforced its peripheral status. Where this pattern broke down, observers typically attributed the difference to the civilizing influence of English settlers.

Although observers, as one would expect, described linguistic variations in the remote areas of the Atlantic Archipelago, within England observers largely failed to comment on regional dialects. Outside of the areas mentioned above and some border areas, very few travelers remarked on regional variations in speech before 1700. Even when some accounts of regional dialects in England emerged after 1700, the number still paled in comparison to those that noted linguistic differences in places like the Highlands. While these observations became more commonplace, they offered little more than brief asides on regional peculiarities and not the type of in-depth linguistic analysis that would contradict Susan Fitzmaurice's claim that "serious descriptive analyses of English dialects" only appeared in the nineteenth century.²⁵⁴ Yet despite the lack of contemporary commentary, regional variations did exist,²⁵⁵ and often continue to define regions within the Atlantic Archipelago to this day. For example, Michael Pearce argues in a recent article on perceptions of dialectical differences in the North East of England "that within the North East there is real linguistic variation in space, to which the questionnaire respondents are potentially sensitive."²⁵⁶ Modern sensitivity to linguistic deviations within a relatively confined area, in spite

²⁵⁴ Susan Fitzmaurice, "Social Factors and Language Change in Eighteenth-Century England: The Case of Multiple Negation," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 12, no. 3 (September 2012): 300; David Crystal, *Evolving English: One Language, Many Voices: An Illustrated History of the English Language* (London: The British Library, 2010), 120 largely concurs with Fitzmaurice's conclusion, suggesting most authors found it too difficult before the nineteenth century to represent regional dialects and accents in print.

²⁵⁵ Fitzmaurice, "Social Factors and Language Change in Eighteenth-Century England," 300 notes contemporary commentators had shown awareness of regional linguistic variations since at least the time of Chaucer; Jeff Strabone, "Samuel Johnson: Standardizer of English, Preserver of Gaelic," *ELH* 77, no. 1 (2010): 237–38 argues these regional variations, particularly those that appeared to exemplify the "rustic" or "barbarous," became the focus of language reformers and standardizers like Samuel Johnson in the mid-eighteenth century.

²⁵⁶ Michael Pearce, "A Perceptual Dialect Map of North East England," *Journal of English Linguistics* 37, no. 2 (June 1, 2009): 185, doi:10.1177/0075424209334026; See also Hughes and Trudgill, *English Accents and*

of modern communication media that make a wide variety of dialects available at any point, suggests seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ears also recognized such variations. Indeed, Linda Colley points to linguistic difference as one of the few attributes preventing full perceptual integration of the Welsh into England, and one of the central distinctions between Highland and Lowland Scots.²⁵⁷ However, because these linguistic differences remained rather static throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at least until “the end of the [eighteenth] century, when better transport, together with a greater supply of mass-produced goods and English-language books and newspapers began to reduce local peculiarities somewhat,”²⁵⁸ Colley contends they did not severely undermine the emerging concept of an inclusive Britishness.

Poor transportation hampered travel to many parts of the Atlantic Archipelago throughout the seventeenth century, which consequently impaired the ability of travelers to observe linguistic differences. Beginning in the latter half of the seventeenth century, authors published comprehensive descriptive works meant to rival Camden’s *Britannia*. As broad overviews of the Atlantic Archipelago, or at least England, they often included sections devoted to the

Dialects, 7 who argue that “Almost however small an area we look at, we will find differences between the pronunciation there and an area adjoining it.”

²⁵⁷ Colley, *Britons*, 12–14, 372–73.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 14; Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, 166 argues against this idea, suggesting that models of cultural convergence that rely on increased urbanization, industrialization, availability of goods, and ease of transport fall into the classic “diffusion model” of cultural change, where the metropole exerts its cultural influence through ever-increasing webs of physical connectivity with the periphery. Hechter instead argues for the model of “internal colonialism,” which he contends suggests peripheral areas will never achieve cultural cohesion with the metropole. Yet only about thirty pages later he acknowledges that linguistic uniformity based on the use of English emerged in the nineteenth century due to the reinforcing processes of industrialization, urbanization, and the migration from the periphery that resulted. J. C. D. Clark, “English History’s Forgotten Context: Scotland, Ireland, Wales,” ed. Ronald M. Sunter et al., *The Historical Journal* 32, no. 1 (1989): 226 appears to agree with Hechter more than Colley, at least in his rejection of the role of English print culture. Rather, he points to the pragmatic adoption of English by Scots and Irish as a way to engage in British imperial opportunities, particularly after 1763. Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London*, 190 appears to offer contemporary support for Clark’s position, noting that after the Union of 1707, it became common for new apprentices in Edinburgh to receive English instruction as one of the terms of their indenture.

characteristics of the people in general, including language. The writer Edward Chamberlayne,²⁵⁹ for example, contended that “The *English Tongue* being at present much refined, exceedingly copious, expressive, and significant (by reason of a liberty taken by the Natives of borrowing out of all other Languages, whatever might conduce thereunto) is (as their blood) a *mixture* chiefly of the Old *Saxon* (a *Dialect* of the *Teutonick*) and the Old *Norman* (a *Dialect* of the *French*) not without some favor of the *Britains*, *Romans*, and *Danes Languages*.”²⁶⁰ Despite recognition English borrowed from other languages, resulting in a constant state of change,²⁶¹ few travelers examined the effects of the changes.

Perceptions of distance based on linguistic factors typically emerged from observations of border areas where linguistic blending commonly occurred. The author behind the unlicensed 1693 version of the clergyman and travel writer James Brome’s narrative, for example, wrote that Shropshire “is inhabited with both *Welsh* and *English*, speaking both Languages.”²⁶² The author’s commentary reinforced the geographic distance and location of Shropshire on the border of Wales by orientating its linguistic profile westward. Fifty years later, the author known simply as “Countryman” argued, “The common People have a *Herefordshire* Pronunciation, but the better

²⁵⁹ Reavley Gair, “Chamberlayne, Edward (1616-1703),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/5058> describes Chamberlayne as a writer and notes he spent the duration of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms on a Grand Tour of Europe. He published several historical works as well as commentaries on social and religious topics, but his most famous work was the *Angliae notitiae*. During his lifetime, the work reached twenty editions. Under the editorship of his son, fifteen additional editions were printed by 1755.

²⁶⁰ Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia*, 18–19.

²⁶¹ Fitzmaurice, “Social Factors and Language Change in Eighteenth-Century England,” 318–19 argues on the basis of an examination of the use of double negatives that linguistic change was a slow process that accelerated due to the increasing urbanization of the eighteenth century. She also notes a strong class dimension to linguistic change, with the so-called “lower orders” much more resistant to eliminating the double negative than the upper-class or “middling sort.”; Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, 194–200 also cites urbanism and industrialization, primarily in the nineteenth century, as the driving forces behind the dominance of English and archipelago-wide reduction in the number of Gaelic speakers.

²⁶² Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Rogers’s Three Years Travels*, 103.

Sort speak very good *English*.”²⁶³ In this case, by connecting the linguistic profile of the Shropshire majority to Herefordshire rather than Wales, “Countryman” reduced the sense of distance between Shropshire and London by orientating the county towards England, even if Herefordshire and Shropshire lay at similar physical distances from London. The author’s commentary also pointed to the emergence of a sense of Britishness and the erosion of cultural peculiarities that underlay it.

After 1700, observers began including descriptions of regional linguistic variations within England in their travel narratives. Overwhelmingly, these observations focused on rural counties. Regarding Leicestershire, for example, James Brome’s authorized version of his travels contained the following description: “most Persons that are born there, whether it be by a peculiar property of the Soil, or of the Water, or else by some other secret Operation of Nature, have an ill favoured untunable, and harsh manner of Speech, fetching their words with very much ado, deep from out of the Throat, with a certain kind of wharling, the Letter R being very irksome and troublesome to them to pronounce.”²⁶⁴ Daniel Defoe later observed a difficulty pronouncing the letter R in Northumberland:

...the Natives of the Country, of the antient original Race or Families, are distinguished by a *Shibboleth* upon their Tongues, namely, a difficulty in pronouncing the Letter R, which they cannot deliver from their Tongues without a hollow Jarring in the Throat, by which they are plainly known, as a Foreigner is, in pronouncing the Th: This they call the *Northumbrian* R, and the Natives value themselves upon that Imperfection, because, forsooth, it shews the Antiquity of their Blood.²⁶⁵

While Defoe argued the residents of Northumberland took pride in their distinctive pronunciation of the letter R, the tenor of both his description and Brome’s of Leicestershire suggests a metropolitan audience found it jarring. In the case of Northumberland, linguistic variation from the metropolitan norm reinforced the county’s physical distance from the metropole and

²⁶³ Countryman, *A Journey to Llandrindod Wells*, 14.

²⁶⁴ Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Brome’s Three Years Travels*, 77.

²⁶⁵ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:196.

geographic proximity to “uncouth” Scotland. Leicestershire, although geographically close to Birmingham and the urbanizing Midlands, demonstrated an essentially rural character befitting its location at the southern end of England’s upland spine culminating in the Peak District farther north. Non-metropolitan speech patterns simply confirmed the county’s rural nature and the differences evident in other attributional categories.²⁶⁶

Defoe also highlighted linguistic difference in a rural area when he visited Somerset. Far removed from London, Defoe cited the county’s geographic position as a factor in the creation of the linguistic differences he observed. Additionally, Defoe used Somerset as an exemplar to generalize about the speech patterns of England’s other rural areas:

It cannot pass my Observation here, that when we are come this Length from *London*, the Dialect of the *English* Tongue, or the Country way of Expressing themselves is not easily Understood, it is so strangely altered, *it is true*, that it is so in many Parts of *England* besides, but in none in so gross a Degree as in this Part; This way of Boorish Country Speech, as in *Ireland*, it is call’d the Brogue upon the Tongue; so here ’tis call’d *Jouring*, and ’tis certain, that tho’ the Tongue be all meer natural *English*, yet those that are but a little acquainted with them, cannot understand one half of what they say: It is not possible to Explain this fully by writing, because Difference is not so much in the Orthography of Words, as in the Tone, and Diction; the abridging the Speech, *cham* for *I am*, *chil* for *I will*, *don*, for *put on*, and *Doff*, for *put off*, and the like.²⁶⁷

Certainly in the case of Somerset, its location in the west of England on the Bristol Channel and the sea route to Ireland made the comparison to Ireland a natural one. Nevertheless, by generalizing from the example of Somerset, Defoe implied that all rural counties at a certain distance from London might as well, linguistically speaking, be Ireland. In effect, his description turned London and the “civilized” parts of England into a linguistic Pale, and used linguistic distance to reinforce the physical separation of these rural districts from the metropolis. This conclusion is not one G.A. Starr would agree with. Analyzing the same passage regarding Somerset, Starr concludes that Defoe did not want to enforce metropolitan linguistic norms, but sought means “to bridge rather

²⁶⁶ For example, observers had criticized the diet of Leicestershire for featuring a high proportion of beans and little meat.

²⁶⁷ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 77 (Letter 3).

than eliminate differences.”²⁶⁸ Yet Starr is aware that whatever Defoe’s intentions, “London had long influenced the way things ought to be expressed” and “The journalism of Addison and Steele [propagated] new models of polite conversation and [monitored] speech in an expanding yet London-centered public sphere.”²⁶⁹ Defoe might portray regional linguistic variations as curiosities to embrace and celebrate as Starr contends, but his commentary on Somerset drew on implicit comparisons to metropolitan norms and took its geographic cues from a London-centric mental map. In this particular instance, as with his comments upon entering Scotland that began this chapter, the linkage of attributional difference with physical distance reinforced and augmented the perceived distance between core and periphery.

Whereas Defoe and Brand observed linguistic difference in counties (Somerset,²⁷⁰ Leicestershire, and Northumberland²⁷¹) geographically distant from the metropole, at least one author found linguistic difference closer to London. Writing about a journey through Kent in the early 1760s, the author known only as TG remarked that “Some old words, which are mostly of *Saxon* derivation, are still retained Mr. *Lewis* has been at the pains to make a collection of them; but as the natives become daily more civilized, by a more free and general intercourse with strangers than ever they had before, even these are fallen greatly into disuse. The language which is spoke in general (a few peculiarities excepted) is very tolerably correct.”²⁷² TG’s conclusion,

²⁶⁸ G. A. Starr, “Defoe’s Tour through the Dialects and Jargons of Great Britain,” *Modern Philology* 110, no. 1 (2012): 78–79, doi:10.1086/667748.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

²⁷⁰ Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*, 256–64 includes Somerset amongst the counties which contributed linguistic patterns that developed into the dialect of Virginia.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 470–75, 652–55 includes Northumberland in the North Midlands region that contributed linguistically to the Middle Colonies, particularly Delaware and Pennsylvania. According to Fischer, Northumberland also contributed to the linguistic patterns of the backcountry through the “Scots-Irish.”

²⁷² T. G., *A Description of the Isle of Thanet, and Particularly of the Town of Margate; with an Account of the Accommodations Provided There for Strangers; ... with a Description of Sandwich, Deal, Dover, Canterbury, Rochester, Chatham, ... The Whole Illustrated with a Correct Map of the Island, ... and a Representation of the Machines for Bathing.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Newbery and W. Bristow,

however, validated that reached by Defoe and Brome – greater proximity to London and improving transportation diminished linguistic differences. This echoes larger trends across the Atlantic Archipelago in the eighteenth century, observable not only in linguistic change, but, as earlier sections demonstrated, characteristics like architecture and dress as well.

While travelers recorded few examples of linguistic difference within England, when they ventured beyond its borders into the other component pieces of the Atlantic Archipelago linguistic barriers reinforced the distance they had come. Visitors to Wales, for example, quickly found few residents willing or able to speak English. Passing through the north of Wales, John Macky argued that “They speak all *Welsh* here; and if a Stranger should lose his Way in this County of *Carnarvan*, ’tis ten to one, if he meets with any one that hath *English* enough to set him right. The People are also naturally very surly, and even if they understand *English*, if you ask them a Question, their Answer is, *Dame Salsenach*, or, *I cannot speak Saxon or English*.”²⁷³ Caernarfon and the adjacent Isle of Anglesey form the most geographically remote parts of Wales from London. Macky’s observation reinforced that distance, enhancing the sense that although the English crown had long ruled Wales, the region remained distinct from England. For many other authors, the Welsh language became a way to amuse their readers while also reinforcing the divide between civilized England and barbaric Wales. The author known as EB described the Welsh language as “inarticulate and guttural, and sounds more like the Gobling of Geese, or Turkeys, than the Speech

1763), 9; Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*, 57–62 describes East Anglia, including Kent, as one of the regions that contributed a distinct pattern of speech to America. In this case, Fischer argues the “Norfolk whine” and associated dialects of East Anglia became the “Yankee twang” of Massachusetts and New England.

²⁷³ Macky, *A Journey through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad. Vol. II*, 2:145; Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 43 describes a similar incident; as does Derrick, *Letters Written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, the Lake of Killarney, Dublin, Tunbridge-Wells, and Bath*, 46.

of Rational Creatures.”²⁷⁴ The author of *Wallography* used a similar sentiment about the sound of the Welsh language as the basis of a joke:

’Tis a Tongue (it seems) not made for every Mouth; as appears by an Instance of one in our Company, who having got a Welch *Polysyllable* into his Throat, was almost choak’d with *Consonants*, had we not by clapping him on the back made him *disgorge* a Guttural or two, and so sav’d him. They usually *liquefie* the most rugged Mutes, and soften ‘um by Pronuntiation.²⁷⁵

Humorous intention aside, these comments promoted a perceived impenetrability of the Welsh language. For many authors, the incomprehensibility of the Welsh language reflected its supposed close connection to the ancient British or Celtic language spoken by the pre-Saxon residents of the Atlantic Archipelago. The writer Joseph Cradock, for example, argued, “It is the language of populous and even civilized nations, the antient Celts. Hence its variety and its harmony.”²⁷⁶ By linking the Welsh of the mid-eighteenth century with the language of the ancient Celts, Cradock augmented the sense of distance between London, the epitome of the modern metropolis, and the pastoral simplicity of Wales. Furthermore, by highlighting the total linguistic break between England and Wales, observers effectively removed Wales from the island, labelled in its entirety by many as simply “England,” regardless of the other geopolitical entities that shared the space.

Within Wales, however, several authors found a region that, in terms of linguistics, appeared English. Numerous authors noted that Pembrokeshire, thanks to the influence of Dutch settlers, had a very high proportion of English speakers, earning it the nickname of “Little England beyond Wales.”²⁷⁷ Describing Pembrokeshire as “Little England beyond Wales” encouraged perceptions of Wales that saw the region as a barrier to be overcome in order to reach an outpost

²⁷⁴ E. B., *A Trip to North-Wales*, 3.

²⁷⁵ Richards, *Wallography*, 121–22.

²⁷⁶ Cradock, *Letters from Snowdon*, 87; Richards, *Wallography*, 121 suggests that Welsh is a vestige of the British language spoken by the inhabitants of the island in Roman times.

²⁷⁷ Camden, *Britain*, 1637, 652; Taylor, *A Short Relation of a Long Journey*, 19; Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Rogers’s Three Years Travels*, 119.

of the English language. Others argued those who perceived a barrier between England and Wales on linguistic grounds overlooked the economic dimensions those assessments rested on, with elites in Wales demonstrating many linguistic similarities with the English. The anonymous author of *A Tour through Ireland*, for example, argued that while “The vulgar *Welch* seem to have an Aversion to the *English* [language]; but the better Sort are well bred, and very courteous.”²⁷⁸ While both ideas provided important counterpoints to accounts emphasizing linguistic difference, the phrasing of these examples recalled attitudes towards Wales as a whole.

While the relative compactness of Wales hampered travelers’ ability to note variations in speech within the region even as they noted differences between it and England, the larger size of Ireland and Scotland promoted the development and observation of regional linguistic variations. In both Ireland and Scotland, linguistic difference served as a sort of shorthand to delineate those areas exposed to the “civilizing” influence of the English from those areas that retained their “barbarism.” Observers perceived the English influence on the Lowland tongue as a benign force, the product of centuries of trade and other activities²⁷⁹ In the case of the Highlands and much of Ireland, observers described English influence in colonial language, often wrapped up in the imagery of conquest, particularly by Oliver Cromwell in the 1650s.

Although most authors agreed about the role of English influence on Lowland Scottish speech patterns, they carefully noted the English spoken in the region differed from metropolitan norms. The use of English in the Lowlands, no matter how imperfect, represented a symbol of the region’s development. For some authors, like Edward Burt, the use of English, not geography,

²⁷⁸ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 43; Richards, *Wallography*, 123–24 makes a similar point, but derisively contends that this is only true in certain houses for the sake of appearances.

²⁷⁹ Charles Jones, *A Language Suppressed: The Pronunciation of the Scots Language in the 18th Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1995), 13 argues one of the most frequent arguments made for the adoption of English in Scotland was the economic and political opportunities English afforded.

differentiated the Highlands and Lowlands, a practice he attributed to the Scottish Kirk.²⁸⁰ Among travelers who offered descriptions of the Lowlands, Thomas Morer's 1702 description is archetypal:

Their *Language* is generally *English*, but have many words derived from the *French*, and some peculiar to themselves. They are great *Criticks* in Pronunciation, and often upbraid us for not giving every word its due sound, as when we call *enough enou*, or *enuff*, without making it a *guttural*, but neglecting the *gh* as if not written. Wherein however they are as faulty themselves, as I shew'd 'em by divers Examples in their daily Discourse; particularly their neglect of *Vowels* is very remarkable, which being few, ought to be pronounced with greater care. As when *o* happens to terminate the word, especially monosyllables, they change it into *a*, as *wha* for *who*, *twa* for *two*, &c. and if in the middle, they say *Steans* for *Stones*, *mare* for *more*, &c. all which they no otherwise excused that by Custom and usage of Speech, which is our Apology for the like misrepresentations in words objected to us. They have an unhappy *Tone*, which the Gentry and Nobles cannot overcome, tho' Educated in our Schools, or never so conversant with us; so that we may discover a *Scotchman* as soon as we hear him speak: Yet, to say Truth, our *Northern* and *Remote English* have the same imperfection.²⁸¹

Despite noting a few regional variations to vocabulary and pronunciation, Morer's description emphasized the use of English in the Lowlands, blurring the geographical distinction between the region and northern England.²⁸² Although Morer's contention that linguistic variations in the Lowland dialect resembled those found in the remoter parts of England²⁸³ and the word "remote" emphasized the actual physical and time distance between London and the Lowlands, the overall point of Morer's commentary strengthened the perceived connections between the Lowlands and the metropole, particularly when contrasted to attitudes towards the Highlands.

²⁸⁰ Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London*, 40.

²⁸¹ Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland*, 13–14; See also Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 276–77.

²⁸² Janet Cruickshank, "The Emergence of Scottish Standard English and the Role of Second Earl Fife," *Scottish Language*, no. 31/32 (2012/2013 2012): 111, 124 describes this particular dialect as Scottish Standard English.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 112–13 largely confirms Morer's assessment of Lowland Scottish linguistic patterns. She contends Scots was the dominant spoken language, even in the Lowlands where English was the predominant language of choice for written communication, until the end of the seventeenth century. After the Union, spoken English became the norm, particularly amongst the elite, and their dialect typically approximated southern English. Yet some particular Scottish pronunciations and phrases remained. Cruickshank offers several explanations for this. First, the Union left the Scottish legal and religious systems in place, preserving their particular terminologies (p. 115). Second, use of Scottish phrases or words could serve a pragmatic purpose, softening the blow of criticism that might be seen as "foreign" in English (p. 117). Another explanation (p. 118) rests on the semantic precision some words (like kirk) held in Scots that could not be duplicated in English. Finally, location and the social ties of the author/speaker (p. 120) could influence the use of certain terms.

Whereas travelers commonly linked Lowland Scotland to England and the metropole by noting linguistic similarities between the two regions, travelers to the Highlands confronted speech patterns that confirmed the region's distance from the metropole and "civilizing" influences.²⁸⁴ Travelers and authors describing this region unanimously contended the language, whether described as Irish or Earse, distinguished the region and perpetuated the appearance of barbarity amongst the populace.²⁸⁵ John Macky described "The *Highlanders*" as having "a Language of their own, which the *Irish* own to be the purest of that *Irish* which they spake in the Province of *Ulster* in *Ireland*."²⁸⁶ Most authors agreed with Macky and attributed the origin of the Highlanders' language to Ireland, although others, such as the satirist Edward Ward, eschewed origins in favor of commentary on the incomprehensibility of the language reminiscent of attacks on the Welsh: "The Lowland Language may be well enough understood by an Englishman, but the Highlanders have a peculiar *Lingua* to themselves, which they call *Erst*, unknown to most of the Lowland Men, except only in those places that border on them, where they can speak both."²⁸⁷ Daniel Defoe

²⁸⁴ Jones, *A Language Suppressed*, 11 argues that there was "an officially held perception that the 'variety' of English spoken in Scotland in the 18th century was, at best, stigmatised and if possible best eradicated and replaced by some southern, metropolitan linguistic model of propriety." While Jones speaks of the Scots language as a whole, his argument is particularly apt for the Highlands, where non-English speakers remained a significant minority throughout the eighteenth century.

²⁸⁵ Emily McEwan-Fujita, "Language Revitalization Discourses as Metaculture: Gaelic in Scotland from the 18th to 20th Centuries," *Language & Communication* 31, no. 1 (January 2011): 48, doi:10.1016/j.langcom.2010.12.001 cites various studies that put the Gaelic-speaking population of Scotland in 1700 at about 900,000, or at most 30% of the total Scottish population at the time. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*, 242 cites figures from 1755 that place the total Scottish population at 1.265 million. Of this number, slightly more than half lived north of a line running southwest from Dundee through Perth and Stirling to the Clyde at Greenock. Assuming a similar population distribution about 1700, there were about 270,000 Gaelic-speakers out of a population of about 450,000 in this northern zone, which included many areas not traditionally included amongst the Highlands. In other words, even by 1700 it appears Gaelic and English were on relatively equal footing in the Highlands.

²⁸⁶ Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 277.

²⁸⁷ Ward, *A Journey to Scotland Giving a Character of That Country*, 9; See also Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland*, 2; Anon, *A Trip Lately to Scotland*, 10; Andrew Henderson, *A Letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson, on His Journey to the Western Isles. By Andrew Henderson, Author of the Life, of the Late Duke of Cumberland.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for the author, and sold by J. Henderson, Westminster Hall; J. Millan, Charing Cross; J. Williams, Fleet Street; W. Nicol, St. Paul's Church Yard, 1775), 27, 43; Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 126; Martin, *A Late Voyage to St. Kilda*, 108; Buchan, *A Description of St. Kilda*, 18; For

presented an even more forceful condemnation of the Highland language as incomprehensible, suggesting, “We could understand nothing on this Side of what the People said, and more than if we had been in *Morocco*.”²⁸⁸ Regardless of the name given to the Highland language or whether the author attributed its origins to a particular place, similar effects resulted. By connecting these descriptions of the linguistic conditions in the Highlands to often-cursory descriptions of the landscape, people, and general geography of the region, the Highlands appeared as a foreign land. Defoe’s linkage of the region’s linguistic profile to Morocco simply put into text the implicit sentiment in Macky and Ward’s descriptions.

As with other attributes in the eighteenth century, travelers noted the gradual infiltration of English norms and customs into the Highlands. Samuel Johnson, on his celebrated voyage to the Western Islands of Scotland in 1773 (published 1775) argued, “Those Highlanders that can speak English, commonly speak it well, with few of the words, and little of the tone by which a Scotchman is distinguished. Their language seems to have been learned in the army or the navy, or by some communication with those who could give them good examples of accent and pronunciation.”²⁸⁹ Judging by his later discussion of Earse,²⁹⁰ Johnson did not meet many

more on Henderson, see H.R. Tedder, “Henderson, Andrew (Fl. 1731-1775),” ed. Alexander Du Toit, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/12902> who notes Henderson’s fame derived from his authorship of several patriotic historical and biographical works concerning prominent people and events in Scotland. His history of the 1745 Jacobite Rising was one of his most popular works, although his later works focused on rebutting authors, like Tobias Smollett, Guthrie, and Samuel Johnson, who he believed portrayed Scotland unfairly.

²⁸⁸ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:214; Starr, “Defoe’s Tour through the Dialects and Jargons of Great Britain,” 91–92 paints a much more sympathetic view of Defoe’s reaction to encountering Gaelic in the Highlands. Focusing on efforts to spread the gospel in the Highlands through a version of the Bible in Gaelic, Starr contends that Defoe in the *Tour* embraces bilingualism and “treats commercial and linguistic diversity as twin sources of British wealth.” While Starr may be correct that Defoe never explicitly calls for teaching English to the Highlanders, by linking the incomprehensibility of the language to a foreign state like Morocco, Defoe creates a tremendous sense of attributional distance that cannot be undone by his otherwise tolerant approach to linguistic difference.

²⁸⁹ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 75.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 267–71; Strabone, “Samuel Johnson” describes the complicated relationship Johnson had with Scotland. Highly supportive of cultural change, even forcible change supported by military force (pp. 251–52), he

Highlanders who could speak English at the level just described. However, his linkage of improved English amongst the Highlanders with military service points to the one major exception in the picture of the Highlands as a solidly Gaelic-speaking region. Approximately fifty years before Johnson's journey, Daniel Defoe argued the residents of Inverness spoke English very well, perhaps better than anywhere else in Scotland, due to the influence of Cromwell's conquest of the region and the decision of some of his soldiers to remain in the town.²⁹¹ Although comparisons of English speakers in Inverness with those in London provided the means to perceptually eliminate the intervening distance between the metropole and at least one peripheral center, Defoe's attribution of this development to Cromwell's conquest of the area supported conceptions of the Highlands as a barbarous region incapable of self-improvement. Left on their own, Defoe implied, and the residents of Inverness would be as far from speaking flawless English as the rest of the Highlands. By emphasizing the role of military conquest, Defoe's commentary discounted the ultimate result in favor of praise for the English-centric process that resulted in the perceived positive outcome of cultural assimilation.

The maintenance of large populations of non-English speakers in the Highlands and Wales, or at least populations where English was not the dominant language, emphasizes the relatively minor role linguistic hegemony played in the formation of a unifying conception of Britishness.

nevertheless supported efforts to preserve Gaelic in the Highlands. Strabone argues that Johnson's main concern with standardizing English applied to the eradication of dialects, particularly Scots English as found in the Lowlands, and he was generally more tolerant of completely different linguistic traditions like Gaelic, which he believed could not exert the same level of corrupting influence on English. See especially p. 261 - "In short, preserving Scottish Gaelic was more palatable to Johnson than tolerating Scots English because Gaelic posed no threat to the pedigree of the English: it was alien, dying, and quaint. The nation that spoke it had been irrevocably pacified, as confirmed by Johnson's travels. Scots, and all other local varieties of English, threatened the very core of English - that is, English-speaking - civilizations. But Gaelic had no effect on English."; McEwan-Fujita, "Language Revitalization Discourses as Metaculture," 51 is not prepared to go as far as Strabone in defending Johnson, but does note that his primary criticism of Gaelic appeared to be that it lacked a standard written form similar to what he hoped to provide for English.

²⁹¹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:196.

Ireland provides a vivid example of this phenomenon. Descriptions of Ireland resemble accounts of the Highlands, suggesting a similar process of cultural assimilation in terms of language. By the eighteenth century, most descriptions emphasized the progression of English in Ireland and the decline of the Irish language, even amongst the poorest members of society. For these observers, linguistic difference ceased to be a distancing factor by the mid- to late-eighteenth century; although as Jim Smyth argues, contemporary political events influenced the ferocity of mid- to late-eighteenth-century English/British artistic portrayals (stage, cartoons, print) of the accents of residents of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.²⁹²

While the English language may have gained the ascendancy in Ireland by the mid-eighteenth century, observers had noted the likelihood of the Irish language's decline as early as the late-seventeenth century. The natural philosopher Sir William Petty, in his broad overview of Irish society in 1691, compared Irish speech patterns to those in other areas of the Atlantic Archipelago and offered a theory explaining the impending demise of the language:

The Language of *Ireland* is like that of the *North of Scotland*, in many things like the *Welch* and *Manques*; but in *Ireland* the *Fingallians* speak neither *English*, *Irish*, nor *Welch*; and the People about *Wexford*, tho they agree in a Language differing from *English*, *Welch*, and *Irish*, yet 'tis no the same with that of the *Fingallians* near *Dublin*. Both these two sorts of People are honest and laborious Members of the *Kingdom*.

The *Irish* Language, and the *Welch*, as also all Languages that have not been the Languages of flourishing Empires, wherein were many Things, many Notions and Fancies, both Poetical and Philosophical, hath but few words; and all the names of Artificial things brought into use, since the Empire of these Linguists ceased, are expressed in the language of their Conquerors, by altering the Termination and Accents only.²⁹³

Like Defoe, Petty believed in the civilizing influence of English settlers and soldiers, even when conquest proved necessary to exert that influence. Although not so explicitly stated as in other

²⁹² Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800*, 155.

²⁹³ Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 106.

works,²⁹⁴ Petty implied Irish remained the dominant language in many areas of the country.²⁹⁵ Petty's commentary thus not only reinforced the perceived dislocation occasioned by crossing the Irish Sea into a land seen as culturally inferior, but justified further colonial/military action against the Irish to promote cultural assimilation and greater unity with the metropole.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, the perceived linguistic divide between Ireland (at least in the Pale) and England no longer existed. Numerous authors described the prevalence of English during their travels in Ireland.²⁹⁶ Although ultimately dismissive of the suggestion, in 1769 John Bush noted some residents of Dublin argued the quality of their English surpassed that of London. While Bush disagreed that Dubliners spoke English as well as Londoners primarily on the basis of their accents, he did contend that the establishment of schools throughout Ireland meant that the majority of the populace spoke English, often better than in the more rural areas of England itself.²⁹⁷ Given the difficulty of translating speech into the written word, one cannot assess the validity of Bush's claims about the relative merits of Dublin or London

²⁹⁴ Anon, *The Present State of Ireland*, 147–48; Echard, *An Exact Description of Ireland Chorographically Surveying All Its Provinces & Counties*, 16–17; Anon, *A Brief Character of Ireland*, 40; Ward, *A Trip to Ireland*, 8.

²⁹⁵ W.H. Crawford, "Ulster as a Mirror of the Two Societies," in *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850*, by T.M. Devine and David Dickson (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1983), 62 argues the native Irish in Ulster regarded preservation of their language and religion as a strategy to insulate themselves against the cultural colonialism of the plantation system. Nicholas M. Wolf, *An Irish-Speaking Island: State, Religion, Community, and the Linguistic Landscape in Ireland, 1770-1870*, *History of Ireland and the Irish Diaspora* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 3–4, 13, 18 provides data suggesting a large percentage of the population of Ireland still spoke at least some Irish as late as 1851. While largely rejecting older theories that Irish declined as the population embraced the economic and political opportunities afforded by the use of English, Wolf agrees with Crawford that the use of Irish was a powerful symbol of a shared religious and historical identity in opposition to a linguistic and cultural outsider.

²⁹⁶ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 130; Derrick, *Letters Written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, the Lake of Killarney, Dublin, Tunbridge-Wells, and Bath*, 46–47; Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 8–9, 41; Wolf, *An Irish-Speaking Island*, 40–42 suggests travelers to Ireland who remarked on the decline of the Irish language may have reflected the dominant narrative of Irish poets and scholars who lamented the language's decline from the mid-seventeenth century. Wolf, drawing on sources from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cites several explanations for the perceived decline of the Irish language, including shame, the English conquest, the national schools, and economic opportunity.

²⁹⁷ Bush, *Hibernia Curiosa*, 43–44.

pronunciations. However, Bush's contention regarding the ability of the lower classes to speak English stood in marked contrast to descriptions of the Highlands and other areas where observers described linguistic difference from London over the previous century. In particular, by crediting Irish schools for the cultural convergence rather than military conquest, Bush returned agency to the Irish and showed them participating in the type of activities supportive of joining a British identity.

Why did English flourish in Ireland while travelers observed the maintenance of native languages and dialects in the Scottish Highlands and Wales? Assuming Petty correctly diagnosed the role of imperial domination in linguistic change, the answer lay in the patterns of conquest of the various territories. Unlike Wales and the Highlands, the English repeatedly conquered Ireland during the period dating back to the reign of Elizabeth and continuing at least to 1798, if not beyond.²⁹⁸ While the Highlands endured some English military incursions in response to major events like the War of the Three Kingdoms, and the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite Risings, these incursions proved infrequent and temporary. Additionally, while the English followed the conquest of Ireland with the plantation system, the government never actively encouraged English settlement in the Highlands until a scheme to settle veterans there in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War. Despite these English incursions and the maintenance of their linguistic heritage, Highland Scots failed to develop a nationalistic tradition based, at least in part, on their language,

²⁹⁸ Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*, 442, 450–55 suggests this may have been a slower process than implied here, at least in the first half of the seventeenth century. Canny contends that throughout much of Ireland, including the Pale, both natives and settlers displayed a remarkable degree of bilingualism, with the relative density of the settler population in a given area determining the dominance of English. Canny also argues that before 1641, there were no political connotations to the use of English or Irish, although comments by some rebels after 1641 suggest a level of resentment for the dominance of English and the political dominance it symbolized.

unlike the Irish.²⁹⁹ Wales, outside of its initial conquest, almost never endured English military incursions, with the possible exception of Henry VII's landing at Milford Haven in 1485. Similarly, English commercial incursions into the Lowlands explain the relative dominance of the English language in that region at an early point.

Military conquest cannot account for linguistic variation between regions within England. There, three factors intertwined to create the conditions for maintenance of regional dialects: a rural character, hilly or mountainous terrain, and distance from London. These factors also applied to Wales and the Highlands. Geographic factors thus played an important role in the formation of linguistic differences capable of serving as attributional markers to signal distance from the metropole, but sustained cultural interaction across those distances, regardless of whether that cultural interaction was by choice or by force, could overcome the appearance of distance. Yet attributional distance based on linguistic factors had little relation to the emergence of enduring Britishness. Although travelers observed increasing use of English throughout the eighteenth century in all the component parts of the Atlantic Archipelago,³⁰⁰ linguistic similarity provided observers with only one marker of a region's assimilation and participation in the creation of a national identity.

Order and Power

Unlike the North American and Caribbean colonies, the long history of relatively centralized governance in the Atlantic Archipelago meant that travelers' observations of the

²⁹⁹ Jones, *A Language Suppressed*, 13–21 describes contemporary advocates of preserving the Scottish language, but fails to find a connection to political movements to preserve Scottish independence, unlike similar movements in Ireland.

³⁰⁰ Heyck, *The Peoples of the British Isles: A New History, From 1688 to 1870*, 2:238 suggests travelers overstated the spread of English throughout the Atlantic Archipelago. Heyck states approximately 20% of Scots spoke Gaelic in 1801, 50% of the residents of Ireland were non-English speakers in 1801, and the "majority" of the Welsh did not speak English at the start of the nineteenth century.

structures of order and power focused on regional oddities rather than significant deviations from the British norm. However, the presence of four distinct territories on one island chain resulted in different conceptions regarding the organization and exercise of power. Predictably, with governance centralized in London, capital city of England, travelers observed the greatest deviations from expected metropolitan practices in those territories that had once been independent states.

Authors' perception of the main attribute of English governance changed with circumstances. During Oliver Cromwell's time in power, authors like Edward Leigh³⁰¹ emphasized England's common law tradition and its impact on the liberties of the people.³⁰² After the Restoration, Richard Blome and the writer Edward Chamberlayne prioritized the importance of the monarchy.³⁰³ By the mid-eighteenth century, authors like the anonymous author of 1744's *The Geography of England* argued, "The Liberties and Privileges of an *Englishman*, barely as such, are very valuable, and exceed what are enjoyed under any other State."³⁰⁴ The author implied these liberties resulted from a natural lack of vice amongst the inhabitants that allowed for more moderate forms of punishment than in other countries.³⁰⁵ These observers created a profile of England, capable of serving as a reference point for travelers to other parts of the Atlantic

³⁰¹ John Sutton, "Leigh, Edward (1603-1671)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/16378> describes Leigh as an Oxford-trained lawyer with Puritan and Parliamentary leanings. A JP before the Civil War, he was removed by the Royalists, but entered Parliament where he was later expelled during Pride's Purge. During the remainder of the Protectorate he concentrated on writing, but reentered Parliament as a member of the Rump where he supported the Restoration before rejecting Charles II and politics in favor of retirement.

³⁰² Leigh, *England Described*, 15.

³⁰³ Blome, *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World*, 99; Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia*, 84–85.

³⁰⁴ Anon, *The Geography of England*, 20.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

Archipelago, that emphasized governance by moderate laws calculated to allow maximum liberty while discouraging vice.

In some parts of England, authors argued the lack of vice allowed counties to eschew traditional law enforcement devices altogether. The poet John Taylor³⁰⁶ claimed he found one example in Sussex, where he “found no Beggars, Scolds, or Shrews; *Lewes* hath no Bayliff, Mayor, or Magistrate, For every one there lives in quiet state: They quarrel not for wagging of a straw, For each man is unto himselfe a Law; They need no bridle (like the Horse or Mule) Where every one himselfe can wisely rule.”³⁰⁷ Observers only discovered similar features in Cheshire, where several authors commented that the county had a government unto itself, complete with what appeared to be a parliament.³⁰⁸ In some cases, however, adherence to old customs could retard the growth of an area, as Defoe argued while visiting Bristol³⁰⁹ and other authors noted in Gloucester.³¹⁰ Yet the

³⁰⁶ Bernard Capp, “Taylor, John (1578-1653),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/view/article/27044> mentions Taylor was a London waterman who probably saw naval service in several engagements during Elizabeth’s reign. Capp argues that Taylor’s particular gift lay not in his writing, but in his marketing. This he employed to design a series of journeys, which he then got patrons to sponsor in exchange for published accounts of his travels, typically done in a mock-heroic style. Although most of these journeys focused on the Atlantic Archipelago, some ventured onto the continent as well.

³⁰⁷ John Taylor, *The Certain Travailes of an Uncertain Journey Begun on Tuesday the 9. of August, and Ended on Saturday the 3. of September Following, 1653. Wherein the Readers May Take Notice, That the Authors Purpose Was to Travell, and Write This Following Relation, for No Other Intent or Purpose, but to Pleasure Himself, and to Please His Friends in the First Place. By John Taylor, at the Sign of the Poets Head, in Phoenix [Sic] Alley, near the Globe Tavern, in the Middle of Long-Acre Nigh the Covent-Garden. Those Twelve Following Lines I Gave to Divers Gentlemen and Friends, before I Went, and as They Have Kindly Subscribed to My Bill, I [D]o Humbly Expect Their Courteous Acceptation of This Booke.*, Early English Books Online (London, 1654), 14.

³⁰⁸ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 31; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:111 (Letter 4).

³⁰⁹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:55 (Letter 3).

³¹⁰ Anon, *County Curiosities, Or, a New Description of Gloucestershire. Containing I. A Particular Survey of the County, Both Geographical and Historical. II. An Ample and Accurate Account of All the Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Rivers, Royal - Places Noblemen’s and Gentlemen’s Seats. III. The Fairs, Trade, Commerce, and Product of the Same. IV Of the Rarities Both Natural and Artificial. V. Of the Eminent Persons Born, or Who Have Resided in Them, and of the Extraordinary Events That Have Happened There.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Bristol: Printed by J. Sketchley, and S. Warren, 1757), 10.

low profile of modern structures of order and power, or any structures at all, reinforced the emphasis placed on liberty as a defining characteristic of England.

Remarkably, travelers noted very few instances of disorder or lawlessness in England. Defoe claimed that as late as 1724 Staffordshire saw large amounts of opposition to the Hanoverian Succession.³¹¹ In Coventry, he claimed to have observed a street brawl over the election of representatives to Parliament.³¹² Yet these were relatively isolated incidents. Although concerning, particularly in the aftermath of the 1715 Jacobite Rising, the localized nature of the Staffordshire opposition to the Hanoverians never seriously threatened the power of the state. While opposition to the monarch only became serious when significant numbers became involved, smuggling activities presented a more immediate challenge and threat because they directly challenged the authority of the state. According to Defoe, the entire southern coast engaged in the practice: “what we call Sumgling, and Roguing; which, I may say, is the reigning Commerce of all this Part of the *English Coast*, from the Mouth of the *Thames* to the Land’s End of *Cornwall*.”³¹³ While Defoe painted a grim picture of the exercise of England’s authority to prevent smuggling, no other observer corroborated his report. Without corroboration, the perceived threat diminished, and the dominant picture of English order and power remained one of a law-abiding citizenry enjoying the fruits of liberty.

As travelers moved about the Atlantic Archipelago, they confronted regions with their own legal traditions and ideas about the exercise of order and power. Despite the exercise of English authority in Wales for several centuries, authors like EB continued to confront differences between the exercise of order and power in Wales and England, even as observers agreed that the overall

³¹¹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:124 (Letter 4).

³¹² *Ibid.*, 2:125 (Letter 4).

³¹³ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 57 (Letter 3).

structures in the two regions appeared similar. As EB said in 1701, “For their civil Government, ’tis after the Model of *England*; but in many things as much varies from it, as the *Turkish* Alchoran does from the *Scotch* Directory. They have Judges of their own, that carry with them, in their Circuits, an Itinerant Chancery, King’s-Bench, Common-Pleas, and Exchequer: So that the same Hand that inflicts the Wound at Common Law, applies the Equity Plaister also.”³¹⁴ EB, and later the writer Joseph Cradock,³¹⁵ also noted selective enforcement of many laws in Wales.³¹⁶ Although a limited sample, EB and Cradock described the Welsh structures of order and power in terms that differentiated the region from metropolitan norms. In particular, EB’s linkage of the deviations of the Welsh legal system from its English model to “the *Turkish* Alchoran” emphasized the sense of dislocation occasioned by crossing into a jurisdiction where the perceived default rules of order and power no longer applied.

Few travelers published accounts of Scotland before the Union. Those who did found Scotland’s laws and administration of order very similar to what they had left in England, despite entering a foreign country (albeit one with the same monarch). Richard Blome, for example, thought Scotland’s governance resembled England in all matters except the court system.³¹⁷ Similarities persisted after the Union as well, with authors like Mary Ann Hanway arguing for the safety of Scotland over England: “There is hardly ever such a thing heard of, as a Highland highway robber; their roads are not, like ours, infested by those pests to society. Your purse and

³¹⁴ E. B., *A Trip to North-Wales*, 5.

³¹⁵ Leslie Stephen, “Cradock, Joseph (1742-1826),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/6560> contends Cradock was a Cambridge-educated (although he left before completing his degree) writer and playwright. He also appears to have been a somewhat talented amateur actor and was interested in antiquities. This interest, combined with a trip to Snowdon, led to a description of North Wales.

³¹⁶ E. B., *A Trip to North-Wales*, 5; Cradock, *Letters from Snowdon*, 125–26.

³¹⁷ Blome, *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World*, 127.

your person are here equally secure; nor do their news-papers, like ours, shock humanity every month with an account of five or six and twenty poor wretches condemned to an ignominious death, the consequence of English voluptuousness.”³¹⁸ Hanway’s observation likely overstated the case, designed to counteract other perceptions of the Highlands and implicitly criticize vice in places like London. Defoe certainly believed that Edinburgh contained “such Fellows as Shop-Lifters, House-robbers, and Pick-pockets, in Proportion to the Number of People, as much as *London* itself.”³¹⁹ Although apparently contradictory, Hanway and Defoe considered radically different parts of Scotland: Hanway’s comment came during travels in rural Moray, while Defoe described one of the largest cities in the Atlantic Archipelago. Differences of perspective aside, taken together, Hanway and Defoe’s observations portrayed Scotland in terms similar to England: While the urban metropolis dealt with some criminal elements, the majority of the populace lived in rural simplicity apparently unbothered by disorder or lawlessness.

Travelers to the Highlands disagreed with this assessment, describing a society devoid of the proper systems of order and power. Samuel Johnson argued that amongst the Highlanders, “Legal government has yet something of novelty to which they cannot perfectly conform. The ancient spirit, that appealed only to the sword, is yet among them.”³²⁰ In the Highlands at least, travelers laid the blame for any sense of lawlessness at the feet of the clan chieftains. Observers, such as the anonymous author of *Remarks on the people and government of Scotland*, frequently criticized the chieftains’ role in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite Rising. The author argued that

³¹⁸ Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson’s Tour: By a Lady.*, 136.

³¹⁹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:37 (Scottish section).

³²⁰ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 246; See also Anon, *A Voyage to Shetland, the Orkneys, and the Western Isles of Scotland*, 71 who argued that in the Western Islands there were no attorneys or judges, simply the landlord and his nominees.

“A chieftain, though his property be much inferior to that of many of the lairds in his family, commands them absolutely, as they do their tenants; and thus this sort of tyranny prevails through the *Highlands* in general.”³²¹ Although the Rising largely broke the power of the clans, the power of the Scottish landlord continued unabated. When Thomas Hepburn visited the Orkneys around 1760, he joined a growing chorus who saw the landlord’s power as a threat to legitimate law and order because it created a sort of miniature feudal state.³²² The observations of Hepburn and the anonymous author of *Remarks* largely confirmed Johnson’s perception. In Scotland, the more geographically distant from London travelers found themselves, the less likely they were to encounter structures for maintaining law and order that were familiar to them or operating in familiar ways.

While distance did not prevent the eventual integration of the Highlands into Great Britain, travelers consistently described the problematic effects of distance on the ability of London to exert control over Ireland. According to Richard Blome, while “The *Lawes* of this *Kingdome* have correspondency with those of *England*,”³²³ the majority of the populace resisted London’s authority. Resistance to English authority, expressed through frequent uprisings and rebellions, led some observers, like the diplomat and author Sir William Temple,³²⁴ to conclude the attempted

³²¹ Anon, *Remarks on the People and Government of Scotland*, 6.

³²² Thomas Hepburn, *A Letter to a Gentleman from His Friend in Orkney, Containing The True Causes of the Poverty of That Country.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London, 1760), 19.

³²³ Blome, *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World*, 131; Blome, *Britannia*, 304.

³²⁴ J.D. Davies, “Temple, Sir William, Baronet (1628-1699),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/27122> notes Temple spent most of the period of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms traveling in Europe. He was opposed to Cromwell and the Commonwealth, and chose not to enter public life until the Restoration. He primarily served as ambassador to the Netherlands, although he also spent time in Munster and Ireland. He began writing during his European travels, and produced numerous tracts throughout his life.

imposition of English laws actually impeded effective governance.³²⁵ Even as the stability of the remainder of the Atlantic Archipelago improved throughout the eighteenth century, Ireland remained outside London's full control. In his account of a journey around Ireland, the travel writer Richard Twiss described the Whiteboys: "peasants, who do not chuse to pay tythes or taxes, and who in the night-time assemble sometimes to the number of many hundreds, on horse-back and on foot, well armed, and with shirts over their clothes, from whence their denomination is derived, when they stroll about the country, firing houses and barns, burying people alive in the ground, cutting their noses and ears off, and committing other barbarities on their persons. The objects of their revenge and cruelty are chiefly tythe and tax-gatherers, and landlords, who attempt to raise their rents; they never rob; neither do they molest travellers."³²⁶ Feeding into popular mythology about bloodthirsty Irish rising in rebellion, Twiss's account highlighted continued Irish lawlessness despite centuries of English control over the island. While Blome argued English law prevailed in Ireland, Temple and Twiss emphasized the ways in which English statutes did not translate to English control.

Travelers' perceptions of order and power throughout the Atlantic Archipelago followed familiar patterns. As with other attributional markers, the peripheral regions of Scotland, Ireland, and Southwest England displayed the greatest differences in the exercise of order and power compared to the metropole. Combined with the geographic position of these regions at the physical fringes of the Archipelago, the differences travelers observed foreshadowed the problems distance created for a British state attempting to maintain order and power across the Atlantic. Importantly,

³²⁵ Sir William Temple, *An Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland*, Early English Books Online (Dublin, 1673), 3–4.

³²⁶ Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775. With a Map, and a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon.*, 141–42.

within the Atlantic Archipelago, travelers' observations regarding the structures of order and power never suggested the independence of any of the component parts of the Archipelago. Although Ireland remained outside the formal structure of the state until 1801, observers assumed its eventual inclusion, even as its attributional characteristics reinforced the island's perceived separation. In North America, by contrast, perceived attributional distance augmented actual physical distance and led observers to conclude the colonies would eventually form an independent nation.

Historical Distance

Agriculture

Travelers moving about the Atlantic Archipelago frequently compared the methods employed in agricultural production. A few main areas of comparison stood out: enclosure of fields, type of fertilizer, and the crops/animals raised. Perceived deficiencies in any of these areas, usually expressed in a description that pointed to the advantage of the English method,³²⁷ allowed observers to create a sense of historical distance by emphasizing the use of outdated techniques. This sense of moving backward through time amplified the actual physical and time distance covered to reach the area in question, and often played a role in exaggerating perceptions of attributional distance as well.

³²⁷ While describing Suffolk, Arthur Young, *A Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales. Describing, Particularly, I. The Present State of Agriculture and Manufacture. II. The Different Methods of Cultivating the Soil. III. The Success Attending Some Late Experiments on Various Grasses, &c. IV. The Various Prices of Labour and Provisions. V. The State of the Working Poor in Those Counties, Wherein the Riots Were Most Remarkable. With Descriptions and Models of Such New Invented Implements of Husbandry as Deserve to Be Generally Known. Interspersed with Accounts of the Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, and Other Objects Worthy of Notice. In Several Letters to a Friend. By the Author of the Farmer's Letters.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Dublin: Printed for J. Milliken in Skinner-Row, 1768), 46–47 provides a good overview of the use of manure and the rotation of crops.

Within England, travelers focused on the crops and animals produced in various regions. Although some travelers described English crops, most concentrated on the production of cattle and sheep. Defoe, for example, offered the following description of Leicestershire:

The whole County seems to be taken up in Country Business, such as the Manufacture above, but particularly in breeding and feeding Cattle; the largest Sheep and Horses in *England* are found here, and hence it comes to pass too, that they are in Consequence a vast Magazine of Wool for the rest of the Nation; even most of the Gentlemen are Grasiers, and in some Places the Grasiers are so rich, that they grow Gentleman: 'tis not an uncommon Thing for Grasiers here to rent Farms from 500*l.* to Two Thousand Pounds a Year Rent.³²⁸

Defoe recorded similar observations in Hampshire, Herefordshire, Norfolk, Somerset, and Suffolk.³²⁹ The observations, however, did not contain anything particularly noteworthy about the methods employed in raising the cattle and/or sheep in these various locations. Rather, Defoe observed that each county produced either a notable quantity or quality of cattle or sheep and attempted to link these agricultural activities to the development of “gentlemen” in the county. While not unique in the English context, these areas became reference points for perceptions of historical distance as travelers visited the other component parts of the Atlantic Archipelago.³³⁰

While animal husbandry provided one measure of a region’s agricultural development, observers also focused on the quest to turn previously uncultivated or uncultivable land into productive fields. Defoe provided a thorough description of one such project in Wiltshire, where farmers turned areas previously used as open ranges for grazing into productive fields by allowing the sheep to graze upon fallow fields, thereby naturally manuring them and improving the soil

³²⁸ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:134 (Letter 4).

³²⁹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 26 (Letter 3); Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:73 (Letter 3); Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 79, 87, 97 (Letter 1); Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:27 (Letter 1); Interestingly, by the late eighteenth century, a focus on sheep was considered “backward.” See, for example, Young, *A Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, 39–40 who argues Suffolk was unimproved because it remained uncultivated. Young went so far as to define “waste” as “an old sheep-walk.”

³³⁰ For crops, Kent was cited frequently as an exemplary agricultural area. See, for example, Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 33–35 (Letter 2); T. G., *A Description of the Isle of Thanet*, 6–8.

quality.³³¹ Defoe's description, which concludes with an admonition for Scottish landowners to adopt this method of combining cultivation and sheep herding, illustrated at least one way Scottish agricultural development lagged behind portions of the English agricultural sector. English advantage in this case derived from at least two of the areas of greatest concern to travelers: the type of fertilizer (sheep dung) employed and the crops/animals raised (sheep and corn).

Yet not every area of England provided a model for other parts of the Atlantic Archipelago. Some areas, like Yorkshire and Westmorland, seemed to travelers ignorant of improved agricultural practices. Travelers blamed weather and lack of knowledge for the apparent backwardness of these regions. Regarding weather, observers cited "moist vapour" from nearby hills and mountains as an impediment to agricultural improvement.³³² Where weather was not a factor, lack of knowledge, a clear indicator of historical distance, explained agricultural deficiencies. In Westmorland, for example, the topographer William Hutchinson observed that while the "pasture grounds are beautiful," there was "little tillage, it having been a received opinion for ages past, that grain would not ripen or come to perfection so near the moors and mountains, from whence a continued moist vapour is borne into the valley, which blights the corn in its blossom, or prevents it filling or maturing. But this absurdity is declining through experience; which hath taught the inhabitants, that the want of knowledge in agriculture was all the defect."³³³ Hutchinson's observation, coming nearly fifty years after Defoe's remarks on efforts to improve previously wasted ground, demonstrated historical distance at work. Westmorland's deficient agriculture they surmised (incorrectly it so happens) resulted from the simple lack of advanced

³³¹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:49–50 (Letter 1); A similar project appears to have taken place in Norfolk. See Young, *A Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, 19–20.

³³² Hutchinson, *An Excursion to the Lakes, in Westmoreland and Cumberland, August 1773.*, 9–10, 34.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 39.

agricultural knowledge available in other parts of England.³³⁴ As such, the region appeared more distant from the more advanced agricultural areas than physical distance suggested. As travelers moved beyond England, they made similar observations in more remote areas of the Atlantic Archipelago, augmenting the sense of distance to the metropole and reinforcing existing perceptions of attributional distance.

Few travelers commented on the state of agriculture in Ireland or Wales.³³⁵ Those who did found agricultural practices that lagged behind idealized English methods. In Wales, the writer Joseph Cradock observed in 1770 agricultural deficiencies so great that he argued for the adoption of a colonial model for Wales to introduce the necessary improvements to that region's agricultural sector:

Why should we send colonies to cut down the vast forests of America, when we have so much unimproved land in this kingdom? How many uncultivated heaths, parks, forests, marshes, and commons are there, profitable neither to their proprietors, or the public? If our lands were properly cultivated the produce would be greatly increased, and consequently the strength, riches, and population of the kingdom, would be proportionably augmented.

Several counties of Wales have made but a very slow progress in agriculture. In many places bordering upon England, they have in a great degree adopted the English manner of tillage. In some parts of the counties of Montgomery, Denbigh and Flint, the lands are well improved. I have made this observation, that the remoter they are from the English counties, the less is there of the spirit of industry and improvement among the inhabitants.³³⁶

³³⁴ While he does not discuss the application of agricultural knowledge in the county, Ian Whyte, "'Wild, Barren and Frightful' - Parliamentary Enclosure in an Upland County: Westmorland 1767-1890," *Rural History* 14, no. 1 (April 2003): 21–38 does indicate that Westmorland exhibited lower rates of enclosure than most other counties, with the process only gaining traction after about 1770.

³³⁵ This deficiency is replicated in modern scholarship. Few, if any, articles discuss Welsh agriculture, aside from Frances Richardson, "Women Farmers of Snowdonia, 1750-1900," *Rural History* 25, no. 2 (October 2014): 161–81, doi:<http://dx.doi.org/www2.lib.ku.edu/10.1017/S0956793314000041>. Richardson contends women ran farms in Wales in higher numbers than in England in part because Welsh farming practices remained relatively constant over time, allowing women who grew up on farms to learn how to manage them.

³³⁶ Cradock, *Letters from Snowdon*, 97; By way of contrast, Young, *A Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, 233–35 describes the use of lime fertilizer in those parts of Wales near England, but does note that the Welsh do not fold their sheep upon their fields, thereby ignoring an easy method of manuring and improving their crops.

Like Defoe's comment upon first entering Scotland, Cradock linked the perception of an alternate forms of distance (historical) with the actual physical distance between a location and England. By highlighting the areas near the English border and remarking that those geographically distant from it had not attained similar levels of agricultural improvement, Cradock created a reinforcing perception of historical distance that emphasized the role of southeast England in establishing the norms used to evaluate other areas. For Cradock, the Welsh failure to use modern agricultural practices as in England created a sense of distance and otherness so pervasive it made Wales into an area to be economically exploited like an overseas colony.

Lagging agricultural development engendered colonial attitudes among observers of Ireland as well. The physician and natural historian Gerard Boate, for example, credited all agricultural advancement in Ireland to the influence and active work of the English planters:

But as the Irish have been extreme careless in this, so the English, introducers of all good things in Ireland (for which that brutish nation from time to time hath rewarded them with unthankfulness, hatred, and envy, and lately with a horrible and bloody conspiracie, tending to their utter destruction) have set their industrie at work for to remedy it, and having considered the nature of the Bogs, and how possible it was to reduce many of them unto good land, did some yeares since begin to goe about it all over the land, and that with very good success.³³⁷

Like Cradock's observation in Wales a hundred years later, Boate's description tied perceptions of distance derived from agricultural practices to additional markers of distance between England and another society. Whereas Cradock explicitly tied his perception of distance to the actual physical distance between England and Wales, Boate's description linked the "civilizing" mission of English planters expressed through agricultural improvement to attributional observations that emphasized the barbarity of the native Irish.

The sense of the Irish as attributionally distant from England pervaded seventeenth-century accounts, stoked by the frequent conflict between the two societies during the century. Playing off

³³⁷ Boate, *Irelands Naturall History*, 114.

that, authors such as the satirist Edward Ward used attributional and historical distance to mock the Irish, ridiculing their customs not only as backward but ridiculous: “And then for their *Arable Ground*, it lies most commonly as much neglected and unmanured as the sandy *Desarts of Arabia*, or a ranting Young *Gallant’s Old Bed-rid Spouse*, And, not to particularize every Circumstance, their National Custom of *Ploughing*, by tying their wooden Harness to the *Horse’s-Tail*, and that other senseless Improvidence of *burning* their *Oates* to save the Labour of *Thrashing*, are two such very remarkable Proofs of their *Husbandry*, that it would be needless to describe it further: So that whatever the *Country* be, they are a *wild Herd of brute Animals* inhabiting, but not improving it.”³³⁸ Moving past the more ridiculous statements and comparisons, Ward’s comparison of Irish agriculture to the barrenness of Arabia emphasized the primitiveness of agricultural practices on the island. Furthermore, by arguing the Irish simply inhabited the land without improving it, Ward drew on arguments of authors like John Locke to justify colonial occupation and expansion.³³⁹

As with many of the attributional markers previously discussed, by the mid-eighteenth century observers noted indications of decreased distance between England and Ireland.³⁴⁰ While attributional distance persisted between England and Ireland, observers no longer linked historical distance derived from agricultural practices to it, as Boate had. Rather, authors increasingly

³³⁸ Ward, *A Trip to Ireland*, 4; Ward appears to copy Anon, *A Brief Character of Ireland*, 5–7.

³³⁹ See Locke’s discussion of property in John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett, Student, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 285–302 where he argues land that has not been improved is “waste” or “common” land open to occupation and appropriation; See also Kathryn Webber, “Cultivating Civilized Subjects: British Agricultural ‘Improvement’ in Eighteenth-Century Ireland” (Ph.D., California, 2012), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/2fw4h38h>; T.M. Devine, “The English Connection and Irish and Scottish Development in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development*, by T.M. Devine and David Dickson (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1983), 17 argues English settlers probably did spur agricultural improvement in the short term, but over time their conflicts with their tenants made enduring change more difficult.

³⁴⁰ Dickson, “The Place of Dublin in the Eighteenth-Century Irish Economy,” 186–87 argues that while Dublin’s immediate hinterland supplied its food until about 1720, after that point importation became necessary. Due to the poor overland trade network in Ireland and the lack of navigable rivers, Dublin imported food from England. Only after about 1760 did Dublin begin importing significant amounts of food from elsewhere in Ireland, providing Irish farmers with a significant domestic market capable of driving agricultural improvement.

attributed the lack of agricultural advancement to patterns of land ownership and rental in Ireland. John Bush took this approach in 1769, arguing that although many areas of the country were “rich and fertile, yet they almost universally wear the face of poverty, for want of good cultivation, which the miserable occupiers really are not able to give it, and very few of them know how if they were: and this, indeed, must be the case while the lands are canted (set to the highest bidder, not openly, but by private proposals, which throws every advantage into the hands of the landlord) in small parcels of 20 or 30*l.* a year, at third, fourth, and fifth hand from the first proprietor.”³⁴¹ Bush’s comment revealed a sense of confusion, arguing both that the rent structures imposed on the Irish prevented them from improving the land like English, but maintaining the old stereotype that the Irish lacked the ability to properly work the land. By implicating the ownership structure in Ireland, however, Bush offered a critique of the colonial system earlier authors praised as the solution to Ireland’s agricultural difficulties.

Authors described a similar role for landlords in Scotland. Thomas Hepburn pointed explicitly to this issue as the reason for the agricultural backwardness of the Orkneys: “The progress of agriculture, you know, sir, depends in a great measure on the landlords: The flourishing state of agriculture in *England* is much owing to the humanity of the landlords; most part of our *Orkney* lairds seem to be absolutely devoid of this divine principle; they crush the spirit of improvement in the farmers, by short leases, grassums, numerous unlimited services, and many other hardships.”³⁴² Samuel Johnson blamed the lack of agricultural improvement in the Highlands and the skyrocketing rates of emigration from the region on Highland landlord’s propensity for

³⁴¹ Bush, *Hibernia Curiosa*, 39; See also Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 17.

³⁴² Hepburn, *A Letter to a Gentleman from His Friend in Orkney, Containing The True Causes of the Poverty of That Country.*, 9.

raising rents.³⁴³ In each case, Hepburn and Johnson set the behavior of Scottish landlords against typical behavior in England.³⁴⁴ The stark behavioral differences they described reinforced the physical and metaphorical distance between metropolitan and Highland society.

Although less physically distant from the metropole than the Highlands, observers also found agriculturally-inspired historical distance when considering the Scottish Lowlands. Whereas the actions of Highland landlords played a central role in perceptions of distance in the Highlands, observers referred to the lack of enclosures when commenting on distance in the Lowlands. Thomas Morer noted the absence of enclosures as early as 1702, observing: “We seldom meet with *Incllosures*; either because being a Corn-Country, they would be injured as little as may be by *Birds* which harbour in the Hedges; or being without those long and kind Leases the Tenants of *England* have, they are not encouraged by their Lords in that and some other Improvements; or that there is want of Industry in this, and the like Cases: So it is, that their Fields are *open*, and without Fences, unless here and there they raise out of the Road some little continued heaps of Stone in the nature of a Wall, to secure their Crops from the Incursions of Travellers.”³⁴⁵ In addition to Morer, Macky, Defoe, and Johnson also referenced the dearth of enclosures.³⁴⁶

³⁴³ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 79–80.

³⁴⁴ R. A. Gailey, “Agrarian Improvement and the Development of Enclosure in the South-West Highlands of Scotland,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 42, no. 134 (1963): 109 argues enclosure did not begin in the Highlands until after 1775, and then only on the estates of the greatest landlords, like the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Breadalbane. See also Devine, “The English Connection and Irish and Scottish Development in the Eighteenth Century,” 21–22, who highlights the role of Scottish landlords in agricultural improvement. Importantly, his focus is on Lowland landlords, suggestive of a lack of enclosure and other improvement in the Highlands.

³⁴⁵ Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland*, 4. Note also the role of the landlord in Morer’s account. Although numerous other works point to the lack of enclosures as a point of historical distance in the Lowlands, Morer’s is the only account to place part of the responsibility on the landlords.

³⁴⁶ Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 7; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:16–17 (Scottish section); Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 22–23; Modern historiography confirms these impressions. See T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A History, 1700-2000* (New York: Viking, 1999), 107 who argues that in 1750 in Scotland “Enclosure had made little progress outside the advanced enclaves and the ‘improved’ agricultural methods were rarely practised by most working farmers.”; See also Ian Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1979), 114 who notes seventeenth-century enclosure in Scotland was closely tied to the evolution of the country house, and thus depended upon the whims of individual

Perceived distance based on the lack of English-style hedges and fences characterized descriptions of agriculture in the American colonies as well. Like the American colonies, although observers described Lowland Scotland as attributionally similar to England, distance based on the diffusion and adoption of technology remained.³⁴⁷

As in Wales and Ireland, authors attributed the adoption of agricultural technology in Scotland to the influence of English “settlers.” Comparable to the earlier discussion of language, Defoe observed the positive effects of English settlement in the region of Inverness, where ex-Cromwellian soldiers employed English agricultural methods including regular manuring to produce larger harvests of corn than anywhere else in Scotland.³⁴⁸ Defoe’s description echoed Cradock’s account of Wales. While Defoe’s account lacked the specific call for colonial treatment of Scotland or a linkage of physical and historical distance, the overall tenor suggests Defoe invited a similar conclusion.³⁴⁹ Defoe argued that because Inverness benefited from the influence of the English settled in the region, Inverness may appear closer to England than it really is. Accepting

landowners. As a result, “Enclosure in Scotland was notably retarded even when compared with the less well-endowed and more peripheral North of England.”; James E. Handley, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1953), 198–203 also confirms the slow pace of enclosure, illustrating Scottish tardiness by noting the main driver of enclosure was the rise in crop prices associated with the conflicts with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France at the end of the eighteenth century.

³⁴⁷ For a more nuanced account of agricultural change in the Lowlands in the eighteenth century, see Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 124–40. Devine contends the traditional methods of farming in Scotland provided sufficient food for the population until at least 1740, and population growth did not accelerate to the point where improvement was required until about 1760. See also Robert A. Dodgshon, “Agricultural Change and Its Social Consequences in the Southern Uplands of Scotland, 1600-1780,” in *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development*, by T.M. Devine and David Dickson (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1983), 47 who argues concentration on enclosure misses other forms of agricultural improvement that were equally important in long-term advances in Scottish agriculture. Specifically, he contends focus on enclosure and new crops privileges developments in the Lowlands, and obscures precursor development in the Uplands/Highlands associated with the transition to more commercial agriculture.

³⁴⁸ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:196 (Scottish section).

³⁴⁹ Julie Rak, “The Improving Eye: Eighteenth-Century Picturesque Travel and Agricultural Change in the Scottish Highlands,” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 27, no. 1 (1998): 351, doi:10.1353/sec.2010.0243 argues the focus on “improving” the Highlands in the works of Johnson, Hanway, Pennant, and others was really an argument for the spread of civilization and moral improvement, with the ideal outcome being full assimilation of the Highlanders into a larger sense of Britishness.

this conclusion implied the remainder of Scotland, which lacked English settlements, lagged behind English agricultural methods. Indeed, when Samuel Johnson visited the Highlands fifty years later, only agricultural practices employed by lords who had studied methods of agriculture in England garnered his praise.³⁵⁰

Few other characteristics differentiated the component parts of the Atlantic Archipelago from England like the sense of historical distance created by agricultural practices. Not only did observers perceive distance between the peripheral regions of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland and southeast England, they also found several regions within England where agricultural practices contrasted with the presumed best practices. Only the perceptions of distance created by examining religious practice/belief and manufacturing approached the consistency found in accounts of agriculture. However, because perceptions of historical distance rested on the adoption of new technologies and methods, sustained investment and technological diffusion promised to at least ameliorate, if not eliminate, the sense of distance between core and periphery. Attributional distance, which rested on perceived differences in cultural attitudes and practices more resistant to change, thus played a greater and more sustained role in demarcating those areas of the Atlantic Archipelago included in the emerging concept of “Britishness.”

Manufacturing

Observers of manufacturing in the Atlantic Archipelago produced impressions of distance similar to those generated by observations of agriculture. Unlike commentators on agriculture, who tended to focus on a few aspects of development (fertilization, enclosure), travelers who described historical distance based on manufacturing simply looked for the presence of organized

³⁵⁰ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 171–72, 288; For the role of English technology and methods in Scottish agricultural improvement, see Devine, “The English Connection and Irish and Scottish Development in the Eighteenth Century,” 12, 17–18, 22.

manufacturing in an area. The actual product of that manufacturing rarely mattered, although most observers commented on the production of textiles, the classic leading sector of English industry.

Although manufacturing developed widely across England, only Defoe and Thomas Fuller offered extensive descriptions of it. Fuller's account chronicled the earliest movement towards large-scale production in the immediate aftermath of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.³⁵¹ As a result, he described a greater variety of industries than Defoe sixty years later. As Defoe explained early in his *Tour*, his mission was to illustrate "how this whole Kingdom, as well the People, as the Land, and even the Sea, in every Part of it, are employ'd to furnish something, and I may add, the best of every thing, to supply the City of *London* with Provisions; I mean by Provisions, Corn, Flesh, Fish, Butter, Cheese, Salt, Fewel, Timber, &c. and Cloths also; with every thing necessary for building, and Furniture for their own Use, or for Trade."³⁵² Many of the items Defoe listed fell under the category of agriculture rather than manufacturing, leaving only clothing and building materials as potential industrial products. His intention to examine the production of goods to supply London rather than other major cities or provincial centers revealed the primacy of London in English life and as a reference point for travelers.

The geographic diffusion of manufacturing noted by Fuller in the 1650s and 60s is difficult to determine. He arranged his work alphabetically and his notes on manufacturing cease after Devon.³⁵³ Unlike Fuller, Defoe observed manufacturing everywhere he went. Only in a few counties, like Cumberland, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, and Surrey did Defoe not find

³⁵¹ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England Who for Parts and Learning Have Been Eminent in the Several Counties: Together with an Historical Narrative of the Native Commodities and Rarities in Each County / Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by J.G.W.L. and W.G. for Thomas Williams, 1662).

³⁵² Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 12.

³⁵³ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, 276 concludes Fuller's account of Devonshire. After this point, Fuller does not describe the manufacturing of any county.

industry (or the lack thereof) worth describing.³⁵⁴ Although Defoe found something worthy of commentary in the majority of English counties, textile manufacturing development in the Midlands drew the most attention as the standard marker of progress. This industry could take many forms. In Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire silk production dominated the textile industry.³⁵⁵ Other areas concentrated on the more traditional textile industries: Woolens, clothing generally, stockings, and bone-lace. Woolen production extended from the north of England to the south, primarily in the western counties,³⁵⁶ and Defoe marveled at the capacity of this industry to employ large numbers of people, as demonstrated by his observations that Taunton in Somerset once had “eleven hundred Looms going ... and that ... not one of those Looms wanted Work.”³⁵⁷ Travelers noted similar spreads of the woolen industry throughout Somerset,³⁵⁸ and also in Westmorland,³⁵⁹ Worcestershire,³⁶⁰ Gloucestershire,³⁶¹ and Devon.³⁶² Based on these accounts, the greatest concentration of the woolen industry in the early eighteenth century centered on the southwestern counties bordering the Solway Firth.

³⁵⁴ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724. Defoe also did not provide information on manufacturing in Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Rutland, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Sussex. In all, 12 of the 39 English counties, or approximately 30%, did not have manufacturing (or the lack thereof) worthy of Defoe’s attention.

³⁵⁵ Quincey, *A Short Tour in the Midland Counties of England*, 63–64, 59.

³⁵⁶ Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain*, The New Economic History of Britain (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 241–42 confirms Defoe’s impression and gives a good brief overview of eighteenth-century developments in the woolen industry; For an attempt to mine contemporary sources to determine the output of the British woolen industry, see Phyllis Deane, “The Output of the British Woolen Industry in the Eighteenth Century,” *The Journal of Economic History* 17, no. 2 (1957): 207–23; Also see John Smail, “The Sources of Innovation in the Woollen and Worsted Industry of Eighteenth-Century Yorkshire,” *Business History* 41, no. 1 (January 1999): 1–15; John Styles, “Spinners and the Law: Regulating Yarn Standards in the English Worsted Industries, 1550-1800...,” *Textile History* 44, no. 2 (November 2013): 145–70.

³⁵⁷ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:20 (Letter 1).

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:27–28, 41–42 (Letter 1).

³⁵⁹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:224.

³⁶⁰ Macky, *A Journey through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to His Friend Abroad. Vol. II*, 2:125; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:69 (Letter 3).

³⁶¹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:49, 69 (Letter 3).

³⁶² Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 84 (Letter 3).

Unlike manufacturing of wool itself, clothing production did not develop a geographic concentration identified by travelers. This geographic spread made it difficult for travelers to identify a sense of the English norm, in turn limiting observations of historical distance.³⁶³ Travelers noted production of various clothing items in Berkshire,³⁶⁴ Essex,³⁶⁵ and Wiltshire.³⁶⁶ However, the greatest concentration of garment production appears to have been in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where Defoe observed:

After we had mounted the third Hill, we found the Country, in short, one continued Village, tho' mountainous every way, as before; hardly a House standing out of a speaking distance from another, and (which soon told us their Business) the Day clearing up, and the Sun shining, we could see that almost at every House there was a *Tenter*, and almost on every Tenter a Piece of *Cloth*, or *Kerse*, or *Shalloon*, for they are the three Articles of that Country's Labour; from which the Sun glancing, and, as I may say, shining (the White reflecting its Rays) to us, I thought it was the most agreeable Sight that I ever saw, for the Hills, as I say, rising and falling so thick, and the Vallies opening sometimes one way, sometimes another, so that sometimes we could see two or three Miles this Way, sometimes as far another; sometimes like the Streets near *St. Giles's*, called the *Seven Dials*; we could see through the Glades almost every Way round us, yet look which Way we would, high to the Tops, and low to the Bottoms, it was all the same; innumerable Houses and Tenters, and a white Piece upon every Tenter.

But to return to the Reason of dispersing the Houses, as above; I found, as our Road pass'd among them, for indeed no Road could do otherwise, wherever we pass'd any House we found a little Rill or Gutter of running Water, if the House was above the Road, it come from it, and cross'd the Way to run to another; if the House was below us, it cross'd us from some other distant House above it, and at every considerable House was a *Manufactory* or Work-House, and as they could not do their Business without Water, the little Streams were so parted and guided by Gutters or Pipes, and by

³⁶³ For some of the reasons clothing manufacturing did not develop a geographic center, see Miles Lambert, "Sent from Town': Commissioning Clothing in Britain During the Long Eighteenth Century," *Costume* 43, no. 1 (June 1, 2009): 66–84, doi:10.1179/174963009x419737; Miles Lambert, "Bespoke Versus Ready-Made: The Work of the Tailor in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Costume* 44, no. 1 (June 1, 2010): 56–65, doi:10.1179/174963010x12662396505761; Also see Matthew David Mitchell, "Three English Cloth Towns and the Royal African Company," *Journal of The Historical Society* 13, no. 4 (December 1, 2013): 421–47, doi:10.1111/jhis.12027, who suggests differences between centers of clothing manufacturing orientated towards domestic consumption versus export.

³⁶⁴ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, 82; According to W.B. Patterson, "Fuller, Thomas (1607/8-1661)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/view/article/10236>, Fuller was a Church of England clergyman educated at Cambridge. He began publishing in the 1630s with a history of the Crusades that also criticized the Pope. He aligned himself with the Royalists during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, and was subsequently deprived of his ministry after their defeat. He focused on his writing during this period, culminating in his last major work, *The History of the Worthies*. Patterson argues this was the first English biographical dictionary.

³⁶⁵ Macky, *A Journey through England*, 1:11–12; Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 20.

³⁶⁶ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 28–29 (Letter 3); Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:55 (Letter 1).

turning and dividing the Streams, that none of those Houses were without a River, if I may call it so, running into and through their Work-Houses.³⁶⁷

While Defoe likely overstated the concentration of houses and the number engaged in textile production, this description pointed to the rise of the early textile industry in the early eighteenth century. Regions that retained their agrarian character or failed to provide sufficient industrial opportunities to their residents risked travelers and other observers perceiving them as distant from this new normal.

Observers described stocking production in terms similar to the woolen industry.³⁶⁸ Unlike the production of clothing just described, travelers identified several eastern Midland counties as the center of eighteenth-century stocking production. Defoe mentioned their production in the North Riding of Yorkshire,³⁶⁹ Nottinghamshire,³⁷⁰ Norfolk,³⁷¹ and Leicestershire.³⁷² Although well outside the Midlands, Dorset also contained a significant stocking industry.³⁷³ As with those counties with strong woolen and clothing industries, the exact type of textile produced mattered less to travelers in determining a sense of historical distance than the presence or absence of textile manufacturing generally.

³⁶⁷ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:99–100.

³⁶⁸ For the history of one stocking manufacturer, see Stanley Chapman and Jane Middleton-Smith, “John Smedley: The Establishment of a Tradition in Fine Knitwear (1), C. 1750-1874,” *Textile History* 46, no. 1 (May 2015): 70–98. Although focused on one firm, its eighteenth-century history is typical of other hosiery manufacturers; For a history of the fashion of men’s stockings, see Elisabeth Gerner, “Pulled Tight and Gleaming: The Stocking’s Position within Eighteenth-Century Masculinity,” *Textile History* 46, no. 1 (May 2015): 3–27.

³⁶⁹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:145.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 3:18.

³⁷¹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 91.

³⁷² Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:133 (Letter 4); Chapman and Jane Middleton-Smith, “John Smedley,” 71 notes the major centers of stocking manufacturing were in Nottingham and Leicester.

³⁷³ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 59, 61, 75 (Letter 3).

This pattern holds for the production of bone-lace as well.³⁷⁴ Geographically, travelers described the production of bone-lace like clothing, with a large geographic spread, albeit with discernible concentrations. Travelers identified clusters of production in the southwestern counties of Devon³⁷⁵ and Dorset.³⁷⁶ Other travelers observed production in Buckinghamshire³⁷⁷ and Bedfordshire.³⁷⁸ Yorkshire, as with the other types of textile production described by travelers, also had a presence in the production of bone-lace.³⁷⁹ For the travelers who visited these areas, the mere presence of manufacturing mattered more than the methods employed.³⁸⁰ Combining observations of bone-lace production with woolens, clothing, and stockings, travelers noted the spread of the textile industry over much of England, establishing a baseline for perceptions of historical distance.

Although textile production covered most of England, travelers discovered notable regions where manufacturing of any sort trailed behind the rest of the nation. Looking at the counties where Defoe and other authors either did not record observations on manufacturing or observed the decline of older industries, three lagging regions emerge. In the far north of England, aside from

³⁷⁴ For a thorough history of lace production in England, with particular emphasis on the dominance of women in the industry, see Pamela Sharpe, "Lace and Place: Women's Business in Occupational Communities in England 1550–1950," *Women's History Review* 19, no. 2 (April 1, 2010): 283–306, doi:10.1080/09612021003634109; See also Ella Caroline Lapham, "The Industrial Status of Women in Elizabethan England," *Journal of Political Economy* 9, no. 4 (1901): 587 who notes that wooden bobbins replaced bone in the early seventeenth century, but the older term remained.

³⁷⁵ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, 246–47.

³⁷⁶ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 75 (Letter 3).

³⁷⁷ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, 128; Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 4.

³⁷⁸ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:172 (Letter 4); Sharpe, "Lace and Place," 284 confirms the concentration of lace making in Devon (particularly around Honiton), Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire.

³⁷⁹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:171.

³⁸⁰ Sharpe, "Lace and Place," 288–89 emphasizes that although lace production involved individuals, often very young women and children, working alone, it was far from a widely dispersed cottage industry featuring instead distinct, concentrated communities of industrial women.

the previously mentioned woolen production in Westmorland, travelers failed to find manufacturing worth mentioning except for Defoe's commentary on shipbuilding and iron working in Newcastle upon Tyne.³⁸¹ Outside Newcastle, observers remained silent about manufacturing in Northumberland. Elsewhere in the North, travelers, such as James Murray, found Durham similar to Northumberland: "Here are some manufactories, but they have not yet been carried to any great perfection."³⁸² Lacking the developing manufacturing sector travelers, especially Defoe, observed elsewhere in England, the lack of manufacturing in England's northernmost counties highlighted and reinforced the predominantly rural character of the region, emphasizing the geographic separation of the region from the metropole and more advanced manufacturing centers.

Whereas conceptions of developmental lag in the North showed how historical distance could reinforce physical distance and a geographic position on the nation's periphery, travelers' sense that the horseshoe around the wool-producing counties of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire lacked manufacturing activity created the perception of an internal periphery. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travelers remained silent about the presence of manufacturing in Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire. Although Warwickshire attracted the attention of the Volunteer, his comments made it clear that the industry that had previously existed in Coventry had gone into a steep decline.³⁸³ Although one would be hard-pressed to label Oxford as part of the periphery, Herefordshire and Shropshire's positions on

³⁸¹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:194; For more on Newcastle's economy, see Michael Barke and Peter J. Taylor, "Newcastle's Long Nineteenth Century: A World-Historical Interpretation of Making a Multi-Nodal City Region," *Urban History* 42, no. 1 (February 2015): 43, doi:10.1017/S0963926814000467 who argue Newcastle's eighteenth-century industrial development, concentrated on iron and glass production, was minor at best. Only in the nineteenth century when Newcastle became a center of railroad production did the area's economy expand.

³⁸² Murray, *The Travels of the Imagination*, 17.

³⁸³ Volunteer, *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland*, 8.

the border with Wales recalled the geographic position of northern counties at the limit of English territory like Northumberland. In other words, observers noted the greatest sense of historical distance based on the lack of manufacturing in areas where an agrarian economy coincided with physical distance from the metropole and other centers of eighteenth-century manufacturing.

At first glance, the final area where travelers noted a lack of industry, concentrated around London, particularly to the east, contradicts this conclusion. Observers noted the decline of what industry previously existed in Suffolk,³⁸⁴ Cambridgeshire,³⁸⁵ Hampshire,³⁸⁶ and Kent.³⁸⁷ Other counties near London, including Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Surrey, and Sussex attracted no attention at all. Near London, only Essex, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire had manufacturing travelers found worth noting, although Kent did maintain a presence in the iron industry.³⁸⁸ These observations, or lack thereof, created the interesting situation where the greater London area, usually the exemplar from which perceptions of distance originated, appeared distant from much of the rest of the nation by virtue of the lack of manufacturing around the city. However, while manufacturing may have declined in the area around London, the booming population of the metropolis created the conditions for the expansion of manufacturing within the city, potentially drawing manufacturing from the city's hinterland into the metropolis itself.³⁸⁹ Thus the city remained a reference standard for historical distance based on manufacturing, even as its hinterland

³⁸⁴ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 65–66.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 82 (Letter 2).

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 37 (Letter 2).

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 54, 106 (Letter 2).

³⁸⁹ Giorgio Riello, "Strategies and Boundaries: Subcontracting and the London Trades in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Enterprise & Society* 9, no. 2 (2008): 252–55 argues for the expansion of manufacturing in London. He also contends the rise of specialized manufacturing concerns elsewhere in England may represent a metropolitan network of subcontractors rather than the shifting of industry out of the metropolis.

declined in importance. As for the linkage between physical distance from the metropole and the perception of historical distance for agrarian areas, London's hinterland remained physically distant from the dominant manufacturing areas in the Midlands and elsewhere. Taken with observers' comments in northern England and on the Welsh border, the conclusion that agrarian regions physically distant from the metropole or developed manufacturing centers led observers to experience the sensation of stepping back in time appears to hold.

Throughout the Atlantic Archipelago, observers used the various facets of the textile industry to differentiate developed regions from those perceived as lagging. While the existence of other industries did not create a sense of historical distance as travelers moved about the Atlantic Archipelago as textile production did, the presence of manufacturing in these areas prevented observers from viewing these regions as lagging. These industries included iron works in Birmingham,³⁹⁰ cheese production in Cheshire,³⁹¹ general commerce in York,³⁹² Bristol, and Liverpool,³⁹³ paper production in Cambridgeshire³⁹⁴ and Buckinghamshire,³⁹⁵ and the fishing

³⁹⁰ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:70 (Letter 3); For more on the British iron industry, see Alan Birch, "Foreign Observers of the British Iron Industry During the Eighteenth Century," *The Journal of Economic History* 15, no. 1 (1955): 23–33; Chris Evans, Owen Jackson, and Göran Rydén, "Baltic Iron and the British Iron Industry in the Eighteenth Century," *The Economic History Review* 55, no. 4 (November 1, 2002): 642–65, doi:10.1111/1468-0289.00235; Rainer Fremdling, "Transfer Patterns of British Technology to the Continent: The Case of the Iron Industry," *European Review of Economic History* 4, no. 2 (2000): 195–222; B. L. C. Johnson, "The Charcoal Iron Industry in the Early Eighteenth Century," *The Geographical Journal* 117, no. 2 (1951): 167–77, doi:10.2307/1791654; Peter King, "The Production and Consumption of Bar Iron in Early Modern England and Wales," *The Economic History Review* 58, no. 1 (February 1, 2005): 1–33, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0289.2005.00296.x.

³⁹¹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:108–9 (Letter 4).

³⁹² Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:159.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 3:201–2.

³⁹⁴ Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, 144.

³⁹⁵ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:70–70 (Letter 1).

industry in Norfolk³⁹⁶ and Cornwall.³⁹⁷ Although many of these manufacturing concerns produced for regional markets, some, like the Great Yarmouth herring fishery in Norfolk, could produce sufficient quantities of goods to supply large sections of England. Considered with observations on the English textile industry, travelers' remarks on these disparate manufacturing concerns further limited the areas of England observers saw as internal peripheries based on the development of manufacturing.

Although nearly thirty percent of English counties did not attract the attention of travelers due to their industry, the other seventy percent established the baseline for measurements of historical distance as travelers moved about the Atlantic Archipelago. In Wales, the general lack of industry more than any specific observation signaled historical distance from England. During his travels, Defoe only noted two industrial concerns in Wales, the lead mines in Cardiganshire³⁹⁸ and flannel manufacturing in Denbighshire.³⁹⁹ No other traveler found any manufacturing worth noting in Wales, creating a sense of historical distance with a rapidly industrializing England, particularly in the eighteenth century.⁴⁰⁰

Impressions of Irish manufacturing resembled those concerning Wales. Only two travelers noted industry of any type, and the industries described were extractive industries requiring little skill on the part of the people performing the work. As with agricultural improvements, the physician and natural historian Gerard Boate attributed the development of even this limited

³⁹⁶ John Taylor, *A Verry Merry Vvherry-Ferry-Voyage: Or Yorke for My Money Sometimes Perilous, Sometimes Quarrellous, Performed with a Paire of Oares, by Sea from London, by Iohn Taylor, and Iob Pennell. And Written by I.T.*, Early English Books Online (London: Imprinted by Edw: All-de, 1622), unnumbered.

³⁹⁷ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:4 (Letter 1).

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:88 (Letter 3).

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:113 (Letter 4).

⁴⁰⁰ Although not mentioned by any travelers, Wales apparently developed a significant trade in copper. See Nuala Zahedieh, "Colonies, Copper, and the Market for Inventive Activity in England and Wales, 1680–1730," *The Economic History Review* 66, no. 3 (August 1, 2013): 805–25, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0289.2012.00676.x.

manufacturing sector to the influence of the English. He argued that “all the Mines which to this day are found out in Ireland, have been discovered (at least as for to make any use of them) by the New-English, that is, such as are come in during, and since the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.”⁴⁰¹ Similarly, Boate contended Ireland’s brick making industry lagged far behind England’s despite the availability of raw materials because “the Irish never had the wit or industrie to make use of” them until “the comming in of the English,” although he suggested the Irish refused to learn from the English examples now dwelling amongst them.⁴⁰² Although the anonymous 1748 author of *A tour through Ireland* praised the marble works in Kilkenny,⁴⁰³ the impression created by the lack of other manufacturing observations and Boate’s comments from nearly one hundred years earlier emphasized the underdevelopment of Ireland, particularly when compared to England.⁴⁰⁴ The apparent need for English instruction in order for Ireland to generate manufacturing reinforced the perceived distance between the societies and further justified colonial attitudes towards the island. By adopting colonial language and emphasizing the potential of extractive industries in Ireland, commentators removed Ireland from its natural position and equated it with distant colonies in the New World.

Unlike Wales and Ireland, travelers to Scotland discovered numerous forms of manufacturing, many of which compared favorably to their English counterparts. Travelers only noted some types of manufacturing in one or two locations, like sugar and muslin production in

⁴⁰¹ Boate, *Irelands Naturall History*, 124.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 159.

⁴⁰³ Anon, *A Tour through Ireland*, 191.

⁴⁰⁴ For example, for a history of efforts to develop the coal industry in Ireland, see Eoin Magennis, “The Irish Parliament and the Regulatory Impulse, 1692–1800: The Case of the Coal Trade,” *Parliamentary History* 33, no. 1 (February 1, 2014): 60–62, doi:10.1111/1750-0206.12089; See also Sarah Foster, “Consumer Nationalism in 18th-Century Dublin,” *History Today* 47, no. 6 (June 1997): 44–51, who suggests most campaigns to promote domestic (non-extractive) manufacturing in Ireland came after American independence.

Glasgow,⁴⁰⁵ coal and salt production in Haddingtonshire,⁴⁰⁶ and kelp production in the Highlands and Islands.⁴⁰⁷ Other industries demonstrated greater geographic diffusion, like the fishing industry, which generated remarks from travelers in several coastal areas.⁴⁰⁸ Scottish linen and woolen manufactures provided the most direct points of comparison between Scottish and English manufacturing, despite some competition in the industries outlined above, particularly fishing. Regarding linen, Defoe argued the Scottish held onto, and perhaps even expanded, their share of the trade after the Union of 1707. For example, while traveling in Fife, he observed, “Here is, however, a Manufacture of Linnen, as there is upon all the Coast of *Fife*, and especially for that they call Green-cloth, which is now in great Demand in *England* for the Printing-Trade, in the Room of Callicoës, which are lately prohibited.”⁴⁰⁹ While the manufacture of green-cloth presented a unique opportunity to those in the Scottish linen trade to produce a material in demand in England, Defoe’s observations on the trade elsewhere suggested Scottish linen manufacturers resisted competition from English firms after the Union to remain viable businesses. Defoe noted extensive linen manufacturing elsewhere in Fife,⁴¹⁰ Linlithgowshire,⁴¹¹ Perthshire,⁴¹² Angus,⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁵ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:87–88 (Scottish section).

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 3:24 (Scottish section).

⁴⁰⁷ Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 184; For a thorough discussion of the Scottish kelp industry and its many uses, see Gregory Kenicer, Sam Bridgewater, and William Milliken, “The Ebb and Flow of Scottish Seaweed Use,” *Botanical Journal of Scotland* 52, no. 2 (September 2000): 119.

⁴⁰⁸ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:11 and 24 (Haddingtonshire), 177 (Angus), 186 (Aberdeenshire) (Scottish section); For additional contemporary accounts, see Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 6 (Kirkcudbrightshire); Anon, *A Voyage to Shetland, the Orkneys, and the Western Isles of Scotland*, 10–11 (Shetland); For a summary of the Scottish fishing industry in the eighteenth century and its challenges, see Jean Dunlop, *The British Fisheries Society, 1786-1893* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1978), 8–17.

⁴⁰⁹ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:138 (Scottish section).

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3:131 (Scottish section).

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3:106 (Scottish section).

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 3:163 (Scottish section).

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 3:177 (Scottish section).

and Aberdeenshire⁴¹⁴ while Hepburn noted it had spread as far as Orkney.⁴¹⁵ The diffusion of the linen manufacture in Scotland, coupled with its survival in the face of English competition after the Union, portrayed Scottish manufacturing in terms comparable to those used to describe English textile production in areas like the Midlands.⁴¹⁶ The diffusion of the linen manufacture also eschewed the traditional Lowland-Highland divide, with observers describing a national industry with little indication of regions with insufficient development or other indicators of internal peripheries.

While the linen manufacture reduced the sense of historical distance between England and Scotland, perceptions of the Scottish woolen manufacture did not. Defoe only observed ongoing woolen manufacturing in Haddingtonshire⁴¹⁷ and Stirlingshire.⁴¹⁸ Elsewhere the industry fell victim to the Union, as in Dumfriesshire: “They had formerly a Woollen Manufacture here: But as the Union has, in some Manner, suppress’d those Things in *Scotland*, the *English* supplying them fully, both better and cheaper; so they have more than an Equivalent by an open Trade to all the *English* Plantations, and to *England* itself.”⁴¹⁹ Although Defoe argued Scotland benefited from the

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 3:187 (Scottish section).

⁴¹⁵ Hepburn, *A Letter to a Gentleman from His Friend in Orkney, Containing The True Causes of the Poverty of That Country.*, 13.

⁴¹⁶ For more information on the Scottish linen industry, see W. R. Scott, “Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union: II. The Scots Linen Manufacture (Incorporated by Act of Parliament, 1693),” *The Scottish Historical Review* 2, no. 5 (1904): 53–60; Adolph S. Cavallo, “To Set a Smart Board: Fashion as the Decisive Factor in the Development of the Scottish Linen Damask Industry,” *The Business History Review* 37, no. 1/2 (1963): 49–58, doi:10.2307/3112092; Alastair J. Durie, “The Markets for Scottish Linen, 1730-1775,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 52, no. 153 (1973): 30–49; Bruce Lenman, *An Economic History of Modern Scotland, 1660-1976* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1977), 89–91; Alastair Durie, “Imitation in Scottish Eighteenth-Century Textiles: The Drive to Establish the Manufacture of Osnaburg Linen,” *Journal of Design History* 6, no. 2 (1993): 71–76; Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 58.

⁴¹⁷ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:25 (Scottish section).

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 3:102 (Scottish section).

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 3:56 (Scottish section). Defoe also noted the impact of the Union on the town of Haddington (p. 18) and Peeblesshire (p. 110); C. Gulvin, “The Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry, 1707-1760,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 50, no. 150 (1971): 121–37 largely agrees with Defoe. While some types of woolen manufacturing fell victim to English competition after the Union, other sectors benefitted from access to American

Union based on greater access to English markets, outside of the linen industry and a few local specialties, he described only negative results of the Union. In the woolen manufacture in particular, where England and Scotland competed directly, the failure of many Scottish woolen mills pointed to the failure of the Union to promote economic development in much of Scotland. Defoe explicitly stated as much in the introduction to his section on Scotland in *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, which he began by criticizing other travelers who inflated Scottish manufacturing progress.⁴²⁰ Clearly implying Scottish manufacturing did not outpace their southern neighbors, Defoe argued that improvement could only come by “erecting Manufactures there under *English* Direction, embarking Stocks from *England* to carry on Trade,” and promoting extractive industries to take advantage of Scottish natural resources.⁴²¹ While certainly suggestive of historical distance, Defoe went on to explicitly state his conclusion: “I hope it is no Reflection upon *Scotland* to say they are where we were, I mean as to the Improvement of their Country and Commerce; and they may be where we are.”⁴²² Defoe’s comments indicated a sense of historical distance between Scotland and England, even twenty years after the Union. His proposed solutions reinforced this sense of distance by emphasizing the need to focus on extractive industries that required little skill or technical development.

Like perceptions of historical distance based on agricultural production, technological spread and the ability of one region to compete with another determined whether travelers

markets or continued to supply demand in Scotland, which preferred cheaper, rougher fabric over what England typically produced. See also Dodgshon, “Agricultural Change and Its Social Consequences in the Southern Uplands of Scotland, 1600-1780,” 55–56.

⁴²⁰ Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:1 (Scottish section).

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 3:4 (Scottish section); For an account of the use of Scottish forests, particularly oak and pine, see T. C. Smout, “Oak as a Commercial Crop in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Botanical Journal of Scotland* 57, no. 1–2 (March 2005): 107–14. Smout argues the primary period for the harvesting of Scottish forests was approximately 1750-1840.

⁴²² Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:3 (Scottish section).

experienced a sense of distance. With manufacturing, however, the lack of commentary often indicated divergence from the metropolitan standard. The almost complete lack of manufacturing observed by travelers in Wales and Ireland created a sense of distance with England, where seventy percent of the counties had industry worth noting in travelers' accounts. Although Scotland appeared more advanced based solely on the number of observations linked to manufacturing, the commentary by Defoe on the woolen industry and the state of Scottish manufacturing in general created a sense of distance the comparative success of the linen industry and a few regional specialties could not overcome. The relative backwardness of the peripheral regions encouraged schemes with the stated aim of improving the industry and trade of the regions, but which emphasized English intervention and extraction of resources in ways that limited the ability of the periphery to catch up to the metropole.

Conclusion

Examining travelers' perceptions as they moved about the Atlantic Archipelago reconfirms the existence of internal peripheries in the Atlantic Archipelago during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Observers identified peripheries in predictable locations – Ireland, Wales, the southwest of England, the north of England, and the Highlands of Scotland. Although Wales often created a complicated sense of distance when compared to England, observers viewed both the Highlands and Ireland as distant from the metropolitan norm regardless of the attributional or historical category of distance under consideration until the latter half of the eighteenth century, when these areas demonstrated movement towards metropolitan norms.

As the eighteenth century progressed, travelers to the Highlands noticed signs of the civilizing influence of prolonged contact with the English. The same process applied to Wales. Only Ireland remained distant, with attributional reminders of the division created by the Irish Sea

present nearly everywhere travelers looked. Overall, the observations of travelers throughout the Atlantic Archipelago fit Colley's narrative: From disparate kingdoms in the seventeenth century, England, Wales, and Scotland managed to form a cohesive whole by the end of the eighteenth century. While travelers continued to note regional peculiarities throughout the Atlantic Archipelago, these did not detract from the overall sense that even the most remote corners of the island were moving closer to the metropolitan norm.

Certain attributes played a larger role than others in demarcating internal peripheries in the Atlantic Archipelago. While religious differences, even among Protestants, differentiated regions in the seventeenth century, by the eighteenth century shared Protestantism provided a basis for unification, with the exception of Catholic Ireland. Observations of the built environment proved far more durable as a marker of peripheral status, with consistent commentary on the poor quality of housing in Wales, Ireland, and the Highlands highlighting the inability of these areas to develop in line with metropolitan standards. Observers noted the limits of metropolitan power most frequently in the Highlands, Ireland, and Southwest England, geographically remote areas with challenging terrain and other attributes that reinforced the sense of distance from the metropole. Perceptions of historical distance based on the lack of agricultural and manufacturing development in these peripheral regions amplified and reinforced the sense of distance based on attributional difference.

While observers described many factors that preserved a sense of internal peripheries in the Atlantic Archipelago, signs of movement, particularly in the eighteenth century highlighted the path towards a unified sense of Britishness. Perceptions of social norms and customs in particular played a large role in this development. Although observers in the seventeenth century described social differences that delineated familiar areas as internal peripheries, by the mid- to

late-eighteenth century observers noted assimilation to metropolitan norms in every corner of the Atlantic Archipelago, including Ireland. Observers further noted diminished differences in regional food, dress, and speech patterns, lending additional support to the sense of an emerging Archipelagic consensus.

The areas where observers believed the greatest movement towards metropolitan norms occurred over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, namely the more remote areas of England, Wales, and the Scottish Highlands, all inhabited the same landmass as the metropole. While travelers described greater movement towards the metropole in Ireland than Colley seemed to recognize, perceptions of distance remained stronger for that region in the late eighteenth century than the other component parts of the Atlantic Archipelago. Although physically closer to the metropole than the northernmost parts of Scotland, the Irish Sea separated Ireland from England and imposed an additional barrier on English influence and governance. As travelers considered the place of Britain's overseas colonies in a developing imperial British identity, the extent of the Atlantic magnified the effects of a barrier like the Irish Sea.

Chapter 2: North America

Contrary to what one might assume and what historians have argued, this chapter and the next demonstrate travelers perceived Britain's colonial Caribbean territories as closer to the metropole than North America or even some parts of the British Isles. During the decade that separated the end of the Seven Years War from the start of the American War for Independence, travelers to the Caribbean like Sir William Young came to regard Britain's colonial possessions in that region as extensions of Great Britain. In his estimation, they were just remote counties of Britain, not unlike Cornwall or Caithness.¹ While later scholars tend to view eighteenth-century Caribbean colonial culture in a different light, Young's conclusion illustrates the general drift of travelers' accounts of the Caribbean to reduce the sense of distance, conceived primarily in attributional terms, between Caribbean colonies and Atlantic Archipelago metropole. Although numerous factors contributed to the Caribbean colonies' loyalty to Britain during the American War for Independence, travelers' increasing sense of an often-visible compatibility between core and periphery was one major factor.

By the late eighteenth century, observers' descriptions of the colonies on the North American mainland repudiated the sense of attributional proximity their contemporaries found in the Caribbean. In general, observations of seventeenth-century North America followed the same pattern traceable in the Caribbean. Over the course of the seventeenth century, travelers to North America observed a lessening of attributional and historical distance between the colonies and the English metropole. Much like in the Caribbean, early reports emphasized the differences between the colonies and the Atlantic Archipelago, with particular emphasis on the quality of housing and

¹ Young, *Considerations Which May Tend to Promote the Settlement of Our New West-India Colonies*, 2–3.

other construction in the colonies, the government and religious establishment, and the state of agriculture and manufacturing. However, by the end of the seventeenth century, most reports emphasized the similarities between the colonies and England. In particular, travelers described the built environment of places like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia in ways that compared favorably with London and other leading European cities. Accounts of the governmental systems and sense of order found in the colonies emphasized close parallels with similar areas in England. Moreover, the agricultural and manufacturing output of the colonies provided, for many travelers, faith in the positive economic impact of the colonial system.

Not all seventeenth-century observers of the North American colonies shared this favorable assessment. Overall, observers described lessening perceptions of attributional and historical distance; however, authors found some attributional markers differentiated the colonies from the metropole. The religious aspect of the New England colonies in particular troubled many travelers, particularly after the War of the Three Kingdoms in mid-century. The early challenges to English authority revealed by the events surrounding the so-called Glorious Revolution raised fresh concerns for many travelers about the relationship between colonial and metropolitan government.

During the eighteenth century, as the Caribbean appeared to grow closer to the metropole, observers found increasing signs of dissimilarity between the North American colonies and the metropolitan norm that contributed to a sense of distance between them. This shift occurred in spite of travelers increasingly describing the principal American cities in terms comparable to London, and observing similar fashions on American streets and similar dishes on American tables. Yet outside the largest cities, the built environment disappointed many travelers, linguistic differences grated on the ear, metropolitan authority appeared to be undermined, and less polite society revealed a split between core and periphery unlike anything in all but the most remote areas

within the Atlantic Archipelago itself. As much as some of these attributional markers contributed to an increasing sense of distance between the colonies and the Atlantic Archipelago, the relative lack of industrial and agricultural development in the colonies contributed to a much greater sense of historical distance between the colonies and much of the Atlantic Archipelago. The sense of distance generated by these disconnects led increasing numbers of travelers to discuss openly the possibility of independence for the North American colonies, contributing to the development of a sense of a chasm between the colonies and the mother country that dwarfed the actual distance separating them.

Historians have long recognized that the physical and time distance separating the colonies that would become the United States from Britain played a crucial role in creating the conditions for war and the prosecution of the war itself. However, by examining the ways in which alternate conceptions of distance modified perceptions of physical and time distance, we can see how travelers and readers of their accounts appreciated the diverging fortunes of the American and Caribbean colonies. Viewing Colley's conception of Britishness as an expression of the lack of attributional and historical distance shows how increasing markers of attributional and historical distance in the colonies, combined with the physical and time distance between core and periphery, created a perception of separation that ultimately became self-fulfilling in a way that did not happen in the Caribbean or the Atlantic Archipelago itself.

Travelers and other observers recorded their perceptions in numerous descriptions of the North American colonies; far more accounts, in fact, than described the Caribbean. Even in the seventeenth century, when the Caribbean colonies attracted more settlers than their North American counterparts and produced greater economic rewards, authors produced more works on North America than they did on the Caribbean. By the end of the seventeenth century, as figure 1

shows, publishers printed more works covering North America than the total number covering the Caribbean between 1607 and 1776.

Whereas geopolitical events seemed to dictate publishing patterns for Caribbean accounts in the seventeenth century, no such pattern emerges from the accounts of North America. Rather, from the outset, accounts of North America increased at a relatively steady rate, with only a few exceptions. The drop in accounts in the 1630s, for example, has no apparent correlation with any major events in North America or Europe, and thus may simply represent a lull in the formation of new colonies combined with increasing anxieties about the political situation in England. The large spike in the North American accounts in the 1680s, on the other hand, one can explain by noting the large number of accounts written by William Penn (proprietor of Pennsylvania)² and Cotton Mather (noted early American minister)³ that began in the decade. The power of two individuals to skew the numbers in North America is unlike anything in the Caribbean, where geopolitical events (the acquisition of colonies or the travel restrictions imposed by war) dictated the rise and fall of account production in the seventeenth century.

Many of these conclusions hold for the eighteenth century as well. In terms of production, North American accounts outpaced those covering the Caribbean by almost four to one. As was the case in the seventeenth century, the number of North American accounts steadily increased throughout the eighteenth century, with no apparent decrease due to geopolitical events.⁴ Interestingly, the decade of greatest production, the 1750s, corresponds to the Seven Years' War

² Mary K Geiter, "Penn, William (1644-1718)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/21857>.

³ Michael G Hall, "Mather, Cotton (1663-1728)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/18321>.

⁴ There is a decrease in the number of travel narratives beginning about 1776 attributable to the American Revolution. However, this falls outside the scope of this work.

(or French and Indian War), which was heavily contested in North America. The most likely explanation for the failure of this conflict to affect the production of travel narratives is that the major engagements of the Seven Years' War occurred in Canada, on the frontiers of what became the United States, or in the Caribbean, far away from the major colonial population centers that drew the majority of travelers.

Travelers' accounts of North America differed from those covering the Caribbean in other important ways as well. As the next chapter shows, travelers to the Caribbean increasingly perceived island societies in terms that were familiar to their readers in the Atlantic Archipelago and reduced the sense of distance between them. Although they recognized some local variations, authors typically ascribed them to the effects of climate or the racial composition of the islands. In this sense, the Caribbean colonies mirrored the growing sense of Britishness Linda Colley describes, and failed to develop the distinct social identities Benedict Anderson views as a precursor to independence.

The North American colonies were different. Travelers saw them as distant and different while they were in their infancy, but recognized ever-increasing markers of Britishness as the colonies matured. While this allowed for perceptions of the American colonies that ran parallel to the Caribbean for many decades, in the eighteenth century these tracks began to diverge. By the 1750s, more and more travelers noted an increasing sense of distance between Britain and the thirteen mainland colonies, undercutting the development of a sense of Britishness in a way that did not happen in the Atlantic Archipelago outside Ireland.

Travelers' perceptions of the distance between Britain and the various New World colonies in its possession help to explain the divergent paths of North America and the Caribbean. An examination of distance also helps explain why the North American colonies, which travelers

perceived as less distant from Britain than the Caribbean colonies for most of their existence, formed an independent nation while the Caribbean islands did not. As the previous chapter showed, attributional and/or historical distance was not enough to promote the independence of an area. They did not do so in the Highlands or Ireland. In their cases, while attributional and historical distance worked to increase a sense of physical distance that made control problematic on a day-to-day basis, close physical proximity and steadily declining time distance ensured ultimate unity. Where perceptions of attributional and historical distance enhanced physical distances that prohibited effective state control in an era before nearly instantaneous communications, as was the case in North America, then the perceptions of that distance became a self-fulfilling prophecy leading to a rupture in the unity of the state.

As with the Atlantic Archipelago, this chapter begins with a consideration of observers' thoughts on religion in the North American colonies. Particularly in the seventeenth century, religious differences between metropole and colony promoted increased perceptions of distance. I then look at descriptions of order and power. While many travelers noted similarities between the laws of the colonies and those in Britain, many also argued colonial structures of order and power seemed to defy imperial authority, long before armed resistance confirmed such impressions. The third section shows how, despite increasing signs of colonial similarity with the metropole in areas like the built environment and social norms, travelers and other observers commented, with increasing levels of concern as the eighteenth century progressed, on the possibility of independence for the North American colonies. As an attributional marker, ideas of independence overwhelmed points of similarity in texts that offered perceptions of both, creating a sense of distance nearly impossible to overcome.

The fourth and fifth sections tackle attributional markers that both amplified and reduced perceptions of distance between Britain and her North American colonies. The fourth section examines the built environment. Unsurprisingly, seventeenth-century travelers found that newly-established colonies lacked structures reminiscent of the metropole. As the colonies developed, observers increasingly regarded many of the largest colonial cities favorably, even as buildings in rural areas continued to differentiate the colonies from the metropole. Similarly, early impressions of the colonies that stressed their rough character and lack of social development gave way to more nuanced descriptions. The fifth section shows how these early views of the colonies' social character evolved, with later eighteenth-century observers often regarding the larger colonial cities as the approximate equals of well-established English cities such as Bristol and Liverpool.

The next three sections, regarding food, dress, and speech patterns describe areas where observers believed the American colonists largely recreated metropolitan norms. The reduced sense of distance observation of these attributes created could not overcome the sense of distance created by the more voluminous commentary on religion, order and power, and independence. Furthermore, observers who concentrated on the historical distance developing between Britain and the colonies, described the lack of agricultural (ninth section) and manufacturing (tenth section) development in the Americas during a period of agricultural improvement and manufacturing expansion in the Atlantic Archipelago. Combined with notations of distance in other areas, and especially concerns about American independence, these markers illustrated the ways in which America developed a separate identity despite seemingly becoming more metropolitan in some areas.

Attributional Distance

Religion

Perceived confessional differences in the Atlantic Archipelago distanced regions from the Anglican metropole, in some cases moving them literally “beyond the Pale.” Travelers to the North American colonies confronted similar divergent religious practices. These variances not only separated many colonies from the source of imperial authority, they also created perceptions of distance between colonies and hampered colonial unity. Beyond the immediate and obvious impression of the physical church itself (which received surprisingly few remarks from most authors), the relatively open social structure of the New World encouraged religious liberty and experimentation that many authors found impossible to ignore. Ideas of what constituted distance from the British norm varied as the fortunes of particular denominations rose and fell with events in England, particularly the conflicts of the mid-seventeenth century.

That religion was one of the primary markers of attributional distance from the metropole is surprising. As J.C.D. Clark has argued, “In the early-modern period it was religious sects which, more than any other social groups, possessed international networks of communication which both mobilised their supporters and kept them informed of the activities of friends and enemies on two continents; by letters industriously written and sought, published journals, evangelical newspapers and magazines, and unwearied itinerancy, the degree of cultural contact surpassed anything yet available in the secular context.”⁵ Yet while religion maintained important linkages between colonies and the metropole, neither England nor the colonies featured religiously homogenous communities. As Clark notes, while the Church of England enjoyed certain structural advantages that allowed it to preserve its hegemony into the nineteenth century in England, in the colonies by

⁵ Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832*, 43.

1776 it was a minority sect.⁶ While this division is observable from the outset in colonies like Plymouth, Massachusetts, and the other New England settlements, the nature of the colonial project, particularly in the southern colonies, provided some hope for the Anglican establishment and a reduced perception of distance based on doctrinal conformity.

Only in Virginia did the sense of attributional distance inspired by religion serve to lessen the perception of distance between colony and metropole. As the anonymous author of *A perfect description of Virginia* noted in 1648, “They have 20 Churches in *Virginia*, and Ministers to each, and the Doctrine and Orders after the Church of *England*: the Ministers Livings are esteemed worth at least 100.*l per an.* they are paid by each planter so much Tobacco per Pole, & so many bushels of Corn: they live all in peace and love.”⁷ Maintenance of the state church served to reduce the sense of distance between Virginia and England by preserving a sense of familiarity for new arrivals, something not found in many of the other colonies.

Familiar as the Church may have been, there were those who charged that Virginia’s church failed to live up to the standards set in England. Lionel Gatford, for example, argued in 1657 that

The Ministers and publick dispensers of the Gospel, which are sent into that Plantation, are, for the most part, not only far short of those qualifications required in Ministers 1 *Tim.* 3. and *Tit.* 1. but men of opposite qualities and tempers, such as either by their loose lives, and un-Gospel becoming conversation, or by their known weakness, and unsufficiency of understanding and parts, do not only not gain or win upon those that are without, the Indian heathen, but cause to go more astray, and lose, many, very many of those that pretend to be within, the English Christians.⁸

⁶ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁷ Anon., *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, 7; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 141 notes the colony had 62 Anglican churches by 1668.

⁸ Lionel Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest, Or, A Compendious Remonstrance of the Present Sad State and Condition of the English Colonie of Virginea [Sic] with a Modest Declaration of the Severall Causes ... Why It Hath Not Prospered Better Hitherto ... / Humbly Presented to His Highness the Lord Protectour, by a Person Zealously Devoted, to the More Effectual Propagating of the Gospel in That Nation ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Henry Marsh, and are to be sold at the Crown, 1657), 3; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 341 argues Gatford’s impression was not far from the mark, with relatively few trained ministers willing to leave England, no colonial institutions capable of training them until the end of the seventeenth century, and the prohibitive cost of travel to London for ordination by a bishop.

The obvious first impression given by Gatford's critique is that the Church of England in Virginia failed to meet the standards believed to be in place in England. However, a closer examination of Gatford's work reveals that his motivation for writing was to convince Cromwell to intervene in the affairs of the colony to bring it in line with the victories won in the mid-century struggles. Seen in this light, Gatford's critique fails to alter the perception of distance between England and Virginia, although it might still for the unwary reader or those who agreed with his position.

While Virginia's religious establishment reduced the perception of attributional distance between England and the North American colonies, as one moved north the picture changed dramatically. For instance, travelers cited Virginia's northern neighbor, Maryland, for its spirit of religious toleration. Writing in 1666, George Alsop argued that "Here the *Roman Catholick*, and the *Protestant Episcopal*, (whom the world would perswade have proclaimed open Wars irrevocably against each other) contrarywise concur in an unanimous parallel of friendship, and inseparable love intayled unto one another: All Inquisitions, Martyrdom, and Banishments are not so much as named, but unexpressably abhorr'd by each other."⁹ Such a statement creates an interesting perspective of distance. On the one hand, it creates a sense of attributional distance which increases the distance between Maryland and England by describing a condition of religious toleration the author implies is unknown elsewhere in the world. On the other hand, it creates a sense of historical distance that brings colony and metropole closer by suggesting that Maryland could serve as a positive model, particularly in the aftermath of two decades of religiously fueled conflict. In fact, this was the argument made by Richard Blome in his 1672 description of

⁹ George Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land: Wherein Is Described in Four Distinct Parts, Viz. ...: Also a Small Treatise on the Wilde and Naked Indians (or Susquehanokes) of Mary-Land, Their Customs, Manners, Absurdities, & Religion: Together with a Collection of Historical Letters*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by T.J. for Peter Dring, 1666), 16–17; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 137, 281–83 argues relatively few Catholics actually relocated to Maryland, and the spirit of "toleration" collapsed amidst a Protestant uprising in 1689 tied to the English Revolution of 1688.

Maryland, which he claimed attracted settlers who wished to avoid colonies “where liberty of Conscience was denied them.”¹⁰

Observers who decried colonies’ denial of confessional liberty almost certainly had Massachusetts, or more broadly, New England, in mind. Moreover, the religious practices in New England prompted travelers to describe greater attributional distance between the colonies and England than in any other colony or colonies. Two main differences stood out to the travelers: the method of organizing the churches and the crossover between the church and government.

Writing in 1641, John Cotton described the laws of New England as he hoped they would be. When he got to the section on crimes and their punishments (which was usually death) on pages ten and eleven, he found it necessary to annotate in the margins the Bible passages that informed the laws in force.¹¹ As the next section on order and power shows, observers emphasized continuity of governmental forms to show the lack of attributional distance between England and the colonies. Thus, the heavy reliance by the government of Massachusetts on religious principles made it not only distinct from depictions of England but from other colonies as well.

Only a year later in 1642, the author and lawyer Thomas Lechford¹² thought it necessary to describe to his readers the process whereby parishioners established a new church in Massachusetts/New England. According to his account,

¹⁰ Richard Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica with the Other Isles and Territories in America, to Which the English Are Related ...: Taken from the Notes of Sr. Thomas Linch, Knight, Governour of Jamaica, and Other Experienced Persons in the Said Places*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by T. Milbourn, 1672), 163.

¹¹ John Cotton, *An Abstract or the Lawes of New England as They Are Novv Established*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for F. Coules and W. Ley, 1641), 10–11.

¹² Barbara Ritter Dailey, “Lechford, Thomas (D. in or after 1642),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/71097> argues Lechford’s experiences in New England during the 1630s when he was essentially ostracized for suggesting a continued role for episcopacy in the church led to his readherence to the Church of England upon his return to England in the 1640s. His *Plaine Dealing* was meant as a warning of the dangers of nonconformity and the anarchy he believed followed.

A Church is gathered there after this manner: A convenient, or competent number of Christians, allowed by the general Court to plant together, at a day prefixed, come together, in publique manner, in some fit place, and there confesse their sins and professe their faith, one unto another, and being satisfied of one anothers faith & repentance, they solemly enter into a Covenant with God, and one an other (which is called their Church Covenant, and held by them to constitute a Church) to this effect:...

According to the geographer John Ogilby, this made “Their Church-Government and Discipline ... Congregational and Independent, yet in some places more rigid than others, for in many Towns there yet remains some leaven of *Presbytery*, from which Sects our *Independency* had its Original.”¹⁴ Both Lechford and Ogilby, by drawing attention to the power of the congregants in colonial New England churches, highlighted a crucial difference between the established church in New England and the established church in Old England. By the time Ogilby’s assessment appeared after the Restoration, the non-hierarchical structure of such churches recalled issues of the mid-century crisis in the Atlantic Archipelago and contributed to the perception many authors expressed regarding the difficulty the crown faced controlling the New England colonies.

Lechford provided two strong indicators that religious expression in Massachusetts differed from England in addition to his commentary on the method of church formation. For instance, he noted that “In some Churches” in Massachusetts,

...nothing is read on the first day of the weeke, or Lords day, but a Psalme dictated before or after the Sermon, as at *Hingham*; there is no catechizing of children or others in any Church (except in *Concord* Church, & in other places, of those admitted, in their receiving:)

¹³ Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing, Or, Nevves from New-England a Short View of New-Englands Present Government, Both Ecclesiasticall and Civil, Compared with the Anciently-Received and Established Government of England in Some Materiall Points: Fit for the Gravest Consideratin in These Times / by Thomas Lechford ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by W. E. and I. G. for Nath. Butter, 1642), 2.

¹⁴ John Ogilby and Arnoldus Montanus, *America: Being an Accurate Description of the Nevv Vvorld; Containing the Original of the Inhabitants; and the Remarkable Voyages Thither: The Conquest of the Vast Empires of Mexico and Peru, Their Ancient and Later Vvars. With Their Several Plantations, Many, and Rich Islands; Their Cities, Fortresses, Towns, Temples, Mountains, and Rivers: Their Habits, Customs, Manners, and Religions Their Peculiar Plants, Beasts, Birds, and Serpents. Collected and Translated from Most Authentick Authors, and Augmented with Later Observations; Illsutrated with Notes, and Adorn'd with Peculiar Maps, and Proper Sculptures, by John Ogilby Esq; Master of His Majesties Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by Tho. Johnson for the author, and are to be had at this House in White. Fryers, 1670), 162.

Whereas in *England* every Sunday are read in publique, Chapters and Psalmes in every Church, besides the Commandements, Epistle and Gospell, the Creed and other good formes and catechizings, and besides what is read upon Holy dayes and other dayes both in the parish, and Cathedrall and Collegiat Churches, & in the Universities, and other Chapels, the benefit whereof, doubtlesse, all wise men will acknowledge to be exceeding great, as well as publique preaching and expounding.¹⁵

This is perhaps the clearest statement of any author of the attributional distance between England and Massachusetts in matters of religion. Not only did religious practices differ between England and Massachusetts, but Lechford could not help remarking that nearly everyone deemed the English practices vastly superior. By emphasizing not only the sense of attributional distance caused by differing religious practices but also hinting at a sense of historical distance engendered by the perceived primitiveness of New England worship, Lechford reinforced the physical gulf between the locations.

Lechford, having noted differences in church formation and church practices, next turned his attention to the social differences wrought by this seemingly distant religion. According to his account, the extremity of the colonists' religious beliefs and practices had caused them to reconceive time itself. To wit: "They call the dayes of the weeke, beginning at the first, second, third, forth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, which is Saturday: the moneths begin at March, by the names of the first, second, and so forth to the twelfth, which is *February*: because they would *avoid all memory* of heathenish and idols *names*."¹⁶ Although this is not very different from what the French Revolutionaries would do one hundred and fifty years later, it reveals a further dimension, based in religion, illustrating the gulf between England and her colony.

¹⁵ Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 20; Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 120–22 describes the austerity of the New England church service, which he characterizes as focused on "the lecture and the relentless hearing of the word."; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 160–64 provides a useful discussion of the key doctrinal differences between Puritanism and Anglicanism.

¹⁶ Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 20.

By century's end, however, while the religious differences were as notable as ever, some doubt about the religious sincerity of the colonists had begun to creep into travelers' depictions. The satirist Edward Ward, writing in 1699, commented that "Every Stranger is unavoidably forc'd to take this Notice, That in *Boston*, there are more *Religious Zealots* than *Honest-men*, more *Parsons* than *Churches*, and more *Churches* than *Parishes*: For the *Town*, unlike the *People*, is subject to no *Division*."¹⁷ Ward's description reinforced the conclusion reached by other observers that religion represented an unmistakable sign of difference between the two societies, and by emphasizing the extremity of religious saturation in the society, raised questions about its legitimacy.

N.N., generally a critic of New England's society and structure, presented a more pessimistic description than Ward. Describing Massachusetts, he argued, "Vice greatly abounds, and there is no sin in *Old England*, but what is practiced in the *New*. However some Sins speed worse among them than others."¹⁸ It was "hard to give an account of the Religion of the Colony," he claimed, "where so many know not what Religion they are of, and when demanded a reason for their Faith, can say little more than that they are Hearers of Mr. *Mather*, or Members of the *Old Church*, or under the watch of the *South Meeting-House*."¹⁹ N.N.'s account simultaneously created doubts about religious sincerity in New England while showing a level of religious zealotry unlike anything in the Atlantic Archipelago at the time.

N.N.'s conclusion was not unique or singular. Ward also questioned the motivations of the people, suggesting that "The Inhabitants seem very Religious, showing many outward and visible

¹⁷ Edward Ward, *A Trip to New-England with a Character of the Country and People, Both English and Indians*, Early English Books Online (London, 1699), 5.

¹⁸ N. N., *A Short Account of the Present State of New-England, Anno Domini 1690*, Early English Books Online (London, 1690), 7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

Signs of an inward and Spiritual Grace: But tho' they wear in their Faces the *Innocence of Doves*, you will find them in their Dealings, as *Subtile as Serpents*. *Interest* is their *Faith*, *Money* their *God*, and *Large Possessions* the only *Heaven* they covet."²⁰ These criticisms suggest doubt on the part of many observers that a religiously-based society would live up to the otherworldly ideals it had set for itself. Indeed, Lechford had warned of this very thing in 1642, writing "in time their Churches will be more corrupted then now they are; they cannot (as there is reason to feare) avoid it possibly. How can any now deny this to be Anarchie and confusion?"²¹ The overwhelming impression one gets from these travelers is that the fusion of religion and governance in the New England colonies had refashioned society in a way that was very different from what these authors knew in England, and in a way that was not at all agreeable to them.

After the English government's crackdown on New England following the Revolution of 1688, religious concerns seemed to fade as the connection with government appeared to lessen. Travelers throughout the colonies continued to note religious difference into the eighteenth century. However, in Virginia at least, the concerns appeared to be less doctrinal and more to do with church governance. For example, "American" suggested:

In our Government of *Virginia* we are, or pretend most of us to be of the Church of *England*; some few Roman Catholicks amongst us, some Quakers, who at present seem to be greatly increasing; and about two or three Meetings of Dissenters, and those in the out-parts of the Countrey, where at present are no Church of *England* Ministers, nor can any be put well there, no sufficient Provision being made for their Maintenance; all the Ministers Salaries are paid in Tobacco, which in those places is of so small value, that they cannot well subsist upon the Salary allowed by Law.

But notwithstanding the Church of *England* is so generally established here, yet there is scarce any sort of Church Government established amongst us; the Laws indeed do direct building of Churches, and have ascertain'd what Salaries shall be paid to the Clergy, but it is not well determined who are Patrons of the Parishes, what Right of presentation they have, in what Cases the King, or the Bishop may present *jure devoluto*, and many other Defects of that Nature there are, as yet unprovided for; here also I may add, that there is no established Court for the Punishment of Scandalous Ministers,

²⁰ Ward, *A Trip to New-England with a Character of the Country and People, Both English and Indians.*, 5.

²¹ Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, unnumbered.

nor any Care taken to prevent Dilapidations, neither are there any Courts where Incestuous Marriages, and other Causes of the like nature are properly triable.²²

For “American,” the gap between core and periphery stemmed from the lack of enforcement of laws concerning the established church in America. Although the colonists transplanted the outward structure of the Anglican Church to the colonies, especially Virginia, the “American’s” account emphasized the lackluster support the colonists gave to the church. Unlike in New England, doctrinal differences did not contribute to the sense of distance between colony and metropole.

Neglect contributed to a sense of difference between core and periphery, but it also allowed for abuses in the colonial church. When the “American” widened his scope beyond Virginia, he argued:

The present Inconveniencies relating to Religion, in short are these. 1. That there is not a good free Liberty of Conscience established; but generally whatever Religion or Sect happens to be most numerous, they have the Power over all the rest; thus the Independents in *New-England*, and the Quakers in *Pennsylvania*, abuse all Mankind that come among them, and are not of their Persuasion; and in *New-York* it is as bad, or rather worse; for there the contending Parties are pritty near equal; from whence it follows, that [sometimes one, and sometimes the other prevailing,] those who happen to have the best Interest and most favour in the Government, exert their utmost Skill and Industry to ruin the others.²³

Although the author appears to overstate the degree of religious liberty in England, the toleration of at least some religious factions prevented the type of confessionally-inspired political domination he decried in the colonies. Importantly, the “American’s” observations regarding the negative influence of religion on colonial politics included additional colonies like New York and Pennsylvania previous commentators ignored, highlighting a larger zone of potential conflict.

²² American, *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America. Together with Some Remarks upon the Discourse on the Plantation Trade, Written by the Author of the Essay on Ways and Means, and Published in the Second Part of His Discourses, on the Publick Revenues and on the Trade of England. By an American.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for Richard Parker at the Unicorn, under the Piazza of the Royal Exchange, 1701), 15–16.

²³ *Ibid.*, 15.

Toleration offered one way to avoid the dominance of one religious sect, although few colonies claimed to offer full religious liberty. Carolina appeared to be one example. John Lawson described it as offering

at this Day an entire Liberty of their Worship; the Constitution of this Government, allowing all Parties of well-meaning Christians to enjoy a free Toleration, and possess the same Priviledges, so long as they appear to behave themselves peaceably and well: It being the Lords Proprietors Intent, that the Inhabitants of *Carolina* should be as free from Oppression, as any in the Universe; which doubtless they will, if their own Differences amongst themselves do not occasion the contrary.²⁴

By the time Lawson's work appeared, religious toleration no longer existed in Carolina. Haskell Monroe describes how early promises of toleration, meant to lure settlers to the colony, gave way to factionalism and the establishment of the Anglican Church once Anglicans and Huguenot refugees banded together.²⁵ Not only did the establishment of the Anglican Church link Carolina to the metropole, it also created an important link with Carolina's colonial neighbor, Virginia.

Throughout the eighteenth century, observers struggled to reconcile knowledge of the Anglican establishment in Virginia and Carolina with their observations of the actual functioning of the colonial church. While "The Inhabitants" of Virginia "do generally profess to be of the Church of *England*, which accordingly is the Religion and Church by Law establish'd,"²⁶ travelers to Virginia and colonies farther south found few visible traits of a functioning church. For the author of *The Present State of Virginia*, observing the same type of neglect described by the

²⁴ John Lawson, *The History of Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country: Together with the Present State Thereof. And a Journal of a Thousand Miles, Travel'd Thro' Several Nations of Indians. Giving a Particular Account of Their Customs, Manners, &c. By John Lawson, Gent. Surveyor General of North-Carolina*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for W. Taylor at the Ship, and J. Baker at the Black-Boy, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1714), 3.

²⁵ Haskell Monroe, "Religious Toleration and Politics in Early North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 39, no. 3 (1962): 267–83. Monroe also notes toleration never applied to Catholics, although Jews received some support through the influence of the Huguenots.

²⁶ Anon, *The Present State of Virginia, and the College: By Messieurs Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton. To Which Is Added, the Charter for Erecting the Said College, Granted by Their Late Majesties King William and Queen Mary of Ever Glorious and Pious Memory.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for John Wyat, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1727), 64.

“American” twenty-five years earlier, the deficiencies in the colonial church pointed to larger problems in the development of the colony as a whole. As the author argued, the reason so many parishes in Virginia could not support a minister was “that these Parishes were in the most fertile and lovely Spots of Ground, where the first *English* Inhabitants did chiefly settle; and it is very likely, when the Division of the Parishes was made, it was thought Towns would be built in those Places, and therefore they assign’d them but a small Compass of Country.”²⁷ Similarly, Brickell noted of North Carolina: “...tho’ they seldom have Orthodox Clergymen among them, yet there are not only Glebe Lands laid out for that Use, commodious to each Town, but likewise convenient for building Churches. The want of these Protestant Clergy, is generally supply’d by some School-Masters, who read the Lithurgy, and then a Sermon out of Doctor *Tillitson*, or some good practical Divine, every Sunday.”²⁸ Both Virginia and North Carolina suffered from a shortage of ministers and deficiencies in the development of the physical structures of the Church. In either case, colonists’ perceived failure to develop the infrastructure of the Church pointed to larger insufficiencies in the development of the colonies as a whole, and provided a stark contrast with the support often given churches and ministers in England.

In the Middle Colonies, cosmopolitanism, particularly in New York and Pennsylvania, contributed to the production of a sense of distance between Britain and the colonies in religious matters.²⁹ However, as with observations regarding New England and religion in the preceding

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ John Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina. With an Account of the Trade, Manners, and Customs of the Christian and Indian Inhabitants. Illustrated with Copper-Plates, Whereon Are Curiously Engraved the Map of the Country, Several Strange Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Snakes, Insects, Trees, and Plants, &c.* By John Brickell, M. D., Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Dublin: Printed by James Carson, in Coghill’s-Court, Dame-Street, opposits to the Castle-Market. For the author, 1737), 35.

²⁹ Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832*, 205 notes there was a rapid increase in religious pluralism in the Middle Colonies in the first half of the eighteenth century.

century, eighteenth-century travelers to the Middle Colonies seemed most concerned about the potential for political unrest arising from religious entanglements. If the Anglican Church continued receiving encouragement from Britain, for example, William Smith believed New York might experience such a conflict:

The principal Distinctions amongst us, are the Episcopalians, and the *Dutch* and *English* Presbyterians; the two last together with all the other Protestants in the Colony, are sometimes (perhaps here improperly) called by the general Name of Dissenters; and compared to them, the Episcopalians are, I believe, scarce in the Proportion of one to fifteen. Hence partly arise the general Discontent on Account of the Ministry Acts; not so much that the Provision made by them is engrossed by the minor Sect, as because the Body of the People, are for an equal, universal, Toleration of Protestants, and utterly averse to any Kind of ecclesiastical Establishment. The Dissenters, though fearless of each other, are all jealous of the episcopal Party, being apprehensive that the Countenance they may have from Home, will foment a Lust for Dominion, and enable them, in Process of Time, to subjugate and oppress their Fellow Subjects.³⁰

Smith's characterization of New Yorkers as being "averse to any Kind of ecclesiastical Establishment," while perhaps agreeable to some in Britain, was at odds with the fact that Britain itself had had an established church for two centuries. The juxtaposition of this attitude with the reference to Britain as "Home" betrayed the weak authority British ecclesiastical and political entities exercised in the colonies in the decades immediately preceding the American War for Independence.

Although observers continued to argue that colonists in nearly all colonies expressed a desire for true religious toleration (despite early failures at even limited toleration, as in Carolina), they recognized the potential for toleration to go too far. As Robert Rogers observed about Rhode Island in 1765: "...many have no religion at all, or at least profess none; on which account no questions are here asked, every man being left pretty much to think and act for himself, of which

³⁰ William Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York, from the First Discovery to the Year M.DCC.XXXII. To Which Is Annexed, a Description of the Country, with a Short Account of the Inhabitants, Their Trade, Religious and Political State, and the Constitution of the Courts of Justice in That Colony*. By William Smith, A.M., Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London, 1757), 218; Anon, *The History of the British Dominions in North America: From the First Discovery of That Vast Continent by Sebastian Cabot in 1497, to Its Present Glorious Establishment as Confirmed by the Late Treaty of Peace in 1763*. In *Fourteen Books.*, vol. 1, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Becket and Co., 1773), 81.

neither the laws nor his neighbours take much cognizance, so greatly is their liberty degenerated into licentiousness.”³¹ Rogers blamed a similar sense of equality, which promoted the “Congregational or Independent plan” for church governance in neighboring Massachusetts, with, he claimed, disastrous results.³² Rogers’s observations highlighted the potentially dangerous consequences of a non-hierarchical church structure wedded to the politics of a colony often left to govern itself due to the limits imposed on metropolitan authority by the physical and time distance between core and periphery. At precisely the moment, following the conclusion of the Seven Years’ War, more travelers began to discuss the possibility of colonial independence, Rogers found two centuries of religious tradition in the New England colonies resulted in “liberty” and “every man being left pretty much to think and act for himself.”

The lack of religious structure only worsened with the American Revolution and the opportunity to reshape state politics out of the ashes of colonial charters. Rogers’s account, and those with similar observations, highlighted the dangers religion posed to imperial unity in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but did not discuss the radical transformation in attitudes towards colonial religion, particularly in New England, over the preceding one hundred and fifty years. Travelers throughout the seventeenth century remarked on the harsh, almost theocratic, government of New England and the lack of religious toleration, both things perceived to be distancing factors from Britain. By the mid- to late-eighteenth century, however, observers

³¹ Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America: Containing a Description of the Several British Colonies on That Continent, Including the Islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, &c. AS To Their Situation, Extent, Climate, Soil, Produce, Rise, Government, Religion, Present Boundaries, and the Number of Inhabitants Supposed to Be in Each. Also Of The Interior, or Westerly Parts of the Country, upon the Rivers St. Laurence, the Mississippi, Christino, and the Great Lakes. To Which Is Subjoined, An Account of the Several Nations and Tribes of Indians Residing in Those Parts, as to Their Customs, Manners, Government, Numbers, &c. Containing Many Useful and Entertaining Facts, Never before Treated Of. By Major Robert Rogers.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for the author, and sold by J. Millan, Bookseller, near Whitehall, 1765), 58.

³² *Ibid.*, 45.

perceived New England as almost too tolerant, allowing an independence in religion which many authors linked to the beginnings of revolutionary and independence-minded political attitudes amongst the people, if not the actual governments. While these observations on the religious life of New Englanders still distanced the colonies/states from Britain, they did so in a way very different from their seventeenth-century predecessors.

Order and Power

Travelers in the Atlantic Archipelago recognized the limited effects of centralized order and power at the geographic peripheries of the Archipelago. Against this backdrop, many travelers to the New World investigated how removal to a new land, without established society, affected the operation of English government (power) and social order. At first glance, observers found colonies with structures of order and power that resembled their Atlantic Archipelagic models. Given the opportunity to recreate society, colonists in North America and the Caribbean nevertheless imported the English/British legal system and many governmental structures. However, below the surface, observers found that responses to colonial realities forced alterations that produced divergent trajectories for the colonies and Britain. Although not as recognizably distant as perceptions of colonial religion, overall travelers found colonial order inconsistent, more democratic, and increasingly antithetical to continued control from the metropole.

Obviously, removal across the Atlantic did not create an instant rupture of English/British authority over the colonies – it took nearly one hundred and seventy years after the settlement of Jamestown for a crisis capable of completely undermining British authority over the colonies to develop. In the interim, observations of colonial governance followed larger, Atlantic-wide trends. From the early seventeenth century, when the colonies were in their infancy, observers emphasized the English heritage of colonial governance. Following the mid-seventeenth-century legal and

military conflicts in the Atlantic Archipelago, travelers focused on the crown's attempt to reassert control over colonial governance.³³ Only after about 1720 did observers begin to note the maturation of colonial institutions of order and power to the point where their dependence on the metropole could no longer be assumed.³⁴

In most colonies, seventeenth-century travelers who considered the structure of the government and the laws in place found little distance between the colony and England. This is hardly surprising. As Mary Sarah Bilder contends, from the first attempts at English overseas colonization through the creation of corporations, colonies adopted a “formula of lawmaking authority bounded by the laws of England as a constitutionally limited delegation of governance.”³⁵ Descriptions of Virginia stressed the identical character of Virginia's laws and the “lawes of England.”³⁶ Similar observations appear in late-seventeenth century accounts of Pennsylvania.³⁷ Travelers typically blamed deviations from the English norm or examples of poor

³³ Mary Sarah Bilder, “English Settlement and Local Governance,” in *The Cambridge History of Law in America: Early America (1580-1815)*, by Michael Grossberg and Christopher Tomlins, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 64–65, 103 argues that from the start of the colonial period until the early eighteenth century, English policy allowed for and eventually “embraced” the creation of dual authorities, located in England and the colonies; See also Taylor, *American Colonies*, 140–41, 246–47.

³⁴ Bilder, “English Settlement and Local Governance,” 63 argues the 1720s represents the point at which most American colonies had developed institutions of order and power capable of self-governance should they break with Britain.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 68. Bilder goes on to note that this formula can be found in nearly every type of document from every era of colonialism that vested authority in a colonial body, such as “letters patent and charters, as well as in royal instructions, commissions, internal delegations of authority, gubernatorial correspondence, colonial laws, court proceedings, and appeals to the Privy Council.”

³⁶ Anon., *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, 7; An additional example can be found in Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica*, 152; Bilder, “English Settlement and Local Governance,” 69 provides additional forms of this phrase from authority-granting documents, including “‘laws and statutes,’” while “‘government,’ ‘customs,’ ‘policy,’ ‘proceedings,’ and ‘rights’ also might appear.”; Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 112 supports the conclusions of Blome and the 1648 author.

³⁷ Penn, *A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania and Its Improvements for the Satisfaction of Those That Are Adventurers, and Enclined to Be So.*, 18; Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania, and of the West-New-Jersey in America ... with a Map of Both Countries / by Gabriel Thomas ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for and sold by A. Baldwin, 1698), 38.

governance on the governor or governors responsible for the colony to that point.³⁸ Other observers suggested differences stemmed from accommodation of local conditions rather than a break with English tradition. Such was the case in Maryland where religious toleration had the potential to distance the colony from England,³⁹ and in Carolina where the people exerted greater control over the governance of the colony than seems to have been the case elsewhere.⁴⁰ While descriptions of religious toleration, proto-democratic institutions, or poor governors could reinforce perceptions of distance, observers' strategy of tying such deviations from British norms to local conditions represented a common method of mitigating potential negative impressions. The perceived need for colonists to adapt to colonial realities allowed a degree of latitude that did not undermine the impression that colonists preserved legal and authoritative structures to the best of their ability, reducing the perceived distance between colony and metropole by presenting the traveler with familiar and understandable regulations.

By the early eighteenth century, authors began to question the linkage between colonial law and the law in Britain. Writing under the pseudonym of "An American," the author of *An essay upon the government of the English plantations* argued in 1701 that

³⁸ Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest*, 3; William Berkeley, *A Discourse and View of Virginia*, Early English Books Online, 1663, 7; American, *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America*, 46; Warren M Billings, "Berkeley, Sir William (1605-1677)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/2225> argues Berkeley used his position as governor of Virginia in the 1640s and 1660s to not only reinvent the colony and its governance, but to reinvent himself as well. Driven into exile following Bacon's Rebellion in the 1670s, Berkeley wrote several works promoting various plans for Virginia while still governor.

³⁹ Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica*, 163; Bilder, "English Settlement and Local Governance," 74–79 discusses the legal development of proprietary colonies like Pennsylvania and Maryland. She concludes it was, at least in the American colonies, a failed model of colonial governance, as the growing power of colonial assemblies and pressure from London eroded and ultimately destroyed the power of the proprietors.

⁴⁰ Samuel Wilson, *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America Together with an Abstract of the Patent, and Several Other Necessary and Useful Particulars, to such as Have Thoughts of Transporting Themselves Thither : Published for Their Information.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by G. Larkin for Francis Smith, 1682), 6; Bilder, "English Settlement and Local Governance," 87 notes colonial assemblies were something of a new construction, connoting much greater participation by the governed and self-governing authority than the nearest equivalent, the council, in English/British jurisdictions.

It is a great Unhappiness, that no one can tell what is Law, and what is not, in the Plantations; some hold that the Law of *England* is chiefly to be respected, and where that is deficient, the Laws of the several Colonies are to take place; others are of Opinion, that the Laws of the Colonies are to take the first place, and that the Law of *England* is of force only where they are silent; others there are, who contend for the Laws of the Colonies, in Conjunction with those that were in force in *England* at the first Settlement of the Colony, and lay down that as the measure of our Obedience, alleging, that we are not bound to observe any late Acts of Parliament made in *England*, except such only where the Reason of the Law is the same here, that it is in *England*; but this leaving too great a Latitude to the Judge; some others hold that no late Acts of the Parliament of *England* do bind the Plantations, but those only, wherein the Plantations are particularly named.⁴¹

Given that this author identified upholding the laws of England as only one option amongst many, readers might assume law in the colonies fundamentally differed from the law in England. Bilder argues the author presented an erroneous picture of colonial laws, particularly once the Privy Council took an active role in reviewing colonial legislation. She notes that between 1690 and the American War for Independence, “more than 8,500 acts were submitted for review from the mainland colonies, with approximately 470 disallowed,” or about 5.5% of colonial laws enacted during this period.⁴² Nevertheless, the “American’s” observation created a large sense of attributional distance between the societies, reinforcing the senses of distance and change that resulted from crossing the Atlantic.

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, travelers continued to note an extensive debate in the American colonies about which laws were in force and where the ultimate authority for colonial governance lay. Indeed, according to Bilder, “The failure to reduce the colonies to complete dependency before 1701 – indeed, the failure of the Crown even to develop a uniform idea of what constituted colonial dependency – would quietly become England’s biggest problem.”⁴³ This problem manifested itself in the colonies as confusion over the ultimate source

⁴¹ American, *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America*, 17–18.

⁴² Bilder, “English Settlement and Local Governance,” 89. The list of disallowed laws included some dealing with inheritance, escheats to the Crown, debtor relief, religious toleration, the establishment of religion, the authority of colonial assemblies, creation of courts, regulation of trade, and regulation of ports and customs officers.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 83.

of authority due to the preservation of dual authorities – metropolitan and peripheral. The Quaker apostate Francis Bugg⁴⁴ argued that in Pennsylvania “out of Scorn and Derision to the King and Parliament, the Laws of *England* are blowed upon, spurned at, and rejected, and in all Cases rendered as spurious as the Acts of the Apostles; and accordingly *William Penn* himself upon his Arrival here, has taken upon him the whole Administration of Government, (calling himself in Print Absolute Governour and Proprietor).”⁴⁵ Bugg’s observation appears colored by some type of personal animosity towards Penn, but Robert Rogers repeated his observation in 1765. Rogers noted that Pennsylvania, by remaining a proprietary colony, avoided oversight by the King or Parliament, except for the King’s approval of the proprietor’s choice of governor or deputy governor.⁴⁶ Although neither Bugg or Rogers accurately reported the relationship between local authority in Pennsylvania and metropolitan control in London, these two works, like that of “the American” before, highlighted concerns that the British government had more limited control over

⁴⁴ Caroline L Leachman, “Bugg, Francis ((1640-1727),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/3890> portrays Bugg as a Quaker apostate who broke with the Friends about 1675. After this point, he spent much of the remainder of his life writing anti-Quaker pamphlets and other works, including many attacking William Penn. There is no evidence he ever visited Pennsylvania where he would likely not have been welcome.

⁴⁵ Francis Bugg, *News from Pensilvania: Or a Brief Narrative Of Several Remarkable Passages in the Government of the Quakers, In That Province. Touching Their Proceedings in Their Pretended Courts of Justice; Their Way of Trade and Commerce; with Remarks and Observations upon the Whole. Published by the Author of The Pilgrim’s Progress, &c.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed, and sold by the booksellers, 1703), 25; Bilder, “English Settlement and Local Governance,” 78 rejects Bugg’s characterization, noting that at all times Penn’s authority had been “bounded by Crown and assembly,” while by 1696 the assembly was fully in charge of lawmaking, “subject to the governor’s veto and the Crown’s disallowance.”

⁴⁶ Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 85–86 notes that even the King’s review of the appointment of the governor/deputy governor was a recent change. The King approved the governor’s appointment when the proprietor resided anywhere other than in Pennsylvania, but only reviewed the deputy’s appointment if the proprietor resided in the colony; Bilder, “English Settlement and Local Governance,” 78 notes Penn’s charter required him to “send his laws to the Privy Council for confirmation or disallowance, permit appeals to the Crown, follow Crown colonial policies, and keep an agent in London to respond to Crown concerns.” Bilder does not indicate that this arrangement ever altered to resemble the governing structure Rogers describes, and given the Crown’s interest in asserting its control over the colonies in the early eighteenth century, it appears unlikely.

the colonies than it did over regions of the Atlantic Archipelago.⁴⁷ However, by misrepresenting the facts in the Pennsylvania case, Bugg and Rogers created a perception of distance beyond existing conceptions, illustrating the power of observers to influence ideas of distance regardless of the true distance or attributional relationship between locations.

Confusion and concern over the ultimate source of order and power in the North American colonies occupied other travelers as well. William Smith noticed similar issues in New York in 1757:

The State of our Laws opens a Door to much Controversy. The Uncertainty with Respect to them renders Property precarious, and greatly exposes us to the arbitrary Decisions of bad Judges. The common Law of *England* is generally received, together with such Statutes, as were enacted before we had a Legislature of our own. But our Courts exercise a sovereign Authority, in determining what Parts of the Common and Statute Law ought to be extended; for it must be admitted, that the Difference of Circumstances necessarily requires us, in some Cases, to reject the Determinations of both. In many Instances they have also extended, as I have elsewhere observed, even Acts of Parliament, passed since we have had a distinct Legislation, which is adding greatly to our Confusion. The Practice of our Courts is not less uncertain than the Law. Some of the *English* Rules are adopted and others rejected.⁴⁸

The confusion noted by Smith over the authority of the various law-making bodies created a sense of attributional distance between the colonies with their typically unsettled power structures and the more settled structure found in the metropole. Although Smith conceded that some of the difference was due to local conditions, as did authors like Francis Moore in Georgia,⁴⁹ reference to local conditions simply reminded readers of the differences caused by the physical distance

⁴⁷ As Bilder, "English Settlement and Local Governance," 97 succinctly expresses the issue, "The existence of the question itself was proof of the ambiguity over the location of lawmaking authority."

⁴⁸ Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York*, 243; Bilder, "English Settlement and Local Governance," 100 notes a 1729 opinion by the English Attorney General concluded "a colony could introduce such an English statute by assembly act or receive it by 'long uninterrupted usage or practice.'" In other words, English laws did not automatically transfer to new colonies upon settlement without action on the part of the colony.

⁴⁹ Francis Moore, *A Voyage to Georgia, Begun in the Year 1735: Containing an Account of the Settling the Town of Frederica, in the Southern Part of the Province: And a Description of the Soil, Air, Birds, Beasts, Trees, Rivers, Islands, &c ...: Also a Description of the Town and County of Savannah* (London: Printed for J. Robinson, 1744), 26.

between colony and metropole, reinforcing the perception generated by the attributional difference.

Despite rather alarmist observations some travelers made about the confusion regarding legal authority, others continued to maintain that the laws in the colonies followed British legal traditions, if not the actual laws. Former governor John Archdale,⁵⁰ writing about Carolina in 1707, noted one example. The Carolinians had “a Power to Create a Nobility, yet not to have the same Titles as here in *England*, and therefore they are there by Patent, under the Great Seal of the Provinces, call’d Landgraves and Cassocks, in lieu of Earls and Lords.”⁵¹ Despite the different terminology for the colonial nobility, Archdale’s observations could have contributed to a reduced sense of distance between metropolitan core and colonial periphery by highlighting the continuity of certain social and legal structures.

Where Archdale examined the practical effects of translating some legal traditions to the colonial context, other eighteenth-century observers focused directly on enduring links between colonial laws and their British origins. In Pennsylvania, for example, the politician Joseph Galloway⁵² argued that the government and legal system of the colony “was founded on the same

⁵⁰ Peter H Wood, “Archdale, John (1642-1717),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/615> notes Archdale was the governor of Carolina and briefly of Maine as well. Wood argues Archdale published his promotional tract on Carolina after his return to England in the early 1700s in an effort to spur migration and calm factionalism because his children continued to maintain strong interests in the colony.

⁵¹ John Archdale, *A New Description of That Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina: With a Brief Account of Its Discovery, Settling, and the Government Thereof to This Time. With Several Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence during My Time. By John Archdale: Late Governor of the Same.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for John Wyat, at the Rose in St. Paul’s Church-Yard, 1707), 13.

⁵² James Tait, “Galloway, Joseph (c.1731-1803),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/10310> argues Galloway was a successful lawyer, politician, and writer born in Maryland but active in Pennsylvania. He eventually became the speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and attended the First Continental Congress, but his plan for an American parliament subordinate to the British parliament was defeated. At the outbreak of the Revolution he joined the British Army, and after being evacuated to New York and then on to London, never returned to America.

Principles of Liberty and Industry, and is a lively *Resemblance* of its *Parent Constitution*.”⁵³ Such a conclusion is not, of course, surprising in the era before the Revolution. Even looking ahead to the aftermath of the Revolution, the laws of the new nation owed a large debt to the legal traditions carried into the colonies before they became an independent nation.

Although observers like Archdale and Galloway illustrated legal similarities between the North American colonies and Britain, crucially for the future of Britain’s trans-Atlantic empire, most commentary on legal similarities between Britain and the colonies did not include the New England colonies. In both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travelers to New England confronted structures of order and power that exemplified the challenges Britain faced governing a trans-Atlantic empire. Throughout the seventeenth century, travelers to the New England colonies noted the strong connection between religion and government. For most, this created a strong perception of distance between England and the colony. Accounts of proposed laws, like the minister John Cotton’s⁵⁴ 1641 abstraction of the laws of New England, reinforced preconceived notions of the New England colonies by emphasizing the draconian punishments for religious infractions.⁵⁵ Attempts to ameliorate this sense of distance, found in governor Edward Winslow’s

⁵³ Joseph Galloway, *A True and Impartial State of the Province of Pennsylvania. Containing, an Exact Account of the Nature of Its Government; the Power of the Proprietaries, and Their Governors; as Well Those Which They Derive under the Royal Grant, as Those They Have Assumed in Manifest Violation Thereof, Their Father’s Charter, and the Rights of the People: Also, the Rights and Privileges of the Assembly, and People, Which They Claim under the Said Grant, Charter, and Laws of Their Country, Confirmed by the Royal Approbation. With a True Narrative of the Dispute between the Governors and Assemblies, Respecting the Grants of Supplies so Often Made by the Latter, and Rejected by the Former. In Which Is Demonstrated, by Incontestable Vouchers, That Arbitrary Proprietary Instructions, Have Been the True and Only Cause of the Refusal of Such Supplies, and the Late Defenceless State of the Province. The Whole Being a Full Answer to the Pamphlets Intituled A Brief State, and A Brief View, &c. of the Conduct of Pennsylvania. [Nine Lines from Cato’s Letters].*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Philadelphia: Printed by W. Dunlap, at the newest-printing-office, 1759), 9.

⁵⁴ Francis J Bremer, “Cotton, John (1585-1652),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/6416> shows Cotton as one of the most prominent early ministers in America and a staunch supporter of congregationalism.

⁵⁵ Cotton, *An Abstract or the Lawes of New England as They Are Novv Established*, 10–11; Bilder, “English Settlement and Local Governance,” 101 notes Cotton’s abstraction was simply a draft and was never adopted by the assembly; Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*, 189 notes the “paradox or private order and public violence” was a

account of 1648⁵⁶ or the minister Increase Mather's of 1689,⁵⁷ largely failed. The central issue was, according to Winslow, that when something was not covered by a law borrowed from England or created to meet local needs, New Englanders established the principle that "they are to follow such rules as are clearly drawn from the word of God: and because many men take upon them to interpret the Scriptures now adays: so that instead of one of a thousand, there appears a thousand to one, which makes them endeavor (with the ablest gifted men God hath given them) to obtaine positive lawes."⁵⁸ In other words, the law codified the interpretation of the dominant religion in New England. As the previous section showed, the religious aspect of life in New England also created a sense of distance between the colonies and England, a perception enhanced by this marriage of religion and government.

By the latter half of the seventeenth century, this perception of distance had become so extreme that some authors openly questioned New England's loyalty to the English crown. Some, like N.N. who claimed, "The Laws of *England* are of no Credit among them, and when pleaded in their Courts are little regarded,"⁵⁹ can be overlooked because the overall tenor of their work is so

unique characteristic of New England, bred of the Puritan notion that maintaining the order of the whole community outweighed individual considerations.

⁵⁶ Edward Winslow, *Good News from Nevv-England: With an Exact Relation of the First Planting That Countrey: A Description of the Profits Accruing by the Worke. Together with a Briefe, but True Discovery of Their Order Both in Church and Common-Wealth, and Maintenance Allowed the Painfull Labourers in That Vineyard of the Lord. With the Names of the Severall Towns, and Who Be Preachers to Them.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by Matthew Simmons, 1648), 11.

⁵⁷ Increase Mather and Abraham. Kick, *A Brief Relation of the State of New England from the Beginning of That Plantation to This Present Year, 1689 in a Letter to a Person of Quality.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Richard Baldwine, 1689), 4; Francis J Bremer, "Mather, Increase (1639-1723)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/18322> notes Mather was the son-in-law of John Cotton and father of Cotton Mather, both leading figures in colonial Massachusetts. Increase quickly rose to prominence in the latter half of the seventeenth century and was easily the most prominent Congregationalist minister in New England.

⁵⁸ Winslow, *Good News from Nevv-England*, 11.

⁵⁹ N. N., *A Short Account of the Present State of New-England, Anno Domini 1690*, 8.

hostile to New England. However, others like the geographer John Ogilby, who was the Royal Cosmographer from 1671-1676, are more difficult to dismiss. His assessment of the effect of religion upon the governance of New England is worth reproducing at length:

Though among the several Colonies which were founded here by the confluence of dissenting Zealots, this Government is exercis'd, differing from that of the Church and State of *England*: yet in those Provinces which are granted by particular Persons, the Government is much more conformable to that of *England*; but as the *Massachusetts* or *Bostoners* were from the beginning the most Potent and Predominant of all the rest of the Colonies, (insomuch, that *Boston* may well be accounted the Metropolis of all *New England*,) so of late years they have still usurp'd more and more Power and Authority over the rest; and especially have not stuck to give Laws to the foresaid Provinces allotted to particular Persons, and have gone about wholly to subjugate those places to themselves, intrrenching upon the rights of the true Proprietors; and that, even contrary to the Kings express Commands by his Officers, there, and as it were in open defiance of his Majesty and Government.⁶⁰

By combining a militant religion with a system of government, Ogilby suggested that New Englanders had done more than remove themselves to the far side of the Atlantic; they had removed themselves from the English body politic entirely.⁶¹

Following the Revolution of 1688, and particularly after the end of the Dominion, travelers largely stopped endorsing Ogilby's portrayal of New England's relationship to the metropole.⁶² In the period before the American Revolution, several observers of New England (including New York) argued colonial authority derived directly from Britain.⁶³ Daniel Neal, in his 1720 *History of New-England*, outlined the major changes resulting from New England's new charter, including the direct appointment of the governor and lieutenant-governor by the king, and the governor's

⁶⁰ Ogilby and Montanus, *America*, 164.

⁶¹ A similar claim to Ogilby's can be found in: J. W., *A Letter from New-England Concerning Their Customs, Manners, and Religion Written upon Occasion of a Report about a Quo Warranto Brought against That Government.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Randolph Taylor, 1682), 1.

⁶² Taylor, *American Colonies*, 276–80 provides a good summary of the Dominion and its fall as part of the colonial reactions to the Revolution of 1688.

⁶³ George Bickham, *The British Monarchy: Or, a New Chorographical Description of All the Dominions Subject to the King of Great Britain. ... To Which Are Added Alphabets in All the Hands Made Use of in This Book. The Whole Illustrated with Suitable Maps and Tables; ... and Engrav'd by George Bickham.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Publish'd according to Act of Parliament, October 1st. 1748. and sold by G. Bickham in James Street, Bunhill-Fields, & by the booksellers & printsellers in town and country, 1748), 168; Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 51.

veto power over all “Laws, Elections, and Acts of Government done by the Council or General Assembly.”⁶⁴ Neal’s characterization of the more visible aspects of New England’s governance emphasized the ties between colony and metropole. However, it masked the continuance of colonial tensions regarding the limits of imperial authority, the enforceability of imperial laws, and power of alternate governmental structures deriving power from the governed.

New England was not, of course, the only region where the government in Britain appointed the governors and other officials. As a royal colony, Virginia had always operated under this arrangement, and continued to do so in the eighteenth century. The anonymous author of *The present state of Virginia* noted in 1727, “All the great Offices in *Virginia* (being then an Infant Government) were at first heaped upon one Man, and, which is stranger, continues so to this Day; for one Man, 1st. As Governor represents the King.”⁶⁵ The same arrangement and division of power was still in force in 1765 when Robert Rogers described the government of the colony.⁶⁶ John Norris in Carolina also noted a similar arrangement in the early part of the eighteenth century.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Daniel Neal, *The History of New-England Containing an Impartial Account of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Country to the Year of Our Lord, 1700. To Which Is Added the Present State of New-England. With a New and Accurate Map ... And an Appendix ... In Two Volumes. By Daniel Neal. ...*, vol. 2, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Clark, R. Ford, and R. Cruttenden, 1720), 604; For similar descriptions of the changes in New England’s governance, see William Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America. In Six Parts. I. A Short History of the Discovery of That Part of the World. II. The Manners and Customs of the Original Inhabitants. III. Of the Spanish Settlements. IV. Of the Portuguese. V. Of the French, Dutch, and Danish. VI. Of the English. Each Part Contains An Accurate Description of the Settlements in It, Their Extent, Climate, Productions, Trade, Genius and Disposition of Their Inhabitants: The Interests of the Several Powers of Europe with Respect to Those Settlements; and Their Political and Commercial Views with Regard to Each Other. In Two Volumes*, vol. 2, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1757), 163; Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 44; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 283 argues the new charter gave the Massachusetts assembly more power than the assemblies in other crown colonies, although certainly not as much as the colonists had hoped for.

⁶⁵ Anon, *The Present State of Virginia, and the College*, 20–21; Bilder, “English Settlement and Local Governance,” 86 discusses the myriad roles governors played in the colonies, including duties related to map-making, reports on various subjects, accounts of government functions, and supervision of colonial law, including the power of the veto. See also Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*, 408 for a discussion of Sir William Berkeley, early Virginia’s most famous governor.

⁶⁶ Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 123.

⁶⁷ John Norris, *Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor. In a Dialogue, or Discourse between James Freeman, a Carolina Planter, and Simon Question, a West Country Farmer. Containing a Description, or True Relation of*

According to Mary Bilder, “The governor symbolized the location of supreme authority in the settlement,” a position that explains metropolitan focus on the office of the governor during eighteenth-century attempts to regain control of the colonies.⁶⁸ However, by emphasizing colonial governors’ role as the proximate embodiment of royal authority, observers inadvertently highlighted the practical limitations imposed on imperial control by the physical and time distance separating core and periphery.

Additional complications arose when colonial governors turned out to be poor administrators. As the representation of royal authority in the colonies, poor governance had the potential to accentuate the stress distance imposed on authority. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travelers recorded colonists’ dissatisfaction with the performance of their governors. As “American” argued in 1701, “The chief End of many Governours coming to the Plantations, having been to get Estates for themselves, very unwarrantable Methods have sometimes been made use of to compass those Ends, as by engrossing several Offices into their own Hands, selling them or letting them out at a yearly Rent of such a part of the Profits, and also by Extortion and Presents, (or Bribery) these things have been heretofore, and in ill Times may be done again.”⁶⁹ Complaints about authority figures were not new, nor were they unique to the New World. However, those complaints, when expressed in a climate where residents and outside observers struggled to identify the extent of imperial authority, contributed to the perception that local governance contributed to ideas of imperial mismanagement. Augmented by the physical and

South Carolina, An English Plantation, or Colony, in America: With Propositions for the Advantageous Settlement of People, in General, but Especially the Laborious Poor, in That Fruitful, Pleasant, and Profitable Country, for Its Inhabitants, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed by J. How, in Grace-Church-Street, 1712), 32.

⁶⁸ Bilder, “English Settlement and Local Governance,” 84.

⁶⁹ American, *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America*, 46; See Taylor, *American Colonies*, 286–87 for a discussion of how and why colonial governors sought to use their positions for financial gain.

time distance isolating the colonies from the metropole, this perception could feed into ideas of independence in a way grievances about metropolitan government in Ireland or Scotland never could.

Not every colony relied upon a strong governor for its ultimate authority. In many colonies, strong parliaments or assemblies created laws for the colony. These parliaments, including those in the Carolinas and New York, closely followed the British model of an upper and lower house, with a roughly equal division of powers.⁷⁰ However, despite their familiar structure, these assemblies wielded unfamiliar amounts of power.⁷¹ Concentration of local power in the hands of elected assemblies throughout the American colonies generated an essential reconsideration of power that ultimately contributed to the Revolution. Travelers who remarked on these assemblies typically saw the commonality of their form with the British parliament, but failed to appreciate the revolutionary implications of law-making bodies that had no parallel in British administrative units like the counties.

Regardless of the form of government adopted in a colony or its revolutionary implications, travelers emphasized the perceived quality of a colony's governance, a perception that not only altered the perceived distance between core and periphery, but could also determine the fate of the colony. As William Bullock argued in 1649, "no wise man will either transport himself, or send his estate to such a place where is no settled Government, and wholesome Lawes to preserve mens

⁷⁰ Norris, *Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor*, 32–33; Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina*, 28; Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America; Containing Its Natural History, and a Circumstantial Account of Its Plantations and Agriculture in General, With The Civil, Ecclesiastical And Commercial State Of The Country, The Manners of the Inhabitants, and Several Curious and Important Remarks on Various Subjects. By Peter Kalm, Professor of Oeconomy in the University of Aobo in Swedish Finland, and Member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences. Translated into English by John Reinhold Forster, F. A. S. Enriched with a Map, Several Cuts for the Illustration of Natural History, and Some Additional Notes.*, vol. 1, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Warrington, 1770), 259–63.

⁷¹ Bilder, "English Settlement and Local Governance," 87; See also Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 407 who discusses the contrasting metropolitan and colonial ideas of the power of Virginia's assembly.

lives and estates, and to maintaine honest commerce.”⁷² The histories of Newfoundland and the first attempts to settle New England provide additional evidence for this position. According to the seaman Richard Whitbourne,⁷³ the early history of Newfoundland, before the establishment of a fully functioning colony, was marred by “Pirates, and erring Subjects ... there entertained.”⁷⁴ In part, the lawlessness in Newfoundland may have resulted from the odd arrangement of the government, which had, according to John Oldmixon, no settled governor, instead relying on the captains of the ships involved in fishing the Grand Banks.⁷⁵ Similarly, the first attempts to settle New England foundered because of “they [who] were a staine to old *England* that bred them,” argued Edward Winslow.⁷⁶

Established governments generated more positive observations of the order that followed from government, even when previous travelers described that government’s formation as being

⁷² Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 10.

⁷³ Christopher English, “Whitbourne, Sir Richard (1561-1635),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/29230> argues Whitbourne began as a seaman primarily interested in fishing the Grand Banks off the coast of Newfoundland, but eventually became a vocal supporter of attempts to colonize the island. His tract in favor of such attempts is his main claim to historical significance as most of the colonial ventures in the area he was directly involved with failed after his attention was diverted to other projects.

⁷⁴ Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse Containing a Louing Inuitation Both Honourable, and Profitable to All such as Shall Be Aduenturers, Either in Person, or Purse, for the Aduancement of His Maiesties Most Hopeful Plantation in the Nevv-Found-Land, Lately Vndertaken. Written by Captaine Richard Whitbourne of Exmouth, in the County of Deuon*, Early English Books Online (London: By Felix Kyngston, dwelling in Pater-noster-Row, 1622), 1.

⁷⁵ John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America, Containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and Present State of All the British Colonies, on the Continent and Islands of America. In Two Volumes. ... With Curious Maps of the Several Places, Done from the Newest Surveys. By Herman Moll, Geographer.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for John Nicholson, Benjamin Tooke, and Richard Parker and Ralph Smith, 1708), 11.

⁷⁶ Edward Winslow, *Good Nevves from New-England: Or A True Relation of Things Very Remarkable at the Plantation of Plimoth in Nevv-England Shewing the Wondrous Providence and Goodnes of God, in Their Preservation and Continuance, Being Delivered from Many Apparant Deaths and Dangers. Together with a Relation of Such Religious and Civill Lawes and Customes, as Are in Practise amongst the Indians, Adjoyning to Them at This Day. As Also What Commodities Are There to Be Raysed for the Maintenance of That and Other Plantations in the Said Country. Written by E.W. Who Hath Borne a Part in the Fore-Named Troubles, and There Lived since Their First Arrivall.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by I. D[awson and Eliot’s Court Press] for William Bladen and Iohn Bellamie, and are to be sold at their shops, at the Bible in Pauls-Church-yard, and at the three Golden Lyons in Corn-hill, neere the Royall Exchange, 1624), unnumbered.

distant from the English norm. R.F., for instance, in describing Carolina, praised the system of justice in the colony that relied on trials by juries of the accused's peers, much as one might find in England.⁷⁷ Travelers made similar linkages in the eighteenth century, particularly those who visited Georgia. Francis Moore was struck by the "Town Court, which is holden every six Weeks, where all Matters Civil and Criminal are decided by grand and petty Juries, as in *England*; but there are no Lawyers allowed to plead for Hire, nor no Attornies to take Money, but (as in old times in *England*) every Man pleads his own Cause."⁷⁸ At least in this instance, Moore's portrayal cast Georgia as the repository of traditional English structures of order, while the justice system in England itself had evolved away from its historic form.

Of course, there were a few instances where a proper sense of order in the colonies was actually due to a difference between the social structure in the New World and what existed in England. George Alsop's 1666 account of Maryland provides a prime example of this, where he argued that a great promoter of order in the colony was the absence of "Common Alehouses, (whose dwellings are the only Receptacles of debauchery and baseness, and those Schools that trains up Youth, as well as Age, to ruine)."⁷⁹ In fact, the sense of public order in Maryland was so good, Alsop contended, "there is none of these Prisons in *Mary-Land*, so the merits of the Country

⁷⁷ R. F., *The Present State of Carolina with Advice to the Settlers by R.F.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by John Bringham, 1682), 22; Anon, *The Present State of Virginia, and the College*, 43 suggests the court system in Virginia was a streamlined version of that found in Britain, but that it functioned in much the same way.

⁷⁸ Moore, *A Voyage to Georgia, Begun in the Year 1735*, 26; Anon, *A Brief Account of the Causes That Have Retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, in America; Attested upon Oath. Being a Proper Contrast to A State of the Province of Georgia. Attested upon Oath; and Some Other Misrepresentations on the Same Subject.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London, 1743), 11 suggests that Moore overstates the efficacy of the legal system in the state by alleging that there was an extreme shortage of magistrates. Bilder, "English Settlement and Local Governance," 93, 94 notes there was an abundance of attorneys and other forms of legal practitioners in the colonies, including in some cases women (although they were typically confined to representing themselves, their husbands, or some other family member).

⁷⁹ Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land*, 23.

deserves none.”⁸⁰ Hyperbole aside, the point remains – even where travelers adopted a negative view of the government, travelers to the New World often found their sense of the social order around them lessened the perception of distance between colony and metropole.

While perceptions of social order in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century helped to reduce the sense of distance between Britain and her colonies, by the mid-eighteenth century the increasing signs of an independent spirit, manifested in part by a greater sense of democracy in the colonies, created a growing sense of attributional distance. In particular, travelers singled out Connecticut and Rhode Island for the democratic way they chose their administrators prior to the Revolution.⁸¹ Movement towards open elections and popular government, coupled with powerful local assemblies, reinforced the alternate structures of order and power at work on both sides of the Atlantic.

For all of the American colonies, the ultimate source of power, order, and authority until the Revolution was the British state, embodied in either the monarch or Parliament. Travelers throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries observed the legal and institutional continuities that resulted from this arrangement. At the same time, many noted the power of colonial assemblies, colonial willingness to defer to local laws rather than the will of Parliament, and a tendency to blame the representatives of metropolitan power, the governors, for poor governance. Mary Bilder argues, “Acceptance of these dual authorities permitted colonial governance to successfully negotiate the geographic problem of the Atlantic. Although these dual authorities were in tension, they were not perceived as incoherent. By the mid-eighteenth century,

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 54, 57–58; G Taylor, *A Voyage to North America, Perform'd by G. Taylor, of Sheffield, in the Years 1768, and 1769; with an Account of His Tedious Passage, ... The Author's Unhappy Shipwreck, ...*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Nottingham: Printed by S. Creswell for the author, 1771), 57, 62; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 247.

however, as William Blackstone demonstrated, English political thought had become rhetorically intolerant of dual authorities.”⁸² Travelers’ discordant observations and the changing political rhetoric in England outweighed accounts that emphasized continuity, reinforcing the physical distance between colonies and the metropolitan centers of power. By the mid-eighteenth century, observations of order and power in the colonies coupled with other notations of attributional distance to create the space necessary for revolution.

Independence

Travelers to the North American colonies were keenly aware of the physical and time distance involved in travel to the colonies. Once they arrived, many observed patterns of speech, dress, and food similar to those in the metropole, although adapted to local environmental conditions. Colonial towns and cities rivaled all but the most important cities of the Atlantic Archipelago. Yet concerns about the exercise of order and power, the religious settlement in the colonies, and social organization reinforced the perception of distance between core and periphery. The sense of historical distance created by the relatively simplistic colonial agricultural and manufacturing sectors amplified these distinctions. In other words, travelers struggled to explain the American colonies’ place in the British Empire in a way they had not with the Caribbean colonies. Thus, while some attributional categories pointed towards a lack of distance between colony and metropole, over the course of the eighteenth century a growing number of travelers penned increasingly alarmed commentaries upon possible independence for the colonies.

A perceived drift of the American colonies towards independence indicated a form of attributional distance unique to that region in the eighteenth century. Observers in the seventeenth century produced no such observations, making comments on the possibility of American

⁸² Bilder, “English Settlement and Local Governance,” 103.

independence an eighteenth-century phenomenon. Although some authors in the early 1700s expressed concern about the colonies' apparent drift towards independence, most commentary on the issue followed the conclusion of the Seven Years' War.⁸³

The actual physical distance between the colonies and Britain appeared, at least to some authors, to exacerbate the issues that ultimately led to independence. Writing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the author simply known as "American" argued that "the greatest Unhappiness the Plantations labour under, is, that the King and Court of *England* are altogether Strangers to the true State of Affairs in *America*, for that is the true Cause why their Grievances have not been long since redress'd."⁸⁴ Although the author does not specifically tie this lack of knowledge to the distance between the two societies, the very long duration of voyages between America and Europe prevented effective monitoring of and response to crises.⁸⁵ In this sense, geographical and travel distance, by discouraging personal interactions and inspections that might have produced more reliable information about the colonies, contributed to a growing sense of *attributional* distance that reinforced and amplified those same distances.

Not all authors agreed with the "American." Later in the century, the botanist and cartographer John Mitchell⁸⁶ argued the degree to which the colonies succeeded in making themselves carbon copies of Britain made personal knowledge of them unnecessary:

⁸³ Stephen Conway, "From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners: British Perceptions of the Americans, circa 1739-1783," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 59, no. 1 (January 1, 2002): 82 argues this may be because the territorial gains Britain made in the Seven Years War caused reconsideration of the concept of empire, which translated to perceiving the colonists "less as distant parts of the same nation and more as another set of people to be ruled."

⁸⁴ American, *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America*, 47.

⁸⁵ For more on the problems created by the distance between Britain and the colonies, at least in the context of the American War for Independence, see Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, 176–78.

⁸⁶ Elizabeth Baigent, "Mitchell, John (1711-1768)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/18842> characterizes Mitchell as a botanist and cartographer, and in the eighteenth century he was influential in both realms. Born in Virginia but educated at Edinburgh, he returned to Virginia around 1734 and remained until recurrent malaria sent

Within these bounds all our colonies make but three different and distinct countries, and those of no great extent. The four northern colonies are exactly such another country as *Scotland*, and of the same dimensions; the soil is as poor, and the climate much worse. – The two Tobacco colonies, *Virginia* and *Maryland*, adjacent to these, are about as large as one half of *England*, and not so large as *Ireland*. – The two Southern or Rice colonies, *North* and *South Carolina*, are a little larger than *England*, but as barren and unhealthful, as this is the reverse of both. – Thus the *British* plantations in *North America* make three different countries, the Northern, the Middle, and Southern colonies, which may be compared to the three *British* isles at home, and are about as large.⁸⁷

Mitchell discounts or ignores a few variables and colonies, but the tenor of his observation challenged the “American’s” suggestion that more direct information allowed for more effective administration of the colonies. Physically at least, Mitchell saw the colonies as a mirror of Britain. Yet Mitchell failed to recognize that the political organization of the colonies mirrored regional conflicts in Britain, with uncooperative northern areas in both societies.

Early eighteenth-century commentaries by travelers to the New World tended to dismiss the possibility of independence as quickly as they raised it. Observers frequently argued it would be impossible for any one colony or even group of colonies to exist as an independent nation, which would in turn force them to seek the protection of some other European power. One of the first to advance this argument was Daniel Neal, who wrote about New England in 1720 that:

...it will be impossible for *New-England* to subsist of itself for some Centuries of Years; for tho’ they might maintain themselves against their Neighbours on the Continent, they must starve without a free Trade with *Europe*, the Manufactures of the Country being very inconsiderable; so that if we could suppose them to rebel against *England*, they must throw themselves into the Arms of some other *Potentate*, who would protect them no longer than he could sell them to Advantage; the *French* and *Spaniards* are Enemies to their Religion and Civil Liberties, and the *Dutch* are too cautious a People, to run the Hazard of losing their own Country, for the Alliance of another at so great a Distance; ’Tis therefore the Grand Interest of *New-England* to remain subject to the Crown of

him to Britain in 1745. His mainly practiced botany while in Virginia, although he maintained enough interest in the subject in the early 1750s to serve as Peter Kalm’s guide in England before Kalm continued to America. He turned to cartography in part to express his concerns about French intentions in North America, but his maps were of such high quality that they were used in boundary disputes into the twentieth century.

⁸⁷ John Mitchell, *The Present State of Great Britain and North America, with Regard to Agriculture, Population, Trade, and Manufactures, Impartially Considered: Containing a Particular Account of The Death and Scarcity of the Necessaries of Life in England; the Want of Staple Commodities in the Colonies; the Decline of Their Trade; Increase of People; and Necessity of Manufactures, as Well as of a Trade in Them Hereafter. In Which The Causes and Consequences of These Growing Evils, and Methods of Preventing Them, Are Suggested; The Proper Regulations for the Colonies, and the Taxes Imposed upon Them, Are Considered, and Compared with Their Condition and Circumstances.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, in the Strand, 1767), 132.

England, and by their dutiful Behaviour to merit the Removal of those few Hardships and Inconveniences they complain of.⁸⁸

William Douglass echoed these observations in 1749, reflecting the viewpoint of many travelers before the Seven Years' War.⁸⁹ The 1760s of course demonstrate that Neal and Douglass erroneously assumed the American colonies would be incapable of forming a completely independent nation and would essentially switch one colonial master for another in the interest of security. Secondly, they also assumed Britain would cease trade with her former colonies in the event they separated themselves. Although their arguments attempted to reinforce the linkages between the colonies and the metropole, by discussing the possibility of independence, Neal and Douglass ultimately helped establish the perception of distance that contributed to the very outcome they argued against.

Other authors in the first half of the eighteenth century, particularly those concerned with the New England colonies, described independence as a more likely outcome. The anonymous author of the 1732 *Comparison between the British sugar colonies and New England*, for example, concluded that “the future Independency of *New England* seems highly probable: And if the Genius of that People (uneasy even now under Subjection) was to be taken into the Account, the Probability would appear more eminently.”⁹⁰ By ignoring the bonds between colonies and metropole created by commerce in favor of an examination of the New England colonies' history, the author believed in the possibility of independence more than other observers. As he expressed it, “a People who have forsaken the establish'd Religion of their Country only upon a Dislike of

⁸⁸ Neal, *The History of New-England*, 1720, 2:615–16.

⁸⁹ Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political*, 210–11.

⁹⁰ Anon, *A Comparison between the British Sugar Colonies and New England, As They Relate to the Interest of Great Britain. With Some Observations on the State of the Case of New England. To Which Is Added A Letter to a Member of Parliament.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for James Roberts at the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane, 1732), 7.

some Ceremonies, will, when Self-interest urges, abandon the civil Establishment also, and set up an absolute Independency.”⁹¹ By tying the independence of New England to religious concerns, the author anticipated arguments by historians like J.C.D. Clark, who argued in *The Language of Liberty* that the tensions between the dissenting traditions in America and the Anglican establishment in Britain was one of the three key factors (along with the conflict between civil and natural law and the unique construction of sovereignty in the person of the British monarch) that led to the outbreak of the American War for Independence.⁹² The anonymous author further argued that even if commercial ties proved capable of counteracting the historical impulses of New Englanders, “the present Advantage (if there be any such) of *New England* to *Great Britain* must, in the Nature of things, decline; and, in all Probability, will, in a few Years, be quite lost.”⁹³ In short, at least one author before the Seven Years’ War saw an irreparable distance growing between Britain and some of her colonies.

The sense of concern increased for observers who wrote about the colonies during and after the Seven Years’ War. The conflict revealed the tensions created by the physical and time distance between the colonies and Britain. For some authors, these tensions remained minor issues. One such author was, ironically, Benjamin Franklin.⁹⁴ In 1760, he argued that distance did not influence control of the colonies:

If I have been successful in proving that a considerable commerce may and will subsist between us and our future most inland settlements in *North America*, notwithstanding their distance, I have more than half proved no other inconveniency will arise from their distance. Many men in such a country, must ‘*know*,’ must ‘*think*,’ and must ‘*care*’ about the country they chiefly trade with. The

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832*, 2–6.

⁹³ Anon, *A Comparison between the British Sugar Colonies and New England*, 4.

⁹⁴ Perhaps Franklin’s stance should not be so surprising. As Gordon S Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 105–51 notes, Franklin was a very reluctant patriot. As late as 1774 he believed a peaceful solution to the crises facing the American colonies could be found. See also J. A. Leo Lemay, “Franklin, Benjamin (1706-1790),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/52466>.

juridical and other connections of government are yet a faster hold than even commercial ties, and spread directly and indirectly far and wide.... While our strength at sea continues, the banks of the *Ohio*, (in point of easy and expeditious conveyance of troops) are nearer to London, than the remote parts of *France* and *Spain* to their respective capitals; and much nearer than *Connaught* and *Ulster* were in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*. No body foretels the dissolution of the *Russian* monarchy from its extent, yet I will venture to say, the eastern parts of it are already much more inaccessible from *Petersburgh*, than the country on the *Mississippi* is from *London*.⁹⁵

Thus for Franklin the physical location of the American settlements, almost exclusively near navigable waterways, ensured British control so long as the British Navy retained control of the seas.

As the strength of the British Navy depended, in part, on the extensive maritime commerce carried out by the British, the commercial connections between Britain and the colonies became a central argument for observers who doubted the colonies' potential independence. Two such authors were John Rutherford and Governor Thomas Pownall.⁹⁶ Both acknowledged the concerns other travelers had expressed regarding the possibility of independence, but discounted the possibility because independence did not align with the interests of the American merchant class, which seems to have also comprehended for them the planter class as well.⁹⁷ While this reduced the sense of attributional distance between the colonies and Britain by linking the interests of their

⁹⁵ Benjamin Franklin, *The Interest of Great Britain Considered, with Regard to Her Colonies, and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadeloupe. To Which Are Added, Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, ...*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for T. Becket, 1760), 33, 41.

⁹⁶ Eliga H Gould, "Pownall, Thomas (1722-1805)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/22676> argues that despite a relatively brief tenure as a colonial governor (three years as the governor of Massachusetts in the late 1750s), Pownall remained an expert on colonial affairs in Parliament and British political circles more broadly. As early as 1777 he called for a treaty recognizing American independence.

⁹⁷ John Rutherford, *The Importance of the Colonies to Great Britain. With Some Hints towards Making Improvements to Their Mutual Advantage: And upon Trade in General. By John Rutherford of North Carolina, Esq.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Millan, near Whitehall, 1761), 10; Thomas Pownall, *The Administration of the Colonies. By Thomas Pownall, Late Governor and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Provinces, Messachusetts-Bay and South-Carolina, and Lieutenant-Governor of New-Jersey.*, The second edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged., Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall, and J. Walter, at Charing-Cross, 1765), 28–30.

respective moneyed classes, it rested on the false assumption that the nations would not renew such commercial ties upon the conclusion of any conflict between the nations.

Despite the apparent certainty of authors like Neal, Douglass, Franklin, Rutherford, and Pownall that independence remained unlikely for the American colonies, after 1763 observers largely abandoned this position. After this point, travelers to the North American colonies focused on two factors that seemed to make independence increasingly likely – the distance between the colonies and Britain and the lack of representation in Parliament. In many cases, these issues were intertwined and reinforced one another.

The physical and time distance between the colonies and Britain became a problem for Britain in the period after 1763 because the Treaty of Paris removed the other European threats to the North American colonies from the continent.⁹⁸ This undercut the argument of authors like Neal and Douglass and altered the dynamic between Britain and her colonies. Reflecting on earlier travels in 1770, Peter Kalm expressed this shift best when he wrote that:

It is however of great advantage to the crown of *England*, that the *North American* colonies are near a country, under the government of the *French*, like *Canada*. There is reason to believe that the king never was earnest in his attempts to expel the *French* from their possessions there; though it might have been done with little difficulty. For the *English* colonies in this part of the world have encreased so much in their number of inhabitants, and in their riches, that they almost vie with *Old England*. Now in order to keep up the authority and trade of their mother country, and to answer several other purposes, they are forbid to establish new manufactures, which would turn to the disadvantage of the *British* commerce: they are not allowed to dig for any gold or silver, unless they send them to *England* immediately: they have not the liberty of trading to any parts that do not belong to the *British* dominions, excepting some settled places, and foreign traders are not allowed to send their ships to them. These and some other restrictions, occasion the inhabitants of the *English* colonies to grow less tender for their mother country. This coldness is kept up by the many foreigners such as *Germans*, *Dutch*, and *French* settled here, and living among the *English*, who commonly have no particular attachment to *Old England*; add to this likewise that many people can never be contented with their possessions, though they be ever so great, and will always be desirous of getting more, and of enjoying the pleasure which arises from changing; and their over great liberty, and their luxury often lead them to licentiousness.

⁹⁸ Andrew J. O’Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 31 cites this factor as one of the major differences between the Caribbean colonies and those in North America. Not only did the continued proximity of French colonies in the Caribbean necessitate appeals to Britain for military protection, O’Shaughnessy argues, similar to Colley, this left in place a local “other” against whom a unified British identity could be developed and preserved.

I have been told by *Englishmen*, and not only by such as were born in *America*, but even by such as came from *Europe*, that the *English* colonies in *North-America*, in the space of thirty or fifty years, would be able to form a state by themselves, entirely independent on *Old England*. But as the whole country which lies along the sea shore, is unguarded, and on the land side is harrassed by the *French*, in times of war these dangerous neighbours are sufficient to prevent the connection of the colonies with their mother country from being quite broken off. The *English* government has therefore sufficient reason to consider the *French* in *North-America*, as the best means of keeping the colonies in their due submission.⁹⁹

Removal of the French at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War also removed the major external force Kalm believed held the Empire together.¹⁰⁰ Without the threat posed by the French or other European powers, the growing unity of the colonies combined with awareness of the distance (perceived attributionally, historically, or physically) between metropole and colonies, created the necessary preconditions for independence. Other authors came to the same conclusion, recognizing that the colonies had become as powerful "as may be thought proper for the mother-country to have in any separate continent, and so remote," as the anonymous author of *The expediency of securing our American colonies* put it in 1763.¹⁰¹

The increased awareness of the distance between the colonies and the metropole was in part caused by, and in part caused, the increased tension surrounding the distance between the colonies and the political process in Britain. John Fothergill argued for a relation between the two in 1765 as the debate about representation for the colonies intensified: "The Distance of *America*, renders it impossible for its Inhabitants to be properly represented in a Parliament of *Great Britain*."¹⁰² For the next ten years, travelers observed the distancing this disagreement had

⁹⁹ Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1770, 1:264–65.

¹⁰⁰ Taylor, *American Colonies*, 438 agrees with Kalm, arguing that "The conquest of Canada deprived the mainland colonists and the British of a common enemy that had united them in the past."; See also Colley, *Britons*, 135–36.

¹⁰¹ Anon, *The Expediency of Securing Our American Colonies by Settling the Country Adjoining the River Mississippi, and the Country upon the Ohio, Considered.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Edinburgh, 1763), 4; John Fothergill, *Considerations Relative to the North American Colonies.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed by Henry Kent, at the Printing-Office in Finch-Lane, near the Royal Exchange, 1765), 4.

¹⁰² Fothergill, *Considerations Relative to the North American Colonies.*, 16.

produced between Britain and her colonies, with most reaching the same conclusion Fothergill had.¹⁰³ George Canning summarized the argument and effectively ended by declaring in 1768 that while “The legislative Right of this kingdom over every most distant parcel of the British empire, though solemnly affirmed by a declaration of the highest, and most authoritative nature, is still doubted by many, who scruple not to express their doubts in strong terms. The Expediency of exercising such a Right at present, by levying a tax on the American Colonies, has, after long debate, been determined in the negative by the supreme legislature.”¹⁰⁴ As we saw in the section on order and power, the authority of British laws in the colonies had been in question for some time. In the present crisis, however, authors recognized the potential danger such a controversy, when linked to the various distances between the colonies and mother country, posed for the continued political relationship of the societies.

After the commencement of hostilities, most travelers regarded the question of independence as settled, or at least ceased detailed discussion of the likely causes of the break between Britain and America. At least one traveler, however, offered a final statement on the role of distance in severing the relationship between what were increasingly likely to be two separate,

¹⁰³ See, for example, Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica. Or, General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of That Island: With Reflections on Its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, ... In Three Volumes. Illustrated with Copper Plates*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for T. Lowndes, 1774), 114–15 who argued “The North-Americans and West-Indians may well laugh at Mr. Grenville’s ludicrous idea of a virtual representation in the house of commons; while they see themselves compelled, like the conquered provincials of ancient Rome, to employ deputies, and hire orators, for explaining their grievances, soliciting and pleading their cause with Cesar and the senate.” Long’s argument instantly evoked images of a far-flung empire held together through the exercise of military force, increasingly given over to local autonomy, and ultimately torn apart by both internal and external threats.

¹⁰⁴ George Canning, *A Letter to the Right Honourable Wills Earl of Hillsborough, on the Connection between Great Britain and Her American Colonies.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for T. Becket, in the Strand; and J. Almon, in Piccadilly, 1768), 7; Nicholas Ray, *The Importance of the Colonies of North America, and the Interest of Great Britain with Regard to Them, Considered. Together with Remarks on the Stamp-Duty.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for T. Peat, in the Passage of the Temple-Exchange Coffee-House, Fleetstreet, 1766), 4.

independent nations. Writing in 1780, Alexander McNutt concluded that the distance between New World and Old had made the independence of America a foregone conclusion:

The God of nature, by interposing the vast Atlantic between Europe and America, seems evidently to have pointed out the true natural connection of the one with the other, to be by trade and commerce; and to have forbidden both to exercise rule or authority, except on their own side of the ocean. As long, indeed, as any European power, holding possessions in America, treats the inhabitants so that they find their interest and happiness best secured and promoted by such connection, so long may that connection be expected to continue, and no longer. Whenever this ceases to be the case, that people, if able, will certainly revolt, and set up for themselves; or, if not able, will watch for and embrace the first favourable opportunity of extricating themselves from the yoke. This is a principle in nature; and to expect the reverse is equally absurd as to expect rivers to turn backward, or the ebbing and flowing of the sea to cease.¹⁰⁵

McNutt's conclusion undermined those of authors like Franklin, Rutherford, and Pownall who saw the maritime commerce carried on across the Atlantic as the glue that would hold the Empire together. Obviously McNutt had the benefit of hindsight to know that this would not be the case, but by linking the physical and time distance imposed by the voyage across the Atlantic with the sense of distance which could lead to a conclusion that local control (independence) was the only option to preserve one's interests, he neatly encapsulated the role distance, in whatever form, played in shaping the destiny of America.

Discussions of independence created a sense of attributional distance without parallel in travelers' accounts of the remainder of the British Empire. No travelers in the Caribbean expressed such sentiments, while in the Atlantic Archipelago even the Jacobite risings failed to induce observers to reach similar conclusions. The one exception after 1707 was Ireland, and in the context of what travelers like McNutt argued in regards to America, the crucial difference in the outcomes by 1800 seems to have been the actual physical and time distance between London and Dublin and London and places like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. If the "God

¹⁰⁵ Alexander McNutt, *Considerations on the Sovereignty, Independence, Trade and Fisheries of New Ireland, (Formerly Known by the Name of Nova Scotia) and the Adjacent Islands: Submitted to the European Powers, That May Be Engaged in Settling the Terms of Peace, among the Nations at War.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Philadelphia: Published by order of the sovereign, free and independent commonwealth of New Ireland, 1780), 3–4.

of nature” had decreed that the Atlantic ensured societies on opposite sides of it could not dominate one another, the Irish Sea posed no such barrier.

Social

Travelers and observers generated some consensus regarding colonial American religious expression, the exercise of order and power, and the movement towards independence. Social attributes, much more complex and changing than those attributional markers, presented observers with significant descriptive challenges. Seventeenth-century perceptions of disorder, formed when the colonies first developed, faded as most colonies succeeded in reintroducing at least some English social norms by the end of the century. In the eighteenth century, as colonial American societies matured, most travelers noted increasing similarities between Britain and America. Paradoxically, these similarities developed at a time when politically the two nations were drifting farther apart. Thus, a sense of reduced attributional distance based on social factors contributed to rearrangement of mental maps, but it failed to hold that world in a familiar political order.

The preponderance of English immigrants to the colonies in the seventeenth century, and the numerical influence of their descendants even after new groups began to arrive in the eighteenth century, makes these connections less surprising. Indeed, consensus amongst historians is that colonial Americans viewed themselves as increasingly British beginning about 1740.¹⁰⁶ During the same period, as Colley’s *Britons* shows, the Scottish also perceived themselves as part of a larger British state or empire. The divergent outcomes for these two regions suggests self-perception in the imperial context was insufficient to preserve the unity of the state. The distinguishing factor between Scotland and Britain’s colonies in the New World was distance, both

¹⁰⁶ Conway, “From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners,” 65.

real and perceived. Given this, the self-perceptions of the governed that they had succeeded in recreating British attributional norms mattered less than metropolitan acknowledgement of, and agreement with, those perceptions. Travelers' views of society, representing the attitudes of the metropole generally, theoretically modified the distance between core and periphery to either create or remove the space in which independence could develop. In the Caribbean, where travelers found few attributional markers that amplified the physical and time distance between core and periphery, observers concluded Caribbean efforts to recreate British norms had succeeded to the point the colonies were essentially "remote counties."¹⁰⁷ In North America, colonial religion and structures of order and power outweighed attributes like food, dress, and speech, leading observers to conclude, despite colonial protestations of equivalency with the metropole, that God decreed the bonds between core and periphery be broken.¹⁰⁸

In the period immediately following the formation of the North American colonies, observers commonly complained about the apparent quality of the individuals who chose to leave England for the New World. As Lionel Gatford vividly described it in 1657,

The people that are sent to inhabit in that Colonie [Virginia], are the most of them the very scum and off-scouring of our Nation, vagrants, or condemned persons, or such others, as by the looseness and viciousness of their lives have disabled themselves to subsist any longer in this Nation; and when they come thither, either know not how, or will not betake themselves to any sober industrious course of living. And, if they chance to get ought to maintain them in their licentiousness and wickedness, fall to practising their old abominable practices there, as much or more than ever they did heer.¹⁰⁹

As with N.N.'s account of religion in Massachusetts, it would be easy to dismiss Gatford's characterization of migrants to the colonies given his motive (inducing Cromwell to intervene in

¹⁰⁷ Young, *Considerations Which May Tend to Promote the Settlement of Our New West-India Colonies*, 2–3.

¹⁰⁸ McNutt, *Considerations on the Sovereignty, Independence, Trade and Fisheries of New Ireland, (Formerly Known by the Name of Nova Scotia) and the Adjacent Islands*, 3–4.

¹⁰⁹ Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest*, 4.

Virginia), but he was far from the only traveler to paint such a picture of the colonies. Governor Edward Winslow (in 1624)¹¹⁰ and the author William Wood (in 1634)¹¹¹ described the new residents of New England in nearly identical terms.¹¹²

Other travelers argued dislocation across the Atlantic could be beneficial, even while agreeing England's more respectable subjects rarely comprised those who chose to leave. John Hammond, for example, wrote that many in Virginia "who in *England* have been lewd and idle, there in emulation or imitation (for example moves more than precept) of the industry of those they finde there, not onely grow ashamed of their former courses, but abhor to hear of them, and in small time wipe off those stains they have formerly been tainted with."¹¹³ William Berkeley echoed Hammond's sentiments in 1663,¹¹⁴ suggesting at least a vocal portion of early observers believed the colonies offered important redemptive possibilities. By rehabilitating those perceived as "lewd and idle" in England and turning them into productive members of society possessed of

¹¹⁰ Winslow, *Good Nevves from New-England*, 14.

¹¹¹ William Wood, *Nevv Englands Prospect: A True, Lively, and Experimentall Description of That Part of America, Commonly Called Nevv England: Discovering the State of That Countrie, Both as It Stands to Our New-Come English Planters; and to the Old Native Inhabitants. Laying Downe That Which May Both Enrich the Knowledge of the Mind-Travelling Reader, or Benefit the Future Voyager. By William Wood.*, Early English Books Online (London: By Tho. Cotes, for Iohn Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop, at the three Golden Lyons in Corne-hill, neere the Royall Exchange, 1634), 47–49; Alden T Vaughan, "Wood, William (Fl. 1629-1635)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/72606> notes Wood's sole claim to fame is the work referenced here. Wood appears to have lived in Massachusetts from about 1629 to 1633 when he returned to London to publish this work. Vaughan argues its secular tone suggests Wood was not a Puritan; nevertheless, he may have returned to Massachusetts in the mid-1630s.

¹¹² Conway, "From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners," 69 notes some commentators in England revived this argument during the crises following the Seven Years War, suggesting the transportation of criminals to the colonies in the eighteenth century (despite being a small number of overall immigrants) had fundamentally altered the character of the colonists generally.

¹¹³ John Hammond, *Leah and Rachel, Or, the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia and Mary-Land: Their Present Condition, Impartially Stated and Related. VVith a Removall of Such Imputations as Are Scandalously Cast on Those Countries, Whereby Many Deceived Souls, Chose Rather to Beg, Steal, Rot in Prison, and Come to Shamefull Deaths, Then to Better Their Being by Going Thither, Wherein Is Plenty of All Things Necessary for Humane Subsistance. / By John Hammond.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by T. Mabb, and are to be sold by Nich. Bourn, neer the Royal Exchange, 1656), 14.

¹¹⁴ Berkeley, *A Discourse and View of Virginia*, 3.

the quintessential English characteristics of industry and restraint, observers like Berkeley and Hammond argued the colonies played a critical role in maintaining the health not only of the larger English Empire, but the health of England itself.

Although travelers like Hammond and Berkeley believed the move from Britain to the colonies could inspire greater industry in some people, travelers throughout the eighteenth century continued to remark upon the laziness of some colonists. However, all of these observations concerned the southern colonies and often their views on the institution of slavery, which many travelers held responsible for encouraging white settlers to avoid manual labor. John Lawson, describing Carolina and the effects of slavery in 1714, suggested that while some of the “Men are very laborious, and make great Improvements in their Way; but I dare hardly give ‘em that Character in general. The easy Way of living in that plentiful Country, makes a great many Planters very negligent, which, were they otherwise, that Colony might now have been in a far better Condition than it is.”¹¹⁵ In fact, some travelers argued that the apparent ease of living in Carolina¹¹⁶ at the beginning of the eighteenth century had been enough to entice indentured servants in Georgia to run off to Carolina.¹¹⁷ By mid-century, these observations influenced general impressions of the colonists, leading travelers like William Douglass to argue that the colonists in general exhibited “Idleness, Intemperance, Luxury in Diet, Extravagancies in Apparel, and an abandoned Way of Living. Our Planters, especially their Children, when they go Home to *Great-Britain*, distinguish themselves too much by their Dress, and expensive Way of Living for a short Time.”¹¹⁸ Not only

¹¹⁵ Lawson, *The History of Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country*, 83.

¹¹⁶ Archdale, *A New Description of That Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina*, 9.

¹¹⁷ Anon, *A State of the Province of Georgia, Attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill, 1742), 16.

¹¹⁸ Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political*, 225.

does Douglass's characterization of all colonists as idle increase the sense of distance between the colonies and Britain, but his reference to Britain as "Home" increased that sense of distance by suggesting that those of the upper strata of society, like the planters, should view the colonies only as temporary residences, not permanent places of resettlement.

After roughly the mid-seventeenth century, travelers to the North American colonies turned away from descriptions of the type of people who moved to the colonies in favor of describing those that had lived there either for extended periods or been born in the New World. The perceived effects of prolonged exposure to the New World on English manners, customs, and changing complexions fascinated them.¹¹⁹ The limited descriptions of the people of Maryland and Pennsylvania suggest they compared favorably to the English ideal. George Alsop, in describing Maryland, thought the "Christian Natives of the Land, especially those of the Masculine Sex, are generally conveniently confident, reservedly subtle, quick in apprehending, but slow in resolving; and where they spy profit sailing towards them with the wings of a prosperous gale, there they become much familiar. The Women differ something in this point, though not much: They are extreme bashful at the first view, but after a continuance of time hath brought them acquainted, there they become discreetly familiar, and are much more talkative then men."¹²⁰ Similarly, Gabriel Thomas described the children of Pennsylvania as being "generally *well-favoured*, and *Beautiful* to behold; I never knew any come into the World with the least blemish on any part of its Body, being in the general, observ'd to be *better Natur'd*, *Milder*, and more *tender Hearted* than those born in England."¹²¹ As with other attributes, observers allowed for some differences

¹¹⁹ Conway, "From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners" takes this debate as the central theme of his article.

¹²⁰ Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land*, 24.

¹²¹ Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania, and of the West-New-Jersey*, 42–43.

supposedly based on climatic differences between the colonies and the metropole. Yet both Alsop and Thomas argued that while these differences muted some characteristics expected of the typical Englishperson, given time to interact with the colonists, observers would find they possessed familiar traits.

This trend gathered steam in the eighteenth century. John Brickell, for example, described “The *Europians*, or *Christians* of *North-Carolina*” as being “a streight, tall, well-limb’d and active People; their Children being seldom or never troubled with Rickets, and many other Distempers that the *Europians* are afflicted with, and you shall seldom see any of them deformed in Body.”¹²² While Brickell wrote in hopes of attracting new settlers to the colonies, later authors continued to note the similarities in appearance between residents of the New World and Britain. George Johnston noted in 1770 that South Carolinians’ “Complexion is little different from the Inhabitants of *Britain*, and they are generally of a good Stature and well-made, with lively and agreeable Countenances.”¹²³ An anonymous author in 1776 suggested that the residents of North America were “healthy and robust, of a stature above the common size. These Creoles are more quick, and come to their full growth sooner than the Europeans: But they are not so long-lived. ... The fair sex are still what they should be, gentle, modest, compassionate, and useful; they are in possession of those virtues which continue the empire of their charms.”¹²⁴ Thus, at the outset of the American Revolution, authors portrayed residents of the New World in terms similar to those applied to

¹²² Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina*, 31.

¹²³ George Milligen Johnston, *A Short Description of the Province of South-Carolina, with an Account of the Air, Weather, and Diseases, at Charles-Town. Written in the Year 1763.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for John Hinton, at the King’s-Arms, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1770), 24.

¹²⁴ Anon, *The History of North America. Containing An Exact Account of Their First Settlements; Their Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce, Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Commodities, Manufactures, Commerce, Religion, Charters, Laws, Governments, Cities, Towns, Ports, Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, and Fortifications. with The Present State of the Different Colonies; and A Large Introduction. Illustrated with a Map of North America.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Sold by Millar, Thomson, Jones, Davidson, Wilson, and Gardiner, 1776), 31–32.

residents of the Old World. Climatic differences led some authors to argue for the appearance of some slight physical alterations, but authors commonly excused minor differences based on climatic factors when discussing physical appearance, architecture, patterns of dress, or other attributes. In other words, reasonable variation did not prevent the perception that cultural linkages had been preserved across the Atlantic.

Despite observers' contention that physical characteristics linked New England to old, by the end of the seventeenth century, some travelers, in particular N.N. and the satirist Edward Ward, described vast social differences between the societies. For example, N.N. described the people of Massachusetts as being "naturally courteous, affable and obliging" but argued that the independence of their churches trickled down to the people, making them "very high and unsociable, looking on others as mean abject creatures, who deserve their *Pity* rather than their *Company*."¹²⁵ N.N.'s criticism rested on the perception that New England represented a "closed" society, sociable only to those it knew, while strangers in England expected to be welcomed with openness and generosity.

For Edward Ward, gender most influenced whether or not residents of New England resembled their English counterparts. He argued that "The Women here, are not at all inferior in Beauty to the Ladies of *London*, having rather the Advantage of a better Complexion."¹²⁶ Yet while the women might compare favorably in appearance, in actions they failed to live up to their English counterparts, because "A [Massachusetts] Woman that has lost her *Reputation*, hath lost her *Portion*; her *Virginitie* is all her *Treasure*: And yet the Merry Lasses esteem it but a Trifle, for

¹²⁵ N. N., *A Short Account of the Present State of New-England, Anno Domini 1690*, 7.

¹²⁶ Ward, *A Trip to New-England with a Character of the Country and People, Both English and Indians.*, 7.

they had rather, by far, loose *that* then their *Teeming-time*.”¹²⁷ Both N.N. and Ward described society in Massachusetts in terms similar to those employed amongst contemporary travelers in England. However, both also drew attention to aspects of society in New England unexplainable by reference to climatic differences or any of the other factors authors typically cited to excuse difference. By citing specific examples of negative attributes, such as their unsociability or their flippancy towards their virginity, N.N. and Ward divided colonial society from the metropole.

While this may have been true of the women of Massachusetts, both N.N. and Ward seem less sure of the men. For example, immediately after his complimentary portrayal of the women of Massachusetts but before questioning their sexual propriety, Ward described the men as “generally *Meagre*; and have got the *Hypocritical* knack, like our *English Jews*, of screwing their Faces, into such *Puritanical* postures that you would think they were always Praying to themselves, or running melancholy Mad about some Mistery in the *Revelations*: So that ’tis rare to see a handsome Man in the Country, for they have all one Cast, but of what Tribe I know not.”¹²⁸ Two parts of this description move the men of Massachusetts far beyond the English norm, lengthening the sense of attributional distance. The first is the comparison to the Jews of England, a point N.N. also made.¹²⁹ Secondly, by linking them with a “Tribe,” Ward suggested that they have “gone native,” distancing the colonists both attributionally and historically in a way common in descriptions of Ireland.

¹²⁷ Ibid.; For a discussion of the complicated role of sex in Puritan society, see Kathy J. Cooke, “Generations and Regeneration: ‘Sexceptionalism’ and Group Identity among Puritans in Colonial New England,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 23, no. 3 (September 2014): 339–44, doi:10.7560/JHS23301. Cooke does agree with Ward that childbearing (“Teeming-time”) was very important in early New England society, but disagrees that a woman’s loss of virginity was accepted in that society. Rather, she emphasizes that while Puritan ideas of sex may be more liberal than many now assume, that liberality was confined to marriage.

¹²⁸ Ward, *A Trip to New-England with a Character of the Country and People, Both English and Indians.*, 7.

¹²⁹ N. N., *A Short Account of the Present State of New-England, Anno Domini 1690*, 7.

Yet Ward reinforced this claim a few pages later. Nearly all of the bad customs, the root of their poor manners, originated with the indigenous inhabitants of the New World. It is a shocking charge, tinged with a racial element, and one that distances the colonists of Massachusetts from their counterparts in England more effectively than any other description of a New World society I have found. For this reason, it is worth quoting Ward at length:

The Women (like the Men) are excessive *Smokers*; and have contracted so many ill habits from the *Indians*, that 'tis difficult to find a Woman cleanly enough for a *Cook* to a *Squemish Lady*, or a Man neat enough for a *Valet* to Sir *Courtly Nice*. I am sure a *Covent-Garden Beau*, or a *Bell-sa* would appear to them much stranger *Monsters*, then ever yet were seen in *America*.

They *Smoke* in *Bed*, *Smoke* as they *Nead* their *Bread*, *Smoke* whilst they'r *Cooking* their *Victuals*, *Smoke* at *Prayers*, *Work*, and *Exonoration*, that their *Mouths* stink as bad as the *Bowl* of a *Sailers Pipe*, which he has funk'd in, without *Burning*, a whole *Voyage* to the *Indias*.

Eating, *Drinking*, *Smoking*, and *Sleeping*, takes up four parts in five of their *Time*; and you may divide the remainder into *Religious Excercise*, *Day Labour*, and *Evacuation*. Four *Meals* a *Day*, and a good *Knap* after *Dinner*, being the *Custom* of the *Country*.

Rum, alias *Kill Devil*, is as much ador'd by the *American English*, as a dram of *Brandy* is by an old *Billingsgate*. 'Tis held as the *Comforter* of their *Souls*, the *Preserver* of their *Bodys*, the *Remover* of their *Cares*, and *Promoter* of their *Mirth*; and is a *Sovereign Remedy* against the *Grumbling* of the *Guts*, a *Kibe-heel*,¹³⁰ or a *Wounded Conscience*, which are three *Epidemical Distempers* that afflict the *Country*.

Their *Industry*, as well as their *Honesty*, deserves equal *Observation*; for it is practicable amongst them, to go two miles to catch a *Horse*, and run three *Hours* after him, to *Ride* Half a *Mile* to *Work*, or a *Quarter* of a *Mile* to an *Ale-house*.

One *Husband-man* in *England*, will do more *Labour* in a *Day*, then a *New-England Planter* will be at pains to do in a *Week*: For to every *Hour* he spends in his *Grounds*, he will be two at an *Ordinary*.

They have wonderful *Appetites*, and will *Eat* like *Plough-men*; tho' very *Lazy*, and *Plough* like *Gentlemen*: It being no rarity there, to see a *Man Eat* till he *Sweats*, and *Work* till he *Freezes*.

The *Women* are very *Fruitful*, which shows the *Men* are *Industrious* in *Bed*, tho' *Idle up*. *Children* and *Servants* are there very *Plenty*; but *Honest-men* and *Virgins* as scarce as in other places.¹³¹

Gone is any sense of Ward's earlier favorable impression of the women of Massachusetts. In this remarkable account of the poor customs of the colonists, Ward painted a portrait of a group of

¹³⁰ "Kibe, N.," *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed July 31, 2016, <http://www.oed.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/Entry/103249>. A "kibe" or "Kibe-heel" is a chapped or ulcerated area of skin, typically on the heel.

¹³¹ Ward, *A Trip to New-England with a Character of the Country and People, Both English and Indians.*, 10.

people who, having adopted some of the customs of the indigenous people, became essentially barbarians. With their Englishness gone, by crossing the Atlantic, they have become in their behavior as distant from England as the land they now inhabit.

Ward's characterization represents something of a last gasp for the negative perceptions many observers had for colonies in their infancy or still developing. In the eighteenth century, as the colonies matured, observers emphasized social characteristics that reduced the sense of attributional distance between Britain and the colonies, and later Britain and the United States. These social characteristics described a wide variety of areas, including the generosity, strictness, heritage, customs and manners, homemaking, education, marriage patterns, industriousness, sense of equality, and quality of the arts found in the colonies. With few exceptions, each of these areas reduced the sense of distance created by other attributes or the journey to the New World.

Observers found colonial industriousness to be one area where colonists compared favorably to their English cousins. While some evidence exists for a north-south divide based on perceived industriousness, contemporary observers produced an equal number of accounts touching on the subject in both the northern and southern colonies. In Georgia, travelers traced the spirit of hard work to immigrants from disadvantaged areas, such as Benjamin Martyn who observed that "the Indigent from *England*, many foreign Protestants and *Highlanders* were sent to the Colony: These, being accustom'd to Hardship, and Labour, were not afraid of it in *Georgia*, and they live by it very comfortably."¹³² Martyn's claim contradicted that of Lawson, writing about

¹³² Benjamin Martyn, *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill, 1741), 12–13; See also William Stephens, *A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia, Beginning October 20, 1737. By William Stephens, Esq; To Which Is Added, a State of That Province, as Attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740.* ..., vol. 2, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill, 1742), 16–17; Anon, *A State of the Province of Georgia, Attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740.*, 16; Moore, *A Voyage to Georgia, Begun in the Year 1735*, 23–25; Milton Ready, "Stephens, William (1672-1753)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/26396> argues Stephens moved permanently to

thirty years earlier, who argued colonists abandoned Georgia for the easy life available in Carolina. One explanation for this contradiction may rest on Martyn's focus on groups seen as marginal members of English society, if regarded as English at all. Martyn's reference to the Highlanders, for example, highlighted the comparable attributional and geographic positions of the Scottish Highlands and Georgia: at the peripheries of the First British Empire.

While accounts of industriousness in Georgia could not reduce perceptions of distance between that colony and Britain, the perceived industriousness of those in New England did. John Fothergill, comparing the northern colonies to the southern about 1765, concluded "The Inhabitants of the northern Part, live like our lower *English* Farmers; they plough, sow, reap, and vend different Kinds of Grain, as the Land they occupy and the Climate permits; [...] and their Lives are passed with the like Labour and Toil, and with the same Impossibilities of acquiring more than is sufficient to maintain their Families just above Want, as the little Farmers in *England*."¹³³ Still others argued that in North America, industriousness produced greater status than one's family.¹³⁴ In other words, observers believed colonists who demonstrated the type of industriousness associated with "our lower *English* farmers" deserved praise, while condemnation awaited the idle and lazy. This conclusion fits well with the impression received by reading those travelers who complained about the laziness of the southern colonies, an attribute that tended to

Georgia near the end of 1737. Initially a supporter of the trustees of the colony, he soon saw their decisions as unnecessary restrictions on the development of the colony, particularly the restriction on slave ownership. Ready argues that when Stephens became the de facto governor in the 1740s, he was able to transform the colony so it more closely resembled South Carolina, which resulted in more settlers and more prosperity.

¹³³ Fothergill, *Considerations Relative to the North American Colonies.*, 36–37; See also Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 1757, 2:161; Margaret DeLacy, "Fothergill, John (1712-1780)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/9979> notes Fothergill never actually visited the American colonies. However, through one of his Quaker friends, he became friends with Benjamin Franklin and eventually became a trustee of the Pennsylvania Land Company. DeLacy states the pamphlet cited here was an argument against the Stamp Act.

¹³⁴ Anon, *The History of North America*, 31–32.

increase the perceived distance between North America and Britain. Perceptions of industriousness in America responded to perceptions of idleness, and equal numbers of authors commented on those two characteristics.

While only a few observers commented on industriousness in the colonies, far more travelers commented on the greater generosity of the colonists compared to what they received at home in Britain. While such a suggestion could create a sense of distance between the two societies, most authors regarded it simply as amplification of existing British tendencies. As Robert Beverley observed in 1705, “Here is the most Good-nature, and Hospitality practis’d in the World, both towards Friends and Strangers: but the worst of it is, this Generosity is attended now and then, with a little too much Intemperance. The Neighbourhood is at much the same distance, as in the Country in *England*: but with this Advantage, that all the better sort of People have been abroad, and seen the World, by which means they are free from that stiffness and formality, which discover more Civility, than Kindness.”¹³⁵ Beverley’s description portrayed the colonists in Virginia as less insular and reserved than those in England. However, by tying the roots of the colonists’ greater generosity and openness to the trans-Atlantic voyage itself, Beverley argued the colonists merely emphasized traits already within them, preserving linkages between colonial and metropolitan social norms.

References to the generosity of the Americans, particularly the planters in the southern colonies, became a standard trope in eighteenth-century travelers’ accounts. Over the remainder of the century, no fewer than five additional travelers commented on the generosity of the southern

¹³⁵ Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia, in Four Parts. I. The History of the First Settlement of Virginia, and the Government Thereof, to the Present Time. II. The Natural Productions and Conveniencies of the Country, Suited to Trade and Improvement. III. The Native Indians, Their Religion, Laws, and Customs, in War and Peace. IV. The Present State of the Country, as to the Polity of the Government, and the Improvements of the Land. By a Native and Inhabitant of the Place.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for R. Parker, at the Unicorn, under the Piazza’s of the Royal-Exchange, 1705), 71.

planters.¹³⁶ Although certainly somewhat exaggerated, the comment of the anonymous author of *A new voyage to Georgia* in 1735 was fairly typical: “The Gentlemen in general, in this Country, are exceeding civil to Strangers, so that a man, if he knows but the Nature of the Country, may go from one Plantation to another, for a Year or two, and keep his Horse and never cost him a Farthing, and the Gentlemen will be always glad of his Company.”¹³⁷ Again, observations of this nature had the potential to increase the sense of distance between British and American society, but most travelers utilized them for the opposite effect.

While most comments regarding the generosity of colonists focused on the southern colonies, some noted similar displays in the northern colonies. One crucial difference, however, was that travelers to the northern colonies who commented on generosity did so in the context of cities, not country estates. This is true of New York,¹³⁸ Philadelphia, and Boston. Unlike in the southern colonies, some travelers experienced a lack of hospitality in the northern colonies, particularly in New England. As the anonymous author of *A comparison between the British sugar colonies and New England* argued:

To all impartial Strangers I appeal, whether the Inhabitants of the *British* Sugar Colonies are not the most benevolent, hospitable People in the World; and whether every Stranger, and especially *Englishmen*, be not received there with singular regard? On the contrary let them say whether the Inhabitants of *New-England*, and especially of *Boston*, do not always express a *Jewish* Antipathy to Strangers; even to their Fellow-subjects of *England*, and the Sugar Colonies, whom they call by the invidious Name of *Foreigners*, and indeed treat them accordingly.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 294; Lawson, *The History of Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country*, 5; Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina*, 11; Fothergill, *Considerations Relative to the North American Colonies.*, 43.

¹³⁷ Young gentleman, *A New Voyage to Georgia. By a Young Gentleman: Giving an Account of His Travels to South Carolina, and Part of North Carolina. To Which Is Added, a Curious Account of the Indians. By an Honourable Person. And a Poem to James Oglethorpe, Esq; On His Arrival from Georgia.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Wilford, behind the Chapter-House, in St. Paul’s Church-Yard, 1735), 30–31.

¹³⁸ Thomas Thompson, *A Letter from New Jersey, in America, Giving Some Account and Description of That Province. By a Gentleman, Late of Christ’s College, Cambridge*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for M. Cooper in Pater-noster-row, 1756), 5.

¹³⁹ Anon, *A Comparison between the British Sugar Colonies and New England*, 24.

The observations in *A Concise Historical Account of All the British Colonies* in 1775 partially confirm the author's characterization of Boston.¹⁴⁰ While this reluctant support may remove Massachusetts (and perhaps New England more broadly) from the realm of colonies considered by eighteenth-century travelers to exhibit a generous spirit, it does not negate the observations of other travelers to northern cities. Readers thus received an overall impression of overwhelming generosity, whether in the northern cities or southern countryside, which encouraged a sense of greater proximity between Britain and America.

Travelers' perception of a lack of generosity in New England may have arisen from the frequent commentary, unique to New England, on the strictness of the society. Perceptions of strictness as a social attribute uniquely contributed to a sense of distance between North America and Britain. John Oldmixon described "The People of *New-England*, in their way of Living, Manners and Appearance," as resembling "the Brethren in *Old-England*, excepting that they are more formal, precise, morose, and not so sincere as the English Dissenters. They are very sever in their Laws against all sorts of Immorality, and so much, as if they thought Pleasure cou'd not be innocent."¹⁴¹ While authors continued to remark on this severity into the eighteenth century, the observations appear to cease after about 1730, suggestive of a level of easing.¹⁴² Despite this softening, these travelers' accounts portrayed New England as a place of strictness at odds with contemporary English/British society.

¹⁴⁰ Anon, *A Concise Historical Account of All the British Colonies in North-America, Comprehending Their Rise, Progress, and Modern State; Particularly of the Massachusetts-Bay, (the Seat of the Present Civil War,) Together with the Other Provinces of New-England. To Which Is Annexed, An Accurate Descriptive Table of the Several Countries; Exhibiting, at One View, Their Respective Roundaries, Dimensions, Longitudes, Latitudes, Divisions, or Counties, Chief Towns, Capes, Harbours, Bays, Rivers, Various Productions, Animals, &c. &c. Interspersed with Particulars Relative to the Different Soils and Climates, Capital Cities, &c. &c.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Bew, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1775), 160.

¹⁴¹ Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 106–7.

¹⁴² Neal, *The History of New-England*, 1720, 2:613–14.

Travelers throughout the eighteenth century noted a continuity of customs and manners Americans inherited from their British relatives. Oldmixon observed that “As to the Customs and Manners of the *Virginians*, they are the same with the English; and one may as well go about to describe the Manners and Customs of any one particular County of *England* separate from the rest.”¹⁴³ Of course, there were several travelers who did describe the customs and manners of particular English counties aside from the rest, but Oldmixon’s comment still reduced the perceived distance between Britain and the North American colonies. If the people of Virginia acted like the people of Britain, the physical distance between them meant very little.

Other travelers made similar observations. Describing New England in 1720, Daniel Neal argued that “in the Concerns of Civil Life, as in their Dress, Tables, and Conversation, they affect to be as much *English* as possible; there is no Fashion in *London*, but in three or four Months is to be seen at *Boston*, nay, they are fond of the very Name and Person of an *English* Man, insomuch that some who have had no great Affection for the People on the Account of their Preciseness, have yet been so agreeably entertain’d by them, as to leave the Country with Regret. In short, the only Difference between an *Old* and a *New-English* Man is in his *Religion*.”¹⁴⁴ Neal’s comments anticipated by forty years the impression created by Young’s observation that the Caribbean colonies were like “so many remote counties” of Britain. By asserting that only religious sentiment differentiated an English colonist from an English resident, Neal argued the intervening distance of the Atlantic resulted in no behavioral alterations.

While many travelers noted similarities in customs and manners, travelers to New York confronted a cultural heritage more complex than that of other colonies. As a result, observers like

¹⁴³ Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 292.

¹⁴⁴ Neal, *The History of New-England*, 1720, 2:613–14.

William Smith commented, “The Manners of the People differ as well as their Language. In *Suffolk* and *Queen’s* County, the first Settlers of which were either Natives of *England*, or the immediate Descendants of such as begun the Plantations in the Eastern Colonies, their Customs are similar to those prevailing in the *English* Counties, from whence they originally sprang. In the City of *New-York*, through our Intercourse with the *Europeans*, we follow the *London* Fashions; though by the Time we adopt them, they become disused in *England*.”¹⁴⁵ Smith, and the other travelers to the colony who noted similar customs and manners, went on to note the continuance of certain Dutch customs amongst the people descended from those settlers.¹⁴⁶ Despite this difference, readers found most accounts replete with the overwhelming similarity of the customs and manners of the people between Britain and America.¹⁴⁷

In many respects, it is unsurprising that observers noted continuance between Britain and America in customs and manners given the strong sense of heritage many travelers described in the colonies and the direct connection between the people of America and Britain. One of the strongest examples came from the anonymous 1755 author of the *State of the British and French colonies in North America*, who observed that:

There ought to subsist a perfect harmony between *Great Britain* and them. They both ought to think their interests to be the same, as they really are: and on that right principle *Great Britain* ought not only to strengthen and support them to the utmost, but encourage and promote their commerce, in as extensive a manner as she does her own. A good mother seldom fails to have good children. The inhabitants of the colonies do not think themselves aliens, or the less a-kin to those of *Great Britain*, because separated by a vast ocean, and dwelling in a distant part of the globe: they insist that they are branches of the same *British* tree, tho’ transplanted in a different soil; that they have not forfeited their *British* rights by that removal, because they removed with consent of the government, and sincerely acknowledge themselves to be subjects of the same King: That they daily extend the power and dominion of *Great Britain*, by extending their settlements and commerce; so that in supporting them *Great Britain* in effect supports itself, and adds to its own wealth: That their industry is employ’d not more for their own than their brethren’s advantage, who are enriched by their labour and the valuable produce of their several colonies: that for this reason, they think themselves intitled

¹⁴⁵ Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York*, 210; Anon, *The History of the British Dominions in North America*, 1773, 1:76.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York*, 210.

¹⁴⁷ Anon, *The History of North America*, 31–32.

both to their love and assistance, which it is no less their interest than it is their duty, as brethren, to afford them: that in short, they speak the same language, and are of the same religion with them; so that they ought not to be thought presumptuous, if they consider themselves upon an equal footing with us, or treated the worse, because they will be *Englishmen*.¹⁴⁸

Written in the context of the Seven Years War, the author's commentary confirmed a continuous cultural heritage between Britain and America and dismissed oceanic distance outright. The author's perception of transplanted customs and mores and negation of trans-Atlantic distance highlighted the transition from negative descriptions of the colonies generated in the seventeenth century as they developed to the favorable impression metropolitan observers had of mature colonial societies.

Observers found colonial maturity led to advancements in ancillary areas, like education, that further demonstrated affinity for British norms. Eighteenth-century commentary on North American colleges tended to view them positively, albeit as foundations for future development rather than fully formed institutions comparable to Oxford or Cambridge. Below the college level, observers universally praised colonial public education and suggested Britain might learn something from the colonies. This reversal of the typical relationship between core and periphery counteracted the supposed backwardness of the colonies and differentiated the North American colonies from areas like Ireland and Scotland. Amongst colleges, Harvard received the greatest attention from travelers throughout the eighteenth century. Daniel Neal penned a typical description in 1720. After describing the layout, the buildings, and the general state of the college, all in a very favorable tone, Neal compared Harvard to leading European universities of the time

¹⁴⁸ Anon, *State of the British and French Colonies in North America, with Respect to Number of People, Forces, Forts, Indians, Trade and Other Advantages. In Which Are Considered, I. The Defenceless Condition of Our Plantations, and to What Causes Owing. II. Pernicious Tendency of the French Encroachments, and the Fittest Methods of Frustrating Them. III. What It Was Occasioned Their Present Invasion, and the Claims on Which They Ground Their Proceedings. With a Proper Expedient Proposed for Preventing Future Disputes. In Two Letters to a Friend.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand, 1755), 63–64.

and found it lacked endowed faculty and a library stocked with contemporary authors.¹⁴⁹ Although Harvard lacked some of the modern features of European universities, Neal's favorable description, combined with that of other authors later in the century,¹⁵⁰ emphasized colonial progress. Authors who examined the education of children found that not only had the colonies achieved the type of equivalency with the mother country Neal suggested, in at least some aspects the colonies appeared to be more advanced. Peter Kalm, for instance, claimed, "It is nothing uncommon to see little children, giving sprightly and ready answers to questions that are proposed to them, so that they seem to have as much understanding as old men."¹⁵¹ Whether or not this was true, by the late eighteenth century the perception had given way to recognition, at least amongst travelers to New England, that America invested much more heavily than Europe in the education of the young. Such a viewpoint had the potential to create a sense of attributional and historical distance with Britain in which the Americans were the leaders, reversing the typical direction of distance formation and potentially reversing it.

Observations of other aspects of colonial American life appeared to confirm a colonial social trajectory that would eventually mirror British norms. Several travelers, for instance, commented on the ability of American women to keep a proper house. Most observations echoed those made by John Lawson in 1714: "The Women are the most industrious Sex in that Place, and, by their good Houswifry, make a great deal of Cloath of their own Cotton, Wool and Flax; some of them keeping their Families (though large) very decently apparel'd, both with Linnens and Woollens, so that they have no occasion to run into the Merchant's Debt, or lay their Money out

¹⁴⁹ Neal, *The History of New-England*, 1720, 2:583.

¹⁵⁰ Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 45. Additionally, nearly every traveler who described the city of Boston included some description of the physical appearance of Harvard, often with some additional minor commentary on its success.

¹⁵¹ Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1770, 1:103; Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina*, 32.

on Stores for Cloathing.”¹⁵² Lawson’s observations reinforced existing perceptions of colonial industriousness, extending them to a new sphere of colonial life. By including the domestic sphere in an existing perception that tied the colonies to British norms, Lawson contributed to an evolving discourse that emphasized the maturity of the colonies and their reproduction of British social customs and manners.

Although women’s home-making ability contributed to a reduced sense of distance between Britain and America for several travelers, the marriage trends in America that led women into the home created the opposite impression. Several authors commented on the early age of marriage in America and the apparent fertility of American women.¹⁵³ William Clarke provided one typical description, when he argued in 1755 that:

Marriages in *America* are more general, and more generally early, than in *Europe*. And if it is reckoned there, that there is but one Marriage per Annum among 100 persons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in *Europe* they have but 4 Births to a Marriage (many of their Marriages being late) we may here reckon 8, of which if one half grow up, and our Marriages are made, reckoning one with another at 20 Years of Age, our People must at least be doubled every 20 Years.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Lawson, *The History of Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country*, 84; See similar observations in Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina*, 32; John Robinson, *A Journey through Nova-Scotia, Containing, a Particular Account of the Country and Its Inhabitants: With Observations on Their Management in Husbandry; the Breed of Horses and Other Cattle, and Every Thing Material Relating to Farming. To Which Is Added, An Account of Several Estates for Sale in Different Townships of Nova-Scotia, with Their Number of Acres, and the Price at Which Each Is Set. By John Robinson, Farmer at Bewholm, in Holderness, and Thomas Rispin, Farmer at Fangfoss, Both in the County of York, Who Sailed for Nova-Scotia, the 8th of April, 1774, from Scarbrough, on Board the Ship Prince-George.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (York: Printed for the authors, by C. Etherington, 1774), 25.

¹⁵³ Historical scholarship confirms this conclusion. See Robert V. Wells, “The Population of England’s Colonies in America: Old English or New Americans?,” *Population Studies* 46, no. 1 (March 1, 1992): 90–93, doi:10.1080/0032472031000146026 who cites Wrigley and Schofield to show the average ages of marriage in Britain were between 25 and 28 for men and 24 to 26 for women. In the colonies, however, women typically married between 19 and 22. Men married slightly earlier in New England and the southern colonies, while the Chesapeake saw average ages of marriage on par with contemporaries in England. Meanwhile, fertility in the colonies was generally much higher than in England, with the average family size often reaching eight, while in England the average hovered between five and six.

¹⁵⁴ William Clarke, *Observations on the Late and Present Conduct of the French, with Regard to Their Encroachments upon the British Colonies in North America. Together with Remarks on the Importance of These Colonies to Great-Britain. To Which Is Added, Wrote by Another Hand; Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Boston: Printed and sold by S. Kneeland in Queen-Street, 1755), 314; See also Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina*, 31.

Clarke's comments highlight the divergent path women in North America took from their British counterparts. Although their domestic roles appeared similar, and colonial women's performance in those roles compared favorably to authors' impressions of British women, a vast and unsettled continent necessitated colonial women's embrace of a highly reproductive role.

Despite colonial imperatives that stressed the reproductive role of colonial women, many travelers expressed concern about the growing sense of social equality observable in the North American colonies. For some authors, like Thomas Thompson, this spirit of equality prevailed well before the Revolution. In 1756, he described the residents of New Jersey: "They stand much upon a footing of equality among each other, and those of the common sort, by conversing freely with persons in office and commission, acquire a knowledge of things and business, and receive a brightening, by which they are far superior to our countrymen of the same rank."¹⁵⁵ Thompson's criticism rested on the perceived leveling of social classes in the colonies, where colonial realities encouraged, if not forced, "the common sort" to interact directly with their social superiors in ways that did not occur in the Atlantic Archipelago. Thompson's commentary, by referencing the knowledge gained by those lower in society, turned an attribute most perceived as a positive (education) into a negative.

Thompson's inversion of the apparent positive nature of colonial education echoed earlier comments by Governor Sir William Keith.¹⁵⁶ Keith, while describing Virginia in 1738, argued "That altho' great Advantages may accrue to the Mother-state, both from the Labour and Luxury

¹⁵⁵ Thompson, *A Letter from New Jersey*, 9.

¹⁵⁶ W. A. Speck, "Keith, Sir William, Fourth Baronet (c.1669-1749)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/68696> describes the circumstances by which he became deputy governor of Pennsylvania around 1716/17. However, Speck argues that by 1720 he was regarded as too authoritarian by many in Pennsylvania, and by 1726 he was dismissed. By the mid-1730s, he was in the Fleet prison for debts, many of which he incurred while in Pennsylvania.

of its Plantations, yet they will probably be mistaken, who imagine, That the Advancement of Literature, and the Improvement of Arts and Sciences in our *American Colonies*, can ever be of any Service to the *British State*.”¹⁵⁷ For Keith, efforts to increase the flow of goods and materials from America to Britain took precedence over efforts, like education, designed to raise colonial society to rough equivalence with Britain. By rejecting educational improvement in favor of improving economic extraction from the colonies, Keith, and later Thompson, undercut observers who argued many colonial social conditions showed the colonists successfully recreating British social norms and customs. Limiting the future potential of the colonies to sources of economic prosperity suggested crossing the Atlantic cost colonists essential elements of “Britishness” that their designated role in the Empire made it impossible to reclaim.

Travelers’ writings produced mixed impressions of colonial society. Many found their experiences in the New World compared favorably to their understanding of typical English/British customs. Others found themselves in societies that seemed a world apart from what they had left in the Atlantic Archipelago. As the previous chapter showed, perceptions of the ubiquity of British customs differed widely within the Atlantic Archipelago as well. Crucially, modifications to distance in the American case reinforced preexisting expectations engendered by the vast physical distance between the societies.

Recognizing this point allows us to see how uncertainty about the extent to which Americans displayed “British” social characteristics contributed to the increasing perception of distance between the societies even if the colonists themselves saw themselves as increasingly

¹⁵⁷ Sir William Keith, *The History of the British Plantations in America. With a Chronological Account of the Most Remarkable Things, Which Happen’d to the First Adventurers in Their Several Discoveries of That New World. Part I. Containing the History of Virginia; with Remarks on the Trade and Commerce of That Colony.* By Sir William Keith, Bart., Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed at the expense of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, by S. Richardson; and sold by A. Millar at Buchanan’s Head in the Strand, J. Nourse at Temple-Bar, and J. Gray in the Poultry, 1738), 187.

British. It also helps to explain how independence resulted from an argument where both sides “conceptualized the Americans as British,” to borrow Stephen Conway’s phrase.¹⁵⁸ Britishness, of course, was a much more complicated concept than could be conveyed by the markers, such as education, heritage, marriage patterns, and customs, discussed by travelers. However, when these markers suggested differentiation from the metropolitan norm, in the colonial context they strengthened the nagging sense that physical removal from the Atlantic Archipelago created the space for ideas and processes antithetical to an inclusive concept of Britishness to develop.

Building

Generally, travelers arrived in North America just as they had departed the Atlantic Archipelago, at a port. Their experience in the North American colonies mirrored what travelers in the Caribbean experienced – ports and port cities formed a crucial first impression of the colonial built environment. Unsurprisingly, travel narratives thus concentrated on descriptions of the large American port cities, often comparing and contrasting them, whether implicitly or explicitly, with the greatest Atlantic Archipelago port – London.

As in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, most travelers recorded general impressions of the towns they visited, with some discussion of the “typical” building style, notations on the building materials employed, and occasional remarks on the quality of the roads. Echoing observations from the periphery of the Atlantic Archipelago and foreshadowing the commentary regarding the Caribbean the next chapter explores, most travelers focused more on the process of urbanization than on the specifics of architectural style. Architectural styles, building materials, and the layout of the towns became visible cues of a city’s modernity and spoke to the much less tangible process of urbanization. Because a city might have a “modern” layout while being

¹⁵⁸ Conway, “From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners,” 85.

constructed of antiquated materials, observers often crafted descriptions of the built environment that both increased and decreased the sense of distance between colony and metropole. Attributional distance, applied to the built environment, functioned almost like historical distance, measuring development towards metropolitan standards.

Unlike in the Caribbean, travelers to the North American colonies expected fewer modifications to traditional British styles to accommodate climatic differences, with the possible exception of the southern colonies like the Carolinas and Georgia. In the Caribbean, where the necessity of ocean travel between islands made travel more difficult than the numerous options available to travelers in North America, observers rarely compared one island's built environment to another. However, in North America travelers frequently made as many comparisons between the colonies as they did between core and periphery. This created internal perceptions of attributional and historical distance as different colonial regions appeared to develop at different rates.

Travelers' frequent focus on comparisons between colonies along the eastern seaboard produced one notable indicator of attributional distance between the colonies and metropole. As the eighteenth century progressed, the northern American colonies urbanized, while the southern colonies remained predominantly rural. This reversed the pattern in the Atlantic Archipelago, where the perceived north/south divide emphasized the modernity of the south against the relative backwardness of most of the north. By inverting the received sense of urban order in the metropole, observers reinforced the distance the Atlantic imposed between core and periphery.

As the first colony settled in North America, Virginia attracted much early attention. Despite its early settlement, the plantation-based economy of Virginia meant that few towns grew to the extent found in the northern colonies. As a result, descriptions of Virginian houses and towns

tapered off around midcentury. In fact, in 1657 clergyman Lionel Gatford¹⁵⁹ argued one of Virginia's primary needs consisted of a "head [town] built in each County, where the Trade of that County may be Constantly managed, and the publick transactions of all affaires be, as often as need shall require, heard & determined, and so registered and recorded."¹⁶⁰ Gatford argued the lack of towns hampered commerce, but his contention also helps explain why no additional accounts of the built environment in Virginia appeared in the seventeenth century. Given that he next complained that each town must have a church, it appears midcentury Virginia lacked the built environment of some other colonies.¹⁶¹

While Virginia eventually fell behind some of the other colonies, early reports of the colony tended to stress the progress of construction more than many other aspects. Ralph Hamor, for example, writing in 1615 provided nearly full-page descriptions of the towns of Jamestown and Henrico. Of Henrico, Hamor wrote,

There is in this town three streets of well framed howses, a hansom Church, and the foundation of a more stately one laid, of Brick, in length, an hundred foote, and fifty foot wide, beside Store houses, watch houses, and such like: there are also, as ornaments belonging to this Town, upon the verge of this River, five faire Block houses, or commaunders, wherein live the honester sort of people, as in Farmes in *England*, and there keep continuall centinell for the townes security, and about two miles from the towne into the Main, a Pale of two miles in length, cut over from river to river, garded likewise with severall Commanders, with a great quantity of corne ground impaled, sufficient if there were no more in the Colony secured, to maintain with but easy manuring, and husbandry, more men, then I suppose, will be addressed thither, (the more is the pittty) these 3 yeares.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Jason Mc Elligott, "Gatford, Lionel (D. 1665)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/10450> argues Gatford was a Church of England clergyman ejected from his parish at the beginning of the Civil War and arrested by Cromwell in Cambridge after publishing a pamphlet supporting the King. Exchanged for a Puritan minister after nearly a year and a half in prison, he became the chaplain of a Royalist garrison in Cornwall, where he was again captured and imprisoned. At some point around 1647 he went to Jersey, but was back in England by the mid-1650s. Unsurprisingly, he did not regain a parish until after the Restoration, subsisting on the income from boarders and writing until that time. Although he proposed reforms for the Virginia colony, Gatford never visited the colony.

¹⁶⁰ Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest*, 21.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia and the Successes of the Affaires There till the 18 of June. 1614. Together with a Relation of the Seuerall English Townes and Forts, the Assured Hopes of That Countrie and the Peace Concluded with the Indians. The Christening of Powhatans Daughter and Her Mariage with an English-Man. Written by Raphe Hamor the Yonger, Late Secretarie in That Colony.*, Early English

His description of Jamestown a few pages later paints a similar picture: the early colonists preferred timber construction and focused on building defensive structures.¹⁶³ While the comments about timber construction of houses could signal distance or difference in the minds of the readers, timber framing dominated houses in England at this time, although typically with some brick or stone augmentation.¹⁶⁴ As Henry Forman notes, Inigo Jones's completed the banqueting hall at "White Hall" in 1622, fifteen years after the foundation of Jamestown.¹⁶⁵ Widely considered the point at which architecture in England moved away from the Tudor/Elizabethan style and into something more recognizably Jacobean, new settlers in Jamestown and elsewhere in Virginia had fifteen years of local habitations from which to draw not only inspiration, but also practical lessons about environmental adaptations.¹⁶⁶

Books Online (London: By John Beale for William Welby dwelling at the signe of the Swanne in Pauls Church yard, 1615), 30.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 33; Henry Chandlee Forman, *Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century*, Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet, no. 11 (Williamsburg, Va: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corp, 1957), 29–30 notes fortifications were extremely common in the early years of Virginia. In fact, in 1624–25 the colonial government issued an order requiring all dwellings and plantations to be fortified with a 7.5 foot wall. Marian C. Donnelly and Leland M. Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America* (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2003), 9–10 also points to the emphasis placed on fortifications, particularly during the early years of the colonies. Although originally the settlers constructed only basic shelters, Donnelly argues "Traditions were strong among the English colonists, however, and housing methods that were more familiar to them were soon developed."

¹⁶⁴ Forman, *Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century*, 18 argues "The Britain of 1600 was a country of fortified manors, battlemented castles, thatched and wattled farmhouses, picturesque chimneystacks, half-timber work, winding tower staircases, and tracery-windowed abbeys, minsters, and little parish churches. For the most part the spirit of this building work was informal, romantic, and naive; it partook of things not according to rule; it breathed Chaucer. In short, Britain at that period was a land where medieval architecture flourished almost everywhere."; See also David Larkin, June Sprigg, and James Johnson, *Colonial: Design in the New World* (New York: Stewart, Tabori & Chang: Distributed by Workman Pub, 1988), 12.

¹⁶⁵ Forman, *Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century*, 22.

¹⁶⁶ Lorena S. Walsh, "Migration, Society, Economy, & Settlement: 1607-1830," in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, by Cary Carson and Carl Lounsbury (Chapel Hill, NC: Published in association with The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation by The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 48 also draws attention to the role of Native American examples in adaptations early settlers made to traditional European building styles.

By 1648, some travelers argued wooden construction had given way to construction with brick. As the anonymous author of *A perfect description of Virginia* noted, “they have Lime in abundance made for their houses, store of Bricks made, and House and Chimnies built of Brick, and some Wood high and fair, covered with *Shingels* for *Tyle*.”¹⁶⁷ While the phrasing of this comment seems to suggest that the use of shingles instead of tile made Virginia different from England, the author went on to suggest the colonists did not choose to use shingles; rather, Virginia lacked the necessary artisans to make tiles.¹⁶⁸ A lack of artisans in Virginia mitigates the sense of attributional distance created by the use of different building materials by pointing to factors beyond the preferences of the colonists, similar to travelers to the Caribbean noting the influence of the climate. At the same time, a lack of artisans in a colony could indicate historical distance between colony and metropole, highlighting the lack of the type of development that would support specialized workers.

The observations of John Hammond in 1656 support this conclusion. In his work, he noted that houses in Virginia were,

Pleasant in their building, which although for most part they are but one story besides the loft, and built of wood, yet contrived so delightfull, that your ordinary houses in England are not so handsome, for usually the rooms are large, daubed and whitelimed, glazed & flowered, and if not glazed windows, shutters which are made very pritty and convenient.

¹⁶⁷ Anon., *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, 6; Forman, *Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century*, 32–33, 65–66 suggests the author overstates this point. While there were some buildings in Virginia constructed at least partially of brick from the beginning of the Jamestown settlement, most continued to use wood as a primary material. Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 25 contend English settlers primarily used brick only for chimneys and infilling, rather than whole-house construction (unlike the Dutch); Carl Lounsbury, “Brickwork,” in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, by Cary Carson and Carl Lounsbury (Chapel Hill, NC: Published in association with The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation by The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 239 also notes the lack of brickmakers and layers throughout the colonial period, suggesting the number of brick buildings was small.

¹⁶⁸ Anon., *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, 6; Willie Graham, “Timber Framing,” in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, by Cary Carson and Carl Lounsbury (Chapel Hill, NC: Published in association with The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation by The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 212 argues the lack of tile (or slate or thatch) roof coverings in colonial America actually reflects the modified timber framing practices employed which were insufficient to carry the weight of these heavier, English/British-style roofs.

Again, when examining the houses in colonial Virginia, attributional distance seemed to work to increase the sense of physical and time distance, but only slightly. Houses in Virginia were, according to these authors, noticeably different from those in England.¹⁶⁹ Yet as both Hammond and the author of 1648 seem to suggest, this difference did not appear to result from the desires of the colonists for different forms of housing. As Cary Carson argued, “Unfamiliar building materials, sky-high labor costs, and the economies of homesteading were three realities that altered the hopes of unsuspecting immigrants who fancied that someday they would build a house like those that they and their former neighbors had been accustomed to at home.”¹⁷⁰ Rather, the infancy of the colonies limited the number of artisans and available materials, imposing constraints on the form the built environment could take.¹⁷¹ Although colonial realities constrained colonists’ building choices, as in the Caribbean, the colonists demonstrated attempts to mirror metropolitan architectural conventions. Similarly confronted with unfamiliar building materials and expensive labor, in addition to the tropical climate, the next chapter shows how Caribbean colonists likewise struggled to recreate metropolitan norms in their architecture. However, the wealth generated by

¹⁶⁹ Forman, *Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century*, 18, 20, 23–25 argues against this idea. He contends building styles in Virginia were representative of what was common in the rural areas of England that supplied most of the early settlers. Thus, what he describes as the medieval style dominated Virginian architecture until about 1680, with some minor inroads from the Jacobean style. After 1680, there was a period of transition, lasting until about 1730, before the Georgian style emerged. However, all three of these styles relied on timber-frame construction. Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 31, 63 largely concur with Forman on these dates; Carl Lounsbury, “The Design Process,” in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, by Cary Carson and Carl Lounsbury (Chapel Hill, NC: Published in association with The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation by The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 67–70 disagrees with Forman and argues contemporary accounts were correct in their assessment that the “Virginia house” was a pattern very different from the English standard. However, Lounsbury agrees with Forman that about 1680 neo-Renaissance styles then current in Britain appeared in the Chesapeake, weakening older traditions and paving the way for the Georgian style.

¹⁷⁰ Cary Carson, “Plantation Housing,” in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, by Cary Carson and Carl Lounsbury (Chapel Hill, NC: Published in association with The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation by The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 87.

¹⁷¹ Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 24–25 drawing on a source from the New Netherlands colony, confirm the lack of artisans was the chief inhibitor of brick construction in the New World.

the sugar plantations in the Caribbean created the necessary conditions for rapid urbanization, to the point that by the end of the seventeenth century some observers drew direct comparisons between Caribbean cities (principally Port Royal and Bridgetown) and London. While Virginia lacked comparable cities, observers similarly concluded Virginian colonists had recreated the British built environment to the extent possible given the materials and expertise on hand.

Early depictions of Plymouth and Massachusetts were similar to those of Virginia. Future governor Edward Winslow's¹⁷² account of 1624 and noted soldier and governor John Smith's¹⁷³ of 1631, for example, both concentrate on the construction of defensive structures.¹⁷⁴ It is not until the anonymous account of 1643 entitled *New Englands first fruits* that a clear difference emerges between accounts of New England and accounts of Virginia. This difference, however, is not in the style of the account; rather, beginning with this account and continuing with subsequent publications, none failed to mention the appearance of Harvard College.¹⁷⁵ As governor Edward

¹⁷² Len Travers, "Winslow, Edward (1595-1655)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/29751> notes Winslow's later importance to early New England masks his relatively humble origins as the son of a yeoman farmer and saltmaker. Yet Winslow is notable in American history as one of the settlers on the Mayflower, a signatory of the Mayflower Compact, colonial governor, and frequent promotional agent in England.

¹⁷³ Gwenda Morgan, "Smith, John (Bap. 1580, D. 1631)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/25835> argues Smith had a lengthy and interesting military career in Europe before joining the Jamestown expedition, eventually becoming the de facto governor of Virginia. In later life, Smith became a noted proponent of colonization, composing several works on the subject.

¹⁷⁴ Winslow, *Good Nevves from New-England*, 4; John Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New-England, or Any Where. Or, The Path-Way to Experience to Erect a Plantation With the Yearly Proceedings of This Country in Fishing and Planting, since the Yeare 1614. to the Yeare 1630. and Their Present Estate. Also How to Prevent the Greatest Inconveniencies, by Their Proceedings in Virginia, and Other Plantations, by Approved Examples. With the Countries Armes, a Description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Land-Markes, Latitude and Longitude: With the Map, Allowed by Our Royall King Charles. By Captaine Iohn Smith, Sometime Governour of Virginia, and Admirall of Nevv-England.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by Iohn Haviland, and are to be sold by Robert Milbourne, at the Grey-hound in Pauls Church-yard, 1631), 18.

¹⁷⁵ Anon., *Nevv Englands First Fruits; in Respect, First of the Conversion of Some, Conviction of Divers, Preparation of Sundry of the Indians. 2. Of the Progresse of Learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massacusetts Bay. With Divers Other Speciall Matters Concerning the Countrey. Published by the Instant Request of Sundry Friends, Who Desire to Be Satisfied in These Points by Many New-Englands Men Who Are Here Present, and Were Eye or Eare-Witnesses of the Same.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head-Alley, 1643), 12–13.

Winslow noted in 1648, “The President being an able Proficient in the Tongues, very studious to promote learning, witsse the young Audients both here and gone for *England*, hopefull instruments in the hands of the Lord for future times,”¹⁷⁶ suggests that the quality of Harvard met at least some English standard, thereby reducing the attributional distance between the two places.

Boston’s rise in the latter half of the seventeenth century quickly eclipsed Harvard’s place as the definitive marker for the lack of distance between the colony and the metropole. John Josselyn,¹⁷⁷ a travel writer who penned one account in 1674, described the city as follows:

the houses are for the most part raised on the Sea-banks and wharfed out with great industry and cost, many of them standing upon piles, close together on each side the streets as in *London*, and furnished with many fair shops, their materials are Brick, Stone, Lime, handsomely contrived, with three meeting Houses or Churches, and a Town-house built upon pillars where the Merchants may confer, in the Chambers above they keep their monthly Courts. Their streets are many and large, paved with pebble stone, and the South-side adorned with Gardens and Orchards. The Town is rich and very populous, much frequented by strangers, here is the dwelling of their Governour. On the North-west and North-east two constant Fairs are kept for daily Traffick thereunto. On the South there is a small, but pleasant Common where the Gallants a little before Sun-set walk with their *Marmalet-Madams*, as we do in *Morefields*, &c. till the nine a clock Bell rings them home to the respective habitations, when presently the Constables walk their rounds to see good orders kept, and to take up loose people.¹⁷⁸

At the very least, this description became the dominant view of Boston for the remainder of the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁹ The depiction of the proximity of the houses and the evening habits of the

¹⁷⁶ Winslow, *Good News from Nevv-England*, 15.

¹⁷⁷ Gordon Goodwin, “Josselyn, John (c.1608-1700?),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ww2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/15138> argues Josselyn is remembered for his accounts of his two voyages to New England, the second of which he spent with his brother who was governor of the Maine colony.

¹⁷⁸ John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England Wherein You Have the Setting out of a Ship, with the Charges, the Prices of All Necessaries for Furnishing a Planter and His Family at His First Coming, a Description of the Countrey, Natives, and Creatures, with Their Merchantil and Physical Use, the Government of the Countrey as It Is Now Possessed by the English, &c., a Large Chronological Table of the Most Remarkable Passages, from the First Dicovering of the Continent of America, to the Year 1673 / by John Josselyn, Gent.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Giles Widdows, 1674), 162.

¹⁷⁹ John Seller, *A Description of New-England in General, with a Description of the Town of Boston in Particular Published by John Seller.*, Early English Books Online (London, 1682), 5–6; Ward, *A Trip to New-England with a Character of the Country and People, Both English and Indians.*, 6; Laurence Worms, “Seller, John (Bap. 1632, D. 1697),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ww2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/25058> notes Seller was, by trade, a maker of navigational instruments, maps, and charts. Although convicted as a member of a plot by Thomas Tonge in 1662, there is no evidence he was actually involved, which may explain why he was the only member to be convicted but not

residents, by echoing similar depictions in London, served to lessen the distance between the two cities.¹⁸⁰ For most seventeenth century travelers, Boston became the most readily available proof that New England really was *new* England.

For all the praise visitors heaped upon Boston, other cities in the North American colonies also compared favorably with Old World examples. Visitors to New York, such as the geographer John Ogilby,¹⁸¹ remarked in 1670 how alike the houses were to those found Holland.¹⁸² While under normal circumstances an association with a foreign locale could emphasize the attributional distance between two locations, in this instance the association with Holland emphasized the comparatively advanced state of New Amsterdam/New York, particularly when compared to some of the other North American colonies, such as Virginia. However, travelers regarded cities such as Boston and Philadelphia as the equal of New York, if not superior. By the end of the century, Philadelphia earned frequent comparisons to London, despite its recent foundation in the early 1680s. The comparisons, however, were to be expected. In describing the plan of the city, William Penn noted that “in each Quarter of the City a *Square* of eight Acres, to be for the like Uses, as the

executed. Worms argues contemporaries were not convinced of the merits of his work, but argues Seller’s importance is best understood through the work of his apprentice who went on to train most of the most important British mapmakers of the eighteenth century. Sambrook, “Ward, Edward [Ned] (1667-1731)” notes that while Ward actually traveled to Jamaica before penning his satirical account (discussed in the previous chapter), his account of New England was not based on first-hand knowledge.

¹⁸⁰ Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 34 also argues the settlement patterns in New England, that encouraged towns like Boston, Salem, Plymouth, etc., when combined with the harsh New England winter, spurred settlers in that region “to build well-framed houses” much earlier than was the case in Virginia.

¹⁸¹ Charles W.J. Withers, “Ogilby, John (1600-1676),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/view/article/20583> states that Ogilby improbably had a background in theater and dance before becoming involved in translation (mostly of classical works) and publishing. It was not until the late-1660s that he began publishing a series of atlases designed to cover the world but based on the work of others. His most famous work, *Britannia*, is a road atlas and probably reflects at least some research personally carried out by Ogilby.

¹⁸² Ogilby and Montanus, *America*, 169; Larkin, Sprigg, and Johnson, *Colonial*, 144 note the important connection between Dutch traditions and the dominance of brick construction in New Amsterdam/New York.

Moore-fields in London.”¹⁸³ The planning which went into the construction of Philadelphia, unlike the more haphazard construction of Boston or New York, allowed travelers to equate it with the grand cities of Europe, like London, at a much earlier date. In fact, only fifteen years after Penn’s description of the city’s foundation and plan, Gabriel Thomas reported Philadelphia “contains above two thousand Houses, all Inhabited; and most of them Stately, and of Brick, generally three Stories high, after the Mode in *London*, and as many several Families in each.”¹⁸⁴ In the case of Philadelphia, the advance planning of the city reduced the attributional distance between it and the metropole, and would go a long way towards making the city one of the most important in British North America.

Not all associations with the Old World were positive. The writer George Scot¹⁸⁵ castigated the predominantly Scottish settlers of New Jersey in 1685 for creating towns which were “not built so regular as the Towns in our Countrey, so that we cannot compear them with any Town we know in *Scotland*; every house in the Town hath a Lott of 4. Acres lying to it; so that every one building upon his own Lott makes the town Irregular and scattered; There streets are laid out too large, and the Sheep in the Towns are mostly maintained in them; They are so large that they need not trouble

¹⁸³ William Penn, *A Letter from William Penn, Proprietary and Governour of Pennsylvania in America, to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of That Province Residing in London Containing a General Description of the Said Province, Its Soil, Air, Water, Seasons, and Produce ... of the Natives, Or, Aborigines, Their Language, Customs, and Manners ... of the First Planters, the Dutch &c. ... to Which Is Added an Account of the City of Philadelphia ...*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed and sold by Andrew Sowle, 1683), 10; Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 48–51 argue the type of planning shown in Philadelphia and other northern colonies differentiated them from those farther south that often failed to create civic spaces or even set aside land for houses of worship.

¹⁸⁴ Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania, and of the West-New-Jersey*, 5.

¹⁸⁵ Stuart Handley, “Scot, George, of Scotstarvit (D. 1685),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/24868> describes Scot as a writer, but the only work he appears to have produced was the referenced promotional piece for the New Jersey colony. Although Scot attempted to travel to the colony after several arrests for involvement with conventicles in Scotland, but died of a fever during the journey.

to pave them.”¹⁸⁶ While many travelers in the Atlantic Archipelago would dispute Scot’s claims regarding the quality of Scottish towns, the depiction offered here is one in which attributional distance worked to increase the sense of separation between Old World and New. Moreover, for readers in England already inclined to view Scotland as a distant place, the attributional distance Scot noted amplified the distance between metropole and colony even further. The sense of lawlessness and disorder Scot described, amplified by the vastness of the American continent and the seemingly endless possibilities for construction it offered, reinforced popular perceptions of the colonial project while also reinforcing concerns like those expressed by Scot.

In the eighteenth century, the same aspects of domestic architecture that seventeenth century travelers had noted continued to attract commentary. Of particular concern was the construction of houses in the New World, especially the choice between brick and wood as the primary building material. Although some modern scholarship argues against the idea of “colonial lag” in architecture, as the colonies entered their second centuries, observers commented on the continued use of wood as a dominant construction material in ways that created a sense of attributional distance between Britain and her colonies.¹⁸⁷ Where travelers in the seventeenth century tolerated the use of wood due to the infancy of the colonies, travelers in the eighteenth century typically regarded the use of wood as a sign of inferiority when comparing New World

¹⁸⁶ George Scot, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America and Encouragements for such as Designs to Be Concerned There: Published for Information of such as Are Desirous to Be Interested in That Place.*, Early English Books Online (Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid, and sold be [sic] Alexander Ogston, 1685), 180–81.

¹⁸⁷ Lounsbury, “The Design Process,” 79–81 notes the idea of “colonial lag” in architecture is greatly overblown, particularly since the colonies were supplied with a steady stream of English/British craftsmen, English/British authorities and ministers, and English/British architectural books. Although adaptations to local conditions modified the building practices these sources transferred across the Atlantic, colonists were at least aware of the latest metropolitan trends, even if they lacked the labor or capital to act on them. Lounsbury does not, however, address differences (real or perceived) in the building materials used in the American colonies compared to those typically employed in Britain at the time.

cities with their Old World antecedents. Spurred by the Great Fire of London in 1666 and the rapid expansion of urbanization in the eighteenth century, travelers accustomed to the built environment in the Atlantic Archipelago, particularly London, expected to find up-to-date brick and stone buildings.¹⁸⁸ While these were increasingly common in the Caribbean, travelers often failed to find them in the North American colonies.

There are several likely explanations for the relative lack of non-wooden construction in the North American colonies. First, the North American continent offered what appeared to be an inexhaustible source of timber.¹⁸⁹ Without the pressure of deforestation to drive the adoption of brick or stone in construction, North American colonists were free to continue using wood as the predominant building material, particularly in rural areas. For the first colonists, the choice was a practical one: Brick took time to manufacture, while the settlers needed shelter, no matter how primitive, quickly.¹⁹⁰ Although later settlers arrived in more established colonies, wooden construction offered readily available, inexpensive materials and a familiar style capable of quick assembly and habitation.¹⁹¹ The lack of disasters in the North American colonies also reinforced

¹⁸⁸ Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 26 argues against the use of stone in the colonies, primarily on the basis of the labor necessary to quarry it, the lack of good mortar, and English traditions that dictated only churches and public buildings utilize stone construction. On page 65, they specifically point to the Great Fire of London as a major inspiration for Penn's plan of Philadelphia, which emphasized distance between houses to contain fires. Larkin, Sprigg, and Johnson, *Colonial*, 143 suggests Germans were the first group in the New World to use significant amounts of stone in private home construction.

¹⁸⁹ Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 21 notes colonists familiar with deforestation in the Atlantic Archipelago knew this was not true and passed ordinances as early as 1632 in Massachusetts to protect timber for future use. See also Larkin, Sprigg, and Johnson, *Colonial*, 18; Wendell D. Garrett, David Larkin, and Paul Rocheleau, *American Colonial: Puritan Simplicity to Georgian Grace* (New York, N.Y: Monacelli Press, 1995), 13.

¹⁹⁰ Forman, *Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century*, 21; Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 9–12; Walsh, "Migration, Society, Economy, & Settlement," 48 notes chronic shortages of labor and capital in the settlements encouraged the use of familiar materials and forms, particularly while the colonies were in their infancy; Carson, "Plantation Housing," 88–90 chronicles the structures constructed by new arrivals of various classes, concluding "Sea-weary travelers desired a dry roof over their heads more than they wanted comfortable accommodations on making landfall in America."

¹⁹¹ See Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 39 on colonists' preference for familiarity coupled with the abundance of timber. They also emphasize on page 68 that "The English colonists, then, once

the use of wooden construction. Unlike the Atlantic Archipelago, where the Great Fire of London exposed the danger of dense wooden cities, or the Caribbean, where the Port Royal earthquake revealed the danger of heavy, multi-story stone or brick construction in sandy soil, the North American colonies did not experience a similar disaster between their foundation and the American War for Independence. While the colonists could certainly draw lessons from distant catastrophes, they lacked the immediacy necessary to spur change.

The eighteenth century saw fewer travelers note the use of brick in house construction, particularly outside the major American cities. While seventeenth century travelers had appeared to note an increased use of this building material, eighteenth century travelers suggested a strong class dimension to the use of brick versus wood.¹⁹² John Brickell noted that in North Carolina “Houses are built after two different Ways; *viz.* the most substantial Planters generally use Brick, and Lime, which is made of Oyster-shells, for there are no Stones to be found proper for that purpose, but near the Mountains; the meaner Sort erect with Timber, the outside with Clap-Boards, the Roofs of both Sorts of Houses are made with Shingles, and they generally have Sash Windows, and affect large and decent Rooms with good Closets, as they do a most beautiful Prospect by some noble River or Creek.”¹⁹³ Brickell’s description created a sense of attributional distance

settled, were content to build their homes for many years according to familiar methods, with modifications to suit their new locations.”; See also Graham, “Timber Framing,” 206; Garrett, Larkin, and Rocheleau, *American Colonial*, 10–13, 128–29.

¹⁹² Lounsbury, “Brickwork,” 239, 255–57 argues (p. 239): “Brick building, therefore, became a symbol of permanence and the material of choice for those who wished to make a statement about their status in this plantation society.”

¹⁹³ Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina*, 37; For a similar assessment of houses in Carolina, see Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, 53; For more on Beverley, see J. A. Leo Lemay, “Beverley, Robert (1667/8-1722),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/53402> describes Beverley as a historian and outspoken proponent of Americanism long before independence. Beverley was born in Virginia and Lemay argues he was likely prejudiced against England and English authority by the barring of his father from office by the Privy Council in 1678.

between Carolina and Britain that distanced the colony, based on the use of oyster shells for Lime and the prevalence of wood houses, but also a reduced sense of distance based on the description of the rooms, closets, and view. This is, in some respects, unsurprising. Settlers would have used architectural forms and techniques with which they were familiar, yet local conditions would have forced adaptations that reinforced the distance between core and periphery. As Donnelly and Roth suggest, “the builders of early America, whatever their national origins, made use of traditional designs and methods, interpreting them to be appropriate in the colonies. That some on occasion made use of published designs is also apparent, and again the results were, as at Whitehall and Brandon, interpretations rather than precise imitations.”¹⁹⁴ In this sense, Brickell’s observations typified the effect of travelers’ descriptions of the built environment no matter the region they were visiting: They often recorded both an increased and decreased sense of distance.

As Brickell’s observation suggested, wooden construction dominated home building in the North American colonies. Despite the use of wood, observers stressed colonial houses had little in common with the log cabin type so common in American imaginations.¹⁹⁵ The missionary Thomas Thompson,¹⁹⁶ while traveling through New Jersey in the mid-1740s, wrote, “Most of the houses in this country are wooden structures, compiled of pine boards, or cedar shingles. The houses of

¹⁹⁴ Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 138–39. See also page 156 for a discussion of the extent to which Christ Church in Boston borrowed from Wren’s St. James Piccadilly. See also Larkin, Sprigg, and Johnson, *Colonial*, 10; Graham, “Timber Framing,” 211 discusses the modifications builders made to the traditional English box frame to reduce the cost and time necessary to construct early colonial homes.

¹⁹⁵ Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 17 note the log cabin was a Swedish style of home-building, brought to the New World via the New Sweden colony about 1655. However, the small size of the colony necessitated assistance from nearby English settlers, and the English framed house appears to have become the dominant form in that colony as well. Graham, “Timber Framing,” 214 concurs with Donnelly and Roth, but notes the Swedish-style log dwelling reemerged on the frontier in the early 18th century, where the style proved even cheaper and easier to erect than the Virginia house.

¹⁹⁶ Christopher Fyfe, “Thompson, Thomas (1708/9-1773),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/27278> states that Thompson worked for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New Jersey from 1745 to 1751. After leaving America, he spent several years in Africa, an experience that later led him to write a Christian defense of the slave trade.

our gentry have a large thorow entry, with folding doors for coolness in the summer time.”¹⁹⁷ Although Thompson does not indicate the material used to construct the houses of the “gentry” beyond the brief description of their more substantial entryways, his comments reflected the apparent role of social class in American home construction also observable in Brickell’s writing.

While colonial construction materials provided travelers with one visible marker of attributional distance, the overall appearance of towns and other concentrated developments provided observers with a shortcut to assessments of the colonies’ overall development relative to the Atlantic Archipelago. In the Chesapeake colonies of Maryland and Virginia, travelers in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remarked on the lack of towns or other urban development. However, at least one anonymous author, writing in 1732, noted with concern the poor state of towns throughout all North American colonies:

The Towns in our Colonies are all, except *Boston*, *New York*, and *Philadelphia*, very inconsiderable, without Fortifications, and open, in Case of a War, to an Enemy of small Force, who may easily seize *Annapolis* in *Accadie*, and *St. John’s* in *Newfoundland*, and break up our other little Settlements, as the *French* actually did in the last Wars.

Boston, the *Capital of New England*, may be mastered at any time by seven or eight Battalions, and the *Indians* from *Canada* in the *French Interest*; and then that whole Colony must submit. All the Towns up the *Delawar*, a single Man of War of fifty Guns, or two at the most, may insult and ruin. In the *Bay of Chesapeak*, we have not one Town of two hundred Houses, except *Williamsbourg* lately built, though the Planters are pretty numerous on both Sides.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Thompson, *A Letter from New Jersey*, 8; See also Richard D. Brown, “The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760-1820,” *The Journal of American History* 61, no. 1 (1974): 44, doi:10.2307/1918252 who notes that most Massachusetts houses in 1760 used clapboard and shingles, similar to what Thompson describes in New Jersey. Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial America*, 36–37 argue the use of clapboards and shingles in northern colonies was a response to the local climate. Often “in-filled” with brick and clay for protection against the weather, this exterior material allowed for a cooler house in the summer while providing sufficient insulation for winter comfort. See also Graham, “Timber Framing,” 209 for a discussion of the development of the “Virginia house,” which also used clapboards but achieved greater weatherproofing (when necessary) through pine tar.

¹⁹⁸ Anon, *Britannia Major: The New Scheme, or Essay, for Discharging the Debts, Improving the Lands, and Enlarging the Trade, of the British Dominions in Europe and America.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Noon, at the White Hart in Cheapside, near Mercers Chapel, 1732), 14; Larkin, Sprigg, and Johnson, *Colonial*, 17 argue New England developed a strong urban tradition because settlers sought to recreate the typical English village but also realized the security benefits of living in close proximity, particularly after the Deerfield massacre of 1675; For a summation of the threat (particularly from France) the author may have been concerned about, see Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire* (New York: Basic Books (Perseus), 2007), 204–23.

As with earlier concerns about the defensibility of settlements in Virginia, the author's interest in fortifications and the defensibility of colonial towns strengthened the sense of attributional distance between Britain and the colonies since most British towns had not faced a serious external threat since the time of the Revolution of 1688.

Other travelers did not share the author's concern regarding a general lack of urban development in the colonies, at least not on a scale that encompassed all the colonies broadly considered. Rather, as with the seventeenth century, travelers commented on regional patterns of development, contrasting the relative urbanized environment of New England and the Middle Colonies with the rural character of the Chesapeake and southern colonies.¹⁹⁹ Not only were these descriptions capable of modifying the perceived distance between Britain and the colonies, they also created internal perceptions of attributional and historical distance as different regions of the colonies appeared to grow and develop at different rates.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ The disparity in the urbanization between these two regions is reflected in the historiography as well. Far more studies are concerned with urbanization (or lack thereof) in the southern colonies, including Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens, "'Camden's Turrets Pierce the Skies!': The Urban Process in the Southern Colonies during the Eighteenth Century," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1973): 550–74, doi:10.2307/1918595; David A. Smith, "Dependent Urbanization in Colonial America: The Case of Charleston, South Carolina," *Social Forces* 66, no. 1 (1987): 1–28, doi:10.2307/2578898; Trevor Burnard and Emma Hart, "Kingston, Jamaica, and Charleston, South Carolina A New Look at Comparative Urbanization in Plantation Colonial British America," *Journal of Urban History* 39, no. 2 (March 1, 2013): 214–34, doi:10.1177/0096144211435125; Christopher Edwin Hendricks, "Town Development in the Colonial Backcountry: Virginia and North Carolina" (Ph.D., The College of William and Mary, 1991), <http://search.proquest.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/docview/303971561/abstract>; Paul Philip Musselwhite, "Towns In Mind: Urban Plans, Political Culture, and Empire in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607--1722" (Ph.D., The College of William and Mary, 2011), <http://search.proquest.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/docview/916772220/abstract>; Hermann Wellenreuther et al., "Urbanization in the Colonial South: A Critique," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (1974): 653–71, doi:10.2307/1921609; For urbanization in the northern colonies, see Brown, "The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760-1820"; James T. Lemon, "Urbanization and the Development of Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania and Adjacent Delaware," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1967): 502–42, doi:10.2307/1919469; David R. Goldfield, "The Stages of American Urbanization," *OAH Magazine of History* 5, no. 2 (1990): 26–31.

²⁰⁰ See, for example Goldfield, "The Stages of American Urbanization," 27 who argues "By the time of the American Revolution, the outlines of nineteenth-century urban America were becoming clear - the development of an urban core region in the northeast, the ordering of urban space into distinctive land and social uses, and the emergence of social classes."

In the Chesapeake, the lack of towns and the corresponding perception of distance from the British norm persisted to the time of the American War for Independence. On the eve of the American War, the author Oliver Goldsmith²⁰¹ reflected on the lack of towns in Virginia, which he blamed on the numerous rivers and a continual lack of skilled tradesmen:

The great commodiousness of navigation, and the scarcity of handicraftsmen, have rendered all the attempts of the government to establish towns in Virginia ineffectual. Jamestown, which was anciently the capital, is dwindled into an insignificant village; and Williamsburg, though the capital at present, the seat of the governor, the place of holding the assembly and courts of justice, and a college for the study of arts and sciences, is yet but a small town.²⁰²

Goldsmith's comments confirmed the earlier observations of numerous travelers, including the poet Ebenezer Cooke,²⁰³ the historian John Oldmixon,²⁰⁴ the anonymous author of *The Present*

²⁰¹ John A Dussinger, "Goldsmith, Oliver (1728?-1774)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/10924> was the famous author of the *Vicar of Wakefield*, amongst other works. Dussinger's entry in the *ODNB* does not mention *The Present State* as one of his works, but there is a long history of attributing it to him.

²⁰² Oliver Goldsmith, *The Present State of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa and Asia. Containing a Concise Account Our Possessions in Every Part of the Globe; the Religion, Policy, Customs, Government, Trade, Commerce, and Manufactures, with the Natural and Artificial Curiosities, of the Respective Parts of Our Dominions, the Origin and Present State of the Inhabitants; Their Sciences and Arts; Together with Their Strength by Sea and Land. The Whole Exhibiting a More Clear, Though More Summary, View of the Power of British Empire than Has Hitherto Appeared.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for W. Griffin, J. Johnson, W. Nicoll, and Richardson and Urquhart, 1768), 306.

²⁰³ Ebenezer Cooke, *The Sot-Weed Factor: Or, A Voyage to Maryland. A Satyr. In Which Is Describ'd, the Laws, Government, Courts and Constitutions of the Country; and Also the Buildings, Feasts, Frolicks, Entertainments and Drunken Humours of the Inhabitants of That Part of America. In Burlesque Verse. By Eden, Cook, Gent.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed and sold by B. Bragg, at the Raven in Pater-Noster-Ros, 1708), 19, 20; J. A. Leo Lemay, "Cook, Ebenezer (B. c.1667, D. in or after 1732)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/68519> describes Cook (or Cooke) as a poet, born in Maryland. Although the *Sot-Weed Factor* was known to be a satire, Lemay argues that its genius lay in the fact that different audiences interpreted it differently. In England, it was understood to be a satire of America broadly and Maryland in particular. In the colonies, however, readers interpreted it as a satire of English interpretations of the colonies.

²⁰⁴ Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 273; Pat Rogers, "Oldmixon, John (1672/3-1742)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/20695> presents Oldmixon as a historian and Whig pamphleteer, primarily active after about 1710. While Oldmixon was a prolific historical author, there is no indication that his history of the British colonies in America included information derived from personal observation.

State of Virginia,²⁰⁵ the engraver George Bickham,²⁰⁶ Thomas Thompson (missionary),²⁰⁷ the political writer William Burke,²⁰⁸ and the frontiersman Robert Rogers.²⁰⁹ As later historians have shown, Goldsmith correctly assessed the role of navigation in hampering urban development in Virginia and Maryland.²¹⁰ Specifically, the tobacco-centered economy of both colonies, which were reliant on navigable rivers for transportation of their product, encouraged the development of large plantations in the early period and small “stores,” primarily controlled by Scottish merchants, after the Act of Union in 1707.²¹¹ Neither fostered the type of urban development seen

²⁰⁵ Anon, *The Present State of Virginia, and the College*, 12.

²⁰⁶ Bickham, *The British Monarchy*, 1748, 180; Kim Sloan, “Bickham, George (1683/4-1758),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/2353> characterizes Bickham as a writing master and engraver. Sloan argues *The British Monarchy*, one of his final works, was designed to increase interest in the study of geography.

²⁰⁷ Thompson, *A Letter from New Jersey*, 8.

²⁰⁸ Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 1757, 2:206. As noted in the previous chapter, Burke was not related to Edmund Burke and never personally visited the American colonies.

²⁰⁹ Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 89, 118; B. H. Soulsby, “Rogers, Robert (1731-1795),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/23996> describes Rogers as a frontiersman and army officer. During the French and Indian War, he led Rogers’ Rangers, a force of frontiersmen active in Canada and along the western frontier of the American colonies. During the Revolution he raised a similar force of Loyalists, but could not duplicate his earlier successes.

²¹⁰ Wellenreuther et al., “Urbanization in the Colonial South,” 654 argues that he maintains “that the network of rivers played an important role in the infrastructure and development of regions and economic patterns of the southern colonies at least up to about 1740, although it is by no means clear to what precise extent this retarded the process of urbanization. (An examination would be beyond the scope of this paper.)”; Wellenreuther’s comment explicitly challenges the assertion made by Ernst and Merrens, “Camden’s Turrets Pierce the Skies!,” 571 who argue against this idea, but do not appear to offer a strong counter-explanation. Smith, “Dependent Urbanization in Colonial America,” 6 agrees with Wellenreuther, but focuses on the dominance of tobacco, rice, and indigo as crops rather than the method of transporting these goods to the British market. His point is that in the colonial context, a focus on an extraction economy to support the imperial core did not encourage urban development outside of a few major seaports. Walsh, “Migration, Society, Economy, & Settlement,” 57.

²¹¹ T.M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire and the Shaping of the Americas, 1600-1815* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books in association with Penguin Books, Ltd., 2003), 78–79; Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 121–23; Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*, 390. Fischer does not connect this settlement pattern to the tobacco trade; rather, he argues it replicates the pattern found in the south and west of England - the region he contends provided most of the settlers of the Chesapeake colonies. See also Wellenreuther et al., “Urbanization in the Colonial South,” 655; Lemon, “Urbanization and the Development of Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania and Adjacent Delaware,” 506 also argues for the role of British merchants in suppressing town growth through the structure of the tobacco trade. He notes Baltimore only emerged as a major trading port once many planters in Virginia and Maryland shifted away from tobacco and into grain production. Donnelly and Roth, *Architecture in Colonial*

in the Middle Colonies or New England, although Hermann Wellenreuther and Christopher Hendricks contend this may not be true for the Piedmont (inland Virginia) after approximately 1740.²¹² Even accounting for Wellenreuther's and Hendricks's observations, many travelers, from both sides of the Atlantic, described Virginia and the southern colonies in terms similar to Goldsmith, emphasizing their rural and non-urban character and thereby reinforcing the attributional distance between Britain and America.

Outside of the Chesapeake Bay area, however, authors noted a proliferation of towns, particularly in some of the more geographically constrained New England colonies.²¹³ Describing Connecticut, for example, the anonymous author of 1756's *A description of the English and French territories* noted that "It is a Colony that few People in *England* have heard of, and yet no Part of *England* has so many fine Market Towns," because the author argued there was a town every ten miles.²¹⁴ Accepting the author's assessment of Connecticut's urban development, the expansion of the colony largely matched, and perhaps even exceeded, the concurrent urbanization

America, 47 also references the tobacco economy as the primary inhibitor of urban development in Virginia and Maryland.

²¹² Wellenreuther et al., "Urbanization in the Colonial South," 659–60; Hendricks, "Town Development in the Colonial Backcountry," 2, 301 argues town development in inland Virginia was the result of three factors: An influx of settlers from the northern colonies, the concerns about defense sparked by the Seven Years War, and agricultural development, particularly of non-tobacco crops; Burnard and Hart, "Kingston, Jamaica, and Charleston, South Carolina A New Look at Comparative Urbanization in Plantation Colonial British America," 216–17 argue Wellenreuther's correction does not go far enough, and that the older historiography of a non-urbanized American south is incorrect. Yet by focusing on Charleston, their work does not offer a direct challenge to the historiography or the descriptions of contemporary travelers and authors.

²¹³ Brown, "The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760-1820," 48 distinguishes between urbanization, defined as the growth of towns, and urban culture/society, which he characterizes as a mindset supportive of heterogeneity and cosmopolitanism. While the former was undoubtedly underway before the Revolution, the latter primarily developed after it.

²¹⁴ Anon, *A Description of the English and French Territories, in North America: With an Account of the Great Fall of Niagara; and of the Five Indian Nations; Together with the Plan and Description of Crown Point. Being, an Explanation of a New Map of the Same. Shewing All the Encroachments of the French, with Their Forts and Usurpations on the English Settlements; and the Fortifications of the Latter. Done from the Newest Maps Published in London: And Compared with Dr. Mitchell's, F. R. S. and Every Omission Carefully Supplied from It.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Dublin: Printed for J. Exshaw, at the Bible, opposite Castle-Lane, in Dame-Street, 1756), 7; Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 52,53.

of the Atlantic Archipelago.²¹⁵ While this reduced the perceived distance between Connecticut and the Atlantic Archipelago, it also highlighted the regional disparity between New England and the Chesapeake.²¹⁶

The relative lack of towns in the American colonies, particularly those in the south, created a broadly conceived sense of distance between the Atlantic Archipelago and the colonies. Despite the lack of urban development throughout the colonies, several major cities commanded the attention and respect of travelers to the New World. In the eighteenth century, at least one author wrote a favorable comparison of all the leading American cities, and some of the secondary cities as well, with their European counterparts. As might be expected, the largest cities, such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah received the most attention. Yet many travelers also remarked upon the positive state of such cities as Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, Trenton, New Haven, Newport, Annapolis, and Williamsburg. Taken as a whole, these descriptions served to lessen the attributional distance between the Old World and New.

²¹⁵ Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, 180–81 discusses the rapid urbanization of Britain in the first half of the eighteenth century. One crucial distinction is that Brewer focuses on towns with populations of more than 5,000. Unfortunately, the author's description of Connecticut does not provide estimates of population. However, if the largest colonial towns had approximately 500 houses, there would need to be 10 persons per household to cross Brewer's population threshold. See also Ernst and Merrens, "Camden's Turrets Pierce the Skies!," 555 who argue against eighteenth-century travelers who conflated town size and town function. Their argument is that by emphasizing size, travelers overstated the urbanization of the northern colonies while understating the urbanization of the southern colonies. For a convincing argument against this point, see Wellenreuther et al., "Urbanization in the Colonial South," 660 who argues that by ignoring size and focusing solely on the distributive function within an economic network, Scottish stores and possibly even plantations in the southern colonies would be reclassified as towns. Lemon, "Urbanization and the Development of Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania and Adjacent Delaware," 501–2 notes urbanization, even in the northern colonies, was never an even process. He argues urbanization in Pennsylvania was concentrated in two periods, 1681-1700 and 1730-1765, that coincided with periods of colonial economic prosperity.

²¹⁶ Wellenreuther et al., "Urbanization in the Colonial South," 666 goes so far as to suggest that one of the explanations for the sudden emergence of towns in the southern colonies after 1740 was internal migration from the northern colonies, which drew southward colonists with different ideas about settlement patterns and commodity crops. For the role of northern migration in town development in the southern colonies, see also Hendricks, "Town Development in the Colonial Backcountry," 301; Brown, "The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760-1820," 35–36 seems to support this conclusion by arguing that in New England the tendency was to form new communities or towns rather than embrace diversity or heterogeneity. This also provides an alternate explanation to the shortage of land for the urbanism of the northern colonies.

Cities that attracted the most attention in the seventeenth century, with the exception of Savannah, continued to do so in the eighteenth century. Primarily this reflected the commercial and social importance of cities like Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston. Due to the commercial nature of the northern colonies, travelers found it easier to arrange transport to Boston, New York, or Philadelphia than to the southern colonies. Thus, many travelers began in Boston and traveled south as their funds and time permitted.

Boston attracted many favorable comparisons with British cities, including London. For the anonymous author of *A description of the English and French territories*, writing at mid-century, “*Boston* is as large and much better built than *Bristol*, or indeed than any other City in *England*, *London* excepted.”²¹⁷ Only a few years later, the publisher and adventurer Peter Williamson²¹⁸ suggested that Boston had become nearly the equal of London, with “Pavement . . . in so good Order, that to gallop an Horse on it is 3s. 4d. Forfeit. . . . [And a] Gentleman of *London* would fancy himself at home at *Boston*, when he observes the Number of People, their Furniture, their Tables, and Dress, which, perhaps is as splendid and showy as that of most Tradesmen in *London*.”²¹⁹ While Williamson focused on the characteristics of the people for his conclusion that

²¹⁷ Anon, *A Description of the English and French Territories, in North America*, 9.

²¹⁸ P.J. Anderson, “Williamson, Peter (1730-1799),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/29572> describes Williamson’s incredible life history. Kidnapped at the age of ten in Aberdeen, he was sold as an indentured servant in Pennsylvania. After gaining his freedom, he moved to a farm on the Pennsylvanian frontier, only to be captured by Native Americans allied to the French during the French and Indian War. After escaping, he enlisted in the British Army, but was discharged following a wound. He returned to Scotland, where he became an author and publisher.

²¹⁹ Peter Williamson, *French and Indian Cruelty; Exemplified in the Life and Various Vicissitudes of Fortune, of Peter Williamson, a Disbanded Soldier. Containing a Particular Account of the Manners, Customs, and Dress, of the Savages; of Their Scalping, Burning, and Other Barbarities, Committed on the English, in North-America, during His Residence among Them: Being at Eight Years of Age, Stolen from His Parents and Sent to Pinsylvania, Where He Was Sold as a Slave: Afterwards Married and Settled as a Planter, “till the Indians Destroy”d His House and Every Thing He Had, and Carried Him off a Captive; from Whom, after Several Months Captivity, He Made His Escape, and Serv’d as a Volunteer and Soldier in Many Expeditions against Them. Comprehending in the Whole, a Summary of the Transactions of the Several Provinces of Pennsylvania (Including Philadelphia), New York, New-England, New Jersey, &c &c From the Commencement of the War in These Parts; Particularly, Those Relative to the Intended Attack on Crown Point and Niagara. And, an Accurate and Succinct*

a Londoner would be at home in Boston, his observation regarding the pavement suggested that the built environment was also agreeable to London sensibilities. Whether or not Williamson was correct in suggesting that Boston was now comparable to London, these two statements, when taken together and when seen as suggestive of other works to mid-century, dramatically reduced the sense of distance readers might have had between the two cities.²²⁰

Opinions of Boston had not changed much by the start of the American War for Independence. As authors such as G. Taylor noted, much of Boston was “elegant and well built,” although some of the public buildings only displayed “tolerable architecture” and many of the estimated five thousand houses were “built with wood,” yet “neat and commodious.”²²¹ Despite these slightly negative impressions, Taylor’s comments reinforced impressions of Boston from earlier travelers. While wooden construction was often seen as a symbol of attributional distance between core and periphery, the overall importance of Boston in the Atlantic economy seems to have mitigated this, casting a more positive sheen on the appearance of the town than might otherwise be expected. Some authors, commenting on Boston between mid-century and Taylor’s writing, reinforced this conclusion by including a description of Boston’s commercial structures in their analysis of the city’s built environment.²²²

Detail, of the Operations of the French and English Forces, at the Siege of Oswego, Where the Author Was Wounded and Taken Prisoner; and Being Afterwards Sent to England, Was on His Arrival at Plymouth, Discharg’d as Incapable of Further Service. Written by Himself., Eighteenth Century Collections Online (York: Printed for the author, by N. Nickson, 1757), 41, 42.

²²⁰ Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 85; Bickham, *The British Monarchy*, 1748, 168.

²²¹ Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 142.

²²² Anon, *The American Gazetteer. Containing A Distinct Account of All the Parts of the New World: Their Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce, Former and Present Condition; Commodities, Manufactures, and Commerce. Together with An Accurate Account of the Cities, Towns, Ports, Bays, Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Passes, and Fortifications. The Whole Intended to Exhibit. The Present State of Things in That Part of the Globe, and the Views and Interests of the Several Powers Who Have Possessions in America. Illustrated with Proper Maps.*, vol. 1, 3 vols., Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for A. Millar, and J. & R. Tonson, in the Strand, 1762); Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 42.

Although most eighteenth-century travelers saw New York as the rough equal of most British cities, New York's Dutch heritage elicited a wider range of Old World comparisons from travelers than was the case with Boston. The anonymous author of *A description*, for example, contended that New York "contains about 5000 Houses, all of Brick and Stone, which in Shape excel the same Number in any Part of *London*; and their Town-House is very little inferior to *Guild-Hall*. Their Streets are better paved than those in *London*."²²³ Given that the same author had been reluctant to place Boston on the same level as London, his willingness to do so in the case of New York suggested a distinct lack of perceived attributional distance between the two cities. Unlike with Boston, Peter Williamson seemed to agree, observing, "The Houses are all well built, and the meanest of them said to be worth 100 *l*. which cannot be said of the City of the same Name, nor of any other in *England*."²²⁴ Williamson's commentary moved beyond a mere statement of attributional similarity, suggesting New York ranked as the second city in all of the British Empire. By claiming a colonial city eclipsed the grandeur of established Atlantic Archipelagic cities like Dublin, Edinburgh, and Bristol, Williamson contributed to a perceived colonial trajectory in which the colonists replicated centuries of Archipelagic development in roughly one hundred years. Given that rate of achievement in urban development, is it any wonder that by the 1760s commentators despaired at the prospect of Britain maintaining control of the colonies?

As with Boston and the other major American cities, numerous other authors throughout the eighteenth century also noted the lack of distance they experienced while traveling in New

²²³ Anon, *A Description of the English and French Territories, in North America*, 12.

²²⁴ Williamson, *French and Indian Cruelty*, 63.

York.²²⁵ When the Swedish botanist Peter Kalm²²⁶ visited the city, he was immediately inclined to compare it to Boston and Philadelphia, although eventually his thoughts turned to his native country: "...in size it comes nearest to *Boston* and *Philadelphia*. But with regard to its fine buildings, its opulence, and extensive commerce, it disputes the preference with them: at present it is about half as big again as *Gothenburgh* in *Sweden*."²²⁷ Kalm's comments on New York's splendor, here and in the passages that follow, equate it with Boston and Philadelphia at the very least. Given the frequency with which readers were bombarded by comparisons between those cities and British analogues, Kalm reduced the sense of distance between colony and metropole even without drawing a direct comparison between New York and a British city. Additionally, his use of a Swedish reference for New York's size reinforced the idea that the most apt points of comparison for the city were from the Old World, not the New.

The third American city typically compared to leading British cities, including London, was Philadelphia. Travelers praised the city's central plan and use of a grid pattern for the streets,

²²⁵ Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 119; Lawson, *The History of Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country*, 2; Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 1757, 2:184; Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York*, 187; Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 65; Goldsmith, *The Present State of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa and Asia*, 296; Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1770, 1:247–50, 252; Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 69; David R Ransome, "Lawson, John (D. 1711)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/16203> notes Lawson was a surveyor active in the Carolinas from 1700 until he was killed by Native Americans upset at the increasing incursions of settlers onto their lands in 1711. His journal of his first surveying expedition was published as part of a collection in 1708 and republished posthumously in the work cited here. Robert M Calhoun, "Smith, William (1727-1793)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/68747> describes Smith as a cunningly manipulative politician who noted the breakdown in relations between the British and their American colonists and attempted to use various proposals for restoring harmony to advance his standing with the British colonial administrators. Born in New York and educated at Yale, he became a Loyalist during the Revolution and the chief justice of Quebec after it.

²²⁶ Elizabeth Baigent, "Kalm, Pehr (1716-1779)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/70165> notes Kalm studied under Linnaeus and Anders Celsius. When Linnaeus was unable to make a planned research trip to North America, he encouraged Kalm to go in his place. Although his primary aim was to report on the plants of North America, particularly those that might also grow well in Sweden, he made numerous observations on colonial life.

²²⁷ Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1770, 1:247–48.

despite the lack of similar features in most Archipelagic cities. It was this aspect that impressed the engraver George Bickham in 1748, leading him to comment, “Philadelphia, the Capital, is one of the best laid-out Cities in the World, extending two Miles in Length, & one in Breadth, betwixt two Navigable Rivers. The Streets cross one another at right Angles, and tho’ this Space is not yet all built, it is already a large & populous Town, having about 2000 better Houses than are common in most Cities in England.”²²⁸ Although not as celebratory as some other authors who more explicitly linked Philadelphia with the quintessential metropolitan city, Bickham’s contention still reduced the sense of attributional distance for readers by placing Philadelphia at a level somewhere between London and most British cities.

The choice of a comparative city could create an unintentional sense of distance, even when the author’s overall description pointed to favorable comparisons with the metropolitan core. G. Taylor provides one example of this with this description of Philadelphia, a city he describes as “being one of the finest plans of a town that is now existing. All travellers allow it to be more regular than that of *Lima*.”²²⁹ By linking Philadelphia to Lima, another New World city and one belonging to a rival European power, Taylor unwittingly emphasized the distance between the colonial city and Atlantic Archipelago metropolises while describing characteristics that should have reduced the sense of attributional distance. His overall favorable impression of Philadelphia, which includes many buildings “which are not to be exceeded in this country,” confirmed the city’s stature amongst the Imperial cities on the eve of the American War for Independence.²³⁰ While never explicitly linked to London or any other British city in Taylor’s work, Philadelphia’s

²²⁸ Bickham, *The British Monarchy*, 1748, 175.

²²⁹ Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 171.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 174; Lemon, “Urbanization and the Development of Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania and Adjacent Delaware,” 508 agrees with Taylor’s characterization while noting that Philadelphia’s dominance hampered development of other towns in southeast Pennsylvania.

description is very similar to that given by travelers to the more impressive cities of the Atlantic Archipelago. However, as numerous other authors showed over the course of the eighteenth century, Philadelphia did not need to be equal to London to reduce the sense of distance between Britain and America.²³¹

Although numerous travelers recognized Charleston as one of the most important cities in the American colonies, it never received the type of direct comparison with leading British cities as Boston, Philadelphia, or New York did. Despite this, travelers' accounts from across the eighteenth century made it clear that Charleston was a city with strong British influences that resulted in a reduced sense of distance between the two societies.²³² Oliver Goldsmith, for instance, suggested that Charleston was "by much the liveliest and politest places, as it is one of the richest too, in all America."²³³ If Boston, Philadelphia, and New York were directly comparable to British cities, any city that was ranked ahead of them must surely compare favorably as well. Thus, taken in conjunction with what Goldsmith and others had said about those cities, Goldsmith's comments about Charleston reduced the sense of distance between it and Britain. Goldsmith was not the only traveler to remark upon the opulence of Charleston or to consider it amongst the finest cities in

²³¹ Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 153; Williamson, *French and Indian Cruelty*, 6, 7; Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 81, 82; Goldsmith, *The Present State of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa and Asia*, 302; Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1770, 1:33–36, 44–46; Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 171–77.

²³² Smith, "Dependent Urbanization in Colonial America," 3 argues it was precisely the strong British connections that led to Charleston's decline after the Revolution. In particular, he contends that "Even at the height of its prosperity and growth it was a peripheral city, extremely dependent on the British imperial core and relatively isolated from the emerging North American national urban hierarchy." He later argues (page 21), that "the power of the planters, urban slavery, and the stunted white middle class" ensured Charleston's social structure was very different from the northern ports, reducing the ability of the city to develop and react to changes in the world market. Burnard and Hart, "Kingston, Jamaica, and Charleston, South Carolina A New Look at Comparative Urbanization in Plantation Colonial British America," 223 challenge Smith's characterization of Charleston, noting it produced goods and offered points of consumption "on a par with their British provincial cousins."

²³³ Goldsmith, *The Present State of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa and Asia*, 329; See Smith, "Dependent Urbanization in Colonial America," 2 for confirmation of Charleston's wealth, which Smith describes as "the richest region in colonial America."

America. Numerous other travelers, including Lawson,²³⁴ Philipp von Reck,²³⁵ James Walcot,²³⁶ Rogers,²³⁷ George Johnston,²³⁸ and Taylor²³⁹ did as well. Yet the lack of a direct comparison to a British city meant that readers had to infer the city's place in the empire more so than with cities like New York, Philadelphia, or Boston. Thus, while the positive impressions of Charleston reduced the sense of attributional distance between the two societies, that reduction was never as complete as it was for some other cities or regions. In the case of South Carolina, it was left to the more social attributes of the people to reduce the perceived distance between the colony and Britain.

Unlike the cities discussed above, Montreal and Quebec were originally French settlements and retained a sense of difference after their integration into the British Empire in 1763. As a result, while travelers generally saw them as possessing many European attributes, they never attracted the types of comparisons to British cities seen in places like Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. One good example of this is Oliver Goldsmith's 1768 description of Quebec, which he describes

²³⁴ Lawson, *The History of Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country*, 2.

²³⁵ Philipp Georg Friedrich von Reck, *An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary von Reck, Who Conducted the First Transport of Saltzburgers to Georgia: And of the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, One of Their Ministers. Giving an Account of Their Voyage To, and Happy Settlement in That Province. Published by the Direction of The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed by M. Downing, in Bartholomew Close, 1734), 9.

²³⁶ James Walcot, *The New Pilgrim's Progress; or the Pious Indian Convert. Containing a Faithful Account of Hattain Gelashmin, a Heathen, Who Was Baptis'd into the Christian Faith by the Name of George James, and by That Means Brought from the Darkness of Paganism, to the Light of the Gospel, of Which He Afterwards Became an Able and Worthy Minister. Together with a Narrative of His Laborious and Dangerous Travels among the Savage Indians for Their Conversion; His Many Sufferings and Miraculous Deliverances, and the Wonderful Things Which He Saw in a Vision. Publish'd for the Instruction of Mankind in General, but More Particularly for the Impenitent and Unreformed.* By James Walcot, A.M., Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for M. Cooper, in Pater-Noster-Row; W. Owen, at Homer's Head, Temple-Bar, and R. Goadby, at Yeovil, Somersetshire, 1748), 79.

²³⁷ Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 141.

²³⁸ Johnston, *A Short Description of the Province of South-Carolina*, 31, 32, 35.

²³⁹ Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 226–27.

as having houses “built in a tolerable manner,” a cathedral which was “mean, and unworthy the capital of New-France,” and a size which, “though the capital of Canada, [was] however not very large.”²⁴⁰ Yet the city also possessed “a college of Jesuits, not inelegant; two convents and two hospitals,” while the country around the city and up the St. Lawrence to Montreal was “pretty much like the well-settled parts of our colonies of Virginia and Maryland.”²⁴¹ While Goldsmith’s comment regarding Virginia and Maryland distanced Canada through an invocation of the lack of towns (a familiar source of attributional distance, as we saw earlier), references to the college and the city’s importance (via the comment about the cathedral) worked to reduce the sense of distance between Britain and her new northern possessions despite references to the Catholic features of Quebec. Other travelers to the cities also found them to be familiar, although the continued traces of their French past and Catholic characters created a tension that produced a greater sense of distance than the Dutch influence in New York ever did.²⁴²

Although Montreal and Quebec were the two preeminent Canadian cities of the time, Halifax received as much, if not more, attention from travelers in the eighteenth century, probably because the city and island had been an English/British possession for much longer. Early visitors praised the city as the best in Nova Scotia, and promised great things for its future.²⁴³ John Robinson, writing just before the American War, noted that Halifax “has a very good appearance,” though he marveled that “the houses are all built of wood. They are painted to look just like

²⁴⁰ Goldsmith, *The Present State of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa and Asia*, 348.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, 26; Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 95–97, 102.

²⁴³ Gentleman, *The Importance of Settling and Fortifying Nova Scotia: With a Particular Account of the Climate, Soil, and Native Inhabitants of the Country. By a Gentleman Lately Arrived from That Colony.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for J. Scott, in Exchange-Alley, 1751), 19, 20; Robinson, *A Journey through Nova-Scotia, Containing, a Particular Account of the Country and Its Inhabitants*, 28, 29.

freestone, and are covered with blue slate.”²⁴⁴ The residents attempt at trickery revealed their awareness of their status as a middling city within the Empire. By painting their houses to look like freestone in an effort to hide their wooden construction, the residents signaled their intent to develop their city to British norms, even if the prosperity of the city to that point had prevented it. Travelers like Robinson, and their readers, likely saw the attempt as a sign of the distance between Britain and Nova Scotia, a relatively rare example of a case where the colonists’ attempts to replicate their native building style (even if fictitiously) resulted in increasing perceptions of attributional distance. Remarkably, residents of other colonial towns attempted the same subterfuge as in Halifax. For example, G. Taylor noted the residents of Newport in Rhode Island painted their wooden houses “in imitation of Portland stone.”²⁴⁵ Observation of this phenomenon in multiple colonies spoke to the general desire of colonists to replicate metropolitan norms in the New World, even when local conditions or prudence dictated otherwise.

Most travelers spent most of their time and effort visiting and describing the five major cities of America outlined above. However, there were other, “lesser” colonies such as Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey that also possessed cities and towns capable of eliciting favorable comparisons with Britain that could reduce the sense of distance between the two societies. In Connecticut, the town of New Haven and Yale College attracted the most attention. G. Taylor found New Haven to have streets that were “elegantly laid out, quite regular, with a spacious market-place in the middle of the town; the houses for the most part, built of wood, in number about three hundred. They have several good public buildings; the College, in particular, adds greatly to the place, and a great number of young Gentlemen resort to it from the other

²⁴⁴ Robinson, *A Journey through Nova-Scotia, Containing, a Particular Account of the Country and Its Inhabitants*, 6.

²⁴⁵ Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 57.

Provinces.”²⁴⁶ Although the wooden houses created a sense of distance with Britain, the overall impression of the town and the stature of the college helped to reduce that, or at least create a neutral additive effect.

New Jersey presented something of a different picture to the travelers. The most exposure most travelers had to the state was the passage from Philadelphia to New York, a journey that often took them through the towns of Trenton,²⁴⁷ New Brunswick,²⁴⁸ and Princeton. The only other city to receive much attention was Perth Amboy, the colonial capital.²⁴⁹ As with travelers’ accounts of more minor cities like New Haven and Newport, these accounts did not reference British cities as comparisons, although they did adopt a generally positive tone that conveyed a sense of familiarity and lack of distance.

Thus, by the American War for Independence, travelers viewed many American cities as comparable to British cities of corresponding size. While some cities imitated some of the grand features and characteristics of London, travelers saw none as an equal to the capital of the Empire. Yet, away from the major towns and cities, travelers typically found the American colonies very distant from the British norm. Many colonies lacked developed and extensive towns, while the common methods of home construction differed substantially from what most authors were accustomed to in Britain. The built environment of America, like the natural environment, varied by region; consequently, the impact it had on perceptions of distance varied as well.

Why did travelers focus on the built environment? As discussed earlier, the built environment provided an easy, visible point of comparison for the metropolitan traveler. The

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 62.

²⁴⁷ Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1770, 1:220–21.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 1:228–29.

²⁴⁹ Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 160–61.

visible structures also served as metaphors for less tangible conceptions of how the colonies measured up to the metropole. Certainly, observations of the built environment allowed travelers to conceptualize the relative urbanism of the colonies, simultaneously measuring the attributional and historical distance between core and periphery. Colonial towns and cities were also the seats of imperial power in the New World, important links in the chain of imperial authority that bound the colonies to the Atlantic Archipelago. Yet attributional similarity based on the built environment masked important divergences in other areas. Despite the apparent attributional nearness of relatively urban New England, travelers found the region to be amongst the weakest links when it came to preserving imperial power and authority in the New World. Ultimately the sense of closeness engendered by observations of such attributes as the built environment, food, dress, and speech patterns could not offset the distance created by the stark confessional differences and sense of independence that divided North America from Britain as surely as the Atlantic.

Food

Travelers' perceptions regarding independence for the American colonies followed from their mixed assessments of how successfully the North American colonists replicated English/British norms in matters of religion, architecture, and social structures. However, travelers expressed viewpoints that were more consistent on food, dress, and speech in the colonies. Regarding food, travelers' depictions revealed dietary familiarity between England and the North American colonies. While aware of the obvious differences in the plant and animal life found in North America, by the mid-seventeenth century travelers observed that nearly any item of food found in England could be had in North America as well, often more cheaply.²⁵⁰ Recognition of

²⁵⁰ Elaine N. McIntosh, *American Food Habits in Historical Perspective* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 1995), 72 argues that once the colonists overcame initial periods of scarcity, they were "better supplied with food than any other people in the world."

the dietary equivalency between England and North America began at least as early as 1638, when the author Philip Vincent²⁵¹ commented that the diet of New England equaled or even exceeded that of England.²⁵²

In the other cases where travelers compared the availability of food, the New World surpassed the old. For example, the anonymous author of a 1681 work abstracting letters from residents of New Jersey claimed large numbers of deer resided in the colony, and the venison tasted better than venison in England.²⁵³ Likewise, Gabriel Thomas in 1698 described the food available in Philadelphia as consisting of “*Tarts, Pies, Cakes, &c.* We have also several *Cooks-Shops*, both *Roasting* and *Boyling*, as in the City of *London*; *Bread, Beer, Beef, and Pork*, are sold at any time much cheaper than in *England* (which arises from their Plenty) our Wheat is very white and clear from Tares, making as good and white Bread as any in Europe.”²⁵⁴ In both cases, the description of food in North America reduced the attributional distance between colony and metropole by noting the quality of the diet. Thomas’s description of the bread available in the American colonies is particularly important, for as the next chapter demonstrates, travelers in the

²⁵¹ Troy Bickham, “Vincent, Philip (Bap. 1600?),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/28313> notes that in addition to his account of New England (specifically the Pequot War), Vincent produced an account of a journey through Germany. Very little is known of his background or life.

²⁵² Philip Vincent, *A True Relation of the Late Battell Fought in New England, between the English, and the Pequet Salvages in Which Was Slaine and Taken Prisoners about 700 of the Salvages, and Those Which Escaped, Had Their Heads Cut off by the Mohocks: Vvith the Present State of Things There.*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by M[armaduke] P[arsons] for Nathanael Butter, and John Bellamie, 1638), 21.

²⁵³ Anon., *An Abstract or Abbreviation of Some Few of the Many (Later and Former) Testimonys from the Inhabitants of New-Jersey and Other Eminent Persons Who Have Wrote Particularly Concerning That Place*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by Thomas Milbourn, 1681), 11. The author argued venison in New Jersey was “not so dry, but ... full of Gravy, like Fat Young Beef.”

²⁵⁴ Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania, and of the West-New-Jersey*, 41; Sally Smith Booth, *Hung, Strung & Potted; a History of Eating in Colonial America*, 1st ed. (New York: C. N. Potter; distributed by Crown Publishers, 1971), 173–74 contends yeast was uncommon in the colonies, and lightly risen loaves were far more common than leavened loaves until about the Revolution.

Caribbean viewed the quality of bread as a sort of metaphor for the quality of the colonial diet generally.

The colonists' ability to preserve quality while working with the ingredients available to them James McWilliams regards as one crucial characteristic of English cooking generally.²⁵⁵ Flexibility did not mean that travelers overlooked differences between what they were accustomed to in England and colonial food. Thomas Budd's 1685 account of New Jersey exemplifies this complex relationship, simultaneously praising colonial cuisine and foodstuffs while also highlighting deficiencies:

Pork is but about half the price as in *England*, therefore the Inhabitants will seldom have their Market spoiled by any that come from *England*, of which Commodity the Inhabitants in a few Years will have Quantities to sell to the Merchant, which is salted, and packed in Barrels, and so transported to *Jamaica, Barbadoes, Nevis*, and other Islands. Hams of *Bacon* are also made, much after the same manner as in *West-Falia*, and the Bacon eats much like it.

Our *Beef* in the Fall is very fat and good, and we are likely in a few Years to have great Plenty, which will serve our Families, and furnish Shipping.

Our *Mutton* is also fat, sound and good, being only fed with natural Grass; but if we sprinkle but a little *English Hay-Seed* on the Land without Plowing, and then feed Sheep on it, in a little time it will so encrease, that it will cover the Land with *English Grass*, like unto our Pastures in *England*, provided the Land be good. We find the Profits of Sheep are considerable.

Our *Butter* is very good, and our *Cheese* is indifferent good, but when we have Pastures of *English Gass* [sic], (which many are getting into) then I suppose our *Cheese* will be as good as that of *England*.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ James E. McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America*, Arts and Traditions of the Table (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 219. Drawing on English cookbooks, McWilliams gives the example of the seasonal focus of recommended dishes. Winter dishes focused on meat (almost always beef) and contained few vegetables. Spring and summer continued to feature meat, but incorporated more vegetables. And fall (page 220) substituted other forms of meat (game, fish) for beef and emphasized pies.

²⁵⁶ Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania & New-Jersey in America Being a True Account of the Country; with Its Produce and Commodities There Made. And the Great Improvements That May Be Made by Means of Publick Store-Houses for Hemp, Flax and Linnen-Cloth; Also, the Advantages of a Publick School, the Profits of a Publick-Bank, and the Probability of Its Arising, If Those Directions Here Laid down Are Followed. With the Advantages of Publick Granaries. ... By Thomas Budd.*, Early English Books Online (Philadelphia: [Printed by William Bradford], 1685), 9–10; See also McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating*, 140–41 who describes the mixed agricultural economy of the Middle Colonies, representing them as something of an agricultural hybrid between the diversification of New England and the single crop focus of the southern colonies. Booth, *Hung, Strung & Potted; a History of Eating in Colonial America*, 74 notes pigs were the most widely raised and consumed meat in the colonies, also explaining its low price and suitability for export.

Although Budd's observations hinted at the type of historical distance those authors who focused on agriculture saw developing between the colonies and metropole, the overall tenor of his comments reduced the sense of distance between the colonies and Britain. While colonial foodstuffs did not yet meet the standards expected in England, the quality and variety Budd encountered convinced him of the similarity to England the colonists achieved by attempting to replicate the typical English diet.

Eighteenth-century travelers largely echoed the comments of their seventeenth-century predecessors. In nearly every case, the diet of the American compared favorably with that of the British. Observers commonly compared the crops grown in the colonies to those cultivated in Britain. In this regard, the southern colonies fared particularly well. Robert Beverley, for example, claimed that he did not "know any *English* Plant, Grain, or Fruit, that miscarries in *Virginia*; but most of them better their kinds very much, by being sowed or planted there."²⁵⁷ In a similar spirit, John Oldmixon argued that Virginia had an abundance of "Pork, Bacon, and all sorts of Tame and Wild Fowl, better than any of the several Kinds that are in *England*," although he did admit that while the Virginians had a good deal of "Beef, Mutton, and Veal," it was "not so good in its kind as we have in *England*."²⁵⁸ In both cases, the available foodstuffs in Virginia compared favorably with those in England, despite climatic differences and different agricultural priorities.

The Carolinas also engendered favorable dietary descriptions. Despite Philipp von Reck's complaint that "Wheat Bread is very dear here" due to the preference for planting rice, farmers

²⁵⁷ Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, 56.

²⁵⁸ Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 292; Booth, *Hung, Strung & Potted; a History of Eating in Colonial America*, 203 argues mutton was not typically consumed in the colonies until after 1700 because before that point the animals were more valuable for their wool.

produced “very good” wheat, presumably producing a bread of very fine quality as well.²⁵⁹ Writing roughly forty years later, George Johnston devoted three pages to a catalog of the foodstuffs available in the Carolinas, albeit without a comparison to Europe, noting that wheat production would have been sufficient to satisfy the needs of the colonies except for the turmoil caused by conflict with the indigenous population.²⁶⁰ While these comments imply a lack of attributional distance between Britain and the colonies of North and South Carolina based on diet, they are not definitive. John Brickell’s 1737 commentary on the food of North Carolina made the comparison explicit, declaring “*Chocolate, Teas, and Coffee*” were “as common in *Carolina* as with us in *Ireland*, particularly the last, which of late Years they have industriously raised, and is now very cheap.”²⁶¹ Interestingly, while Brickell’s comment drew Carolina closer to the Atlantic Archipelago by noting the availability of similar items, the recognition that Carolina could grow its own supply of coffee offset this by referencing the ecological divide with Britain.

Reck, Johnston, and Brickell believed southern American cuisine met metropolitan expectations, but at least one traveler found the colonial diet vastly inferior to England. The unidentified “Officer” who composed an account of his expedition with General Braddock in 1755 unequivocally denied that the diet of Virginia resembled that of Britain:

As for eating, they have the Names of almost every Thing that is delicious, or in Fashion in *England*, but they give them to Things as little like as *Caesar* or *Pompey* were to the Negroes whom they call by those Names. For what they call a Hare is a Creature half Cat, half Rabbet, with white strong Flesh, and that burrows in rotten Trees; they call a Bird not much bigger than a Fieldfare, with hard, dry, strong Flesh, hardly eatable, a Partridge. The best Thing they have is a wild Turkey, but this is only in Season one Month in the Year; the rest it is hard, strong, and dry. As for Beef, the Months of *October* and *November* excepted, it is Carrion; that is to say, so lean as it would not be called Meat in *England*; their Mutton is always as strong as Goat’s Flesh; their Veal is red and lean, and indeed the Heat of the Summer and the pinching Frost of Winter, makes all like *Pharaoh’s* lean Kine. They brag of the Fruits, that they have such plenty of Peaches as to feed Hogs; and indeed that is true, they are fit for nothing else; I do not remember, among the Multitudes that I have tasted,

²⁵⁹ Reck, *An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary von Reck, Who Conducted the First Transport of Saltburgers to Georgia*, 9.

²⁶⁰ Johnston, *A Short Description of the Province of South-Carolina*, 27–29.

²⁶¹ Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina*, 39.

above one or two that were eatable, the rest were either mealy or choaky. Melons grow in Fields, and are plentier than Pumpkins in *England*, as large and as tasteless; there are such Quantities that the Houses stink of them; the Heat of the Country makes them at once mellow, so that they hardly ever have the fine racy Taste of an *English* good Melon, for in *England* you have many bad Melons to one good; but here the Heat makes all Fruits like us young Fellows, rotten before they are ripe. With respect to Fish, they have neither Salmon, Carp, Trout, Smelts, nor hardly any one good Kind of Fish: they give the Name of Trout to a white Sea-fish, no more like a Trout than a Cat to a Hare; they have one good, nay excellent Kind of Fish, I mean a Turtle; but as scarce as in *England*.²⁶²

While almost certainly colored by his military experiences in Virginia, the Officer's description counters the perception of most authors. At no point is this truer than his opening simile, in which the names given to the foods in Virginia are compared to the absurdity of naming slaves after Romans of distinction. This linkage removes any remaining traces of "Britishness" from the food, placing it and the colony as a whole firmly in a different world, far removed from the civilized bounty found in Britain.

Historians largely disagree with the Officer's assessment, at least as it illustrates the realities of the mid-eighteenth century. James McWilliams, for instance, argues,

As the colonial American economy grew, and as white colonists began to regard the colonies as stable societies rather than rough-hewn settlements, they did what came naturally and began to replicate the general ways of England. As we'll see with respect to food, they did so through the improvement of kitchens, the acquisition of English goods (including cookware), and a reliance on English cookbooks. While these developments naturally affected different colonists from different regions in different ways, they nonetheless collectively served to lessen the isolation of regional cooking styles and inspire the beginning of a convergence of colonial British American food habits. To be sure, they didn't single-handedly lead to a unique American cuisine, but they pushed Americans a step in the direction of cooking and eating in a similar manner.²⁶³

McWilliams's assertions do not just argue against the Officer's perception of American culinary reality, they also argue against the type of persistent regionalism exemplified by the folkways

²⁶² Officer, *The Expedition of Major General Braddock to Virginia; with The Two Regiments of Hacket and Dunbar. Being Extracts of Letters from an Officer in One of Those Regiments to His Friend in London, Describing the March and Engagement in the Woods. Together With Many Little Incidents, Giving A Lively Idea of the Nature of the Country, Climate, and Manner in Which the Officers and Soldiers Lived; Also the Difficulties They Went through in That Wilderness.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for H. Carpenter, in Fleet-Street, 1755), 7–8.

²⁶³ McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating*, 203; See also Booth, *Hung, Strung & Potted; a History of Eating in Colonial America*, 49–50 who argues that cookbooks were uncommon in colonial America due to their price, orientation towards the British market, and the unavailability of many ingredients to the colonial cook.

traced in Fischer's *Albion's Seed* by highlighting the prominent role of English cookbooks in colonial cooking to the detriment of inherited regional culinary traditions.²⁶⁴ More importantly, McWilliams points to the nascent development of a national food culture, centered on the printed materials of English cookbooks, capable of serving as the type of "national language" described by Benedict Anderson.²⁶⁵ As with travelers' depictions of colonial dress and speech, dietary familiarity between core and periphery reduced perceptions of distance between the societies, but it also helped create the conditions for the eventual division between them.

The Officer's contrary opinion thus appears a largely isolated case, perhaps reflecting more accurately his disappointment in the outcome of Braddock's campaign than his distaste for colonial food. Overall, travelers' encounters with food in the New World reduced the distance between colony and metropole in readers' mental maps. Even where climate dictated service of foods uncommon in Britain or differing in quality, attempts to maintain dietary customs reinforced a sense of connectedness between New World and Old. From the accounts of travelers to North America, it thus appears colonists preserved their diet even in the midst of changes to other attributes. This echoes comments made by travelers in the Caribbean, who noted attributional similarities based on cuisine while observing the vast physical distance between the societies. The near unanimity regarding the colonial diet highlighted the distancing effect of attributes like independence or religion.

Dress

Observers' comments on colonial sartorial patterns closely resembled those regarding the colonial diet. Most travelers clearly stated dress in the colonies resembled British norms, although

²⁶⁴ Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 134–39, 349–54, 538–44, 727–31.

²⁶⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 44–45, 61.

there were some differences based on materials. This general impression echoed the comments travelers made about food, where ecological differences explained deviations from the British standard but most travelers recognized the effort colonists made to preserve English/British dietary traditions. However, unlike the colonies' ability to produce most of their own food, until late in the eighteenth century, they imported many of their clothes from Britain, ensuring numerous similarities in style of dress.

Paradoxically, as with the colonial diet, the lack of distance based on sartorial practices in the colonies helped create the conditions for independence. Colonists, drawn increasingly together by an expanding consumer culture, recognized in the goods that they purchased a link not only to Britain, but also to their fellow colonists.²⁶⁶ David Hackett Fischer's discussion of dress ways in *Albion's Seed* does not account for this shared consumer experience, instead focusing on the preservation of distinct regional sartorial patterns.²⁶⁷ However, T.H. Breen's detailed analysis of consumer politics, including clothing, shows that by the 1770s "A strategy of market protest had compelled colonists to think of their political futures in a language of union."²⁶⁸ Colonial dress drew colonists culturally closer to the metropole, but it also drew them closer to each other, particularly as sartorial choices became one way to express displeasure with the political status quo. Breen argues these sartorial choices, and the boycotts against certain products, including

²⁶⁶ T. H. Breen, "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present*, no. 119 (May 1, 1988): 76 See also p. 92, where Breen discusses the Townshend boycotts as a way for colonials to determine support for various factions. See also Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection* (Williamsburg, Va.: New Haven: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; in association with Yale University Press, 2002), 95–96 for a discussion of the political implications of clothing choice on the eve of the Revolution.

²⁶⁷ Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 139–46, 354–60, 544–52, 732–35; See also Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 54 who uses Rhys Isaac to suggest that sartorial adaptation in the colonies opened "a cultural rift between the colony and its parent society." Based on the travelers' commentaries examined here, Baumgarten appears to overstate the impact of colonial adaptations. Most travelers, whether they ventured to the American colonies or the Caribbean, understood the environmental impetus to modify customary clothing options.

²⁶⁸ Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 291.

clothing, following the imposition of new taxes in the period after the Seven Years War, created not only a shared dialogue amongst the colonists, but demonstrated with actions the trustworthiness of various factions.²⁶⁹ In other words, colonial dress afforded another avenue for the creation of a “national language,” one of Benedict Anderson’s foundational processes for the creation of potentially revolutionary “imagined communities.”²⁷⁰

Observations on clothing from the period support Breen’s position. Commentators on colonial American clothing emphasized consumption over production, and stressed the importation of clothing from Britain. The use of common fabrics and styles on both sides of the Atlantic reduced the sense of distance between core and metropole. However, as Breen demonstrates, minor points of similarity between core and periphery proved insufficient to bind the colonies to Britain when confronted with serious questions about the legal position of the colonies in the British body politic. As the section on independence already showed, observers believed the American colonies were growing apart from Britain throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century despite numerous attributional markers, such as architecture, food, and dress, suggesting colonial society was closer to the metropolitan norm than ever before.

Travelers’ comments on the clothing in North America focused almost exclusively on the southern colonies, where the climate encouraged the production of clothing-related crops like cotton and silk. Despite producing the raw materials of clothing production, the colonies continued to import many of their consumer goods, including clothing, from Britain.²⁷¹ Robert Beverley

²⁶⁹ Ibid., xiii; See also Michael Zakim, “Sartorial Ideologies: From Homespun to Ready-Made,” *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (December 1, 2001): 1553–65, doi:10.2307/2692739.

²⁷⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 44–45; See also Diana DiPaolo Loren, *The Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America*, *The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 1–3; Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, viii.

²⁷¹ Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 68–70 identifies two issues that ensured British cloth and clothing remained the dominant choice amongst colonial residents. First, the cloth and clothing that the colonies produced rarely matched the quality of the imported goods. Second, the cost of labor made domestic production of

noted in 1705 that Virginians “have their Cloathing of all sorts from *England*, as Linnen, Woollen, Silk, Hats, and Leather. Yet Flax, and Hemp grow no where in the World, better than there; their Sheep yield a mighty Increase, and bear good Fleeces, but they shear them only to cool them.”²⁷²

While this statement reduces the sense of attributional distance between colony and metropole by emphasizing the importation and subsequent consumption of metropolitan clothing, it simultaneously distances the periphery from the core based on historical distance.²⁷³ In this case, although utilizing common materials, the colony market lacked the necessary labor or machinery to produce textiles of comparable quality at a competitive price.²⁷⁴

Although dress in the colonies may have been composed of clothing brought from England, that did not mean it was the same in all regions. Like in many other areas, ecological differences produced regional variations suited to the local conditions.²⁷⁵ John Oldmixon, like Robert Beverley, observed Virginians’ “Cloaths are brought from *England* for Persons of Distinction, and are as much in the Mode as Art and Cost can make them: They are generally of the lightest Stuffs

textiles cost-ineffective when forced to compete with imported goods. See also Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 76–84.

²⁷² Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, 58.

²⁷³ The issue of historical distance based on the lack of manufacturing in the colonies, including textile manufacturing, is addressed in a later section of this chapter. Here it is sufficient to point out that the importation of clothing from Britain resulted in a lack of attributional distance because colonial clothes did not differ in significant ways from those in Britain. Yet these same factors augmented the perception of historical distance.

²⁷⁴ Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 68–69 notes less than half of Massachusetts families in the late eighteenth-century owned spinning wheels, and only about one in ten New England households had looms. Although he does not give comparable statistics for the southern colonies like Virginia, the prevalence of imported goods discussed throughout his work suggests a similar availability of machinery for producing textiles. Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 84–88 argues colonists produced in the home those articles of clothing that did not require a close fit or particularly skilled tailoring, such as baby clothes, underclothes, and some everyday clothing. Larger towns and cities supported professional clothiers who performed tailoring tasks in addition to selling imported clothing.

²⁷⁵ Gail Gibson, “Costume and Fashion in Charleston 1769-1782,” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 82, no. 3 (July 1, 1981): 226 notes, for example, that residents of Charleston about the time of the Revolution would modify popular English or French styles, which tended to be form-fitting, to be looser and therefore cooler.

or Silks, both for Men and Women. The Men for Coolness, as in other parts of the *West-Indies*, wear in the heat of the Summer Fustian and Linnen Jackets; and the Women Linnen or Muslin Gowns. They have almost all their Necessaries, as to Dress, from *England*.²⁷⁶ While Oldmixon's observation distanced the clothing of Virginia from England by tying it to the West Indies, the repeated assertion that the clothing came from England reduced that sense of distance. Only a few years later, John Norris made similar observations about the Carolinas.²⁷⁷ In both cases, the net effect reduced the sense of distance between Britain and the North American colonies by emphasizing the British origin of the clothing, even if local climatic realities necessitated modifications to the British style.

Within two decades of these observations, colonists increasingly manufactured an ever-larger proportion of their clothing. Despite this, they continued to import much of what they wore from England, preserving the linkages that reduced travelers' sense of attributional distance.²⁷⁸ John Brickell, describing North Carolina in 1737, commented, "The Cloathings used by the Men are *English* Cloaths' Druggets, Durois, Green Linnen, &c. The Women have their Silks, Calicoes, Stamp-Linnen, Calimencaoes and all kind of Stuffs, some whereof are Manufactured in the Province. They make few Hats, tho' they have the best Furrs in-plenty, but with this Article, they are commonly supplied from *New-England*, and sometimes from *Europe*."²⁷⁹ While noting the beginning of local production, Brickell's observation, like those of Oldmixon, Norris, and

²⁷⁶ Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 293.

²⁷⁷ Norris, *Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor*, 68.

²⁷⁸ Breen, "Baubles of Britain," 85 argues that with the exception of silverware and furniture, British-made goods remained superior to those produced in the colonies throughout the period before the Revolution. Even when the quality was comparable, such as with books, the emotional component of goods produced in Britain made them more attractive to colonial buyers.

²⁷⁹ Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina*, 38.

Beverley before, emphasized the British origins of much of the clothing, consequently reducing the sense of attributional distance between colonies and metropole.

For readers familiar with these descriptions of American dress, the political split between colonies and metropole in the 1770s must have been perplexing. Perhaps no other attribute that attracted the commentary of travelers suggested a lack of distance more than dress. Unlike many of the other attributes where travelers observed similarities, the increasing industrialization of textile production in Britain throughout this period meant that Americans were not simply wearing clothes that appeared similar to those found in Britain, in many cases they were the same clothes. This commonality led T.H. Breen to conclude, “The Anglo-American consumer society of the eighteenth century drew the mainland colonists closer to the culture of the mother country.”²⁸⁰ Despite strong suggestions of historical distance, colonial patterns of dress reinforced attributional perceptions linking core and periphery despite the physical distance between them.

These linkages also applied amongst the colonies. While ecological and other factors ensured the continuation of some regional sartorial differences, as described by David Hackett Fischer, overall colonial American dress, like the colonial diet, exhibited sufficient similarities to allow sartorial choice to function as a type of “national language.” In other words, as an attribute, dress in the colonies created the perception the colonies were close to Britain, but also encouraged the perception that the colonies were closer to each other. As the next section also demonstrates, such shared experiences and “languages” contributed to the rise of a “national” language seen as a necessary precursor to independence.

²⁸⁰ Breen, “Baubles of Britain,” 84.

Speech

Very few travelers throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries described colonial speech patterns. Given that England supplied the vast majority of the new residents of the North American colonies until approximately 1720,²⁸¹ the failure of many travelers to describe what was likely an unremarkable facet of their colonial experience is understandable. The paucity of linguistic descriptions suggests a lack of attributional distance not only between the colonies and the metropole, but between the colonies as well. Paradoxically, the lack of distance based on the spoken word contributed to the independence of the colonies.

Benedict Anderson argued the development of “print-languages” enabled standardization of languages to the point “national” languages could develop, thereby aiding the development of nationalism and independence movements.²⁸² Despite Anderson’s focus on the development of nationalism and independence movements after the American War for Independence, numerous scholars have tested his contentions in other periods. Applied to Britain’s North American colonies, linguistic historians like Paul Longmore argue the colonies developed a national language before the Revolution.²⁸³ Whereas Anderson stressed the importance of newspapers to this process,²⁸⁴ Longmore argues the “levelling” of dialectic differences and the beginning of a national language in the colonies stemmed from the lack of non-English immigrants before 1720, by which point most, if not all, the non-southern colonies were self-replicating.²⁸⁵ While certainly not the ideological genesis of the Revolution, it is nevertheless striking that linguistic levelling,

²⁸¹ Taylor, *American Colonies*, 314–20.

²⁸² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 44–45.

²⁸³ Paul K. Longmore, “‘Good English without Idiom or Tone’: The Colonial Origins of American Speech,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 37, no. 4 (April 1, 2007): 513, 542.

²⁸⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 61.

²⁸⁵ Longmore, “Good English without Idiom or Tone,” 528, 531.

one of the necessary preconditions of independence, developed fifty years or more before the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington and Concord.

Contemporaries recognized a lack of regional dialects in the colonies unlike the distinctive linguistic markers that continued to differentiate one region of the Atlantic Archipelago from another.²⁸⁶ Travelers rarely expressed this through direct comparison of one colony to another.

Daniel Neal, describing Boston in 1720, claimed,

The Conversation in this Town is as polite as in most of the Cities and Towns of *England*; many of their Merchants having travell'd into *Europe*; and those that stay at home having the Advantage of a free Conversation with Travellers; so that a Gentleman from *London* would almost think himself at home at *Boston*, when he observes the Numbers of People, their Houses, their Furniture, their Tables, the Dress and Conversation, which perhaps is as splendid and showy, as that of the most considerable Tradesmen in *London*.²⁸⁷

About fifteen years later, John Brickell wrote that everyone in North Carolina, including those “from *France, Germany, Holland, and many other parts of Europe, ... have all learn'd and speak the English Tongue.*”²⁸⁸ While Brickell’s observation lacked the commentary on the quality of the speech found in Neal’s account, it reinforced the dominance of English in the colonies.

The dominance of English settlers in the early history of most colonies ensured relatively little mixing of languages, although some certainly took place. The linguist Allen Walker Read highlighted the adoption of Native American words into English, a practice he argued was so prevalent that “the names” of new products from the Americas “formed the chief lexical traffic” between Old World and New in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.²⁸⁹ However, the establishment of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam and its subsequent annexation by the

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 517.

²⁸⁷ Neal, *The History of New-England, 1720*, 2:590; Longmore, “Good English without Idiom or Tone,” 539 argues the use of words like “polite” to describe colonial speech indicates that the author believed the observed speech conformed to London or English grammatical rules.

²⁸⁸ Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina*, 46.

²⁸⁹ Allen Walker Read, “Words Crisscrossing the Sea: How Words Have Been Borrowed Between England and America,” *American Speech* 80, no. 2 (June 20, 2005): 117, doi:10.1215/00031283-80-2-115.

English presented an opportunity for Old World languages to mix in the New World. According to William Smith in his 1757 history of New York, “*English* is the most prevailing Language amongst us,” but it was “not a little corrupted by the *Dutch* Dialect, which is still so much used in some Counties, that the Sheriffs find it difficult to obtain Persons sufficiently acquainted with the *English* Tongue, to serve as Jurors in the Courts of Law.”²⁹⁰ While some Dutch influence crept into the language of New York, its limited spread and relative isolation in more rural counties meant that this linguistic outlier was not capable of producing significant attributional distance with Britain or impeding the creation of a “national” language.

Obvious linguistic differences existed between distinct European states like England and the Netherlands, but other variations proved capable of influencing linguistic development in the New World. Within the Atlantic Archipelago, numerous regional dialects persisted well into the eighteenth century, as did some pockets of non-English speakers, primarily in northern Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. David Hackett Fischer traced the linguistic trails of these dialects to various regions in North America, showing the continued influence of certain “speech ways” from the colonial period to the twentieth century.²⁹¹ While Fischer received criticism for portraying these speech ways as less flexible and susceptible to modification than they really were, Longmore argues his portrayal actually demonstrates a much greater awareness of the mixing of dialects that occurred in the colonies than is generally assumed.²⁹² Travelers did not observe dominant concentrations of regional British dialects in the colonial period with the exception of the

²⁹⁰ Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York*, 210; Anon, *The History of the British Dominions in North America: From the First Discovery of That Vast Continent by Sebastian Cabot in 1497, to Its Present Glorious Establishment as Confirmed by the Late Treaty of Peace in 1763. In Fourteen Books.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Becket and Co., 1773), 76.

²⁹¹ Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*, 57–62, 256–64, 470–75, 652–55.

²⁹² Longmore, “Good English without Idiom or Tone,” 521–23.

anonymous *An account of the present state of Nova-Scotia*, published in 1756, in which the author claimed, “the common dialect spoke at *Halifax* is wild Irish.”²⁹³ Although suggestive of a significant amount of attributional distance between Newfoundland and the Atlantic Archipelago, the colony remained relatively unimportant until the American War for Independence. Additionally, the author’s commentary on Halifax came in the midst of the Seven Years War, when the presence of barbarous Irish subjects adjacent to French territory created a security risk that amplified linguistic issues. Isolated counter-examples like the description of Halifax belie the relative uniformity of the observations by those travelers who commented on the speech patterns in the American colonies.

Crucially, while regional dialects remained in the American colonies, the uniformity that did develop centered on the metropolitan core. Fischer recognized this development, but did not emphasize its importance, noting simply that “In the New World, English country accents tended to be overprinted with a layer of London uniformity – a common tendency in many parts of British America.”²⁹⁴ Linkage of American dialects to the metropolitan center altered perceptions of distance such that the colonies appeared closer than they were. However, as Anderson notes in the case of eighteenth-century Scotland, such linkages only diffused potential independence movements if those who had adopted the attributes of the metropole had access to the benefits of the metropole.²⁹⁵ Although the accounts discussed here did not link colonial linguistic

²⁹³ Anon, *An Account of the Present State of Nova-Scotia: In Two Letters to a Noble Lord: One from a Gentleman in the Navy Lately Arrived from Thence. The Other from a Gentleman Who Long Resided There. Made Publick by His Lordship’s Desire.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London, 1756), 11. Crucially, few travelers ventured into the region now known as “Appalachia,” potentially masking the continuation of Scots and Scots-Irish in that region.

²⁹⁴ Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*, 263.

²⁹⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 90; Colley, *Britons*, 12–14 also recognizes this point, noting that a shared language and the business and political connections that enabled helped the success of the Union.

sophistication or uniformity to the growing movement for independence, the growing sense of distance between core and periphery based on attributes that received far more attention from travelers dwarfed any reduction in the sense of distance based on attributional similarity between colonial and metropolitan speech.

Historical Distance

Agriculture

Travelers to North America who observed the agricultural production of the colonies uniformly described a sense of historical distance between England and the colonies. Unlike many of the areas just discussed, observers rarely blamed North American agriculture deficiencies on attributional factors. Rather, authors invoked historical distance – suggesting that factors which had led to agricultural improvement in England, such as the depletion of fields, the need for crop diversification, and the scarcity of land, had not had a chance to operate upon the American landscape.

In the colony of Virginia, authors most frequently cited deviation from English crops, not deviation from English practices, as the basis of the colony's poor agricultural state. In particular, the decision to plant tobacco as the primary crop, made early in the colony's existence, struck many observers as a cause for concern.²⁹⁶ The poet John Hagthorpe,²⁹⁷ for example, blamed

²⁹⁶ David S. Hardin, "'The Same Sort of Seed in Different Earths': Tobacco Types and Their Regional Variation in Colonial Virginia," *Historical Geography* 34, no. 0 (2006): 139 notes two broad types of tobacco dominated the Chesapeake: Oronoco and "sweet-scented." The sweet-scented tobacco dominated the export trade to England and other European nations. John T. Schlebecker, *Whereby We Thrive: A History of American Farming, 1607-1972*, 1st ed (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1975), 37 notes a Virginia ordinance issued in 1616 required planters to plant two acres of corn each because the colony was producing too much tobacco and not enough food for consumption.

²⁹⁷ Gordon Goodwin, "Hagthorpe, John (Bap. 1585, D. in or after 1630?)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/11867> contends that although Hagthorpe is known as a poet, he also appears to have been a successful naval captain charged with protecting cloth shipments to the

tobacco in part for the “manner of Planting and Setling,” which caused them to be “so farre dispersed (through a covetous ambition to engrosse large portions of Land) on eyther side of the River, some 150. Miles, their forces so disunited are but weake, and their backs lyes ever open, and exposed to their treacherous Enemies: so that they cannot goe to hunt in the Woods, nor travel in safety, but with greater numbers, then without the neglect of necessarie affaires, can well be spared.”²⁹⁸ In this case, Hagthorpe showed greater concern for the distance between plantations than he did for the distance between England and Virginia. Yet Hagthorpe’s expression of this concern emphasized the different pattern of agricultural practice then emerging in Virginia, reinforcing the distance between colonial periphery and metropolitan norms.

Other authors bluntly critiqued tobacco cultivation as the primary reason that Virginia, despite possessing extremely fertile soil, could not produce agricultural products at a rate comparable to England, or even some other colonies. Lionel Gatford pondered how Virginia could “make so little, very little profit or benefit of such a land, in respect of what it would yield, if well husbanded.”²⁹⁹ William Berkeley blamed the original governors of the colony, who “laid the Foundation of our wealth and industry on the vices of men; for about the time of our first seating of the Country, did this vicious habit of taking *Tobacco* possesse the English Nation.”³⁰⁰ And William Bullock blamed anyone who continued to plant the crop, because “*Tobacco* being once

Netherlands. There is no evidence he ever sailed to America, although the work cited here certainly draws on his own maritime experience and likely from interactions with other captains who had made the trans-Atlantic voyage.

²⁹⁸ John Hagthorpe, *Englands-Exchequer. Or A Discourse of the Sea and Navigation with Some Things Thereto Coincident Concerning Plantations. Likewise Some Particular Remonstrances, How a Sea-Force Might Be Profitably Employed. Wherein by the Way, Is Likewise Set Downe the Great Commodities and Victories the Portingalls, Spaniards, Dutch, and Others, Have Gotten by Navigation and Plantations, in the West-Indies, and Else-Where. Written as an Incouragement to Our English Nation to Affect the Like, Who Are Better Provided Then Any of Those*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed [by Miles Flesher] for Nathaniel Butter, and Nicholas Bourne, 1625), 30.

²⁹⁹ Gatford, *Publick Good without Private Interest*, 2.

³⁰⁰ Berkeley, *A Discourse and View of Virginia*, 5.

in the ground, is never out of hand till in the Hogs-head; and, which is the misery of it, the Moneths of *June, July, and August*, being the very height of the Summer, the poore Servant goes daily through the rowes of *Tobacco* stooping to worme it, and being over-heated he is struck with a Calenture or Feaver, and so perisheth: This hath been the losse of divers men.”³⁰¹ To make matters even worse, both Berkeley and Bullock agreed that the quantities of tobacco produced had driven the price down to the point that many planters could not persist in the trade.³⁰² Finally, the perception of historical distance created by the trade in tobacco could also directly influence the perception of time distance between England and Virginia, with the crop cycle leading many to believe the roundtrip journey took a full year.³⁰³

One of the reasons that tobacco had become the chief crop in Virginia was the quality of the soil. Although this was not uniform, David Hardin notes settlers quickly identified the soil of the “Inner Coastal Plain” as the most productive, and attempted to avoid the “Outer Coastal Plain” with its “‘cold, hungry, sandy’ soils.”³⁰⁴ The goodness of the soil in the preferred growing areas meant that many Virginian planters did not have to adopt the type of agricultural practices seen in England, or even in other colonies like New England. Travelers quickly noted the lack of field rotation and other agricultural practices associated with “advanced” farming techniques in England, which also served to create a sense of historical distance between the colonies and England.

In New England, the poorer soil encouraged adoption of advanced farming practices that made the region seem less distant from England, yet differences remained. The minister Francis

³⁰¹ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 11.

³⁰² Berkeley, *A Discourse and View of Virginia*, 5; Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 11; Schlebecker, *Whereby We Thrive*, 37 dates the sustained drop in tobacco prices to about the 1660s.

³⁰³ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 11.

³⁰⁴ Hardin, “‘The Same Sort of Seed in Different Earths,’” 142.

Higginson,³⁰⁵ for example, while describing the remarkable yields some farmers had obtained, noted that the “great gaine some of our English Planters” had made was based on the cultivation of “Indian Corne.”³⁰⁶ Twelve years later, Lechford reported planters in New England grew “corne, both *English* and *Indian*,”³⁰⁷ although unfortunately he gave no indication of the relative yields of the two varieties. According to Higginson, farmers in New England attained higher yields than their English counterparts by adopting a crop better suited to the climate and soil of the region. In this respect, at least they would have earned the praise of those who criticized Virginians for the folly of relying on a crop like tobacco with such a long growing cycle.

While a greater willingness to adopt native plants helps to explain the agricultural productivity of New England, travelers also cited the colonists’ apparent adoption of English farming practices, particularly manuring, as a reason for their success. In fact, John Smith saw this a key difference between the practice of agriculture in Virginia and New England, remarking in 1631 that “in *Virginia* they never manure their overworne fields, which is very few, the ground for the most part is so fertile: but in *New-England* they doe, sticking at every plant of corne, a herring or two, which cometh in that season in such abundance, they may take more than they know what to doe with.”³⁰⁸ In addition to providing a contrast between New England and Virginia, Smith

³⁰⁵ Stephen Carl Arch, “Higginson, Francis (Bap. 1586/7, D. 1630),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/13237> notes Higginson did not arrive in Massachusetts until 1629 after being deprived of his license due to nonconformity. He died after less than a year in the colony, but managed to produce the cited work (originally a letter to a friend) and a journal eventually published in the nineteenth century.

³⁰⁶ Francis Higginson, *Nevv-Englands Plantation. Or, A Short and True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of That Countrey. Written by a Reuerend Diuine Now There Resident*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by T. C[otes] and R. C[otes] for Michael Sparke, dwelling at the signe of the Blew Bible in Greene Arbor in the little Old Bailey, 1630), B2+1.

³⁰⁷ Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 47.

³⁰⁸ Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New-England, or Any Where.*, 26; See also Hardin, “The Same Sort of Seed in Different Earths,” 148 who agrees that Virginia and Maryland “planters made few returns to the soil until late in the colonial period.” Hardin contends that Oronoco tobacco (typically grown in less fertile, upland areas of the Inner Coastal Plain), typically had three productive seasons before a field’s nutrients

seems to criticize implicitly what English farmers knew to be good practice. In this case, the physical distance within the American continent and the abundance of land it offered up encouraged a sense of historical distance between England and some colonies, particularly Virginia.

Early reports of the quality and quantity of crops grown in New England seem to have produced a backlash as the century progressed that explicitly contrasted the agriculture of New England with that of England. For example, despite noting the cultivation of both English and Indian corn varieties (although not noting their yields), Lechford thought it necessary to note in the margin of his work that “Wheat and Barley are thought not to be so good as those grains in *England*; but the Rye and Pease are as good as the English.”³⁰⁹ Lechford’s account, however, lacks an indication of what the source of this difference in quality might be. Other authors explained the poor quality of New England’s crops through references to the poor quality soil in New England. William Castell argued that the colonists, “For the goodnesse of the soyle they compare it to *Devonshire*. For the temperature of the ayre to *France*; but yet upon farther enquiry from divers of our *English* who have been there, and have taken a more exact view lately view lately of this Country: I am certainly informed that in regard of fertility it commeth far short of old *England*.”³¹⁰ William Bullock presented an even more curt dismissal of the quality of the soil in New England:

were too depleted to sustain productive yields. Sweet-scented tobacco, planted in the best Inland Coastal Plain soils near waterways, exhausted the soil after six to eight years. Lynn Ceci, “Fish Fertilizer: A Native North American Practice?,” *Science* 188, no. 4183 (1975): 26–30 argues convincingly that Europeans brought with them the practice of using fish as fertilizer (Smith’s comment about two herring at every stalk of corn), and did not learn it from the Native Americans living on the Atlantic coast. In fact, as Ceci notes on page 28, the timing of when fish fertilizer would be applied to fields coincided with the period of greatest food scarcity for Native Americans, making it far more likely they would simply consume the fish. McIntosh, *American Food Habits in Historical Perspective*, 71 appears unaware of Ceci’s conclusion, for she repeats the older assertion that the colonists learned to use fish as fertilizer from the indigenous inhabitants.

³⁰⁹ Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 47.

³¹⁰ Castell and Rudyerd, *A Short Discoverie of the Coasts and Continent of America*, 19.

“the ground no more comparable to *Virginia*, then the North of *Scotland*, is to the South of *England*, they have no Sugar, Indigo, Ginger, or any other of the rich Commodities before spoken of, neither with they grow there.”³¹¹ Yet while the soil may not have compared to that of England, neither author mentioned the actions colonists took to overcome such deficiencies. Robert Walcott argued seventeenth-century New England farmers were doing very little about it, but considered this deficiency a by-product of factors external to the settlers themselves. Specifically, he stated the farmers had “little time or inclination to novel methods,” in part because of New England’s “long winter months,” which prevented activities like dressing and plowing commonly done in England during the non-productive winter months.³¹² Later historians like Bruce Daniels tend toward the contemporary viewpoints, characterizing seventeenth-century colonial agriculture “as extensive and wasteful rather than intensive and careful.”³¹³ Travelers, like Castell and Bullock, did not account for the role of the New England climate in producing different agricultural practices. As a result, by the end of the seventeenth century the sense of historical distance between colony and metropole was, according to these authors, beginning to grow. The initial quality of the soil had begun to worsen, yet observers saw no evidence of the more advanced farming practices necessary to overcome such depletion.

³¹¹ Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined*, 31.

³¹² Robert R. Walcott, “Husbandry in Colonial New England,” *The New England Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (1936): 223–24, doi:10.2307/360390; See also Schlebecker, *Whereby We Thrive*, 26–27 who argues that colonists had little incentive, at least early in the colonial period, to adopt European farming implements or techniques. This was due to the focus on farming for individual or communal consumption, with the later development of commercial agriculture in the colonies responsible for the eventual introduction of more European methods and implements.

³¹³ Bruce C. Daniels, “Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (1980): 430, doi:10.2307/1923811; See also Schlebecker, *Whereby We Thrive*, 124 who does not discuss the use of fertilization techniques to replenish depleted soils until after the American Revolution and argues that most farmers before that point simply moved to virgin land when their existing fields became depleted. Schlebecker’s conclusions seem to overlook numerous examples in contemporary literature regarding fertilization, but there are nevertheless strong indicators that the practice was not widespread.

Eighteenth-century travelers mainly discussed the same issues as their seventeenth century predecessors. Many travelers focused on the crops, not the methods of farming. While this contributed to a sense of distance (or lack thereof) in diet, it said nothing about the historical distance created by differences in farming practices. John Norris, writing in 1712, gave one example: “The Sorts of Grain most useful is several Kinds of *Indian Corn*, which People here call *Virginia Wheat*: There is near Twenty Sorts of *Indian Pease* and *Beans*, some of them very good for Food, exceeding the best *English Pease*. There grows plentifully the best *Rice* that is brought to *England* from any Part of the World. We have Two or Three Sorts thereof. *English Wheat*, *Barley*, *Pease*, *Oats*, and *Rye* will thrive well there, but the Inhabitants are not yet accustom’d to sow much thereof, for Reasons I shall after acquaint you.”³¹⁴ Although Norris’s favorable account of the crops produced in North Carolina tempered his criticisms, his contention that the inhabitants did not grow typical English crops, despite their ability to thrive in the colony, raises questions about the agricultural practices of the colonists. Thus, even though the quality of the crops had the potential to reduce the distance between colony and metropole, the failure of the colonists to seize this advantage reemphasized the distance between core and periphery.

As the midpoint of the eighteenth century approached, the drive for improvement and improved agricultural practices in Britain led more travelers to comment on what seemed to be historically/chronologically distant agricultural practices in the colonies. The anonymous author (or authors) of *The present state of Virginia*, discussing agriculture in the state, argued:

Tho’ the Planters are the most numerous, perhaps not the hundredth Part of the Country is yet clear’d from the Woods, and not one Foot of the Marsh and Swamp drained. As fast as the Ground is worn out with Tobacco and Corn, it runs up again in Underwoods, and in many Places of the Country, that which has been clear’d is thicker in Woods than it was before the clearing. It is but in very few

³¹⁴ Norris, *Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor*, 23–24; Norris’s characterization of Indian Corn as “Virginia Wheat” is interesting. As Hardin, ““The Same Sort of Seed in Different Earths,”” 153 notes, when Virginian tobacco plantations experienced depleted soils, many diversified into corn production, not wheat. Taken together, this may indicate sharing of agricultural knowledge between colonial regions, even regions producing different staple crops.

Places that the Plough is made use of, for in their first clearing they never grub up the Stumps, but cut the Trees down about two or three Foot from the Ground; so that all the Roots and Stumps being left, that Ground must be tended with Hoes, and by that time the Stumps are rotten, the Ground is worn out; and having fresh Land enough, of which they must clear some for Fire-Wood, they take but little Care to recruit the old Fields with Dung.³¹⁵

Interestingly, the author's comments on agriculture echo other travelers' theories regarding the lack of manufacturing in the colonies: The colonies simply lacked the demographic or geographic pressure necessary to drive development.³¹⁶ Portrayed in this fashion, observers linked the present state of American agriculture to a theoretical point in Britain's past before ownership and routine tillage of nearly all productive land.

A lack of demographic pressure did not preclude all development. Philipp von Reck noted that from the start of the colony in Georgia agricultural experimentation flourished in Savannah after an "Order of the Trustees," established "a Garden for making Experiments, for the Improving Botany and Agriculture."³¹⁷ Given that Georgia was the newest colony, no demographic pressure spurred the search for more effective agriculture. This suggests an improving spirit amongst the early settlers, not unlike that found in England at the time.

As the eighteenth century progressed, the lack of hedges and other "proper" field divisions in America became one of the most frequently noticed differences between the agricultural

³¹⁵ Anon, *The Present State of Virginia, and the College*, 7; Officer, *The Expedition of Major General Braddock to Virginia*, 10; Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York*, 211; Walcott, "Husbandry in Colonial New England," 224 argues clearing new fields should be viewed as a form of improvement since it involved significant labor and ensured future productivity in the same way crop rotations, fertilization, and other practices in England ensured future profitability of long-established fields. However, this was not the view taken by contemporary observers.

³¹⁶ Daniels, "Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut," 433–34 dates the rise in criticisms of Connecticut farmers' practices to the mid-eighteenth century, when the lack of available land, soil depletion, and population pressures first implicated existing practices. However, he argues it was not until the 1780s that meaningful reforms swept through the colony/state.

³¹⁷ Reck, *An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary von Reck, Who Conducted the First Transport of Saltzburghers to Georgia*, 13; Young gentleman, *A New Voyage to Georgia. By a Young Gentleman*, 5–6.

practices of colony and metropole.³¹⁸ The anonymous author of *A letter from New Jersey* observed in 1757 “The planters come slowly into the way of hedging. I have seen very little hawthorn planted here. Yet the climate and soil are kindly to it, and this useful shrub may be cultivated to good effect, when the people can persuade themselves that they have need of it.”³¹⁹ Thompson’s reference to the slow adoption of hedges evokes a clear sense of chronological distance from Britain, where enclosure promoted that type of development. The naturalist Mark Catesby³²⁰ wrote in 1754 that two reasons explained the preference for fences over hedges: “...the frequent removing of these Fences to fresh Land, and the Necessity of speedy erecting them are partly the Reasons why Hedges are not hitherto made Use of, besides the Facility of making wooden Fences in a Country abounding in Trees.”³²¹ For Catesby, in addition to the availability of lumber, the lack of hedges was symptomatic of the abundant land available to planters, observed by earlier travelers who had commented on the lack of manuring, crop rotation, or stump removal. If farmers in America had enough land simply to plant a new field when one became depleted, it was a simple matter to move a wooden fence to the new location rather than removing/planting a new hedge.

³¹⁸ Walcott, “Husbandry in Colonial New England,” 242–43 notes sixteenth-century authors frequently complained about the damage caused by wandering cattle and the difficulty involved in locating them, suggesting a complete lack of enclosures designed to keep them in designated areas.

³¹⁹ Thompson, *A Letter from New Jersey*, 15.

³²⁰ F. Nigel Hepper, “Catesby, Mark (1683-1749),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/view/article/4882> describes how Catesby self-financed his first voyage to America in 1712. Over the next seven years he amassed a large collection of dried plants. He undertook another voyage to America in 1722, staying four years, this time under the patronage of Sir Hans Sloane. His work earned him a place in the Royal Society in 1733.

³²¹ Mark Catesby, *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands: Containing the Figures of Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Serpents, Insects and Plants: Particularly the Forest-Trees, Shrubs, and Other Plants, Not Hitherto Described, or Very Incorrectly Figured by Authors. Together with Their Descriptions in English and French. To Which Are Added, Observations on the Air, Soil, and Waters: With Remarks upon Agriculture, Grain, Pulse, Roots, &c. To the Whole Is Prefixed a New and Correct Map of the Countries Treated Of. By the Late Mark Catesby, F.R.S. Revis'd by Mr. Edwards, of the Royal College of Physicians, London.*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London, 1754), xvi; Walcott, “Husbandry in Colonial New England,” 248 argues these fences may have made sense given the abundance of timber in New England, but suggests they were completely incapable of keeping larger animals like cattle out of gardens and fields.

The general lack of agricultural innovation in the colonies had practical consequences. John Mitchell argued in 1767 “that the people of *Britain* would require four acres of land a head to maintain them, and in *North America* ten or twelve would not be sufficient to subsist in the same manner.... To confine them even to their present bounds, is to oblige them to become independent of their mother country, whether they will or not.”³²² Not only did this demonstrate the historical distance between the two societies, it prompted anxiety. Mitchell feared that closing the frontier via the Royal Proclamation of 1763 would prompt the colonists to seek independence in order to secure the arable land necessary to support their rapidly expanding population.

The apparent disregard many American farmers had for proper crop rotation and field use amplified Mitchell's concern. Specifically, he argued that “Wherever they have planted these commodities, their lands are so exhausted by them, that they will hardly produce the bare necessities of life, and much less such exhausting weeds as these. The earth was made to produce Corn and Grass, or the necessities of life, for the support of mankind, and not such poisonous weeds as Tobacco, Indigo, Hemp, and Flax, which starve every thing upon it, instead of supplying them with all their necessities, as many expect they should. It is for this reason, that the Farmers and Landlords in *England* will not let any such weeds come upon their lands, if they can avoid it.”³²³ Such disregard proceeded from the abundance of available land, the very thing threatened by the closure of the frontier. In turn, the disregard represented a highly visible point of historical

³²² Mitchell, *The Present State of Great Britain and North America, with Regard to Agriculture, Population, Trade, and Manufactures, Impartially Considered*, 137.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 150; Alexander Cluny, *The American Traveller: Or, Observations on the Present State, Culture and Commerce of the British Colonies in America, and the Further Improvements of Which They Are Capable; With an Account of the Exports, Imports and Returns of Each Colony Respectively, - and of the Numbers of British Ships and Seamen, Merchants, Traders and Manufacturers Employed by All Collectively: Together with the Amount of the Revenue Arising to Great-Britain Therefrom*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry, and J. Almon, Piccadilly, 1769), 85.

distance between the two societies, demonstrating a certain immaturity in the American agricultural sector.

Where American agriculture met or exceeded English expectations, many travelers credited the fertility of the soil, not the art of the farmer. Alexander Cluny, for example, observed that in New York, they produced “aboriginally every Necessary of Life, but also [bring] all the vegetable Productions of *Europe*, that have been tried there, to Perfection, and many of them in a much higher Degree, with little or no Trouble, than they arrive at in *England*, under the most careful and expensive Cultivations.”³²⁴ Rather than reducing the sense of distance, such an observation reaffirmed the perception observable in other travelers’ accounts. Not until American farmers stopped relying on the natural goodness of the soil would that historical distance erode.

Peter Kalm remarked on both the lack of hedges and the reliance on good soil during his travels immediately before the American Revolution. Regarding the soil, he echoed comments concerning the clearing of fields and crop rotation practices dating back into the seventeenth century:

Agriculture was in a very bad state hereabouts. When a person had bought a piece of land, which perhaps had never been ploughed since the creation, he cut down part of the wood, tore up the roots, ploughed the ground, sowed corn on it, and the first time got a plentiful crop. But the same land being tilled for several years successively, without being manured, it at last must of course lose its fertility. Its possessor therefore leaves it fallow, and proceeds to another part of his ground, which he treats in the same manner. Thus he goes on till he has changed a great part of his possessions into corn-fields, and by that means deprives the ground of its fertility. He then returns to the first field, which now is pretty well recovered; this he again tills as long as it will afford him a good crop, but when its fertility is exhausted, he leaves it fallow again, and proceeds to the rest as before.³²⁵

Britain’s three-field pattern of crop rotation formed the implicit comparison for American two-field agriculture in Kalm’s account. Kalm thus reached the conclusion many travelers before him

³²⁴ Cluny, *The American Traveller*, 73.

³²⁵ Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1770, 1:184–85.

had reached: American agriculture lagged behind developments in Britain because the availability of land relieved the demographic and geographic pressures that led to innovation.

Kalm's other area of concern, like many other authors, was the lack of hedges. Unlike Catesby, however, Kalm did not explain the prevalence of wooden fences instead of hedges.³²⁶ While he may not have offered an explanation, he did illustrate some of the problems which came with using wooden fences: "The enclosures were in some parts low enough, for the cattle to leap over them with ease; to prevent this the hogs had a triangular wooden yoke: this custom was as I have already observed, common over all the *English* plantations. To the horses neck was fastened a piece of wood, which at the lower end had a tooth or hook, fastening in the enclosure, and stopping the horse, just when it lifted its fore feet to leap over; but I know not whether this be a good invention with regard to horses."³²⁷ Although this passage does contain evidence that the American colonists were capable of innovation, the overall suggestion of the observation is that by neglecting the practical development of hedges, the colonists had been forced to develop odd methods of keeping livestock contained. On the eve of the Revolution, the historical distance between colony and metropole based on agriculture was expanding.

As with manufacturing, which also served as an easy reference point for travelers to observe historical distance, commentary on agriculture from the earliest settlements to the Revolutionary period produced a greater perception of distance between Britain and America. At no point in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did travelers observe the type of agricultural developments and improvements taking place in Britain during the same period. The sense of historical distance generated by agricultural practices contributed to the perception of growing

³²⁶ Ibid., 1:91.

³²⁷ Ibid., 1:216–17.

distance many travelers observed when looking at attributional markers like architecture, social norms, religion, or structures of order and power. The increasing sense of separation many travelers observed in the agricultural sector and its attendant effects on other attributional markers coincided with the actual physical separation of colonies from Britain. Only in the relatively confined environs of New England did demographic pressures contribute to innovation before the end of the eighteenth century; although as the next section shows, this innovation occurred in manufacturing.

Manufacturing

Agricultural practices in the North American colonies indicated the historical distance between core and periphery, but manufacturing did not produce a similar appreciation amongst travelers to the New World. In part, this may reflect the relative infancy of the increase in larger-scale manufacturing observable in England in the seventeenth century. It may also reflect the larger importance placed upon agricultural projects in new colonial ventures, as feeding the population was obviously of greater importance than producing goods for either domestic consumption or export. As both England/Britain and the colonies matured in the eighteenth century, the relative lack of emphasis placed on manufacturing in the colonies likely reflected their traditional role – not as manufacturers of goods for consumption in Britain, but as a source of raw materials and a market for finished British goods.

This is not to say, however, that travelers noticed a lack of manufacturing activity in the new colonies. Francis Higginson, describing Salem in 1630, noted, “here is good Clay to make Bricke and Tyles and Earthen-Pots as needs to be. At this instant we are setting a Bricke-Kill on worke to make Brickses and Tyles for the building of our Houses.”³²⁸ Earlier sections on the built

³²⁸ Higginson, *New-Englands Plantation*, B2.

environment in both the Atlantic Archipelago and North America demonstrated the importance observers attached to brick construction. In this sense, Higginson's observation about the present lack of a brick works in Salem highlighted the sense of historical distance created by the absence of a manufacturing practice regarded as necessary for the proper construction of an English town. Not only did Higginson draw attention to historical distance, his commentary also reiterated perceptions of attributional distance by restating the colonists' need to use "inferior" building materials until the brick works could be completed.

Observers often gave the impression that colonists understood their lack of manufacturing effectively transported them to a past state of the nation they had left behind. Commentators like the anonymous author of *A perfect description of Virginia* recognized that the colonists noted opportunities for manufacturing, but lacked the advanced skills necessary to see such projects to completion successfully, as with the proposed iron works in Virginia.³²⁹ In cases such as this, historical distance serves to reinforce the sense of physical distance between colony and metropole by equating it with less-developed regions in need of English guidance, similar to common portrayals of Scotland and Ireland during the period.

Authors rarely made the connection between the North American colonies and these lagging regions of the Atlantic Archipelago explicitly, but when the connection was made, it served to emphasize the disparities between the colonies as well as the distance between the colonies and the mother country. Richard Blome, for example, remarked, "The Country which we call *New England* may be compared to *Virginia*, as *Scotland* to *England*, but more fruitful and fertile producing many good commodities."³³⁰ By comparing New England to Scotland, Blome

³²⁹ Anon., *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, 3.

³³⁰ Blome, *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World*, 7.

undercut the positive associations the region's name may have suggested to his readers while framing his following comments in the rubric of a nation many at that time believed to be inferior to England, despite their shared monarch. Although it is hard to say how far such an observation can be taken, Blome's analogy (New England is to Virginia as Scotland is to England) repeats the geographic orientation (north-south) of the more familiar Scotland-England relationship. If this was intentional, it certainly framed Blome's subsequent description of the North American colonies in a very particular light that reproduced the increasingly familiar perceptions of a north-south divide in England/Britain. Blome's commentary also offered a very early first glimpse at the problematic geographic perception of an urban, industrial North versus a rural, agrarian South that bedeviled North American affairs until at least 1861.

Some authors assessed the state of manufacturing in the North American colonies more bluntly, emphasizing the perception of historical distance between colony and metropole. One such author was Thomas Lechford, who wrote of New England in 1642: "They are setting on the manufacture of linen and cotton cloath, and the fishing trade, and they are building of ships, and have good store of barks, catches, lighters, shallops, and other vessels. They have builded and planted to admiration for the time. There are good masts and timber for shipping, planks, and boards, clapboard, pipe-staves, bever, and fures, and hope of some mines."³³¹ Lechford's comment expressed admiration for the progress made since Edward Winslow in 1624 commented that had there not been "divers sorts of shell-fish ... that may be taken with the hand, wee must have perished," for "want of fit and strong Saynes, and other netting" for fishing in the rivers, and "neither tackling nor harseis for our Shallops" for the cod in the sea.³³² However, qualifying

³³¹ Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 47.

³³² Winslow, *Good Nevves from New-England*, 12.

phrases such as “They are setting” and “for the time” signaled to Lechford’s audience that he believed the colonies required more investment and development to create a manufacturing sector similar to that found in England.

Seventeenth-century observers did not condemn every newly-created manufacturing sector in colonial America. Gabriel Thomas, for example, thought that Pennsylvania’s “*Water-Mills* far exceed those in *England*, both for quickness and grinding good Meal, their being great choice of good Timber, and earlier Corn than in the aforesaid Place.”³³³ Although Thomas wrote at the end of the century, the anonymous author of *A perfect description of Virginia* had remarked as far back as 1648 on the number of windmills (four) and watermills (five) present in the colony,³³⁴ suggesting that travelers regarded these instruments of manufacturing as marks of civilization and progress. Yet even where observers described progress, like Virginia and its wind and watermills, they continued to note deficiencies, such as the apparent lack of a sawmill, particularly one powered by water.³³⁵

Observers differed on whether or not the agricultural and manufacturing output of the North American colonies benefited the larger British Empire economically. Gabriel Thomas argued the colonies did generate economic benefits by contending that “Poor People both Men and Women, will get near three times more Wages for their Labour in this Country, than they can earn either in *England* or *Wales*.”³³⁶ Obviously, this statement reflected the relative lack of able-bodied

³³³ Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania, and of the West-New-Jersey*, 41; Daniels, “Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut,” 438 notes a grist mill was often the first structure in a new community, coming before even highways into the town or a meeting house. Sawmills were also typically constructed almost immediately.

³³⁴ Anon., *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, 4.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

³³⁶ Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania, and of the West-New-Jersey*, 9.

workers in the New World when compared to the more populous Old, but it also implied a degree of economic maturity missing from accounts published earlier in the seventeenth century. While the economic development of the colonies may have benefited those able to travel for work, some authors questioned whether they benefited the nation as a whole. The unidentifiable NN, for example, suggested, “The *Trade* of” Massachusetts “is well known, and for the most part unlawful. Of all the *Colonies* this has been most prejudicial to the *Kings Customes*, and the *Trade of England*, which hath been sufficiently proved against them. Of themselves they bring no considerable *Revenue* to the Crown, of which more in the *Remarks*, as also of their famous *Colledge*, and great works of *Evangelizing Indians*.”³³⁷ The author’s remarks in this instance suggested two measures by which Massachusetts was distant from the English main. First, the colony lacked proper administration of the customs and excise service, a particularly grievous sin in an era of the Navigation Acts and trade wars with the Dutch. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, NN took the very aspects of New England many other authors used to reduce the sense of distance between colony and metropole (Harvard and missionary work) and reversed their impact by associating them with unlawful economic practices. In effect, NN suggested, by reducing the attributional distance between colony and metropole, the New England colonists created a greater historical distance by focusing on religion rather than commerce.

During the eighteenth century, the number of travelers to North America who described manufacturing in their accounts increased dramatically. Of the twenty-five eighteenth-century accounts with some assessment of colonial American manufacturing, twenty-two were published after 1750. Not only did the works display chronological coherence, they also focused on similar

³³⁷ N. N., *A Short Account of the Present State of New-England, Anno Domini 1690*, 8.

geographic regions: Of the twenty-five eighteenth century accounts, only two concerned colonies/states south of Pennsylvania.

Eighteenth-century travelers regarded Virginia as the only state south of Pennsylvania worth discussing in connection with colonial manufacturing. In 1727 the anonymous author (or authors) of *The present state of Virginia* attempted to explain the lack of manufacturing in the colony, tying it to the attributional distance noticeable in the built environment – the lack of towns.

According to the author,

For want of Towns, Markets, and Money, there is but little Encouragement for Tradesmen and Artificers, and therefore little Choice of them, and their Labour very dear in the Country. A Tradesman having no Opportunity of a Market where he can buy Meat, Milk, Corn, and all other things, must either make Corn, keep Cows, and raise Stocks himself, or must ride about the Country to buy Meat and Corn where he can find it; and then is puzzled to find Carriers, Drovers, Butchers, Salting, (for he can't buy one Joynt or two) and a great many other Things, which there would be no Occasion for if there were Towns and Markets. Then a great deal of the Tradesman's Time being necessarily spent in going and coming to and from his Work, in dispers'd Country Plantations, and his Pay being generally in straggling Parcels of Tobacco, the Collection whereof costs about 10 *per Cent.* and the best of this Pay coming but once a Year, so that he cannot turn his Hand frequently with a small Stock, as Tradesmen do in *England* and elsewhere, all this occasions the Dearth of all Tradesmen's Labour, and likewise the Discouragement, Scarcity, and Insufficiency of Tradesmen.³³⁸

In this instance, the linkage to the sense of attributional distance created by the lack of towns in Virginia compounded the sense of historical distance between core and periphery. The historical distance created is even more striking given the contemporary concern with improvement and manufacturing found in the writings of Defoe and others.³³⁹

Assuming the author of 1727 correctly identified the linkage between population increase, dwindling availability of land, and manufacturing, provides an explanatory framework for the mid- to late-eighteenth century rise of observers in New England, a relatively populous and

³³⁸ Anon, *The Present State of Virginia, and the College*, 8.

³³⁹ See, for example, the nearly 50 times Defoe discusses the subject: Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 70, 71, 93 (Letter 1); 24, 55, 77 (Letter 3); Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 2:8, 9, 40, 44–46, 55, 60 (Letters 1–2); 47, 114, 126, 134 (Letter 3); Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, 3:5, 77, 82, 87, 88, 100, 106, 107, 109, 121, 122, 144, 194, 210, 216, 221, 224 (England/Wales); 25, 56, 88, 89, 102, 110, 111, 127, 138, 142, 163, 170, 187 (Scottish Section).

geographically limited area, noting the development of manufacturing and the resulting lack of historical distance between the area and Britain.³⁴⁰ At least one contemporary author, Oliver Goldsmith, argued against the geographic/demographic factor in the development of manufacturing in New England, preferring instead an argument centered on poor colonial planning. Goldsmith suggested that “The setting up of these manufactures have been in a great measure a matter necessary to them; for as they have not been properly encouraged in some staple commodity, by which they might communicate with their mother country, while they were cut off from all other resources, they must have either abandoned the country, or have found means of employing their own skill and industry to draw out of it the necessaries of life.”³⁴¹ For Goldsmith, it was not the lack of land that prompted New Englanders to develop manufacturing; rather, it was the lack of a suitable crop for the available land. In this sense, manufacturing in New England demonstrated a sense of historical distance because the colonists, unlike the British, had been unsuccessful at developing ways to make use of marginal land.

Regardless of the reason or reasons, New England began to develop manufacturing, and as early as 1732 travelers began to note that New England rivaled Britain in two industries: shipbuilding and hat making. According to the anonymous author of a 1732 work entitled *A comparison between the British sugar colonies and New England*, in that year “one Ship in three”

³⁴⁰ Authors continued to note the relationship between available land and a lack of manufacturing in the larger northern settlements, such as New York, in the mid-eighteenth century. See Smith, *The History of the Province of New-York*, 211; Daniels, “Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut,” 442, 446 also cites the dwindling land supply as a reason for the growth of manufacturing in Connecticut and other New England colonies around the mid-eighteenth century. For a broader discussion of the role of population in the industrialization of Britain, see: Heyck, *The Peoples of the British Isles: A New History, From 1688 to 1870*, 2:177–80; Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 145–47; Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, 180–81; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 311 argues that “In the production of manufactures, which required abundant capital and cheap labor, the crowded mother country had an advantage over the land-rich but thinly populated colonies.”; Ernst and Merrens, “Camden’s Turrets Pierce the Skies!,” 556 argue against the role of geography in colonial urban development, but their argument does not appear to extend to the linkage between available land, population density, and industrial development.

³⁴¹ Goldsmith, *The Present State of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa and Asia*, 288.

which transported sugar from the Caribbean to Britain was “*New England* built, and navigated by *New England* Sailors.”³⁴² The sense of concern the author expressed in the passage surrounding this figure suggests a lack of historical distance in the shipbuilding industry that served to reduce the sense of distance between colony and metropole. Similarly, William Burke in 1757 argued, “The business of ship-building is one of the most considerable which Boston or the other sea-port towns in New England carry on.”³⁴³ Although his account of this industry lacked the sense of alarm found in the author of 1732’s work, it reinforced the idea that colonial industry could produce vessels on par with those built in Britain. Given Britain’s maritime tradition and sense of naval superiority by this period, recognition of colonial seamen and ships on par with those of the mother country could only reduce the distance between the two societies.

Shipbuilding, given the abundance of readily available timber in the New World, emerged as a natural area of manufacturing concentration in the New England colonies. Similarly, the abundance of animal pelts, particularly beaver, in New England encouraged the development of hat-making, the other major industry in colonial New England. As the anonymous author of 1732 noted, hat-making grew out of New England’s efforts to develop a woolen/textile manufacturing industry, which succeeded “(enough to prove its Ability) by the Manufacture of Hats, in which the People of *New England* are capable, and actually have already arrived to a greater Perfection than the *British* Manufacturers, because they have a great Quantity of Beaver of their own, and can

³⁴² Anon, *A Comparison between the British Sugar Colonies and New England*, 5; Steven J. J. Pitt, “Building and Outfitting Ships in Colonial Boston,” *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 13, no. 4 (2015): 882 describes “the labor of waterfront tradesmen and the capital-intensive ship outfitting and shipbuilding industries” as “the foundation of Boston’s local economy” in the early 1700s.

³⁴³ Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 1757, 2:169; Goldsmith, *The Present State of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa and Asia*, 288; Anon, *A Concise Historical Account of All the British Colonies in North-America*, 162; Daniels, “Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut,” 440 argues shipbuilding was Connecticut’s “only major manufacturing activity that went beyond serving local needs.”

therefore sell their Hats at foreign Markets cheaper than the *English*.”³⁴⁴ As with the development of the shipbuilding industry and the lack of industrial development in Virginia, geography and the availability of raw materials helped the colonies erase the historical distance separating them from Britain. Yet as the anonymous author makes clear, superiority in hat-making did not translate to full equality in textile manufacturing, an area where the colonies still demonstrated a sense of historical distance between themselves and Britain.

By mid-century, the New England textile industry appears to have closed the gap with Britain, although a sense of historical distance remained. William Burke argued in 1757 that Massachusetts was “almost the only one of our colonies which have much of the woolen and linen manufactures. Of the former they have nearly as much as suffices for their own cloathings. It is a close and strong, but a coarse stubborn sort of cloth.”³⁴⁵ In Burke’s formulation, the development of a textile industry reduced the sense of distance between Britain and colony, but the quality of the finished product prevented the gap from closing completely. Almost fifteen years later G. Taylor echoed Burke’s observations, commenting that although both the woolen and linen industries were very good and fulfilled the needs of the inhabitants of New England, the resulting clothing was “not so fine as our best drabs.”³⁴⁶

By the mid-eighteenth century, an additional industry had developed in New England: the distillation of alcohol, particularly rum. Combining the development of the native shipping industry with a burgeoning Atlantic trade, New Englanders, according to Burke, “supply almost

³⁴⁴ Anon, *A Comparison between the British Sugar Colonies and New England*, 6; Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 146.

³⁴⁵ Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 1757, 2:167; Goldsmith, *The Present State of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa and Asia*, 288; Burke’s assessment of the Massachusetts woolen and linen industry conflicts with the data presented in Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 68–70.

³⁴⁶ Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 145.

all the consumption of our colonies in North America, the Indian trade there, the vast demands of their own and the Newfoundland fishery, and in great measure those of the African trade; but they are more famous for the quantity and cheapness, than for the excellency of their rum.”³⁴⁷ Burke’s jab at the quality aside, his comment implied that the colonists in New England had developed and nearly monopolized an entire sector of Britain’s trade. The ability to mass produce rum in sufficient quantities to satisfy the needs of most of the British Empire outside the Atlantic Archipelago suggested a level of manufacturing output unrivaled outside the Atlantic Archipelago.

By the American Revolution, some observers believed colonial American manufacturing approximately equaled what one could find in England. While in Philadelphia, Peter Kalm noted, “You meet with excellent masters in all trades, and many things are made here full as well as in *England*.”³⁴⁸ However, Kalm quickly qualified his statement by observing that there were “no manufactures, especially for making fine cloth.”³⁴⁹ He did not blame the colonists for this; rather, Kalm argued there was no need for manufacturing because manufactured goods could “be got with so little difficulty from *England*.”³⁵⁰ Kalm thus presented a mixed impression of colonial society. Importation of goods from England reduced perceptions of attributional distance when examining categories like clothing by ensuring strong similarities between the two societies. While the inability of the colonists to produce all of their own goods created some sense of historical distance,

³⁴⁷ Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 1757, 2:167; Daniels, “Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut,” 441 suggests cider was the dominant alcoholic beverage produced in Connecticut, although it is not clear that it was intended for export.

³⁴⁸ Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1770, 1:58; Daniels, “Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut,” 439 suggests Kalm may have overstated the prevalence of tradesmen in New England. He notes that only around 25% of the male population appears to have practiced a trade, and nearly all of those did so on a part-time basis in addition to their agricultural work.

³⁴⁹ Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1770, 1:58.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

Kalm's contention that what the colonies did produce equaled the quality of goods in England overcame this deficiency and contributed to a reduced sense of distance.

The economic disturbances created by the Seven Years' War and resulting taxation spurred a new round of development in the American colonies. As G. Taylor noted in 1771: "...since their Mother Country has endeavoured to impose the taxes upon them, by which the inhabitants are awakened to such a degree, that of late their exports have increased considerably, the woolen manufactory especially, in which they have made no inconsiderable progress.... I have seen cloths made here of as close and firm contexture as our best drabs, thick, but not quite so fine; yet, for the ordinary wear of the country people, they are deem'd superior, being more durable than any thing we make in *England*."³⁵¹ Paradoxically, the very taxes which caused an irreparable sense of distance between colonies and metropole drove manufacturing to a point where travelers, like Taylor, saw little, if any, historical distance between the two societies. As with earlier travelers, however, Taylor continued to note a sense of distance between the goods produced in America and those produced in Britain. While the American woolens were good, they were "not quite so fine" as those made in Britain.³⁵²

Overall, observers' remarks on colonial manufacturing contributed to the perception of growing historical distance between the colonies and the mother country. By 1776, authors believed colonial manufacturers rivaled those in Britain in some sectors, particularly those like shipbuilding and hat-making where local resources made colonial manufacturing attractive. Outside those limited manufacturing sectors, British goods continued to dominate the markets, illustrating the relative infancy of colonial manufacturing. Travelers who highlighted the infancy

³⁵¹ Taylor, *A Voyage to North America*, 73.

³⁵² Anon, *A Concise Historical Account of All the British Colonies in North-America*, 162.

of colonial manufacturing when compared to mature British efforts contributed to a sense that the physical journey across the Atlantic also transported the observer back in time.

Travelers offered several explanations for this. Some argued, in essence, that the attributional and historical linkages between the two societies led colonists and citizens in America to prefer British goods. Others suggested poor colonial management, which emphasized other means of making money or products for export, retarded the growth of colonial manufacturing. Finally, some travelers offered a demographic and geographic theory for the lack of development – there was no manufacturing in America because the easy availability of land eased demographic pressure and allowed for a primarily agrarian economy. This dominant explanation emphasized the historical distance between Britain and America. According to this theory, the lack of available land in Britain due to population pressures that had existed for centuries meant that it had been on a different evolutionary curve than America since the establishment of the first colony. Until the availability of land was as restricted in America as it was in Britain, manufacturing in the former would continue to lag behind the latter.³⁵³

Conclusion

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travelers to the North American colonies found societies that replicated many of the familiar features of the Atlantic Archipelago. While colonial houses utilized far more wood than in the Atlantic Archipelago, particularly after the Great Fire of 1666, many of the major colonial cities compared favorably with Atlantic

³⁵³ W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 18 agrees with this point to some degree. He argues that in the colonial period and the period immediately following the American revolution, America's "comparative advantage lay in agriculture and the production of food-stuffs and raw materials for export." In other words, setting up manufacturing concerns to compete with established British firms was foolish, but the abundance of agricultural land and natural resources allowed American producers to generate food and other products at a low enough cost that even with transportation across the Atlantic, their prices were competitive.

Archipelago analogues. Colonial food, although containing many exotic ingredients, largely replicated the British table. Commercialization and the development of the textile industry in the Atlantic Archipelago ensured colonists wore clothing that was similar, if not identical, to what their metropolitan cousins wore. Colonial speech patterns, although potentially a unifying force, produced an obvious auditory linkage between core and periphery.

Yet these similarities were incapable of reducing the distance between colony and metropole, a sense of distance that increased as the imperial crisis of the 1770s approached. Colonial religious practices exhibited too much diversity to reduce consistently the perceived distance between the societies. Travelers found colonial American agricultural and manufacturing practices lagged behind the latest innovations in the Atlantic Archipelago. While some were willing to credit environmental factors, such as soil quality, for this difference, adaptation of traditional English/British legal and governmental practices emphasized the distance between the societies regardless of the accommodations local situations demanded. Of course, regionalism in the Atlantic Archipelago produced multiple conceptions of acceptable social practices, but the extreme variations observed by travelers in the American colonies reinforced preconceived notions of the effects of removal across the Atlantic, even when the overall trend of such observations was to note the similarities between metropolitan and colonial society.

Travelers to the Caribbean produced a similarly varied account of colonial society, yet their conclusion, born out by the colonies' response to the imperial crisis of the 1770s, was that the Caribbean colonies were essentially English counties simply separated by the Atlantic. In North America, however, travelers contributed to a powerful and growing trend of describing the widening gulf between colony and metropole, typified by observations on the possible independence of the colonies. That this trend paradoxically developed as the colonies became, in

many respects, attributionally closer to the metropolitan norm, poses an interesting challenge to the Colley thesis. In many ways, at the conclusion of the Seven Years War and the removal of the French “other” from the North American continent, the American colonists, already well on their way to developing the type of nascent nationalism identified by Anderson, came to see Britain as the “other.” In this formulation, British and colonial conscious and unconscious efforts to harmonize legal and governmental systems, religion, dress, food, and speech in the early decades of the eighteenth century created the necessary preconditions for colonial unity while highlighting those areas, like agriculture and manufacturing, where the colonies remained distant from the metropole. Isolated from Britain by the Atlantic, but not isolated by the sea from other colonies as in the Caribbean, the thirteen American colonies found the space to create a new identity separate from Britishness at precisely the moment, according to Colley, large parts of the Atlantic Archipelago found they lacked the space to maintain old identities.

Chapter 3: The Caribbean

When England established its first Caribbean colony at St. Kitts in 1624, it already had three colonies on the North American mainland.¹ Although the continental colonies tend to receive a disproportionate share of scholarly and public attention,² particularly in the United States, the people of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England often valued the Caribbean colonies more highly. In fact, as Alan Taylor has shown, in the mid-seventeenth century, more emigrants went to the West Indies than North America, and the population of the West Indian colonies was larger than that of the North American colonies combined.³ The primacy of the West Indies in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries may also rest upon factors that are more abstract. As Thomas Krise has argued, “Because the islands and lands in the western Atlantic were imagined by ‘the West,’ ‘discovered’ by Europeans, and reimagined as simultaneously empty, rich, and defenseless, they became – more thoroughly than any future conquests – the possessions of the European imagination.”⁴ Unlike the other areas under consideration in this study, the Caribbean became, at least in the imagination of the public, a blank slate that allowed easy replication of English/British norms. The relative truthfulness of this perception according to travelers to the

¹ The foundations of Plymouth (1620), Newfoundland (1620), and New Hampshire (1623) predate St. Kitts (better known in this period as St. Christopher’s – still the official name of the island today).

² A subject search in WorldCat, conducted on February 1, 2015, returned eighty books published on the subject “America – History – To 1810” between 2010 and 2015. During the same period, publishers printed thirty books on the analogous subject “Caribbean Area – History – To 1810.” As the discussion of travel literature in the introduction showed, subject headings can be subjective and may not accurately reflect the true number of works that address the history of a particular region. However, this offers an approximation of the amount of scholarly energy devoted exclusively to each region.

³ Taylor, *American Colonies*, 206; See also Steven Sarson, *British America, 1500-1800: Creating Colonies, Imagining Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 84.

⁴ Thomas W. Krise, *Caribbeana: An Anthology of English Literature of the West Indies, 1657-1777* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 1.

region, often despite realities on the ground, helps to explain the loyalty of the Caribbean colonies to Britain during the turmoil of the 1760s and 1770s.

Yet, despite the large number of migrants to the West Indies, a combination of factors conspired to limit the number of travelers who visited the region. Like the North American colonies, travel to the West Indies required a lengthy and often uncertain voyage. Thus, those who undertook the journey tended not to visit for a short period, with the exception of ships' crews. Until the late eighteenth century, it is thus much more common to find travel narratives written by residents rather than visitors. Travelers' perception of the extremely harsh environment in the West Indies, aided by descriptions of the climate and natural disasters like earthquakes and hurricanes, also contributed to the lack of short-term visitors. Accounts that referenced the area's high mortality rate, attributable to disease, warfare, or insurrection, also discouraged travel not related to resettlement or business.

Because residents composed more accounts of the Caribbean than traditional travelers did, narratives of travel to the West Indies in the seventeenth century reached the London market in waves corresponding to major territorial acquisitions. As figure 1 shows, the spike in the 1620s corresponds to the foundation of the original English colonies in the Caribbean, including St. Kitts (or St. Christopher to use its official name, in 1624), Nevis (1628), and the crown jewel of the early English Empire in the Caribbean, Barbados (1627). A second spike in the 1650s followed the acquisition of Jamaica, the most important British possession in the West Indies by the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth. The late century spike in the 1670s and 1680s is more difficult to explain, although the works in this period seem to fall into two categories. The first are broad accounts of the entirety of the English possessions in the New World, possibly influenced more by events in North America than the West Indies. The second are accounts of

Jamaica, which may represent the return to England of the first generation of planters, having made their fortune over the preceding thirty years.

The eighteenth century lacks the waves that characterize publication of seventeenth-century accounts of the West Indies. Rather, the production of descriptive works steadily rose throughout the century, with decreases in publication tied to major geopolitical events, as figure 1 shows. The drop in descriptive accounts in the 1750s corresponds to the threat to sea travel caused by the Seven Years' War. One of the major theaters of this war was the West Indies, with several islands switching hands (sometimes multiple times) between the combatants. At the conclusion of hostilities in 1763, Britain acquired four new Caribbean possessions, including Dominica and Grenada. A similar explanation applies to the decline of works in the 1770s, as hostilities between Britain and her North American colonists drew in European powers that widened the theater of war into the Caribbean. Despite the increasing number of travel narratives dealing with the Caribbean and the establishment of printing presses in many of the colonies during the eighteenth century,⁵ very few authors chose to print their works in the Caribbean. According to Thomas Krise, the preference for publishing in London reflected both the small market in the Caribbean and the desire to appeal to the larger London literary world, regardless of whether or not the author resided in the Caribbean.⁶

The desire to appeal to the London literary world may also reflect the purpose of many Caribbean travel narratives, particularly early accounts. Thomas Krise contends that early works, particularly those in the seventeenth century, are often better classified as promotional literature,

⁵ Regarding the establishment of printers in the Caribbean, see Roderick Cave, "Early Printing and the Book Trade in the West Indies," *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 48, no. 2 (April 1978): 163–92, especially pages 168–171.

⁶ Krise, *Caribbeana*, 5.

designed in part to promote migration to the newly established colonies.⁷ While these works often contained elements of travel narratives, they also focused on exploration and tended to gloss over the more negative aspects of the new settlements. Krise argues that Caribbean travel narratives proper share features with travel narratives covering Britain and the Grand Tour: interest in the societies, an awareness of the educational opportunities inherent in travel, and the importance of pleasure.⁸ However, while many of the most cited accounts of the Caribbean share these characteristics, travelers in the traditional sense produced few of these accounts. Far more common were works produced by those who resided, or intended to reside, in the Caribbean colonies. Their fortunes in the islands, as well as the fortunes of the various island societies, tended to shape their viewpoints.

Because residents, not travelers, wrote the majority of the Caribbean travel accounts, the most prosperous colonies or those perceived to offer the greatest promise of advancement attracted the most attention. In practice, this means numerous accounts covering Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Christopher's while "lesser" colonies like Nevis and Antigua almost disappear from the record.⁹ The dominance of these few colonies extends to modern scholarship of the Caribbean. Richard Dunn devotes three chapters to Barbados and Jamaica while only allocating one to all the Leeward Islands.¹⁰ In a work that is, in part, a reply to Dunn's vision of English society in the Caribbean,

⁷ James Robertson, "'Stories' and 'Histories' in Late-Seventeenth-Century Jamaica," in *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: History, Heritage and Culture*, by Kathleen E. A. Monteith and Glen L. Richards (Barbados: University of the West Indies Press, 2002), 29 reaches a similar conclusion, specifically pointing to works by Hickeringill, Blome, Trapham, Sloane, and Hanson. However, Robertson notes on page 41 that many of these "histories," with their providential view of Jamaica's potential, became increasingly untenable following a series of natural disasters in the late seventeenth century. Yet for the purposes of this work they remain valuable insights into portrayals of Jamaican society for the English public at the time.

⁸ Krise, *Caribbeana*, 3.

⁹ Nevertheless, Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London*, 6 argued the West Indies were better known in Britain than the Scottish Highlands.

¹⁰ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*. Dunn's study, despite its age, remains one of the most frequently cited works on the Caribbean colonies.

Natalie Zacek argues that the Leeward Islands, “By virtue of their small size and population, as well as their distance from the Greater Antilles and the North and South American mainlands, the islands can seem to constitute a margin of a margin, existing historically and historiographically in the shadow not only of Barbados, with its self-image as the ‘civilised island,’ but of Jamaica, the source of the greatest sugar fortunes in the era of slavery and the site of the most powerful political and cultural struggles for black liberation and enfranchisement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.”¹¹ Zacek’s point is neatly illustrated by works such as *West Indies Accounts*, a collection of essays “on the history of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic economy,” which focuses almost exclusively on Barbados and Jamaica, with only a few pages throughout the work set aside for the Leeward Islands.¹²

While travelers’ accounts also reinforce the primacy of Barbados and Jamaica, travelers produced sufficient observations of the other British colonies in the Caribbean to allow for an analysis of their cultural attributes and the modifying effect they may have had on the perceived distance between the colonies and the metropole. When Linda Colley set out to examine the development of “Britishness,” she excluded Ireland on the basis that the island “was cut off from Great Britain by the sea; but it was cut off still more effectively by the prejudices of the English, Welsh and Scots, and by the self-image of the bulk of the Irish themselves, both Protestants and Catholics.”¹³ Also absent from her account are the overseas territories that formed the first British Empire. Yet the colonists who inhabited many of those overseas territories consciously sought to imitate life in the mother country and strove to maintain their British identity despite the physical

¹¹ Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*, 7.

¹² Roderick A McDonald, *West Indies Accounts: Essays on the History of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic Economy in Honour of Richard Sheridan* (Barbados: University of the West Indies Press, 1996).

¹³ Colley, *Britons*, 8.

distance that separated them from Britain itself. Only as the colonies matured and new generations bred entirely in the tropics emerged did local practicalities begin to trump sentimental attachment to forms imported from the mother country, creating a slow process of attributional divergence unlike what occurred in North America.

Travelers to North America and the Caribbean observed colonists' attempts to maintain the practices of the metropole and reported on them to the reading public in Britain. Their sense of how well the colonists succeeded in turn shaped perceptions of the distance between societies. Just as Colley examines the shift in self-identification prominent in Scotland over the course of the eighteenth century, from a rebellious fringe to loyal center of the Empire, it is possible to see in travelers' depictions of colonial society movement towards, and away from, partnership in the Empire. In other words, travelers' perceptions of attributional and historical distance not only shaped views of the colonies within Britain, but also help explain self-perceptions that led the Caribbean colonies to remain loyal to the crown in the 1770s while their North American cousins did not.

The previous chapters showed how travelers' commentary on religion in the Atlantic Archipelago and North American colonies largely confirmed Colley's conclusions regarding the importance of a unifying Protestantism to the creation of a shared British identity. In the Atlantic Archipelago, Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, two regions travelers consistently found to be at odds with the establishment of the Church of England, either failed to embrace Britishness or only did so late in the eighteenth century. Similarly, the dissenting tradition of the New England colonies concerned many travelers, and prompted questions about colonial loyalty well before the numerous colonial provocations of the 1760s and 70s. Yet travelers to the Caribbean wrote

remarkably little about religion in the islands. Those that did observed at best tepid Anglicanism and a religious settlement that did little to contribute to a sense of distance in either direction.

The more visible attributional markers, including building practices, social customs, food, and dress, contributed much more to the sense that the Caribbean colonies were closer to the metropolitan norm than their physical location would suggest. Travelers emphasized colonists' attempts to recreate English/British building styles, clothing styles, and patterns of food consumption in the Caribbean, even when such adherence contradicted knowledge gained from decades of settlement in tropical climates. That colonists wished to recreate elements of their homeland should not be surprising. What is surprising, and often at odds with modern historiography of the region, is the degree to which the authors of travel accounts largely believed the colonists succeeded. So great was this impression, by the second half of the eighteenth century there were even observers like Sir William Young ready to declare the Caribbean colonies similar to "so many remote counties" of Britain.¹⁴

Slavery

Despite Sir William Young's insistence in 1764 that the Caribbean colonies were simply "so many remote counties" of Britain, the colonies all possessed a feature without parallel in the Atlantic Archipelago: the mass enslavement of thousands of Africans. Slavery existed as an institution in the North American colonies as well, but several factors combined to make it less visible for observers, including a larger number of white settlers, a larger landmass that dispersed the slave population, and regional variation that concentrated slave ownership in Southern colonies not typically visited by travelers to the North American colonies. In the Caribbean, where there

¹⁴ Young, *Considerations Which May Tend to Promote the Settlement of Our New West-India Colonies*, 2–3.

were fewer white settlers, smaller islands with even smaller amounts of arable land, and all colonies embraced slave labor, observers could not fail to notice the slaves around them.

The sheer number of slaves in the Caribbean made ignorance impossible. Historians estimate the enslaved population on Barbados first outnumbered the white settlers around 1660.¹⁵ By 1700, there were more than three persons in slavery for every free white colonist on the island.¹⁶ Although wary of the dangers posed by such population imbalances, Jamaican planters created an even larger disparity, with roughly eight slaves for every free colonist by 1713.¹⁷ While certainly noticeable, especially when concentrated in one or two colonies like Barbados and Jamaica, seventeenth-century slave imports (275,000) paled in comparison to the eighteenth-century trade (approximately 1.25 million brought by the British to their colonies alone).¹⁸ Such overwhelming numbers made slavery a feature of the Caribbean colonies observers could not overlook.

For most authors, inability to overlook slavery did not translate to thorough consideration of it. Although many observers described slavery and many offered assessments of the slaves' culture, including their clothing, very few reflected on slavery's implication for the Britishness of the colonies. Like travelers in the Atlantic Archipelago and North America, travelers' recorded

¹⁵ Taylor, *American Colonies*, 212.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 220 estimates that the total slave population on Jamaica and Barbados around 1700 was approximately 100,000; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*, 1st ed (New York: Norton, 1975), 301 provides a similar estimate for the total slave population in Barbados and Jamaica about 1700. He also contends the mortality rate averaged about 6%. Amanda T. Perry, "A Traffic in Numbers: The Ethics, Effects, and Affect of Mortality Statistics in the British Abolition Debates," *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12, no. 4 (Fall 2012): 84 states mortality rates in Jamaica approached 10%, but notes that throughout the Caribbean, white mortality rates typically exceeded that of slaves.

¹⁸ Taylor, *American Colonies*, 324 states that the British exported 2.5 million slaves in the eighteenth century, of which half went to their colonies in the West Indies (80%) and North America (20%); Colley, *Britons*, 352 claims the British exported from Africa an average of 23,000 slaves per year between 1710 and 1790. This translates to approximately 1.85 million slaves, although she does not note how many went to Britain's West Indian or American colonies; The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (www.slavevoyages.org) estimates that Britain disembarked 1,720,540 slaves (out of 2,117,945 embarked in Africa) in its Caribbean and North American colonies between 1600 and 1780. Other nations added an additional 120,000 disembarkations to this total. See <http://www.slavevoyages.org/estimates/OXrG1qPf>.

observations described general attributes, such as the typical architectural style of houses in an entire colony, broad patterns of dress, common foodstuffs, and rough impressions of colonial society's adherence to British social norms.¹⁹ Observers reserved specific observations for the gentry and elites, offering descriptions of particular seats of the nobility, interesting conversations with a specific merchant, or the fare at a memorable dinner. Descriptions of those lower down the social ladder remained broad and generalized, such as descriptions of the Highlanders or Irish as a whole. Slaves, although certainly lower on the social ladder and thus capable of being described in generalized terms, lacked a clear point of comparison in Britain.²⁰ Whereas observers could illuminate attributional flaws in the Highlanders by comparison to an idealized English yeoman, racial sensitivities precluded direct comparison of slaves to even the lowest class of Englishman.²¹

Racialized definitions of slaves developed slowly. The most prominent example of racialized categorization of slaves in the eighteenth century came from Jamaican planter and author Edward Long.²² In one of his most notorious passages, amidst a lengthy defense of slavery, Long

¹⁹ Colley, *Britons*, 351–52 argues the first sustained criticisms of the slave trade only emerged after the American War for Independence, and that for most of the eighteenth century, “Britons had seen no inconsistency whatever between trumpeting their freedom at home” and slavery.

²⁰ Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 241–43 contends slavery in Virginia reflected the heritage of South England, which had a much stronger history of slavery (into the ninth century and possibly beyond) and serfdom than other regions, and retained a stronger sense of social obligation. However, he does not investigate the emergence of slavery in the West Indies. Nevertheless, for observers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the most recent English/British point of comparison for the institution of slavery was over 500 years in the past.

²¹ Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 316–28 describes the emergence of racialized ideas of slavery. He argues that in the seventeenth century, English attitudes towards the poor were strikingly similar to their attitudes towards black slaves. Only with the expansion of black slavery in the Caribbean and American colonies did racialized ideas of slavery take hold, partially as a way to prevent poor whites and enslaved blacks from joining forces against the elites.

²² Kenneth Morgan, “Long, Edward (1734-1813),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16964> describes Long as one of the leading contemporary commentators on West Indian affairs. Born in Cornwall and educated in England, Long nevertheless came from a long line of Jamaican sugar planters, established on the island since approximately 1660. When his father died in 1757, he went to Jamaica to take over the family plantation. Due to ill health, he only remained until 1769. Although a frequent commentator on Jamaican and West Indian affairs after that point, he never returned to the islands; See also John Gilmore, “Long, Edward,” ed. David Dabydeen, John Gilmore, and Cecily Jones, *Oxford*

compared so-called “Hottentots” to orangutans.²³ Long’s defense of slavery in racial terms set him apart from other observers of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Caribbean. Far more common were accounts like Richard Ligon’s, which simply treated slaves as another class of residents on the island.²⁴ Although Ligon and others defined slaves as a class rather than in racial terms like Long, all observers carefully avoided describing slaves in terms that would suggest they were Britons, had rights, or were somehow members of the body politic. Given that slaves were not Britons, their condition could not contribute to perceptions of attributional distance since the Atlantic Archipelago contained no slaves.

Observers generally failed to tie slavery to any potential effects on the character of the colonists. One of the few to grapple with this issue was Charles Leslie, who pondered slavery and its effects even before arriving in Jamaica:

We gently sail’d along the Shore, never wearied with gazing on what was now to be our Country and our Home: And I could not help a Crowd of Thoughts, which, on this Occasion, pressed too fast upon me; sometimes, with Sighs, I remembered the happy Climates, and the dear Acquaintance I had left behind. *Britannia* rose to my View all gay, with native Freedom blest, the Seat of Arts, the Nurse of Learning, the Scene of Liberty, and Friend of every Virtue, where the meanest Swain, with quiet Ease, possesses the Fruits of his hard Toil, contented with his Lot; while I was now to settle in a Place not Half inhabited, cursed with intestine Broils, where Slavery was established, and the poor toiling Wretches work’d in the sultry Heat, and never knew the Sweets of Life, or the Advantage of their painful Industry; in a Place, which, except the Verdure of its Fields, had nothing to recommend it.²⁵

Companion to Black British History (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxfordaasc.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/article/opr/t240/e241>.

²³ Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica. Or, General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of That Island: With Reflections on Its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, ... In Three Volumes. Illustrated with Copper Plates*, vol. 2, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for T. Lowndes, 1774), 364–65; For commentary on Long’s racial ideas, see Suman Seth, “Materialism, Slavery, and The History of Jamaica,” *Isis* 105, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 764–72, doi:10.1086/679423.

²⁴ Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados Illustrated with a Mapp of the Island, as Also the Principall Trees and Plants There, Set Forth in Their Due Proportions and Shapes, Drawne out by Their Severall and Respective Scales: Together with the Ingenio That Makes the Sugar, with the Plots of the Severall Houses, Roomes, and Other Places That Are Used in the Whole Processe of Sugar-Making*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1657), 43–50.

²⁵ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 14–15.

Although elsewhere complimentary of Jamaican society specifically and Caribbean society generally, in this passage Leslie viewed the institution of slavery as a corrupting force that undermined the entire social contract upon which Britain theoretically rested. Slavery, by denying the workers the fruits of their labors, appeared, at least to Leslie, to pervert the established British order, thereby upsetting all manner of social mores. A society that allowed slavery, Leslie appeared to say, was almost unrecognizable as British.

Leslie was an outlier, and like other authors, his impression of the merits of Caribbean society changed once he arrived in the islands. Exposed to architecture, dress, food, and social custom reminiscent of the Atlantic Archipelago, the sense of distance and removal created by the Atlantic and presence of slaves lessened. Although slavery was omnipresent, observers treated it like other discordant aspects of the Caribbean such as the climate, flora, and fauna: Once catalogued and described for readers in the Atlantic Archipelago, these aspects of colonial life became simply background against which settlers worked to recreate England.

Attributional Distance

Religion

In the First British Empire, real or perceived religious differences augmented distances, occasionally contributing to outbreaks of violence. Within the Atlantic Archipelago, travelers' observations of Ireland's Catholic character reinforced the physical and metaphorical distance between that island and metropolitan norms and recalled the numerous rebellions and atrocities attributed to the island's Catholic population. Similarly, Presbyterianism in Lowland Scotland and Catholicism/Paganism in the Scottish Highlands emphasized the distance within Great Britain between its Anglican metropole and confessionally different northern periphery. In the American colonies, several commentators expressed concern about the interplay between dissenting religious

ideologies and governance in the New England colonies, destined to be the center of the American War for Independence.

Travelers to the Caribbean found no such religious differences worth commenting upon. Indeed, most travelers to the region ignored the subject altogether. Two possible explanations emerge for the lack of commentary regarding religion in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century accounts of the Caribbean colonies. First, religion is a relatively private affair, with a person's religious affiliation generally only known through conversation, questioning, or observation. The level of familiarity necessary to learn such information is much more difficult for a traveler to acquire than corresponding impressions of the built environment, sartorial patterns of passers-by on the street, or the typical serving at dinner. However, because residents of the Caribbean composed many of the more in-depth accounts of those societies, this explanation applies only in limited cases.

A second explanation for the lack of commentary is simply that many authors found little about the practice of religion in the Caribbean colonies worth discussing. Unlike the Puritanism of the New England colonies or the Catholicism of Ireland, many of the Caribbean colonies appear to have presented a relatively homogenous impression of their religious sentiments to the few travelers who remarked upon the subject. Discussing religious practice on the island of Jamaica, the planter Edward Long argued, "The Clergy of the established church have had a footing in this island only since the Restoration of Charles II. Cromwell took care to furnish the army with spiritual as well as carnal weapons. I think there were no less than seven allotted to this service; but they were fanatical preachers; a sort of irregulars, who soon made way for more orthodox divines. It has always been a rule, in our West-India islands, to assimilate [the islands'] religion,

as well as laws, to those of the mother-country.”²⁶ According to Long, settlers in the Caribbean colonies lacked the type of religious conviction that led to the long-term domination of one religious group in colonies like Massachusetts or regions like Ireland. An assertion in a 1722 history of the French part of St. Christopher’s further supports Long’s position through the authors’ claim that the residents of the island had no settled religious beliefs – they would profess to be Catholic or Protestant depending upon whether England or France was in ascendancy and likely to benefit them most.²⁷ If religion in the Caribbean colonies really was a sort of political policy that ensured at least broad conformity with practices in England, or at least the appearance of such conformity on the part of the colonists, then a lack of commentary on the part of most travelers becomes more understandable. Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy argues it is best to view religion in the West Indies in this fashion, commenting, “White racial solidarity was reflected in the almost complete ascendancy of the Anglican Church throughout the British West Indies, which again reinforced the cultural ties with Britain. The religious origins of the early settlers were as diverse

²⁶ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:234; Michael Craton, “Reluctant Creoles: The Planter’s World in the British West Indies,” in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, by Bernard Bailyn and Philip D Morgan (Chapel Hill, NC: Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 344 argues the Anglican Church was firmly established in Jamaica, but with a degree of local control unheard of in England. While the bishop of London exercised theoretical episcopal authority, in practice it was the governor who had complete control over the church. The lukewarm enthusiasm expressed by the populace, according to Craton, may have resulted from the inconsistent quality of the appointed ministers.

²⁷ R. M. and S. B., *A General Survey of That Part of the Island of St. Christophers, Which Formerly Belonged to France; and Was Yielded up to Great Britain for Ever, by the Late Treaty of Utrecht: Together with An Estimate of the Value of Those Lands, and a Proposal and Scheme for Raising a Very Considerable Sum of Money, for the Use of the Publick, on the Produce Thereof, &c. In a Letter to M. R. Esq; a Member of the Honourable House of Commons*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed and sold by J. Roberts, 1722), 25; Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference*, Early American Places (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2013), 118 reaches a similar conclusion. She argues that Irish Catholics in the Caribbean “could also gain something by making an outward show of adherence to Protestantism by attending Church of England services or using Protestant ministers to perform marriages or baptisms. But the testaments they wrote at the end of their lives demonstrate how in death Catholic traditions came to the fore: they may have used the Church of England to gain prestige in their lifetimes, but in death they were determined that their souls would not be damned.”

as those of North America and the islands had comparable traditions of religious tolerance.”²⁸ In this case, an absence of observations suggests a lack of attributional distance between the colonies and the Atlantic Archipelago based on a visible conformity with the Anglican Church.

Despite apparent conformity with the Anglican Church, like the Atlantic Archipelago the Caribbean colonies were religiously heterogeneous societies, even if many authors chose not to comment on that fact. One who did was Robert Poole,²⁹ who in 1749 while visiting Antigua, compared its religious settlement with Barbados:

In this Island, I am informed, there are no Jews, tho’ in *Barbadoes* they are pretty numerous, and have a Synagogue; but here the Inhabitants have so little Opinion of their Honesty, that, it is said, a Negro’s Oath is suffered to be taken against them. This is supposed to be the Reason they will not come here, and is at the same Time an Evidence that a greater Freedom and Openness of Heart is subsisting there, where so much Toleration and Liberty of Conscience is allowed. There is also a Quakers Meeting; but, I am inform’d, it has for some Time been a silent one, *viz.* the Brethren meet there, sit a while in Silence, communing with their own Hearts, and again return, without a Word of Exhortation being delivered to them. Neither do I hear that there are any Dissenters here, which are not wanting in *Barbadoes*, tho’ they have no Meeting-House.³⁰

When Poole later arrived at Montserrat, he found the island divided between Catholic and Protestant, although the Catholics lacked a church and celebrated Mass in private homes.³¹

Although he noted the existence of multiple faiths on most of the British Caribbean islands, Poole’s

²⁸ O’Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, 29.

²⁹ Jean Loudon, “Poole, Robert (1707/8-1752),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22521> argues that by the time Poole arrived in the West Indies, his earlier religious fervor, which tended towards Methodism, had moderated. Nevertheless, Poole frequently expressed outrage at the swearing and lack of clothing he encountered. Like most authors, it is believed that he went to the Caribbean to see if it was suitable for making a living. He returned to England after roughly a year, seriously ill with what was most likely malaria.

³⁰ Robert Poole, *The Beneficent Bee: Or, Traveller’s Companion. Containing Each Day’s Observation, in a Voyage from London, to Gibraltar, Barbadoes, Antigua, Barbuda, Mountserat, Nevis, St. Christopher’s, St. Eustatia, Guardalupe, Virgin-Guada, Tortola, Santa Cruze, &c. Containing a Summary Account of the Said Places, Their Inhabitants, Product, Money, Customs, &c. Interspersed with Many Useful Observations, and Occasional Remarks. Calculated for the Benefit of Such Whose Business Calls Them to Those Parts, or Whose Curiosity Inclines Them to Be Acquainted Therewith*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed and sold by E. Duncomb, 1753), 325.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 356, 361; Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean*, 115 contends many Catholics utilized Church of England churches for marriage and probate purposes, but held their own services and preferred to perform their own baptisms when possible. See also Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*, 71 who argues at least some Irish in Montserrat “were willing to conduct their public lives in a way that allowed them to accommodate their Catholic faith with at least outward compliance with Anglican practice.”

notations merely referenced the plurality of faiths rather than some tension between them or the official preference for one over another. For example, his comments regarding religion in Antigua and Barbados comprised the entirety of his journal entry for April 13, 1749.³² Poole's observations, with the exception of his statements on the Jews, lack the sort of theological judgment so characteristic of observations on religion in Ireland and Scotland, and, to a lesser degree, the New England colonies.³³ Seen in this light, religious practice in the Caribbean colonies played little role in shifting perceptions of distance based on attributional factors.

Poole's observations, when combined with Long's, paint a picture of tepid Anglicanism in the Caribbean colonies, not an evangelical and active religious force. For many historians, the absence of religious commentary reflects the unique demographics of the Caribbean colonies, where slaves heavily outnumbered white settlers. For example, Natalie Zacek concluded that Caribbean Anglicanism, which appeared tame and unsupported to many observers, was simply the product of societies that recognized integration and economic prosperity were more important than conversion and conformity in small societies easily torn apart by doctrinal conflict, possibly paving the way for slave uprisings on islands where even a unified white population was severely outnumbered by black slaves.³⁴ Similarly, Michael Craton contended that a shared Christianity between planters and white servants ensured dominion over the enslaved population, even when Catholic servants were at odds doctrinally with their Protestant proprietors.³⁵

However, the type of religious conflict fostered by these differences tended to be very slow acting and likely unnoticed by travelers who only had a brief amount of time in each colony. For

³² Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 325.

³³ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 183 argues the Jewish population in the Caribbean was only a notable minority in Bridgetown and Port Royal.

³⁴ Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*, 166–68.

³⁵ Craton, "Reluctant Creoles," 337.

residents of the islands like Edward Long, awareness of the dangers posed by religious discord may have led to a reluctance to address the matter, even where such discord existed. Because so few authors wrote about religion in the Caribbean or addressed religious factionalism, as an attribute religion proved incapable of modifying perceptions of distance either to bring the region closer to the metropole or push it away. Without religion providing a crucial marker, other attributes, like buildings and dress, played a more pivotal role in the creation or reduction of attributional distance.

Building

Whereas observations of confessional difference served as the main attributional markers reordering mental maps of the Atlantic Archipelago and North American colonies, the built environment played that role in the Caribbean. Local conditions and the availability of building materials necessitated some architectural deviation from the metropolitan norm. Prolonged exposure to the architectural practices of other groups in the Caribbean, including the French, Spanish, and African slaves, contributed to the development of distinctive “creole” building styles and practices. But creolization and adaptation to local conditions took time. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travelers’ found the built environment reminiscent of the Atlantic Archipelago. Although not the only attributional marker contributing to a reduced sense of distance between the Caribbean colonial periphery and the metropole, the built environment provided observers with the most prominent and numerous examples.

For many travelers, the appearance of their port of arrival in the Caribbean set the tone for their impressions of island society. If the architectural appearance of the port exhibited characteristics of an English/British port, the traveler tended to view all attributional markers on a particular island as similar to the metropole, helping to reduce the sense of distance between the

two locations. If the dominant building style was exotic, however, the traveler tended to note other indications of the “foreignness” of the society as he moved about the island. The built environment represented a crucial point of comparison between England’s overseas colonies and home.

Modern scholarship on the built environment of the Caribbean focuses on tracing the architectural heritage of the various building styles found throughout the region. Additionally, many scholars attempt to date the rise of “creolization” in Caribbean architecture, the point at which Caribbean building styles became noticeably different from their European heritages. Obviously, this was a gradual process. James Robertson argues that the emergence of creolization dates to the 1640s in Barbados but gained significant traction in Jamaica as English soldiers and settlers encountered Spanish buildings and employed an African workforce after 1655.³⁶ Others argue creolization emerged first, but gave way to later Anglicization as new construction designed to make the colonies appear more British superseded early buildings based on existing local practices best suited to the environment.³⁷ Still others argue that the precipitating event moving colonists towards a more indigenous architectural style was the destruction of Port Royal in 1692, but that English antecedents remained important long after that point.³⁸

³⁶ James Robertson, “Jamaican Architectures before Georgian,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 36, no. 2/3 (July 1, 2001): 75; See also Sarson, *British America*, 115 who argues that colonists adapted their houses to the local environment, although he offers no date for this and no evidence.

³⁷ Daphne Louise Hobson, “The Domestic Architecture of the Earliest British Colonies in the American Tropics: A Study of the Houses of the Caribbean ‘Leeward’ Islands of St. Christopher, Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat. 1624--1726” (Ph.D., Georgia Institute of Technology, 2007), 346–47, <http://search.proquest.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/docview/304875697/abstract/D1E8DFF6F1B0440DPQ/1?accountid=14556>; Edward E. Crain, *Historic Architecture in the Caribbean Islands* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994), 3 argues colonists attempted to recreate their native building heritage as quickly as possible, but the lack of professional builders, standard plans, and similar building materials led to what could be termed accidental creolization. O’Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, 5 suggests something similar, noting that most colonists considered the Caribbean colonies to be a temporary residence only. Such a viewpoint suggests early creolization as structures were expected to be temporary, giving way to later British design as successive generations recognized the permanence of island societies.

³⁸ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 299; Julie Yates Matlock, “The Process of Colonial Adaptation: English Responses to the 1692 Earthquake at Port Royal, Jamaica” (Master’s, Eastern Kentucky University, 2012), 22; Craton, “Reluctant Creoles,” 351 argues that creolization was not mostly complete until close to 1800.

Yet few travelers, if any, worried about the creolization of Caribbean architecture. Most recorded general impressions of the towns they visited, with some discussion of the “typical” building style. These broader impressions of the built environment in the Caribbean are similar to the descriptions of towns throughout the Atlantic Archipelago and North America, where travelers frequently recorded general impressions of the town, noted the dominant building material, and remarked on the quality of the roads. In this respect, most travelers focused more on the process of urbanization than on the specifics of architectural style. Certainly, the predominant building material in a town mattered to travelers, but often as a sort of shorthand for the relative development and prosperity of the city. For travelers in the Atlantic Archipelago, the emphasis on stone and brick during the “great rebuilding”³⁹ of the seventeenth century, and certainly in the wake of the Great Fire of London, represented a gauge of a provincial city’s modernity. These visible cues of a city’s modernity spoke to the much less tangible process of urbanization, which played a large role in English/British seventeenth- and eighteenth-century life. As John Brewer argues in *Sinews of Power*, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were periods of rapid urbanization in Britain, and England in particular.⁴⁰ Pedro Welch suggests that this development shaped colonists in the Caribbean and the patterns of development they pursued.⁴¹ Colonists’ experiences with British development only provided an aspirational model for the development of the colonies, and certainly did not limit the adaptations to traditional British forms colonists’ could pursue to accommodate climatic differences. Similarly, travelers to the Caribbean expected to see some modifications to standard British building practices based on climatic variations and

³⁹ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 290.

⁴⁰ Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*, 180–81.

⁴¹ Pedro L. V. Welch, *Slave Society in the City: Bridgetown, Barbados, 1680-1834* (Kingston; Miami: Ian Randle, 2003), 32.

responses to natural disasters, but these modifications only altered the towns' British heritage – they did not erase it or eliminate the expectation that the towns were at least progressing towards a developmental ideal reflective of their inhabitants' British lineage.

Jamaica's strategic and economic importance ensured a steady stream of visitors and descriptive accounts. For many travelers, their first introduction to Caribbean society came with their arrival in the major Jamaican port cities of Port Royal and Kingston or the former capital St. Jago de la Vega/Spanish Town. While travelers noted climate-inspired architectural differences like balconies, large covered porches, and a lack of chimneys, the Jamaican cities overwhelmingly created favorable impressions, often reminding the traveler of aspects of English cities/towns such as well-paved streets and thereby reducing the sense of distance between the two locations. Crucially, the development of Jamaica as a colony and its growing importance to the empire provoked favorable associations. While some observers described seventeenth-century Jamaican towns in terms that emphasized their divergence from English norms, eighteenth-century commentaries presented a more favorable view of island society.

Travelers formulated a mixed impression of Spanish Town, in part because of its Spanish origins. As Edward Long noted in the 1770s, "Of the houses erected by the Spaniards before the English conquest, upwards of fifty are still remaining, very little the worse for time or weather."⁴²

⁴² Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:18; For additional remarks on the quality of the Spanish buildings in Spanish Town, see also Edmund Hickerlingill, *Jamaica Viewed with All the Ports, Harbours, and Their Several Soundings, Towns, and Settlements Thereunto Belonging Together, with the Nature of It's Climate, Fruitfulness of the Soile, and Its Suitableness to English Complexions. With Several Other Collateral Observations and Reflexions upon the Island*, 2nd ed., Early English Books Online (London: Printed for John Williams, 1661), 38; Blome, *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World*, 28; Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica*, 35–36; Richard Blome, *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America ... with New Maps of Every Place: Together with Astronomical Tables, Which Will Serve as a Constant Diary or Calendar, for the Use of the English Inhabitants in Those Islands, from the Year 1686 to 1700: Also a Table by Which ... You May Know What Hour It Is in Any of Those Parts, and How to Make Sun-Dials Fitting for All Those Places*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by H. Clark, for D. Newman, 1687), 10; Robert Burton, *The English Empire in America, Or, A Prospect of His Majesties Dominions in the West-Indies ... with an Account of This Discovery, Scituation, Product, and Other Excellencies of These Countries: To Which Is Prefixed a Relation of the First Discovery of the New World Called America, by the Spaniards, and of the Remarkable Voyages of Several Englishmen to Divers*

While emphasizing the quality of the Spanish houses, Long's remark also raised questions about subsequent English development, as later English settlers failed to follow the positive example set by their Spanish predecessors:

A canopy of so solid a texture was certainly well contrived to shelter the inhabitants from the disagreeable effects of a vertical sun; and accordingly it is found by experience, that these old Spanish houses are much cooler than our modern ones, covered with shingles (or slips of wood half an inch thick, formed like slates), which are not only very subject to be split in nailing, and so create leaks, but are not solid enough to exclude the sun's impression, nor lie so compact as to prevent a spray from being driven in by the wind in heavy showers, which occasions a moist and unwholesome atmosphere within doors. Besides, these shingled tenements are very hot in the day-time, and cool at night; whereas the Spanish houses preserve a more equal temperament of air by day and by night. Their materials preserve them greatly from accidents by fire; and, considering their stability, they seem to be the cheapest and best-contrived kind of buildings for this island. It is plain, therefore, that the English, in neglecting these useful models, and establishing no manufacture of tiles, but erecting lofty houses after the models in the mother-country, and importing an immense quantity of North-American shingles every year for covering new roofs, and repairing old ones, consult neither their personal security, their convenience, their health, nor the saving of a most unnecessary expence.⁴³

Yet although Long's assertion portrays the English settlers in a negative light when compared to their Spanish predecessors, by insisting that the poor house design of the English was due to their attempts to replicate the houses of the Atlantic Archipelago, Long actually reduces the sense of distance between the two societies.

Long's other observations regarding Spanish Town were more ambivalent. He praised its Spanish designer for the site of the city, but argued that no Caribbean city should fail to utilize a regular plan for its streets to maximize air circulation.⁴⁴ While the streets of Spanish Town lacked what Long refers to as "regular pavement" as found in many English towns, the streets were better than those in most Caribbean cities, even if the British residents had restricted movement and air

Places Therein: Illustrated with Maps and Pictures by R.B., Author of Englands Monarchs, &c, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Nath. Crouch, 1685), 208.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 2:20; See also *ibid.*, 2:19 where Long argues that the Spanish houses have proved better at withstanding earthquakes and other natural disasters.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:4 does, however, note that Spanish Town is still laid out better than most towns in England.

flow by building large awnings on their houses to provide more shade.⁴⁵ Charles Leslie showed similar ambivalence regarding Spanish Town, observing that many of its public edifices showed recent improvement reflective of the wealth of the colony, but residents continued living in houses best described as low and nondescript.⁴⁶ For both Leslie and Long, Spanish Town did not exhibit characteristics that contributed to a sense of distance between the colony and Britain, but neither did the city possess features that helped lessen the sense of distance between the societies either.

This is not to say that all authors regarded Spanish Town so ambivalently, and no one believed the city departed from British norms either. Edmund Hickeringill,⁴⁷ for example, argued that at one point under its original Spanish possessors Spanish Town “was as well built, and as large as any Town in *England*,”⁴⁸ despite the fact that those who had built St. Jago de la Vega to this level of excellence were Spanish. By comparing the town’s appearance and size to those in England, Hickeringill used attributional distance to shrink the distance between colonial town and metropolitan examples. Nor was he the only one. Richard Blome,⁴⁹ in his *Description of the Island of Jamaica*, suggested that “the *Inhabitants* [of St. Jago] live in great Pleasure, where they have their Havana, in which the better sort recreate themselves every evening and their *Coaches*, or an

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:21, 26.

⁴⁶ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 30–31.

⁴⁷ J.L.C. McNulty, “Hickeringill, Edmund (Bap. 1631, D. 1708),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13200> describes Hickeringill as a clergyman of unsettled convictions. Known more for his religious views and writings, he spent some time in the 1650s traveling to Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies. This voyage ultimately provided the material for his account of Jamaica, designed, according to McNulty, to curry favor with the newly restored Charles II; See also Krise, *Caribbeana*, 8.

⁴⁸ Hickeringill, *Jamaica Viewed*, 38.

⁴⁹ S Mendyk, “Blome, Richard (Bap. 1635?, D. 1705),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2662> argues Blome was a printer and cartographer of mixed reputation. At one point viewed as Ogilby’s chief rival in the geographic sphere, his works never received much praise in his lifetime, particularly after he was accused of plagiarism. Nevertheless, he was a pioneer of the advanced subscription model, which he used to finance at least three works of immediate relevance to this project.

horse-back, as the Gentry do here in *Hide Park*.”⁵⁰ Charles Leslie, although noting the decline in the city since the British occupation and the lack of trade due to its inland situation, still insisted that the residents, “live as happily as if they were within the Verge of the *British Court*: And to do them Justice, they seem perfectly polite, and have a Delicacy of Behaviour which is exceeding taking.”⁵¹ Although not specifically focused on the architectural heritage of Spanish Town, passages such as those found in Blome and Leslie suggest an overall atmosphere created by the built environment that enabled travelers and residents to link their Caribbean surroundings to English places despite the physical divide created by the Atlantic.

The ability to link Spanish Town with similar English features did not make the city unequivocally English. As James Robertson, one of the leading historians of the Caribbean built environment, argues, “Neither a century of English rule nor conspicuous wealth could make it [Spanish Town] an English town.”⁵² Reflecting the ambivalence of the travelers and residents cited above, Robertson argues that although the English often sought to build houses and commercial buildings at least reminiscent of those they had left behind, the inherited Spanish street pattern and concessions to successive earthquakes and hurricanes produced a city that could never appear fully English.⁵³ While the ambivalence noted above certainly supports this conclusion, from the perspective of attributional distance the city’s relative Englishness versus its Spanish-ness matters little. As long as observers like Hickeringill, Blome, and Leslie found aspects of Spanish Town

⁵⁰ Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica*, 36; Blome, *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America*, 10.

⁵¹ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 27–28.

⁵² James Robertson, “Giving Directions in Spanish Town, Jamaica: Comprehending a Tropical Townscape,” *Journal of Urban History* 35, no. 5 (July 1, 2009): 725, doi:10.1177/0096144209336514; See also Welch, *Slave Society in the City*, 29 who suggests that Spanish Town’s lagging development compared to Kingston or Port Royal may be due to its inland location, which disadvantaged the city due to the overall maritime orientation of the Caribbean colonies.

⁵³ Robertson, “Giving Directions in Spanish Town, Jamaica,” 718–25.

similar to London or other English towns, discordant remnants of the city's Spanish past could be overlooked in the same way observers reinforced the apparent Englishness of New York while minimizing the Dutch heritage of the former New Amsterdam.

Observers commenting on Kingston, unlike those describing Spanish Town, found nothing to be ambivalent about, describing the city in universally positive terms. Constructed much later than Spanish Town (1534), Kingston (1692) also demonstrated the lessons learned by the British over a century of colonization in the Caribbean. For example, Kingston had "Streets [which] are wide, and more regular, to face the Sea-Breezes, and the cross Streets at right Angles, that the Air may have as little Interruption as possible; a Convenience that cannot be too much mediated in so hot a Climate,"⁵⁴ according to John Atkins. The anonymous author of *The importance of Jamaica* likewise regarded Kingston as something of a model city: "The Streets are wide and regular, laid out to meet the Seabreezes; in a Mile square. The Buildings are but two Stories, cover'd with Shingles, sashed and glazed, with Piazza's before every House, with large, airy Halls, floored with Mahogany, or some other beautiful Wood, of which there is Plenty in *Jamaica*."⁵⁵ Both Charles

⁵⁴ Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil and the West-Indies*, 234.

⁵⁵ Anon., *The Importance of Jamaica to Great-Britain, Consider'd. With Some Account of That Island, from Its Discovery in 1492 to This Time: And a List of the Governors and Presidents, with an Account of Their Towns, Harbours, Bays, Buildings, Inhabitants, Whites and Negroes, &c. The Country and People Cleared from Misrepresentations; the Misbehaviour of Spanish Governors by Entertaining Pirates, and Plundering the Inhabitants and Merchants of Jamaica, and the Rise of the Pirates among Them. An Account of Their Fruits, Drugs, Timber and Dying-Woods, and of the Uses They Are Apply'd to There: With a Description of Exotick Plants, Preserved in the Gardens of the Curious in England; and of the Kitchen and Flower-Gardens in the West-Indies. Also of Their Beasts, Birds, Fishes, and Insects; with Their Eatables and Potables, Distempers and Remedies. With an Account of Their Trade and Produce; with the Advantages They Are of to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies in North-America, and the Commodities They Take in Return from Them, with the Danger They Are in from the French at Hispaniola, and Their Other Islands and Settlements on the Continent, by the Encouragements They Have over the British Planters. With Instances of Insults They Have given His Majesty's Subjects in the West-Indies and on the Main. With the Representation of His Late Majesty When Elector of Hanover, and of the House of Lords, against a Peace, Which Could Not Be Safe or Honourable If Spain or the West-Indies Were Allotted to Any Branch of the House of Bourbon. In a Letter to a Gentleman. In Which Is Added, a Postscript, of the Benefits Which May Arise by Keeping of Carthagena, to Great-Britain and Our American Colonies; with an Account of What Goods Are Used in the Spanish Trade, and Hints of Settling It after the French Method (by Sending of Women There) and of the Trade and Method of Living of the Spaniards; and English South-Sea Company's Factors There*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for A. Dodd, 1740), 5–6.

Leslie and Edward Long had nothing but positive things to say about the city, with Leslie emphasizing the overall plan of the city and Long commenting on the superior quality of the houses in the city, many of which were two stories high and built with brick.⁵⁶ Although still clearly a colonial city, observers like Atkins, Long, and Leslie regarded Kingston as the equivalent of many towns within the Atlantic Archipelago, and certainly as one of the finest towns in all of Britain's overseas possessions.⁵⁷

Kingston's rise as the preeminent British city in the Caribbean occurred after the destruction of Port Royal in 1692, the first Caribbean city linked frequently to London. In the introduction to his treatise on the laws of Jamaica, Francis Hanson argued that Port Royal, "for its bigness is very Populous, and contains about a 1000 Houses, many of which are built with Bricks, and beautified with Balconies, after the modern way of building in *London*; the Streets are also regular, and kept very clean; there is also in it a fair Church built with Brick and Stone, and handsomely finished within."⁵⁸ By noting that the houses in Port Royal echo the "modern way of building in *London*," Hanson deemphasized the physical and time distance between Port Royal and London for his readers, reordering mental maps so that Jamaica appeared closer than it really was. Similarly, Blome commented in his *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories*

⁵⁶ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 15, 26–27; Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:103; See also Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 297 who argues the inspiration for the layout of Kingston may have been Philadelphia, not Spanish Town or other Spanish colonial cities. This would enhance its English roots, even if Philadelphia was a New World city and not indicative of town plans in England proper.

⁵⁷ Trevor Burnard, "'The Grand Mart of the Island': The Economic Function of Kingston, Jamaica in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: History, Heritage and Culture*, by Kathleen E. A. Monteith and Glen L. Richards (Barbados: University of the West Indies Press, 2002), 225 notes that Kingston's population was inferior only to Havana, New York, and Philadelphia amongst European cities in the New World during the eighteenth century.

⁵⁸ Francis Hanson, *The Laws of Jamaica Passed by the Assembly, and Confirmed by His Majesty in Council, Feb. 23. 1683: To Which Is Added, A Short Account of the Island and Government Thereof, with an Exact Map of the Island*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by H. Hills, 1683), unnumbered. Hanson, like Leslie, is an author cited frequently by scholars but about whom little is known.

that Port Royal, “being so very populous,” and the primary point of trade for the island, had “Houses [that] are as dear rented as in well Traded Streets in *London*.”⁵⁹ As with Hanson’s statement, an attributional link between Port Royal and London, the epitome of the English metropole, reduced the perception of distance between core and periphery.⁶⁰ Descriptions of pre-earthquake Port Royal, like those given by Hanson and Blome, have led architectural historians, also working with archaeological evidence, to conclude that Port Royal closely resembled English cities of the time. Eric Pawson and David Buisseret argue, “The English ... built at the Point just as if they had never left some shire-town in the Old Country, putting up – especially after the 1670s – splendid brick houses of several stories, and building a church which with its battlemented tower and splendid aisles might have come straight from East Anglia.”⁶¹ Although Blome and Hanson aimed higher than an East Anglian city with their comparisons to London, in either case such linkages reinforced a sense that Jamaica was not so far removed from metropolitan norms as its geographic position may have suggested.

Yet not every author believed that Port Royal was worthy of such praise. The unknown author of a 1740 tract argued, “the Buildings never were so good as those of *Cheapside*, tho’ there

⁵⁹ Blome, *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America*, 7; William Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America. In Six Parts. I. A Short History of the Discovery of That Part of the World. II. The Manners and Customs of the Original Inhabitants. III. Of the Spanish Settlements. IV. Of the Portuguese. V. Of the French, Dutch, and Danish. VI. Of the English. Each Part Contains An Accurate Description of the Settlements in It, Their Extent, Climate, Productions, Trade, Genius and Disposition of Their Inhabitants: The Interests of the Several Powers of Europe with Respect to Those Settlements; and Their Political and Commercial Views with Regard to Each Other. In Two Volumes*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1757), 76–77 repeats Blome’s assertion that houses in Port Royal rented for as high a price as those in London; Michael Pawson and David Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 103 notes other contemporaries also commented on the high price of provisions in Port Royal.

⁶⁰ Robertson, “Giving Directions in Spanish Town, Jamaica,” 725–26 also notes that both Port Royal and Kingston featured many streets which shared names with streets in London. Thus, the naming conventions of the streets reinforced the perception that the new buildings were the New World facsimiles of their metropolitan ancestors. See also Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 185 who confirms Hanson and Blome’s characterizations of the city, emphasizing the tall brick buildings and high rents.

⁶¹ Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica*, 96.

are good Brick Houses, but they don't affect to build high, unless it is at some Gentlemens Pens or Plantations, which are like Gentlemens Country Houses in *England*.”⁶² Although the author denied the attributional link others, such as Hanson, Blome, and William Burke⁶³ forged between Port Royal and London, he still linked the city to English norms, counterbalancing any distancing effect of his comments with a reminder of the architectural tradition from which the city sprang. Of course, this author was writing after the destruction of Port Royal in 1692 and the comment that “they don't affect to build high” may reflect post-earthquake building sensibilities rather than practices common at the time of Hanson or Blome's comments. James Robertson lends support to this assertion, arguing, “After 1692 the four-story brick buildings in Port Royal that had so impressed John Taylor in 1688 or the ‘high Brick-House’ over Spanish Town where Dr. Hans Sloane leased rooms would not be built again.”⁶⁴

While mitigating factors reduce the impact of *The Importance of Jamaica*, the scathing critiques by the noted satirist Edward Ward, writing in 1698, are not so easily dismissed.⁶⁵ He accused authors like Hanson, Blome, and Burke of making “large use of [their] *License*,” because

⁶² Anon., *The Importance of Jamaica to Great-Britain, Consider'd*, 5–6; Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica*, 81 argues that the earlier impetus to build tall buildings in Port Royal was not necessarily due to a desire to imitate London; rather, the geographic position of the city constrained available land for building and led to vertical development.

⁶³ George C McElroy, “Burke, William (1728x30-1798),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4030>. Although lifelong friends with Edmund Burke, there is no evidence they were related. William's experience with the Caribbean was limited - only one year in Guadalupe, and this came after the publication of his work on the state of the British colonies in the New World. Despite being a synthesis of others' works, Burke's account provides an important view on the relative merits of the colonies in the midst of a global conflict.

⁶⁴ Robertson, “Jamaican Architectures before Georgian,” 95; See also Crain, *Historic Architecture in the Caribbean Islands*, 5 who notes that in addition to colonists' aversion to brick after the experience of the Port Royal earthquake, supplies of bricks were always limited as most were imported as ballast in European ships.

⁶⁵ Sambrook, “Ward, Edward [Ned] (1667-1731)”; Heaney, “Ward, Edward, 1667-1731” both note that Ward was a well-known satirist. Thus, his comments, more than most, should be taken with a healthy dose of skepticism. However, unlike many of his later works, his journey to Jamaica appears to have a fair degree of truth to it, although tinged with bitterness. Ward went to Jamaica in 1697 to make a fortune, but he failed and returned to London in less than a year. See also Krise, *Caribbeana*, 8–9.

“The Houses are low, little, and irregular; and if I compare the Best of their Streets in *Port Royal*, to the Fag-End of *Kent-street*, where the *Broom-men* Live, I do them more than Justice.”⁶⁶ While Ward noted he described Port Royal after the devastating earthquake that nearly destroyed the town, his portrayal of the attributional distance between the English standard and the colonial society did not change because of it. Even accounting for his satirical portrayal of Jamaican society, the best satire requires at least some truth. Charles Leslie, however, writing after the residents of Port Royal had had time to repair their town, disputed the assertions of the anonymous author and Ward, finding Port Royal to be a pleasant, but small, town.⁶⁷ In this respect, descriptions of Port Royal resembled descriptions of Spanish Town, with travelers noting a sense of past grandeur fallen on hard times, particularly as Kingston developed into the island’s premier city.

Travelers’ mixed perceptions of Jamaican cities echoed their reception to other cities and towns throughout the colonial Caribbean. In the larger colonies, like Barbados and St. Christopher’s, for every author who thought the built environment compared favorably with that in the Atlantic Archipelago another found the colonial architecture reminded him of the distance between colony and metropole. However, unlike Jamaican descriptions, seventeenth-century accounts of Barbados and tended to emphasize similarities with England/Britain, while eighteenth-century accounts highlighted differences. The differing developmental pattern of the island explains this apparent reversal. Barbados demonstrated great economic success in the seventeenth century, but experienced relative decline, especially compared to Jamaica, in the eighteenth

⁶⁶ Edward Ward, *A Trip to Jamaica with a True Character of the People and Island*, Early English Books Online (London, 1698), 15; The efficacy of Ward’s commentary depends, in part, on what connotation is given to his comment on the quality of “the Best of their Streets.” If by street he meant the entire collection of built structures on a given section of road, then his description is in conflict with other travelers. If, however, he was referencing the actual roads themselves, his description was likely very accurate. Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica*, 82 notes the streets were “poorly surfaced” and were a “constant source of embarrassment.”

⁶⁷ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 26.

century. Contrary to Barbados, St. Christopher followed a similar developmental trajectory to Jamaica. Accordingly, early accounts portrayed the colony negatively, while those from later in the eighteenth century were more positive. A similar pattern emerges in the smaller colonies, like Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua, where the limited development of the colonies encouraged perceptions that reinforced the sense of social difference, and consequently amplified the distance between Britain and her overseas territory.

Early travelers were much more likely to view the built environment in Barbados favorably. In his history of the Caribbean, the comte de Rochefort declared that the entire island seemed as if it were a model English village:

There are many places in this Island, which may justly be called Towns, as containing many fair, long, and spacious Streets, furnish'd with a great number of noble Structures, built by the principal Officers and Inhabitants of this flourishing Colony. Nay indeed, taking a full prospect of the whole Island, a man might take it for one great City, inasmuch as the houses are at no great distance one from another; that many of those are very well built, according to the rate of Building in *England*; that the Shops and Store-houses are well furnish'd with all sorts of Commodities; that there are many Fairs and Markets; and lastly, that the whole Island, as great Cities are, is divided into several Parishes, which have very fair Churches. The most considerable of the Inhabitants think themselves so well, that it is seldom seen that they ever remove thence.⁶⁸

Ricard Blome largely reflected the comte de Rochefort's opinion, although by the mid-1670s he noted some concerns regarding the situation of Bridgetown and its relative quality: "The Town is ill seated, the ground being lower than the banks of the *Sea*, by which means the Spring-*Tides* doth flow over, and there remaining, doth make a kind of a moorish bogg, which doth occasion it to be more unhealthful than the other parts of the *Isle*."⁶⁹ Although Blome's remarks raised questions

⁶⁸ Charles-César comte de Rochefort, *The History of the Caribby-Islands, Viz, Barbados, St Christophers, St Vincents, Martinico, Dominico, Barbouthos, Monserrat, Mevis, Antego, &c in All XXVIII in Two Books: The First Containing the Natural, the Second, the Moral History of Those Islands: Illustrated with Several Pieces of Sculpture Representing the Most Considerable Rarities Therein Described: With a Caribbean Vocabulary*, trans. John Davies, Early English Books Online (London: Printed by J.M. for Thomas Dring and John Starkey, 1666), 9.

⁶⁹ Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica*, 81; Blome, *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America*, 42; Blome, *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World*, 29 largely repeats the comte de Rochefort's description of the island, avoiding the doubt present in his later descriptions; Andrew Gravette, *Architectural Heritage of the Caribbean: An A-Z of Historic Buildings* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, Inc., 2000), 107 argues that during the late seventeenth century Bridgetown was largely rebuilt,

about the choice of location for the principal city on the island, he did not question or challenge the comte de Rochefort's characterization of its buildings. For the late-seventeenth century reader, the dominant impression of the island was thus one where the buildings compared favorably with any in England, helping to create a sense that the distance between the two societies was not so great.⁷⁰

Roughly seventy-five years later Robert Poole⁷¹ was less impressed with the quality of the buildings in Barbados generally and Bridgetown in particular. When he first arrived about 1750, he “went on Shore, and took a small View of the Place and Town. This is the principal Town upon the Island. It is long, bordering upon the Harbour, and lies somewhat low. The Buildings, for the most Part, make but an indifferent Appearance; very few above two Stories high, and are generally provided with Balconies. The main Street is called *Broad-Street*, which is pretty wide, and agreeably airy.”⁷² Yet the more Poole explored Bridgetown, the more conflicted he became. On the one hand, he recognized the need for the residents to make accommodations to the local climate. On the other, he denigrated some of their choices, noting the lack of chimneys in even the grandest houses despite the prevalence of warm temperatures throughout the year.⁷³ He also

transitioning from a primarily wooden city to one built principally of stone and tile. This might explain some of Blome's ambivalence. Welch, *Slave Society in the City*, 36 dates the rise of negative descriptions of Bridgetown to Samuel Clarke's account in 1670, which focuses on the relative health of the town and the impact of its location.

⁷⁰ David Buisseret, *Historic Architecture of the Caribbean* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd., 1980), 17–18 drawing upon the 1695 engraving of Bridgetown by Samuel Copen, shares this assessment. He argues the engraving shows a town built extensively of stone and tile, making it “hard to discern any evidence of creolization.”; See also Gravette, *Architectural Heritage of the Caribbean*, 25–26, 102, who argues Barbados was the most “English” of the Caribbean colonies, based primarily on the island's largest houses and churches.

⁷¹ Loudon, “Poole, Robert (1707/8-1752)” argues that by the time Poole arrived in the West Indies, his earlier religious fervor, which tended towards Methodism, had moderated. Nevertheless, Poole frequently expressed outrage at the swearing and lack of clothing he encountered. Like most authors, it is believed that he went to the Caribbean to see if it was suitable for making a living. He returned to England after roughly a year, seriously ill with what was most likely malaria.

⁷² Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 208.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 224.

produced a withering criticism of those who painted their houses white because the practice reflected the tropical sun into the streets, making them too hot and dusty for pedestrians.⁷⁴ Poole's less complimentary assessment of Barbados echoed the fortunes of the island as a whole, which had diminished in importance as Jamaica developed. Seen in this light, and recognizing that Poole's critiques did not challenge the British architectural heritage the comte de Rochefort alluded to, any contribution his comments made to a sense of distance between Barbados and the Atlantic Archipelago was likely minimal.

Alternatively, Poole's criticism of Bridgetown reflected his own biases and preconceived notions of what constituted a proper urban environment. Poole had, at the time of his arrival in the Caribbean, extensive experience in metropolitan environments. Educated in London, he first practiced medicine in several London-area hospitals before a period in Paris.⁷⁵ These metropolitan experiences likely shaped Poole's perception of Bridgetown in a process described by Pedro Welch: "In observing the limitations which might exist in the description of short-term visitors it is necessary, however, to point out that the value in such observations rests in the perceptions which these observers brought with them from the metropole. If they were arriving from an urban environment, their assessment of Bridgetown and other colonial towns might well reflect an imposition of the urban standards of that previous environment."⁷⁶ The extent to which these prior metropolitan experiences influenced Poole is impossible to determine, but they provided ideal comparative models for the "modern" urban center. In this sense, Welch's other observation that visitors' descriptions tended to capture colonial cities as they were in the moment rather than what their residents desired them to become appears crucial. Where Poole observed a city that failed to

⁷⁴ Ibid., 259.

⁷⁵ Loudon, "Poole, Robert (1707/8-1752)."

⁷⁶ Welch, *Slave Society in the City*, 38.

equal the urban development of London or Paris, Welch notes that the residents were actively engaged in attempting to make the city a new London, going so far as to name a street Cheapside and work towards developing the area as the commercial heart of Bridgetown.⁷⁷ Thus, colonial towns that either resisted creolization or worked towards greater Anglicization over time exhibited a lack of attributional distance with the metropole, even when individual travelers observing a discrete point in their development argued otherwise.

St. Christopher's reversed the pattern established in Barbados. Earlier writers like the comte de Rochefort, Blome, and Burton⁷⁸ all expressed doubts about the English settlements on the island, at least relative to their French counterparts. Indeed, it was the odd territorial arrangement of the island that dominated St. Christopher's early history after its settlement in 1624. As the comte de Rochefort explained in his 1666 *History of the Caribby-islands*, "The whole Island is divided into four Cantons, or Quarters, two whereof are possess'd by the *English*; the other two by the *French*; but in such sort, as that people cannot cross from one quarter to the other, without passing over Lands of one of the two Nations."⁷⁹ This unwieldy and impractical situation lasted nearly one hundred years, until the French surrendered their part of the island as part of the peace terms negotiated at the end of the War of Spanish Succession in 1713.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Ibid., 38–42.

⁷⁸ Jason Mc Elligott, "Crouch, Nathaniel [Robert Burton] (c.1640-1725?)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52645>; "Crouch, Nathaniel, 1632?-1725?," *Literature Online Biography*, n.d., http://gateway.proquest.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&res_id=xri:lion&rft_id=xri:lion:ft:ref:BIO026825:0 both identify Robert Burton, or simply R B, as the common pseudonym of Crouch, who borrowed the name from a popular early seventeenth-century author. As Burton, Crouch wrote a large number of popular histories in the late 1600s. As Crouch, he was a well-known London bookseller. There is no evidence that Crouch ever personally visited the Caribbean.

⁷⁹ comte de Rochefort, *The History of the Carriby-Islands*, 21.

⁸⁰ Taylor, *American Colonies*, 292–93.

The limited descriptions of the English portion of St. Christopher's invite over-analysis and speculation about the quality of the early settlement. Certainly by the mid-eighteenth century the situation appears to have changed. With the colony united under a British flag, Robert Poole wrote that "The Town is pretty large; and perhaps, in Number of Houses, exceeds both the Towns at *Mountserat* and *Nevis*. It has in it far better Buildings, having some near Houses two Stories high; tho' the major Part are but low, seldom above one Story, and some only the Ground Floor."⁸¹ Left unsaid is whether Poole was describing the principal town originally within the French zone of control, or a later British development. Most likely Poole's description was of Basseterre, the chief city on the island and originally part of the French zone of control. However, as Andrew Gravette notes, after 1713 the British transformed the town "into a celebration of British Georgian architecture."⁸² Despite some ambiguity and remarks noting the shortness of many of the buildings, Poole's commentary on the remodeled Basseterre moves St. Christopher closer to the prevailing viewpoint of colonies like Jamaica and thus closer to the metropolitan norm as well.

As Poole's comments suggest, however, the smaller Caribbean colonies continued to evoke a sense of distance from Britain based on their architectural character. Poole was unimpressed by the quality of the buildings in Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua. Of the three, Nevis was perhaps the best, with a town that was "but small, but ... airy and pleasantly situated," despite an island that Poole found to be the "least improved" of any on his travels.⁸³ Both Montserrat and Antigua featured principal towns that Poole considered "low" and "mean," with buildings constructed

⁸¹ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 368.

⁸² Gravette, *Architectural Heritage of the Caribbean*, 272; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 139 argues that in 1706, "rich and poor alike lived in long narrow bungalows" constructed principally of wood, but some had stone walls on the windward side. As this was before the English gained full control of the island, Dunn's contention supports the idea that extensive renovation of the structures on the island to embrace Georgian trends occurred after 1713.

⁸³ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 367.

primarily of wood and often lacking glass windows.⁸⁴ However, Poole appears to have failed to account for the shifting role of Antigua in British colonial policy. As Andrew Gravette notes, after 1707 Antigua became the principal base of Britain's maritime power in the Caribbean. However, this new construction concentrated on the development of English Harbour, on the opposite side of the island from the main town of St. John's.⁸⁵ Thus, in the case of Antigua, Poole's observations likely reflected a society in transition, with the waning importance of what had been the principal town and the rising prominence of a new strategic center. While Poole's observations on these colonies certainly reinforce the sense of distance between metropole and colony generated by a trans-Atlantic voyage, the minor importance of these particular colonies (aside from the strategic importance of Antigua) to the British Empire reduced the overall impact of his comments, as did the lack of corroborating remarks from other travelers to the region.

Viewed as a whole, however, more authors than not viewed the buildings in the Caribbean colonies in a favorable light when compared to what they had left in Britain. Hans Sloane,⁸⁶ writing of the Caribbean generally, argued in the early eighteenth century that this was a conscious decision on the part of English/British settlers throughout the Caribbean: "The Houses built by the *English*, are for the most part Brick, and after the *English* manner, which are neither cool, nor able to endure the shocks of Earthquakes. The Kitchens, or Cook-Rooms here, are always at a small

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 309, 344–47.

⁸⁵ Gravette, *Architectural Heritage of the Caribbean*, 75. Gravette further notes on page 78 that the increased maritime activity that centered on Antigua after the development of English Harbour made it particularly popular with new arrivals to the Caribbean, contributing to the strong architectural links between the island and the mother country. Yet he implies that much of this development, particularly in St. John's, occurred after Poole's visit.

⁸⁶ Arthur MacGregor, "Sloane, Sir Hans, Baronet (1660-1753)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25730> is best known as a physician and member of the Royal Society. However, as a young physician, he accompanied the governor of Jamaica to the island (late 1687) as his personal physician. The year he spent in Jamaica before the governor's death allowed him to examine the natural history of the island, and later formed the basis of his writings concerning Jamaica.

distance from their Houses, because of the heat and smell, which are both noisom and troublesome.”⁸⁷ Taking Sloane’s assessment at face value, English/British settlers throughout the Caribbean were willing to sacrifice comfort and practicality in the face of local conditions in an effort to maintain an appearance of the homeland in their house design.⁸⁸ Although Edward Long later argued that in general settlers outside the towns often waited to improve their dwellings until after they had established a functioning plantation,⁸⁹ he had earlier remarked that they tended to construct houses in the English manner, reinforcing Sloane’s point. It is entirely possible, therefore, that commentary like Poole’s on the smaller colonies simply reflected the state of affairs before the economic development of the colonies had progressed to a level sufficient to promote and maintain the construction of more “British” houses. Alternatively, Poole’s commentary reflected the shift after the destruction of Port Royal towards a more “creole” architecture better suited to the Caribbean. As James Robertson argued, architecture in eighteenth-century Jamaica represents one of the few examples “of a building tradition that toned itself down,”⁹⁰ rejecting closely packed, tall brick structures in favor of lower structures better able to survive earthquakes and hurricanes. Robertson’s position explains the transition away from the definitively

⁸⁷ Sir Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-Footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, &c. of the Last of Those Islands; to Which Is Prefix’d an Introduction, Wherein Is an Account of the Inhabitants, Air, Waters, Diseases, Trade, &c. of That Place, with Some Relations Concerning the Neighbouring Continent, and Islands of America. Illustrated with the Figures of the Things Describ’d, Which Have Not Been Heretofore Engraved; In Large Copper-Plates as Big as the Life*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed by B. M. for the author, 1707), xlvi.

⁸⁸ Buisseret, *Historic Architecture of the Caribbean*, 10 argues designs that consciously ignored climatic practicalities were principally the domain of the rich. The houses of the less affluent were forced to rely on local materials that consequently limited their ability to preserve European styles. See also Gravette, *Architectural Heritage of the Caribbean*, 25, 217; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 263 argues the colonists’ stubborn refusal to abandon English/British forms in building was part of a pattern which saw similar results in their dress and diet. He theorizes that this reflected their understanding of the proper hierarchical ordering of society and the tangible/visible ways these differences should be manifested.

⁸⁹ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:22.

⁹⁰ Robertson, “Jamaican Architectures before Georgian,” 95.

English/British architectural influences experienced by early travelers like Sloane towards the less familiar styles encountered by authors like Poole and Long. Yet it does not suggest that both Poole and Long saw distance reflected in the architecture around them. Toning down Caribbean building practices, as Robertson expresses it, may simply have allowed building norms in Britain to outpace those in the Caribbean. Certainly the use of brick, so prominent in accounts of British building after the Great Fire of London, faded in the Caribbean after the destruction of Port Royal in favor of wood, despite the disadvantages observed by Long and others.⁹¹ Although other influences, from the Spanish, French, and Africans, certainly seeped into English building practices, attributionally the buildings retained many linkages with the metropole, even as a sense of historical distance based on building materials began to develop. This process was, however, a long one. As a result, in the period under consideration, travelers' observations of the built environment in the Caribbean overall supported viewpoints that reduced the distance between colony and metropole. Although not the only category of observations that modifies distance in this way, it is perhaps the most prominent and the category with the most examples of the process at work.

Social

While architectural styles, dietary choices, sartorial norms, patterns of speech, and the exercise of justice provided ready visual or auditory clues enabling the observer to discern similarities and differences between the Caribbean colonies and Britain, observations on social and cultural norms required prolonged interaction and a greater understanding of island society. Yet observers produced more commentary on social/cultural characteristics of the Caribbean

⁹¹ Gravette, *Architectural Heritage of the Caribbean*, 233 notes that the use of brick did not completely disappear in the Caribbean, even in Jamaica. One prominent example in Spanish Town from the late eighteenth century is Kings House, constructed in 1762.

colonies than any other attribute with the exception of architecture. Like the historiography regarding Caribbean architecture, the longstanding assumption amongst historians of Caribbean settler society is that climatic and economic realities in the Caribbean led settlers to abandon metropolitan norms. Yet, as with Caribbean colonial architecture, observers recognized that despite some adaptation to the climate, settlers attempted to maintain English/British norms. By the mid-eighteenth century, as observers discussed the increasing distance between Britain and her North American colonies and the possibility of independence, writers compared the Caribbean colonies to “so many remote counties” of Britain.⁹²

The early historiography of the social customs and mores of the Caribbean settlers suggested observations of this aspect of Caribbean life were the most likely to contribute to a sense of distance between colonies and metropole. Richard Dunn, for example, has argued, “The expectations the English brought with them and the physical conditions they encountered in the islands produced a hectic mode of life that had no counterpart at home or elsewhere in English experience.”⁹³ Bluntly, he concluded his study of the rise of the Caribbean planter class by stating, “Ever since the eighteenth century the sugar planters have deservedly received a bad press.”⁹⁴ Yet the attributional markers examined to this point do not provide a solid foundation for this theory, any more than they do Michael Craton’s contention that it often took less than a generation for a new planter to become fully creole.⁹⁵ Trevor Burnard agreed with Dunn and Craton to the extent that because the Caribbean colonists largely failed to establish self-perpetuating societies, perceptions of the colonies rested on the vagaries of the settlers they were able to attract more so

⁹² Young, *Considerations Which May Tend to Promote the Settlement of Our New West-India Colonies*, 2–3.

⁹³ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 45.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 335.

⁹⁵ Craton, “Reluctant Creoles,” 356.

than the more permanent North American colonies.⁹⁶ This created societies that were transient in nature, and open to charges of “Grasping materialism, conspicuous consumption, inattention to religion and family, and general debauchery,” to borrow from Burnard’s summation.⁹⁷ However, Dunn’s assessment of Caribbean society overlooked the many attributional markers where travelers and other observers commented on the similarities between Caribbean society and that in England/Britain. While admittedly easier to display affinity for the metropole in architecture than behavior and social development, the effort colonists expended on maintaining a semblance of English/British architectural patterns even in the face of discomfort suggests they would not easily abandon the social customs and traditions that marked their Englishness.

Indeed, more recent scholarship reflects a more nuanced understanding of settler society and suggests that like other attributional markers, Caribbean social norms and customs created a complicated perception that allowed authors to both contribute to, and reduce, a sense of distance between colony and metropole. Natalie Zacek, while acknowledging that intent is not the same as outcome, argues that even as some travelers found the Caribbean colonies to be exotic, “their white inhabitants were determined to make their polities as recognizably English as might be possible on small, tropical islands whose economy rested almost entirely on slave-based plantation agriculture. Moreover, from their public and private writings we can see that, on the whole, these

⁹⁶ Trevor Burnard, “Not a Place for Whites? Demographic Failure and Settlement in Comparative Context: Jamaica, 1655-1780,” in *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: History, Heritage and Culture*, by Kathleen E. A. Monteith and Glen L. Richards (Barbados: University of the West Indies Press, 2002), 85; See also O’Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, 5, 7 who argues West Indian society was essentially transient, and even those regarded as the greatest luminaries of West Indian society tended to be “visitors, temporary residents, or absentees.” This, combined with the demographic failure of white settlement, prohibited the same type of social development seen in North America. Essentially, the demographic pattern in the Caribbean prevented the emergence of a Jamaican Benjamin Franklin.

⁹⁷ Burnard, “Not a Place for Whites? Demographic Failure and Settlement in Comparative Context: Jamaica, 1655-1780,” 79; See also Trevor Burnard, “A Failed Settler Society: Marriage and Demographic Failure in Early Jamaica,” *Journal of Social History* 28, no. 1 (October 1, 1994): 63–64. Similar to his later article on the same subject, Burnard argues demographic failure prevented the establishment of a permanent settler society, which in turn created a transient society more open to denigration by observers.

white islanders were confident that they had been notably successful in achieving this goal.”⁹⁸ Travelers and other observers largely agreed with the white islanders Zacek describes, particularly those writing in the eighteenth century after the colonies had had time to develop. Even where observers described elements of Caribbean society at odds with metropolitan norms, as with observations of architecture, power structures, and religion, travelers consistently allowed for the effects of local conditions, thereby mitigating the effect of the harshest criticisms. Taken as a whole, and contrary to the historiographical tradition established by Dunn, travelers were far more willing to recognize the linkages between Britain and her Caribbean colonies than dismiss settler society entirely.

For the most part, travelers to the Caribbean colonies found the inhabitants to be polite and well bred, suggesting a lack of attributional distance between the colonists and residents of the Atlantic Archipelago. John Atkins, for example, described the inhabitants of Barbados as being “for the most part polite and well-bred,”⁹⁹ and “The Men, contrarily, are very gay, clean, and handsome, from mean Originals,”¹⁰⁰ suggesting no major differences between the inhabitants of this island and any in Britain, regardless of the supposed quality of their ancestors. Later authors, like Griffith Hughes,¹⁰¹ William Burke, and Robert Poole concurred with Atkins’s assessment,

⁹⁸ Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*, 14.

⁹⁹ Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil and the West-Indies*, 206.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 207.

¹⁰¹ Raymond B Davies, “Hughes, Griffith (Bap. 1707, D. 1758?),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14070> was an Anglican clergyman/missionary and botanist. He spent several years in Pennsylvania before accepting a position in Barbados, where he remained for most of the 1740s. While in Barbados he undertook the production of a natural history of the island, which earned him election to the Royal Society. The book was not well received when eventually published, but it does contain information on Barbadian society in addition to its information on the flora and fauna.

describing the residents of Barbados in terms such as “generous,”¹⁰² “settled,”¹⁰³ and “civil.”¹⁰⁴ Authors’ perceptions that the residents of Barbados were friendly, well bred, generous, and generally courteous and civil directly reflected the characteristics generally ascribed to the English, as the first chapter showed. Reference to this common conception of the essential character of a proper Englishman served to reduce the sense of distance between colony and metropole.

As was the case with most attributional markers, Barbados and Jamaica, as the two principal Caribbean colonies, received the most attention from travelers. Yet travelers found generosity, civility, and a sense of breeding in nearly all of the Caribbean colonies. Charles Leslie found the residents of St. Christopher’s to be “well bred, of an easy Carriage, gay with their Friend, affable to Strangers, and agreeable in Conversation. We were used with the greatest Civility...”¹⁰⁵ Robert Poole made similar observations about Montserrat¹⁰⁶ and Antigua, although he noted that the residents of the principal town in Antigua appeared less friendly than residents of the countryside.¹⁰⁷ These observations suggested to readers that hospitality and civility were not characteristics developed in more densely populated areas; rather, they were transplanted social customs that preserved an important linkage with the Atlantic Archipelago.

¹⁰² Griffith Hughes, *The Natural History of Barbados. In Ten Books*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for the author, 1750), 9.

¹⁰³ Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 1757, 86.

¹⁰⁴ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 208–9 actually repeats this assertion twice, saying first on page 208: “The Inhabitants seem to be of a civil, complaisant Disposition.” On page 209 he elaborates on this comment, saying: “I went this Day and took a farther View of the Place. In my Way I was kindly receiv’d and entertain’d by an Inhabitant of the Town. I find the People in general very courteous and civil; of a ready, communicative Disposition to Strangers; open and free in their Behaviour; of willing Information, to such as desire their Assistance; and seem to dwell in much Love and Harmony with each other.”

¹⁰⁵ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 13.

¹⁰⁶ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 347–48.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 324 wrote that “The Inhabitants in distant Parts of this Island seem to have more the Spirit of Hospitality, than those in the Town. There is something so extremely amiable and lovely in a friendly Disposition, that it renders a Person exercising it, truly noble and great. The reaching out a friendly Hand of Generosity in Time of Distress, is acting up to the Dignity of Nature.”

Jamaican society exhibited many of the same characteristics to travelers. Patrick Browne, for example, contended that “Among [the planters] you frequently meet with men of as good a taste, as much learning, and as well acquainted with the world, as may be met with in any part of *Europe*; nor is it uncommon to find those who, (though never out of the Island) shine in many parts of life, with as much delicacy and judgment, as if they had been bred in the most polished courts.”¹⁰⁸ Browne’s characterization overshadowed Leslie’s observations from fifteen years earlier that produced a slightly more negative portrayal of the island:

...for here I find every Thing alter’d; and, amidst all the Variety which crowds upon my Sight, scarce see a Face that resembles the gay Bloom of a *Briton*. The People seem all sickly, their Complexion is muddy, their Colour wan, and their Bodies meagre; they look like a Corpse, and their Dress like a Shrowd; however, they are frank and good humour’d, and make the best of Life they can. If Death deals more in this Place than another, no Sett of Men are more unconcerned at his Approach: They live well, enjoy their Friend, drink heartily, make Money, and are quite careless of Futurity.¹⁰⁹

Yet although Leslie’s comments created a clear sense of difference based on physical appearance, the essential character of the people remained the same. They may have lacked the “gay Bloom of a *Briton*,” but as Leslie noted here and elsewhere, they retained their good humor and hospitality. Edward Long expressed the matter succinctly, noting that “In manner of living, the English here [Jamaica] differ not much from their brethren at home, except in a greater profusion of dishes, a larger retinue of domestics, and in wearing more expensive cloaths.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Patrick Browne, *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica. In Three Parts. Containing, I. An Accurate Description of That Island, Its Situation and Soil; with a Brief Account of Its Former and Present State, Government, Revenues, Produce, and Trade. II. A History of the Natural Productions, Including the Various Sorts of Native Fossils; Perfect and Imperfect Vegetables; Quadrupedes, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles and Insects; with Their Properties and Uses in Mechanics, Diet, and Physic. III. An Account of the Nautre of Climates in General, and Their Different Effects upon the Human Body; with a Detail of the Diseases Arising from This Source, Particularly within the Tropics. In Three Dissertations. The Whole Illustrated with Fifty Copper-Plates: In Which the Most Curious Productions Are Represented of the Natural Size, and Delineated Immediately from the Objects*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for the author, and sold by T. Osborne, and J. Shipton, 1756), 23.

¹⁰⁹ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 1–2.

¹¹⁰ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:32; Craton, “Reluctant Creoles,” 341 notes that Long’s more positive descriptions apply solely to the “cream” of the Jamaican planter elite. His commentary on every class below this level is more circumscribed, with Irish servants described in terms barely above enslaved Africans.

As with the other attributional markers such as architecture, travelers formed a variety of opinions about the Caribbean colonies. In many cases, observers pointed out both similarities and differences in the same text. In the Caribbean colonies, the chief complaints of travelers revolved around the consumption of alcohol and the frequency of swearing. According to John Atkins, for the planters of Barbados “there is no Recreation out of Business, but in Drinking or Gaming.”¹¹¹ Hans Sloane argued that in Jamaica, the average resident drank far more than in England, and this likely explained the ill health of the residents.¹¹² Robert Poole chose to focus on the frequency of the swearing and other foul language he heard in the colonies, finding it particularly offensive in Antigua¹¹³ and Tortola, where he remarked: “The horrid Custom of profane Cursing and Swearing in this Place is such, as affords Matter of daily Grief and Concern to me.”¹¹⁴ Yet the generally positive tone of the larger narratives containing these criticisms overshadowed the minor points of difference between social order in the Caribbean and the Atlantic Archipelago alcohol consumption and swearing represented. After all, despite his aversion to swearing, Poole praised the civility and overall quality of his social interactions in Barbados, Antigua, and Montserrat.

While authors’ abhorrence of certain behaviors could create a sense of distance, such observations reflected personal opinions and viewpoints that further served to weaken their effect. Observations that denigrated the foundations of polite social life in the Caribbean colonies, such as those concerning the printing industry and availability of education, created a larger issue. Edward Long believed the lack of suitable education in Jamaica represented one of the chief

¹¹¹ Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil and the West-Indies*, 206.

¹¹² Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands*, xxx.

¹¹³ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 330–31.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 377.

defects of the colony, regardless of its overall commercial success or importance to the British Empire:

The great importance of education, in forming the manners, enlightening the minds, and promoting the industry and happiness of a people, is no where more obvious than in countries where it is not attainable. It at once excites our pity and regret, that Jamaica, an island more valuable and extensive than any other of the British sugar-colonies, should at this day remain unprovided with a proper seminary for the young inhabitants to whom it gives birth. This unhappy defect may be looked upon as one of the principal impediments to its effectual settlement. ... It has too long been the custom for every father here, who has acquired a little property, to send his children, of whatever complexion, to Britain, for education. They go like a bale of dry goods, consigned to some factor, who places them at the school where he himself was bred...¹¹⁵

Yet while the lack of proper education on the island of Jamaica created a sense of distance with England, the planter's solution of sending their children to England for an education actually ensured that generations not born in the Atlantic Archipelago would possess similar social educations as new arrivals to the colonies.¹¹⁶ While this solution may have ameliorated some of the distance created by the lack of proper schools, the long-term consequences of such absence, such as a deficit of properly trained physicians, reemphasized the gulf between colonial life and Britain. Richard Towne, for example, explained that one of his main motivations for writing a medical treatise on diseases in Barbados was a desire to assist local physicians who "have never had the Advantage of passing thro' a regular Course of Studies, or enjoying an Academical Education."¹¹⁷ Twenty-five years later, Robert Poole described a similar situation on Antigua:

¹¹⁵ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:246; See also Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 36–37 who argues that the position of "teacher" is regarded with contempt on the island. He also comments that those with the means send their children to Britain for an education; Craton, "Reluctant Creoles," 344.

¹¹⁶ O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, 11, 19 actually stresses the importance of absenteeism for creating a strong bond between the Caribbean colonies and Britain. While sending children to Britain for an education is not the same as absenteeism, in practice doing so allowed for the development of contacts and relationships that served the same purpose. He also notes that there was overlap between these two categories, because as many as one third of the children sent to England to receive an education did not return to the Caribbean.

¹¹⁷ Richard Towne, *A Treatise of the Diseases Most Frequent in the West-Indies, and Herein More Particularly of Those Which Occur in Barbadoes*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed for John Clarke, 1726), 5. Interestingly, Towne does not mention the work being done on Codrington College, which according to the Codrington College website (<http://www.codrington.org>) began in 1714, although it was not complete until 1743.

The Practice of Physick here is much in the same Circumstances it is in Country Towns in *England*, where it is generally made up and administered by the same Person. The Drugs are mostly had from *England*; for tho' the Island affords many good medicinal Herbs, yet the common Dispensatory Method is most generally attended to, as what has by long Experience been found useful. Life is generally too short for ordinary Understandings, by many Experiments, to find out the Virtue and Effect of Herbs and Drugs, that are not before taken Notice of.¹¹⁸

Thus, although the lack of proper educational opportunities in the Caribbean colonies could be somewhat offset through the practice of sending children to Britain for an education, the longer-term effects of the lack of educational opportunities contributed to a perception of distance between the metropolises of the Atlantic Archipelago and the Caribbean colonies similar to the distance between the more urban areas and rural England.

However detrimental to the proper functioning of society on Antigua the lack of a proper school may have been, at least Poole found a proper printer in operation capable of producing works to aid the refinement of adults.¹¹⁹ Barbados, Poole found, was not as fortunate: "This Island furnishes no Booksellers Shops. There is a Printer in this Town, who prints News, Advertisements, &c. but being very illy provided with good Types, and other necessary Materials, the Work done is dear, and badly executed: Hence any Thing requiring to be well done, is generally sent to *Philadelphia*; where it is better printed, and at a less Expence. There is also a Bookbinder, but by that alone a Subsistance cannot here be obtained."¹²⁰ Yet William Burke, writing only a few years later, appeared to think that the completion of the college on the island eliminated some of the deficit other authors noted between Barbados and Britain.¹²¹ Likewise, Long found the situation in Jamaica somewhat altered by the mid-1770s with the establishment of a printing press in

¹¹⁸ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 317–18.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 326.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 235.

¹²¹ Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 1757, 86–87.

Spanish Town.¹²² While certainly not panaceas for the perceived lack of education in the colonies, the increase in educational and printed options throughout the eighteenth century at least helped to bridge the divide between the communal options in the Atlantic Archipelago and the Caribbean. However, as Richard Dunn notes, few Jamaican planters appear to have amassed libraries comparable to that found in the New England colonies, further underscoring the comparatively poor social climate of the Caribbean colonies compared to many of their North American counterparts.¹²³

The debate over the social effects of education in the Caribbean obscured a consideration of the relative merits of women. Often denied access to a formal education, travelers' opinions of the women in the colonies nevertheless showed a similar diversity of opinions to those expressed about their male counterparts. Atkins, for example, argued the women of Barbados were "most *Scotch* and *Irish*, very homely, and great Swearers."¹²⁴ The linkage of the women of the colony with the periphery of the home islands, combined with reference to their perceived lack of civility, emphasized the distance between social mores and social structure in the refined portions of the Atlantic Archipelago and the Caribbean. Yet while Atkins viewed the women negatively, both Hughes¹²⁵ and Poole¹²⁶ thought they compared favorably with their metropolitan sisters. The effects of Atkins's assertion diminish further when one recognizes that many travelers found

¹²² Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:40; Krise, *Caribbeana*, 5 argues the first printing press in the West Indies was set up in Jamaica in 1717. However, he does not note the city (based on remarks in Long, Kingston is the likely location, and the later establishment of a printing press in Spanish Town reflected the need for a printer nearer the seat of government).

¹²³ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 270–71.

¹²⁴ Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil and the West-Indies*, 207.

¹²⁵ Hughes, *The Natural History of Barbados*, 9 states that the women of Barbados are "very agreeable; and several of them might any-where pass for Beauties. There are many Instances of their prudent Behaviour and Oeconomy, greatly assisting to improve a moderate, and retrieve a broken Fortune."

¹²⁶ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 326 writing about Antigua.

Scottish women in particular to be far more civilized and reflective of English norms than their male counterparts.

Yet while many authors found differences between the Caribbean colonies and the Atlantic Archipelago capable of augmenting the sense of distance between the societies, nearly all travelers held conflicted views. Authors like Leslie, Poole, and Long all found many similarities between the two societies, but also reminders of the distance they had crossed to be in the Caribbean. One of the few with nothing positive to say was the satirist Edward Ward, who derided the entire island of Jamaica, paying particular attention to the inhabitants, in a short “Character of Jamaica”:

The Dunghill of the Universe, the Refuse of the whole Creation, the Clippings of the Elements, a shapeless pile of Rubbish confus’ly jumbld into an Emblem of the *Chaos*, neglected by Omnipotence when he form’d the World into its admirable Order. The Nursery of Heavens Judgments, where the Malignant Seeds of all Pestilence were first gather’d and scatter’d thro’ the Regions of the Earth, to Punish Mankind for their Offences. The Place where *Pandora* fill’d her Box, where *Vulcan* Forg’d *Joves* Thunder-bolts, and that *Pheton*, by his rash misguidance of the Sun, scorch’d into a Cinder. The Receptacle of Vagabonds, the Sanctuary of Bankrupts, and a Close-stool for the Purges of our Prisons. As Sickly as an Hospital, as Dangerous as the Plague, as Hot as Hell, and as Wicked as the Devil. Subject to Turnadoes, Hurricans, and Earthquakes, as if the Island, like the People, were troubled with the *Dry Belly-Ach*.¹²⁷

Ward’s critique, although presented more colorfully than was typical, represented Jamaica as little more than a satellite jail, a common disparagement of many colonies both in the Caribbean and North America, yet one that had little basis in truth. While acknowledging that Ward’s critique may have had some merit, the anonymous author of 1740 accused newcomers to Jamaican society of being responsible for most of the criminal or simply uncouth behaviors on the island, suggesting “That vicious People are in all Countries cannot be denied, and no doubt *Jamaica* has its share; but there is too much Reason to believe that more Vice is brought into the Country by new Comers, than what the *Creols* can justly be taxed with; and among the Inhabitants there are Gentlemen as

¹²⁷ Ward, *A Trip to Jamaica*, 14 He expands his critique on page 16, claiming the vices of the population make Port Royal like a new Sodom.

remarkable for their Virtue and Integrity, as in other Countries.”¹²⁸ If, as the author asserts, newcomers to the island were responsible for most of its poor reputation, Ward’s characterization actually helped to draw Jamaica closer to Britain by emphasizing the influence wielded by even small groups of individuals over Jamaican society.

The various groups that composed Jamaican society occupied the thoughts of several travelers. Patrick Browne, for example, commented that “Tho’ the inhabitants of this Island, may be naturally enough distinguished by their parent countries into *English, Irish, Scotch*, and natives the descendants of all. I shall for the present deem them but one united people, whom I shall class into planters, settlers, merchants, and dependents; the most natural distinctions to communicate a satisfactory idea of the colony.”¹²⁹ While Browne appeared to substitute class-based distinctions for regionalism, authors like Edward Long were less certain, arguing that certain segments of the British population, like the Scottish and Irish, stood a greater chance at success when they first arrived in Jamaica because they could expect to be welcomed and assisted by established kinship networks.¹³⁰ Cast in this light, class distinctions in the colonies absorbed regional distinctions in the Atlantic Archipelago, but did not fully eradicate them.¹³¹ Caribbean society, despite its oddities

¹²⁸ Anon., *The Importance of Jamaica to Great-Britain, Consider’d*, 13; See also Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:262–319 who argues that Jamaica is no more a dumping ground for British jails than any other colony. Long also raises the provocative point that if Jamaica is a dumping ground for Britain’s jails, how would any poor behavior that resulted reflect poorly on Jamaica rather than on Britain?

¹²⁹ Browne, *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica*, 22; See also Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 319–20; Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:262–319. Both Leslie and Long offer lengthy descriptions of the various settler classes on Jamaica.

¹³⁰ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:262–319.

¹³¹ Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*, 66–120 argues that the substantial minorities of Scottish and Irish settlers in the Leeward Island colonies successfully integrated with their English counterparts in many cases. She suggests the Scots were more successful than the Irish due to the legal implications of the Act of Union and a shared Protestantism with England, but that Irish settlers were also able to successfully shed the stigmatization of their national heritage primarily through downplaying their Catholicism. Craton, “Reluctant Creoles,” 335 argues that the concept of the patriarchal household so dominated planter society that the social system became homogenous with little class differentiation, although he stops short of suggesting that colonial society only had one class.

and responses to the local climate and other stimuli, preserved many important linkages with its roots in the Atlantic Archipelago, helping to limit the development of a sense of distance between the societies.

Browne's 1756 contention that regional delineations (Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English) from the Atlantic Archipelago disappeared in the Caribbean echoes the trajectory Colley lays out for the development of "Britishness." If correct, Browne's observation differentiated the Caribbean from North America, where authors writing during and after the Seven Years' War described increasing attributional distance possibly indicative of independence. Although at odds with historiography like Dunn's work, other authors supported Browne's conclusion. In 1764, Sir William Young published *Considerations which may tend to promote the settlement of our new West-India colonies*, in which he argued:

Our West India Islands, situated and circumstanced as they are, ought to be deemed infinitely more valuable, than if together with their climate and production, they were driven by a gale of wind to the land's end, and there made part of the Terra firma of Old England. ... The natural effects of place, relative situation, and climate, and the mutual wants and necessities of men, give ingenuity and industry to our faculties, and constitute that busy scene of subordination and dependance, that compose a great and commercial people. In this extensive view, our West India colonies deserve certainly to be considered as affectionately by the mother country, as if they were really so many remote counties, separated from it by seas, instead of rivers or land boundaries: and so far from our being jealous, or indifferent concerning their prosperity and contentment, we should acknowledge and cherish them as members of our own body, thus forming one vast Leviathan.¹³²

Young's observation, even allowing for the promotional nature of the work, reduced the perceived distance between the Caribbean colonies and Britain by equating the colonies with "remote counties" of the Atlantic Archipelago. Young's commentary also recalls Defoe's description of entering Scotland: Both authors found physical distance impossible to deny, but recognized the power of attributional markers to modify perceptions of the physical distance involved. If the West Indies really were just "so many remote counties, separated from [us] by seas, instead of rivers or

¹³² Young, *Considerations Which May Tend to Promote the Settlement of Our New West-India Colonies*, 2–3.

land boundaries,” it was possible to picture them as one would picture the next county over, despite Young’s protestations that it was their distant location which made them so beneficial.¹³³ Certainly, Young’s contention that they were part of “one vast Leviathan” suggests a degree of closeness, being bound together in one body, which undercuts any sense of future independence in the Caribbean colonies.

Young’s contention reflected not only the state of society in the Caribbean but the behavior of Caribbean planters once they returned to Britain. Andrew O’Shaughnessy argues “Absentee West Indian planters were integrated into British society through wealth, education, intermarriage, landownership and politics. They created a West Indian fraternity in Britain unparalleled among the North American colonies.”¹³⁴ Natalie Zacek contends that many metropolitan observers found these absentee landlords off-putting, but the fact remains that Caribbean planters made the wealth of the Caribbean work for them in England in ways North American colonists did not.¹³⁵ O’Shaughnessy argues that this was due to the Caribbean “lobby” in England encompassing a much broader collection of individuals than simply the absentee planters.¹³⁶ The relative ease with which these planters reintegrated into metropolitan society suggests the social milieu they abandoned in the Caribbean closely resembled the English norm, supporting the position of observers like Browne and Young.

¹³³ O’Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, 4 argues that English/British society in the Caribbean maintained many of the features of the Atlantic Archipelago because many of the colonists viewed them as temporary residences, useful only to make a fortune before returning to Britain. This outlook constrained development in way not seen in the North American colonies.

¹³⁴ Andrew J. O’Shaughnessy, “The West India Interest and the Crisis of American Independence,” in *West Indies Accounts: Essays on the History of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic Economy in Honour of Richard Sheridan*, by Roderick A McDonald (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1996), 126.

¹³⁵ Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*, 4.

¹³⁶ O’Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, 15–17 identifies four major components to the West Indian “lobby:” the island agents, the London merchants with trading interests in the islands, the absentee planters, and MPs with West Indian connections.

Young's characterization of the Caribbean colonies would be easy to dismiss if it were the only one, but it was not. On the eve of the American Revolution, Edward Long argued that "The migrations to our Northern colonies increase the numbers of a people who are rivaling Britain; whereas, every man who settles in our West India islands adds, while he lives, much more to the wealth and advantage of the mother country, than he might have done if he had remained in it."¹³⁷ For Long and Young, whatever the minor attributional differences between colony and metropole, they did not create a sense of distance that strained the bonds of national unity. As chapter two showed, observers portrayed the North American colonies differently. Although the North American colonies certainly retained features of their British heritage, by the early 1770s an increasing number of travelers began to consider the possibility that the distance between the two societies was increasing to the point that independence was a real possibility. Yet, no similar viewpoint emerged in the Caribbean, where the majority of attributional categories showed increasing ties between periphery and metropole.

The crucial difference between life in the Caribbean and the North American colonies was the impermanence of Caribbean settlement. Amongst the elites, the practice of sending children to England for their education ensured continual reintroduction of British cultural norms to the islands upon their return. Similarly, the desire of many planters to retire with their profits to the Atlantic Archipelago encouraged the retention of British social customs and the resistance of creolization, to the extent possible given the environmental factors at play in the Caribbean.

This transience also sets the Caribbean apart from the peripheral areas of the Atlantic Archipelago. Although some areas, like the Scottish Highlands, moved closer to the metropolitan norm in many attributional categories over the course of the eighteenth century, the development

¹³⁷ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 512.

of “Britishness” and full integration into the national consciousness did not occur until the beginning of the nineteenth century, as even Colley admits. According to authors like Browne, Young, and Long, the Caribbean colonies, particularly Jamaica, fully embraced “Britishness” in the decades before the American War for Independence, something not observed in Scotland, Ireland, or North America. But those were all permanent areas of settlement, where the residents either had little desire to leave (North America and Scotland), or were barred from movement by restrictive laws (Ireland). Thus, because Caribbean planters viewed the islands as temporary homes only, the distance between colony and metropole did not matter because the physical break was no more permanent than the mental break. For observers of the Caribbean colonies, the planters exhibited so many attributional markers tying them to Britain because they were simply Britons temporarily removed from the Atlantic Archipelago.

Food

Closely related to perceptions of social order in the Caribbean, travelers often reflected on the similarities and differences between the cuisine in the colonies and at home in England. As with many of the other markers of attributional distance, climatic factors heavily influenced colonists’ choices regarding diet and the types of foodstuffs they could reasonably produce on the islands or easily import. While these choices necessitated some differences with England, overall most travelers found the colonial table furnished with familiar food items.

Travelers to Jamaica in particular found the colonial diet very familiar. The anonymous author the 1740 tract who doubted other travelers’ opinions that Port Royal’s quality compared to London, for example, maintained that Jamaica’s “Pork exceeds that of *Europe*, and a Barbicu of a

Porker (or, as it is call'd there, a Shoot) is a Planter's grand Entertainment...."¹³⁸ Michael Pawson and David Buisseret noted that Port Royal's market for "flesh and turtle" sold beef, veal, and pork that was, for the most part, locally raised and almost certainly cooked and consumed very shortly after purchase.¹³⁹ Patrick Browne agreed that Jamaican cuisine could equal or exceed European norms, finding the diet of the better off to be

plentiful, with order and delicacy at their tables: they have great quantities of poultry and all sorts of stock raised at their plantations; *North America* supplies them with flower; and the fields almost without culture, with a variety of greens, roots, and fruit: the general produce of their estates, affords them wholesome diluting drinks; and, from *England* and *Madera*, they are supplied with those various wines and other liquors generally used at their tables: of late they give more than usual into the use of soops, which they find more agreeable to their weakened stomachs; but in the general dispositions of their tables, and methods of cookery, the *English* customs are observed.¹⁴⁰

Although Browne notes some local variation to the diet (as does the anonymous author), his insistence that in general "*English* customs are observed" creates a sense of closeness between England and Jamaica not undone by the presence of exotic dishes only found in the Americas.¹⁴¹ Browne's observations were very different from British travelers in some other parts of the empire,

¹³⁸ Anon., *The Importance of Jamaica to Great-Britain, Consider'd*, 40; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 272, 275 argues the colonists' preference for pork reversed the trend in England, where beef was preferred. However, in the Caribbean colonies, pigs flourished while cows and sheep were "far less fat and tasty than at home."

¹³⁹ Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica*, 103 describe three markets in operation in pre-earthquake Port Royal. The first dealt in herbs, fruits, and fowls, including many locally produced items as well as "apples, cabbages, onions, peas, and pears which came from England and North America." The second was the market for flesh and turtle. The third market sold fish, including cod from North America, herring from England, and salmon from Ireland, in addition to local varieties. See also Candice Goucher, *Congotay! Congotay! A Global History of Caribbean Food* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2014), 29 who argues the introduction of pigs, cattle, goats, and sheep to the Caribbean islands by European settlers was an ecological disaster through overgrazing and the resulting deforestation.

¹⁴⁰ Browne, *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica*, 24; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 278 argues the English could not get enough of the tropical fruits they encountered in the islands. These were possibly the only tropical foodstuffs most colonists were willing to consume, if given the option.

¹⁴¹ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 13–14 after landing at St. Christopher's, noted "...and treat with a great many Delicacies, which only America affords: Here we first eat of the Tortoise, and saw the Pine-Apple: 'Twas here we had the first View of the Sugar-Cane, and the beautiful Fields fenced round with Rows of Limes."

notably Ireland and Scotland, where the local cuisine generated comparisons with far-off foreign lands, increasing the perception of distance between the two societies.¹⁴²

Colonists' attempts to maintain English customs extended beyond the food actually served at the household's table to the choice of edible plants in the garden. Leslie observed that in Jamaica,

There are few Gardens which deserve Notice; the chief Curiosities they produce are Cabbage, *English Pease*, some Kinds of *European* Fruits, and others proper to the Place. It is found the Apple-Tree never comes to any Perfection, or bears but a very few Years; and the same may be said of other Fruits, which thrive best in colder Climates: And indeed would they lay out their Gardens, and furnish them with such Things as here would thrive, they would be beautiful enough; but they disdain the Citron, the Orange or the Lemon, the Cocoa or Pomegranate, and prefer to the beautiful Shades and Fragrancy of these, a Parcel of Shrubs which are of no Manner of Use.¹⁴³

Leslie's observation is simultaneously a rejection of attributional distance in the culinary sphere and acknowledgement of horticultural distance. Like colonial architects, colonists' choices in their gardens reflected, at least according to Leslie, a stubborn determination to replicate English norms in the face of Caribbean climatic realities.

While this stubbornness reduced travelers' perceptions of distance, it had predictable results on the health of the islands' inhabitants. As Thomas Trapham argued in 1679,

The consideration of the customs and manners of living is in no way an alien speculation from our scope of desired health but then neglect thereof often much contributes to diverse intemperatures unadvisedly drawn on ourselves for the want of substituting new Indian ones in the place of our proper native manners and usages and living. I confess It is deeply natural, where ere we are, to adhere to our earliest implanted inclinations, wherefore though we change our place we seem loath to change our ingeny, but needs, though with less reason than's fit, we transport northern chilly propensities, and customs thereon depending, into the southern hot climes, and most improper and destructive to health, at least long life; we retain our ancient English humor (most desirable in its proper place) as to eating and drinking, and other the acts of nature no way to be neglected or perhaps

¹⁴² Craton, "Reluctant Creoles," 355 argues that "the majority of the dishes and their ingredients were not English and were locally produced: an infinite variety and number of permutations based upon native American as well as African, Asian, and European starches, meats, and fruits." However, Craton does not specify the time period he is referring to in this section, nor does he provide any evidence for his assertion.

¹⁴³ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 31–32; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 272–73 agrees that most colonists who could afford to do so preferred to import the majority of their provisions from England, Ireland, and/or North America. He does note that the proportion of land given over to sugar cultivation made growing foodstuffs nearly impossible in Barbados and the Leeward Islands, but even in Jamaica where land was available, those who could afford to avoid growing crops suited to the local climate did so, finding most of them unappetizing. See also Goucher, *Congotay! Congotay!* 29.

diminished, only in an order suitable to the change of the place, to be better husbanded for the vigor of nature and prolonging of life.¹⁴⁴

Although Trapham's observation suggests a certain stubbornness at odds with successful living in tropical climates, the overriding point of his comment was that there was no attributional distance between England and her West Indian colonies. According to Trapham, most English immigrants to the West Indies did not abandon their customs and traditions, even when prudence suggested that they should.¹⁴⁵

Other authors who commented on the health effects of the typical colonist's diet tended to blame the effects of alcohol rather than their choice in foodstuffs. Edward Long blamed "Jew-retailers" in particular for the distillation and sale of a type of rum punch he believed to be the main cause of mortality amongst English/British soldiers and the "meaner class of Whites."¹⁴⁶ Long's comments echoed those of Richard Ligon¹⁴⁷ over one hundred years earlier about Barbados:

Yet not withstanding all this appearance of trade, the Inhabitants of the Ilands, and shipping two were so grievously visited with the plague (or as killing a disease,) that before a month was expired after our Arivall, the living were hardly able to bury the dead. Whether it were brought thither in shipping: (for in long voyages, diseases grow at Sea, and takes away many passengers, and those diseases prove contagious,) or by the distempers of the people of the Iland: who by the ill dyet they keep, and drinking strong waters, bring diseases upon themselves, was not certainly known. But I have this reason to beleeve the latter: because for one woman that dyed, there were tenne men; and the men were the greater deboystes.

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Trapham, *A Discourse of the State of Health in the Island of Jamaica with a Provision Therefore Calculated from the Air, the Place, and the Water, the Customs and Manner of Living &c*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for R. Boulter, 1679), 50–51.

¹⁴⁵ Sarson, *British America*, 115 makes the same point, arguing that Caribbean colonists only adapted their houses to the environment, not their diet.

¹⁴⁶ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:30.

¹⁴⁷ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Ligon, Richard (c.1585-1662)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/74579>. Little is known about Ligon's profession in England or the work he performed in Barbados. While it is not clear what Ligon did in Barbados, the reason for his relocation is clear: He went to Barbados in 1647 after backing the Royalists in the conflict with Parliament and because he was in debt. When he returned to England in 1650, he was imprisoned for those debts. See also Krise, *Caribbeana*, 8.

In this sad time, we arriv'd in the Iland; and it was a doubt whether this disease, or famine threatned most; There being a generall scarcity of Victuals throughout the whole Iland.¹⁴⁸

The comments of both Long and Ligon create, at first glance, a sense of distance between the Caribbean colonies and England/Britain. However, looking slightly below the surface, both authors attribute the worst impacts of alcohol consumption to new arrivals (in Ligon's case, nearly every settler would have been a relatively recent arrival) and those drinking inferior alcoholic beverages.¹⁴⁹ By implication, longer-term residents of the islands practiced greater moderation with their alcohol consumption and suffered no greater ill effects than the typical resident of the Atlantic Archipelago.

Although travelers found the overall diet of the Caribbean colonists similar to what they had left in the Atlantic Archipelago, alterations in individual food items could augment or reduce the sense of distance created by the trans-Atlantic voyage. More than any other item of food, bread augmented travelers' sense of the distance they had crossed.¹⁵⁰ Samuel Clarke contended the bread in Barbados was "not so good here as in *England*."¹⁵¹ Based on the comments of later authors, early travelers like Clarke failed to account for the absence of wheat on the Caribbean islands and

¹⁴⁸ Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*, 21.

¹⁴⁹ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 277 argues that while rum was cheap to the point of becoming ubiquitous throughout the islands, it was considered to be the drink of the lower classes. Those with the funds preferred Madeira wine and brandy, although some English beer and cider were imported as well. Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 32 also comments on the use of Madeira wine amongst the upper class in Jamaica. He contends that servants and other inferior sorts drink rum punch, which he believed was unhealthy in the Jamaican climate.

¹⁵⁰ Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica*, 103 argue that bread was "just about the only European food not available at Port Royal." Although they note there was a baker in the city, travelers and residents alike complained that his flour, which had to be imported, was "too stale for a good loaf."; See also Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 273.

¹⁵¹ Samuel Clarke, *A True and Faithful Account of the Four Chiefest Plantations of the English in America to Wit, of Virginia, New-England, Bermudus, Barbados: With the Temperature of the Air, the Nature of the Soil, the Rivers, Mountains, Beasts, Fowls, Birds, Fishes, Trees, Plants, Fruits, &c.: As Also, of the Natives of Virginia, and New-England, Their Religion, Customs, Fishing, Hunting, &c*, Early English Books Online (London: Printed for Robert Clavel, Thomas Passenger, etc., 1670), 61.

the need to use alternate plants for flour or flour-like products.¹⁵² In fact, Charles Leslie argued that on Jamaica, cassava, “which makes a Cake that is white and crisp,” was “much in Request here, being preferred by our Creoles to any other Bread whatsoever.”¹⁵³ In this case, a lack of wheat led to adaptations that created alternate consumption patterns, which in turn reemphasized the distance between Caribbean periphery and Atlantic Archipelago core. However, because something as simple as bread created this emphasis and it was one small part of a larger narrative of food that stressed the continuity between England/Britain and the Caribbean colonies, the resultant distancing effect was minimal.

Travelers found butter a more complicated commodity than bread. According to Long, “The butter made here [Jamaica] is so excellent in flavor and firmness, that I never met with any in England superior to it, and the cows have their udders plentifully stocked.”¹⁵⁴ Thus fresh butter, produced and consumed locally in Jamaica, exhibited no effects of distance in the minds of readers. Yet a scarcity of cows on the island led many to import butter from Ireland and other locations. This butter, according to Long, reinforced the effects of ocean travel and the distance between Britain and Jamaica: “It is some time before an European palate can accommodate itself to the rank stuff served up at the tables here. On the other hand, I have known many persons who, upon their first arrival in Britain from Jamaica, could not endure the taste of fresh-butter; and I have heard of a lady who, for some years after her coming over to England, used to order some firkins of the Irish butter to be brought regularly to her from Jamaica: so difficult it is to relinquish what custom, *altera natura*, has made agreeable to us.”¹⁵⁵ Long’s remarks illustrate the role of time in

¹⁵² Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 213.

¹⁵³ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 33–34 also noted that bread could be made from plantains or yams, but cassava-based cakes appeared to be the settlers’ preference.

¹⁵⁴ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 418.

¹⁵⁵ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:34.

helping to create the perception of distance. Although the climate of the Caribbean islands necessitated some immediate changes in apparel and diet, permanent changes in these areas, like the slower changes observed in architectural and social conventions, only began after several generations of island-born colonists.

Travelers largely focused on the diets of the merchants and planters who welcomed them into their colonial houses, although they occasionally also commented upon the diets of the slaves and servants residing on the islands. Richard Ligon, for example, described the diet of the slave population (mostly plantains and potatoes) and indentured servants (mostly potatoes and corn), which he described as very similar.¹⁵⁶ Yet the diet of the colonies' servants and slaves did not alter travelers' perceptions of the islands' "Britishness." In part, the Irish origins of many of the servants led travelers to expect an inferior diet and further served to link the colonies to the Atlantic Archipelago. However, most travelers focused on those segments of society with analogues in the Atlantic Archipelago. Travelers could explain away discordant observations based on the enslaved populations of the colonies without reference to British norms by fitting their descriptions into larger narratives of barbarism, primitiveness, and slavery's natural place in the world.

Overall, the diet of free Caribbean colonists reduced the sense of distance between Britain and the islands. Certainly, some commodities like butter and bread sometimes created a sense of distance between the societies, as could the magnified ill effects of some dietary practices. Yet by attempting to hold onto English dietary customs even in the face of a disagreeable climate, travelers found settlers anchored to their cultural roots, which in turn diminished the impact of the trans-Atlantic voyage.

¹⁵⁶ Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*, 43–44; See also Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 278–79.

Dress

The climate of the Caribbean influenced many colonial practices including architectural style, diet, and dress. Settlers reacted in many ways to these climatic challenges, including stubborn resistance in an effort to maintain English practices and customs. As we have seen, travelers looking at Caribbean architecture and the dietary practices of the colonists noted such uncompromising attitudes. Yet as the colonies matured and new generations bred entirely in the tropics emerged, local practicalities often trumped sentimental attachment to forms imported from the mother country.

Few, if any, travelers recorded impressions of Caribbean colonial dress in the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁷ The relative lack of travel narratives covering this period generally likely explains the seventeenth-century absence of commentary on colonial dress. As travelers' accounts increased in the eighteenth century, so too did descriptions of colonial dress. These descriptions almost uniformly described Caribbean dress in terms of two distinct categories: planter dress and slave dress. While travelers may have divided their observations between two groups, the results were different only by degrees: Colonial dress in either form was simply different from proper English/British attire.

Much like colonial architecture, the local sartorial patterns often attracted the travelers' attention shortly after arrival. Robert Poole, for example, had not even had the chance to disembark in Barbados before being "visited by several of the Gentlemen of the Town, who were dressed in very thin, light, airy Habits, with thin Caps on their Heads, instead of Wigs."¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately for

¹⁵⁷ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 281–83 argues that if such commentaries did exist, they would likely indicate that Caribbean fashion followed that in England. As he stated, unfortunately for the colonists, "they came to the West Indies during a period when extreme overdressing was fashionable at home."

¹⁵⁸ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 208.

Poole, this abrupt introduction to the distance between common practices in England and her Caribbean colonies did not prepare him for the sense of dislocation caused by a more thorough examination of the local clothing choices once he made it to shore:

The Inhabitants here go very thinly clad. The most common Dress seems to be a Linnen Banyan, with thin Caps, hardly any to be seen with Wigs. It affords me a Satisfaction that I am got safe on Shore, but the being an entire Stranger, the Oddness of Habits, and the great Appearance of Blacks, occasions all Things for the present to seem strange to me: And, indeed, this is one of the great Inconveniences that attends travelling into strange Countries: The Want of the Knowledge of the Manners of the People, and Customs of the Place, falls as a Weight upon the Spirits, whereby the Ideas become confused and irregular.¹⁵⁹

Poole's sense of dislocation leaps off the page. Confronted with sartorial patterns at odds with his metropolitan references, Poole references "travelling into strange Countries," despite Barbadian society's overwhelmingly English composition. Rarely, if ever, does a travel narrative offer amelioration of such impressions by later commentary on the author's growing accustomed to such sights. Rather, the traveler's first, often shocked, expression, recording an immense sense of distance between colony and metropole, dominates any subsequent reflection.

Poole's reflections on Barbadian dress were not unique, suggesting most new arrivals to the Caribbean experienced similar disjointedness due to the dress of the residents. Charles Leslie observed that "The common Dress" in Jamaica was not

the most becoming, the Heat makes many Clothes intolerable, and therefore the Men generally wear only Thread Stockings, Linnen Drawers and Vest, a Handkerchief tied round their Head, and a Hat above. Wigs are never used but on *Sundays* or in Court Time, and then Gentlemen appear very gay in Silk Coats, and Vests trimmed with Silver. The Servants wear a coarse *Osnabrig* Frock, which buttons at the Neck and Hands, long Trowsers of the same, a speckled Shirt, and no Stockings. [...] The Ladies are as gay as any where in *Europe*, dress as richly, and appear with as good a Grace. Their Morning Habit is a loose Night-gown, carelessly wrapped about them; before Dinner they out of their Dishabille, and show themselves in all the Advantage of a becoming rich neat Dress. The Servant Maids have generally a Linnen or strip'd Holland Gown, and plain Headclothes.¹⁶⁰

Leslie's observations mirror Poole's and point to the central concessions the Caribbean climate imposed upon the settlers: lighter-weight fabrics and rejection of relatively unnecessary adornment

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 208–9.

¹⁶⁰ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 35–36; See also Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 283.

like wigs.¹⁶¹ However, Edward Long argued that such modifications had not taken place, and that “custom arbitrarily forbids [the planter] to enjoy so much bliss, and commands him to dress in the modes of London and Edinburgh.”¹⁶² Similarly, Leslie appears to suggest that female colonists had not pursued alterations to their customary patterns of dress. Residents made some concessions to the climate and social situation, as Poole observed when he noted a lack “hoops” amongst the female congregants at a church service on Montserrat,¹⁶³ but for the most part alterations to women’s dress in the Caribbean appear to have been far less radical than their male counterparts. As Steeve Buckridge notes, the absence of a domestic textile manufacturer and the need to import clothing from Europe accounts for some similarities between English dress in the Caribbean and England.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, Pawson and Buisseret argued that pre-earthquake Port Royal “closely followed” the fashion trends of London.¹⁶⁵

There are two possible explanations for this apparent discrepancy. First, both those authors who observed little to no difference between colonial fashion and that in the metropole and those who viewed colonial fashion as far removed from the norms of polite home society formulated correct opinions. As Pawson and Buisseret contend, “No doubt the citizens reserved their finest

¹⁶¹ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 313 noted similar adjustments on the island of Antigua, commenting on the colonists’ “Light, airy Garments for Cloathing, tho’ not so much upon the gay Dress: Also thin Vests and Caps, which they sometimes ride in.”; Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:32 notes that the colonists’ choice of fabrics due to the harsh conditions drove up the price of clothing to the ultimate benefit of British merchants: “The climate obliging them to use the finer sort of fabrics, these are of course the most costly; and hence appears the great advantage to the mother-country of furnishing her West-India colonies with their cloathing. The superior fineness of manufacture is all clear gain to her artists; and the constant wear, by the effects of perspiration and washing, occasions an immense consumption.”

¹⁶² Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:521; See also Sarson, *British America*, 115 who argues settlers in the Caribbean avoided adapting their clothing to the local environment in an effort to appear more British.

¹⁶³ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 361.

¹⁶⁴ Steeve Oliver Buckridge, “‘Dem Caa Dress Yah!’: Dress as Resistance and Accommodation among Jamaican Women from Slavery to Freedom, 1760-1890” (Ph.D., The Ohio State University, 1998), 65, <http://search.proquest.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/docview/304475791/abstract/48B8893352E84407PQ/1?accountid=14556>.

¹⁶⁵ Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica*, 109.

clothes for public occasions, which were much more numerous and socially significant in early modern European towns – like Port Royal – than they are in any industrialized country today.”¹⁶⁶ This raises the possibility that some travelers commented on the everyday dress of the colonists, which accounted for the local climate and social norms, while others focused their observations upon the sartorial trends exhibited during social events. Alternatively, colonial dress may have followed a similar trajectory to the built environment, with some initial moves towards creolization but a preference to appear as English/British as possible over time. These possibilities apply only to the elites with the means to purchase imported clothing. With the possible exceptions of Ireland and Scotland, travelers largely observed Caribbean patterns of dress inconsistent with metropolitan norms, particularly when looking at the colonies’ slave population.¹⁶⁷

While alterations to typical patterns of women’s dress appear to have been less frequent or drastic than climate-induced changes in male dress at the upper ends of colonial society, most travelers found even the most extreme alterations to white planters’ dress far less shocking than the typical attire of their slaves, which most authors described as something approaching nakedness.¹⁶⁸ Most authors struggled to find an analogous state of undress amongst the residents of the Atlantic Archipelago, outside some seventeenth-century descriptions of the native Irish. As a result, the appearance of many of the African slaves in the Caribbean colonies presented a clear and ever-present reminder to the traveler of the dislocation involved with trans-Atlantic travel.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 110.

¹⁶⁷ Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean*, 91–93 argues that the dress of indentured servants roughly approximated that of the planters in that they were frequently outfitted in numerous layers to reflect English/British customs. She theorizes that this may have been done to differentiate the servants from the slaves, contrasting their clothed civility with the slaves’ naked barbarism.

¹⁶⁸ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 283–84.

Nor was the shocking nakedness of the slave confined to one colony. In Jamaica, Charles Leslie commented, “The Negroes go mostly naked, except those who attend Gentlemen, who take Care to have them dressed in their own Livery, tho’ ’tis the utmost Pain to the uneasy Slave. [...] The Negroe Women go many of them quite naked, and don’t know what Shame is; and are surprized at an *European’s* Bashfulness, who perhaps turns his Head aside at the Sight.”¹⁶⁹ Nearly fifteen years later in Barbados, Robert Poole observed, “There are many Blacks; which, for the most Part, have no more Covering on than what Decency requires to cover their Nakedness, being provided with neither Shirt, Shoe nor Stocking, and many of the Children are quite naked: Yet there are a few well-looking Blacks, and neatly habited; but these are said to be kept as Women of Pleasure.”¹⁷⁰ Distinguishing between the author’s shock at the typical slave attire and their shock at the number of slaves with which they found themselves surrounded is difficult. Both points of dislocation likely produced similar reactions of shock in readers unable to picture a society comprised of half-naked African slaves.

Whereas travelers could attribute the sartorial alterations of the European settlers to practical reactions to climatic differences, African undress apparently resulted from either a certain simplicity or outright barbarity. Such viewpoints neglected the role the slaves’ European masters played in their attire, minimizing a sense of distance between Britain and the colonies by minimizing colonists’ moral responsibility for their slaves’ modesty. Despite some allusion to barbarous groups within the Atlantic Archipelago, outside a few isolated depictions of the Irish in the early- to mid-seventeenth century, few observers depicted these groups in the type of barbarous undress commonly found in descriptions of the Caribbean slave community. Thus, for all the shock

¹⁶⁹ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 35–36.

¹⁷⁰ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 208.

produced by descriptions such as Leslie and Poole's, the lack of a comparable reality within the confines of the Atlantic Archipelago made them easy to dismiss.

Travelers recognized the climatic imperatives that drove Caribbean planters to adopt fashions at odds with the metropolitan norm in ways they did not when considering internal peripheries in the Atlantic Archipelago. As the section on dress in the first chapter showed, the typical Highland dress often symbolized that region's barbarity, despite the numerous practical benefits derived from heavy woolen plaid in a frequently harsh northern climate. One explanation for the different treatment might simply be a matter of degrees – the climatic difference between the tropical Caribbean and England is much greater than the difference between England and Highland Scotland. Given an appreciation of the time and physical distances involved in reaching the Caribbean versus the Highlands, it may simply be that travelers expected to find a different climate and thus different patterns of dress in the Caribbean while the relative nearness of the Highlands failed to produce a similar expectation of climatic and sartorial difference.

Order and Power

Centralization of government functions in London theoretically ensured a consistent power structure and application of laws and regulations throughout the Atlantic Archipelago. Despite such centralization efforts, local variations persisted, particularly in regions like the Highlands and Ireland that resisted London's authority. Yet the ease of travel that came with geographic proximity ensured that over time regional variations tended to give way to centralized authority and a more uniform system of order and power.

The process of assimilating local governance to central authority emanating from London was unnecessary in the Caribbean colonies. Formed by English/British settlers operating within existing power structures, repeatedly travelers to the region noted the similarities between the legal

codes in the Caribbean colonies and the laws in England. Samuel Clarke argued Barbados possessed “Laws [which] are like ours in *England*,”¹⁷¹ while Richard Blome noted that “This *Isle* is Governed by *Lawes* assimilated to those of *England*, for all matters either *Civil*, *Ecclesiastick*, *Criminal*, *Maritime*, or *Martial*; yet not without some few *Lawes* appropriate to themselves, which are not repugnant to the *Lawes* of *England*.”¹⁷² Other authors, including Blome and Patrick Browne,¹⁷³ made similar observations about the laws governing Jamaica.¹⁷⁴ While local circumstances, particularly the presence of large numbers of slaves, made some local variations inevitable, the laws of the Caribbean colonies were, at least according to most travelers, very similar to those in England/Britain.¹⁷⁵

Unsurprisingly, travelers to the Caribbean also encountered familiar government structures. Charles Leslie explained that in Jamaica, “The King of *Great Britain* appoints the Governor and Council, and the Representatives of the People are chosen by the Freeholders. In these *Three* the whole Legislative Power consists, and is as near a Representation of the *British* Government, as the State of Affairs will allow.”¹⁷⁶ This is not to say that all Caribbean colonies copied British law and government structure, or even to suggest that all parts of one colony exhibited similar structures. Within Jamaica, for example, Spanish Town operated under a dual

¹⁷¹ Clarke, *A True and Faithful Account of the Four Chiefest Plantations of the English*, 82.

¹⁷² Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica*, 93–94.

¹⁷³ E Charles Nelson, “Browne, Patrick (c.1720-1790),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3690> was an Irish physician and botanist who lived sporadically in the Caribbean for much of his adult life. Although many of his Caribbean sojourns were spent in Antigua, he spent several years in Jamaica about 1750.

¹⁷⁴ Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica*, 42; Browne, *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica*, 9.

¹⁷⁵ Craton, “Reluctant Creoles,” 327 sees this adherence to British notions of order as a reflective response to the environment, economy, and large enslaved population in the Caribbean. However, Craton does argue that colonists tended to embrace early seventeenth-century ideas of royalism and aristocracy rather than more “modern” social arrangements.

¹⁷⁶ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 316; See also Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 16.

structure whereby civil authorities governed the city during the day and the military patrolled the streets and kept order after dark.¹⁷⁷ In the Leeward Islands, Steven Sarson argues that although the government structure appeared similar to that in Britain, those in power were rarely able to compel the planters to behave in the manner they wished.¹⁷⁸ Travelers to Nevis considered it one of the best-governed Caribbean colonies, in part because of the government's intolerance for moral vices like swearing, drunkenness, and fornication.¹⁷⁹

Despite the transplantation of British legal systems to the Caribbean colonies with the first settlers, many observers noted Caribbean governance often failed to replicate exactly British legal practice. In many cases, as with other attributional differences, local factors such as the climate produced altered imperatives. The presence of large numbers of slaves, for example, meant, "Almost every free and able-bodied citizen played a part in the maintenance of public order," according to Pawson and Buisseret.¹⁸⁰ The responsibility most colonists had of contributing to local order differed from the practices in most English counties, and represented a potential point of distance between colony and metropole. In other cases, the choice lacks clear antecedents. Robert Poole, for example, noted the lack of attorneys on both Antigua and Tortola.¹⁸¹ Of the latter island he remarked: "In this Place there are no Lawyers, which the Inhabitants esteem as Part of their Happiness. Every Matter of Injury, Debate or Doubt, is brought before the Court, which is composed of seven Counsellors, with the Governor, who is chief Judge. Here every Cause is heard,

¹⁷⁷ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 2:31.

¹⁷⁸ Sarson, *British America*, 91; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 98–100 makes a similar point about Barbados, arguing that the island's politics were dominated by the largest planters. There was, in turn, a hierarchical distribution of offices, and the governor was beholden to the largest planters.

¹⁷⁹ comte de Rochefort, *The History of the Carriby-Islands*, 20; Burton, *The English Empire in America*, 188; Blome, *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America*, 54.

¹⁸⁰ Pawson and Buisseret, *Port Royal, Jamaica*, 115.

¹⁸¹ For his comments on Antigua, see: Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 316–17.

and soon determined; who, for this Purpose, have Quarter Sessions, or meet oftner, as Occasion requires.”¹⁸² While the lack of lawyers certainly differed from England, the overall tenor of the judicial proceedings did not. The most apparent difference concerned the severity of the punishments Caribbean courts handed out, although Charles Leslie argued slaves were the true targets of this savagery.¹⁸³ By limiting commentary on the harshness of punishments to slaves, Leslie minimized the sense of distance created between the colonial periphery and the metropole to no more than the presence of slaves already did.

If one area did threaten to amplify the sense of distance between the colonies and the mother country, it was the colonies’ reputation as refuges for the lawless and dens of iniquity. Charles Leslie disputed this notion, contending that in Jamaica, “whatever bad character be given of this Place, its Wickedness proceeds not from a Want of good Regulations, but from a Neglect of putting them in Execution.”¹⁸⁴ In Leslie’s formulation, failure to enforce laws on the books created perceptions of distance as effectively as laws at odds with metropolitan norms. Edward Long reversed this position, arguing examples of failing to execute the law in the Caribbean reflected traditional English/British ideas of proper governance:

It has been a commonly-received opinion, that the people of this island are fond of opposition to their governors; that they are ever discontented, and factious. This notion, artfully disseminated by bad governors and their adherents, is extremely unjust. The native spirit of freedom, which distinguishes British subjects beyond most others, is not confined to the mother country; but discovers itself in the remotest parts of her empire, and chiefly in resistance to acts of oppression, and such unwarrantable measures, as they know, or at least believe, have a certain tendency to abridge them of those rights to which they lay claim in virtue of our excellent constitution.¹⁸⁵

Seen in this light, the failure of Jamaican colonists to ensure the execution of all laws on the books reflected their innate British character and sense of freedom, provided the laws in question were

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 377.

¹⁸³ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 41–42.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 170.

¹⁸⁵ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 39–40.

potentially injurious to those rights. Far from contributing to a sense of distance between Britain and the Caribbean colonies, Long's observation produced the opposite effect, reducing the sense of distance between the two societies.

As with other attributional markers, laws in the Caribbean colonies and the execution of them showed the influence of outside factors and accommodation of local conditions. Nevertheless, observers consistently argued the mechanisms of order and power demonstrated continuation of metropolitan norms, reducing the sense of distance between the Caribbean and Britain. While some argued that the Caribbean colonies provided refuge for the criminal class, the same laws that checked such behavior in the Atlantic Archipelago operated in the Caribbean islands as well. Although the treatment of slaves contributed to a sense of the colonies' removal from the metropole, the novelty of slavery in the Atlantic Archipelago reduced the impact of such observations, particularly when compared to the effect of observations on governmental structure.

Historical Distance

Agriculture

Travelers to the Caribbean confronted agriculture radically different from what they knew in the Atlantic Archipelago. Despite this, very few travelers to the Caribbean commented on the agricultural practices of the planters, and most who did rightly observed that the climatic differences between England and her Caribbean colonies prevented a straightforward comparison of farming practices between the two regions. The inability to generate a straightforward comparison between the Caribbean colonies and England/Britain also rested on the dominance of sugar in the Caribbean. As the most widely cultivated crop, it dominated travelers' observations, but lacked a clear counterpart in Britain. As Richard Dunn observed, sugar cultivation required

“agricultural techniques radically different from those they knew at home.”¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, even as commentators recognized the differences inherent in the cultivation of crops as different as wheat and sugar, they expected to see adherence to generally accepted agricultural principles regarding practices to ensure sustainable fields and yields.

When authors failed to find in the Caribbean the basic agricultural practices they believed necessary to any successful agricultural venture, they attributed deficiencies to the climate and the difference in population, absolving the planters of some of the blame for the lack of modernity in their practices. According to Dunn, “The most instructive difference, perhaps, between a Caribbean sugar plantation and an English farm was the huge, unskilled labor force of field workers employed in the Indies – nearly one laborer per acre of cane on an average seventeenth-century Barbados plantation. Men did the work of animals.”¹⁸⁷ The ready availability of slave labor combined with the fertility of virgin soil to ensure Caribbean planters did not need to embrace agricultural innovations commonly practiced in the Atlantic Archipelago. Thus, although observations of agricultural practices produced some perception of historical distance, authors’ willingness to identify mitigating factors limited the distancing effect of such observations.

Given the inherent differences between agricultural practices in the Caribbean and Atlantic Archipelago, why did travelers continue to draw comparisons between them? Two explanations appear most likely. First, many tracts sought to encourage settlement in the Caribbean colonies. The authors of these works emphasized the fertility of the soil and attributed defects to the climate or other factors outside the control of the planters in an attempt to convince British farmers that they could attain high yields and profits in the Caribbean with minimal expenditure of effort.

¹⁸⁶ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 189.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 198.

However, the criticisms leveled against some Caribbean farmers for relying on the quality of the soil rather than advanced agricultural techniques suggests other factors led to continued observation. Secondly, the chorographical tradition and other sources of advice for travelers continued to influence the types of observations made and recorded. For example, in 1757 Josiah Tucker advised travelers to observe the natural quality of the soil but also the methods of improvement, including manuring, employed by those engaged in husbandry.¹⁸⁸ Tucker's instructions echo those of Boyle a half-century earlier,¹⁸⁹ suggesting a long tradition of travelers recording observations on agricultural practices even in climates and cultures at odds with the Atlantic Archipelago. Because the travelers were observing planters transplanted from the Atlantic Archipelago, their comments naturally ran to comparisons rather than contrasts.

As the first chapter showed, agricultural practices varied throughout the Atlantic Archipelago. Similarly, colonists utilized different methods of husbandry throughout the Caribbean. For example, the two principal British colonies, Jamaica and Barbados, differed. The small size of Barbados meant that intensive agricultural practices depleted all the available arable land much faster than on the larger island of Jamaica. Thus, as early as 1707 Hans Sloane noted that the planters in Barbados had begun manuring their soil after approximately eighty years of extensive agriculture.¹⁹⁰ Adoption of fertilization techniques appears to have successfully prolonged the agricultural productivity of Barbados, as Robert Poole observed during his visit to the island forty years later: "Almost every Place is husbanded to the best Advantage, and much Ground occupied in Sugar-Canes."¹⁹¹ Unlike Jamaica and many of the North American colonies,

¹⁸⁸ Josiah Tucker, *Instructions for Travellers*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, 1757, 11, 14–16.

¹⁸⁹ Boyle, *General Heads for the Natural History of a Country Great or Small*, 52–57.

¹⁹⁰ Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands*, xxxi; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 191 cites an author who claimed Barbadian planters used as much as thirty loads of manure per acre by the late 1680s.

¹⁹¹ Poole, *The Beneficent Bee*, 211.

no travelers recorded that the soil quality in Barbados allowed the colonists to avoid active improvement. Considered in this light, agricultural practices in Barbados more closely resembled those in the Atlantic Archipelago, presenting a familiar picture to the traveler and reader that in turn reduced the sense of distance between the societies.

Jamaica, unlike Barbados and Britain's other Caribbean possessions, comprised a land area sufficient to allow for the dispersal of planters and the ready availability of new fertile land when one area was worked out. In terms of agricultural practices, therefore, Jamaica had more in common with the North American colonies than the Atlantic Archipelago, a viewpoint with which most travelers appear to have agreed.

Most authors attributed the failure of Jamaican planters to embrace sustainable agricultural practices, including manuring, to the abundant fertile soil of the island and a lack of settlers to occupy the entire landmass. Sloane, for example, suggested that Jamaican farmers, spoiled by the excellent starting fertility of their soil, had not begun fertilizing or manuring the soil, although the example of Barbados had induced some to begin preparing for a period where that might be necessary.¹⁹² Charles Leslie hinted that the root of the problem went all the way back to the original Spanish occupiers of the island, who had also neglected to improve the land because its natural bounty led to a degree of shortsightedness:

Here the *Spaniards* lived at Ease, the Sweetness of the Place, and the Fertility of the adjacent Fields, invited them to reside. The *Savannahs*, which are now so barren and useless, were then the richest Spots in the Island, and yielded all Manner of Necessaries; there they planted not only Provisions of every Kind, but likewise several useful Commodities, such as Indico, Cocoa, &c. the Remains of which Works are yet to be seen: But tho' they were thus charmingly situate, and had the Blessings of Nature poured out in the greatest Plenty, it served to no other Purpose, but to increase their natural Laziness; they indulged themselves in all Kinds of debauch'd Effeminacy, and neglected to improve the Soil, or better it any Manner of Way: If they could provide a little Tobacco, Sugar and Chocolate, they look'd upon themselves as happy, and for every Thing else appear'd quite careless.¹⁹³

¹⁹² Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands*, xxxi.

¹⁹³ Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 57; See also Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 439.

Certainly, the image of a bountiful land that needed no improvement to maximize its fertility would have been difficult to conceptualize for most of the travelers' readership. However, natural differences alone did not produce a perception of historical distance, as observers certainly appreciated that some local variation to accommodate climate was expected. Historical distance that increased the sense of distance between core and periphery resulted from settlers from a country where advanced farming practices were common abandoning their knowledge of those practices because the fertility of the peripheral/colonial soil in the short-term rendered the practices superfluous.

As Barbados showed, settlers required greater inducement to improve the land than the simple absence of fertile soil or declining fertility of existing fields. According to several travelers in the Caribbean and North America, only once settlers occupied all readily available land and began exhausting the fertility of their fields would they resort to agricultural techniques common in the Atlantic Archipelago to increase yields. Both Charles Leslie and Edward Long observed this phenomenon in Jamaica, with Long remarking: "Yet, after the largest allowance possible, there must still appear a vast tract of country, whose soil is highly fruitful, and convertible to almost every species of West-India produce, and which at present lies in a state of nature, entirely useless, for want of people to occupy it."¹⁹⁴ Despite over a century of accounts praising the virtues of Jamaican society and the quality of the land available, large portions of the island, in the estimation of Long and others, remained unimproved. Knowledge of the mortality rates for white settlers and the climatic variations between England and the Caribbean colonies contributed to the difficulty of attracting new settlers to the island, ensuring the slow occupation of available land.

¹⁹⁴ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 351, 411; See also Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica*, 25.

The outflow of children compounded the population problem, as parents sent their offspring back to England to receive a proper education. Discussed previously as part of the perception of attributional distance centered on social customs and norms, Long believed this custom ultimately hurt the progress of agriculture in the colony by fostering a reliance on overseers and managers:

Such of the planters who are married, and have children, have generally sent their sons to be educated in Great Britain; these youths, at their return to the island, perceiving themselves totally ignorant in regard to the management of property here, and finding nothing to engage and fix their minds, are soon disposed to quit the country; or rely wholly on the skill of their overseer, whose knowledge, confined and narrow as it may be, they seem to think far beyond what they themselves could ever hope to arrive at, without submitting to the laborious drudgery of acquiring it, by a regular apprenticeship in the field. Whereas if they could but be sufficiently informed by the experience and observation of others, compiled and published, their curiosity would be awakened; interest and ambition would equally conspire to lead them into further attempts towards improving their estates; and, as scarcely and study is more amusing than that of agriculture, the ruggedness of which is constantly smoothed by the allurements of profit, what progress might we not expect towards a more perfect system of husbandry, if they whose minds have been enlightened by a liberal education should employ their talents in reducing theory to practice, and amassing a stock of experimental knowledge, which is so desirable in itself, and is so obviously conducive to enrich its followers?¹⁹⁵

Although he had earlier argued that paying overseers more had contributed to a recent improvement in agricultural practices on Jamaica,¹⁹⁶ Long clearly believed that the owners of agricultural property should be capable of managing their lands personally. Yet it was not uncommon for British proprietors to employ managers to oversee their farms, so while the lack of improvement in Jamaica may have created a sense of historical distance between the colony and the metropole, the employment of farm managers did not.

Authors' awareness of the unique conditions in Jamaica, including the abundance of land and the fertility of the soil, provided a ready explanation for differences between Jamaica and Britain that tempered perceptions of historical distance. Only one author, the anonymous writer of the 1740 pamphlet on the *Importance of Jamaica*, held the planters responsible for the relatively

¹⁹⁵ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774, 438.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 435.

backward state of Jamaican agriculture, rather than its climatic conditions. This author argued that “their Husbandry cannot be much prais’d; for they have few Fences to the Bounds of their Land, but a Chop upon a Tree, whereby sometimes Mistakes happen in their surveying, by running upon one another’s Land, which occasion troublesome and expensive Law-suits among them; but they are sooner determin’d than in *England*: Nor have they Trenches to carry off the Water, but what it forces it self; nor are their beautiful Prospects improv’d beyond what Nature gives them.”¹⁹⁷ Although the author does not discuss the issue of manuring, so important to other travelers, the lack of fences agricultural observers in North America commonly disparaged. Aside from manuring and other techniques to improve the quality of the soil, the lack of a proper fence or hedge indicated that the state of agriculture in a region lagged behind the English or British exemplar. In this case, the lack of proper drainage channels also confirmed the impression that agricultural standards in Jamaica differed significantly from Britain.

While many authors noted significant differences between the Caribbean colonies and the Atlantic Archipelago, observers referenced climatic differences between the Atlantic Archipelago and the Caribbean colonies to explain many attributional variations, including building practices and dress. While those same climatic differences explained differences in the types of crops cultivated, they could not adequately explain all of the observed differences in the practice of agriculture. These differences, inexplicable by reference to climatic variation, caused travelers to experience a sense of historical distance when comparing the agricultural practices of the Caribbean colonies to those in the majority of the Atlantic Archipelago. Travelers to the North American colonies exhibited similar reactions, marking an important point of confluence between descriptions of the two colonial regions. In both cases, extremely productive virgin soil created a

¹⁹⁷ Anon., *The Importance of Jamaica to Great-Britain, Consider’d*, 9–10.

sense of ease (after the expenditure of the necessary energy to clear the land) that in turn reduced the pressure to innovate and adopt more advanced farming practices. Travelers coming from England, where farming over the course of countless generations reduced soil quality and necessitated innovation, appreciated the difference virgin soil could make, but faulted Caribbean and North American settlers alike for their failure to retain lessons learned in the Atlantic Archipelago by planning for a future where the soil quality was not so good.

Manufacturing

Remarkably few travel narratives offered descriptions of manufacturing in the Caribbean colonies, except for sugar production. Sugar, the primary commodity of most Caribbean colonies, dominated descriptions of manufacturing in the region from the mid-seventeenth century to the conclusion of the period under consideration. Without a sugar industry in the Atlantic Archipelago, observers like Edward Long could only compare the development of the sugar industry in Jamaica to development in earlier generations.¹⁹⁸

Lacking comparable industries between England and the Caribbean colonies, some authors sought to distinguish relative development based on the structures developed to support manufacturing and other forms of production. Richard Ligon's mid-seventeenth-century description of Barbados is one example. Upon his arrival in Carlisle Bay, he "found riding at Anchor, 22 good ships, with boates plying two and fro, with Sayles and Oares, which carried commodities from place to place so quick stirring, and numerous: as I have seen it below the bridge

¹⁹⁸ Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 1774 offers a summary of each parish's development at the conclusion of his description of them. He traces their development over a period of roughly forty years by enumerating the number of slaves, cattle, sugar works, and the annual quantity of sugar produced. Although conscience of other commodities produced in the colony, such as indigo, sugar production was clearly the most important marker of economic development for Long.

at *London*.¹⁹⁹ While on the one hand Ligon's observation indicated a level of commercial activity similar to London, creating a reduced sense of distance, on the other his observation that commercial vessels had to ride at anchor in the bay rather than docking at an improved quay created an impression, later confirmed by other authors, that commercial success in Barbados had not translated into development of sufficient infrastructure to handle continued commercial activity on that scale. Nearly sixty years after Ligon's observations, William Cleland noted a similar lack of developed port facilities which he blamed on the residents and poor governance: "there is an Inlet near *Carlisle-bay*, that might be made an Harbour with some Expence; some have offer'd to undertake it, but cou'd never meet with Encouragement from the Publick; it having been hitherto the constant Practice of almost every Governor, to frustrate those things to carry on their own private Advantage and Gain."²⁰⁰ Cleland's statement emphasizes the historical distance Ligon observed sixty years earlier by highlighting the continued absence of proper port facilities in Barbados. Yet Cleland does not see this historical distance as the result of some innate defect in the character of the colony, unlike the type of observation typical in other peripheral regions like Scotland and Ireland; rather, the historical distance between Barbados and London is the result of poor management, an attributional problem of order and power observable in other colonial contexts.

The limited overlap between the goods produced in Britain and those produced in the Caribbean colonies largely prevented travelers from developing appreciations of historical distance common in other parts of the first English/British Empire. Any perceptions which did

¹⁹⁹ Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes*, 21.

²⁰⁰ William Cleland, *The Present State of the Sugar Plantations Consider'd; but More Especially that of the Island of Barbadoes*, Eighteenth Century Collections Online (London: Printed and sold by John Morphew, 1713), 18.

emerge tended to focus on the development of supporting infrastructure, not the manufacturing itself. However, as Cleland indicated, these differences often had roots in attributional differences, not a failure to adopt modern practices. While agriculture showed some historical distance between colony and metropole, none is observable in the realm of manufacturing. Modifications to perceptions of the distance between England and the Caribbean colonies thus depended almost entirely on attributional factors, which tended to reduce the sense of distance.

Conclusion

When the English established their first colonies in the Caribbean, the area had not been the “new” world for more than one hundred years. Yet awareness of the region had not made it more familiar or less exotic. Colonies established in the region, forced to contend with alien flora, fauna, peoples, and climates inevitably developed differences with the mother country. However, because many colonists were determined to maintain their Englishness/Britishness in the face of these obstacles, observers of the region found societies attempting, and often succeeding, to approximate that which had been left behind in the Atlantic Archipelago.

As the previous chapter showed, many of the same points apply to the North American colonies. Yet by the 1760s, travelers to the North American colonies were growing increasingly alarmed at the prospect of their independence, while no travelers voiced similar fears in the Caribbean. Linda Colley argued that colonists in the Thirteen Colonies on the eve of the Revolution

had yet to evolve a recognisable and autonomous identity of their own. The majority of American colonists at this time were of British descent and came for the most part from England. They dressed like Britons back home, purchased British manufactured goods, read books printed in the main in London, spoke English and – as David Fischer has triumphantly demonstrated – retained intact many of the folk ways, family ways, and sex ways of their place of origin. In these respects, American colonists were the same people as their brethren on the British mainland. But they were also very different, set apart by their experience as emigrants and pioneers in a completely different landscape, not to mention by 3,000 miles of water.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Colley, *Britons*, 134.

Colley's analysis does not account for the modifications to perceptions of the physical distance between colony and metropole that Fischer's folk ways could, and often did, create. While travelers were more likely than not to agree with Colley that "American colonists were the same people as their brethren on the British mainland" in the 1720s, fewer travelers made such assertions in the 1760s.

Colley's analysis also does not address Britain's possessions in the Caribbean. Scholars such as Richard Dunn have suggested that Colley's description of the North American colonists could not apply to the planters and other colonists in the West Indies. Yet travelers consistently observed English/British colonists in the Caribbean stubbornly holding onto the visible and invisible symbols of their British identity. While there were certainly aspects of island society that betrayed the differences thousands of miles created, overall travelers' perceptions of Caribbean colonial architecture, order, religion, food, dress, agriculture, manufacturing, and society reduced the sense of distance between colonies and metropole and reemphasized the connections between the two societies.

Timing was also important. In the Caribbean, accounts that portrayed the colonies as attributionally distant from England/Britain tended to be from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As the eighteenth century progressed, more travelers found comparable conditions in the Caribbean colonies to what they had left behind, despite some creolization and adaptation to local conditions. While there were certainly differences, most attributed them to the influence of the climate or the islands' black majorities rather than the character of the colonists. The overall effect was a growing sense of closeness between the two regions, culminating in Sir William Young's 1764 contention that the Caribbean colonies were really just remote British counties, attributionally little different from Cornwall or Northumberland. Such observations form

a stark contrast between the Caribbean and North America, where travelers' descriptions modified perceptions of the distance between the North American colonies and Britain in a way that emphasized the distances between them as the eighteenth century progressed.

Ultimately, the reasons some colonies, concentrated in the Caribbean, remained loyal to the British state during the crises of the 1760s and 1770s, while others stretching along the Atlantic seaboard did not, are far more complicated than simple perceptions of distance or factors like architectural styles. Yet travelers' accounts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries help illuminate the varying progress of expanding conceptions of Britishness. In the Caribbean, perceptions of attributional and historical distance overcame the real challenges posed by physical and time distance to ensure the unity of the Empire in the late eighteenth century. The degree to which regional identities began to supersede a national identity, as in North America, or resisted the formation of a unifying imagined community, as in Ireland, is, in part, a function of perceptions of distance.

Conclusion

Commentators on the peoples and places that comprised the First British Empire relied on both personal observation and secondary accounts to construct their travel narratives. Examination of these narratives reveals shifting conceptions of distance as Britain's territorial holdings expanded between 1607 and 1776 and new groups came to identify with an emerging concept of British national identity that superseded old regional and national allegiances. Looking at travelers' perceptions of distance, particularly those based on appreciating attributional and historical deviations from metropolitan norms, confirms previously accepted scholarly findings. For example, throughout the Atlantic Archipelago, travelers in the eighteenth century described movement towards metropolitan norms, suggestive of the development of a wider British national identity like that described by Colley and others. Similarly, observers of eighteenth century America noted growing social and cultural similarities with the Atlantic Archipelago even as the colonies began to drift politically, largely confirming the work of T.H. Breen and others. Appreciating perceptions of distance also confirms contemporary belief in the existence of a Celtic fringe, similar to that described by Michael Hechter.

Yet appreciation of perceptions of distance yields new and important discoveries. First, many areas regarded as the Celtic fringe were both less Celtic and less on the fringe than is typically assumed. Ireland, for instance, which Colley neglects in her study, many travelers regarded as less distant than the Scottish Highlands in the mid-eighteenth century. Secondly, studying distance in its many forms also shows that observers appreciated the vast distance between Britain and the North American colonies well before the development of imperial crises in the 1760s and 70s. Thirdly, travelers' reflections on colonial Caribbean society, long denigrated

in historiography as degenerate and fundamentally different from England, reveal the startling perception that Caribbean colonists had successfully recreated English social norms and customs.

Regarding the Celtic fringe, travelers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries identified four peripheral regions that possessed a strong “Irish” or “Celtic” character. Several travelers conceptualized Cornwall as a periphery within England itself. The Welsh uplands and Scottish Highlands generated consistently negative accounts from travelers. Finally, Ireland beyond the Pale represented a sort of colonial frontier where few travelers dared to tread. That these areas represented a Celtic fringe is not revelatory. However, by looking at travelers’ perceptions of distance, particularly attributional distance, we can see that travelers viewed these areas very differently. Few travelers discussed Cornwall at all. While Wales also received scant attention, the level of vitriol directed at the region’s residents exceeded the contempt and hatred shown to “barbarous” groups like the Irish and Highlanders and certainly does not match historians’ perception of tight Welsh integration into an emerging British national identity. Elsewhere, although in both Ireland and the Scottish Highlands travelers contended that the populace embraced English cultural norms in a way suggestive of acceptance of a place within a new British national consciousness, their written accounts argued for greater progress towards metropolitan norms on the part of the Irish than the Highlanders. In part, this likely reflects the peacefulness of the eighteenth century in Ireland, particularly when contrasted with the armed hostility displayed in the Highlands during the Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745. Yet the idea that travelers perceived Catholic Ireland in the late eighteenth century as attributionally closer to England than the Protestant Highlands contrasts sharply with the central thesis of Colley’s *Britons* where the major driver of an emerging sense of Britishness was a shared Protestantism.

While travelers in the Atlantic Archipelago described the distant Celtic fringe in terms that highlighted the legacy of past conflicts with England and present English superiority, their commentary did not warn of the threat posed by a growing sense of distance as in North America. Observers' impressions of American society changed as the colonies developed. When the colonies were in their infancy, perceptions of the attributional distance between colonial society and the metropole appeared as great as the actual physical or time distance between the societies. As the colonies matured, writers argued increasing prosperity allowed the colonists to replicate British norms in architecture, food, dress, and speech. However, the development necessary to allow such cultural reproduction created the very conditions that threatened the viability of Britain's trans-Atlantic empire. After about 1700, observers began speculating about the potential independence of Britain's North American colonies. Their concerns tied into older observations that emphasized the foreign nature of the mixture of religious practice and governance that appeared so prevalent in the New England colonies. An examination of travelers' perceptions of distance shows retention of the North American colonies within Britain's trans-Atlantic imperial framework was a non-viable proposition long before questions about representation and taxation in the wake of the Seven Years' War laid bare fundamentally different conceptions about the effect removal across the Atlantic had on the rights of British citizens. While travelers' commentary in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War confirms historiographic orthodoxy that the war had a disastrous impact on Britain's imperial fortunes in the long-term, looking for markers of attributional distance in travel narratives exposes how some contemporaries viewed the fallout from the Seven Years' War as simply the culmination of a long-simmering divergence between Britain and her North American colonies.

Whereas travelers recognized the development trajectory of the North American colonies was increasing the sense of distance between them and Britain even as many visible markers of colonial progress showed successful replication of British norms, travelers and other observers never questioned the loyalty of Britain's Caribbean colonies. For most of the past forty years, following the publication of Richard Dunn's *Sugar and Slaves*, historical consensus has developed around the idea that the Caribbean's tropical climate and the omnipresence of slavery and brutality towards the slaves perverted or corrupted settler society in the islands, making it virtually unrecognizable to those in the metropole. While some travel narratives published between 1607 and 1776 support this conclusion, the vast majority do not. Most travelers, once they made minor allowances for the practical adaptations necessary for colonists to survive in a harsh foreign environment, emphasized Caribbean closeness to metropolitan norms. By the mid-eighteenth century, far from perverting or corrupting metropolitan social norms and customs, observers believed Caribbean colonists had so successfully replicated metropolitan society that the vast physical distance between the colonies and the Atlantic Archipelago appeared to vanish.

What factors explain this surprising result? Certainly, perceptions of religion played a major role in determining those parts of the First British Empire observers believed shared in an emerging trans-Atlantic imperial British identity. Commentary on confessional differences within the Atlantic Archipelago largely confirm Colley's contention that shared Protestantism united England, Scotland, and Wales. Although travelers in the mid- to late-eighteenth century portrayed Ireland as attributionally closer to the metropole than the Scottish Highlands, the one factor they could not overlook which prevented fuller integration was the persistent dominance of Catholicism. While the North American colonies embraced Protestantism, the strong relationship between a rigid dissenting tradition and governance in New England generated concerns amongst

observers, particularly those with memories of the religious conflicts of the mid-seventeenth century in the Atlantic Archipelago, that overwhelmed any positive associations travelers may have made with the establishment of Anglicanism or more moderate Protestantism elsewhere. In contrast, the relative lack of religious feeling described by observers in the Caribbean colonies allowed travelers to perceive similarity with the metropole even where there was little. The absence of commentary on Caribbean religiosity created a vacuum filled by conceptions of similarity based on the favorable descriptions observers recorded of other attributional markers in the Caribbean.

Travelers' lack of commentary on religious practice in the Caribbean also reflected a certain sense of underdevelopment. Paradoxically, this underdevelopment created the conditions responsible for the perceptual closeness between imperial core and colonial periphery. Whereas the development of the North American colonies resulted in replication of English society to include institutions of higher learning, the absence of schools and colleges in the Caribbean, combined with shorter travel times to England, encouraged those who could afford it to send their children to England for their education. Life in the metropolis translated to a desire to reproduce metropolitan norms in the Caribbean for those who returned, even in the face of climatic differences that ensured discomfort if settlers followed metropolitan building patterns. In North America, Scotland, and Ireland, commerce with England replicated some of the effects achieved by the frequent exchange of people between the Caribbean and the Atlantic Archipelago, but sustained commercial interaction drove cultural assimilation at a slower rate than frequent migration. In other words, the relative underdevelopment of Caribbean society encouraged settlers to see life in the islands as impermanent, promoting the retention of English/British customs in order to ease reintegration into metropolitan society.

Understanding alternate perceptions of distance, particularly those found in travel writing, illuminates diverse ways of conceiving of empire and the relative position of the various territories within it. Applying the concept of attributional distance to the Second British Empire (approximately 1783 – 1945) would likely reveal, perhaps unsurprisingly, the apparent closeness of Australia, despite its geographic position at the far reaches of Britain's imperial possessions. A study of attributional distance would likely add to the importance of British hill towns in India, small-scale attempts to replicate England in the midst of a territory that appeared, based on climate and the ratio of settlers to the non-white population, similar to the Caribbean colonies. Furthermore, extending the study of perceptions of distance into the nineteenth century to cover the Second British Empire allows for a consideration of the role of technology in distance perception through appreciation of the impacts of the telegraph, railroad, and steamships.

This dissertation began with Daniel Defoe's curious conflation of cultural attributes with an altered perception of physical distance. Through an examination of how other travelers throughout the British Atlantic appreciated distance and appraised the cultural similarities and dissimilarities between the locations they visited and observed and the metropole, I argue seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travelers identified internal peripheries and demarcated those areas of the empire where cultural attributes and relative development showed an inability or unwillingness to embrace an emerging trans-Atlantic imperial British identity. Focusing on travelers' narratives rather than self-representations allows for an appreciation of the degree to which metropolitan observers agreed with a region's inclusion in this sense of Britishness, and highlights the central role of attributes like religion in making this determination. Distance is not simply difference (or the lack thereof), because a simple focus on difference could not show how eighteenth-century observers believed the Caribbean colonists' ability to replicate English/British

cultural touchstones in the tropics made the colonial periphery appear in Sir William Young's words, as "so many remote counties."

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Gainsborough's Seat, the Roman Fosseway, Grantham, Lord Tyrconnel's Seat and Park, Ancaster, Lincoln, the Cathedral and Castle. Letter III. Lincoln-Heath, Spittle, the Wolds of Lincolnshire, Redbourn, Hibberstow, Barton on the Humber, Hull, the Garrison, &c. Letter IV. Beverley, the Minster; Driffield, Foxhole and Seymore; Thence to Scarborough. Letter V. Scarborough, the Description of It towards the Sea, and Its Lofty Situation; the Harbour and Piers; the Shipping; Great Plenty and Variety of Fish; the Beautiful Parterre on the Sands; Sports and Exercises There; of the Spaw, the Resort Thither of Late Years; a Humorous Description and Character of Dicky Dickinson, Keeper of the Wells; the Manner of Gentlemen and Ladies Bathing in the Sea, Verses on a Lady Bathing in the Sea. The Town and Buildings Described, Ledgings, and Provisions, Number of Inhabitants, Hackney-Chairs. Long-Room, Its Pleasant and Lofty Situation, Balls and Assemblies, the Phar? Bank, Billiard-Tables, &c. The Ordinaries, and the Custom of Them; the Play-House, Booksellers Shop, the Coffee-House; with an Account of the Various Diversions and Agreeable Amusements of the Place. With a List of the Nobility, Quality, and Gentry at Scarborough, during the Spaw Season, in the Year 1733. Taken from the Subscription-Books at The Spaw, and The Long-Room, The Booksellers Shop, and The Coffee-House. To Which Is Annex'd an Account of the Nature and Us of the Scarborough Spaw-Water, Interspers'd with Some Observations and Remarks. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for Cesar Ward and Richard Chandler, at the Ship between the Temple-Gates in Fleet-Street: and sold at their shop in Scarborough, 1734.

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- . *A Letter to Caleb D'Anvers, Esq; Occasioned by the Depredations Committed by the Spaniards in the West-Indies. With Some Observations on the Trade Carried on from Jamaica to the Spanish Coast. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for H. Whitridge, 1729.*
- . *A Letter to the People of England, on the Necessity of Putting an Immediate End to the War; and the Means of Obtaining an Advantageous Peace. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for R. Griffiths, 1760.*
- . *A Long Ramble, or Several Years Travels, in the Much Talk'd Of, but Never before Discover'd, Wandering Island of O-Brazil. Containing, a Full Description of That Whimsical Country; ... Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London, 1712.*
- . *A Narrative of the Life of the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, Late Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of Huntingdon. With the History of His Travels through England, Scotland, and Ireland; His Voyages to and Travels through America, Pensylvania, Maryland, South-Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Bermudas, and the Jerseys; and His Voyage to Lisbon. Faithfully Published by T. Robert, A.M. To Which Are Added, a Particular Account of His Death and Funeral; with Extracts from Several Sermons, Preached on That Occasion, Both in England and America. Also, His Last Will and Testament; and an Exact Description of His Person. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Sold by J. Bunyan, above the Monument, and W. Burkit, in the Strand, 1770.*
- . *A New and Accurate Description of the Present Great Roads and the Principal Cross Roads of England and Wales, Commencing at London, and Continued to the Farthest*

Parts of the Kingdom, with the Several Branches Leading out of Them; and a Description of the Several Towns That Stand Thereon. Divided into Four Parts, Viz. Western, Northern, Eastern, and Southern. To Which Are Added, the Ancient Roman Roads and Stations in Britain. Also Some General Rules to Know the Original of the Names of Places in England, a List of Mitred Abbots, and an Alphabetical List of Fairs Regulated according to the New Style. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, 1756.

- . *A New Display of the Beauties of England: Or, a Description of the Most Elegant or Magnificent Public Edifices, Royal Palaces, Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, and Other Curiosities, Natural or Artificial, in Different Parts of the Kingdom. Adorned with a Variety of Copper-Plate Cuts, Neatly Engraved.* 2nd ed. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for R. Goadby; and sold by J. Towers, at No 111, in Fore street, near Cripplegate; and by R. Baldwin No. 47, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1773.
- . *A Perfect Description of Virginia: Being, a Full and True Relation of the Present State of the Plantation, Their Health, Peace, and Plenty: The Number of People, with Their Abundance of Cattell, Fowl, Fish, &c. with Severall Sorts of Rich and Good Commodities, Which May There Be Had, Either Naturally, or by Art and Labour. Which We Are Fain to Procure from Spain, France, Denmark, Swedeland, Germany, Poland, Yea, from the East-Indies. There Having Been Nothing Related of the True Estate of This Plantation These 25 Years. Being Sent from Virginia, at the Request of a Gentleman of Worthy Note, Who Desired to Know the True State of Virginia as It Now Stands. Also, a Narration of the Countrey, within a Few Dayes Journey of Virginia, West and by South, Where People Come to Trade: Being Related to the Governour, Sir William Berckley, Who Is to Go Himselfe to Discover It with 30 Horse, and 50 Foot, and Other Things Needfull for His Enterprize. With the Manner How the Emperor Nichotawance Came to Sir William Berckley, Attended with Five Petty Kings, to Doe Homage, and Bring Tribute to King Charles. With His Solemne Protestation, That the Sun and Moon Should Lose Their Lights before He (or His People in That Country) Should Prove Disloyall, but Ever to Keepe Faith and Allegiance to King Charles.* Early English Books Online. London: Prind [sic] for Richard Wodenoth, at the Star under Peters Church in Cornhill, 1648.
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- or by a Moderate Tax upon That Trade.* Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for J. Robinson in Ludgate-Street, 1749.
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- . *A Tour through Ireland. In Several Entertaining Letters. Wherein the Present State of That Kingdom Is Consider'd; and the Most Noted Cities, Towns, Seats, Rivers, Buildings, &c. Are Described. Interspersed with Observations on the Manners, Customs, Antiquities, Curiosities, and Natural History of That Country. To Which Is Prefix'd, a Description of the Road from London to Holy-Head. By Two English Gentlemen.* Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick Lane, 1748.
- . *A Trip from St. James's to the Royal-Exchange. With Remarks Serious and Diverting, on the Manners, Customs, and Amusements of the Inhabitants of London and Westminster. An Account of a City Entertainment in Christmas Holidays, with Lively Conversation There. Wrangle between a Barrister at Law and a Foot-Soldier on the First Day of Term. Description of an Infant-Office, for Letting out Children to Beggars. Proceedings of a Society of Affidavit-Men, Watch-Takers, &c The Management of Undertakers for Funerals; with Their Method of Getting Intelligence. Observations on the Behaviour of Maid-Servants, and Characters of Several. Cavalcade from Newgate to Tyburn, with the Behaviour of Jailors and Prisoners. Modern Conversation at Coffee-Houses and Ordinaries. Ludgate, and Its Inmates Describ'd. The Peculiar Talent of the City-Beaus, for Disputation. On the Antiquity of Lace Russles. On Constitution-Hill, St. James's-Park, and the Company There. Remarks on News-Writers, and Their Works; with a Sure Method of Promoting the Sale of Pamphlets. &c. &c. &c.* Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for Edward Withers, at the Seven Stars, opposite Chancery-Lane in Fleet-Street; M. Cooper, in Pater-Noster-Row; and J. Jolliffe, in St. James's-Street, 1744.
- . *A Trip Lately to Scotland. With a True Character of the Country and People: Also Reflections on Their Proceedings to Disturb the Present Reign: To Which Are Added Several Remarks, on the Late Barbarous Execution of Capt. Green, Mr. Madder, Mr. Simpson, and Several Others. With an Elegy on Their (Unmerited) Deaths.* Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed, and sold by S. Malthus in London-House-Yard, 1705.
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- . *A Voyage to Shetland, the Orkneys, and the Western Isles of Scotland. Giving an Account, of the Laws, Customs, Antiquities, Natural Curiosities, Fisheries, &c. of These Places; Particularly the Herring-Fisheries, with the Present Methods of Catching, Curing, Packing, &c. The Singular Sincerity, Honesty, and Temperance of the Inhabitants, Their Religious Ceremonies, Superstitions, Charms, Apparitions; and That Amazing Faculty of the Second-Sight, so Frequent among Them, by Which Future Events Are with Certainly Foretold.* Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for C. Corbet, in Fleet-street, 1751.
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- . *An Humble Apology for the Quakers, Addressed to Great and Small. Occasioned by Certain Gross Abuses and Imperfect Vindications of That People, Relative to the Late Public Fast. To Which Are Added Observations on a New Pamphlet, Intituled A Brief View of the Conduct of Pensylvania for the Year 1755. ... And Also a Much Fairer Method Pointed Out, ... to Prevent the Incroachments of the French, and Restore Quiet to the Province.* Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for and sold by Stanley Crowder, and Henry Woodgate, 1756.
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- . *British Curiosities in Nature and Art; Exhibiting an Account of Natural and Artificial Rareties, Both Ancient and Modern, Intermixt with Historical and Geographical Passages. With a Very Particular Account of the Curiosities in London, and the Two Universities. And an Appendix, Concerning the Posts, Markets, and Their Fairs. To Which Is Added A Scheme, Containing Other Things Most Proper to Be Observed by Strangers, in 22 Respects, in as Many Columns, Curiously Engraved on a Sheet to Fold Up. The Whole, Adapted to the Use of Strangers, Who May Travel to See England, and for such as Go Thence into Foreign Parts, in Order to Account for What Is Remarkable in Their Own Country; as Appeareth More Clearly by the Preface.* Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed by J. H. for Chr. Coningsby, at the Ink-Bottle against Clifford's-Inn Back-Gate, in Fetter-Lane Fleetstreet, 1713.
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Wherein Are Also Comprised, Divers Papers Relating to Trade, Government, and Laws in General; but More Especially, to Those of the British Sugar-Colonies, and of Barbados in Particular: As Likewise the Characters of the Most Eminent Men That Have Died, of Late Years, in That Island. To Which Are Added in an Appendix, Some Pieces Never before Published. 2 vols. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for T. Osborne, in Gray's-Inn; J. Clarke, at the Royal Exchange; S. Austin, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; G. Hawkins, at Temple-Bar; R. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall, and W. Lewis, in Covent-Garden, 1741.

- . *Carolina Described More Fully Than [Sic] Heretofore Being an Impartial Collection Made from the Several Relations of That Place in Print, since Its First Planting (by the English) ...: From Diverse Letters from Those That Have Transported Themselves (from This Kingdom of Ireland), and the Relations of Those That Have Been in That Country Several Years Together: Whereunto Is Added the Charter with the Fundamental Constitutions of That Province ...* Early English Books Online. Dublin, 1684.
- . *Considerations on the Importance of Canada, And the Bay and River of St. Lawrence; And of The American Fisheries Dependant on the Islands of Cape Breton, St. John's, New-Foundland, and the Seas Adiacent. Address'd to The Right Hon. William Pitt.* Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for W. Owen, near Temple-Bar, 1759.
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- . *England Illustrated, Or, a Compendium of the Natural History, Geography, Topography, and Antiquities Ecclesiastical and Civil, of England and Wales. With Maps of the Several Counties, and Engravings of Many Remains of Antiquity, Remarkable Buildings, and Principal Towns. In Two Volumes. ...* 2 vols. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall, 1764.
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- County, the Length, Breadth, and Circumference of the Same, and to What Diocess It Belongs; as Also the Names of All the Chief Cities or Towns of Every County, and the Distance of the Same from London; and Likewise the Names of All Market Towns, and upon What Dayes They Are Kept, &c.* Early English Books Online. For W. Jacob and L. Curtis, 1676.
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- . *Miscellanea Antiqua: Containing First the Life and Death of King James the Vth. of Scotland, ... II. The Navigation of That King Round Scotland, ... III. The Chamæleon, or*

- Crafty Statesman; ...* Eighteenth Century Collections Online. London: Printed for W. Taylor, 1710.
- . *Nevv Englands First Fruits; in Respect, First of the Conversion of Some, Conviction of Divers, Preparation of Sundry of the Indians. 2. Of the Progresse of Learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massacuset Bay. With Divers Other Speciall Matters Concerning the Countrey. Published by the Instant Request of Sundry Friends, Who Desire to Be Satisfied in These Points by Many New-Englands Men Who Are Here Present, and Were Eye or Eare-Witnesses of the Same.* Early English Books Online. London: Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head-Alley, 1643.
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- and Devise a Painfull Way for My Subsistence; Which Was the Journey I Have Past, and This Booke Heere Present; for Which Purpose I Gave out Many of These Following Bills, to Which Neere 3000. Gentlemen and Others, Have Kindly Subscribed, to Give Me a Reasonable Reward.* Early English Books Online. London, 1649.
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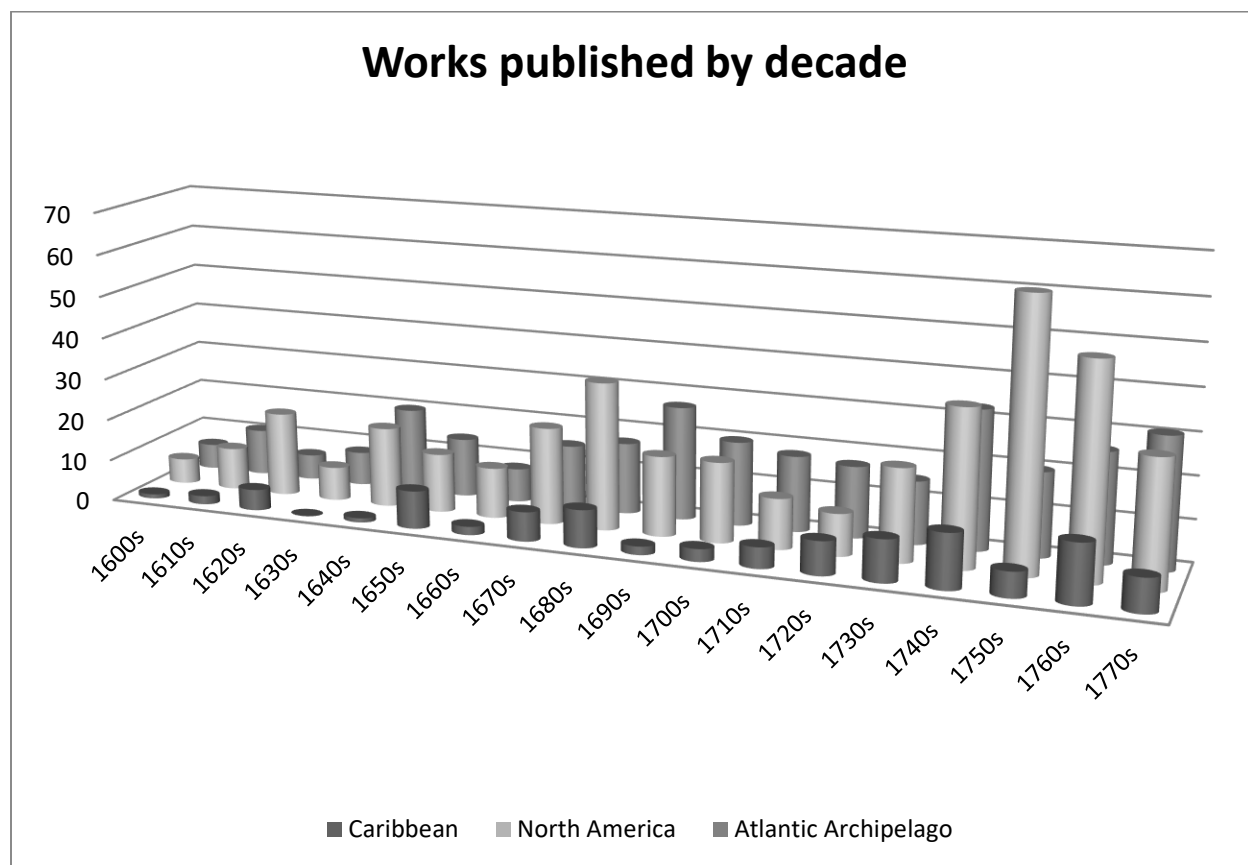
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Appendix One: Publishing Trends



	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s
C	1	2	5	0	1	9	2	7	9	2	3	5	8	10	13	6	14	8
NA	6	10	20	8	19	14	12	23	35	19	19	12	10	22	37	63	50	30
AA	6	11	6	8	20	14	8	15	17	27	20	18	17	15	33	20	26	31

Figure 1 - Travel Narratives Published by Decade

Appendix Two: Distances

Author	Date	Origin	Destination	Recorded Distance	Actual Distance ¹	Distance Error	Travel Time	Average Speed
Jourdain	1613	London	Bermuda	None	3650mi	n/a	63 days	2.10 knots
N. N.	1655	Seville	Porto-Bello	4200mi	4239mi	0.92%	60 days	2.56 knots
I. S.	1655	Portsmouth	Barbados	None	4150mi	n/a	45 days	3.34 knots
Ligon	1657	Cape Verde	Barbados	1860mi	2100mi	11.43%	22 days	3.46 knots
J. H.	1671	The Downs	Bermuda	None	3562mi	n/a	54 days	2.39 knots
Lillingston	1704	Plymouth	Madeira	None	1375mi	n/a	21 days	2.37 knots
Lillingston	1704	Madeira	St. Christopher's	None	3034mi	n/a	35 days	3.14 knots
Sloane	1707	Plymouth	Madeira	None	1375mi	n/a	16 days	3.11 knots
Sloane	1707	Madeira	Barbados	None	3010mi	n/a	33 days	3.30 knots
Atkins	1735	Cape Lopez	Brazil	2700mi	3045mi	11.33%	21 days	5.25 knots
Anon.	1741	Canary Islands	Dominica	2400mi	3004mi	20.11%	20 days	5.43 knots
Poole	1753	Gibraltar	Barbados	3581mi	3717mi	3.65%	35 days	4.43 knots
Averages					3626mi		42.5d	3.41kn

Figure 2 - Physical and Time Distances of Voyages to the Caribbean

¹ The “Actual Distance” presented in the tables was calculated using Google Maps. If the authors mentioned intervening stops, such as a port call at Madeira for provisions, adjustments to the route reflected this. Otherwise, a direct course from the originating port to the final destination was laid out, with alterations to avoid any intervening land mass (Land’s End, for example). Thus, this distance likely represents a “best-case” scenario that may not accurately reflect the voyage. If this is the case, the average speed for those voyages is actually probably *low* since the actual route would be longer than the distance used to calculate the average speed.

Author	Year	Origin	Destination	Recorded Distance	Actual Distance	Distance Error	Travel Time	Average Speed
Rosier	1605	Dartmouth	Block Island	n/a	3267mi	n/a	45 days	2.63 knots
Winne	1621	Plymouth	Ferryland	n/a	1929mi	n/a	39 days	1.79 knots
Bradford	1622	Plymouth	Cape Cod	n/a	2739mi	n/a	72 days	1.38 knots
TC	1623	Limerick	St. John's	n/a	1701mi	n/a	14 days	4.40 knots
Stirling	1624	Plymouth	St. John's	n/a	1905mi	n/a	38 days	1.82 knots
Winslow	1624	Plymouth (NE)	Jamestown	450mi	402mi	10.67%	n/a	n/a
Smith	1631	London	Mocahigan	n/a	2994mi	n/a	56 days	1.94 knots
Cecil	1635	Cowes	Point Comfort	n/a	5295mi	n/a	60 days	3.20 knots
Fowler	1659	Yarmouth	Long Island	n/a	2919mi	n/a	50 days	2.11 knots
Hilton	1664	Spikes Bay	Hilton Head	1650mi	1629mi	1.27%	16 days	3.69 knots
Alsop	1666	London	Baltimore	3300mi	3159mi	4.27%	n/a	n/a
Josselyn	1672	London	Boston	n/a	3066mi	n/a	61 days	1.82 knots
Josselyn	1674	The Downs	Boston	n/a	2976mi	n/a	61 days	1.77 knots
Crafford	1683	Glasgow	Bermuda	n/a	2874mi	n/a	84 days	1.24 knots
Scot	1685	Aberdeen	New Perth	n/a	2988mi	n/a	56 days	1.93 knots
Burnyeat	1691	Galloway	Barbados	n/a	3525mi	n/a	51 days	2.50 knots
Burnyeat	1691	Barbados	Baltimore	n/a	1818mi	n/a	30 days	2.19 knots
Tonti	1698	La Rochelle	Quebec City	n/a	2982mi	n/a	63 days	1.71 knots
Keith	1706	Cowes	Boston	n/a	2872mi	n/a	43 days	2.42 knots
Cooke	1708	Plymouth	Piscataway	n/a	3267mi	n/a	90 days	1.31 knots
Norris	1708	Land's End	Charleston	3300mi	3354mi	1.61%	n/a	n/a
Oldmixon	1708	Land's End	Newfoundland	1800mi	1830mi	1.64%	n/a	n/a
Von Reck	1734	Land's End	Charleston	n/a	3354mi	n/a	55 days	2.21 knots
Anon	1735	London	Charleston	n/a	3729mi	n/a	91 days	1.48 knots
Whitefield	1738	Gibraltar	Savannah	n/a	3687mi	n/a	61 days	2.19 knots
Moore	1744	Cowes	Tybee Island	n/a	3600mi	n/a	57 days	2.29 knots
Robson	1752	Stromness	Churchill River	n/a	2784mi	n/a	27 days	3.73 knots
Holme	1753	London	Boston	n/a	3078mi	n/a	161 days	0.69 knots
Anon	1755	Portsmouth	Chebucto	n/a	2323mi	n/a	39 days	2.34 knots
Bownas	1756	Portsmouth	Pawtuxent	n/a	3339mi	n/a	66 days	1.83 knots
Richardson	1757	London	Patuxent River	n/a	3510mi	n/a	110 days	1.16 knots
Thompson	1758	Gravesend	New York	n/a	3228mi	n/a	113 days	1.03 knots
Charlevoix	1761	La Rochelle	Quebec City	3000	2970mi	1.01%	83 days	1.30 knots
Kalm	1770	Gravesend	Delaware River	n/a	3354mi	n/a	40 days	3.04 knots
Robinson	1774	Scarborough	Halifax	n/a	2856mi	n/a	36 days	2.87 knots
United	1774	London	St. John's	n/a	2217mi	n/a	54 days	1.49 knots
Burnaby	1776	Spithead	Yorktown	n/a	3261mi	n/a	70 days	1.69 knots
Reckitt	1776	The Downs	Philadelphia	n/a	3348mi	n/a	70 days	1.73 knots
Averages					2903mi		60.65 days	2.09 knots

Figure 3 - Physical and Time Distances of Voyages to North America