ABSTRACT

SOCIAL AND SPATIAL MOBILITY IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE:
READING AND MAPPING LOWER CLASS TRAVEL ACCOUNTS OF THE 1790’s

by Courtney Misich

Through textual analysis and mapping of 1790s published travel accounts, this project examines how lower class individuals utilized the growing British Empire to expand their societal status and travel opportunities. Modeled on early novels of the mid-eighteenth century such as Robinson Crusoe and Pamela, these supposedly “true” travel accounts showed their protagonists using personal connections, patronage, and employment to overcome adversity and rise socially. Individuals demonstrated mobility through their public image, dress, and speech. Passing for middle class was difficult, although often achievable through education, conduct, and finances. A publicly available interactive map in ArcGIS Online was created. It shows the routes of travel, characteristics of the travelers’ social status, and quotations from the primary sources, allowing them to be compared. The interactive map was built from the travel accounts descriptions of their travels, social status, financial status, and employment through manual data entry. The map is designed to be accessible and appealing to a broad public, enlarging the audience beyond specialists in digital humanities.
SOCIAL AND SPATIAL MOBILITY IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE:
READING AND MAPPING LOWER CLASS TRAVEL ACCOUNTS OF THE 1790’s

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Ernest and Alice Slokar, who inspired my love of history. Also to my family and friends who supported me throughout the process.
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I would first like to thank my thesis advisor Dr. Renee Baernstein. She consistently allowed this paper to be my own work, but steered me in the right the direction whenever he thought I needed it. My committee member, Robbyn Abbitt and Dr. Lindsay Schakenbach Regele whose doors were always open for questions and problem solving throughout my thesis. I would like to thank Dr. Charlottle Goldy for being amazing emotional support and research ideas. To my history cohort, thank you for always being available to read over drafts, brainstorming, or finding a way to relax after long days. I would like to thank my roomates, Taylor Shade and Madison Rumschik, for dealing with my strange hours and stress baking.
Introduction

The eighteenth century was a period of numerous wars and growing of European empires. Between 1700 and 1800, the British fought major wars such as the Seven Years War, the French and Indian war, and the American Revolution causing larger migrations of their population in addition to colonists and deportations from the isles. Britain fought in nearly continuous wars and extended its empire onto more continents, which motivated its citizens to travel the globe gaining riches and possibly increasing their position in society. By 1791, the reach of Empire expanded beyond its earlier North American holdings to include outposts in the

Figure 1 James Alcock, “British Empire 1720,” 2016

Figure 2 James Alcock, “British Empire 1791,” 2016
Caribbean, South America, South Asia, and the South Pacific (see figs. 1 and 2).¹ Historian Maya Jasanoff demonstrates the extent to which war created forced mobility with the American Loyalists at the end of the Revolutionary War. The loyalists fled to other British colonies and returned to Britain, altering their fortunes and positions in their new homes.² Many British individuals documented their travels and illustrated how to navigate what historians see as the shift between the first and second British Empire.

Historical scholarship has established that class and society in the eighteenth-century played a deciding role in the lives of the British and determined the quality of that life. This is seen in the division and discussion of the different classes by scholars. Kristin Olsen provides a detailed account of the qualifications and divisions of the British classes as well as their number and income.³ She describes the divisions as peers (aristocracy), gentry, middling sorts (middle classes), and the lower classes. This organization of society and class could influence an individual’s economic opportunities and their ability to thrive. Olsen acknowledges that for lower and middling sorts social mobility might be achieved through hard work, although it would take most of their life depending on their profession. E.P. Thompson acknowledges the divide between the poor, working men, and the middling sorts, where enterprising lower-class men blending in with the middling sorts rather than the other poor.⁴ For the accounts, this idea that the lower classes dominated the societal landscape but lacked any method of subsistence is shown in each account. If the narrator was unemployed, then that time was used in finding employment and living as frugally as possible. As Roy Porter stated, “England was a society in which the fences dividing social ranks were, in theory and in practice, jumpable…It was easy to rise towards the portal of the next status group. Crossing the threshold was more difficult.”⁵ The methods of advancing between classes required certain skills and knowledge to achieve and blend into the upper class.

⁴ E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Open Road Media, 2016), 125.
The image of class mobility, through an individual’s dress or manners, permitted the lower classes to increase their options by appearing to be in a higher class. The change in this image resulted from several different aspects of society. Dror Wahrman discusses the solidifying eighteenth-century identity as a combination of class, gender, and politics. He examines the collective importance of identity, which allowed for class consolidation and the societal image of the individual.

My project develops from the consolidation of the class image and interprets Wahrman’s “fluidity of a man” for the lower classes. Historians agree that class ideas and image were merging into defined classes during this period while emphasizing the societal image provided by the upper and middling sorts of the lower classes as poorly, detrimental, and as a mob. The image derives from the relationships and fears of the upper classes and middling sorts, what historians label the “servant problem”. I contend that the possibility of lower-class social mobility created this tension, and not just in domestic professions. Moreover, my project contradicts this lower-class image to understand how members of the lower classes achieved a measure of social mobility through their spatial mobility. Additionally, these cases show how the lower classes manipulated this image for their mobility and identity as represented in their writing.

The travel narratives increased during the seventeenth and eighteen centuries with Britain’s empire. Commerce, warfare, and their unintended consequences provided British society with an impetus for information and knowledge gathering about the known world, which is shown through the growing print culture and industry. P.J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams discussed the many forms in which the print industry spread the information gathered abroad, such as “published journals, reprints, translations, abridgments, and compilations. They did not conform to a common pattern.” The increasing number of geographies, cosmographies, atlases, travel accounts, and anthologies of the travel literature educated the lower class about the rest of the world.

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While these texts increased Britons knowledge of the world, travel literature such as captivity narratives and transatlantic stories shaped their perceptions of “the other”. For example, captivity narratives characterized Muslims as opulent, corrupt, and exotic encouraging the British created their oriental version of the East. Edward Said argued that the Western creation of the Orient through their writings and knowledge gathering trips was to demonstrate the West’s dominance over Islam and demoting the culture to distant and exotic.9

The question of social mobility in the eighteenth-century has been more thoroughly studied by historians for the upper and middling sorts. While the lower classes have been addressed, historians have viewed their mobility as either limited or non-existent. However, there is evidence in published travel accounts from the late eighteenth-century that lower classes individuals were able to achieve some aspect of social mobility through an increase in travel and financial opportunities due to a growth of the British Empire. Through the analysis of 1790s travel accounts, this project examines how lower class individuals utilized the opportunities for travel to improve their societal status and opportunities. The growth of travel provided increased economic opportunities, which in turn contributed to increased spatial mobility. Individuals could to work all over the globe, and this increasing the number of available positions, some of which might offer training or the opportunity to learn new languages or skills, thus making them more marketable for future positions. Travel and increased job opportunities aid individuals in appearing to improve their class, whether it was through their dress, image or manners. The travel accounts published in the 1790s demonstrate how individuals from the lower classes attempted to affect their social station through the methods mentioned. By analyzing these accounts through societal and financial lenses, I compare how the lower classes utilized and influenced mobility. The financial framework examines how these individuals interacted with the larger economy.

The main primary sources I analyze are British travel accounts produced between 1790 and 1800, as defined by Tim Young, a specialist in the field of travel accounts: "predominantly factual, first-person prose of travels that have been undertaken by the author-narrator."10 Young’s description of travel narratives allows for accounts that were viewed as accurate when they were originally published, such as Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe, to be

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examined within their own context. Accounts, like *Crusoe’s*, were social commentary. In this context, these accounts are valuable for how they were portraying the lower classes and their discussion of class and societal problems. The significance of the accounts is reliant on the author-narrator’s point of view and their travels, which can take on several different genres. Both Tim Young and Elizabeth Bohls demonstrate the ability for travel narratives to be a combination of several literary genres and focus on aspects of the traveler rather than the construction of the work in a literary sense. Historian Linda Colley adds “that, while these texts sometimes contain fictional interludes, together of course with a tithe of lies and errors, their overall factual anchorage can usually be tested.” Colley’s testing involves comparing accounts and referencing outside sources and events. This requires critical analysis of fictional portions of the travel accounts to understand their literary purpose. By utilizing these definitions and criticisms of travel accounts as a genre, I can read these accounts with an understanding of their literary purpose of their time. My project analyzes these travel accounts to show that empire provided greater mobility. I thus challenge the idea that mobility was limited for the working classes.

The six texts analyzed in this study illustrate opportunities for social mobility through travel. Several accounts show that traveling provides opportunities for social mobility but there are pitfalls. *The Voyages, Distresses, and Adventures of Capt. Winterfield* (1799) showed that travel aided social mobility through patrons but could easy be lost. Then *Journey over Land to India, Partly by a Route never gone before by any European* written by Donald Campbell (1795) demonstrated that once achieving social status it was difficult to retain that position. *The Life and Adventures of Tom Tackle, of London, Mariner*, and this fictional account describes the British sailors’ ability to travel and Tom Tackle illustrated the pitfalls of travel for social mobility. Mark Moore wrote *The Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, late an Officer in the British Navy*; he showed the traditional methods of social mobility in military and civilian life with the difficulties resulting from traveling.

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Some of these accounts portrayed successful social mobility resulting from employment and travel minimal difficulties. John MacDonald’s *Travels, in Various Parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, during a Series of Thirty Years and Upwards* illustrated the impact of travel on social mobility through improved employment situations. In *The Life, Extraordinary Adventures, Voyages, and Surprising Escapes of Captain Neville Frowde* written by Edward Kimber, the narrator portrayed the standard acceptable social mobility through travel achieving a gentlemanly life. These travel accounts provide only a sample of how lower class men utilized empire for their social and financial gains.

The project challenges the idea that mobility was limited for the working classes; these travel accounts show that empire provided greater mobility. My work explores the lower class’s mobility through their societal and economic circumstances. The concept of social mobility relates to the authors’ profession and station that developed and changed as they participated in the empire. These individuals’ active choices are how these sources alter the current narrative and show that the working classes had more opportunity within the history of the British Empire. I provide a lower-class perspective of class, society, financial interactions and identity that has been lacking in recent years.

The work is divided into three chapters including an interactive map. In Chapter One, I explore the methods that lower class individuals utilize for social advancement and the obstacles they faced. Patronage, personal connections, and self-improvement illustrate how employment impacted the men’s attempts at social mobility. Then in Chapter Two, I consider the different ways the men blended into the middle classes. Education and behavior are examined to determine their impact on lower class advancement and how deviating can lower status. Finally, I explain the method and analysis of creating an interactive map from these travel accounts. By utilizing digital humanities and GIS, I combine the benefits of mapping out travels with the more traditional historical inquiry.

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Chapter 1: Social Climbing: Obstacles and Tools

Lower-class authors of travel accounts from the 1790s presented themselves as socially mobile. These writers used education, behavior, and their knowledge about society to prove their ability to transcend class lines and interact with the upper classes. One method of individuals proving their social mobility was through travel narratives, in which the writer illustrated his acceptable social mobility. Travel accounts as a genre are ancient; however, the printing press allowed the genre to become popularized with the public. Most of these travelers were middle-class men and women.\(^\text{20}\) The expanding availability for travel during the eighteenth-century for employment provided new opportunities for the lower classes, which allowed for increased social mobility. The narrators of lower-class travel accounts reveal a focus on social mobility through self-improvement and adversities, personal connections, and patronage.

The effects of increased spatial mobility on lower-class social mobility derived from the growing numbers of individuals taking advantage of the growing empire. The mobility of the British people began with commerce and then mobility expanded with the increasing size of their empire and the consolidation of the nation after 1707. “By now [the 1760s], the number of British men holding official, imperial, or commercial posts outside Europe was expanding conspicuously.”\(^\text{21}\) An example is the Scottish people who represented the growing empire in all colonies with the military, colonization, or commercially.\(^\text{22}\) Employment opportunities developed from long distance trade and imperial expansion and wars, which men utilized by building personal and patronage networks.\(^\text{23}\) Many worked at sea, which provided them commercial and naval opportunities from traveling around the world. The expanding empire sent its military to maintain order in the colonies, including men fighting under the East India Company banner, which could offer advantages to hard working men.\(^\text{24}\) Spatial mobility provided lower-class men with different opportunities to improve their station, besides those who moved to the colonies.\(^\text{25}\) Men who took advantage of their travels often returned to Britain richer and well connected to influential individuals.

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\(^{20}\) Bohls and Duncan, *Travel Writing, 1700-1830*, xv–xvi.


This chapter discusses authors of travel narratives who believed they could improve their station through the growing empire. As they utilized early novels methods, the authors followed new literary traditions and formats, such as those started by the travel narratives of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver’s Travels*, which developed the novel as a form of prose. Novelists began to display interest in the human character and its complexities through narrative realism. Eighteenth-century novels claim to be authentic accounts of an individual’s actual experience but, “it is inappropriate to look for absolute, unadulterated verisimilitude in these narratives, or read too much into their authors’ failure to provide it.” These authors are Mark Moore, Tom Tackle, Captain Winterfield, Donald Campbell, Neville Frowde, and John MacDonald. They deployed various methods to achieve the status of the middling sorts, whether it was through appearance, connections, or hard work. These men published travel accounts that described their claims to social mobility often with aspects of autobiography.

These individuals’ narratives framed their social mobility in terms like those of early travel novels. The authors utilized similar troupes and language as those novels—such as *Robinson Crusoe*—through didactic and epistolary frameworks regarding the author’s views of society. Additionally, they demonstrated the increased opportunity for social improvement through travel provided by the expanding British Empire during the eighteenth-century. New employment opportunities allowed lower-class men to travel to new places and attempt to benefit commercially. These men illustrated the growing prospects for employment abroad as cumulatively they traveled to five continents. This chapter uses texts published in the 1790s to demonstrate how the lower classes projected this image of social fluidity in their travel accounts through descriptions of self-improvement and adversity, their personal connections, and patronage.

**Self-Improvement through Adversity**

Social mobility during the eighteenth century faced plenty of opportunities for obstacles and hardships from wars, travel difficulties, slavery, and unemployment. The authors drew on their adversities to illustrate how they improved or drew lessons from their hardships. As these men described their quest for social mobility, they framed their narratives with descriptions of their humble origins to illustrate how they overcame adversity to improve their social station.

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When a narrator became destitute, social status became the focus of the narrative to illustrate that he earned his new position, often by traveling. As wage-laborers, the prospects of improving their station meant stability and subsistence. For instance, MacDonald was born as a gentleman’s son, but he became a penniless orphan reduced to begging. MacDonald’s relationship with his social status reflected his decline into poverty and his determination to improve socially. The men’s difficult relationship with their class standing frames their narratives. They portrayed their social mobility as the result of their overcoming hardships, MacDonald, Moore, and Winterfield centered their narratives on their social statuses’ fluctuations illustrated by their determination for self-improvement despite adversities.

Some of the authors used descriptions of their childhood hardship to underscore their obstacles to achieving social mobility. MacDonald, for example, described his childhood as one of the misfortunes: after his gentleman father left his motherless children to join Bonnie Prince Charles’ army, a servant with the laird’s supervision briefly looked after MacDonald and his siblings, but the servant soon left the children alone in their home in Inverness. When they received word that their father was in Edinburgh, MacDonald’s sister Kitty packed up Daniel age 7, John age 4.5, and Alexander age 2.5 and took them on a two-month journey to join him. Their journey began with minimal supplies or preparations. He recounted, “we had two things to recommend us, although begging from house to house: the things we had on were all plaid, and of the finest kind… Our apparel looked like that of a gentleman’s children… Oftentimes, where we came, folks would say, Poor dears! They certainly are some gentleman’s bastards.” With their reduced status marked by gentleman’s clothing, the MacDonald children elicited sympathy and charity for their journey to Edinburgh across the highlands, despite the economic distress prevalent after the failed Jacobite rebellion. These early difficulties and the lack of a stable and traditional upbringing provided MacDonald’s drive to improve his station from his early destitution. He demonstrated through his early social decline that individual presentation could blur the class lines rather than simply accepting fate as destitute children. This concept was drawn from individuals’ reactions to his family’s plight where strangers gave to them because of their clothes which were “plaid, and of the finest kind.”

27 MacDonald, Travels, in Various Parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, during a Series of Thirty Years and Upwards, 4.
28 Ibid., 5.
29 Levine, The British Empire, 8.
30 MacDonald, Travels, 5.
MacDonald’s account also illustrated how luck, hard work, and spatial mobility played a significant role in his path from orphan to servant. On reaching Edinburgh, the MacDonald children discovered that the Jacobite cause had been defeated and that their father was dead, leaving them to struggle in the strange city without connections. A certain Countess Murray’s carriage hit Kitty and Alexander, leading the Countess to find a place for Kitty as a servant and to take Alexander as her ward when his health improved. This left MacDonald and his brother, Daniel, on their own, so they turned to begging. MacDonald wrote how this created problems for them:

One morning we strolled within the gates of the city of Edinburg, to see the fine high houses, and were taken up by the soldiers of the City Guard; for none may beg within the walls of the City; and the soldiers have an allowance for everyone they take up. Our names were given to the Captain of the Guard, and entered in a book. Young people that could not find protection were sent abroad in merchant-ships, in a situation little better than that of convicts, though not under the same disgrace. Like many other vagrants, MacDonald and his brother became a concern of the state. The eighteenth century saw the laws on vagrancy become more severe with imprisonment, whipping, and transportation as standard punishments. Society determined that those who could not provide for themselves would be sent abroad to become productive members of society. In some cases, vagrancy laws provided “the only way to get home, or to get fed, or to get the medical attention they needed.” In this case, for example, the boys’ arrest led to their successful employment that provided stability, opportunities for mobility, and increased travel.

MacDonald learned that employment provided greater opportunities for travel and status than begging, especially if working for the upper classes. He worked as a postilion for a Mr. Gibbs, who kept hackney-coaches, and then in 1750 he began working for Mr. Hamilton of Bargeny, an aristocrat. MacDonald’s opportunities for mobility were related to his master’s status as shown by his descriptions of them. He described Mr. Gibbs’ as “a gentleman, the son of a gentleman, and dressed as a gentleman, every day in his ruffles, which is uncommon for men over horses and carriages, and never drove a coach in his life.” Comparing Mr. Gibbs image to Mr. Hamilton, who was depicted as “[Lord] Dalrymple now changed his name to Hamilton. After he had been for some years in possession of the estate, and returned from his travels, he

31 Ibid., 11.
33 Ibid., 161.
34 MacDonald, Travels, 16.
married Lady Anne Wemys, daughter of the Earl of Wemys, in Fife; by whom he had ten thousand pounds.” The differences in wealth and station between the two men meant that MacDonald’s position increased with that of his master, a gentleman compared to a lord. Mr. Gibbs offered MacDonald opportunities to travel locally around Edinburgh with some possibility of improving his situation by becoming a coachman. Mr. Hamilton traveled throughout England and Scotland, which offered MacDonald opportunities to improve his station within an aristocratic household with connections. Additionally, Hamilton’s wealth meant his recommendation provided weight when applying for positions. By his change in masters, MacDonald learned that status provided stability, spatial mobility, and eased obstacles. Once employed, the instability of MacDonald’s childhood motivated him to improve his station through self-improvement and hard work as seen by his change in his master.

As MacDonald’s early shaped his narrative and social mobility, Moore’s narrative demonstrated that his choices created obstacles. Moore endured large fluctuations in his social status, overcoming them through employment and personal connections. During his early life in the American colonies, Moore attended school in Cambridge Massachusetts; he left school to pursue a woman performer and ended up in Barbados. Unfortunately, for Moore, society placed theater performers at the bottom of the class structure and ridiculed their profession until the mid-nineteenth century. So when Moore planned to join the theater troupe of his lady companion, a colonel who knew his family convinced him to join the Royal Navy instead since it was an honorable profession. He describes this encounter with Colonel Dowling: “[At dinner] he advanced every argument in his power to divert? my inclination to the stage, representing it as a profession neither favoured by public sentiment, nor protected by the legislature, precarious in the pursuit, and subject to the caprice of popular taste.” Society considered actors paupers alongside with jugglers and peddlers, which would place him at the bottom of society and the law. As Dowling argued, the popular image of the performer reflected them as the other in all regards – class, gender, sexuality, and race—as a degrading and deviant profession. This was a result of the antitheatrical movement who portrayed the profession as “promoting an unsavory

35 Ibid., 18.
37 Moore, Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, 5.
38 Hitchcock, Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London, 83.
underworld of petty criminals—pimps, prostitutes, pickpockets, and their like” and turned the public against the theater during the early eighteenth century. Dowling’s persuasion succeeded, and Moore began his naval career as a midshipman thanks to his class and connections.

Ultimately, Moore’s upward mobility from the navy and his extensive travel declined when the Anglo-Spanish wars ended in 1763 and he began to search for employment outside the navy. The flood of men that entered the labor market after the war allowed merchant captains to be more selective with the sailors they hired. Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh described the naval demobilization in the 1760s and 1770s as having thousands unemployed and those who remained in naval service faced declining material conditions. Moore described the lack of options after the war where he was stranded in Dublin. The situation prevented Moore from finding employment at sea, the source of his social improvement that had minimal obstacles to his rise.

During this time, Moore’s social standing again became precarious through a romantic connection with a thespian: he met and married a singer in England, and together they joined a company of comedians. Moore described their wages, “we endeavored, however, to vegetate on this scanty allowance [four shillings a week] for the space of six weeks.” He improved their situation with a position in Bath, where they received employment from a theater manager. There Mrs. Moore received singing lessons, which improved her talent, increased her marketability, and increased her wages. Moore used the off-season to travel the countryside performing with his wife, which provided them with extra funds. Fashionable people often hired them to perform which allowed Moore to buy horses and chaise, an image of respectability. He wrote, “this proofed a cheap and respectable mode for me and Signora Moreo [Moore] to travel, as the very appearance of this equipage, when we entered a town, ensured us a crowded audience.” Their success and image of respectability allowed the Moores to travel throughout Britain. In Scotland, the Earl of Kelly provided patronage for the couple’s talents and they lived for a month at the

41 At the end of the war, “the House of Commons received a statement showing the number of men raised during the war (184,893), remaining in service (49,673), killed in action (1,512), and died, discharged or deserted (133,708).” N. A. M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (New York: Norton, 1996), 147.
44 Ibid., 86.
45 Ibid., 117.
Earl’s expense. This lifestyle differed greatly from the beginning of their marriage, when they were destitute, to now living in an Earl’s house.

Despite Moore’s rise and increased stability, his decision to manage his own company through the 1770s underscored the precarious aspects of the profession. His image of respectability had no effect as his company competed for the right to perform in certain towns and villages where Moore had not received permission as “local Justices of the Peace… were willing to exercise their traditional powers of discretion and to grant licences on an ad hoc basis to places of entertainment and to touring players.”  

46 Since Moore utilized the Navy Act of 1749 to force towns to permit them to perform, this created tensions with the magistrates.  

47 Resulting with “the magistrates, in order to make me fly the town, sent an invitation to Thornton and Robinson, then managers of a company in a neighbouring town, to come to Tewksbury to oppose me, and promised them their patronage; they accordingly came, and proceeded with the greatest alacrity, to erect a temporary theatre at the other end of the town, by the permission of the magistrates.”  

48 The distaste for performers by the town magistrates caused Moore to be pushed into debt and irrelevance. Moore’s company cost him the positive mobility when he performed with his wife. Traveling the countryside with a company made Moore unwelcomed and restricted his social mobility to the extent that magistrates used another company to run him out of town.

The performing arts lowered Moore’s middling social standing from his time in the navy to one of poverty. Moore’s choice to pursue a career as a performer and manager repeatedly made him a target for social ridicule and persecution while traveling the country. Additionally, Moore fought for subsistence as he struggled for paying performances causing him to search for performances in new towns. He, fortunately, portrayed himself as a respectable gentleman, enough so, to receive favor, but his portrayal was hiding his daily financial struggle. Thus, he returned to the seas to pay debts and improving his social status.

The case of Winterfield, the sailor enslaved by pirates, offers an instructive contrast. In his 1799 travel account, Winterfield’s fall in status equaled MacDonald’s and Moore’s but had

47 “The magistrates had not permitted any to perform, but, as I could perform without permission, by virtue of an act in the twenty-second year of George the Second which enacts, ‘that all officers, mariners, and soldiers, that have served his Majesty, shall set up such trades or occupations as they are most apt for, and, those who oppose them, hall pay double costs of suit.’” Moore, *Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore*, 122.  
48 Ibid., 122–23.
different causes. He did not decline because of his profession or humble origins; rather it was a reaction to war and chance as he tells it. Winterfield was able to rise socially in America, where he fought in the British army from 1775 until 1779 when he was sent to England to report on the war. His service in the war aided in his social rise because of his growing friendship with his commander, Colonel Bellinger. Thus, war and travel caused Winterfield’s social rise while they also risked his status.

However, his position drastically changed from an esteemed army captain to one of survival, destitution, and slavery. During the trip across the Atlantic, the ship was disabled due to storms, deteriorated, and the most of the men participated in cannibalism as they floated near the coast of Europe where they were rescued by another ship. Algerian pirates captured the rescue ship and enslaved all aboard. Barbary Corsairs—Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian, or Tripolitan—worked for the local government like European privateers with their rulers taxing their prizes. Winterfield became a slave by chance thus placing him at the bottom of the social ladder. Furthermore, after he became a slave, Winterfield’s fears and insecurities were confirmed when his master threatened him with death and beat him. Winterfield had no connections to the society in Algiers and he did not speak the language. Significantly, the tumultuous tensions between Christianity and Islam created further difficulties for Winterfield and placed him lower on the societal ladder. His description of his new lowly status demonstrated his fears:

> When he began to insult me over insupportable scorn, upon me because I was a Christian, and cast out some Expressions, which did really reflect upon the person of my redeemer… My neck was not yet bowed, nor my heart broken to the Yoke of bondage. I could not well brook, because I had not been used to then, such language; and because I could not express myself in the Moresco, Lingua Franca.

Winterfield’s ultimate decline into the lowest class of all, slavery, portrayed a man without connections in a strange land. Linda Colley details the shock of being captured to one’s culture, person, and status as follows: “they might begin to look around them and pose questions. This, however, was when real disorientation often began, as captives were made forcibly aware that they now had to live and labour exposed to another culture’s othering that both mirrored and

50 Ibid., 21–25.
inverted their own.” The culture shock demonstrated why Winterfield struggled as an Algerian slave, where there was nothing familiar except the occasional another white captive.

Algeria’s systems allowed him to earn his master’s trust through obedience and good behavior. Winterfield gained his master’s trust by learning “slave lessons” and in exchange for a monthly payment, his master gave permission for him to work outside his home. In searching for employment, Winterfield looked for the familiar when he opened a little shop with another Englishman, which provided him with a sense of his former status. He built the familiar status and company by hiring one of the Englishmen captured with him showing the small community of British captives that interacted as they would in Britain. Winterfield’s portrayal of his time running the shop was one of stability and success during his time as a slave in Algiers.

Although Winterfield achieved some mobility in the slave system, this successful image was shattered when Winterfield and his associate were “captured” on a walk through Algiers, then charged and imprisoned for attempting to “escape”. They were recognized by their skin color and as their distinctive attire that was assigned to them soon after being sold. Winterfield said of his ordeal:

When we had walked almost to the end of our tedder [tether], I was desirous to walk a little farther, view the coasts, if, perhaps any advantage might offer itself afterwards for an escape; though we actually designed no such thing. As we were prying about the sea-side, one of the spies, appointed constantly to watch, lest any of the slaves should run away, came to us, and charged us with an attempt to make an escape. We flatly denied it, but he laid hold on us. Winterfield was still visibly a slave and his movements were confined to the city limits as seen from the spy's actions. His capture demonstrated that he was not in the worst possible position as a slave due to his limited freedom, but society still deemed him as property. Both masters bailed their slaves out; Winterfield was forced to repay his bail through labor. He had to do menial tasks for his master’s business because he lacked relevant skills. However, his master had many debts and placed his slaves as collateral; thus, another man bought Winterfield. He was again allowed to run his shop in exchange for a monthly payment and it was from there that Winterfield escaped with others to Spain. Slavery kept Winterfield from maintaining his upward

53 Colley, Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850, 114.
57 Ibid., 31–32.
mobility, but the majority of captives faced disbelief on their return, which placed them in lower statuses after spending a lengthy period in a Muslim country.  

The narratives of MacDonald, Moore, and Winterfield demonstrated the impact of adversity on self-improvement in shaping their narratives of social mobility. As young MacDonald traveled throughout Scotland, he learned that representation, hard work, employment, and master’s status eased adversities allowing for social mobility. Moore and Winterfield relied more on connections and appearances to buffer their obstacles. While Moore’s difficulties were caused by his choice of profession, he toured Britain to limit his decline. Winterfield’s descent was a result of his trip across the Atlantic, otherwise, he might have maintained his upward mobility instead slavery forced him to rebuild his life. These instances show the fleeting nature of upward mobility, and that travel did not always result in improving one’s status.

**Personal Connections**

In achieving social mobility, an individual’s connections could prove instrumental. Roy Porter described the gradations of the British social ladder where language and interactions symbolized differences in status. However, individuals could blur the rungs of this social ladder through personal networks; class distinctions could be ambiguous and negotiable. These connections and hard work provided an acceptable method of social mobility. Personal connections, however, differ slightly from patronage which was a formal relationship regarding the advancement of one’s career. These are connections are “part of a network of ‘friends’ to whom they could look for help and advice in matters of importance, such as apprenticeship or marriage, and who might well turn to them as they grew older and more experienced in the world.” Kristen Olsen stated that of those who improved socially, the majority were tradesmen or manufacturers; but those who rose quickly and drastically up the social ladder often used inheritance, marriage to an heiress, or friends’ influence. Frowde and Winterfield are two examples of men who rose through personal connections despite the limitations imposed by the

vagaries of sea travel. Moore and MacDonald, in contrast, showed the limitations of personal networks regarding social mobility.

One of the earliest travel narratives to show social mobility through personal connections was *The Life, Extraordinary Adventures, Voyages, and Surprising Escapes of Captain Neville Frowde* by Edward Kimber, who published multiple fictional travel narratives. Called the “anonymous novelist of the mid-eighteenth century,” Kimber was a lesser-known travel novelist in the genre of Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift. 62 Tim Young defined the genre previously, Kimber wrote Frowde’s narrative as a first-person prose, but, the account blurs the lines of travel narrative on the factual nature of the narrative. Kimber was not recognized as the author but the public believed Frowde’s account to be true and illustrated that social mobility into the middling sorts was possible. In eighteenth-century literature, Frowde’s narrative provided an ideal of an eighteenth-century man partaking in the available social mobility. He used personal connections to improve his situation, first as a young boy, then later in life when returning to Europe from South America.

Kimber’s fictional character Frowde utilized personal connections at a young age, unintentionally improving his situation in life. His father, a trader and ship captain, moved his family to Virginia leaving two-year-old Frowde in the care of his grandparents. When he was five, his grandparents died and his uncle became his guardian. The death of Frowde’s father, who inherited the grandparent’s estate, changed his status in the household. His uncle isolated and demoted his nephew to the status of a servant to steal Frowde’s fortune. He described his situation bleakly, “my diet was so sparingly given to me, that I was almost starved; nay, should have been quite so, but for the good nature of the children, who stole what they could for me; and the servants, when their mistress’s back was turned, did the same.” 63 Frowde utilized family and servants to survive living in his uncle’s household.

Frowde included relationships outside the nuclear family—grandparents, cousins, and servants—creating a dense network of personal connections that provided individual security. 64 He developed friendships with his cousins, who broke their parents’ rules by helping him with

his chores and sneaking him food. These familial connections aided Frowde when his uncle was determined to diminish Frowde below the status of a servant as Kimber wrote: “employed in the lowest drudgeries of the family.”

As Frowde worked and lived amongst the servants, he did not realize their help to him could threaten their livelihood. Kristin Olsen describes servants’ difficulties as “An employer could dismiss a servant for the slightest cause: rudeness, dishonesty, suspected theft, or even inconvenience.” By disregarding their employers, the servants could lose their positions and future work from recommendations however, they aided Frowde without any benefits to themselves. Frowde’s ability to build relationships with his cousins and servants benefitted him when his status was non-existent. Because of his sudden poverty, Frowde showed the drastic change in the station from family member to ignored servant. His cousins and servants’ aid prevented his descent into destitution and despair. These early connections affected Frowde’s understanding of social relations.

Seafaring forged connections within the crew which, promoted men through the social ranks, despite the uncertain nature of their profession due to storms or sea battles threatening their safety, and the inherent lack of job security. Frowde maintained his now middling sort of lifestyle through his connections with Captain M'Namara, but in general, life at sea caused decline and death. Sea travel was not a guaranteed success for social mobility. The dangers at sea ranged from storms and bad weather, pirates off the coast of Africa and the Caribbean, or a rival nation's navy.

Frowde learned how nature could humble anyone’s status without concern, as Winterfield also discovered in the winter of 1779-1780 when his ship was stranded in the Atlantic. He described it as "a wreck in the fullest sense of the expression; and death became so seemingly unavoidable, that I even gave up hope, that last consolation of all the wretched, and prepared for an immediate launch into the dreaded Gulf of eternity.” Winterfield’s connection to the general did not matter when stranded in the Atlantic. The seas, like war, could improve one’s station or leave them dead or disgraced. Frowde and Winterfield reveal that even though they were well connected in a society that meant nothing when traveling by ship.

65 Kimber, Surprising Escapes of Captain Neville Frowde, 11.
Personal connections improved both Winterfield’s and Frowde's station in life and provided them with the appearance of security. As Linda Colley has shown, there was minimal security at sea due to uncontrollable forces. These outside forces caused fear and insecurity of the men’s status and position within society. For Winterfield, this was played out during his time aboard the decaying vessel when he feared that his crew first would kill him then later after the food had run out, that they would consume him. He found himself without connections writing about the men’s cannibalism, “Although they had been so kind as to acquaint me with their resolution, they would oblige me to take my chance as well as the others since the general misfortune had levelled all distinction of persons.” Winterfield’s shipmates threatened his life and status who were not concerned about his connections. However, connections did not aid the men in initially improving their status or escaping from their destitution.

While Winterfield and Frowde utilized their connections to escape their subjugated status and social improvement, personal connections are negated when individuals break with society’s acceptable conduct. When individuals deviated from society’s norms, they did so through profession and sexual reputation. Moore managed his connections to continue his profession as a performer. He knew that as a career, theater provided little in the way of social mobility. However, when he fell in love with a singer, they married and he worked as a performer. One cannot help but remember Colonel Dowling’s warning that Moore would not be protected legally or publicly due to the precarious nature of the profession. Performers are portrayed as the other placing them with “lesser servants, or worse, with social outcasts such as Gypsies and vagabonds,” which limited their earnings. Moore was fortunate to have connections with other performing companies when he was falsely imprisoned at Worcester castle for robbery, Mrs. Collins used her influence to prevent Moore from running her husband’s company. While he was released on bail, “I was visited by many of Mr. Kemble’s Company, then at Worcester. The officers of the militia carried their kindness so far, as to insist on my having a benefit in the city…so that from gold tickets and a crowded house, I netted sixty pounds.”

68 Colley, Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850, 1–3.
69 Winterfield, The Voyages, Distresses, and Adventures of Capt. Winterfield., 12–19.
70 Ibid., 16.
71 Moore, Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, 5.
72 Straub, Sexual Suspects, 152.
73 Moore, Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, 131–33.
74 Ibid., 135–36.
personal network of performers that aided when society threatened his reputation and status. His friends shared the news of his plight and he received a benefit, which would improve his situation after prison. Moore knew the risks of being a performer but his persistence illustrated that his desires for social mobility relied on personal connections and finance rather than focusing on status.

Much like Moore, MacDonald relied on personal connections to improve his status. His personal network began because of being a servant, which required job references. Carolyn Steedman wrote, “the master has generally been so imprudent as to have hired that servant without requiring a written, or indeed any, character from his last master” reinforcing the need for servants to maintain respectable conduct and relationships with their masters. The employment market being favorable to employers with servants fired for trivial causes. MacDonald benefited initially from the connection to his first aristocratic master. Yet, MacDonald earned the reputation of a ladies’ man, which in the 18th century as a male servant severely limited his job prospects to single men. MacDonald described the negative effects of his reputation of being a womanizer:

Then a report went through Edinburgh concerning me. Colonel Skeene told me of it, when his servant came home, and desired me to go to London and get a place; for no family, here, said the Colonel, will hire you, for the fear their women. And the servants in Edinburgh said, damn you, MacDonald, I suppose when you was born, you was thrown into a woman's shift, and the women and you are still striving for it.

Since MacDonald’s reputation was a rake with respectable households refusing to hire MacDonald. For men, MacDonald showed that society expected men to adhere to the ideas of politeness, which formed middle-class values in the Victorian period. Historian Lawrence Klein described politeness traits as being simplicity, social agreeability, against excesses, having strict values and agreeableness. MacDonald used these ideas of politeness; his significant network of personal connections but his reputation reduced opportunities, thus MacDonald traveled throughout the empire to increase his social mobility. The ability for personal connections to prove one status socially aided Moore and MacDonald, initially improving one’s status. However, these men showed that even this has limitations based on their reputation.

77 MacDonald, *Travels*, 61.
Personal connections impacted social mobility leading to dramatic fluctuations with the men’s attempts to cross between classes. Men improved their station through their connections such as the reputation and references. Perceptions complicated one’s status, whether it was from enslavement, the dangers of traveling or from the numerous wars and skirmishes that occurred. Society’s perception could diminish one’s status if their actions or profession conflicted with the established norms even, with friends’ influence. These perceptions counteracted any rise in status from personal connection as with MacDonald and Moore.

**Patronage**

A formal patronage relationship allowed lower class individuals to improve their situation based on employment. Unlike personal connections, patronage was beyond family and friends but often built upon hard work and merit. During the eighteenth century, historian Harold Perkin wrote of patronage as “a social nexus peculiar to the old society, less formal and inescapable than feudal homage, more personal and comprehensive than the contractual, employment relationships of capitalist ‘Cash Payment.’”79 Patronage’s influence varied by occupation with traditional and hierarchical positions benefitting greatly while enslavement and civilian labor often did not have clear patrons. Employment offered opportunities for upward mobility; patronage provided financial security, jobs, and advancement for the clients.

**Seafaring Patronage**

Working at sea has employed Britons for centuries. With the growth of long distance trade and empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a new method of social mobility was available to Britons. Employment took two main avenues, the Royal Navy and merchant marine—sailors often worked for both during their careers. The navy defended Britain throughout their nearly continuous wars in the eighteenth-century, thus making the navy and its sailors the patriotic symbol of the empire. 80 The treatment and reputation of sailors, merchants and naval, affected their ability to improve socially. Sailors had a respected reputation by British society, often romanticized in popular songs and tales. Since most sailors served aboard both naval and merchant ships, this reputation applied to all British sailors as seen by Tackle, Moore, and Frowde (see Figure 3). Since seafaring was a respectable profession, entry into seafaring was

open to all classes; but, the lower ranks aboard the ships often faced more danger and lower pay than officers. Kristin Olsen states, “Ordinary seamen, soldiers, and militiamen were overwhelmingly poor. Officers, on the other hand, were frequently wealthy and well-connected.” However, seafaring required specialized skills that provided those common seamen with financial mobility greater than other professions and more opportunities for patronage from officers. The risks of sailing—shipwrecks, dangerous conditions, or failure to receive pay—could cause debt for many. Despite this risk, seafaring provided men like Tackle, Moore, and Frowde, with a respectable profession that led to social mobility through patronage.

In the navy, a “successful patronage was the key to a successful career, the principal means by which a reliable ship’s company was cemented, and one of the strongest of the social forces within the Navy.” The relationship between patrons and clients aided the sailors in finding new positions, solving fiscal problems, and receiving an education. The navy and merchant ships used patronage “to recommend the most industrious, trustworthy, and disciplined seamen and to exclude troublemakers who obstructed voyages.”

For young boys such as Frowde being apprenticed to a ship’s captain provided them with an education and means of promotion through the profession.

Frowde apprenticed at nine years old; this was common with some boys sent to sea at six. As a historian, N.A.M. Rogers explained that, if in the Royal Navy, these boys were servants to the officers, received

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their education, and then promoted to ‘able seamen’ sometimes by eleven or twelve. Rodger, *The Wooden World*, 27–28. Naval regulations said officers’ servants or apprentices should not start before eleven; however, Rodger states the many boys were at sea between six and eight disregarding the regulation. These boys were from any background and received a basic education including navigation.


family friend, who “that he would exert his interest to provide for me in a manner suitable to my connections and education.” Moore was recommended to Captain Tyrrel of the Royal Navy and entered as midshipman rather than an ordinary seaman due to his connection to Colonel Dowling. Serving as a midshipman in the navy placed Moore on the path of upward mobility with a post that provided opportunities for social advancement.

During Moore’s service under Tyrrel, his hard work earned him his second letter of recommendation placing him in the Mediterranean fleet under Admiral Saunders in the 1760s. This patronage provided him with expanded possibilities for social mobility. Moore explained the benefits, “When the Admiral [Saunders] fitted out an armed xebeck [frigate], of which he gave me the command, and a commission as acting lieutenant.” Moore earned Saunders’ trust from Tyrrel’s letter and his service under Saunders confirmed his merit by complimenting his actions during the war. This promotion placed Moore as a commissioned naval officer with the status and finances that derived from the post. From his captaincy, Moore built a small fortune from taking Spanish vessels and improved his status by allowing him to interact with aristocrats and ‘middling’ individuals. Naval patronage provided Moore access to the upper classes of society and the financial means to live at least in the ‘middling’ sorts.

Frowde and Moore moved into the ‘middling’ sorts from patronage, but Tackle received patronage from a successful merchant captain as a pension. The captain wished to repay Tackle for the “Voyage from Jamaica, by being over-laden had nearly foundered in a gale of wind, but was miraculously saved by the whimsical occurrence of Tom’s shirt, which he had hung by a tow-line at the side of the vessel, being sucked into the leak; and that prior to this circumstance, his skill and exertions had recommended him to the notice of the captain.” His patronage was built from Tackle’s merit and experience; the captain appreciated him saving the ship and its contents. For Tackle, his relationship with the captain after the voyage was fortunate since he was living in destitution at the end of his career. Sailors expected “when followers grew old or ill, they looked to their patrons to get them superannuated or pensioned.” Tackle received a small stipend and lodgings to stay through his patron that allowed him to live out his final days

89 Moore, Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, 6.
90 Ibid., 48.
91 Ibid., 57–58.
92 Tackle, The Life and Adventures of Tom Tackle, of London, Mariner., 104.
in relative comfort. This patronage prevented Tackle from destitution and maintained a respectable status, not in the ‘middling’ sorts but not at the bottom of the lower classes.

Patronage provided lower class individuals with social mobility through job promotion, finances, or security. Both Frowde and Moore used patronage to move into the ‘middling’ sorts. Frowde gained further financial security from being adopted by his patron and later marrying into the family. Moore and Tackle spent most of their lives at sea with Moore utilizing patronage at the beginning of his and Tackle needing it at the end. Patronage kept many sailors from poverty and aided many with upward social mobility.

**Army Patronage**

Charles James Fox stated the British perspective on the army as, “Better governed by a mob, than a standing army.” The popular perspective meant that the British army compared to other European armies was significantly smaller, for example “in 1794, its strength was 45,000, compared to Prussia’s 190,000.” These low numbers and unpopularity stemmed from the perception of soldiers and British view of the army as a source of monarchical repression, unlike the navy. The people believed standing armies could be used for tyranny. This fear grew with the Hanoverian kings who relied on the armies more than the navy. As the eighteenth century progressed, the government started to fear standing armies as well because armed citizens could threaten the government. The army was never as popular as the navy and Roy Porter refers to Britain’s peacetime standing army numbers as “pygmy” compared to the continental powers. By the end of the century with Britain at war with France and Napoleon, there was a switch in perception and the soldier became a symbol of protection and the empire. These changing public sentiments about army affected the ability for soldiers to increase their status based on their pay and reputation.

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95 Ibid.
Most soldiers worked for local militias, East India Company (EIC) army, or the standing army, which unlike entry into the navy, required financial commitments. During wartime, “the army focused its recruiting energies upon the lower end of the employment scale and, where this served to create gaps in the labour market by drawing unskilled workers into the armed forces, these voids were filled by the unemployed.”¹⁰⁰ The army drawing from larger portions of British society meant that lower class men had opportunities to improve their station through merit and patronage. Unlike the Royal Navy, the army reflected the socioeconomic order and thus reinforced the patronage system.¹⁰¹ Historian Richard Holmes claimed that the army “displayed a very British mixture of checks and balances, shot through with odd historical survivals and a whole host of offices, great and small, which played their part in a wider system of patronage characteristic of the age.”¹⁰² This system advanced many careers allowing for lower class men improve often with the reward being an officer’s commission with them “being gained by seniority, through patronage or as a reward for long, gallant or distinguished service.”¹⁰³ Patronage was key to advancement in the army, where the connections impacted individual careers even after they left the army. Winterfield and Campbell both utilized the army as a method of social mobility built on patronage networks.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 14.
¹⁰³ Ibid., 157.
Winterfield fought in the American Revolution from 1765 to 1779 under Colonel Bellinger. During this period, Bellinger and Winterfield built a friendship and patronage. He wrote of Bellinger, “He was likewise a native of North Britain; but married a lady of immense fortune in England, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. His chief residence, when at home, was in the county of Norfolk.” Winterfield’s description of Bellinger defined him as a man of fortune and status, acquired through his wife’s position; this status proved useful to Winterfield for employment and security after the war.

Bellinger’s patronage provided Winterfield with security for his family during the war. After he was injured in 1779, Winterfield realized that his daughter and mother would be destitute without him. Winterfield’s anxiety caused Bellinger to “charged himself, on the honour of a soldier, with the care of Mrs. Winterfield, and my little daughter, should that event take place at any future period.” Bellinger offered the security to Winterfield’s family that was not guaranteed for lower classes families. In addition to promised security for his family, Bellinger’s patronage expanded Winterfield’s contacts with higher classes, generals, and aristocrats, who could offer patronage. One instance of new patronage was when General Cornwallis entrusted him with reporting to the English court about the war effort. Winterfield left the colonies with upward mobility and connections due to his employment in the army.

While Winterfield illustrated the benefits of army patronage during service, Campbell showed how patronage benefited soldiers after they left the army from his time in India. Upon returning to England or even while in India, soldiers called on their patrons for promotions, recommendations, or financial aid like the navy. The East India Company offered young men with opportunities for employment and patronage through the merchant or army service. Campbell’s patron, Sir Archibald Campbell, spoke to the EIC board on behalf of Campbell’s service during the Second Mysore War. The letter Sir Campbell wrote to the chairman of the board went as follows:

I forgot to mention to you this forenoon, and again to repeat my earnest wishes, you would take the case of Mr. Campbell speedily into your consideration. His sufferings were of such a nature, and his services so meritorious, that I am persuaded, upon a fair investigation of both, you will give him your firmest support. I have looked into all his papers; and the testimonies of essential services rendered to the Company by him do him,

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105 Ibid., 5-6.
in my opinion, the highest honour. Unless such merits are recompensed, few will risk everything, as Mr. Campbell did, to promote the success of the Company’s arms in India. Sir Campbell’s request for recompense for Campbell meant either monetary or professional reward, both would promote his social status as his patron or merit became known. His hard work brought him to the attention of the EIC board of directors thanks to Sir Campbell who portrayed him as the exemplary soldier and representative of the company as “men rarely risked their lives for money alone, but their sense of value sprang not just from serving with gallant leaders and good comrades in a brave regiment, but from being regularly paid.” The EIC directors could provide him with additional financial and employment security since Campbell’s trip to India was a result of his family’s money problems. As Campbell illustrated throughout his journey building patronage networks through army service provided employment, financial and societal security.

Patronage in the army reinforced the traditional hierarchy, although the bravery of the common man during the war earned respect and promotion. Soldiers earned patronage through their merit, bravery, and loyalty with expectations of their patrons providing promotion and financial security. Winterfield illustrated soldiers’ chances for social mobility improved during the war and with army’s improved image during the eighteenth century when soldiers were represented as loyal, hard-working, and patriotic. Campbell reinforced these same ideals as his patron recalled his merits to the EIC, earning him the patronage of the chairmen of the board. Men like Campbell and Winterfield utilized their patrons to provide additional financial security throughout their lives which caused them to focus their upward mobility within the established system.

Specialized Patronage: Actors and Servants

Eighteenth-century society relied heavily on personal connections as argued above. Roy Porter wrote, “how one made out depended on skills in
the games of deference and condescension, patronage and favor, protection and obedience, seizing opportunities and making the most of them.”¹⁰⁹ Therefore, each profession depended on its own set of patronage networks, as seen in army and seafaring with Frowde, Moore, Tackle, Campbell, and Winterfield. However, outside of those professions, patrons were not always easy to find and often are hard to keep, which left many lower-class individuals searching for patrons to aid in social mobility. Two such examples are servants and theater performers, professions that are not typically thought of regarding patronage-client relationships and upward mobility. Moore and MacDonald illustrated how patronage aided lower class individuals outside of traditional patronage-client relationships with social mobility.

For performers, patronage could supplement their income and allow them to interact with the upper classes. Since “subordinate actors, who, because daily rehearsals were unpaid yet obligatory, endured a long hours and low wages.”¹¹⁰ Actors often found patrons during the summer when the companies traveled the countryside performing and they could interact with individuals of several classes. If the actor had multiple skills, such as singing, there were more opportunities for patronage as, “benefits for singers were also very profitable, as they could be held in the theatre and in concert rooms.”¹¹¹ For a performer, the additional marketability led to more interactions and performances for possible patrons. Interactions with the upper classes provided opportunities to gain additional employment from an aristocratic patron. This need for patronage derived from an actor’s precarious position in British society, as Moore’s friend Colonel Dowling, told him that he was not legally protected and subjected to societies’ whims. Additionally, patronage was needed to combat various legal restrictions; most significantly, the Stage Licensing Act of 1737 that restricted text performed, performance venues, and severely punished illegal performances. Thus, patronage for performers meant traditional patrons, individuals who sponsored a performance or magistrates who allowed performances that left performers with many short-term patrons who did not always aid in their social mobility.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 311.
As Moore learned, performing with a company was expensive and society’s views often left them without paying performances, often utilizing naval patronage networks. His narrative illustrated these networks’ utility for social mobility through naval patronage as “all of them were united by the shared experience of a dangerous profession,” even after Moore left the navy.\(^\text{112}\) After managing a company, Moore used a naval patronage to pay his performers. He wrote to a former naval officer, “I applied, by letter, to a Mr. Nurse, late captain of a man of war, then on half-pay, and man of great influence, soliciting his patronage to desire a play, in order, relieve me from the load of expense under which I lay.”\(^\text{113}\) Although Mr. Nurse and Moore only had a shared naval connection, Moore received his patronage. This temporary patronage from Mr. Nurse showed how performers used patronage to maintain their position in society. Interestingly, he utilized naval networks in his attempt at social mobility even with society’s disregard for performers during the eighteenth century.

Navy connections provided Moore with a patron that would sponsor a single performance, unlike aristocratic patrons who supported their clients for months or years. Moore received both kinds of patronage; however, the benefits of an aristocratic patronage increased Moore’s status significantly. The Earl of Kelly who “was [a] capable performer, and the patron of music in that county,” became Moore’s patron in the early 1770s due to his and his wife’s talent.\(^\text{114}\) This patronage offered opportunities that were readily available to most

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\(^{114}\) Ibid., 119.
performers such as living the life of the upper classes. Moore described, “Shortly after, I went to Edinburgh, where we lived entirely at the Earl of Kelly’s expense, by whose interest, we were engaged to perform in the concert there, then conducted in the most brilliant style.”\textsuperscript{115} The patronage of aristocratic individuals provided upward mobility to Moore compared to the patronage of Mr. Nurse although society’s opinion of Moore and performers made both types of patronage necessary to maintain his status.

Moore’s patronage was a necessity of his profession and often-short term, meanwhile, servants like MacDonald needed patronage to get a position in a good household. Servants made up one of the larger class of workers with most middling households seeking at least one as a status symbol. As most servants began at a young age, they were trained and paid yearly which caused many to travel the country and consider their employer's patrons to improve their situation.\textsuperscript{116} They worked under various conditions as “hazards and discomforts were many. Hours were long; servants were often on duty from dawn to late at night, and on call twenty-four hours a day. If they got sick, they might be fired.”\textsuperscript{117} Patronage through recommendations and employment was the simplest method for servants to achieve social mobility, especially if they worked for aristocratic houses. As stated before, employers required servants to have recommendations from their previous positions or else they were subjugated to households of ill repute, such as violent masters or a family of poor reputation.

MacDonald illustrated the power of a good recommendation in getting a position despite his reputation as French MacDonald. As “Letters attesting to character also seemed to be one of stable pieces of evidence upon which servants were hired,” thus earning the patronage of their employer determined the availability of quality positions if a servant left.\textsuperscript{118} MacDonald’s character had been tarnished with his reputation as a lady’s man but single men still hired him. When hired by Major Joass, MacDonald described his interview process:

\begin{quote}
After several questions he hired me. He asked me, who would give me a character? Sir, I believe Mr. Charles Dalrymple, brother to Mr. Hamilton of Barney… When I came, the major said, “I shall take you for a servant, you must live with a single gentleman no
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[115] Ibid., 120.
\item[117] Ibid., 127.
\end{footnotes}
family will admit you into their house. I like a man that is given to women — that is a gentleman-like— but to drink and swear is to be a black-guard.”¹¹⁹

Thus, Macdonald, good merit and work ethic provided a position for him even when his reputation was tarnished, which the patronage of Mr. Dalrymple illustrated. Even with his reputation as a ladies’ man, MacDonald’s patronage meant he was rarely unemployed and often worked for upper middle class and aristocrats.

Patronage provided lower class individuals with methods of upward mobility and stability in their lives. Moore sought patrons during his employment as a theater performer, due to the poor wages and social stigma of the profession. He used the networks he had built during his employment in the navy to demonstrate his merit thus providing status stability as he traveled Britain for work. MacDonald traveled the isles with his employers but required patronage to secure new positions as a servant. His merit was never questioned; however, his reputation as a rake forced him to acquire recommendations from upper-class employers and limited his available positions. The patronage networks aided the lower classes in ways like the army and seafaring professions, but individuals often had to search for their patrons, as Moore and MacDonald illustrated.

Enslavement and Patronage

As the British Empire grew, its citizens were often confronted with enslavement or imprisonment. Linda Colley argues “its cohesiveness, restless extraversion, busy commerce, and aggression on the one hand, and its demographic, military and resource inadequacies on the other — that account in part for the very large numbers of real-life Crusoes and Gullivers seized in regions outside Europe after 1600.”¹²⁰ Enslavement was a reality for many who traveled the empire seeking their fortune or social mobility and confronted Britons on several continents: the Americas, North Africa, and India. Captors dictated conditions based on location and cultural norms. Those enslaved sought various types of patronage, formal or informal, as means of survival and potential freedom. For some, a patron was their owner and becoming valuable to them could mean better food, status, or conditions. Those enslaved during war wanted a patron to improve their chances of survival in the poor conditions of eighteenth-century prisons.

¹¹⁹ MacDonald, Travels, 62–63.
¹²⁰ Colley, Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850, 11.
Patronage, either owner or stranger, offered security, possible freedom, or social mobility for the enslaved.

Algerian Corsairs enslaved Winterfield; he lived in an Islamic society that disregarded Western norms, language, and culture. However, unlike Atlantic slavery, Barbary slaves received a wide variety of treatment, “How they were treated influenced by their perceived social class and level of wealth, by their age and gender, and by such skills as they possess. Those viewed as useful by their captors — such as medical men, boat-builders, fluent linguists and armors— could be offered all kinds of advancements.”\(^{121}\) During his period of slavery, Winterfield was not determined to have those valuable skills and his poor treatment resulted from his lack of understanding of Algerian society. Winterfield experienced different employments and treatment during his time in Algiers; he worked on a vessel, running a shop, and various other jobs because of his lack of valuable skills.

In his five years of slavery, Winterfield experienced two different types of patronage: one from his masters and the other from Europeans, although they often overlapped. The patronage from the Englishman as well as from his master illustrated how slave patronage worked where the slave’s status improved because of his developed skill, trade. Once he got permission to work outside his master's home, Winterfield searched for a position that would provide him the two dollars a month income.\(^{122}\) An Englishman offered him a partnership in a shop, this provided Winterfield with the opportunity to earn money and improve his station or at least regaining a sense of normalcy. His master’s patronage protected Winterfield from the difficulties of living in

\(^{121}\) Ibid., 60.
Algiers compared with the Englishman providing him with employment in trade. He wrote of his plans for the shop:

I acquainted my Patron with my design, pleading I wanted stock to set up with: so he lent me a small modicum, and, with another pittance that I had privately reserved on my own, I began to trade. For my partner being elevated with our good success, grew a good fellow, and a bad husband, neglected his business, went tippling and fuddling up and down, and the concerns of the shop and trade lay wholly upon me.123

His master provided Winterfield with the means of running a successful shop thus allowing for him to benefit from the Englishman’s opportunity. The Englishman provided Winterfield with a method of escaping the drudgeries of slavery, they became successful in their endeavors unfortunately, their relationship ended because of the Englishman’s negligence. Trading provided Winterfield with a sense of normalcy, success, and away to prove his worth to his patrons.

Winterfield’s enslavement resulted from a long-standing conflict between Barbary pirates and European states, while Campbell’s shipwreck occurred off the Indian coast during the Second Mysore War causing his imprisonment with few options for aid. Campbell’s voyage from Goa to Madras in May 1782 met with summer storms causing the ship to wreck on the Mysore coast. Mysore was described as “by 1780, the year of Polliur, Mysore’s war machine was bigger still, its fiscal, commercial and territorial resources stronger. Its intelligence networks were impressive. Its fortifications were generally agreed to be better than the Company’s own.”124 This imbalance placed Campbell at a disadvantage because of Mysore’s strength over the EIC. As Campbell had previously lived in India, he knew of the Mysore leader’s, Hyder Alli, reputation and assumed the worst when captured by his soldiers. He wrote: “The unmerciful disposition of HYDER, and all these in authority under him, and the cruel policy of the Eastern Chiefs, making the life of any one, particularly a British prisoner, at the best a precarious-tenure.”125 The chances of Campbell receiving aid or patronage during his imprisonment in Hydernagur were minuscule as his description of Hyder’s treatment of prisoners, especially British shows.126 However, some sepoy prisoners at Hydernagur knew Campbell from his service as a captain in an EIC cavalry regiment, which could either provide charity from them or

123 Ibid., 29.
125 Campbell, A Journey over Land to India, 3: 39.
126 Hydernagur was the capital of the Bednore province re-named after its capture by Hyder Alli and its modern location is Nagara of the Karnataka state. G. J. Bryant, The Emergence of British Power in India, 1600-1784: A Grand Strategic Interpretation (Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2013), 71.
punishment from their captors. As he waited for his fate, Campbell feared the worst as he was now one the lowest in society.

As the survivors waited to meet with the Jamadar of Hydernagur, Hyat Sahib, Campbell was unaware he would be offered patronage, which could improve his position.\(^{127}\) Unbeknownst to Campbell, the sepoys informed Hyat of his and his family’s history including Campbell’s command of the cavalry regiment and his father was a colonel which made him valuable to Hyat. During their meetings, Hyat treated him with respect and gain information about the European’s power. Initial favor resulted with Campbell and his friend Mr. Hall’s lodgings containing a mat and pillow in a covered shed, which, he described as “even this was better than our situation since we landed”, and luxurious including their daily four pence allowance.\(^{128}\) Hyat’s patronage to Campbell extended to gifts of clothes, as storms destroyed both men’s clothes, and money for their comfort, therefore, improving their situation.

Campbell feared that Hyat would require military service in exchange, which was common for prisoners of war in India. Cromwell Massey, an Irish Company officer, explained how common during his imprisonment at Seringapatam (1780 to 1784), “Fifteen ‘healthy looking young men’ from among the British private soldiers confined in the fort had been pressured to join Mysore armies.”\(^{129}\) Campbell’s status would improve with Hyat’s offer of a commission that was “for and on behalf of his master the Sultan, to give me the command of five thousand men – an offer which he supposed I could not think of declining.”\(^{130}\) The formal patronage offer would place Campbell into the Mysore elite in the military since he refused the offer because of his national loyalty, Hyat’s patronage disappeared and Campbell’s conditions declined greatly. Campbell’s refusal of Hyat’s offer demonstrated the necessity of patronage when imprisoned, his refusal led to provisions withheld and torture.

Enslavement offered men few opportunities for social mobility, often captured by pirates or because of war; these men used patronage to improve their situation and status within that society. As Winterfield and Campbell illustrated, enslavement patronage depended on their

\(^{127}\) Jamadar in the work is defined as a governor. Oxford English Dictionary defined it as A native officer in a Sepoy regiment, ranking next below a subahdar, and corresponding to a lieutenant; the name is also given to certain officers of police and other civil departments, and to the head of a body of servants. “Jemadar, N.,” OED Online (Oxford University Press, n.d.), http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.miamioh.edu/view/Entry/101033.

\(^{128}\) Campbell, A Journey over Land to India, 3: 52.

\(^{129}\) Colley, Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850, 287.

\(^{130}\) Campbell, A Journey over Land to India, 3: 57.
location, culture, and circumstances of their capture. The lack of hope portrayed by enslaved men made the desire patronage to improve their conditions. Masters were the primary patron of their slaves and promoted them based on their skills to benefit from their slaves. Meanwhile, other Europeans would aid their fellow countrymen who were enslaved, such as the Englishmen who aided Winterfield. In India, prisoners of war were offered patronage in exchange for military service, those who refused faced declining conditions and torture. These two versions of enslavement demonstrated how the society determined the necessity and upward mobility of patronage for these men, Barbary slaves could manage without but as a prisoner in Mysore, patronage could be the determining factor of survival.

Patronage was rarely uniform in nature and the relationships provided individuals with a socially acceptable method of upward mobility. Seafaring and army professions illustrated the traditional hierarchy associated with patronage networks, where upper-class individuals rewarded men for their merit and loyalty. Men, outside of the military, used patronage to improve their condition, as seen with theater performers and servants. Often individuals need to maintain a proper reputation and search for their patrons. However, once patronage relationships were established, these patrons could ease their client’s problems and aid in their social mobility. In contrast, enslaved men required patrons for their survival whether they were slaves or prisoners of war. Eighteenth-century society was built on patronage networks, which allowed lower class individuals to achieve social mobility throughout their travels of the British Empire.

**Conclusion**

These narratives show how their authors placed significance on social mobility. Since failing to maintain one’s status resulted in destitution, men such as Moore and MacDonald emphasized their rise against this threat of poverty. The threat of destitution created a sense that each man earned his new position. Moreover, these men showed how their class and societal fluctuations shaped their narratives through being rejected by society and having to rebuild their positions.

Men like MacDonald and Moore could improve their station through personal connections such as through the navy and job references, although the men understood that their status also depended on how they were perceived. This often complicated one’s status, whether it was from enslavement like Winterfield, the dangers of traveling or from the numerous wars and
skirmishes that occurred during the eighteenth-century. Society’s perception could diminish one’s status if their actions or profession conflicted with the established norms, even with friends’ influence.

Personal connections with formal patronage provided lower class individuals opportunities for social mobility. Employment during the eighteenth century often required patronage for promotions and improvement. The army and seafaring professions are traditional examples of the benefits of patronage with men like Frowde, Moore, Tackle, Winterfield, and Campbell advancing in the profession and society because of it. Patronage with civilian professions was more specialized as the individuals sought out their patrons through merit and reputation, as MacDonald and Moore illustrated. Enslaved individuals—often in foreign places and dangerous positions—had the greatest need for patronage, which they used to survive or escape. As a socially acceptable method of upward mobility, patronage allowed for men to improve their station from their merit, reputation, and abilities as they traveled throughout the British Empire.

Social mobility was the goal of the lower classes as represented in these narratives. Narrators strove to gain from society and the empire as they saw the middling classes and aristocrats benefitting. These men—MacDonald, Moore, Frowde, Campbell, Winterfield, and Tackle—portrayed their attempts at social mobility through their published accounts. While the men had different upbringings and resources available to them, each utilized their resources and skills to manage their fluctuations. The lower classes projected an image of social fluidity in their travel accounts through descriptions of self-improvement and adversity, their personal connections, and patronage.
Chapter 2: Passing for Middle Class

Eighteenth-century Englishmen developed their identity based on birth, property, occupation, and social rank. Moreover, for many in the lower classes, social improvement often came through experience and trade. Parents first apprenticed their children as teenagers for seven years. Once in their twenties, the men would become journeymen and typically marry with some becoming masters of their trades. Men who rose to the middling sorts or even the upper classes provided others in the lower classes with proof that social mobility was possible. These travel narratives demonstrated to the public the possibility of social mobility through hard work and respectable employment.

Additionally, men’s employment allowed them to travel the globe and thus provided them with a different type of education. The increased activity of the British overseas since the seventeenth century ignited the public’s desire for information about the rest of the world. Historians P.J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams determined that any traveler with thorough recordings of their surroundings and above-average literary capability often could publish their descriptions or accounts and earn decent money and reputation. Individuals either utilized formal or self-taught education to influenced social mobility and an individual’s future was “what might be called the social priority of education, the need to make good connection” and placed them into a good position with available promotion. Education and profession depended on an individual’s behavior, with middling ideals about polite society developing during the eighteenth century. The middling sorts developed “a code of manners which challenged aristocratic ideals and fashions” with solemnity, morality, thrift, charity, or religious. Education and polite society were achievable to the lower classes. An individual’s ability to blend into the middling sorts through education and behavior aided their social rise.

Donald Campbell, Neville Frowde, John MacDonald, Mark Moore, Tackle, and Captain Winterfield had an opportunity to benefit financially from their employment, education, and behavior. Significantly, the authors described their employment’s reputation and their social status, their financial status and benefits, and their debt and charity. The lower classes illustrated

132 Ibid., 84.
134 Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, 83.
methods to blend with the middling sorts in their travel accounts through descriptions of education and knowledge, polite society, and financial mobility.

**Education and Knowledge**

Lower-class individuals learned how to blend into the middling sorts through education and morality tales, which provided details on social customs, norms, and expectations. Many lower-class families focused on providing their children with an education, a near-certain upward mobility for the individual. As historian Peter Earle wrote, “the dream of ‘the meanest tradesman affects to raise his family out of its original obscurity by fixing his children some degrees higher than the vulgar occupation in which he has worked himself.’” Moral stories discussing social mobility supplemented this formal education, often illustrating social upstarts’ deterioration. While these tales provided social mobility horror stories, they helped these men understand acceptable methods and society’s views of mobility. An education or societal knowledge benefited one’s ability for social mobility due to increased professional opportunities and an understanding of society’s expectations.

**A Better Life through Education**

Formal education provided lower class individuals with the skills and knowledge to integrate into the upper classes and pass as gentlemen. The religious promoters of educating the masses believed it “would teach godliness and subordination, drill them for work, impart craft skills, and ensure that the commonality would not be a drain upon, or a threat to, society.” Often lower class boys were sent to a charity or to a religious schools, which subscriptions or bequests funded. The other popular method of education during the eighteenth century was apprenticeship where the young man would work in the trade under a master for several years. Boys learned reading, writing, math, and other subjects. Additionally, the students’ interactions at school taught them the manners and behaviors of the middle and upper classes, if one paid attention. MacDonald demonstrated how his education allowed him to pass as a gentleman. As McDonald, Frowde, and Campbell showed, education provided status and increased social mobility. An individual’s knowledge about society provided the ability to blur the class divide

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138 Ibid., 166.
139 Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, 89.
through dress, behavior, and acculturation of upper and middle-class interactions. Campbell, Frowde, and MacDonald demonstrated how the level of education aided them in their attempts at social mobility.

Campbell’s account stressed throughout the significance of education as means for status and social mobility. To reinforce the significance of education to his sons in his narrative, Campbell wrote extensive descriptions of the history and composition of cities he visited and the geography, political and religious nature of the regions. Campbell also provided examples to his son of those whose ignorance determined their diminished status. He wrote: “thus will every one’ be ridiculous who betrays a deficiency in this very indispensable ingredient [education] in forming the character of a Gentleman...” Education marked an individual’s status and Campbell warned his son that any fault in his education would betray to society that he was a pretender or an upstart. For Campbell, this need to blend into the middling sorts explains why he stressed his sons’ education throughout his narrative. He recounted this to his son in an anecdote that reinforced the necessity of education to rank and importance in British society. Campbell wrote, “thus, my child, will every one be more or less ridiculous who appears obviously ignorant of those things which, from the rank he holds in life, he should be expected to know.”

However, Campbell understood the expectations of the various classes. Campbell, Frowde, and MacDonald’s accounts show the tendency of the British to associate education with rank and status.

There were several techniques throughout British history of low-born men rising to great position due to their education. One method was to attend school or to gain a benefactor who would support their education. For example, Frowde was fortunate to be apprenticed to a ship captain since his natural abilities recommended him beyond manual labor into a position of trust and business. He received a formal education—consisting of math, languages, and navigation—in which he excelled. In describing his education, Frowde wrote: “my [school] master was not only a good mathematician, but also taught the languages, and finding me a lad of bright parts; through navigations, together with writing, were what he had orders to keep me to, he frequently, by putting a grammar into my hands, gave me a lesson in the rudiments of the Latin tongue.”

140 Campbell, A Journey over Land to India, 1: 7.
141 Ibid., 9.
142 Kimber, Surprising Escapes of Captain Neville Frowde, 35–36.
Here he described an advanced education for individuals of the lower and even some of the middling sorts during the eighteenth century. Frowde learned Latin and modern languages, which aided him during his time as a merchant sailor. The captain’s family and society accepted Frowde as the emphasis placed on his education and character demonstrates.

Frowde received a formal gentlemanly education from a tutor while MacDonald was fortunate to receive a basic education while working probably from a parish or grammar school. However, MacDonald’s education was extremely helpful when he needed employment. MacDonald’s placement as a postilion, for Mr. Hamilton, treated him well, and he received a basic education by learning from other servants. He received a more formal education: “Mr. Hamilton and Lady Anne were informed that I was desirous to learn to read, they put me to school, as there was not much to do… in the course of time, I got reading, writing, and arithmetic.” The Hamiltons’ patronage of MacDonald showed the investment they put into their servants. This patronage allowed the Hamiltons to employ MacDonald in other position without having to train him once he was too old to work as a postilion. Additionally, educational patronage allowed lower class individuals to receive a better education and thus improve their situation. The Hamilton’s patronage allowed MacDonald to move up the hierarchy of servants.

Later in MacDonald’s career, when he was in India working for Colonel Dow of the East India Company, he put his education to work, becoming the steward or head servant in Dow’s Bombay household. MacDonald organized for Dow a banquet that showcased his education. The Europeans of Bombay responded with great enthusiasm:

The gentleman said, they never saw such a supper in Bombay, nor things better conducted; and the gentlemen were well pleased that the black servants saw a white man could order a supper as well as either of them, or better. When supper was over, the bill of fare was handed about from one lady to another, and they said, certainly this Englishman is a very good servant.

Besides his formal education, MacDonald was educated in the social etiquette of the midling sorts, which allowed him to become the top servant in Bombay. His education from the Hamiltons provided MacDonald another career path beside being in the stables, and it allowed him to learn how to behave and to blend into the upper classes.

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143 A person who rides the (leading) nearside (left-hand side) horse drawing a coach or carriage, esp. when one pair only is used and there is no coachman. Also in extended use: an outrider for a carriage. “Postilion, N.,” OED Online (Oxford University Press, n.d.), http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.miamioh.edu/view/Entry/148549.
144 MacDonald, Travels, 30.
145 MacDonald 127-128
These men demonstrated how they utilized their formal education to improve their social status. Moreover, Campbell emphasized the importance of education to status and social fluidity through his letters to his sons. He provided examples of ignorance in the aristocracy and how he felt it harmed society. Frowde and MacDonald’s education allowed them to improve their station within their profession and society. Frowde’s education made him a successful captain and merchant who retired as a gentleman in the Irish countryside. Meanwhile, MacDonald employed his education to improve his station as a servant. A formal education made blending in with the higher classes feasible since these men had similar ideas of the world and society. Campbell reinforced how the educated gentleman improved his position through his knowledge. These men’s education contributed to their social fluidity as well as their acculturation of upper and middle-class manners, dress, and culture. A formal education benefited many of lower class individuals and allowed them to improve their position in society. While Campbell, MacDonald, and Frowde demonstrated the benefits of their education, only MacDonald noticed the negative views that society placed on those they believed to be above their station.

Morality Tales

As one moved up through society, artificial barriers required that individuals acculturate to a class before obtaining its relative station. Knowledge of the interactions and status symbols fractured these class barriers. However, if men could not appear to belong in the upper or middle classes, then their efforts were for naught. Moore observed society to integrate with the middling sorts to improve their prospects and position, while Campbell illustrated class divisions abroad as well as how a British gentleman incorporated himself into various societies and positions. The ability to acculturate into the middling and upper classes allowed these men to blur the class divide.

Campbell’s commentary was the perfect example of how to use moral anecdotes in writing lessons in behavior. As Campbell traveled through modern Belgium, he noted the differences between it and England, and instructed his sons on how to spot an upstart and determine a man of quality. Campbell determined, since the other travelers on the vessel to Ghent spoke haughtily about the diverse crowd, “that a fastidious usurpation of dignity (happily denominated stateliness) is the never-failing mark of an upstart or a blockhead.”\footnote{Campbell, \textit{A Journey over Land to India}, 1: 41-42.} As he
continued, Campbell defined what he felt were qualities of a man of digity, including behaving in the right and disdaining those with large fortunes who were self-important. This lesson that Campbell relayed to his sons was to disregard those who did not earn their position and did not follow class virtues.

Moore’s tales of others’ success or ruin illustrated how society viewed social mobility and class interactions through the story of Captain Sampson. When Moore was in Dublin, he recounted that “there happened a singular circumstance of swindling” involving the late Marquis of Kildare and the celebrated Captain Sampson. During a journey to Dublin from Holyhead Wales, Sampson prevented the ship from wrecking into the rocks. The Marquis repaid Sampson by becoming his patron and having him live at Kildare house in Dublin. While there, Sampson forged one of the Marquis’ checks and robbed dinner guests Sampson described as “of fortune and fashion.” Subsequently, Sampson fled to London where the Marquis discovered him. The courts sentenced Sampson to death but the Marquis intervened; thus Sampson was sentenced by the courts to India for life. Moore’s tale recounted how devious attempts at social mobility resulted in exile from English society.

A proper method of social mobility that Moore depicted was marriage. He recounted a tale of a gentleman who had an estate in Gloucestershire who was determined to choose his wife from a “much humbler class.” Moore stressed that this gentleman declined to court ladies of fortune. The gentleman then educated his fiancée in the manners of being a gentlewoman such as the knowledge of the French language and other accomplishments commonplace in polite society. Moore wrote of the fiancée’s decorum: “She was, in every respect, a woman of polished and refined education, and has been the instrument of reforming my friend from that listless round of pleasures in which he was involved, to the calm pleasures of a retired and social life.” The lady exemplified for Moore the proper method to achieve social mobility through marriage. For Moore, society embraced her because of her graces and manners. Accepting the role of a gentlewoman, the lady reformed her husband into a respectable man of fortune.
Anecdotes contributed to the knowledge base that men utilized to achieve social mobility. This knowledge allowed them to blur class lines since they knew the accepted behaviors of the upper classes. Moore and Campbell illustrated unacceptable social mobility, which isolated individuals from British society. However, Moore also showed how a marriage with education was a proper form of upward mobility. Morality tales provided lower class individuals with an informal method of education that informed their social mobility.

The variety of education provided opportunities for upward mobility for lower class individuals. Whether Frowde and MacDonald received a formal education, an apprenticeship like Frowde, or the tales in Moore and Campbell’s narratives, education blended class lines. Students’ interactions at school as well as in their professions taught the manners and behaviors of the middling sorts. MacDonald, Campbell, Frowde, and Moore demonstrated the impact of a formal and informal education on social mobility.

**Polite Society**

During the eighteenth century, Britain’s middle class developed a culture of politeness and moral judgment to individuals who did not adhere to those norms. According to historian Roy Porter, the *nouveaux riches* developed this politeness and propriety within the middling sorts earn acceptance and differentiate themselves from the “mob” and the antics of the aristocrats.152 The growth of this culture emphasized etiquette, breeding, and morals for advancement. Porter discussed, “‘By the art of good breeding,’ [Henry] Fielding wrote, ‘I mean the art of pleasing, or contributing as much as possible to the care and happiness of those with who you converse.’ In a world intimate enough for personal power still to count, yet fluid enough to be increasingly anonymous, form and address were crucial visas.”153 Individuals displayed their understanding of this developing polite society in their accounts as shown through their professions, actions, appearance, and maintaining their good reputation. Historian Lawrence Klein described these politeness traits as being simplicity, social agreeability, against excesses, and having strict values.154 Polite behavior aided men in blurring the informal class divide and gaining aspects of social mobility that did not threaten society.155 These behaviors

153 Ibid., 303.
were learned through collectivized social education such as the morality tales provided by Moore and Campbell. Accepted behaviors and norms regulated social mobility, so, individuals who deviated from these often found themselves relegated to the bottom of the social ladder.

Etiquette and sociability provided entrance and advancement in the middling sorts. Edward Kimber’s Frowde demonstrated the importance of polite behavior in advancing one’s station. Young Frowde won over Captain M’Namara’s affection through his behavior, which was described as kind, industrious, agreeable, and morally upstanding. Frowde’s behavior prevented him from remaining a cabin boy, a dangerous job. Captain M’Namara invested in Frowde’s education, allowing Frowde to represent the ideal of eighteenth-century politeness and behavior.

Kimber wrote Frowde to represent these new social ideals since Frowde never succumbed to any moral indiscretions that would damage his reputation. A good reputation could prevent disaster such as declining status or physical harm: “bankers and dealers well knew that secure financial well-being rested upon their good name and credit.” When Frowde was in Madeira, he and Captain M’Namara resided at Don Juan de Moncada’s residence (the commander of the Portuguese troops). The Don’s wife became infatuated with Frowde since they could converse in Italian together; she did not speak English and he knew very little Portuguese. Frowde stated that he never understood the wife’s declarations of passion for him. Even though his self-described actions were always depicted as honorable and in step with British ideals of polite society, the Don viewed Frowde’s actions as otherwise:

[The Don’s servant] knew somewhat of the language, or enough, however, to find out what subject his lady principally talked to me upon, which agreeably to the disposition of his function, he immediately imparted to his master. The Don, jealous as any of his nation, without further enquiry, denounced vengeance.

The image of a polite gentleman saved Frowde from the actions of an Irish assassin the Don attempted to hire. Frowde’s polite reputation impressed the assassin; the Irishman refused the job and warned Frowde. Thus, Frowde represented how polite society—especially British polite society—valued an individual’s reputation.

Frowde’s travels to Madeira provided opportunities for trade with the Portuguese as well as movement throughout the British Empire. His interactions on the island illustrated the

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differences between Portuguese and British ideas of polite society. As Frowde initially benefited from his relationship with the Don and his wife, his reputation appeared to improve his status. However, when the Don’s wife became infatuated with Frowde, his reputation did not matter with the Don’s servant assuming the worst of him with the Don’s reaction described as rash and violent compared to British values of simplicity and agreeability. This interaction resulted with Frowde continuing his travels.

Moore, Campbell, and Tackle also demonstrated their knowledge of polite behaviors through their etiquette and sociability like Frowde; nonetheless, they also broke with these sensibilities with regards to their employment or sexual reputation. Employment was a source of deviation as Moore and Tackle attempted elevation; they when they spurned advice and safer job prospects for various reasons. Moore demonstrated deviation with his repeated employ as a theater performer and manager, while Tackle fled his apprenticeship – a sure method of social improvement.

Apprenticeships provided a secure method of improving one’s status through employment in a respectable trade, though breaking contracts caused polite society to distance themselves from the young apprentice. Tackle apprenticed with an eminent tradesman in London, a position that could allow him to move into the middling sorts. However, Tackle’s behavior, which caused problems for his parents and master, was described as “idleness and impertinence… his evil habits seemed to increase with his strength and years; so that his master and his parents began to think him incorrigible.” His parents and master attempted to reform Tackle’s behavior, but these efforts only resulted in Tackle deviating further, placing him on the edge of polite society. His master sent Tackle to sea to reform the boy through hard labor, which discouraged idleness and imprudent behavior. Ordinary seamen were expected to maintain the ship – a constant endeavor – and captain’s increased productivity through violent discipline.

Tackle broke his apprenticeship when he learned of his master’s plan. Interestingly, he found employment aboard a ship headed to India. Working as a sailor forced Tackle to reflect on his behavior and his approach to his apprenticeship. The difficulties of sailing demonstrated

161 Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, 93–95.
the benefit of apprenticeship in improving his station and providing steady, safer employment. Significantly, after Tackle returned to England, he approached his master to return to his apprenticeship. The transformation of his behavior to one fit for polite society was described thus: “he now appeared ashamed of his former ill conduct, and showed an intention of settling to his business; and his friends received great pleasure from these circumstances.”

Tackle broke from and returned to respectable society because of his professional choices.

Unlike Tackle, acceptable employment did not reform Moore from his desire to work as a performer. Captain Dowling attempted to use the navy to mend Moore’s desire and thus emphasized the rejection of the profession by polite society as unprotected by the law and had a tumultuous relationship with the public and popular taste. This argument persuaded Moore to enjoy a successful career in the Royal Navy until the demobilization after the Seven Years War in 1763. Moore then decided to work as a performer to support himself and his new wife, a singer. The extent that Moore declined was illustrated by his description of his early days working as a performer: “It would only be a waste of time, ink, and paper, to recount the stage trick! To which we were reduced to a morsel of bread.” His choice of employment placed Moore outside of society’s acceptable professions and caused him to act in ways that he would not recount, as actors were regarded with “their ancient status as rogues and vagabonds.”

Moore’s profession, he discovered, situated him on the edge of polite society to an extent that it provoked distrust from local communities and authority figures, resulting in impoverishment, imprisonment, and banishment from various towns. He went to Dudley to manage a company for a friend, Mr. Collins. Mrs. Collins, who currently managed the company, determined that Moore planned to steal her livelihood. Moore claimed that he was simply searching for business. Mrs. Collins proceeded to accuse Moore of a robbery that occurred the evening he arrived. The justice system’s anstention of inquiry into the case demonstrated public’s disdain for performers as they were seen “corrupting the Youth, encouraging Vice and Debauchery, and being prejudicial to Trade and Industry.”

Moore wrote of his case:

163 Ibid., 9.
164 Moore, Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, 5.
165 Ibid., 91.
166 Barish, The Antitheatrical Prejudice, 235.
167 Moore, Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, 131–32.
168 Barish, The Antitheatrical Prejudice, 239.
when I appeared, the justice seemed to collect the whole of his *dedimus patastatem* in his countenance and his voice, neither of which, by the bye, were the mos’t [most] dignified; it was in vain to attempt to say anything in my own defense, he would not listen to me; as soon as the clerk made out my mittimus [writ for prison internment], he signed it, without so much as once cas’ting [casting] his eye over it.169

The justice accepted Mrs. Collins’ accusations, sentencing Moore to imprisonment until the assizes. The justice’s refusal to review Moore’s case portrayed the extent to which Moore was outside of the polite society so prized in the eighteenth century.

Moore and Tackle deviated from polite society through their employment, which could be changed unlike that of Campbell and MacDonald whose reputations with women shattered their relationship with polite society. Men’s relationships with women should be morally upstanding; individuals were expected to show modesty concerning sex. Historian Margaret Hunt describes this illicit sexual activity “as a sort of magnet vice, one that led inexorably to gaming, criminality, extravagance, and nonpayment of debt.”170 Thus society viewed sex as leading to worse habits and degradation of character.

Sexual relationships, even suspected ones, deviated from the image of polite society, which stressed morals and virtues such as chastity, moderation, and sensibility.171 MacDonald told of his reputation as “French MacDonald.”172 The Scots referring to him as such displayed his deviations from a society that could ruin his prospects. Campbell addressed similar difficulties with polite behavior regarding his relationships with women. Although Campbell was married during his travels on two occasions his interactions, with Englishwomen challenged his status and reputation. The authors revealed their poor choices regarding personal relationships that caused their decline.

Campbell attempted to follow these polite values with gusto. As he traveled farther from home on an emotionally distressing trip, Campbell turned to his fellow British travelers as a respite from his misery. British travelers rejoiced in the company of their fellow countrymen abroad because they symbolized home. Campbell deviated from this norm regarding his relationships with British women. In Zakynthos, Greece, he described his joy and his attempts to convince a young Englishwoman to accompany him to India. When this pursuit failed, Campbell

172 MacDonald, *Travels*, 92.
justified his possible affair: “It too often happens, that the syren [siren] who deludes a man into her snares, is the very person who inflicts the deadly wound into his heart.” Thus, he reinforced sensible values both in his view of society and the dangers of deviating from those values. While Campbell’s actions nearly placed him outside of society’s accepted values, he did not suffer from diminished status because he failed to convince the young woman.

However, Campbell forgot his own lesson on polite values during his time in Aleppo waiting for a caravan; he became the confidant of the wife of the Englishman (Mr. —) where Campbell was staying. He described Mr. — ‘s marriage as unhappy and his plans to aid the lady in escaping her marriage: “It is thus that, in the down-hill path of vice, we hurried on step by step, fondly imagining that each successive object, which bounds our fight, will stop our headlong career; while alas! Every step we advance gives additional rapidity to our descend,” as Campbell acknowledged their deviation from accepted behavior. Mr. — discovered their affair— which Campbell insisted was not sexual – and threatened Campbell’s life. The affair in Aleppo deteriorated Campbell’s social status as the story spread throughout the small British community and into Britain. Polite society did not forget the incident even after many years. As Campbell wrote, “after my departure from Aleppo, this affair was represented in a variety of unfavorable lights to the different new comers from England.” Thus, the affair was recounted to newcomers; its retelling demonstrated how tales of improper behavior lived past their occurrence.

While Campbell’s sexual reputation damaged only his reputation, MacDonald’s harmed his livelihood because of his employment as a servant. Despite confronting polite society’s expectations about sex, MacDonald showed that deviation from polite values could result in a decline in employment, since “the lack of a good reference from one’s last employer could mean lengthy unemployment, or employment only in a disreputable household.” As his “French MacDonald” reputation spread, he discovered limited options for employment. Mr. Grant’s footman on MacDonald’s firing from Mr. Creighton and Mr. Ferguson: “Not altogether for that, Master John; the ladies say you are not a proper person to live where there are married

173 Campbell, A Journey over Land to India, 1: 163.
174 Ibid., 2: 80.
175 Ibid., 2: 91.
people.”

His sexual reputation cost him several positions. Former masters gave poor recommendations limiting his opportunities. Polite society prevented MacDonald’s keeping positions as English professor Kristinia Straub explained, “his employers tire of having to replace chambermaids that he has ‘ruined,’ however, and a pattern begins…His notoriety as a homewrecker works against him keeping his post, even when (if he is to be believed) his behavior does not.”

The ability to blend into polite society would allow these men to blur lines between the lower classes and the middling sorts. However, they often deviated traits of moderation, integrity, and agreeableness. While Moore and Tackle diverged through their professions, they could correct their choices through other acceptable methods of social mobility. Sexual divergences, such as Campbell and MacDonald, often devastated social status and mobility. Campbell’s plan to remove Mr. — ‘s wife from her unhappy marriage almost cost him his life. MacDonald’s reputation cost him consistent employment. The growth of polite society from the middling sorts created constrictions on lower class mobility through acceptable behaviors.

**Financial Mobility**

Finances represented a major barrier to social mobility preventing advantageous marriages, education, employment, and a respectable reputation. Economic opportunities expanded with the growing empire but for those close to the middling sorts, “small tradesman, shopkeepers, and craftsman slipped into and out of this class as family fortune and commercial fate dictated.”

Eighteenth-century debt and charity were not always considered together and in the case of the lower classes, the well-off donating to the poor functioned as a middling ideal. However, as lower-class individuals faced financial struggles, charity within class and attempts at upward mobility often combined to improve the situations of both. One might ponder the financial means with in the lower classes considering levels of debt incurred by members of the lower class: “For those with their chins safely above the poverty line, goods, services, and opportunities multiplied.”

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177 MacDonald, *Travels*, 86.
Certain professions offered employees opportunities to supplement wages through prize money in the military, vails for servants, or outside trading during travels. The opening of trade allowed for “many more small men traded to such places as Spain, Portugal, France or Holland and to the English colonies in America.” Supplemental incomes provided an additional boost for individuals. Men could utilize similar tactics to move into the middling class, especially as they traveled throughout the empire, benefiting from growing trade and resources brought back to Britain. Lower-class individuals used finances to represent their social status through wage supplements, charity, and dealing with debt.

**Financial Gains**

Men’s supplemental income was based on employment and thus contributed to their financial mobility (appendix3). The military offered prize money during wartime, which could drastically increase the purse of a common soldier or sailor. Officers and lower ranking men worked for foreign armies or navies often with a promotion and additional opportunities for prize money. Other types of employment offered supplementary income. For example, servants received vails for their work. These tips could be saved and thus provided a means to move into the middle class.

Economic necessity, and a high probability of social improvement and steady employment, drove many to employment aboard Britain’s ships. Naval historian N.A.M. Rodger addressed the economic motivations of mariners, whose wages were higher than those of an agricultural laborer. Economic motivations were cause enough for men such as Tackle, Moore, or Frowde to work at sea. Sailors earning between £14 12s. 6d. and £10 11s. 6d. a year based on experience. For sailors, the navy’s pay did not compare to merchant’s vessels, although the rates for both navy and merchant vessels depended on the port and whether there was a war (occurring which limited the number of available sailors). Peacetime wages were relatively stable, but the demand for experienced seamen during war allowed for negotiation, as historian Daniel Vickers argued: “the mobilization of the navy and the process of impressment

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184 Ibid., 125.
strained to the limit the supply of labor in the mother country.\textsuperscript{185} The demands of the labor market provided ordinary seamen with a level of fiscal mobility through wages and prize money.

Another method of supplementing pay, used mainly by the navy, was prize money from capturing ships. This money improved sailors’ chances for economic mobility and contributed to their popular image. The practice of prize money was represented in popular culture through this song sung by Gosport girls in 1780:

\begin{quote}
Don’t you see the ships a-coming?
With the prizes at their tail?
Oh! My little rolling sailor,
Oh! My little rolling he; I do love a jolly sailor,
Blithe and merry might he be.
Sailors, they get all the money.\textsuperscript{186}
\end{quote}

This popular song portrayed sailors returning to port with a ship full of riches that could elevate them through the image of wealth stemming from their prize money, which allowed some men to leave seafaring for a ‘middling’ profession—such as shopkeeper, taverner, shoreman, craftsman, or coastal trader, to keep a modest home.\textsuperscript{187} Their profession and home illustrated seafarers’ ability to achieve upward mobility. Moore, Tackle, and Frowde all strove to achieve financial stability to move into the middling sorts.

Tackle received prize money from a Spanish galleon—“total of $100, 000…the whole of the prize-money was immediately distributed among the officers, the sailors, and themselves; each one receiving a share proportionate to the rank and office he held on board” — during the American Revolution.\textsuperscript{188} His portion of the prize-money allowed Tackle to live like a charitable gentleman for a period and provided the appearance of social mobility but, this led to frequent debt throughout his life.

While Tackle used his prize money to adopt the \textit{behavior} of a charitable gentleman, Moore utilized the economic benefits of the navy to \textit{become} a gentleman. Since entering the navy at fifteen, Moore was promoted from midshipman to lieutenant and even captain of a xebeck, a ship around the size of a frigate. Vice Admiral Saunders of the Mediterranean fleet allowed for prizes to be shared only on the vessel—rather than the entire fleet—in the early

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{185} Vickers and Walsh, \textit{Young Men and the Sea}, 81–82.
\textsuperscript{186} Rodger, \textit{The Wooden World}, 135–36.
\textsuperscript{187} Vickers and Walsh, \textit{Young Men and the Sea}, 156–57.
\textsuperscript{188} Tackle, \textit{The Life and Adventures of Tom Tackle, of London, Mariner.}, 55.
\end{footnotes}
1760s. Moore stated, “My own prize-money of the vessels I had captured from the Spaniards came to a considerable sum.” It also allowed him to continue his naval career as a method of social mobility. Moore’s wealth permitted him to appear respectable while working for the Portuguese Navy, which requested naval officers in 1760s. He and other British naval officers at the Portuguese court “dressed in the first style, appeared at court every Thursday, and, on our first introduction, had the honour of kissing his Majesty’s hand.” Moore’s appearance as a gentlemanly agent of the Portuguese crown illustrated but a small part of the social mobility he achieved a small part of social mobility Moore achieved by joining the Portuguese Navy. Since he was in the royal service, Moore represented himself as a gentleman with his servants wearing the king’s livery, which placed him close to aristocratic society as an officer with special societal privileges. Moore’s standing, was only pertinent during his service to Portugal.

Whereas Frowde never served in the Royal Navy, he benefitted financially from working as a merchant sailor. After a year-and-a-half voyage around the Mediterranean, Frowde returned to Cork as a successful sailor and merchant representing himself as a gentleman. Edward Kimber offered Frowde’s self-description thusly: “when off duty I dressed very gaily, nay richly; such being the goodness of my foster-father, that I had every necessity in the utmost profusion, and as much money in my possession as he would have given a mate of ever so much experience.” In contrast with Tackle’s destitute image, and rather than portraying him as a simple Jack Tar, Kimber wrote Frowde as a young, respectable, experienced, gentleman sailor, thus illustrating the financial gain of the profession which both Frowde and Moore epitomize.

Seafaring provided lower class men with opportunities to advance socially in British society through financial means such as stable wages and prize money. Tackle, Moore, and Frowde used their employment to improve their social station. While the dangers at sea threatened sailors’ financial gain, they understood that injury, storms, or merchant-house failures resulted in the loss or delay of their wages. For common seamen like Moore or Tackle supplementing their wages with prize money provided economic means for their social mobility. Successful merchant sailors such as Frowde could use voyages to transform themselves into

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191 Ibid., 60–61.
192 Ibid., 61.
193 Kimber, *Surprising Escapes of Captain Neville Frowde*, 75.
respective gentlemen sailors or turn to ‘middling’ professions. Additionally, Moore demonstrated that serving a foreign navy provided possibly increased funds and status. The economic mobility available to sailors during the eighteenth century provided lower class men with a method of social mobility, despite occupational hazards.

Some men built small fortunes and businesses in the country, but when they returned to Britain, an attorney or friend was trusted to manage their affairs. Often these men were called nabobs: “successful nabobs could hope to bring back a couple hundred thousand pounds.” Men who worked in India built fortunes from prize-money and trade. The men they trusted with their estates needed to maintain his status and reputation. Campbell fought in India, it does not explain how he built his fortune, but his trip to India was the result of losing it. Since EIC proved possible for a minority of men, he had used the physical mobility afforded by ships and the sea, and the opportunities on offer from war and empire, as a springboard to power, wealth and vertiginous social mobility.” Campbell managed to regain his funds when he returned to India. He chanced upon his attorney in India, Mr. Brodey:

[Brodey] showed me mine [accounts], settled almost the very day, upon which was transcribed a copy of the letter he had received, in which he thought was a testimony of my death. So, cutting out the account, and presenting it to me, he expressed, in the most cordial and handsome manner, his joy that it was into my own hand he had at last an opportunity to deliver it. Mr. Brodey returned Campbell’s financial gains from his previous service in India, thus solving his financial problems and allowing Campbell’s status to be maintained. Whether Campbell fit the description of a nabob, he gained financially by returning to India and finding his attorney as well as building his personal networks through travels which improved his social mobility.

Outside of the military, servants’ financial gain resulted from vails which could double their income and allow for some upward mobility. Historian Peter Earle described servants’ earning power outside of vails and wages: “further income might be earned, with or without the employer’s permission, by selling worn-out clothing, leftovers from the table and other things which might not be considered prerequisites and not downright thieving, though there was said to be much of that as well.” Servants used these methods in addition to the benefits their

196 Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh*, 192.
197 Campbell, *A Journey over Land to India*, 123.
masters provided, such as clothing or being remembered in the master’s will. These methods allowed servants to supplement low wages often held in arrears or paid in goods, even though employment included lodging and food.\textsuperscript{199} Servants like MacDonald relied on their supplementary income, such as vails, for upward mobility.

MacDonald saved vails during work as postilion for the Hamiltons and the Earl of Crauford; he illustrated how necessary these tips were for survival and improving one’s situation as vails could double one’s income.\textsuperscript{200} MacDonald understood from a young age that he needed to save his vails. He earned them in various ways:

I went twice a week for the letters to Maybole, the post town; and I was often sent on a message to Ayr to Mr. Duff’s. And I was often going out with the young ladies…for Mr. Duff’s sons to stay a few weeks…. By all this I got money: for in those days there was money in plenty, as trade flourished, and there were not many taxes.\textsuperscript{201} As a postilion, he traveled throughout Scotland, earning vails from his master’s guests and from Britain's flourishing, mid-eighteenth century trade empire. Through these various activities, postilion MacDonald earned additional money that allowed him to save some earnings.

In the 1770s in India, MacDonald worked for several high officials of the East India Company, including Colonel Keating. MacDonald stated that Keating promised him old clothes, as servants were gifted with clothing to wear or sell in addition to wages.\textsuperscript{202} As Keating returned to Europe, MacDonald discovered that Keating’s clothes were going elsewhere, “if I remember right, you said I should have your old cloaths; I did not think you would use me like a boy. [Keating]: So you don’t chuse to take those things? [MacDonald]: Yes, Sir, I will. [Keating]: I see, John, you and I will not agree together, so provide yourself.”\textsuperscript{203} Keating and MacDonald’s disagreement over the clothing allowance led to MacDonald leaving his position. While many servants, including MacDonald, gained financially from such allowance, MacDonald illustrated that these methods were not always true. Later in his career, MacDonald’s clothing allowance helped him to appear as a foreign gentleman, the physical representation of his upward mobility. The methods of servants’ financial gain provided MacDonald with upward mobility, mobility; as this incident illustrates, servants must manage their methods or face unemployment.

\textsuperscript{200} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{201} MacDonald, \textit{Travels}, 33.
\textsuperscript{203} MacDonald, \textit{Travels}, 181–82.
Financial gain for lower class individuals was often achieved through supplemental income such as prize money, tips, or a clothing allowance. Prize money pulled many sailors and soldiers out of poverty and allowed some to move into the middling sorts. The East India Company employees used trade and prize money to improve their financial situation. Campbell illustrated that some wage earners utilized friends to protect and build their savings built in India. Outside of the military, servants utilized vails, from guests, and clothing allowances to augment savings for upward mobility. Financial gains through supplemental income permitted men to achieve upward mobility based on their employment, such as the military or domestic service.

Charity and Debt

The financial situation of lower-class individuals often caused their status to decline due to increase debt or problems while traveling (appendix 3). These problems often stemmed from the lower status and earning power of the individuals as “the key part played by credit dealings—rather than property ownership or class status alone— in the creation and maintenance of social distinctions and economic disparities.”204 Debts and credit could result from unemployment, low wages, or loaning money to others. Furthermore, debts occurring overseas frequently resulted from travel conditions, war, or an individual's poor choice. Men often had to seek charity during these times of distress and poverty, as patronage and personal connections demonstrate. They could seek aid from formal charities such as “the great charities of the age— the Foundling hospital, the Marine Society, and the Magdalen House, were dedicated to breeding and raising more and better laborers, servants, sailors, and soldiers.”205 In many cases, individuals provided charity to men in need. Often strangers’ charity either helped these men return to Britain and improve their situation, or it helped them survive their current condition.

Patronage and charity for sailors were closely connected, although charity was provided to those in need and was not utilized for social mobility like patronage. Patrons often provided charity since “if [followers] fell on hard times, they looked to their patrons for protection.”206 However, some circumstances were outside of the reach of patrons such as conditions aboard the ship, battles against other ships, being “on a frail vessel surrounded by omnipotent forces of

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nature,” and unemployment. The conditions once aboard were both dangerous and filthy. Sailors “faced disease, death, and injury at worst, and hard work, stench, and cramped quarters at best,” adding to the difficulty sailors had with improving their situation. These dangers left sailors stranded in foreign locations or unable to work, requiring charity from others to prevent the men from living in destitution.

Tackle demonstrated these risks aboard the Prothee. While working on the main top sail, the sail split. Attempting to free the sail, Tom “fell sideways, and only broke two ribs; but his whole frame was so much shaken, that he was obliged to be let down by a tackle. And was not able to get out of his hammock for a month,” limiting his earnings. The potential injury could have cost Tackle not only his wages but also his life. Since Tackle worked at sea only when necessary, his decreased wages forced Tackle to stay at sea rather than live as an invalid on shore. Men attempted to receive some aid after being injured at sea with the navy providing a fund for wounded sailors. A sailor from the period, William Howell protested; “in case they should lose a Legg or an Arme who would maintaine them and their Familys.” Social status diminished with decreased earnings, but the possibility of death, injury, or disability from disciplinary action would result in destitution.

As Tackle knew, working for merchants’ vessels meant risking payment being delayed, short-changed, or completely unpaid if the ship wrecked. After a round trip to Jamaica where the ship sprung a leak, Tackle described his situation; “owing to some embarrassment in the house to which the ship belonged, a considerable delay took place in the payment of the men’s wages: a circumstance which involved poor Tom in the greatest distress, who was literally without money.” Sailing was a respected profession for the lower classes but, as Tackle’s story demonstrates, stable employment outside of the navy was not always consistent. In addition to the poor conditions on the ship, this lack of financial security limited sailors’ ability to achieve social mobility.

While Tackle struggled with conditions aboard, Frowde faced dangers of battle coupled with storms, resulting in shipwreck off the coast of Brazil in the 1730s. As Frowde arrived in Rio

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207 Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 93–94.
211 Ibid., 92–94.
de Janeiro, he discovered the Portuguese captain who he befriended in Jamaica. Frowde’s period of debt from his wrecked ship, he wrote:

we disposed of our vessel and the remainder of our cargo, almost to as good account...and now, only retaining my late father’s chest and our own, besides our clothes and bedding, we were ready to embark when the first ship sailed, having kept 100 pieces of eight for our pockets, and taken bills upon Lisbon for 3560 moidores.\textsuperscript{213} Frowde was rescued from his debt by the Portuguese captain Villegas, who upon hearing of their troubles provided Frowde and his first mate accommodations aboard his ship to Portugal, refusing payment as well. They returned to Europe in agreeable company and stayed with Villegas in Lisbon for a period, which allowed Frowde to return to financial stability. Without the aid of Villages Frowde’s ability to return to Europe and pay his debts would have been hindered or near impossible.

Tackle and Frowde faced debt due to incidents at sea; MacDonald started his early life begging from Inverness to Edinburgh. Traveling to search for their father in the latter city, the MacDonald children received food and money from strangers. When they were traveling on the final leg from Kinghorn to Leith, the children took a vessel across the firth of forth when a gentleman aided them. MacDonald wrote, “a gentleman, who was a passenger in the same boat with us, paid our fare. Before we left the boat the same gentleman made a collection for us. He raised half-crown.”\textsuperscript{214} The money bought the children a good dinner after months traveling and revived their energy, allowing the MacDonalds to arrive at Edinburgh. The gentleman helped the children maintain their condition as they traveled and looked for their father.

Unlike Tackle, Frowde, or MacDonald who received charity or managed to escape their debt, Moore received no charity, which resulted in debtor’s prison. The debt arose from Moore convincing a landlord, Mr. Booth, to wait for payment instead of detaining certain goods; Mr. Booth placed the debt on Moore’s head. The incident occurred in March 1792. By July, Booth demanded his money. Moore needed to conclude his business in Dublin and planned to return with the money. He did so in October, but Moore was robbed along the way leaving him unable to repay Booth. As the debt was over £2, Moore could be taken to court while “the majority of people paid their debts in the long run and, if they did not, the legal system was weighted on the


\textsuperscript{214} MacDonald, \textit{Travels}, 7–8.
side of the creditor.”  

Regrettably, Booth determined to summon Moore to court to have the debt paid. Moore: “Was visited by Mr. J. Ellison, who informed me, he had an execution against me, at the suit of Mr. Booth; I proposed to put in bail, but he said, being an execution, bail could not be taken, I must either pay all, or go to gaol.” Moore faced debtors’ prison where he could be held until either the debt was paid or Booth relented. Debtors’ prisons – in old, unsuitable buildings – were overcrowded, and humanitarian efforts focused on “the extortions of the venal wardens and other prison officers.” Moore endured until the assizes, the magistrate discharged him from prison and Moore, who was frequently in debt, learned the negative effects of debt on status– as he returned to performing instead of trade. The wealth and status Moore earned throughout his life did not prevent his imprisonment for seven months in Lancaster castle.

Debt and charity were often intertwined during the eighteenth century with men often trading throughout the British Empire, which allowed for financial mobility. Men incurred debt from conditions at sea or profession-based injuries that placed men in positions that limited their financial earnings or left them stranded in a foreign location. Often men received charity from kind individuals when they were stranded in foreign locations or in desperate poverty. Tackle, Frowde, MacDonald, and Moore illustrated how charity helped individuals maintain or improve their status during periods of debt or survival and the consequences if they remained in debt.

**Conclusion**

Blending into the middling sorts was based on education, behavior, employment, and financial mobility. Lower class men hoped their financial choices and social status would provide them with enough of a living for the rest of their lives. Education granted individuals various levels of upward mobility, whether from formal education or morality tales. The growth of polite society presented individuals with another means of blending in with the middling sorts. Additionally, finances illustrated social mobility whether it was financial gain, charity, or debt. Men demonstrated how they used education, behavior, employment, and finances to show their attempts for social mobility.

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218 Ibid., 125.
Formal education benefited many lower class individuals, allowing them to improve their position in society. Their desire to learn and improve themselves built upon other components of social mobility such as personal connections and society’s perception of social mobility. Campbell, MacDonald, and Frowde demonstrated the benefits of their education, while only MacDonald noticed the negative views society placed on those they believed to be above their station. The ability to blend into polite society would allow men to blur class lines into the middling sorts. However, as these men demonstrated they often deviated from the traits of simplicity, moderation, having strict values, and agreeableness. While Moore and Tackle diverged through their professions, these men had the ability to correct their choices through other acceptable methods of social mobility. Sexual divergences, such as Campbell’s and MacDonald’s, often devastated social status and mobility. The growth of polite society from the middling sorts created constrictions of lower class mobility through acceptable behaviors.

Financial mobility illustrated the fluctuations for lower class individuals’ social mobility through monetary gain, charity, and debt. Military men such as Campbell, Tackle, Moore, and Frowde, improved from prize money into the middling sorts. However, some of these authors faced debt due to injury, withheld wages, and shipwrecks, all of which revealed the extent that they could decline. Fortunately, individuals offered charity that prevented further descent and aided survival. Men used a variety of methods to obtain financial mobility in their attempts to improve their situation.
Chapter 3: Mapping the Eighteenth Century

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were a growing number of Britons traveling abroad and many were “repeatedly enjoined to keep records of what they saw and experienced.”219 The accounts and narratives they created contain a plethora of information about the geography, cultures, people, and the authors, which allows these accounts to be mapped and explores effects of the spatial component on an individual’s social mobility. Historical analysis is expanded through geographic information systems (GIS) that allow for the spatial component of history to be explored. Richard White’s discussion of spatial history describes the benefits of GIS for history, “that you actually have to create and think about different kinds of representation of space that you are using. You have to construct different layers of space and fit them together.”220 This description provides insight into how historians use GIS to reconstruct lost spaces and how they relate to each other. In mapping these individuals’ accounts, it is significant to remember “maps are constructs that combine numerous observations into an image of space without perspective, although they are then viewed by the individual in lieu of the world.”221 Thus, as Britons increasingly traveled the globe and recorded their journey, mapping their travels illustrates the extent that empire improved their social mobility.

In creating a web map, my goal was to have a way for individuals of various knowledge levels to interact with the sources to think critically about the eighteenth century, specifically these travel accounts. As digital humanities has expanded as a field, historians have utilized GIS and White’s idea of spatial history for their inquiries. These projects lie on various points of Kraak and MacEachren’s map use cube that illustrates the level of participation, data relations, and expected audience (Figure 14).222 The goal of this eighteenth-century travel accounts map was an approachable map that allowed all audiences to explore, analyze, and synthesize while still presenting my conclusions. Most projects tend to follow the cube such as the Jamaican Slave Revolt, Mapping Gothic France, Mapping the Lakes, and the Republic of Letters presenting their information to the public with limited individual analysis or exploration.223 They offer interesting

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historical interpretations of their sources to a wider audience. However several projects have expanded on presenting their sources and argument to a variety of audiences: *Authorial London, Transatlantic Slave Trade Database, Decima, Romantic London, and Digital Harlem*.224 These projects allow for the user interact and analyze various components of their sources, which demonstrates the benefits of digital humanities projects accessibility. David Cooper and Ian Gregory described the benefits thus: “The fluidity and interactivity of this type of mapping enables the user to virtualise the embodied experience of ‘being-in-the-world’ that is articulated in the geo-specific texts. It is a literary cartography which reinforces Michel de Certeau’s assertion that 'space is a practiced [sic] place’” which is the goal of the mapping project.225

Figure 8 Goals of map use arrayed in the map use cube (source: MacEachren& Kraak, 1997).

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225 Dr. David Cooper, Dr. Ian Gregory, and Dr. Sally Bushell, “Mapping the Lakes: A Literary GIS,” sec. Interactive Maps.
Mapping narrative: Challenges and Methods

Mapping the eighteenth century met with many difficulties in mining the sources and adapting the data for the technology. In confronting the challenges, my methods adapted and the maps evolved to provide an interactive story map, which allows others to interpret the data.

The initial data collection and processing utilized the texts, Google Earth and ArcGIS to create a GIS layer for each traveler's account. The travel accounts were combed through for locations, professions, and dates. Then the locations were plotted in google earth with reference pages to the accounts. An initial challenge stemmed from vetting locations for spelling variations. India proved particularly problematic for two reasons as the end of colonialism changed place names and the narratives did not always clearly identify locations. To address this issues, I searched for locations based on contextual clues such as adjoining places. An example is searching several options for hot wells: mineral springs, hot springs, or natural springs to discover which one was the correct location. Each account’s locations were then converted for ArcGIS to allow for additional information and interpretation.

Converting the texts into an acceptable form of quantitative data illustrates the difficulties of working with digital humanities, especially with travel accounts. The narratives are descriptive texts that rarely place an individual’s finances or status into numeric data. My choices in determining social mobility, finances, etc. had to be decided based on the source’s context and a consistent place in the text. GIS favors quantitative data over qualitative in the majority of its processes and tools, so my methods had to adapt the sources without compromising their historical intergrity. In determining social status or finances, categories were used to place text into quantitative data with finances and social mobility. These categories cannot be as representative as numerical data but it allows for the larger trends to be illustrated from qualitative data.

Once in ArcGIS, each layer had new fields, like in Microsoft excel, added for dates, job number, citations, social status, employment, finances, and quotes. These fields aided in illustrating how lower-class individuals used the British Empire for social mobility based on their self-reporting, unlike the Charles Booth inquiry project which used Booth’s surveys and modern census results with hard data. All but three fields used manual data entry; the remaining

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226 ArcGIS is a widely used GIS software package developed by Environmental Systems Research Institute (ESRI). See http://www.esri.com
utilized domains to limit human error with a drop down menu across all accounts: social status, employment, and finances. However, I learned that domains required the coded value entry for large portions of data instead of simply pasting the information when I published to the online map the information disappeared. The solution was to re-enter the data using the coded values, which can be seen in appendix 1. After these fields were completed, the layers were published online to create an interactive map available to the public. Interactive maps in general provide new opportunities for historical narratives to reach and educate the public.

The interactive map is a story map from ArcGIS online, which allows anyone to analyze for social mobility, different employments, or finances. There are several story map options, however, I chose the tabbed layout which allowed for multiple maps and analysis components, shown in *the Archaeology of Greater London*. The tabs are timeline map, the individual narratives, employment, social mobility, and finances. While the timeline and individual travels tabs are not as interactive as the other three, they still allow the user to follow the narratives in chronological order. Timeline tab follows the accounts from 1713 - 1793 and shows individual reported locations for that year. Each author has his own narrative tab, which allows the accounts to be followed around the globe. The process of creating routes that followed each narrative proved extremely difficult considering ease of creating routes with GPS programs today. There are no digital eighteenth-century roadmaps or sea routes to illustrate how individuals traveled. Available modern digital roads lacked details and had roads that did not connect. I referenced *Mapping the Lakes* as their project was the only one to deal with travel, but their routes are straight lines and therefore not true roads. On ERSI’s I discovered the geolist app, which not only allows the user to follow the routes but also provides additional information. Once the routes were completed, the account’s social and spatial mobility were available to be analyzed and examined as the individuals’ traveled.

The next challenge was determining the best method for inquiry and presentation that was available on ESRI’s story maps. Employment, social mobility, and finances utilize the web app builder rather than a template, which allows for more flexibility since the user can analyze

228 Time Aware—Provide the ability to visualize the changes in data over time by interacting with a time slider. The map can be configured to aggregate the data points as time progresses or show data at discrete time frames, for example, animating the progression of an oil spill over time or showing the variation in crime at different times. ESRI, “Choose a Configurable App,” n.d., http://doc.arcgis.com/en/arcgis-online/create-maps/choose-configurable-app.htm.
the data in various ways. The web app builder makes the data accessible to non-specialists and its benefits are illustrated with the *Decima* project as well. Building the app requires trial and error depending on the type of data to analyze. For qualitative data, I found these three components provide multiple levels for analysis: group filter, info summary, and chart. There are many other options within the app builder if data is quantitative.

**Results, Discussion, and Conclusions**

The growth of commerce, print culture and knowledge building, and warfare during the early modern period drove mechanisms of social and cultural change in the British Atlantic world. The long-distance trade allowed commerce to flourish and utilized transportation as a method of societal release by riding the country of the poor and undesirables. Thus, Britons had increased interactions with new peoples and societies, which challenged British identity and society from enslavement to trade relations. These relations were strained from the near continuous warfare during the eighteenth century creating demands on the population for men to serve in the navy and the reaction to the manning demands. The print industry and knowledge gathering culminated the processes of social and cultural change by demonstrating how warfare, commerce, and intercultural interactions impacted and were represented in society as illustrated through the completed interactive maps. Due to the maps’ creation and the interactive maps’ completion, we have an expanded ability to determine regions of self-reported social mobility, financial status, employment, and travel aid in growing understanding of how empire affected lower class individuals in the eighteenth century.

Social mobility has three options – increase, stability, and decrease – that are represented on five continents from each individual’s self-reporting in their accounts. Most of the men’s travels had them maintaining a stable status (Appendix 4). Each man achieved a level of upward mobility, however, no man achieved consistent mobility. The trends illustrated individuals’ ability to maintain their upward mobility with Moore, MacDonald, and Frowde representing this stability and growth in their accounts. Overall, the men’s upward mobility illustrates that there was growing social mobility in the lower classes and the advancement occurred on all five continents with a concentration in Europe. The men’s upward mobility was similar to their descent, however, more men’s status declined overall. While an individual’s decline resulted from numerous causes such as employment and finances. Men like Moore had large declines in
the second half of their accounts from employment and shown through the chart and graph of his social mobility. The individuals who were imprisoned faced larger periods of decline as a result. Moreover, the men’s decreasing status again was concentrated in Europe and the majority derived from imprisonment or debt.

Finances impacted the men’s social mobility as shown above and their reporting fell into four categories—gain, stable, charity, and debt. During the majority of the men’s travels, they managed to maintain stable finances meaning they were employed and stayed out of debt. The more financially stable men were Campbell and MacDonald. While Campbell maintains an image of financial stability, MacDonald’s stability resulted from his near constant employment as a servant. The men’s financial gains and stability illustrate that the men were able to maintain their finances while traveling the earth and achieved some financial success to aid in their social mobility. Charity and debt were constant fears and realities for the men during the eighteenth century. The men that received more charity—patronage, financial aid, etc.—were Winterfield, Moore, and Campbell. Winterfield’s need for charity resulted from his time aboard a disabled ship in the Atlantic and his escape from slavery. Meanwhile, Moore’s need for charity again stemmed from his profession as a theater performer, which had him at the bottom of society and consistently searching for patronage. Campbell required charity as he traveled in the Middle East as his foreignness made him a target for persecution. Comparing these examples to charity to the accounts of debt, the major debtors were Tackle and Moore with the other men rarely in deficit. Tackle’s debts derived from his charitable nature while ashore in London—often forcing him to seek employment. However, Moore’s debt proceeded again from his career as a theater performer as well as difficulties in trade. Both financial categories were centered on Europe and while unforeseen circumstances challenged the men’s financial status abroad, there were fewer reports than in Britain. Intertwining charity and debt reveal how one impacted the other, such as Moore’s employment or Tackle’s desire to aid others, and the men’s ability to achieve upward mobility depended on their ability to avoid debt and charity as they traveled the world.

Employment varied for the men from the military, theater performers, slaves to unemployed. The most common experience for the men was unemployment with five of the men experiencing it during their travels with Frowde being the only exception. However, this common experience was only ten percent of the total travels illustrating that while unemployment was common, it was—at least for these men—normally short term between jobs.
A “few people had a regular income and when many of the working population might expect to be unemployed for several months of the year.”\textsuperscript{229} Once employed, most of the men worked either in the military or seafaring combined with five of the men– excepting MacDonald. The four men who served in the military are representative of the numerous wars Britain fought during the eighteenth century as well as “unprece
dented overseas commercial expansions.”\textsuperscript{230} Half of the men served in the army and the other half the navy on three continents illustrating the extent of Britain’s wars that sent lower class individuals around the world. These locations had the men improving financially and socially from their service. The seafaring men served both national and merchant masters, the men normally worked either the entire or a large portion of their career, which was allowed for the men to be consistently employed to aid in their social advancement. Seafaring, military, and unemployment showed the extent of the British Empire with the first two providing individuals’ social mobility. The majority of the men’s accounts showed their ability to stabilize their stations overall after advancement or decline.

The other common employment was enslavement with four men facing some aspect of imprisonment due to the growing empire. Campbell, Frowde, and Winterfield’s imprisonment resulted from traveling throughout the empire and captured respectively by Mysore, the Natives, and Algerians due to the weakness of the British in the region. For the men, their imprisonment resulted in declining social mobility

Compared to the other employment categories, non-sea based employments had the highest percentage of the total travels between three men– MacDonald, Moore, and Tackle. Tackle was an apprentice before becoming a sailor, thus this period had a limited impact on his social mobility. However, Moore was a theater performer and MacDonald worked as a servant. Moore’s employment as a theater performer has already been shown to be tumultuous on his station and restricted him to travel around Britain. Compared to MacDonald’s travels as a servant, he extensively traversed Europe and even India that maintained his stability. His wages “ranged from fifteen or sixteen guineas a year to as much as forty guineas, plus various extras including tea money at the rate of perhaps two guineas a year. The higher wages were payable

\textsuperscript{229} Earle, \textit{The Making of the English Middle Class}, 49–50.
usually for foreign travels.” This careful maintenance allowed MacDonald to achieve gentlemanly status at the end of his account.

Two other men achieved this status—Campbell and Frowde— with greater success than MacDonald by the end of their life, the other three men struggled with their status. Nonetheless, these men represent lower class successes in achieving entry into the middling sorts. Gentlemanly status, unlike the other professions, was mainly represented in the United Kingdom and India. While the others might have no reached gentlemanly status, Winterfield and Tackle discussed how they managed to live in comfort. The outlier is Moore who described the situation at the end of his life as: “my mind revolted at the idea of pecuniary dependence. I began seriously to think of what I could do, and I now find that I adopted a line for which I am exceeding ill calculated— Biography.” Moore’s description of his old age employment situation left him unemployed, in the poor financial situation, and low social status like Tackle before his patron’s pension. Unemployment and imprisonment led to Moore’s poor situation at the end of his life. Overall, most of the men achieved social mobility during their lifetime through their employment and finances.

Analyzing the accounts across the globe allowed for the trends of social mobility, finances, and employment through geographic information systems. The small sample size of the thesis limits the larger impact of social mobility for the lower classes, but the accounts demonstrate the social fluctuations that occurred during the eighteenth century. These fluctuations correlated to their employment and financial status with some individuals facing increased amount of debt and imprisonment. However, the main trend was employment and stability for the men throughout their accounts, which appears to challenge trends that have lower class individuals stuck in poverty.

The interactive map contains the six accounts travels with their locations on ArcGIS online to allow others to analyze the accounts as well. A larger goal is that the interactive component will provide an example of historical GIS that illustrates historical methods united with spatial techniques to ask different questions. The map’s emphasis comparison and inquiry are represented in the travels, social mobility, financial mobility, and employment tabs. The accounts’ data can be downloaded or adapted with additional accounts like the Charles Booth’s

231 E. S. Turner, What the Butler Saw: Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Servant Problem (Faber & Faber, 2012), 35.
232 Moore, Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, 266.
London from London School of Economics & Political Science. These accounts and maps begin a collection of eighteenth-century British travel accounts that expand beyond the Grand Tour’s focus on Italy and showing the extent of travel throughout the empire.

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Conclusion

As the British Empire expanded, travel afforded lower-class individuals more opportunities for upward mobility, while providing social stability during times of upheaval. Evidence of this mobility and stability can be found in travel narratives written by men of this class. By examining these texts we can see the variety and complex means of achieving social mobility. Travel provided chances for self-improvement, personal connections, employment, and patronage, all of which could both improve their social standing or maintain it. As the writers of these texts described their quest for social mobility, they framed their narratives with descriptions of their humble origins to illustrate how they overcame adversity to improve their social station. They often attempted to pass as members of the middle class through their appearance since, “the appearance of gentility was often most of the substance of gentility.”

As a result of their travels, some could improve their education and enter higher class professions, as other means of upward mobility. While appearance, education, and profession were markers of class, personal finances illustrated the security of an individual’s social advancement and helped them remain in that class. While I offer an analysis of the texts themselves, I also provide interactive maps to shows visual analysis of my argument and offer other scholars means by which they can analyze these elements of social mobility in travel narratives.

Growing availability for employment provided new opportunities for the lower classes allowing for increase spatial and social mobility. Authors revealed a focus on social mobility through self-improvement and adversities, personal connections, and patronage. Fluctuations of an individual’s status demonstrated the growing desire for social advancement. The threat of destitution created a sense that each man earned his new position; men such as Moore and John MacDonald emphasized their rise against this threat of poverty. Furthermore, these men shaped their narratives through advertises and attempts at personal enrichment. Personal connections lead to drastic status fluctuations, when they attempted to cross the barriers between the classes.

Men like MacDonald and Moore could improve their station through their connections such as through employment, although the men understood that their status also depended on reputation. If one’s actions or profession conflicted with the established norms, the individual’s...

status declines even with friends’ influence. Employment during the eighteenth century often required patronage for promotions and improvement. Patronage with civilian professions was more specialized as the individuals sought out their patrons through merit and reputation as MacDonald and Mark Moore illustrated. Enslaved individuals—often in foreign places and dangerous positions-- had the greatest need for patronage, which they used to survive or escape. The army and seafaring professions are traditional examples of the benefits of patronage with men advancing in the profession and society because of it. As a socially acceptable method of upward mobility, patronage allowed for men to improve their station from their merit, reputation, and abilities as they traveled throughout the British Empire.

As men attempted to rise socially, they portrayed these attempts through their published accounts detailing how they used education, behavior, employment, and financial situations. While the men had different upbringings and resources, each utilized their resources and skills to manage their fluctuations. Blending into the middling sorts was based on education, behavior, employment, and financial mobility. Lower class men hoped that their financial and social status provided them with enough of a living for the rest of their lives. Education provided individuals with various levels of upward mobility whether it was from formal education or morality tales. Moreover, the growth of polite society presented individuals with another method of blending in with the middling sorts. Additionally, finances illustrated social mobility whether it was financial gain, charity, or debt.

A formal education benefited many of lower class individuals and allowed them to improve their position in society. Their desire to learn and improve themselves built upon other components of social mobility such as personal connections and society’s perception of social mobility. Campbell, MacDonald, and Frowde demonstrated the benefits of their education but only MacDonald noticed the negative views that society placed on those they believed to be above their station. The ability to blend into polite society would allow the men to blur the class lines into the middling sorts. However, as the men demonstrated they often deviated from the politeness traits as simplicity, social agreeability, moderation, and strict values. While Moore and Tom Tackle diverged through their professions, these men had the ability to correct their choices through other acceptable methods of social mobility. Sexual divergences, such as those indulged in by Donald Campbell and MacDonald, often devastated one’s social status and mobility. The growth of polite society from the middling sorts created constrictions of lower class mobility
through acceptable behaviors. Financial mobility illustrated the fluctuations for lower class individuals’ social mobility through monetary gain, charity, and debt. Military men improved from prize money and engaged in trade to move into the middling sorts. However, some of the authors faced debt due to injury, withheld wages, and shipwrecks that revealed the extent that they could decline. Fortunately, individuals offered charity that prevented further descent and survival. Men used a variety of methods to obtain financial mobility in their attempts to improve their situation.

Through geographic information systems, we can determine regions of self-reported social mobility, financial status, employment, and travel. These aid in the growing understanding of how empire affected lower class individuals in the eighteenth century. Analyzing the accounts across the globe allowed for the trends of social mobility, finances, and employment through geographic information systems. The small sample size of the thesis limits the larger impact of social mobility for the lower classes, but the accounts demonstrate the social fluctuations that occurred during the eighteenth century. A larger goal is that the interactive component will provide an example of historical GIS that illustrates historical methods united with spatial techniques to ask different questions. The map’s emphasis on comparison and inquiry are represented in the travels, social mobility, financial mobility, and employment tabs. These fluctuations correlated to their employment and financial status with some individuals facing increased amounts of debt and imprisonment. However, the main trend was employment and stability for the men throughout their accounts, which appears to challenge trends that have lower class individuals stuck in poverty.

The society of eighteenth-century Britain contained a class structure that allowed for some mobility but as seen through the travel accounts, this mobility was never easy and required additional skills. The authors illustrated their various methods and difficulties of achieving a middling lifestyle. While there were major fluctuations in the station, travel allowed men to not only maintain but to improve their social position.
Campbell, Donald. A Journey over Land to India, Partly by a Route Never Gone before by Any European. 1st ed. 3 vols. London: Cullen and Company, 1795.


Turner, E. S. *What the Butler Saw: Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Servant Problem.* Faber & Faber, 2012.


Appendix

Appendix 1: Mapping the Eighteenth-Century Technical Methods

Mapping the Data
First, the travel accounts were combed through for locations, professions, dates, etc. Then the locations were plotted in google earth with reference pages to the accounts. The places had to be vetted for spelling and alterations from the eighteenth-century. This meant searching for locations along the individual’s routes and selecting a location that made sense within the text’s context. The citations were included during the plotting process to allow for future reference with including professions, dates, etc. I plotted the points for one account then saved the folder from google earth to a KML file.

Data Analysis
Next, I converted the file in the ArcToolbox, used the conversion tools and from the KML to Layer tool. In the file geodatabase, each account to have its own layer containing an attribute table. The file geodatabase provides the best storage for a larger project due to its storage capabilities and readability on any platform. Once the account has converted, I opened the attribute table and added new fields for Dates, Job, Citation, Social Status, Employment, Finances, and Passages. These fields are data type text, except the two long integer’s field: citation and job. These fields are manually entered with data extracted from the texts. Dates are derived from context events or provided dates. Job illustrated the number of job changes an individual had, meaning switches between employers or professions. Each location has a text passage to provide context for the interactive map users. Then Social status, Employment, and Finances, I created a domain in geodatabase to limit human error and present the options in a drop down list.236

Social Status

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Self-Reporting Upward Mobility</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Stable</td>
<td>Self-Reporting No Mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>Self-Reporting Downwards Mobility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Employment

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>Army or Navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sailor</td>
<td>Mariner or Merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Coerced</td>
<td>Slave, Prisoner, Etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Non-Sea Based</td>
<td>Servant, Performer, Etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Out of Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Gentleman</td>
<td>Middling Sorts Profession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Not Given</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Finances

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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Doing Well</td>
<td>Extra Cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Stable</td>
<td>Reporting Stability or Not Reporting financial status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Charity</td>
<td>Receiving Patronage, Financial Aid, Etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Debt</td>
<td>No Money, Owes Others, Etc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Maps of Individuals’ Travels

Eighteenth Century Travels

Legend
- Donald Campbell
- Frowde
- John MacDonald
- Mark Moore
- Tom Tackle
- Captain Winterfield

A Journey Overland to India by Donald Campbell, 1795
The Life, Extraordinary Adventures, Voyages, and Surprising Escapes of Captain Neville Frowde by Edward Kimber, 1792

Travels, in Various Parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, During a Series of Thirty Years and Upwards by John MacDonald, 1791
Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, Late an Officer in the British Navy
by Mark Moore, 1795

The Voyages, Distresses, and Adventures of Capt. Winterfield, 1799
Appendix 3: Maps of Financial Status

Close up of Europe: Self-Reported Locations of Financial Gain

Close up of Europe: Self-Reported Locations of Financial Gain
Self-Reported Locations of Individual Debt

Europe Close Up: Self-Reported Locations of Individual Debt
Self-Reported Locations of Individual Charity
Appendix 4: Individuals Charts of Social Mobility

Donald Campbell

Date
1781 1781 1781 1781 1781 1781 1781 1782 1783 1784 1784 1784 1784

Social Mobility
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

Code
1 = Increase
2 = Stable
3 = Decrease

Neville Frowde

Date
1714 1723 1728 1728 1729 1730 1731 1732 1733 1733 1733 1733 1734 1734 1734 1734 1734 1735 1736 1742

Social Mobility
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

Code
1 = Increase
2 = Stable
3 = Decrease